

FIFTH EDITION

TEACHING TO CHANGE THE WORLD



JEANNIE OAKES
MARTIN LIPTON
LAUREN ANDERSON
JAMY STILLMAN



Teaching to Change the World

Teaching to Change the World is an up-to-the-moment, engaging, social justice-oriented introduction to education and teaching, and the challenges and opportunities they present. Both foundational and practical, the chapters are organized around conventional topics but in a way that consistently integrates a coherent story that explains why schools are as they are. Taking the position that a hopeful, democratic future depends on ensuring that all students learn, the text pays particular attention to inequalities associated with race, social class, language, gender, and other social categories and explores teachers' role in addressing them.

This thoroughly revised fifth edition remains a vital introduction to the profession for a new generation of teachers who seek to become purposeful, knowledgeable practitioners in our ever-changing educational landscape—for those teachers who see the potential for education to change the world.

Features and Updates of the New Edition:

- Fully updated Chapter 1, “The U.S. Schooling Dilemma,” reflects our current state of education after the 2016 U.S. presidential election.
- First-person observations from teachers, including first-year teachers, continue to offer vivid, authentic pictures of what teaching to change the world means and involves.
- Additional coverage of the ongoing effects of Common Core highlights the heated public discourse around teaching and teachers, and charter schools.
- Attention to diversity and inclusion is treated as integral to all chapters, woven throughout rather than tacked on as separate units.
- “Digging Deeper” resources on the new companion website include concrete resources that current and future teachers can use in their classrooms.
- “Tools for Critique” provides instructors and students questions, prompts, and activities aimed at encouraging classroom discussion and particularly engaging those students least familiar with the central tenets of social justice education.

Jeannie Oakes is Presidential Professor (Emeritus) in Educational Equity at UCLA’s Graduate School of Education and Information Studies and founding director of UCLA’s Center X: Where Research and Practice Intersect for Urban School Professionals.

Martin Lipton is an education writer and consultant, a communications analyst at UCLA’s Institute for Democracy, Education, and Access, and a former public high school teacher.

Lauren Anderson is an associate professor of education at Connecticut College and a former upper-elementary teacher.

Jamy Stillman is an associate professor of educational equity and cultural diversity at the University of Colorado Boulder and a former bilingual elementary teacher.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Teaching to Change the World

Fifth Edition

Jeannie Oakes
Martin Lipton
Lauren Anderson
Jamy Stillman

Fifth edition published 2018
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

and by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2018 Taylor & Francis

The right of Jeannie Oakes, Martin Lipton, Lauren Anderson, and Jamy Stillman to be identified as authors of this work has been asserted by them in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

First edition published by McGraw Hill 1999

Fourth edition published by Paradigm 2013

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Oakes, Jeannie, author.

Title: Teaching to change the world / [Jeannie Oakes, Martin Lipton, Lauren Anderson, Jamy Stillman].

Description: Fifth edition, revised and updated. | New York : Routledge, 2018. |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017037151 | ISBN 9781138569263 (Hardback : alk. paper) |

ISBN 9781138569362 (Paperback : alk. paper) | ISBN 9781351263443 (eBook)

Subjects: LCSH: Public schools—United States. | Curriculum planning—United States. |

Classroom management—United States. | Effective teaching—United States. |

Educational change—United States.

Classification: LCC LA217.2 .O25 2018 | DDC 371.010973—dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2017037151>

ISBN: 978-1-138-56926-3 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-138-56936-2 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-351-26344-3 (ebk)

Typeset in Galliard
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

Visit the companion website: www.routledge.com/cw/teachingtochangetheworld

Contents

<i>List of Figures, Concept Tables, and Focal Points</i>	vii
<i>Preface</i>	x
<i>About the Authors</i>	xiv
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xvi
PART I	
Democracy, Diversity, and Inequity	1
1 The U.S. Schooling Dilemma: Diversity, Inequity, and Democratic Values	3
2 History and Culture: How Expanding Expectations and Powerful Ideologies Shape Schooling in the United States	37
3 Politics and Philosophy: The Struggle over the School Curriculum	75
4 Policy and Law: Rules That Schools Live By	113
PART II	
The Practice of Teaching to Change the World	147
5 The Subject Matters: Constructing Knowledge Across the Content Areas	149
6 Instruction: Teaching and Learning Across the Content Areas	196
7 Assessment: Measuring What Matters	237
8 Classrooms as Communities: Developing Caring and Democratic Relationships	274
PART III	
The Context of Teaching to Change the World	313
9 The School Culture: Where Good Teaching Makes Sense	315
10 School Structure: Sorting Students and Opportunities to Learn	358

11 The Community: Engaging with Families and Neighborhoods	395
12 Teaching to Change the World: A Profession and a Hopeful Struggle	427
<i>Bibliography</i>	467
<i>Photo Credits</i>	501
<i>Index</i>	502

Figures, Concept Tables, and Focal Points

Figures

1.1	Percentage Distribution of Students Enrolled in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, by Race/Ethnicity	6
1.2	K–12 Students Who Speak a Language Other Than English at Home, 2015	8
1.3	Top Fifteen States With Highest English Language Learner (ELL) Student Enrollment in Public Schools, School Year 2012–2013	9
1.4	Children’s Family Arrangements: Growing Diversity	12
1.5	Distribution of Wealth in the United States	15
1.6	Real Family Income by Income Percentile, 1967–2012 (in 2012 dollars)	16
1.7	Homeownership Rates by Race and Ethnicity of Householder, 2017	19
1.8	Percentage of 90–100 Percent White Schools and 90–100 Percent Non-White Schools in the United States, 1988–2013	22
1.9	Qualified Teachers: Number of States Where Access Is Problematic	25
1.10	Distribution of Math Courses in Middle and High Schools, by Student Race/Ethnicity, 2011–2012	26
1.11	Percentage of Persons 25 to 29 Years Old With an Associate’s or Higher Degree, by Race/Ethnicity: 2000 and 2015	29
8.1	Corporal Punishment in U.S. Public Schools	285
9.1	Tools for Talking About Race	336

Concept Tables

1.1	Per-Student Funding Gaps Add Up	23
1.2	Correlates of Achievement and Gaps	27
3.1	Three Traditional Philosophies of Education	79
3.2	Three Progressive Philosophies of Education	79
4.1	Three Levels of Education Policymaking	119
4.2	Making Schools Work Like Economic Enterprises	131
6.1	Six Principles That Guide Socially Just Classroom Learning Communities	203
6.2	Popular Scaffolding Techniques	216
6.3	Principles of Cooperative Learning	220
6.4	Core Media Literacy Skills	224
6.5	Educational Technology That Engages Students	224

6.6	Six Elements of Social Justice Curriculum Design for Elementary Education	230
7.1	Contrasting Traditional and Authentic Alternative Assessments	239
7.2	Principles of High-Quality Assessment Systems	262
7.3	The Six Facets of Understanding	263
8.1	A Comparison of Punitive and Restorative Justice Responses in Schools	296
9.1	Principles for Effective Design	355
10.1	Grouping-Related Differences in Learning Opportunities	376
11.1	Joyce Epstein's Parent Involvement Typology	402

Focal Points

1.1	Student Bill of Rights	21
2.1	The "Invisible Knapsack" of White Privilege (Excerpt)	67
3.1	James Bank's Five Dimensions of Multicultural Education	103
4.1	Policy Alternatives to High-Stakes Testing for Grade Promotion	134
4.2	The Negative Effects of High-Stakes Testing on Curriculum and Teaching	137
5.1	Teaching Social Justice by the Numbers	156
5.2	Un-standardizing the Curriculum	179
5.3	Science and Social Justice	183
6.1	How Status Becomes Public in the Classroom	204
6.2	A Cooperative Learning Lesson	221
7.1	Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing	256
7.2	United Opt Out	257
7.3	Product and Performance Tic-Tac-Toe	267
8.1	Classroom Management 100 Years Ago	277
8.2	Zero Tolerance	283
8.3	Social and Emotional Learning	289
8.4	Restorative Justice Program in Action	296
8.5	Successful Teachers of African American Students: An Excerpt From <i>The Dreamkeepers</i>	300
8.6	Examples of Critical Curricular Resources	301
8.7	Critical Pedagogy in a First-Grade Classroom	307
9.1	The Edwards Middle School: Expanded Learning Time	328
9.2	Deborah Meier on Creating Democratic Small Schools	332
9.3	Tools for Talking About Race	336
9.4	LGBTQ Terms and Tools	338
9.5	A Third-Year Teacher on September 11, 2001	343
9.6	Community Commitment to Education in New Orleans's Lower Ninth Ward	345
9.7	A Caring School Culture: The Chula Vista Learning Community Charter School	353
10.1	Detracking in Rockville Centre	384
10.2	Linked Learning at Stanley Foster Construction Tech Academy	386
11.1	El Puente Academy for Peace and Justice	410
11.2	Bridging Schools and Communities	415
11.3	Padres y Jóvenes Unidos	420

12.1 Finding Hope in the Future Generation	431
12.2 Teachers' Unions Organizing for Progressive Education and Conditions for Teaching	436
12.3 Teachers and Students Taking Action Together	454
12.4 Herbert Kohl Reflects on Teaching for Social Justice	462

Preface

This book provides a comprehensive introduction to teaching in twenty-first-century American schools. Both foundational and practical, the chapters address conventional topics—history, philosophy, curriculum, instruction, classroom management, school culture, policy, and so on.

The book also has a point of view: a hopeful, democratic future needs schools that provide *all* students with a *socially just education* including *rigorous, authentic learning experiences*.

Socially just education requires that teachers look beneath the surface of school structures and practices and

- consider the values and politics that pervade education, along with the technical issues of teaching and organizing schools;
- ask critical questions about how conventional thinking and practice came to be, and who in society benefits from them; and
- pay attention to inequalities associated with race, social class, language, gender, and other social categories, while looking for alternatives to those inequalities.

Rigorous, authentic learning experiences require that teachers, schools, and the larger education system

- use curricula, teaching practices, and assessment approaches that promote intellectual development and prepare students to be knowledgeable citizens, capable workforce participants, contributing members of families and communities, and empowered agents of change in their lives and the lives of others; and
- provide learning opportunities that engage students in *constructing knowledge*—whereby they actively integrate new knowledge with their prior learning and experiences—in contrast to teachers *transmitting knowledge*—whereby students are passive recipients of facts their teachers give to them.

Accordingly, this book does not offer a smorgasbord of educational theories and practices that readers can browse and then choose from as suits their preferences. We have tried to be diligent in faithfully describing prominent theories, philosophies, and practices—historical and current—that comprise education in the United States. But we would be neither honest nor objective if we described schooling in a neutral manner. Just as the world is not a neutral place, teaching is not a neutral profession.

Making choices that advance social justice and promote rigorous, authentic learning requires of teachers certain personal qualities—integrity, decency, the capacity to work very hard, and so on. This book hopes to bolster these personal qualities with professional and scholarly insights

drawn from social theory broadly, and educational research in particular. Indeed, grounding teaching in a deeper understanding of the theory and evidence that underlie education practices makes teachers' decisions about their own work credible to others and, just as important, sustainable for themselves.

Overview of the Book and Its Organization

The twelve chapters of this book are grouped into three parts:

1. The *foundations* of education, which provides an overview of the history, philosophy, politics, and policy of schooling in the United States.
2. The *practice* of teaching, which addresses subject matter, instruction, assessment, and classroom management—all important aspects of teachers' day-to-day work.
3. The *contexts* for learning and leading, which explores issues related to school culture and organization, the local community (specifically, the relationship between families and teachers, communities and schools), and the profession.

Each of these parts is preceded by a short introduction that orients the reader, offers more detail about the ensuing chapters, and eases the transition from one part of the book to the next.

Because of the book's integrated, thematic approach, there are no separate chapters here on multicultural education, bilingual education, or special education. Rather, the book treats diversity and inclusion as integral to all aspects of education—curriculum and instruction, classroom management, assessment and testing, grouping, school culture, and so on—and thus integrates attention to them in every chapter.

Similarly, throughout the book we emphasize the sociological, historical, and philosophical foundations of education. The first three chapters foreground these foundations. But because foundations make the most sense when we can see how they support actual practices and concerns, each chapter also includes the history, philosophical positions, and social theories most relevant to that chapter's topic. Some chapters present entirely new foundational material; others offer a new view of material presented earlier.

A Chorus of Teachers' Voices

Throughout the book, we also include the observations of teachers—using their own words. The words of most teachers whom we cite come from their UCLA master's degree portfolios. Most, but not all, of their observations were written during their first year of teaching. Four of these teachers are introduced in some detail in Chapter 1, since they and their students appear in photographs and excerpts scattered throughout the book.

We would expect these teachers, like most new teachers, to experience some struggles related to lesson planning, classroom and time management, paperwork, school bureaucracy, and so on. And, of course, they do. But listen carefully to their voices; what is crucial is not just that they struggle, but the quality of the problems with which they struggle. Their struggles reflect their commitments to rigorous, authentic learning experiences and to the pursuit of social justice. And their comments reveal the profound relevance of educational theory to their teaching practices and their problem-solving efforts.

We recommend that all potential teachers write about their experiences, thoughts, and observations, as the teachers quoted in this book have done. Whether a personal journal or a portfolio that presents a full record of a teacher-candidate's intellectual and professional growth, a written record inevitably provides rich opportunities for reflection and learning.

Online Resources: “Digging Deeper” and “Tools for Critique”

Past readers have found *Teaching to Change the World* provocative and challenging, but also engaging and interesting to read and learn from. That said, making the most of the book requires more than simply summarizing the material. It requires that readers furnish what the book itself cannot provide—discussion, reflection, and elaboration that press readers to make sense of the material in light of their own experiences, observations, and prior knowledge.

To help readers get started with that discussion, we offer two online resources located on the book’s website at www.routledge.com/cw/teachingtochangetheworld. By placing these resources online, we hope to make them more accessible to readers, who can find them wherever they have Internet access. Web-based tools are also easier to update, which means we can provide pertinent resources as they become available, rather than waiting for publication of the book’s next edition.

The first online resource is called “Digging Deeper.” It includes chapter-by-chapter lists that readers can consult if they want to dig more deeply into the chapter’s content. These lists identify scholars who are studying or working on practical applications of issues we raise, and some of the books and articles that readers might find interesting and useful. When applicable, the lists also include professional organizations and activist groups working to make education policy or school practices more consistent with and supportive of socially just teaching. And, when possible, we include resources that current and future teachers can use in their classrooms.

The second online resource is called “Tools for Critique.” It provides a set of prompts and activities meant to provoke thinking about the topics and points of view in the book. Its chapter-specific overviews, and additional resources can serve as a springboard for supporting readers to think critically about and get the most out of the text. Prompts might ask, for example, What memories of your own schooling or other experiences does the book stir up? What, if any, aspects of the text make you angry? What sounds reasonable, but you can’t believe it is true? What have you always known, but you didn’t know you knew it? What do you imagine your acquaintances would think about the material? What questions are you asking?

Toward Teaching to Change the World

The ultimate goal of this book and its accompanying resources is to help new teachers take the first steps toward “teaching to change the world.” Judy Smith, one of the teachers quoted in this book, describes her experience taking these first steps. We wish just such beginnings for all the readers of this book.

Teaching challenges my every fiber—from lesson design to classroom management. My first year in the classroom showed me the tremendous joy of teaching and the work that must be done to be the best teacher I can be. Through constant self-reflection, student work assessment, and professional development, I am learning the craft to better bridge theory and practice and to better bridge students, parents, and the community. Through academically rigorous and culturally responsive curriculum, my students and I can begin to transform the school and the community. Indeed, the focus of my classroom is on all of our responsibility to make the community and the world a better place.

—Judy Smith
High school social studies

New to the Fifth Edition

Teaching to Change the World has a new publisher. We are pleased to join Routledge, a leading academic publisher in the humanities and social sciences. A division of the Taylor & Francis

Group, Routledge publishes books and journals each year for scholars, instructors, and professional communities around the world. Changes in the text itself include the following:

- Up-to-date statistics, graphs and figures, and timeline.
- Updated content with special attention to
 - key education policy initiatives like the Every Student Succeeds Act, as well as the shifts in federal education policy preferences following the 2016 presidential election, such as school choice, vouchers, and privatization;
 - the development of, implementation of, and controversies around the Common Core State Standards and aligned assessments;
 - the heated public discourse about teachers and teaching—specifically, debates about teacher quality, teacher education, and teacher evaluation; and
 - the growing influence of education organizing that brings community members and teachers together around the common cause of ensuring that all youth have access to just and equitable schooling experiences.
- A new, more extensive, open-access online supplement that includes chapter-by-chapter “Digging Deeper” lists and “Tools for Critique,” both of which incorporate an extended range of suggested readings, resources, and organizations that professors, teachers, and teacher education students can draw on in their work. Available at www.routledge.com/cw/teachingtochangetheworld.

About the Authors

Jeannie Oakes is Presidential Professor (Emeritus) in Educational Equity at UCLA's Graduate School of Education and Information Studies, where she was the founding director of UCLA's Center X: Where Research and Practice Intersect for Urban School Professionals. Her more than 100 scholarly books and articles examine the impact of social policies on the educational opportunities and outcomes of low-income students of color. One book, *Keeping Track: How Schools Structure Inequality*, has been honored as one of the twentieth century's most influential books on education, and a second, *Becoming Good American Schools: The Struggle for Civic Virtue in Education Reform* (with Karen Hunter Quartz, Steve Ryan, and Martin Lipton), won the American Educational Research Association's Outstanding Book Award. Oakes's many other honors include the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Ralph David Abernathy Award for Public Service and the World Cultural Council's Jose Vasconcelos World Award in Education. Oakes began her career in education as a middle-school and high school teacher. From 2008 to 2014, she served as the director of Educational Opportunity and Scholarship at the Ford Foundation in New York. She is the former president of the American Educational Research Association and a member of the National Academy of Education.



Martin Lipton, former public high school teacher, has had a parallel career as an education writer and consultant and worked for ten years as a communications analyst at UCLA's Institute for Democracy, Education, and Access. Among his publications are *Learning Power: Organizing for Education and Justice*, with Jeannie Oakes and John Rogers, and *Becoming Good American Schools: The Struggle for Civic Virtue in Education Reform*, with Jeannie Oakes, Karen Hunter Quartz, and Steve Ryan. Lipton's photographs, appearing in this book and elsewhere, portray the possibilities for educational justice in urban communities.



Lauren Anderson is an associate professor of education at Connecticut College. A former upper-elementary teacher and support provider for K–6 public school teachers, Lauren has lived, worked, and conducted research in the country’s three largest urban school districts: New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Lauren’s research collaborations focus on the preparation and early-career experiences of equity-minded educators, including teacher educators. She has written for a number of educational journals and recently coauthored the book *Teaching for Equity in Complex Times: Negotiating Standards in a High-Performing Bilingual School* (with Jamy Stillman).



Jamy Stillman is an associate professor of educational equity and cultural diversity at the University of Colorado Boulder. A former bilingual elementary teacher, she worked as a support provider to public school teachers of Emergent Bilinguals for more than fifteen years. She has also worked as a teacher educator and conducted research on teacher education in California, Colorado, and New York, in both urban and rural settings. Jamy’s research and teaching focus primarily on the preparation of teachers to serve diverse learners, with an emphasis on how schools and teachers can effectively meet the needs of Emergent Bilingual students. She has published several book chapters and a number of articles in educational journals that explore the relationship between teacher learning, language and literacy instruction, and teachers’ navigation of educational policies. She recently coauthored the book *Teaching for Equity in Complex Times: Negotiating Standards in a High-Performing Bilingual School* (with Lauren Anderson).



Acknowledgments

The most immediate inspiration for this book was the courage, passion, and hard work of the UCLA graduates whose words and photographs appear throughout the chapters. We are enormously appreciative of their commitment to students and to making the rhetoric of socially just education real. We are indebted to UCLA's teacher education faculty, notably Megan Franke, Eloise Metcalfe, Jody Priselac, and other Center X faculty who read and commented insightfully on the book, along with the novice and resident teachers at UCLA. Their reflections on teaching provided illuminating direction. Teachers Mauro Bautista, Mark Hill, Kimberly Min, and Judy Smith, who are featured throughout the book, deserve special thanks for welcoming us into their classrooms and answering all our questions so generously and openly. We thank our former editor Dean Birkenkamp, now at Routledge, who remains a thoughtful and energetic champion, as well as our current editor, Catherine Bernard, for her ongoing encouragement, support, and patience. We would also like to thank the many teacher educators across the country who have offered helpful feedback on prior editions of this text—too numerous to name.

We are also grateful to the many scholars who, over the years, have contributed to the ideas and approach we take here. These colleagues' rich ideas and generous conversations have shaped our thinking in subtle and not-so-subtle ways. We have also learned a great deal about schooling and the struggle for social justice from former and current doctoral students and postdoctoral scholars whose academic work has enriched our own. Thanks, too, are due to the many generous funders who have sponsored our research.

Martin and Jeannie's family provides both a solid rock of support and substantive contributions: Lisa Oakes brought her considerable expertise as a developmental psychologist and provided many helpful suggestions and examples of the learning theory that underlies teaching; Tracy Oakes Barnett offered inspiring anecdotes and the constant reminder of how much fun teaching for social justice can be; Lowell Lipton, an aficionado of rhetoric and composition, contributed a fresh look at the postmodern struggle for meaning; and Ethan Lipton, a fellow writer, extended knowing encouragement and good dinner company throughout the writing process. Their spouses, Steve Luck, Ron Barnett, and Rene Huey-Lipton, have been wonderful friends as well as spectacular parents to our grandchildren. Emily and Haley Barnett, Alison and Carter Luck, and Max and Sophia Lipton remind us of why this matters so much. We thank them all.

Finally, a word of thanks to Jamy's and Lauren's respective families, especially Jamy's husband, Charles Framularo and daughter, Sasha Framularo, and Lauren's partner, Chris Barnard; all were (as usual) loving, encouraging, patient, and generous during the production of this most recent edition.

Democracy, Diversity, and Inequity

In early May 2017, the forty-fifth president of the United States stopped by and cheered a White House event where Secretary of Education Betsy DeVos had gathered a group of local children and parents. Her goal was to persuade Congress to continue funding a program that uses public dollars to pay private school tuition for schoolchildren in the nation's capital. It was a call for support that reflected well the broad suite of education reforms favored by the new administration—public financing of private alternatives to public schools, including corporate-run charter schools, publicly subsidized homeschooling, and voucher plans much like the DC-based one at the center of the day's event.

Meanwhile, halfway across the country in Chicago, Illinois, a coalition of grassroots organizations from twenty-four cities, the Journey for Justice (J4J) Alliance, was advocating for a very different approach to securing high-quality education for the nation's most vulnerable children. In fact, in J4J's view, choice and privatization are a big part of the problem *facing* public education, rather than viable solutions for improving it. J4J's director, Jitu Brown, who has worked for years as an organizer and educator in the Kenwood Oakland neighborhood of Chicago, laid out J4J's perspective in a *Chicago Reporter* opinion piece, published just a few days later and entitled, "School Choice Is a Scam in Segregated Neighborhoods."

"We feel the same urgency to transform struggling schools," Brown wrote about the new administration's proposals. "But we understand that imposing failed, top-down corporate education interventions on communities of color is merely the status quo, amplified." Drawing from the lived experience of thousands of residents of low-income communities of color, J4J's campaign—*#WeChoose: Educational Equity, Not the Illusion of School Choice*—argues that public schools "are being killed by an alliance of misguided, paternalistic 'reformers,' education profiteers, and those who seek to dismantle the institution of public education."¹ What J4J wants for children in Kenwood Oakland and communities like it across the country is not choice and competition (or the unevenness and instability they assure), but what families in more affluent communities can simply count on: well-resourced, stable, sustainable, government-supported, *community* schools.

In short, public education today is caught in the crosshairs of a deep cultural divide. It's a divide that will influence the careers of new teachers for many years to come. Indeed, teachers' work is always shaped, interpreted, inspired, and constrained by the particularities of its historical moment. And while this moment is a particular one, this country has always had its deep disagreements about education. Consider, for example, the blatant evil of lawful segregation that kept our country's children separated by race, the many who battled for and against its de jure dismantling, and the many who are battling for and against its de facto realization still.

This book provides foundational knowledge that explains why public schools are what they are today, and why public education is an institution worth saving and improving, worth fighting for, and worth choosing as a career. In the first section, we introduce the broader demographic,

historical, philosophical, and political context. We apply a critical approach meant to provide readers with new insights and useful tools that will support them to make positive contributions to contemporary public schooling.

Chapter 1, “The U.S. Schooling Dilemma: Diversity, Inequity, and Democratic Values,” looks at who contemporary U.S. students are and what basic conditions they encounter in their lives, both inside and outside school. We pay attention to the structural inequities and opportunity gaps that students experience in the educational system.

Chapter 2, “History and Culture: How Expanding Expectations and Powerful Ideologies Shape Schooling in the United States,” presents an overview of important events in the history of schooling in the United States. The chapter sketches out how expectations for schools have increased over the past 200-plus years. It also discusses two powerful and pervasive ideologies—meritocracy and racial superiority—that have shaped and continue to shape schooling in this country.

Chapter 3, “Politics and Philosophy: The Struggle Over the School Curriculum,” explores how people in Western societies think about knowledge and schooling. We review traditional and progressive educational philosophies and the role they have played in struggles over what schools should teach, how they should teach it, and to whom. These philosophies have consequences—explored throughout the book—that show up in every aspect of public education, including school policies, curriculum, teacher preparation, relationships between students and teachers, and so on.

Chapter 4, “Policy and Law: Rules That Schools Live By,” unpacks how local, state, and federal governments, including the courts, translate our ever-growing expectations for public education into education policy and law. This incredibly complex process requires policymakers and judges to juggle the competing social, historical, philosophical, and political forces described in Chapters 1–3. The chapter also identifies how Americans’ idealization of economic enterprise exerts a huge influence in the education policymaking process.

Part I introduces big, historical ideas at the heart of American schooling—ideas like diversity, equity, and democracy, as well as meritocracy, racial superiority, and privilege. We don’t leave these ideas behind when we move on to Part II. There, our attention to the theory and practice of learning and teaching recalls the tension over the mission and purpose of public schools. Looking at the usual educational divisions such as subject matter, instruction, assessment, classroom management, and so forth, we make the case that equity is essential, in theory *and* in practice—that a social justice perspective does not compromise, but rather drives teachers and schools *toward*, quality.

Part III attends to the teaching profession more broadly; in doing so, however, it profiles specific teachers who describe their philosophies and how they put them into practice as professionals. These profiles give readers a sense of the challenges and inspirations that teachers find in their profession. They also give readers a sense of what’s possible—in other words, how real teachers are drawing on and deepening their foundational knowledge about U.S. schooling (Part I) and their knowledge of teaching and learning (Part II) as they navigate conditions in the present, work to transform educational inequities, *and* strive to make schools and the teaching profession what socially just, democratic principles suggest they can and should be.

Note

- 1 Journey for Justice Alliance, *Death by a Thousand Cuts: Racism, School Closures, and Public School Sabotage*, 2014, www.issueab.org/resource/death_by_a_thousand_cuts_racism_school_closures_and_public_school_sabotage.

The U.S. Schooling Dilemma

Diversity, Inequity, and Democratic Values



What does it mean to be a socially just teacher in a socially unjust world? What do all students deserve?

I grew up in a household that discussed these questions. My father, an accountant, and my mother, a professional educator, always led me to believe that education could solve just about any problem in the world. At mealtimes we often talked about the state of education, the gross inequities my mother observed between urban and suburban schools, and the reform efforts. I knew that someday I wanted to be a teacher. . . .

Schooling in our society, though inherently democratic, needs to direct students toward critical consciousness—of their potential, of their freedom, of ongoing injustices, and of the obligation to ensure our democracy and improve upon it for future generations.

—Judy Smith
High school social studies

Teacher Judy Smith grapples every day with one of the most challenging teaching dilemmas of our time: making good on the promise of equal education in a society that is profoundly unequal. Teachers like Judy and the others you'll meet in this book recognize the relationship between the nation's diversity and its inequity; they understand the history of this relationship and know why schooling inequalities persist. They have knowledge, skills, and a sense of possibility that equip them to be agents for educational equity as they support students' social and emotional development, intellectual curiosity, and academic competence. They teach to change the world.

Chapter Overview

This chapter focuses on inequities that shape students' lives. It provides a numerical breakdown that describes today's students and the relationship between students' diverse characteristics and their educational experiences and outcomes. Most people in the United States, and certainly all teachers, have heard about the nation's racial and economic achievement gaps. Those gaps reflect equally important opportunity gaps. As we show in what follows, persistent patterns of unequal conditions, resources, and opportunities in and outside of school underlie the gaps, or disparities, in students' achievement.

Educators like Judy Smith don't just want to understand these inequities; they also want to help remedy them. This activist goal is encompassed in teacher educator and critical scholar Gloria Ladson-Billings's idea of an education debt. "Debt" asks us to understand that a high-quality, equitable education is not something that youth must earn or prove they deserve, but something that society *owes* to them. To *owe* or *repay* means we must first look beyond the classroom, the community, and the nation, and into history itself, to understand long-lived and new inequalities that students face inside and outside of school. "Education debt" also points to "equity" rather than "equality" as the appropriate approach for repayment. Making schooling opportunities equal is a worthy goal, but it's not enough to remedy harms that have accumulated over generations. Equity requires providing what students need to thrive and succeed. That means far more must be provided to the children to whom we owe the debt than to others who have been spared generations of inequality. We marshal every conceivable skill, resource, and commitment within our reach to align learning and teaching with democratic and just aspirations instead of conforming to past habits and injustice. The teachers profiled throughout this book believe that there exists no worthier pursuit than transforming the world of schooling as it is—and re-creating it as it should be.

Starting with a broad, demographic look at students in the United States, in this first chapter we set the national context of students' lives outside of school and the inequalities they experience within the educational system. We conclude the chapter by introducing Judy Smith and three other teachers who recognize and embrace their students' diversity, acknowledge their struggles, and work to bring social justice and academic excellence to their classrooms.

Who Are American Students?

In 2016, an estimated 55 million young people were enrolled in elementary and secondary schools—an increase of about 10 million over the past thirty years. With small increases expected every year, projections are that the school population will grow to 57.9 million children by 2024.¹

Where Do U.S. Students Live and Go to School?

Much of the nation's population growth over the past thirty years has been in the South, where schools now teach about 39 percent of the country's students. Schools in the West, which enroll

about a quarter of the nation's children, have expanded as well. These are also the regions where future growth is expected. Such shifts pose challenges for southern and western states, which tend to have far less wealth in terms of tax revenue than northeastern states, where the fewest schoolchildren reside.

Among the 55 million students in the United States, roughly 50 million are enrolled in public schools. Though charter schools—schools that receive public funding but operate outside the typical school district structure—receive much attention in the media and have grown considerably over the past decade, they still represent a relatively small proportion (2.7 million in 2014, or about 5 percent) of public school enrollment. Slightly more than 5 million, or 10 percent, of school-age children in the United States attend private schools, and 38 percent of them are in Catholic schools. Private school enrollments, in decline since 1989, are projected to diminish further between now and 2024.² Despite all of the budget problems and criticism public schools have faced in the past two decades, the proportion of students they serve has increased compared to private schools.

About 3.4 percent of students—a total of 1.8 million in 2012—were homeschooled. These students received instruction under their parents' guidance at home and spent fewer than twenty-five hours a week at a public or private school. Although still a small fraction of all students, homeschooled children increased from 850,000 in 1999, the first time these data were recorded, to 1.3 million in 2015.³

How Diverse Are Students in the United States?

Today's U.S. schoolchildren are a diverse group. Long gone are the days when U.S. public school students were overwhelmingly White, native born, and English speaking. Immigration status, religiousness, family composition, sexual orientation, and disability status—all represent important dimensions of student identity and experience. Consider, for example, the diversity reflected in first-year teacher Michelle Calva's description below.

Most of my students either are recent immigrants from Latin America (most from Mexico) with limited prior academic experience or are low academic achievers for a variety of reasons. Out of twenty-nine students, one is vision impaired, three attend resource specialist classes daily, one attends speech therapy weekly, and two receive special math assistance two days a week. All of my students come from economically disadvantaged homes, every one receives either free or reduced-price lunches at school, and twelve receive free breakfast. Twenty-eight are Mexican Americans, and one is of Puerto Rican descent. Many of my students' parents have limited education; none attended schools in the United States. Two speak English.

What exactly is our obligation to prepare my students for the future? I hope that the everyday lessons of math, language arts, social studies, and science, which require the majority of my attention, are helping to prepare them for the world outside of our classroom. But I believe that becoming bicultural requires more than just readying the individual for the dominant society. It also requires preparing society for the minority members. I can only guide my students in their quest to become individuals. I can help them define valuable assets within their own culture, I can provide them with assistance in achieving personal success, but eventually they will have to face the rest of society without me or other educators at their sides.

—Michelle Calva
First-year teacher, grades 4, 5, and 6

Classrooms like Michelle’s are prevalent in cities like Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, and Miami and increasingly common in small and midsize cities, as well as in rural and suburban areas. For teachers today, multiculturalism cannot be reduced to a lesson, a curriculum, a teaching style, or even a philosophy. Multiculturalism is a fact—a fundamental condition that characterizes our culture.

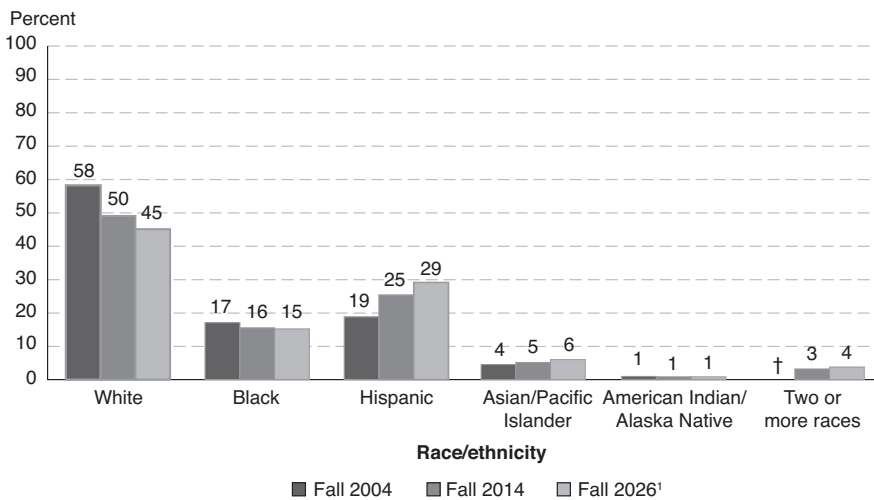
Race

In 2014, White students made up 50 percent of school-age children in the United States; 25 percent were Hispanic (or Latinx⁴), 16 percent African American, and 5 percent Asian.⁵ This amounts to a huge shift since the 1970s. Latinx students have tripled their representation, while White students’ proportion of the total has decreased about 30 percent. Although still relatively small proportionally, Asian enrollment has also grown rapidly over the past thirty years, and these trends are projected to continue. (See Figure 1.1.)

In addition, students who identify as biracial or multiracial now account for roughly 3 percent of enrollment.⁶ While representing a relatively small chunk of schoolchildren, multiracial babies born in the United States increased from 1 to 10 percent between 1970 and 2013, making multiracial youth the fastest-growing youth subgroup in the country.⁷

Although racial groups are not distributed evenly across the country, every region has experienced growth in students of color. In 2014, White students were the minority in both the West and the South. In the West, White students, at 38 percent, represented a smaller share of the student population than Latinx students, at 42 percent in the same year. In the Northeast, the South, and the West, Latinx students now outnumber their Black peers.⁸

Figure 1.1 Percentage Distribution of Students Enrolled in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, by Race/Ethnicity



† Not applicable.

¹ Data for 2026 are projected.

Note: Race categories exclude persons of Hispanic ethnicity. Prior to 2008, separate data on students of Two or more races were not collected. Although rounded numbers are displayed, the figures are based on unrounded estimates. Detail may not sum to totals because of rounding.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), “State Nonfiscal Survey of Public Elementary and Secondary Education,” 2004–05 and 2014–15; and National Elementary and Secondary Enrollment by Race/Ethnicity Projection Model, 1972 through 2026. See *Digest of Education Statistics 2016*, table 203.50.

Proportionately more students of color attend public schools than private schools. In 2012, private school students were 72 percent White, about 20 percent “Whiter” than public schools.⁹ Homeschooled children are predominantly White as well, 83 percent in 2012.¹⁰

Immigration

Immigrants are so much a part of U.S. history, with every generation seeking a new beginning—seeking a better quality of life for themselves and their families. Many immigrants are refugees, or people seeking asylum from persecution in their home countries.

Three times as many immigrants entered the United States in the 2000s compared with the number that arrived in the 1960s, and today the United States is home to 43.3 million immigrants. However, the percentage of foreign-born residents is only slightly larger than in the 1950s—about 9 percent then, compared with almost 13.5 percent in 2015. Recent estimates put the undocumented immigrant population in the United States at over 11 million—about one-quarter of the total foreign-born.¹¹

Between 1970 and 2000, the proportion of students in K–12 schools who were children of immigrants tripled. In 2015, 17.9 million children lived with at least one immigrant parent. They accounted for 26 percent of children under age 18 in the United States.¹² No longer do most immigrants head for California, New York, Texas, Florida, New Jersey, and Illinois; in the past decade, immigrants have increased their presence in states in the Southeast, Midwest, and Rocky Mountain region as well. In addition, the number of refugee students is on the rise, too, in various regions of the United States. In 2015, top origin countries for immigrants were, in order, India, China, and Mexico. Top origin countries for refugees in the United States currently include Iraq, Somalia, Syria, Afghanistan, and Sudan, among others.¹³ Of undocumented immigrants, 71 percent hailed from Mexico and Central America. In 2015, it was reported also that more than 62,000 unaccompanied youths, many escaping violence and/or economic despair, were detained at the Mexico-U.S. border. Many such youth have subsequently been released to sponsors and are now enrolled in schools nationwide. The highest concentrations of such students are in California, Florida, New York, and Texas.¹⁴ Despite the prime place of immigrants in U.S. history, and as we discuss in later chapters, such demographic shifts often bring to the surface some of the more xenophobic tendencies still permeating U.S. culture.

Language

Today’s schools include just under 12 million students who speak languages other than English—also called heritage languages—at home.¹⁵ In 2015, this group accounted for 22 percent of school-age children, up from 10 percent in 1980. Approximately three-quarters of these young people come from homes where Spanish is spoken, with the remaining quarter (approximately 3 million) from homes where other languages are spoken, with Arabic, Vietnamese, and Chinese being the next most common.¹⁶

As Figure 1.2 indicates, states vary enormously in their percentages of students from homes where languages other than English are spoken. For fifteen states in 2015, 20 percent or more of their students were in this category—topped by a high of 45 percent in California.¹⁷ Only four states had fewer than 5 percent of students from homes with languages other than English spoken, and in all states the number of students who speak languages other than English was (and is) increasing rapidly.

When schools determine that a student does not yet speak English proficiently, the label *English Learner* is typically assigned. English Learners are the fastest-growing student group in the United States. In 2012–2013, 4.85 million students, or 10 percent of the K–12 student population, were identified as English Learners.¹⁸ These students attend schools in all fifty states, but, as Figure 1.3 indicates, student enrollments by state vary considerably.

Figure 1.2 K–12 Students Who Speak a Language Other Than English at Home, 2015

State	Number	Percentage
United States	11,931,000	22.2
California	2,954,000	44.7
Texas	1,862,000	35.5
Nevada	157,000	31.9
New York	912,000	30.1
New Jersey	424,000	28.8
Florida	861,000	28.7
Arizona	341,000	28.6
New Mexico	104,000	28.5
Illinois	532,000	24.4
Rhode Island	36,000	23.2
Massachusetts	228,000	22.4
Washington	260,000	22.3
Connecticut	122,000	21.2
Hawaii	45,000	20.8
Oregon	129,000	20.5
Colorado	185,000	20.0
District of Columbia	14,000	18.5
Maryland	181,000	18.5
Georgia	293,000	15.8
Virginia	210,000	15.4
North Carolina	249,000	14.8
Delaware	21,000	14.0
Kansas	73,000	13.9
Minnesota	130,000	13.9
Utah	90,000	13.6
Nebraska	45,000	13.2
Alaska	17,000	13.1
Oklahoma	84,000	12.1
Pennsylvania	221,000	11.2
Wisconsin	107,000	11.2
Michigan	174,000	10.7
Idaho	33,000	10.2
Indiana	114,000	9.9
Arkansas	50,000	9.6
Iowa	51,000	9.6
Wyoming	10,000	9.5
Tennessee	98,000	9.0
South Carolina	64,000	7.9
Ohio	144,000	7.4
Louisiana	56,000	6.9
Missouri	69,000	6.8
New Hampshire	13,000	6.7
Kentucky	49,000	6.6
Alabama	52,000	6.3
South Dakota	9,000	5.7
Maine	10,000	5.2
Vermont	5,000	5.1
Montana	8,000	4.8
North Dakota	5,000	4.4
Mississippi	22,000	4.0
West Virginia	6,000	2.3

Source: Kids Count Data Center, 2015 American Community Survey, <http://datacenter.kidscount.org/data/tables/81-children-who-speak-a-language-other-than-english-at-home#detailed/1/any/false/573,869,36,868,867/any/396,397>.

Figure 1.3 Top Fifteen States With Highest English Language Learner (ELL) Student Enrollment in Public Schools, School Year 2012–2013

State	ELL enrollment	Total K–12 enrollment	Share of ELLs among K–12 students (%)
United States	4,851,527	49,474,030	9.8
California	1,521,772	6,213,194	24.5
Texas	773,732	5,077,507	15.2
Florida	277,802	2,692,143	10.3
New York	237,499	2,708,851	8.8
Illinois	190,172	2,055,502	9.3
Colorado	114,415	863,121	13.3
Washington	107,307	1,051,694	10.2
North Carolina	102,311	1,506,080	6.8
Virginia	99,897	1,163,660	7.9
Georgia	94,034	1,703,332	5.5
Arizona	91,382	1,087,697	8.4
Michigan	80,958	1,513,153	5.4
Nevada	77,559	445,017	17.4
Massachusetts	71,066	954,507	7.4
Minnesota	70,436	845,291	8.3

Source: Migration Policy Institute (2015), *ELL Information Center Fact Sheet Series*, www.migrationpolicy.org/research/states-and-districts-highest-number-and-share-english-language-learners.

Despite the prevalence of the English Learner label, it is increasingly common to refer to this student group as *Emergent Bilinguals* or *Dual Language Learners*. This shift reflects growing understandings about the benefits of supporting students’ developing bilingualism; it also challenges monolingual and English-only ideologies that privilege students’ acquisition of English over speaking or retaining their heritage languages.¹⁹ The newer terminology also responds to the changing demographics of this student group, 71 percent of whom are native-born U.S. citizens.²⁰ While many of these students previously entered school as *sequential bilinguals*, meaning they had communicated predominantly in their heritage language and experienced little to no exposure to English before entering school, many enter school today as *simultaneous bilinguals*. These students have been exposed to and have communicated in English *and* their heritage languages since (or nearly since) birth, and enter schools in the United States with varying degrees of proficiency in *both* languages.

As we discuss later in this chapter and others, the paths of Emergent Bilinguals through U.S. schools—much like the paths of immigrants through U.S. society—are often difficult, as evidenced in new teacher Karen Recinos’s description of her own experiences and those of her family.

When I immigrated to this country as a 13-year-old, one of the most difficult hurdles I had to overcome was that of learning a second language. I knew I had to take advantage of the priceless gift my mother had given me by bringing me to this country. From the day my dad died, she worked tirelessly to provide for my two younger brothers and myself. She left us in Guatemala to pursue the American dream, a dream that caused her to shed many tears. . . . For eight years, she worked long days to send dollars so we could have food on the table and receive a good education. She dreamed of one day bringing us to the United States where we would have a better life, a future with more possibilities. It was not easy for her to accomplish that dream, but she did it. Today, eleven years later, I have the privilege of telling my story and what I had to overcome once I got to the “land of opportunities.”

—Karen Recinos
First-year teacher

Students With Disabilities

In 2015, about 13 percent (approximately 6.6 million) of students in kindergarten through grade 12 in U.S. public schools were classified as having disabilities related to learning. Most (about 35 percent) of these students were identified as learning disabled. Another 20 percent were identified as having speech impairments, and another 13 percent as experiencing other health impairments that interfere with learning. Students with disabilities such as autism (autism spectrum disorder), emotional disturbances, intellectual disabilities, and developmental delays each accounted for between 5 and 9 percent of children served under the Individuals With Disabilities Education Act (IDEA).²¹

While terms such as “learning disabled” are in common use, many educators prefer to avoid this general labeling when they can, instead referring to “children with learning (or hearing or developmental) disabilities,” thus separating one characteristic of the child from the total individual. This is often referred to as using “people-first” language. In recent years, many also have come to question taken-for-granted, socially constructed understandings of what it means to be “able” or have “ability.” As we address in later chapters, classifications related to disability are hotly disputed.

Referral practices have led to disproportionate designations of disability among students from certain groups; boys of color, for example, are among those most likely to be referred for and subsequently diagnosed as having attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder and/or emotional disturbance.²² Conversely, they are much less likely—as are low-income children—to be represented among those designated as “gifted.” In fact, most students qualified for and placed in gifted programs and advanced classes are White or Asian, while Black students remain significantly underrepresented.²³ Because of long histories of discrimination and their concentration in underfunded school districts—a phenomenon we address later in this chapter—certain groups of children are disproportionately at risk, for various reasons, of having their learning needs significantly (and to their detriment) misdiagnosed.

Religion

Perhaps due to the stated separation of church and state in the United States, religion is often sidelined in conversations about student diversity. And although religion has become somewhat less important (for many people) in recent years, the vast majority of adults in the United States report religious affiliations, and more than half report that religion is very important in their lives.²⁴ While Christians account for 71 percent of the adult population, religious diversity overall and within the broad category of Christian is on the rise.²⁵ Increasingly, the media and public discourse find salient social and political differences between what are termed “fundamental” or “evangelical” Christians and “traditional” Christians.

Members of various faiths, including Judaism, Buddhism, Islam, and Hinduism, constitute 6 percent of the population. Those reporting no religious affiliation account for the remaining roughly 23 percent—a 7 percent increase since 2007—with younger people born after 1980 less likely to claim religious affiliation than older generations.²⁶

Americans’ religious beliefs and practices do not fit neatly into conventional categories. Increasing numbers of families report engaging in multiple and mixed practices, not surprising given that roughly 39 percent of married adults have spouses who affiliate with a religion or denomination different from their own. Even with such shifts, however, exclusionary views of religion’s role in public life have increased. In 2014, for example, more than half of people surveyed said Christian faith was an important attribute of being “truly American.”²⁷

These statistics speak to religious diversity among adults; in doing so, they reveal trends that no doubt influence the beliefs and behaviors children bring to school, perhaps especially so in

our current political climate. Organizations such as the Southern Poverty Law Center, for example, have reported spikes in bullying and hate crimes against Muslim students. In fact, in one recent survey, 42 percent of Muslims with children in K–12 schools reported that their children had been bullied because of their faith, compared with 23 percent of Jews, 20 percent of Protestants, and 6 percent of Catholics.²⁸ Some have argued that, without intentional supports put in place by judicious educators, Muslim youth are at risk of suffering discriminatory treatment given the “perfect storm”²⁹ of economic downturn, anti-immigrant sentiment, U.S. military action in predominantly Muslim countries, and mainstream conflation of Islam with terrorism.³⁰

Family Composition

Families in the United States come in all shapes and sizes. In many ways, the traditional image of a family—a woman and a man of the same race who are married and both biologically related to their children—represents outdated assumptions about who raises children, how, and in what configurations nationwide.³¹ In 2014, less than half—46 percent—of children were living with two parents who were both in their first marriage—down from 61 percent in 1980 and 73 percent in 1960.³² That likely means that more than half of today’s young people have experienced shifts in family structure and routines before or during their time in K–12 schools.

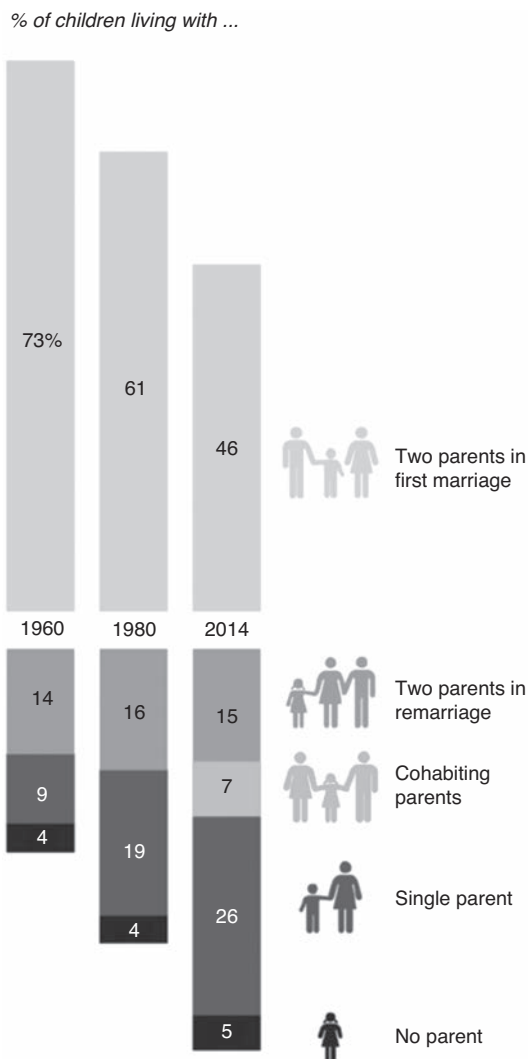
In fact, roughly one-fourth (26 percent) of children 18 or under are living with a single parent, and 5 percent are living with neither of their parents. Meanwhile, a substantial percentage of children (16 percent in 2014) are living in blended families that include stepparents, half siblings, and/or stepsiblings. (See Figure 1.4.) In 2009, 1.8 million children lived with adoptive parents, up from 1.1 million in 1991.³³ In 2015, roughly 427,000 children lived in foster care each day, with a total of 671,000 children in the foster care system that year.³⁴ In 2015, 2.9 million children were being raised by grandparents.³⁵

In addition, multiracial families are on the rise; one in eight new marriages occurs between spouses of different races and ethnicities.³⁶ Growing numbers of children are also being raised by same-sex parents. Although more concentrated in particular metropolitan areas, approximately 600,500 households headed by same-sex couples reside across every state and nearly every county nationwide.³⁷

Sexual Orientation and Gender Expression

Characterizing diversity along the lines of sexual orientation remains difficult because of limited national survey data. A 2016 study finds that about 10 million people in the United States identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT). This conservative estimate translates to about 4.1 percent of adults identifying as LGBT.³⁸ Interestingly, when polled, U.S. adults estimated in 2011 that a much higher percentage—25 percent—of the population is gay or lesbian.³⁹ Today, 63 percent of Americans say homosexuality should be accepted by society, and 55 percent say they favor allowing same-sex marriage.⁴⁰

Despite increasing acceptance of homosexuality (particularly among young adults), half of states still do not include sexual orientation or gender expression in the language of nondiscrimination laws that apply to schools.⁴¹ Since terminology shifts and changes, a few definitions are helpful here. *Sexual orientation*, familiar to most Americans, refers to how people think of themselves in terms of who they are attracted to romantically or sexually. *Gender expression* refers to the way individuals perform their gender roles; it may or may not correlate with the gender that individuals claim to have, or with their sexual orientation. Notably, as transgender and gender nonconforming students have become more visible, some states and school districts have taken action to ensure they are protected from discriminatory speech and acts.

Figure 1.4 Children's Family Arrangements: Growing Diversity⁴²

Note: Based on children under 18. Data regarding cohabitation are not available for 1960 and 1980. In those years, children with cohabiting parents are included in "one parent." For 2014, the total share of children living with two married parents is 62 percent after rounding. Figures do not add up to 100 percent due to rounding.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 1960 and 1980 decennial census and 2014 American Community Survey (IPUMS).

The absence of such legislation has been a source of growing concern in light of high-profile hate crimes committed against LGBT students. (While statistics have not quite caught up, LGBT has gained some new letters, QIA, in recent years, which we address more fully in Chapter 9.) In 2015, nearly nine out of ten LGBT middle and high school students reported verbal and/or physical harassment at school in the past year, nearly three-quarters felt unsafe because of their sexual orientation, and nearly a third had skipped at least one day of school in the past month because of safety concerns.⁴³ Bullying on the basis of gender expression is likewise an area of growing concern.⁴⁴

Class

Social and economic class are important aspects of identity, and they structure students' schooling experiences and outcomes. Sometimes social class is treated objectively—such as when people are sorted according to an income and/or wealth scale. Thus, an individual or family becomes “poor” or “upper middle class” on the basis of their income and/or wealth. In such sorting, other objective factors—those that can be measured empirically, like years of schooling—might also be included. But as an aspect of identity and diversity, class has subjective and cultural dimensions that are far more complex than those that can be measured empirically. Social class differences contribute to the different kinds of knowledge, preferences, and tendencies that students bring into the classroom and, therefore, the way students ultimately experience school.

As one example, sociologist Annette Lareau has studied the expectations and parenting practices of parents from different social class backgrounds.⁴⁵ Lareau found that upper-middle-income and high-income parents dedicated a certain kind of attention—what she calls “concerted cultivation”—to preparing their children for habits and behaviors that ensured school success. These parents scheduled play dates, enrolled children in (often costly) extracurricular activities, and otherwise fostered children's talents through parent-*organized* activity. Meanwhile, working-class parents tended to grant their children more *unstructured* time and freedom for self-directed activity—what Lareau calls “the accomplishment of natural growth.”⁴⁶

Importantly, Lareau shows how these tendencies—actually, child-rearing preferences—are related to the different amounts of money and free or flexible time parents had to structure children's activities. She also shows that while both approaches have benefits and drawbacks for children's development, concerted cultivation prepares children to be a better match with what mainstream schooling looks for in school readiness and success. Thus, the children of advantaged middle-class and affluent parents often find it easier to acclimate to schools' expectations for “good” student behavior. For example, these children might be well practiced in moving from activity to activity under an adult's direction and in interacting with peers according to the highly specialized rules shared by schools. The important takeaway here is that what might look like relative *success* at school is often a function not of students' skills or smarts but of the *synergy* along class lines between their families and their schools.

Recognizing the Complexity of Identity

Of course, the data and statistics just reviewed don't describe real, “whole” people or the complex social dynamics that shape their lives. Data points are reductive by nature. No one person is only a woman or only heterosexual or only a native Spanish speaker or only Asian American or only middle class. Likewise, data can't tell us every salient detail. A child might live in a “single-parent household” with his dad and his dad's unmarried partner, while going to his grandparents' house after school until dinner.

We all identify ourselves—and are identified by others—using multiple “official” demographic categories or labels (e.g., categories related to race, gender, age, education level, language, and income), each of which encompasses enormous variation. Indeed, race, gender identification, language, wealth, and the rest each exist on their own continuum, and the combinations are infinite. Walt Whitman famously wrote, “I am large, I contain multitudes.”⁴⁷ In fact, we *all* contain multitudes—multiple identities that intersect and interrelate, and that have profound implications for how we experience the world, including schooling.

Social theorists have devised concepts that help educators understand some of these complexities. *Hybridity* and *dynamism* describe how the biological and cultural mixing (hybridity) and constant change (dynamism) that characterize many societies can preserve cultures and enrich

them at the same time. For example, Spanglish is now spoken with pride on English-language sitcoms, New York City “fusion” restaurants serve Dominican and Chinese food, and growing numbers of multiracial families are bringing together diverse histories and heritages and creating new traditions.

Intersectionality, meanwhile, describes the connections among oppressive beliefs, habits, and social structures such as racism, sexism, homophobia, religious discrimination, and so on. Intersectionality emphasizes that these -isms do not exist in isolation; rather, they intersect and operate together. In doing so, they contribute to *systems* of privilege and oppression, *layers* of discrimination, and *patterns* of social inequality.

Teacher Mark Hill gives concrete examples of how these concepts of identity, hybridity, and intersectionality manifest in the lives and learning of teachers and students.

When I think about culture I feel that I sit in a unique space. While it is a given that as individuals we all have a unique upbringing, I have yet to find anyone’s quite as singular as my own. My family consists of myself, my twin brother, and my mother and father. When my mother, who is White, married my father, who is Black, her family immediately disowned her. . . .

As a person of color I am assumed to have grown up with all the typical assumptions Americans have for Black people, but I have few memories of any such experiences. I grew up in a poor, racially mixed neighborhood, but I was never allowed out of the house or the walled-up backyard, and we never had any visitors. Thus, my cultural identity was formed almost solely based on my mother, a White Jew. I lit the candles of our menorah on Hanukkah, celebrated Rosh Hashanah, and am sympathetic to Israel in the Middle East conflict. . . .

I have found that this experience helps me to relate with all of my students. I remember as a child wanting others to “see” me the same way I saw myself. Because of this, I make a tremendous effort to “see” students as individuals and accept them on their own terms, regardless of preconceived notions of race, gender, or age.

—Mark Hill
High school mathematics

Whether diverse voices, perspectives, and languages are heard or ignored in classrooms, they are there; they will not be silenced or assimilated out of existence. Some teachers will view the tremendous diversity of the children in their midst as an asset; others, sadly, will not. Some teachers, like Mark Hill, Michelle Calva, and Judy Smith, will struggle to construct something whole and wonderful that connects individuals and groups across differences; others won’t. We hope most do, because we believe that this is the only way to provide a free and equal education to all. That said, the inequalities of American society and schools that disadvantage so many children certainly make the jobs of today’s teachers especially challenging; of course, they also make teachers’ jobs all the more important.

Inequity Outside of School

“Generations of Americans have been told that they live in the world’s richest nation. But the United States today might more accurately be described as the nation with the world’s richest rich people,” observed the authors of a report on inequality in the United States.⁴⁸ You might be wondering: why did they say this? In fact, among the twenty rich, industrialized countries that belong to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the United States ranks highest in income per person.⁴⁹ Despite its riches, however, the United States is one

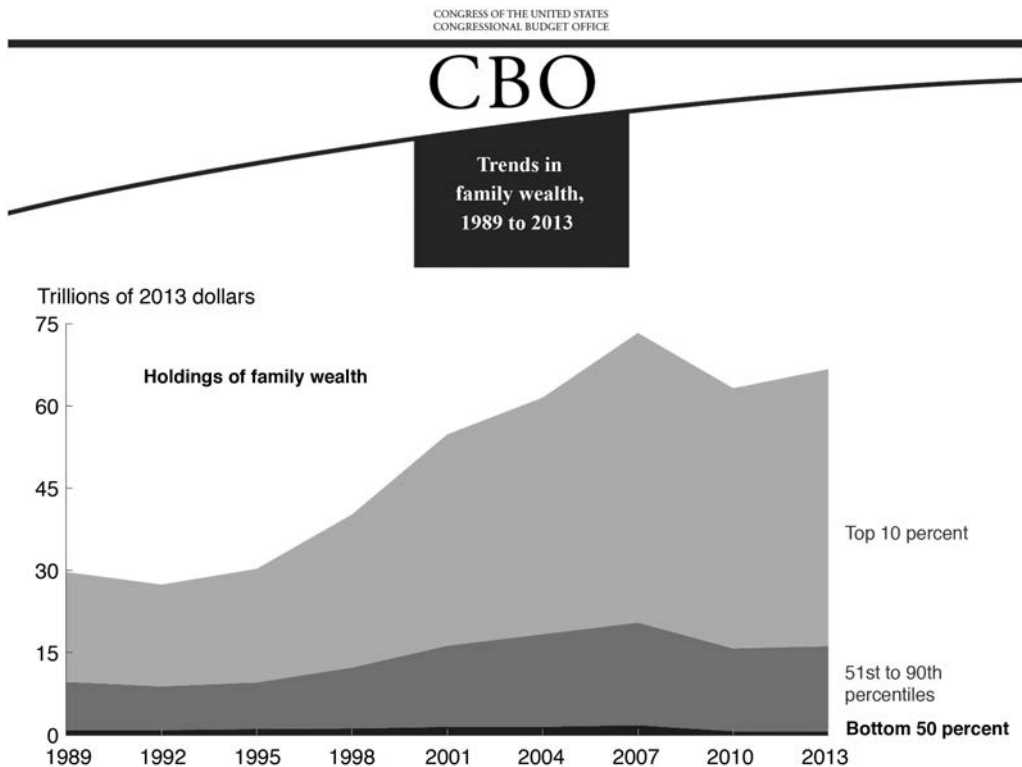
of the most economically unequal countries in the world, with poverty rates unmatched in other wealthy countries. Children, more than any other group, bear the burden of this inequality.

Economic Inequality

The gap between the wealthy and the poor is enormous. As Figure 1.5 shows, the top 10 percent of U.S. families own 76 percent of the nation’s wealth. Meanwhile, the bottom 50 percent of families share the remaining 1 percent of total wealth.⁵⁰ Although some in the media feature these and other stark differences, smaller and seemingly less dramatic gaps also profoundly impact Americans’ daily lives. For example, the difference between living in poverty and earning a “living wage” can appear trivial in the context of macroeconomic data, but for a family that difference can mean having—or not having—food security and safe shelter. Many families once assumed to be “middle class” now find themselves on the margins of being able to afford college for their children.

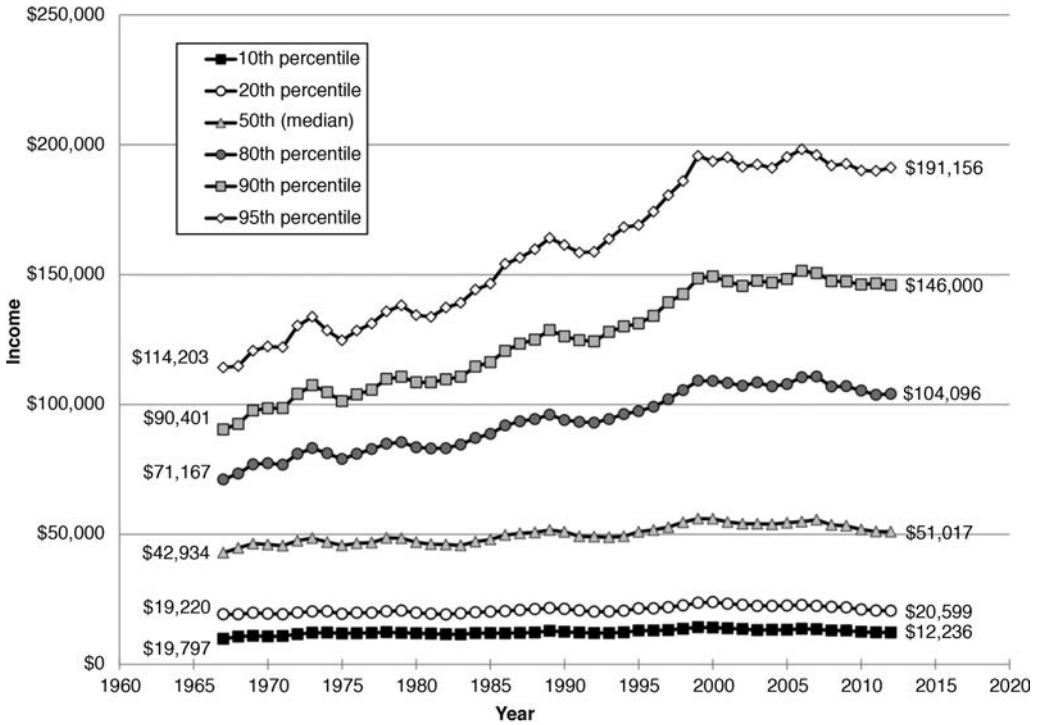
The accelerating gap between rich and poor in the United States isn’t just a consequence of the wealthy becoming richer, but of the relative income stability of those who have far less. Figure 1.6 shows that in 2012 high-income households in the top 5 percent of the income distribution received almost sixteen times the income of low-income households in the bottom 10 percent.⁵¹ Also, most middle- to low-income families have made only modest income gains over the past thirty years, and the average income in the lowest quintile has barely budged.⁵²

Figure 1.5 Distribution of Wealth in the United States



Source: Congressional Budget Office, *Trends in Family Wealth, 1989 to 2013*, August 2016, www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/114th-congress-2015-2016/reports/51846-familywealth.pdf.

Figure 1.6 Real Family Income by Income Percentile, 1967–2012 (in 2012 dollars)



Source: Data from C. DeNavas-Walt, B. D. Proctor, and J. C. Smith, U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, P60-245, *Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2012*, September 2013, Table A-2.

Most income gains result from families working longer hours, often by adding a second wage earner. In 2009, married women in the middle three income groups worked almost eight weeks more a year, on average, than they did in 1979. In addition, it has become increasingly more difficult for parents to afford time off to care for their children in the United States than in most other OECD countries, because the United States is the only one that does not mandate paid maternity or paternity leave.⁵³

Increasingly, people who are fully employed do not earn enough to keep their families out of poverty—hence the term *the working poor*. It’s not that U.S. workers earn less because they work less. In fact, workers in the United States, on average, work about 1,768 hours per year, more than their counterparts in other OECD countries (except Greece).⁵⁴ All told, poverty rates are higher, and living standards are lower, for the poor in the United States than they are for the poorest people in other industrialized countries.⁵⁵ Comparatively speaking, those who are poor in the United States also typically remain poor for longer periods of time, and with less opportunity to move up out of poverty, as well.⁵⁶

While statistics indicate some improvements—such as the official poverty rate dropping from 14.8 in 2014 to 13.5 percent the following year—poverty still impacts an enormous and unacceptable number of Americans, especially children. This has long been a concern.

In the mid- and late 1990s, Clinton-era Democrats found common ground with conservative politicians and instituted significant changes to welfare policies. Those changes reduced benefits and established more stringent eligibility requirements for Aid to Families With Dependent

Children, food stamps, and other public assistance for poor children. In the intervening years, the effects of these changes on the overall economy have been hotly debated, but they have done nothing to stem childhood poverty. One in four young children in the United States now lives in poverty. The number of low-income students receiving free or reduced-price lunch at school increased from 18 million in 2006–2007 to 31 million in 2012, and now more than half of students in the United States qualify for the program.⁵⁷

Despite the recovery from the recession of 2008, 4.5 million children under age 18 were living in poverty in 2015, representing 23.1 percent of the total population and 33.6 percent of those living below the poverty line.⁵⁸ These poverty rates were more acute for certain children, affecting approximately 12 percent of White children,⁵⁹ 36 percent of African American children, 30 percent of Latino children, and 32 percent of American Indian children.⁶⁰

These discrepancies reflect socioeconomic inequality that includes and goes beyond food, shelter, health, and education insecurity for the current generation. The gaps represent cross-generational challenges; some groups have significant wealth and other supports to pass on to their children, while other groups have far less. In 2013, for example, the average wealth for White families was seven times higher than for Black families,⁶¹ and ten times that of Latinx households.⁶²

Ease of finding employment likewise differs along racial lines. African Americans with high school diplomas and college degrees are unemployed at nearly twice the rate of their White counterparts.⁶³ Of course, these and other employment discrepancies have a trickle-down impact on children's lives and livelihoods. In 2015, for example, Black and Latinx children were less likely than White children to have a parent working year-round, full-time. Seventy-seven percent of White children, about 66 percent of Latinx children, and 55 percent of African American children had parents with secure employment.⁶⁴

Wage disparities also contribute to the higher rates of poverty among children of color. For example, in 2015, Black men made 22 percent less in average hourly wages than White men with the *same* education and experience.⁶⁵

In addition, although the gender gap has diminished, women still make lower wages than men, even when they hold the same qualifications and work the same hours. They are also more likely to be heading up single-parent households with dependent children. Given the intersections of race and gender, women of color are, in turn, among those most likely to earn poverty-level wages. In 2013, 36 percent of African American workers and 42 percent of Latinx workers earned poverty-level wages, compared to 23 percent for Whites; in all cases, these rates were higher—while average wages were lower—for women than men within racial subgroups.⁶⁶

Racial disparities in wealth and income, as described above and in what follows, lead to corollary disparities in children's access to the basics of life—food, health care, housing, and safety—as well as access to high-quality schooling.

Inequity in the Basics of Life

On December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Following this historic act, the assembly called on all member countries to publicize the text of the declaration and “to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories.”⁶⁷ Article 25 of the declaration states:

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and wellbeing of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary

social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.⁶⁸

The United States was one of the original signers of the declaration, and yet many Americans would likely disagree with its provisions; others would see it as a worthy statement of principle applying mostly to other countries; and still others would take it as a call to action. All would have to agree that it remains unrealized; access to the most basic social supports in the United States (e.g., adequate food, health care, and housing) depends on wealth and income. As one report on inequality phrased it, “In the U.S., perhaps more than in any other prosperous society, inequality reaches into dimensions of life where most people would prefer to believe that money does not rule.”⁶⁹

Food

Interviewed by Bill Moyers in 2013, Joel Berg, as head of the New York City Coalition Against Hunger, explained the web of consequences to children who live with “food insecurity.”

Food insecure means families don’t have enough money to regularly obtain all the food they need. It means they are rationing food and skipping meals. It means parents are going without food to feed their children. It means kids are missing breakfasts. And, ironically, because healthy food is usually more expensive than junk food, and because healthier options often don’t even exist in low-income neighborhoods, it means that food insecurity and obesity are flip sides of the same malnutrition coin, so food insecurity may actually increase a family’s chance of facing obesity and diabetes. Fifty million Americans, including nearly 17 million children, now live in food insecure homes.⁷⁰

Given the poverty statistics shared in prior sections, it’s not surprising—and yet still shocks the conscience—that in 2015 27 percent of African American and 27 percent of Latinx children were living in households where they could not count on having enough food for an active, healthy life for everyone in their family.⁷¹

Health

Children’s health in the United States is highly related to their families’ income status.⁷² Asthma and lead exposure—both associated with environmental toxins, including pollution and unsafe building materials—are just two of the health problems that affect lower-income children at higher rates. In one dramatic example, the percentage of children in Flint, Michigan, with elevated levels of lead in their blood—known to lower cognitive functioning and increase learning problems—nearly doubled after the lead started leaching out of the city’s old lead water pipes in 2014.⁷³ More than 40 percent of Flint’s residents live below the poverty line.

Key to maintaining children’s health and preventing their illness is their access to a health care system. Although local, state, and national health insurance and services are accessible to most, many lack good health care, and this is especially true for the nation’s poorest children. We recently saw historically low rates of uninsured children, in part due to the Obama administration policies. The Kaiser Family Foundation reported the following in 2017:

Following decades of steady progress, largely driven by expansions in Medicaid and CHIP [Children’s Health Insurance Program], the children’s uninsured rate has reached an all-time low of 5. Medicaid and CHIP are key sources of coverage for our nation’s children,

covering nearly four in ten (39 percent) children overall and over four in ten (44 percent) children with special health care needs. Medicaid serves as the base of coverage for the nation's low-income children and covered 36.8 million children in fiscal year 2015. CHIP, which had 8.4 million children enrolled in fiscal year 2015, complements Medicaid by covering uninsured children above Medicaid eligibility limits.⁷⁴

These gains are in peril in the political backlash against universal health care. Looking ahead, the Kaiser report identified serious concerns growing out of the political landscape, including potential coverage losses for children, more limited benefits and higher out-of-pocket costs for children's coverage, reduced access to care for children, and increased financial pressure on states and providers.⁷⁵ There is much to be concerned about.

Housing

In 2013, 40 percent of U.S. households with children had a serious housing problem. These problems included physically inadequate housing, overcrowded housing, or housing that cost more than 30 percent of household income.⁷⁶ Approximately 16 percent of households spend more than half of their income on housing,⁷⁷ leaving little for other basic necessities, such as food and health care.

African American and Latinx families are far more likely to experience housing problems than are White families, as are immigrant families.⁷⁸ In 2017, when nearly 72 percent of Whites owned their homes, less than half of African Americans or Latinx were homeowners.⁷⁹ (See Figure 1.7.) In addition, families of color have suffered disproportionately in the recent housing crisis. They have been targeted by predatory lenders and subjected to high-interest adjustable rate mortgages, and they are among those experiencing the highest rates of foreclosure.⁸⁰ Children, of course, are not immune to the negative effects of these "adult" issues.

In fact, the homeless population in the United States is increasingly made up of families *with* children, and this will likely continue given the recent economic downturn and housing crisis. As of 2008, families with children accounted for 32 percent of the homeless population, a 9 percent increase since 2007.⁸¹ During 2013, an estimated 138,000 children (2 per 1,000 children) were found to be homeless at a single point in time,⁸² and 2.5 percent of elementary and secondary students were identified as homeless in 2015. School-age homeless children face barriers to enrolling and attending school, including transportation problems, residency requirements, inability to obtain previous school records, and lack of clothing and school supplies.

Figure 1.7 Homeownership Rates by Race and Ethnicity of Householder, 2017

Year	United States	Non-Hispanic white alone	Black alone	All other races		Hispanic (of any race)
				Total	Asian, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander alone	
2017	63.6	71.8	42.7	53.6	56.8	46.6

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *Quarterly Residential Vacancies and Homeownership*, First Quarter 2017, www.census.gov/housing/hvs/files/currenthvspres.pdf.

Clearly then, young people comprise a significant proportion of the U.S. homeless population; among those on their own are significant numbers of LGBT youth. Research suggests that roughly one in four LGBT youth who comes out to his or her parents is told to leave home.⁸³ For this and other reasons, about 40 percent of all homeless youth identify as LGBT, compared to less than 10 percent of the overall youth population.

Safety

In 2012, one in four (23 percent each) Black and Latinx children lived in neighborhoods reported by their parents to be never or only sometimes safe, compared with only 7 percent of White children. Children living at or below the poverty line were more than three times as likely as better-off children to live in such neighborhoods. It's long been known that unsafe neighborhoods have higher rates of infant mortality and low birth weight, as well as child abuse and neglect; children there watch more television (frequently a safer pastime than going outside), participate less in after-school activities, and have lower school achievement and high school graduation rates. Young people growing up in neighborhoods with high levels of crime and gun violence are themselves much more likely to become victims or perpetrators of violent crime. They are also more likely than children in safer neighborhoods to experience trauma resulting in social and emotional problems.⁸⁴

News reports remind us of another kind of truth—that some young people are also at greater risk, as are their families, of experiencing discriminatory public policies and practices, including policing practices that put them in significant danger.⁸⁵ The number of police shootings of young Black men in 2016 (ages 15–34) was nine times greater than for other Americans, and four times the rate for young White men.⁸⁶ Tragic instances of unarmed Black teenagers being killed by police in Chicago, Illinois; Ferguson, Missouri; Cleveland, Ohio; Dallas, Texas; and Terrebonne, Louisiana, have been profiled in the media and been the subject of significant activism on the part of community members concerned for the safety of local youngsters. Black Lives Matter, which began as a hashtag on Twitter following the not-guilty verdict in the killing of 17-year-old Trayvon Martin in Florida, became a rallying cry after the police shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson and evolved into a national movement against both police brutality and a broader set of racial injustices.

Geographic and Economic Isolation

Disparities in children's access to basic life necessities are compounded by the segregation of low-income children and students of color in large urban centers, and increasingly in residentially segregated suburban and rural neighborhoods, too. One particularly well-documented trend has been for middle- and working-class families—minoritized⁸⁷ and White—to move away from central cities, leaving the remaining residents to face problems of unemployment, poverty, racial isolation, and crumbling schools. As city smokestack industries continue to be “downsized,” go overseas, or disappear entirely, jobs have also moved beyond the urban core.

The jobs remaining in the city tend to be “new economy” jobs in information and high-tech industries that are more difficult to qualify for than jobs in the “old economy” factories. Few inner-city residents—especially the large number of newly arrived, hardworking immigrants—qualify for these jobs. Most settle for irregular, part-time work in services and lack security, benefits, and a *living wage*—a term used to describe the income, calculated for each community, that ensures that a person working full-time will not fall below the poverty line.

These employment constraints, common in inner cities, together with housing policies and the preferences of White families to buy homes in school districts that are predominantly White,

mean that, despite increased racial diversity in the United States, most young people live in highly segregated neighborhoods. White children typically live in communities where the vast majority of people are White. African American children, on average, live in neighborhoods where most of the other children are Black or Latinx; Latinx children typically also live in places where they are in the majority.⁸⁸

Schooling Inequities

In 2002, Senator Christopher Dodd and Congressman Chaka Fattah introduced into Congress legislation that would ensure that basic educational opportunities are available to all U.S. students. Their Student Bill of Rights would hold states accountable for providing all students with the “fundamentals of educational opportunity,”⁸⁹ including highly qualified teachers and guidance counselors, challenging curricula, up-to-date textbooks and materials, and small classes. These are resources known to have an enormous positive impact on achievement, especially for disadvantaged students. See Focal Point 1.1 to read the text of this legislation.

One might think that such a bill of rights would be unnecessary in the United States, given its wealth and long history of public education, but many of the nation’s children do not routinely experience these basic elements of education in their public schools. This declaration of student rights has yet to be passed.

Segregated Schools

Over the past decades, racial segregation has continued to have profound effects on public schools; so too has the continued existence and exacerbation of division between poor cities (and city centers) and surrounding affluent neighborhoods, including outer-urban and suburban communities. As a result, more than sixty years after *Brown v. Board of Education*,⁹⁰ many cities’ public school systems remain predominantly attended by students of color. Middle-class Whites in those urban centers—often older than other parents of school-going children and more affluent—increasingly choose private education for their own kids. Some seek private schools for the resources, status, and privilege. Others praise the ideal of integration but worry that integration in practice would trigger declining school quality. Still others fear for their children’s safety. Whatever the reasons, withdrawal of support by the middle class has left many urban public schools resource-poor and decaying. At the same time, demographic shifts have brought lower-income, more diverse populations into the suburban and sometimes segregated ring around cities—not without some predictable (and deeply problematic) backlash.⁹¹

Focal Point 1.1 Student Bill of Rights

H.R.236
Student Bill of Rights
In the House of Representatives

To provide for adequate and equitable educational opportunities for students in State public school systems, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, SEC. 112. State Educational Adequacy And Equity Requirements.

(a) Fundamentals of Educational Opportunity—A State shall provide for all public schools in the State access, at levels defined by the State under section 113 as ideal or adequate, to each of the following fundamentals of educational opportunity: (1) high-quality classroom teachers and school administrators (2) rigorous academic standards, curricula, and methods of instruction (3) small class sizes (4) quality facilities, textbooks, and instructional materials and supplies (5) up-to-date library resources (6) up-to-date computer technology (7) quality guidance counseling.

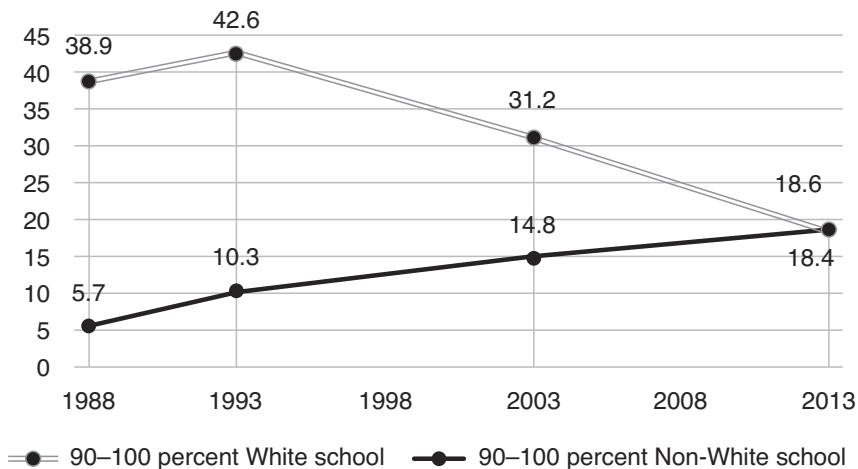
Overall, school segregation has increased since the 1980s, especially for Black and Latinx students.⁹² Most striking, the percentage of schools with enrollments of 90–100 percent students of color has tripled in that time (see Figure 1.8). In 2013, 38 and 43 percent of Black and Latinx students, respectively, attended schools where the student body was 90 to 100 percent minoritized students. For Gary Orfield and his colleagues at the UCLA Civil Rights Project, these shifts represent a “striking” and consequential rise in segregation by race *and* poverty for African American and Latinx students in schools that “rarely attain the successful outcomes typical of middle class schools with largely White and Asian student populations.”⁹³ This increased racial and socioeconomic separation is followed by unequal access to educational resources, opportunities, and outcomes.

Unequal Spending

In 2014, per-pupil spending ranged from a high of \$18,165 in New York to a low of \$5,838 in Idaho. In both high- and low-spending states, however, schools typically spend less on low-income children and children of color than they spend on economically advantaged and White students.⁹⁴

Individual states vary greatly; some are much better, and some are much worse. A handful of states—Delaware, Minnesota, New Jersey, and Massachusetts—have generally high funding levels and also provide significantly more funding to districts where student poverty is more prevalent. Twenty-one states, however, provide less funding to school districts with higher

Figure 1.8 Percentage of 90–100 Percent White Schools and 90–100 Percent Non-White Schools in the United States, 1988–2013



Concept Table 1.1 Per-Student Funding Gaps Add Up

<i>For example, when you consider the cost-adjusted per-student funding gap for low-income students in ...</i>	<i>Between two typical classrooms of students, that translates into a difference of ...</i>	<i>Between two typical elementary schools of 400 students, that translates into a difference of ...</i>	<i>Between two typical high schools of 1,500 students, that translates into a difference of ...</i>
New York	\$57,975	\$927,600	\$3,478,500
Michigan	\$14,325	\$229,200	\$859,500
North Carolina	\$8,600	\$137,600	\$516,000
Delaware	\$5,175	\$82,800	\$310,500

Source: The Education Trust, *The Funding Gap*, 2006, www.edtrust.org/dc/publication/the-funding-gap-0/.

concentrations of low-income students. In Wyoming, high-poverty districts receive 70 cents for every dollar allotted to low-poverty districts. In Nevada, high-poverty districts receive only 59 cents to that dollar.⁹⁵

The Education Trust, an advocacy and research organization, calculated the impact of the funding gap for individual schools. (See Concept Table 1.1.) It found that in New York, almost \$58,000 less per year would be spent on a classroom of twenty-five students in a high-poverty district, almost \$1 million less per year would be spent at a high-poverty elementary school of 400 students, and over \$3.4 million less per year would be spent at a high-poverty high school of 1,500 students.⁹⁶ The Education Trust asks an obvious and important question: “Consider the daily struggle for progress that occurs in many of our poorest schools. What could those schools do with another \$1 million per year—resources that their more wealthy peers already enjoy?”⁹⁷

Although this analysis is at least a decade old, the patterns still hold. While postrecession spending has increased overall in many states, as noted above, twenty-one states continue to spend less in high-poverty school districts.

Unequal Opportunities to Learn

The fifth-grade class was relocated into portables in October. The portables are half the size of the regular classroom. There is barely enough room to walk around because all books and supplies are nestled around the perimeter of the room on the floor. There are no cabinets. There are no windows. The district is in such dire financial straits that the teachers can’t make photocopies; we don’t have overhead projectors, nor do we have enough space for the children.

—Steven Branch
First-year teacher, grade 5

The boys’ and girls’ bathrooms had been flooded for over two months. After two months of sickening smell and slimy scum (literally, the students were walking in slime), the bathrooms were fixed. For two days . . . all day long, there was a jackhammer going off in the back of my room. Couldn’t they have done this work after 2 P.M.? Or during recess and lunchtime? Or given me some advance notice so that I could have made some outdoor plans? I lost two days of learning.

—Jennifer Haymore
First-year teacher, grade 4

Steven Branch’s and Jennifer Haymore’s experiences in city school systems are not unique. Jonathan Kozol’s wrenching account from the early 1990s, *Savage Inequalities*, portrays inequalities

that many studies have since documented. Kozol found that Black and Latinx students in Camden, New Jersey, were learning keyboarding without computers, science without laboratories, and other subjects without enough textbooks to go around. Seven minutes away in the White, affluent community of Cherry Hill, students enjoyed well-kept facilities, including a greenhouse for those interested in horticulture, and abundant equipment and supplies. Since the publication of *Savage Inequalities*, journalists and scholars have increased the public's awareness of disparities in school conditions, and activists in many states have pursued legal action to correct them.

In 1997, for example, the *Los Angeles Times* published a humiliating story of textbook shortages in the city's schools. Fremont High School, attended almost entirely by Latinx youth, reported needing 7,200 textbooks simply to comply with state law. For its 1,200 tenth graders, Fremont owned only 210 English textbooks. And Fremont was hardly the only high school in the district wrestling with serious book shortages. It is difficult to imagine that a school or district with mostly affluent White students, anywhere, would ever face such a problem. Within a few weeks of the exposé, the newspaper was filled with reports of school district money, private donations, and action at the state level, along with large photos showing stacks of new books at Fremont.⁹⁸ Yet these stopgap measures on behalf of one school did little to address the broader set of inequities facing so many of the city's students.

In 2000, some angry Californians asked the courts to remedy such inequities. A group of young people and their parents filed suit in the name of Eliezer Williams, an African American student at a San Francisco middle school. Nearly all of the forty-eight student plaintiffs named in the case were Black, Latinx, or Asian/Pacific Islander, and they all attended schools filled with fellow students of color from low-income communities. They sued California's governor, the state board of education, and the superintendent of public instruction.

The Williams plaintiffs claimed that they, and many students like them, attended "schools that shock the conscience."⁹⁹ They provided evidence that schools across the state lacked "trained teachers, necessary educational supplies, classrooms, even seats in classrooms, and facilities that meet basic health and safety standards." They also showed that these schooling basics were systematically less available to low-income students of color, and that a school experiencing one of the problems was much more likely to experience more or all of them. The Williams students argued that, by permitting such schools, California's educational system failed to meet its constitutional obligation to educate all students and to educate them equally. In 2004, the governor of California agreed to settle the case, allocating \$1 billion and developing standards requiring that all students have qualified teachers, instructional materials, and decent and safe school buildings.

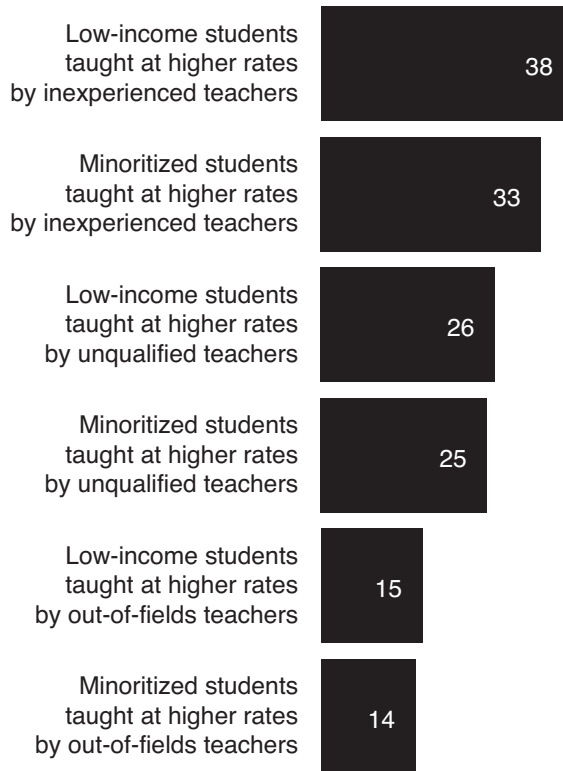
Such schooling inequalities were not then and are not now confined to California, nor were they entirely remedied even in California. Across the nation, students at high-poverty schools have fewer well-qualified teachers than their White counterparts in affluent, suburban schools. Their schools also suffer more teaching vacancies, which principals then have a tougher time filling.

In part because of the scope of these issues nationwide, the U.S. Department of Education required in 2015 that each state file an equity report documenting the distribution of teachers across various student populations. Those reports revealed that, across the country, unqualified, inexperienced, or out-of-field teachers were found in disproportionately high numbers in high-poverty schools and/or schools serving students of color. Figure 1.9 shows the numbers of states where access to qualified teachers remains a serious problem.

In total, forty states reported inequitable access to *experienced* teachers for low-income students and students of color. Likewise, twenty-nine states reported that *unqualified* teachers more often teach low-income and/or minoritized students.¹⁰⁰

Less qualified teachers are a particular problem because study after study shows that, of all the resources schools provide, highly qualified teachers with expertise in their subject areas are the

Figure 1.9 Qualified Teachers: Number of States Where Access Is Problematic



Source: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Elementary and Secondary Education, *State Plans to Ensure Equitable Access to Excellent Educators*, 2015, www2.ed.gov/programs/titleiparta/resources.html.

most important for student learning, and underqualified teachers are particularly damaging for children who also face inequities outside of school.

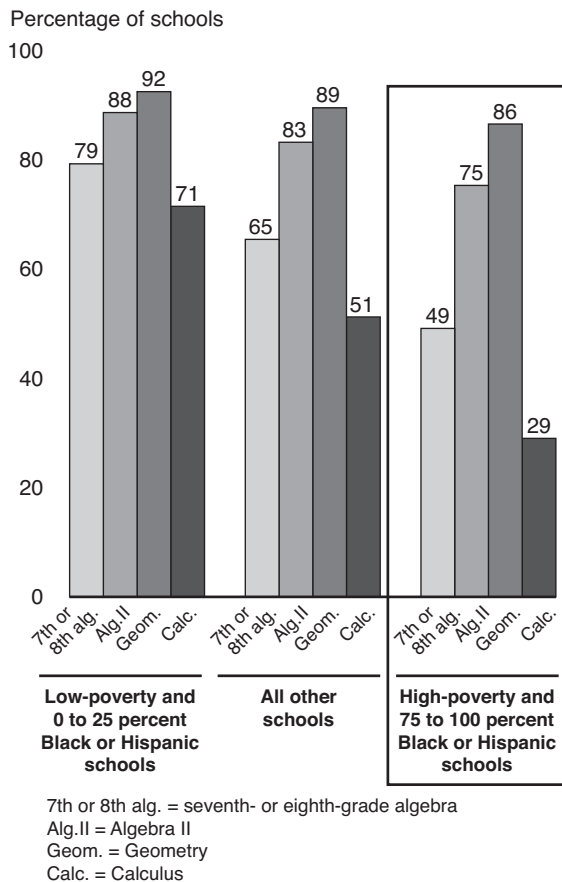
Moreover, having enough teachers also matters. In fact, children from low-income families have higher rates of achievement, and suffer less of an achievement gap, when their states target staffing increases to their own (highest-needs) schools.¹⁰¹

It's not just *who* teachers are, but *how* they teach that matters for student learning. In schools serving low-income communities and communities of color, teachers—who may have less experience and expertise, given staffing issues addressed above—tend to place less emphasis on inquiry and problem-solving skills and offer fewer opportunities for active learning.¹⁰² This, too, puts students in those schools at a disadvantage.

Furthermore, *what* is taught matters, too. Schools attended predominantly by Black and Latinx students often offer fewer critical college “gatekeeping” courses such as advanced mathematics and science. Figure 1.10 shows the disparities among schools with different populations in advanced middle and high school mathematics. Notably, there is a 30 percent gap between low- and high-poverty schools when it comes to seventh and eighth graders’ access to algebra.

Advanced placement (AP) courses that enhance students’ college-going opportunities are also unevenly distributed. In 1999, Rasheda Daniel, a working-class African American teenager, sued her school district and the state of California because her high school did not offer the advanced

Figure 1.10 Distribution of Math Courses in Middle and High Schools, by Student Race/Ethnicity, 2011–2012



Source: GAO Report to Congressional Requesters, *K–12 Education: Better Use of Information Could Help Agencies Identify Disparities and Address Racial Discrimination*, 2016.

classes that she needed to attend the state’s university as a science major. Nobody thought she was wrong, and nobody thought she was an isolated case. Daniel’s suit prompted the state legislature to provide new funding to schools like hers so they could begin offering the requisite advanced courses.

However, addressing any single inequity is often a moving target, because proposed solutions rarely address underlying, systemic issues. Even when schools in poor neighborhoods make headway in providing new resources and college-prep classes, the rate at which they improve is typically outpaced by more advantaged schools, which typically don’t have myriad other challenges to address, too.

Indeed, as Jonathan Kozol’s more recent book, *The Shame of the Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America*, attests, equitable schooling opportunities remain elusive for numerous reasons—many of which we address in detail in subsequent chapters. Published fifteen years after *Savage Inequalities*, *The Shame of the Nation* shows in unflinching detail how far we have yet to travel on the path to equitable schooling, and also how important the work of equity-focused teachers is in carrying us forward toward that worthy goal.

Gaps in Achievement, School Completion, and College Attendance

Gaps in schooling outcomes inevitably follow gaps in opportunities like those detailed above. From elementary school on, we see this adversely impacting students considered English Learners and African American, Latinx, and low-income children vis-à-vis their White and more well-off peers. They more often end up in lower-level and remedial classes, and less frequently end up in college-preparatory classes. They consistently receive lower scores on measures of student achievement that schools claim are crucial. They drop out—or are pushed out—of school at higher rates. Fewer go on to college; fewer still earn college degrees.

In a 2009 report from the Educational Testing Service, *Parsing the Achievement Gap II*, analysts Paul Barton and Richard Corey identified what they call the “correlates” of achievement. (See Concept Table 1.2.) In all sixteen of the factors related to achievement, Barton and Corey showed gaps between White students and students of color. In twelve of the sixteen, there

Concept Table 1.2 Correlates of Achievement and Gaps

	<i>Are there gaps between racial minority and majority student populations?</i>	<i>Are there gaps between students from low-income families and higher-income families?</i>
In-school correlates		
Rigor of curriculum	Yes	Not available
AP participation	Yes	Not available
Teacher certification	Yes	Yes
Teacher preparation in discipline	Yes	Yes
Teacher experience	Yes	Yes
Teacher absences	Yes	Yes
Teacher turnover	Yes	Yes
Class size	Yes	No*
Internet access	Yes	Yes
Computer-to-student ratio	Yes	Yes
Fear at school	Yes	Not available
Street gangs at school	Yes	Not available
Physical fighting	Yes	Not available
Before and beyond school		
Parent participation	Yes	Yes
Student mobility	Yes	Not available
Birth weight	Yes	Yes
Lead exposure	Yes	Yes
Mercury poisoning	Yes	Yes
Hunger and nutrition	Yes	Yes
Talking and reading to children	Yes	Yes
Television watching	Yes	Yes
Parent-pupil ratio	Yes	Yes
Summer achievement gain/loss	Yes	Yes

* Not all researchers agree that class size is a correlate with achievement for low-income students.

Source: Paul E. Barton and Richard J. Coley, *Parsing the Achievement Gap, II* (Princeton, NJ: Educational Testing Service, 2009).

were gaps between low-income and higher-income students.¹⁰³ Three indicators of educational success—academic achievement, high school graduation, and college attendance—continue to reveal the impact of these persistent inequalities.

Academic Achievement

The academic achievement of the nation's schoolchildren is measured every few years by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), a paper-and-pencil test in reading, writing, mathematics, science, U.S. history, civics, geography, and the arts. Often called "the Nation's Report Card," NAEP tests a sample of students in grades 4, 8, and 12 in every state. Unlike most standardized tests, NAEP doesn't produce scores for every child, but it does report the results for the nation's 9-, 13-, and 17-year-olds as a whole, and it compares the performance of males and females, racial groups, and poor and not-poor students.

In 2012, NAEP released a study reporting trends in the achievement of U.S. students over the past forty years. There was some promising news: for example, 9- and 13-year-olds today are scoring higher in reading and mathematics than when NAEP began testing students in the early 1970s. African American and Latinx students have shown the most impressive gains, and, as a result, the gaps between their achievement and that of their White peers were smaller than they had ever been. The Black-White gap alone was nearly half the size of the gap measured in 1971. However, these gaps are still meaningful when we compare students across ages and racial groups. For example, by the end of high school, the math and reading score of Latinx and African American students are roughly the same as those of White 13-year-olds.¹⁰⁴

High School Graduation

Nationwide, approximately 83 percent of those who enter ninth grade graduate from high school with a diploma at the end of the twelfth grade.¹⁰⁵ Graduation rates, however, remain higher for White, wealthier students. In 2015, for example, 75 percent of African American students, 72 percent of Native American students, and 78 percent of Latinx students graduated from high school, compared to 88 percent of their White peers. However, because the U.S. education system provides second chances for those who leave high school without a diploma, about 90 percent of all 25- to 29-year-olds in 2010 held a diploma or some form of equivalency certificate. Even so, White students were more likely (95 percent) than African American students (91 percent) and Latinx students (81 percent) to have eventually attained the status (via diploma or GED) of a high school graduate.¹⁰⁶

College Attendance

In 2015, more students than ever before from all racial groups were going to college, but the gains among groups were not equal. In particular, Latinx participation rates lagged behind those of African Americans and Whites. Nearly half of all 25- to 29-year-olds, for example, had completed a two-year college degree, with Asian and White students (54 and 72 percent) more likely than African American and Latinx students (31 and 26 percent) to have done so. Thirty-four percent of all 25- to 29-year-olds had at least a bachelor's degree. Although the percentage with a bachelor's degree or higher has increased for all racial/ethnic groups, the gaps between White and both Black and Latinx students have actually widened over time. Figure 1.11 shows the gaps in college attainment.

Figure 1.11 Percentage of Persons 25 to 29 Years Old With an Associate's or Higher Degree, by Race/Ethnicity: 2000 and 2015

Year	Total	Race/ethnicity			
		White	Black	Hispanic	Asian
2000 ...	37.7	43.7	26.0	15.4	---
2015 ...	45.7	54.0	31.1	25.7	71.7

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau, Current Population Survey (CPS), Annual Social and Economic Supplement, 1992 through 2015. (This table was prepared January 2016.)

The Struggle for Socially Just Teaching

In the remaining chapters of this book, we continue to share the experiences and reflections of teachers who identify themselves as teachers for social justice. Many of them are writing at the conclusion of their first year of teaching. Through their teacher education courses, their work in classrooms, and their own life experiences, they understand the inequalities and inequities we've described in this chapter, and they've begun their careers committed to teaching in ways that will change the world. Their voices are hopeful and optimistic about the possibilities socially just education opens up in a diverse, unpredictable world. These teachers also reveal their struggles to put knowledge and values into practice as they strive to create classrooms and schools where students develop the moral commitment, academic capacities, and sense of agency they'll need to shape their own place in a more socially just future.

Four of these teachers deserve a special introduction, since they and their students appear in photographs throughout the book. These four teachers seek to build community without diminishing difference. They hold fast to the idea that their teaching and their students' learning can help change a world marked by poverty, discrimination, and injustice.

Mauro Bautista

Mauro Bautista is coordinator of bilingual education at his middle school. He teaches—and lives with his wife and three kids—in the same Latinx neighborhood where he grew up. He sees himself in his sixth-, seventh-, and eighth-grade students, and he sees his own parents in their parents. Consequently, he always treats students as he hopes his own children will be treated.

I define “social justice educator” as someone who identifies inequities in education, builds coalitions with others affected by the inequities, and then takes action to disrupt the reproduction of these inequities. . . . I look at educational practices with critical lenses. Instead of doing certain things longer and stronger, I often take a step back and ask, “How else can we do this?”

There are always questions: “Am I doing justice to my students?” “How do I know that what I am doing is socially just?” “Why do we have to do it this way?” “Can I do it this other way?” “If I can't do it this other way, what does that mean to my students?”

Mauro holds the highest expectations for his students and their parents, and he tries to treat them with the utmost respect.

Kimberly Min

Kimberly Min teaches third grade in South Los Angeles. At the conclusion of her first year working in a neighborhood that is home to some of the city's most acute poverty, Kimberly dedicated her master's degree project to her students. She said that she couldn't have asked for a more endearing, bright, and loving group of children, and she thanked them for being incredibly patient with a first-year teacher.

Education is viewed by many as an equalizing agent in our society. However, children of color, children of poor working families, and children of immigrants are still marginalized and victims of an unequal society that privileges rich, White, middle- and upper-class values. More than fifty years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, inequity, injustice, and compensatory education continue to be the experiences of our children in inner-city schools. Although the *Brown* decision marked a turning point in history, the struggle for equality in education continues.

So it's been fifty-plus years. Now what? Educators must continue to teach students about their history; have discussions about inequity, race, and privilege; and create a space in which students can express what they are thinking, feeling, and learning, as well as share their opinions and perspectives. . . . As an elementary school teacher in South Los Angeles, I empower, engage, and encourage my students to disrupt cycles of oppression and inequity with a curriculum that requires them to read text (literature, media, art, expression) with a critical eye.

Mark Hill

Mark Hill is a high school math teacher. Mark's students live in a racially diverse, working-class community where more than thirty different languages are spoken. Neither uniformly well-off nor poor, the community's average household earns \$47,500 per year. Even so, 18 percent of families live below the poverty line.



Mark's own experience as a biracial person, the son of a White mother and a Black father, has had a profound effect on his teaching. He understands the limits that our culture's struggle with race places on students of color. He also knows how important it is for students to be seen as more than just their race, gender, or age—how important it is for them to be accepted on their own terms. As a first-year teacher, he explained:

I see social activism relating to my teaching in a very simple way. I am a role model for students of color and low socioeconomic status. It is my goal that every one of my students leaves my classroom believing in themselves and their ability to reach college. I treat each student with respect, and I hope to teach them to respect each other and themselves in the same way.

Judy Smith

Teaching is Judy Smith's second career. Before obtaining her teaching credential, Judy worked in the private sector—in a high-tech industry. The high school where she teaches history and government to eleventh and twelfth graders enrolls more than 3,000 Latinx, African American, Asian, and White students. Two-thirds of the students come from low-income families, and a third are learning English as their second language. When she came to the school, it had just failed to meet its achievement test score targets under state and federal law and thus had been identified by the state as academically “low performing.”

Judy loves her job and the challenge of bringing academic rigor and engaging learning opportunities to her students, despite mainstream beliefs that students like hers won't succeed in



high-level academic work. As her comments at the beginning of this chapter make clear, her determination to make a difference is driven by extraordinarily difficult questions:

How does a social justice teacher teach in an urban school where very large class sizes, minimal resources, low expectations, and low literacy affect both students and teachers? What does it mean to be a socially just teacher in a socially unjust world? What do all students deserve?

This book seeks to help answer the questions Judy and her colleagues raise about social justice teaching in the twenty-first century. Its goal is to provide aspiring teachers with an understanding of the hopeful struggle that these teachers are engaged in. It also aims to provide a knowledge base and a sense of possibility that will equip new teachers to be effective agents for educational equality—ready to teach to change the world.

Digging Deeper and Tools for Critique

www.routledge.com/cw/teachingtochangetheworld

Notes

- 1 William J. Hussar and Tabitha M. Bailey, *Projections of Education Statistics to 2024* (NCES 2016-013). U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2016.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Jeremy Redford, Danielle Battle, and Stacey Bielick, *Homeschooling in the United States: 2012* (NCES 2016-096.REV). National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education. Washington, DC, 2017.
- 4 Although the term *Latinx* has been the subject of some debate, we use it throughout the book in addition to *Hispanic* and *Latino/a*. We recognize that some may view *Latinx* as critical of the Spanish language and/or of Latino culture. We do not use the term in the spirit of critique, but rather because it represents the most established gender-neutral and nonbinary option at this time, and it is used widely now in the field of education. However, we also use *Latino* and *Hispanic* whenever it's the language of the statistics being used or when we are quoting others.
- 5 Joel McFarland, Bill Hussar, Cristobal de Brey, Tom Snyder, Xiaolei Wang, Sidney Wilkinson-Flicker, Semhar Gebrekristos, Jijun Zhang, Amy Rathbun, Amy Barmer, Farrah Bullock Mann, and Serena Hinz, *The Condition of Education 2017* (NCES 2017-144). U.S. Department of Education. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics, 2017, <https://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2017144>.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Pew Research Center, *Multiracial in America: Proud, Diverse and Growing in Numbers*. Washington, DC, June 2015, www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/06/11/multiracial-in-america/.
- 8 McFarland, Hussar, de Brey, Snyder, Wang, Wilkinson-Flicker, Gebrekristos, Zhang, Rathbun, Barmer, Bullock Mann, and Hinz, *The Condition of Education 2017*.
- 9 The Southern Education Foundation, *Race and Ethnicity in a New Era of Public Funding for Private Schools: Private School Enrollment in the South and the Nation, 2016*, www.southerneducation.org/getattachment/be785c57-6ce7-4682-b80d-04d89994a0b6/Race-and-Ethnicity-in-a-New-Era-of-Public-Funding.aspx.
- 10 Redford, Battle, and Bielick, *Homeschooling in the United States: 2012*.
- 11 Migration Policy Institute, *Frequently Requested Statistics on Immigrants and Immigration in the United States*, 2017, www.migrationpolicy.org/article/frequently-requested-statistics-immigrants-and-immigration-united-states#Demographic.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 American Immigration Council, *An Overview of U.S. Refugee Law and Policy*, 2015, www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/sites/default/files/research/an_overview_of_united_states_refugee_law_and_policy.pdf.

- 14 Offices of Refugee Resettlement, *Unaccompanied Children Released to Sponsors by State*, 2017, www.acf.hhs.gov/orr/programs/ucs/state-by-state-uc-placed-sponsors.
- 15 Kids Count Data Center, *2015 American Community Survey*, 2015, <http://datacenter.kidscount.org/data/tables/81-children-who-speak-a-language-other-than-english-at-home#detailed/1/any/false/573,869,36,868,867/any/396,397>.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ariel G. Ruiz Soto, Sarah Hooker, and Jeanne Batalova, *ELL Information Center Fact Sheet Series. Migration Policy Institute*, 2015, www.migrationpolicy.org/research/states-and-districts-highest-number-and-share-english-language-learners.
- 19 Ofelia García, Jo Anne Kleifgen, and Lorraine Falchi, “From English Language Learners to Emergent Bilinguals,” *Equity Matters: Research Review No. 1*. New York: A Research Initiative of the Campaign for Educational Equity, 2008.
- 20 Jie Zong and Jeanne Batalova, *Frequently Requested Statistics on Immigrants and Immigration in the United States*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2017, www.migrationpolicy.org/article/frequently-requested-statistics-immigrants-and-immigration-united-states.
- 21 U.S. Department of Education, Office of Special Education Programs, *Individuals With Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) Database*, www2.ed.gov/programs/osepidea/618-data/state-level-data-files/index.html#bcc, retrieved on September 25, 2015.
- 22 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Minorities in Special Education (2007 Briefing)*, 2009, www.usccr.gov/pubs/MinoritiesinSpecialEducation.pdf; National Education Association, *Truth in Labeling: Disproportionality in Special Education*, 2007, www.nea.org/assets/docs/HE/EW-TruthInLabeling.pdf; U.S. Department of Education, *29th Annual Report to Congress on the Implementation of the Individuals With Disabilities Education Act*, 2007, www2.ed.gov/about/reports/annual/osep/2007/parts-b-c/29th-vol-2.pdf.
- 23 Seon-Young Lee, Michael S. Matthews, and Paula Olszewski-Kubilius, “A National Picture of Talent Search and Talent Search Educational Programs,” *Gifted Child Quarterly* 52, no. 2 (2008): 55–69; Donna Y. Ford, Terek C. Grantham, and Gilman W. Whiting, “Another Look at the Achievement Gap: Learning From the Experiences of Gifted Black Students,” *Urban Education* 43, no. 2 (2008): 216–238; Frank C. Worrell, “Why Are There So Few African Americans in Gifted Programs?” in *Surmounting All Odds: Education, Opportunity, and Society in the New Millennium*, eds. C. C. Yeakey and R. D. Henderson (Greenwich, CT: Information Age, 2003), 423–454.
- 24 Pew Research Center, *U.S. Public Becoming Less Religious*, November 3, 2015, www.pewforum.org/2015/11/03/chapter-1-importance-of-religion-and-religious-beliefs/.
- 25 Pew Research Center, *America’s Changing Religious Landscape*, May 12, 2015, www.pewforum.org/2015/05/12/americas-changing-religious-landscape/.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 *Pew Research Center’s Spring 2016 Global Attitudes Survey*, www.pewglobal.org/.
- 28 Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, *American Muslim Poll 2017: Muslims at The Crossroads*, www.ispu.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/AMP-2017-Key-Findings_Final.pdf.
- 29 National Education Association, *Muslims in America: When Bullying Meets Religion*, 2012, www.nea.org/home/42528.htm.
- 30 Reuters, *CAIR Asks DOE to Address Bullying of Muslim Students*, June 9, 2011, www.reuters.com/article/2011/06/09/idUS215018+09-Jun-2011+PRN20110609/; Southern Poverty Law Center, *SPLC Testifies About Increase in Anti-Muslim Bias*, March 29, 2011, www.splcenter.org/get-informed/news/splc-testifies-about-increase-in-anti-muslim-bias/.
- 31 Forum on Child and Family Statistics, *America’s Children: Key National Indicators of Well-Being, 2011, Family Structure and Children’s Living Arrangements*, www.childstats.gov/americaschildren/famsocl.asp.
- 32 Pew Research Center, *Parenting in America: Outlook, Worries, Aspirations Are Strongly Linked to Financial Situation*, 2015, www.pewsocialtrends.org/2015/12/17/1-the-american-family-today/.
- 33 U.S. Census Bureau, *Living Arrangements of Children: 2009, 2011*, www.census.gov/prod/2011pubs/p70-126.pdf.
- 34 U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, *Trends in Foster Care and Adoption: FY 2006-FY 2015*, 2015, www.acf.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/cb/trends_fostercare_adoption2015.pdf.
- 35 Teresa Wiltz, *Why More Grandparents Are Raising Children*. Washington, DC: Pew Charitable Trust, 2016, www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/blogs/stateline/2016/11/02/why-more-grandparents-are-raising-children.

- 36 Pew Research Center, *Multiracial in America: Proud, Diverse and Growing in Numbers*.
- 37 Gary J. Gates and Taylor N. T. Brown, *Marriage and Same-Sex Couples After Obergefell*. Los Angeles, CA: Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law, 2015, <http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Marriage-and-Same-sex-Couples-after-Obergefell-November-2015.pdf>.
- 38 Social Issues, January 11, 2017, In US, More Adults Identifying as LGBT, www.gallup.com/poll/201731/lgbt-identification-rises.aspx.
- 39 Gallup, *U.S. Adults Estimate that 25% of Americans Are Gay or Lesbian*, May 27, 2011, www.gallup.com/poll/147824/adults-estimate-americans-gay-lesbian.aspx.
- 40 Hannah Fingerhut, *Support Steady for Same-Sex Marriage and Acceptance of Homosexuality*, 2016, www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/05/12/support-steady-for-same-sex-marriage-and-acceptance-of-homosexuality.
- 41 Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network, *Safe Schools Laws*, 2017, www.lgbtmap.org/equality-maps/safe_school_laws.
- 42 Pew Research Center, *Parenting in America: Outlook, Worries, Aspirations Are Strongly Linked to Financial Situation*.
- 43 Joseph G. Kosciw, Emily A. Greytak, Noreen M. Giga, Christian Villenas, and David J. Danischewski, *The 2015 National School Climate Survey: The Experiences of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Youth in Our Nation's Schools*. New York: GLSEN, 2016, www.glsen.org/sites/default/files/2015%20National%20GLSEN%202015%20National%20School%20Climate%20Survey%20%28NSCS%29%20-%20Full%20Report_0.pdf.
- 44 Mitch van Geel, Paul Vedder, and Jenny Tanilon, "Bullying and Weapon Carrying a Meta-Analysis," *JAMA Pediatrics* 168, no. 8 (2014): 714–720. doi:10.1001/jamapediatrics.2014.213, <http://jamanetwork.com/journals/jamapediatrics/fullarticle/1879724>.
- 45 Annette Lareau, *Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race, and Family Life* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003).
- 46 *Ibid.*, 1.
- 47 Walt Whitman, "Song of Myself," in *Leaves of Grass* (New York: Rome Brothers, 1855).
- 48 Institute for Policy Studies, *How Unequal Are We, Anyway? (A Statistical Briefing Book)*, July 2004, www.psicopolis.com/statistiche/inequality.htm.
- 49 OECD, *How's Life? 2015: Measuring Well-being*, www.oecd.org/statistics/Better-Life-Initiative-2016-country-notes-data.xlsx.
- 50 Congressional Budget Office, *Trends in Family Wealth, 1989 to 2013*, August 2016, www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/114th-congress-2015-2016/reports/51846-familywealth.pdf.
- 51 *RSF Russell Sage Foundation—Chartbook of Social Inequality*, www.russellsage.org/sites/all/files/chartbook/Income%20and%20Earnings.pdf.
- 52 Institute for Policy Studies, *Income Inequality*, 2011, <http://inequality.org/income-inequality/>.
- 53 Economic Policy Institute, *State of Working America Data Library*, 2017; Economic Policy Institute, *State of Working America, 2011*; National Center for Children in Poverty, *Paid Leave in the States*, 2009, www.paidfamilyleave.org/pdf/PaidLeaveinStates.pdf.
- 54 Economic Policy Institute, *State of Working America, 2011*.
- 55 Elise Gould and Hilary Wething, *U.S. Poverty Rates Higher, Safety Net Weaker Than in Peer Countries* (Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute, 2015), www.epi.org/publication/ib339-us-poverty-higher-safety-net-weaker/.
- 56 Lawrence Mishel, Jared Bernstein, and Sylvia Allegretto, *State of Working America, 2004–2005* (Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute, 2005), www.epinet.org.
- 57 U.S. Department of Education, Office of Planning, Evaluation and Policy Development, Performance Information Management Service, *Free and Reduced-Price Lunch Eligibility Data in ED Facts: A White Paper on Current Status and Potential Changes*, Washington, DC, 2012.
- 58 U.S. Census Bureau, *Income and Poverty in the United States: 2015*, www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2016/demo/p60-256.pdf.
- 59 Forum on Child and Family Statistics, *America's Children: Key National Indicators of Children's Well-Being 2011*.
- 60 McFarland, Hussar, de Brey, Snyder, Wang, Wilkinson-Flicker, Gebrekristos, Zhang, Rathbun, Barmer, Bullock Mann, and Hinz, *The Condition of Education 2017*.
- 61 Economic Policy Institute, *The Racial Wealth Gap: How African-Americans Have Been Shortchanged Out of the Materials to Build Wealth*, 2017, www.epi.org/blog/the-racial-wealth-gap-how-african-americans-have-been-shortchanged-out-of-the-materials-to-build-wealth/.
- 62 Hispanic Wealth Project, *Annual Report 2016*, <http://hispanicwealthproject.org/downloads/2016-HWP-Annual-Report.pdf>.

- 63 United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Labor Force Statistics From the Current Population Survey*, 2017, www.bls.gov/cps/cpsaat07.htm.
- 64 Population Reference Bureau, analysis of data from the U.S. Census Bureau, *2008–2015 American Community Survey*, <http://datacenter.kidscount.org/data/tables/5064-children-living-in-families-where-no-parent-has-full-time-year-round-employment-by-race?loc=1&loct=1#detailed/1/any/false/573,869,36,868,867/10,11,9,12,1,185,13/11486,11487>.
- 65 Valerie Wilson and William M. Rodgers III, *Black-White Wage Gaps Expand With Rising Wage Inequality*, Economic Policy Institute, 2016, www.epi.org/files/pdf/101972.pdf.
- 66 Economic Policy Institute, *State of Working America Data Library*, 2017, www.stateofworkingamerica.org/chart/swa-wages-figure-4f-share-workers-earning/.
- 67 UN General Assembly, “Publicity to Be Given to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,” Resolution 217 D (III), 1948, Paris.
- 68 UN General Assembly, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 25, 10 December 1948, Resolution 217 A (III), available at <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b3712c.html>.
- 69 Institute for Policy Studies, *How Unequal Are We, Anyway? (A Statistical Briefing Book)*.
- 70 *Going to Bed Hungry*, <http://billmoyers.com/2013/04/05/going-to-bed-hungry/>.
- 71 Child Trends Databank, *Food Insecurity*, 2016, www.childtrends.org/?indicators=food-insecurity.
- 72 University of Wisconsin-Madison, Institute for Research on Poverty, *Reducing Health Disparities by Poverty Status*, 2015, www.irp.wisc.edu/publications/policybriefs/pdfs/PB4-ProvenPoliciesToReduceHealthDisparities.pdf.
- 73 Center for Disease Control, *CDC Investigation: Blood Lead Levels Higher After Switch to Flint River Water*, 2016, www.cdc.gov/media/releases/2016/p0624-water-lead.html.
- 74 Samantha Artiga and Petry Ubri, *Key Issues in Children’s Health Coverage*, The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, 2017, p. 1, www.kff.org/medicaid/issue-brief/key-issues-in-childrens-health-coverage/.
- 75 *Key Issues in Children’s Health Coverage*, www.kff.org/medicaid/issue-brief/key-issues-in-childrens-health-coverage/.
- 76 Forum on Child and Family Statistics, *America’s Children: Key National Indicators of Children’s Well-Being 2015*, www.childstats.gov/pdf/ac2015/ac_15.pdf.
- 77 Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University, *State of the Nation’s Housing 2010*, June 2011, www.jchs.harvard.edu/research/publications/state-nations-housing-2010/.
- 78 Urban Institute, *Issues in Focus: Immigration*, www.urban.org/content/IssuesInFocus/immigrationstudies/immigration.htm.
- 79 U.S. Census Bureau, www.census.gov.
- 80 Urban Institute, *Investor-Owners in the Boom and Bust*, 2011, www.metrotrends.org/commentary/mortgage-lending.cfm.
- 81 U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, *The 2008 Annual Homeless Assessment Report to Congress: A Summary of Findings*, July 2009, www.hmis.info/ClassicAsp/documents/2008AHARSummary.pdf.
- 82 Forum on Child and Family Statistics, *America’s Children: Key National Indicators of Children’s Well-Being 2015*.
- 83 Laura E. Durso and Gary J. Gates, *Serving Our Youth: Findings From a National Survey of Service Providers Working With Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Youth Who Are Homeless or at Risk of Becoming Homeless* (Los Angeles: The Williams Institute With True Colors Fund and The Palette Fund, 2012), <http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Durso-Gates-LGBT-Homeless-Youth-Survey-July-2012.pdf>.
- 84 Child Trends Data Bank, *Neighborhood Safety: Indicators of Child and Youth Well Being*, 2013, www.childtrends.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/107_Neighborhood_Safety-1.pdf.
- 85 The “stop-and-frisk” policy of the New York City Police Department, which became a topic of national media coverage and even a subject of debate in the 2016 presidential election, is one example of a controversial formal policing practice that has been shown to disproportionately impact youth of color. Under “stop-and-frisk,” officers can detain, question, and even search civilians for weapons, drugs, or other contraband. In 2011 alone, the New York City Police Department stopped and questioned over 684,000 people, only 12 percent of whom were issued summonses. Of those stopped, 92 percent were male, most between the ages of 14 and 24, and 87 percent were African American or Latinx.
- 86 “Young Black Men Faced Highest Rate of US Police Killings in 2016,” *The Guardian*, January 8, 2017, www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jan/08/the-counted-police-killings-2016-young-black-men.

- 87 Throughout the book we often use the term *minoritized* instead of *minority*. The choice reflects our recognition that, because of socially constructed differences in race, religion, national origin, sexuality, and gender, certain groups have less power or representation than members of other groups in society.
- 88 Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York: Liveright, 2017); Ann Owens, “Racial Residential Segregation of School-Age Children and Adults: The Role of Schooling as a Segregating Force,” *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences* 3, no. 2 (2017): 63–80. doi:10.7758/RSF.2017.3.2.03.
- 89 H.R. 2178, Student Bill of Rights, 109th Congress, 2005–2006.
- 90 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483, 1954.
- 91 Brookings Institute, *The Suburbanization of Poverty: Trends in Metropolitan Areas, 2000–2008*, January 20, 2010, www.brookings.edu/papers/2010/0120_poverty_kneebone.aspx.
- 92 Gary Orfield, Jongyeon Ee, Erica Frankenberg, and Genevieve Siegel-Hawley, “*Brown*” at 62: *School Segregation by Race, Poverty and State* (Los Angeles: UCLA Civil Rights Project-Proyecto Derechos Civiles, 2016).
- 93 *Ibid.*, 1.
- 94 Bruce Baker, Danielle Farrie, Monete Johnson, Theresa Luhm, and David G. Sciarra, *Is School Funding Fair? A National Report Card*. Newark, NJ: Education Law Center, 2017, www.schoolfundingfairness.org/National_Report_Card.pdf.
- 95 *Ibid.*
- 96 The Education Trust, *The Funding Gap, 2004* (Washington, DC: Education Trust, 2004), www.edtrust.org/sites/edtrust.org/files/publications/files/funding2004.pdf.
- 97 *Ibid.*
- 98 Amy Pyle, “Attacking the Textbook Crisis,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 29, 1997, <http://articles.latimes.com/1997/sep/29/local/me-37364/>.
- 99 *Williams v. State of California*, Complaint Filed May 17, 2000, www.decentsschools.org.
- 100 U.S. Department of Education, Office of Elementary and Secondary Education (1915), *State Plans to Ensure Equitable Access to Excellent Teachers*, <https://www2.ed.gov/programs/titleiparta/equitable/titleiequityanalysis1031.pdf>.
- 101 Bruce D. Baker, Danielle Farrie, and David G. Sciarra, “Mind the Gap: 20 Years of Progress and Retrenchment in School Funding and Achievement Gaps,” *ETS Research Report Series* 2016, no. 1 (2016): 1–37.
- 102 Jeannie Oakes, *Multiplying Inequalities* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1990).
- 103 Paul E. Barton and Richard J. Coley, *Parsing the Achievement Gap II* (Princeton, NJ: Educational Testing Service, 2009), www.ets.org/Media/Research/pdf/PICPARSINGII.pdf.
- 104 National Center for Education Statistics, *The Nation’s Report Card: Trends in Academic Progress 2012* (NCES 2013 456), Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, DC, 2013, <https://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/subject/publications/main2012/pdf/2013456.pdf>.
- 105 McFarland, Hussar, de Brey, Snyder, Wang, Wilkinson-Flicker, Gebrekristos, Zhang, Rathbun, Barmer, Bullock Mann, and Hinz, *The Condition of Education 2017*.
- 106 *Ibid.*

History and Culture

How Expanding Expectations and Powerful Ideologies Shape Schooling in the United States



Education is viewed as the equalizing agent in our society, and meritocracy is viewed as the path to achieve that end. According to this belief, anyone who works hard will fare well. However, the ideology of meritocracy has an underlying flaw: It does not take into account the prevalent inequalities in our society.

Inequality, injustice, discrimination, and racism are terms we generally do not associate with school. However, they are real. We must face and define these terms for our children and ourselves, as we try to make sense of what school is and can be. . . .

Education and schooling should equip students with tools not only to learn how to participate in this society, but also to challenge the oppressing structures that limit their lives. Theories of social justice can move us toward tolerance, awareness, respect, meaning, and fulfillment. Teaching for social justice can occur at any school site. However, teachers and students alike must cast a critical eye upon schooling, and transform it to mirror their realities and aspirations.

—Kimberly Min
Third-grade teacher