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UNDERSTANDING CURRICULUM REFORM IN ONE SCHOOL: A COMPETITION OF IDEAS AND COMMITMENTS

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UNDERSTANDING CURRICULUM REFORM IN ONE SCHOOL: A COMPETITION OF IDEAS AND COMMITMENTS

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Carol A. Barnes

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ABSTRACT

UNDERSTANDING CURRICULUM REFORM IN ONE SCHOOL: A COMPETITION OF IDEAS AND COMMITMENTS

By

Carol A. Barnes

The current call for intellectually rigorous instruction for all children is unprecedented in recent history. This study focuses on how the staff in one school enrolling poor, language minority, immigrant children responded to that call. It explores how curriculum policies pressing high academic standards for all students interacted with other policies aimed at improving the education of the school's children--specifically Title 1 of the ESEA and Bilingual Education.

The school's response suggests that the staff there had embraced the curriculum and Title 1 reforms in varying degrees across several subjects. But variation on the central theme of coping with conflict with only modest resources was the key pattern that emerged in the adaptation process. Those variations ranged from the internal conflict or dilemmas individuals were coping with, to the overt or social, sometimes very emotional disagreements the staff had to cope with, to the dilemmas or tensions the staff shared as a group.

The dynamic process of coping with or managing conflict at Mission was productive as well as counterproductive for reforms: Gains as well as losses emerged from the process for students and teachers. Moreover, productive responses did not naturally or spontaneously occur. Rather, managing productively in the face of conflict required learning and the

human resources to support it. Differences between productive and counterproductive responses depended in part upon social and personal resources. While this school staff was trying to invent the resources they would need to enact reforms, they needed help in doing so.

The study suggests that transforming conventional resources into the kind of capacity-building resources the reforms need will be challenging, because the latter took time to create, were not easily produced, evenly distributed, or interchangeable. Furthermore, social relations such as interdependent work norms that have potential to build capacity were also a source of conflict that worked against collaborative norms at this school. But the study also demonstrates some potential, reason for reformers to hope. It explores how reform advocates might remedy obstacles, and how some existing policy tools have the potential to help.

To the principal, teachers and students at Mission Elementary. And to the memory of my father, whose warm humor and intelligence shine on me still.

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I begin with deepest gratitude to David Cohen for his years of graceful guidance as my dissertation director, advisor, staunchest supporter and most exacting critic. I am indebted to both him and to Penelope Peterson, not only for all they have taught me, but for believing in my dissertation project. Penelope is a friend, mentor, and my dissertation committee chair. I greatly appreciate our long hours together in the field, and in conversation over notes or ideas related to our work together. Both she and Suzanne Wilson, who served as my advisor in graduate school, have contributed much time and energy to my education, giving me the benefit of their institutional knowledge as well as their intelligence as researchers.

This dissertation emerged from the Education Policy and Practice Study (EPPS) and I want to acknowledge the importance of that project's support. The project was sponsored in part by a grant from the US Office of Educational Research and Improvement to the Consortium for Policy Research in Education, and by grants from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and The Pew Charitable Trusts. The principal investigators for the study were David Cohen, Penelope Peterson, Suzanne Wilson and Deborah Ball. They, along with other researchers on the project, created a vital research

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community in which I was fortunate to participate. I am especially indebted to Steve Mattson and Sue Poppink for numerous readings and comments on my dissertation chapters, from very early drafts through the final stages. I have benefited a great deal from their time, energy, careful readings, advice, and friendship.

In addition, small working groups--one related to diversity issues and one on policy--were important. Members of those groups with whom I regularly talked about ideas and issues key to our research include Jennifer Borman, Jeremy Price, James Spillane, and Ruth Heaton. Nancy Jennings was helpful as my mentor when I first entered the graduate program. Angela Shojgreen-Downer helped me think about bilingual education and the role language plays in curriculum reform. Jim Bowker was an invaluable resource for all manner of computer problems. Justin Crumbaugh provided me with the exemplary support I needed to interpret conversations in Spanish during my fieldwork. Finally, Lisa Roy and Patty Havercamp were extremely competent and helpful with all manner of organizational tasks, from field trip paperwork to keeping track of data. While many of these people contributed to my thinking, the views expressed in this dissertation are my own and not necessarily shared by the granting agencies or the other project researchers. Likewise, the graduate school at Michigan State University and the College of Education helped me by providing a fellowship which hastened the completion of my dissertation. But again, the views expressed here are not necessarily shared by them.

Outside of EPPS researchers, Kara Suzuka has been an important and thoughtful companion to consult about teaching, teacher education, mathematics, and technology. I am grateful also for her help in managing the formatting details involved in my thesis. Dirck Roosevelt has been a

valuable source of information about teaching and leadership. And Sarah Theule-Lubienski, though she joined us late, has contributed her boundless energy to a small group of students with whom I have met regularly in graduate school.

I want to acknowledge the important contributions my committee members have made--not only to the dissertation, but to my preparation for writing it. I acknowledged David Cohen, Penelope Peterson and Suzanne Wilson earlier. Gary Sykes also served as my academic advisor for a time during my graduate career. He, along with the rest of the committee--Jay Featherstone, David Labaree and Steve Weiland--encouraged my intellectual pursuits through advice ranging from seminal books or essays to productive courses of study. Though Peter Vinton-Johansen was not on my committee, I want to acknowledge the time and attention he gave me over the course of a year during which I studied intellectual history with him. At times all of these faculty members have given me special gifts by drawing my attention toward seminal thinkers or ways of understanding the world. Formally and informally--through courses they designed, publications they authored, books they loaned, essays they suggested, or conversations they took time to have with me--they have been my teachers and mentors. I am grateful for their intelligence, wit, and wide-ranging knowledge.

Finally, my family and friends have sustained me in innumerable ways throughout the writing of my dissertation and graduate study. My husband Mike, and children, Spencer and Dane, tolerated my absence in mind and body on many occasions. Without their support--including multiple readings of my drafts, cooking, cleaning, laundry duty, encouraging words and humor--I could not have managed to think and write. They and my mother and father have always been my great treasure. I want to thank

both my mother and mother-in-law for their support, encouragement and help in holding our family together during the vicissitudes and trials of working on this task. Likewise, I am grateful to my long time friends and extended family, who not only did not desert me, but who managed to enrich my life despite my frequent absences.

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PREFACE

In part, I directed the view of reform in this dissertation to the policy conversation in which I once participated. Thus, I was writing to myself (or the person I used to be) as well as to the people with whom I interacted in my earlier life as a policy advisor. From that experience, I offer this observation: Though policy-makers may have honorable motives for wanting to "shake up" the education system--improve achievement, and so on--the advantage of hindsight and years of study in schools have convinced me that many "solutions" conceived at the state and federal levels are naive at best, arrogant at worst. In this study, I attempt to bring the voices of people in one school to the "policy table" at which so many sit without any understanding of the other "realities" involved in their reform strategies--even those strategies that are reasoned, honorable, and based on the authority of "research." While I have tried to be balanced--critical as well as empathic, "doubting" as well as "believing" (Elbow 1986)--my sympathies were often with the people I observed for several years as they struggled in the "trenches" of educational reform, often in "hostile territory." The view here pulls apart and examines their world, but the totality of that world was more than its parts. The subjects of my study were, more often than not, trying to make a meaningful life, not simply working to make sense of policy. I want to thank Jay Featherstone for reminding me of this last point. And, I want to thank the

principal, staff, and students at Mission Elementary for welcoming me into their world.

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CHAPTER 1

MISSION ELEMENTARY: AN INTRODUCTION

In the fall of 1994, Laura Mather, the principal of Mission Elementary, was in tears, her head resting on the desk in her office.[1] It had been a long day ending in emotional confrontation with her staff. A series of after school "across grade" meetings had erupted in name-calling due to a new school-wide Title 1 plan that sought to encourage the staff to take mutual obligation for a new, clearer, and more focused school mission. Kindergarten teachers had filed a grievance with the union over details in the new plan. One teacher, Anita Lorenz, broke rank with the others; and this evening another teacher called her a "wimp" for doing so. Ruth Linn, the school's bilingual mentor, heard about the meeting from Lorenz who told her "it was brutal, really brutal."

For some time Mather had worried that teachers--especially the primary grade teachers--were working too independently. Of the kindergarten teachers she said:

> They need to come into [the first grade classroom] to see how those kids function and what is expected of them and everybody else in [first grade] . . .[2]

Mather was trying to forge a common sense of responsibility for student work among her teachers, but admitted it hadn't been easy. Louise James, Mather's friend and Title 1 assistant, concurred. She remembered the November meeting that ended with Mather in tears:

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> We all stayed[late] . . . and the whole discussion disintegrated. All of a sudden they were no longer talking about programs. They were talking about and bashing people . . . And it got [emotional] . . . And there were . . . people with feelings hurt, and tears; there were lots of tears. It was awful. It was awful . . .[3]

Conflict had erupted over new school goals and work norms, but there were other sources of conflict on Laura Mather's mind as well: She also felt under siege by parents who objected to a new "learning assessment" the district had piloted that past spring. Mather reported a father had told her "the CLAS[4] test is just another way for the federal government to strip us of our individualism." Mather worried too about heightened hostilities that were developing between the Spanish-speaking children and the English-speaking students. A few months ago, Mexican-American parents had accused her of being "racist" and of allowing Anglo children to "beat up" and "call their children names" (LM reporting 2/94). Some parents had also complained that their children were not learning to speak English soon enough because of the district's "late exit" bilingual program. She and her staff were having second thoughts about that project which provided native language instruction in subjects such as math and language arts. Meanwhile, the morning traffic in the parking lot was causing problems, and the district psychologist had reported that one of the new students at Mission was likely homicidal--perhaps do to the severe beatings he had suffered at home. Those troubles, along with the graffiti problem on the school walls (which Mather suspected a gang of junior high boys of creating) meant another early morning in the parking lot ensuring students' safe arrival and overseeing cleanup. Laura Mather was tired, but determined.

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Mission Elementary School is open year round and enrolls nearly 950 children: More than 70% of those children are poor, 68% are minority, many of them Mexican-American immigrants who speak limited English.[5] The staff reported that many of their students were transient. Further, some of the children who arrived at this school had not passed out of the first grade in Mexico, though they were ten or eleven years old. Laura Mather reported that one day a mother arrived at Mission with three school-aged children and one toddler, ranging in age from two to eleven years. None of them had been in school. The staff also reported that some of these young children arrived at school with their bodies and souls in need of repair: They were on various occasions hungry, tired, physically ill, emotionally troubled or otherwise abused by their living conditions.

Traveling inland to Mission Elementary with the morning sun bathing the coastal foothills in bright light, one can almost imagine the impressive expanse of southern California land as it might have looked years ago. The hills, stretching as far as the eye can see under a cobalt blue sky, veer up from the Pacific ocean to give the area a prodigious look and feel. Less than 150 years ago, this part of the US was the Republic of Mexico. But today, telephone wires cut across the still blue sky, and small cities or incorporated villages have covered the land from the ocean to the street where Mission Elementary sits. Now the Maracas United School District (MUSD) covers 38 square miles of this region, and includes parts of four cities along with a considerable portion of the urban sprawl between them. Seven new schools have opened there in the past decade to accommodate the rapidly growing population in the area. According to district officials, much of that growth has been from children arriving from Mexico.[6] In the 1991-1992 school year, a MUSD voluntary desegregation plan moved children from Santa Maria--a

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barrio school where 88% of the children enrolled were Mexican American and 70% spoke limited English--to other district schools. Mission Elementary was one of three schools that received the greatest number of poor children, and that number has grown since then.[7]

Mobile home parks cramped with old trailers, many in disrepair, line one side of Mission Boulevard, the road leading up to Mission Elementary School. Further down the road there are small houses pressed together, each with its small parcel of land covered with bougainvillea and other brilliant flowers. Further still, where the boulevard meets the crest of the hills surrounding Mission Elementary, there are larger homes and lots signaling the comfortable socio-economic status of their occupants. On a typical day, a visitor to the school would find Laura Mather standing in front greeting students as they made their way to morning class. Due to budget cuts--only one bus traveled to Mission Elementary by midway in this study--cars congested the parking lot, pulling in and out to drop off children whose complexions ranged from deepest browns to palest beige. Glancing around at the flurry of activity one would be quick to note the children's racial and ethnic diversity as they gathered in groups to talk or laugh.

Mather invested a considerable amount of her time in Mission's students: Their academic work and their welfare were important concerns to her. She was their protector, defender, disciplinarian, fund-raiser, leader, and teacher. Sometimes she despaired over them. She was frustrated to tears on more than one occasion because she was unable to protect her students from the circumstances of their lives.[8] But for the most part, Mission Elementary was a caring and interesting place to be: Children had their breakfast and lunch on picnic tables framed by a mural of an underwater scene, sun roof and outdoor walkway. A parent volunteer painted the mural. The school

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was open early and remained open late for those children who needed a place to stay. There were a variety of educational games and books available for early arrivals. The children at Mission Elementary plant, tend, harvest, and write about their school garden which is quite lovely. A science teacher volunteered his time to design and help develop the garden.

Moreover, many children appeared to be growing very adept at using the computers in the new computer lab for a variety of purposes--one of which was to hone problem solving skills. Laura Mather and her Title 1 coordinator, Louise James, went to great lengths to obtain those computers from community businesses. Title 1 funds helped pay for some. And all the children spent time in the science laboratory, "conducting experiments, doing science." Many of the children were learning to play a Mariachi instrument, and nearly every recess as they practiced, a visitor could hear the tinkling sounds of mandolin music drifting about the school. One of Mission's teachers, whose Irish family has long played in a Mariachi band, volunteered his time to teach any child who wanted to learn. All the children took part in dramatic performances and other creative endeavors. I've observed the English-speaking children performing in a skit using only Spanish. Almost all the English-speaking children have learned to use some Spanish. Most Spanish speakers know some English.

Several teachers have reported that "cooperative learning" does not come naturally to their students; they have to work at it.[9] But from what I've observed they manage quite well. The children certainly help each other with their schoolwork and seem willing and able to work in collaborative groups. I've observed this on many occasions. There are fights--the principal has reported them quite often--but children also help and protect each other in the spirit of the "conflict resolution" program the staff has adopted. For

example, Ana, one little girl I observed for two years, spent her first month of life in a shoe box in the outback of Mexico. She is especially small for her age. But she has many protectors at Mission Elementary, children who stand up for her, children who write her letters expressing their friendship during "free writing time." Teachers report that children go out of their way to befriend and help Ana with her work and on the playground. I have observed this on occasions as well.

Laura Mather knows Ana and about her history in Mexico. Mather knows that Ana's friend Nan, another Title 1 student, misses a lot of school. Her mother sometimes takes Nan out of school on Mondays and Fridays when she cleans other people's houses. But Mather is also aware that Nan is doing better than she did last year and believes it is due to her sister helping her at home and the special tutoring she receives from the bilingual Title 1 teacher. Mather knows her students by name. She and her staff--one classroom teacher at a time--have organized day long meetings centered on individual children. They "borrowed the idea" from the special education process. The speech therapist was at Ana's meeting, as were her teacher and her mother. Nan's mother came to hers. Laura Mather has attended them for almost every student and a central feature of these discussions is how to improve their academic work.

THE RESEARCH CONTEXT AND REFORM ENVIRONMENT: CONTROVERSY AND A COMPETITION OF IDEAS

The conflict that Laura Mather and her staff were trying to manage at Mission Elementary in the fall of 1994 was to some degree bound up with a recent education reform calling for demanding instruction and curriculum for all children. That call--together with the press for the professional collaboration of educators around a more coherent, systemic, reform strategy--

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took place in California, then at the federal level, in the midst of political conflict and long-standing disagreement over educational goals. In California and at the MUSD, such conflict included contentious public and political battles over multiple, potentially competing instructional ideals and assessments. It included battles over the role of language in public education and controversy over the state or local role in educating poor, immigrant children. Likewise, a "competition of ideas"--including long-standing debates about the nature of learning, the problem of low achievement among poor and language minority children, and the place of diverse cultures within American society--shaped the reforms' larger historical context. So in addition to the recent call for reform, the conflict at Mission reflects long-standing popular disagreements and lack of consensus among social scientists over the aims and means of education.

Thus the story of Mission Elementary is in part the story of the episodic, contentious, fragmented nature of educational reform in America, from the ground view (Murphy 1971/1991; Cohen and Spillane 1992; Cohen and Barnes 1993). It is a story about how a school staff tries hard to respond to an incredibly difficult reform in circumstances that made it even harder: They had to mange in the midst of conflict with too few resources. While the conflict theme shows some of what is irrational in the whole by examining competing pieces and individual perspectives, still, the adaptation of substantive policy ideas is a strong counterpoint: Instruction that pressed students to think, authentic, and interesting subject matter, some collaborative academic work; these ideas were all embraced in degrees by staff, taken for granted by many children.

But at Mission Elementary, managing or coping with conflict was intertwined in that adaptation process--that is, the daily work of adapting

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policy ideas to school routines, or classroom practice. That such conflict was part of the reform environment at Mission is not surprising: California was in political turmoil. Further, personal, social, and intellectual conflict in schools or other such social organizations trying to change have been widely reported. But these accounts have not generally been from multiple views of people working in schools. Nor have they generally portrayed the need to manage conflict as an integral aspect of the reform process.

This study focuses on that aspect of the adaptive process at Mission Elementary. It is important because it demonstrates what it means to cope with conflict with too few resources, while trying to adapt demanding reform precepts to schools from the ground view. This perspective is crucial to understanding not only the progress of such reforms now growing in schools, but the nature of their "content" (Cohen and Ball 1997) at the ground level--the latter to consider what it might take to overcome obstacles.

Peter Marris (1967/1982; 1974) argues convincingly that conflict and ambivalence are characteristic of any response to change.[10] Using his varied research on social change--from community action projects to slum clearance--Marris makes the case that conflict is inherent in any serious change attempt. He asserts:

> . . . conflict can not be evaded or resolved, but must be worked out through a long process of reinterpretation; the process is by nature ambivalent (1974, p. 68).

From the perspective of individuals or organizations, social conflict "bursts out of [the] internal contradiction" that is inherent in loss and thus change (p. 103).

Further, researchers and reformers report staff discord in schools that attempt to change, especially those trying to forge clear shared goals, school-wide. And that, in part, is what Mission's staff was trying to do. Lieberman

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and Miller (1992) identified important issues that emerged from three years of involvement in schools trying to change. They found that the search for a common school vision, and staff discussion around that task generated social conflict as school staffs went about the work of learning to communicate. Lieberman, Wood and Falk (1994) view "collegial professional communities" as a key to change, but also acknowledge "conflict is inevitable" (p. 37). Fullan (1993) reviewed the recent literature on school change. He distilled several overarching themes in that research: Conflict was a key theme that turned up in each of the studies:

> We have seen in the dynamic complexity of major education change projects that conflict and disagreement are part and parcel of all productive change processes (p. 81).

Likewise, Newmann and Wehlage (1995) synthesized findings from several projects using varied methods to study schools trying to improve by collaborating on clear goals. They also concluded that there are powerful forces working against building shared goals, one of which is the lack of consensus on accountability--that is, measures of student performance. Even the USED "Idea Book" on school-wide planning for Title 1, warns that reaching consensus is a slow process, and drawing from practitioners' reports, notes that even successful school-wide projects unfold with "false starts" on "circuitous" routes. Schools have "growing pains" (Pechman and Fiester 1994, p. vi).

Education Reform

The "growing pains" reported by Mission Elementary's staff in the fall of 1994 had emerged in part from a significant, all-staff decision, and the ensuing struggle to "restructure" their Title 1 program around a new, focused school mission. The conflict at Mission was rooted in the staff's continuing

response to ambitious academic reforms that were first pressed by the 1988 Hawkins-Stafford amendments to Chapter 1 (now Title 1) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). Those amendments called for teaching advanced intellectual skills to all children, and in doing so contradicted at least two decades of policy and practice that had encouraged remedial work--improving basic skills--for children disadvantaged by poverty. Congress expanded the ideals in the 1988 amendments in 1994 when it reauthorized Title 1 was and linked it to a new federal initiative, Goals 2000. Those two policies sought to encourage coherent curricular frameworks and accountability systems that would press the country's schools further in the direction of high standards of intellectual achievement for all children.

Reformers, researchers, and students of teaching have argued that educator professionalism is one important strategy for reaching such a goal, as well as one potent form of accountability. Thus, the reauthorized Title 1 renewed the press for "school-wide projects" which grew in part out of research suggesting that professional school norms can improve achievement (Pechman and Fiester 1994). Such norms include a cohesive, collegial community in which teachers take mutual responsibility for students' high academic achievement. School staffs forge shared goals through deliberation and debate of defensible practices (Purkey and Smith 1983; Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy 1986; National Board for Professional Teaching Standards 1989; Sykes 1990; Little 1990; Holmes Group 1990; Darling-Hammond 1992; Lieberman and Miller 1992). Coherence, professional collaboration and intellectually rigorous academic standards for all students: These were the themes in the cluster of reforms that were making their way into Mission Elementary during the course of this study--from the fall of 1993 to the spring of 1995.

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That those reform ideas were in the air at Mission Elementary is not surprising, for California has been one state leading the standards reform for all students. For example, a 1988 California State Department program advisory based on then-new amendments to Chapter 1 (now Title 1) repeatedly emphasized that all children were entitled to an intellectually challenging education. The advisory rejected "pull-out" strategies that focused on remedial instruction of low-level skills, claiming such strategies isolated children from higher-achieving peers. It favored "regular classroom" instruction that emphasized thinking and communicating about "rich content."[11] California's mathematics and language arts curriculum frameworks are also examples of the call for higher standards for all children. The 1988 English-Language Arts Model Curriculum Guide stressed engaging all California students in "disciplined academic study" (p. v). The foreword sketched the intended meaning for the term "all children" and described California school children as coming "from widely diverse ethnic, racial, linguistic, and economic backgrounds." Since at least 1985, the mathematics framework has also called for intellectually ambitious instruction for <u>all</u> children (Webb 1993). Then California State Superintendent William Honig wanted the 1985 Mathematics Framework to outline an inclusive vision of rigorous mathematics education. On that point he said: " . . .every student can enjoy and use mathematics to real advantage and . . .the power of mathematical thinking is not reserved for only an academic elite" (Cited in Webb, p. 126).

By early 1995, California's new state superintendent Delaine Eastin pressed the ideas in Goals 2000 and the reauthorized Title 1 in regional meetings organized for local educators. Laura Mather attended one such meeting and returned with a "Goals 2000 Request for Applications"

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memorandum that Eastin and the state department of education were distributing. The memorandum called for local applicants to "thoughtfully consider . . .how greater coherency can be created . . ." (p. 3). Criteria for judging plans included evidence of a "shared vision of teaching and learning that is centered around high standards of achievement for every student." And, they included "a commitment to working in . . .a collaborative manner throughout the change effort" (p. 16).[12]

State and Local Reform Environment

But a turbulent political environment surrounded educators at Mission Elementary School as they tried to learn about these new ideas calling for coherence--clear goals and accountability--professional collaboration, and complex intellectual achievement for all children. And the recent reform is one of many to have accumulated in an education system that offers an array of competing program ideas from many countervailing sources. In California and at the MUSD, there were policy debates over the goals and means of education and popular resistance to the reform ideas. In December of 1992, three new conservative Christian board members were elected in the MUSD, giving the majority on the five-member board to that group. Among other acts, the new board members blocked a grant to Mission Elementary that would have coordinated school programs, including social services in the school, because they thought such programs were beyond the scope of the school's purposes. Some also wanted to install creationism in the MUSD curriculum. But most importantly, conservative citizen groups were arguing that the reforms pressing for critical thinking undermined religious and parental authority. Teachers at Mission reported that one board member at the MUSD campaigned for more phonics instruction in the

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schools. Some parents saw the new direction in curriculum and instruction as trespassing on parental rights and family privacy. The call for educating all children to high intellectual standards was, according to some, an infringement on individualism.[13]

Thus, Laura Mather's concern over the just-emerging parental resistance to the (CLAS) in the fall of 1994 reflects pervasive disagreements in America over what should be taught and tested. The CLAS in particular became the center of a great deal of controversy and some popular resistance in southern California. The fledgling instrument was California's attempt at developing a more authentic statewide assessment in alignment with their curriculum frameworks. It included open-ended problems that pressed students to engage in considerable writing and thinking, and that sometimes required them to justify their answers through reasoning. But some parents in the MUSD whose children attended Mission Elementary were worried that the CLAS was an instrument for violating family privacy, undermining authority, a means of stamping out individual achievement and academic excellence. Though Laura Mather and others had been reassuring parents, Mather reported being unable to convince some of them. The district hired a conservative Christian teacher to act as the "parent liaison" for concerns about the CLAS.

But that wasn't the only conflict in the air surrounding the CLAS: The MUSD required schools to give their students the California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS), a standardized basic skills test, as well as the CLAS. One reason was that federal programs--Title 1 of the ESEA, for example--still required such a measure of student progress until the 1994-1995 school year. By that time, the CLAS was under attack for everything from invading family privacy to producing statistically invalid results. But very different assumptions

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about teaching and learning inform the CLAS and CTBS. For example, the CLAS requires complex performances aimed at demonstrating students' understanding of subject matter, critical thinking, and analytical or problem solving abilities--"advanced thinking skills." The CTBS expects rapid selection of "factual" answers which draw on more basic levels of cognitive functioning--rote learning and reproducing the "facts" as they have been specified by others. The CTBS and the CLAS represent only one example of a clash in policy ideals--assumptions that competed or were in conflict at the MUSD and Mission Elementary. They capture some of the disagreements teachers at Mission had with themselves or with others; and they embody aspects of a broader, more long-standing debate over the goals and methods of American education (Darling-Hammond 1992a; Newmann and Wehlage 1995; Cohen and Barnes 1993b; Cohen and Barnes 1995).

So the reform ideas didn't eliminate older, more traditional ideas about curriculum or teaching--in the state, the district, or the school. And, those traditions and inherited ideas sometimes competed with reforms. The assumptions informing the CTBS represent one set of inherited ideas. Strong norms of teacher autonomy represent another tradition that competed with reforms. Where instructional preferences are at stake, teachers have long been committed to a culture of individualism, not collaboration, (Little 1990; Sykes 1990; Lortie 1975). Thus some of the school-level conflict that erupted at Mission was rooted in Laura Mather's attempt to forge mutual responsibility for student learning. That conflict at the school centered on Mather's press to open her kindergarten through second grade teachers' previously unexamined, personal instructional choices to collegial scrutiny. Such norms conflicted quite dramatically with traditional norms of teacher autonomy. And, the press for new school norms uncovered teacher

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disagreement as well as charged public debate over instructional goals and means. Meanwhile, two third grade teachers who had been working as a team for some time were arguing over the assumptions in the CTBS and the CLAS, even before the school's attempt to reach some agreement on school-wide goals.

Conflicting opinion over educating Mexican immigrant children in California schools confounded the instruction and assessment debates, and added to the political turmoil in the state as well as the school. At Mission, teachers held conflicting opinions about the district's "late exit" bilingual policy, and they disagreed over the meaning of equitable standards as those standards were entangled with language. One teacher accused another of not holding high-enough standards for Spanish-speaking children and of using "developmental" as "an excuse for not teaching." Laura Mather worried that language was creating conflict between Spanish-speaking children and English-speaking children. At the district level, several Maracas school board members told a large crowd at one of their meetings in the Spring of 1994 that funds for bilingual education should be used for the "real" Maracas students--that is, those who speak English and who were born in the United States. Such controversy reflected in part the state turmoil over educating immigrants. For example, in an unusual move, the state Senate challenged one of Governor Pete Wilson's state board of education appointments.[14] The reason for this challenge provides a glimpse into a long-standing conflict of opinion over educating California's Spanish-speaking and immigrant children.

Frank Light, Wilson's state board appointee and the president of Sun-Maid Raisin Growers, had supported an assembly bill that would have prevented undocumented migrant children from attending public schools.

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The bill had drawn much testimony, both pro and con. For example, Hispanic lawmakers accused the legislation and the Republicans of "immigrant bashing."[15] But a parent told the Assembly committee that his children's education was in jeopardy because the Spanish-speaking children of undocumented migrant workers dominated their school. A teacher testified that English-speaking teachers with years of seniority were losing their jobs, while junior bilingual teachers remained at theirs. Supporters said it would save millions of dollars; opponents said it would punish innocent children. The Education Committee rejected the bill by an 8-3 vote,[16] but a statewide referendum with similar intent--Proposition 187--passed by quite a majority in November, 1994.

Meanwhile, in the fall of 1993, the Los Angeles school district was redesigning its bilingual program because the California State Department of Education had criticized the district for lacking qualified bilingual teachers. The state's review process, derived from the state department's interpretation of state and federal law, required districts to provide limited English-speaking (LEP) students with an "equal opportunity for academic achievement" as well as teach them English. School officials interpreted state policy rules to call for LEP students to be taught core subjects--that is, mathematics, science, and language arts--in their native language until they could succeed in the regular classroom. A group of parents, Learning English Advocates, was fighting the changes, arguing that Spanish-speaking students ought to be taught through immersion in English only.[17] These kinds of arguments--over new forms of assessment; curriculum and instruction; over bilingual education; and the education of immigrant, mostly poor children--contributed to the political turmoil in southern California and in the MUSD during 1993, 1994, and 1995.

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Not only were Mather and her staff trying to make sense of reforms, in this context of conflicting traditions and political controversy, but they were doing so with dwindling resources. For example, the arguments staff at Mission were having in the fall of 1994 over badly needed categorical resources were in part a reflection of the problem of repeated budget cuts at the MUSD. At Mission, burgeoning enrollments, transportation cuts, reductions in funding for building improvements, and funding cuts for personnel had created large teacher-pupil ratios, traffic congestion, and time consuming administrative tasks for Mission's staff. One result of Proposition 13, a ballot proposal enacted in California in 1978, was to quite dramatically reduce funding for education. First the proposition restricted funding by capping local property taxes, thus shifting the funding burden to the state. Then, a year later, an amendment limited the growth of state spending and mandated a "refund" to taxpayers.

These simultaneous limits on local and state spending for education, along with a state recession, left many California schools--Mission Elementary among them--with high pupil-teacher ratios, overcrowded, and in need of repair. Laura Mather's relentless early morning efforts to see that her school building and grounds were presentable and a source of pride for her staff and students were also in response to this problem.[18] So dwindling resources and political controversy, along with disagreements over instruction and assessments, contributed to the environment in which staff at Mission Elementary School were trying to work out new ideas about organizing their school and teaching diverse, but mostly poor, students toward high academic standards.

An Historical View

The reforms at Mission Elementary were also unfolding within a larger historical context of debates and political action: a competition of ideas over the goals and methods of public education. Many of those ideas have been rooted in theory, social science, and political or public debate. The set of complex, sometimes contradictory, assumptions underlying policies designed to remedy the effects of disadvantage interacts with competing assumptions about teaching, learning, and assessment.[19] Thus, long-standing debates about the nature of cognition, the problem of low achievement among poor and language-minority children, and the place of diverse languages or cultures within American society are salient here.[20]

For example, in 1985 the National Academy of Education published a report surveying at least two decades of research on reading. The report, A Nation of Readers, called for higher standards of literacy and declared reading to be a matter of making sense of "rich" texts. The report made a "constructivist" argument:

> Text comprehension depends upon a reader's prior knowledge, experience and attitudes; meaning is constructed as a reader links what he reads to what he knows (p. vi).

The California curriculum frameworks drew on the premises and evidence in A Nation of Readers, as well as those in other documents put out by a series of standards projects. The comments just above are in part a reflection of the growing number of cognitive scientists who took learning to be an active matter of making sense of the world, rather than passively responding to it.[21] Those ideas were rooted in part in Jean Piaget's pioneering studies of cognitive development. Piaget argued that children make sense of their world by constructing their understanding over time, building on what they

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already know (Gardner 1991; Wadsworth 1989; Tryphon and Voneche 1996). Children as biological individuals do this work of making meaning through interaction with their environment. The groundbreaking work of Lev Vygotsky placed culture and social interaction with others--not the individual--at the center of human development, but maintained the idea that humans construct meaning (Tudge and Winterhoff 1992; Gardner; Tryphon and Voneche). In America, John Dewey had also long argued that learning was a matter of active engagement with others and with important ideas. These men were followed by American developmental or cognitive psychologists--Jerome Bruner, prominent among them--who reinforced the importance of "meaning" and culture to mind and learning (Bruner 1983; 1990).

But these arguments about the nature of learning and mind contrast quite dramatically with the premises of the educational psychology that held sway in America for almost a century. Edward Lee Thorndike shaped the practices of a majority of teachers and school staff for decades during his years at Columbia University's Teachers College (Joncich 1962). Thorndike cast learning as behavior, not as an active mental process of making sense. The learner was a responder, not a creator, of meaning. And motivation for learning was external, not internally located in the questions and experiences of the learner.

For years Thorndike had also argued that curriculum ought to be specialized, based on differences in the inherent capacity of children, and that attempts to bring all students up to one standard were inappropriate, if not impossible.

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> persons to be educated--decide in part what the proximate aims of education should be (Thorndike 1912, p. 40).

In Thorndike's vision, academic goals were far from standard; rather, social engineers would construct them based on individual differences. In the fifties, sixties, and seventies, Robert Gagne, Benjamin Bloom, and other theorists expanded on some of Thorndike's themes--about the importance of practice and learning hierarchies, for example--and they argued for sequential instruction based on differences in student "pace," as opposed to inherent capacity. Both men argued that the hierarchical structure of learning ought to be the organizing principle for instruction, and that simple concrete skills formed the foundation for increasingly more complex, abstract ones (Gagne 1965/1970; Bloom 1956; Bloom Hastings and Madaus 1971). The reform ideas that had made their way into Mission Elementary competed with this conception of teaching and learning. The big ideas in the new wave of reform--unusual in recent history for its insistence that all students could learn to intellectually rigorous standards--grew in part out of cognitive conceptions of learning: Subject matter complexity can be reduced through social interaction. Basic skills and complex thinking can be learned simultaneously. Indeed, the purpose of any genuine learning is understanding, which requires complex thought, including critical thought, based on prior experience and new information.

But as Title 1 of the ESEA was taking shape in the sixties it followed from the prevailing arguments about the nature of learning and poverty that poor children should compensate for learning deficits through remedial work; that is, they should begin at the bottom of the skills hierarchy, with isolated bits of information and discrete, low-level tasks. Title 1--the heart of the federal government's educational reform effort at that time--was

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informed in part by theories which defined the problem of persistent, low academic achievement by poor children as a matter of "cultural deprivation" (Riessman 1961; Bloom, Davis and Hess 1965; Deutsch 1964; Ausubel 1967). Researchers studied the early social environment of poor children and argued that the effects of such "deprivation" amounted to "learning deficits" which the children brought with them to school. Thus, advocates for the education of poor children, Allison Davis and Benjamin Bloom among others, recommended:

> not equality of access to education, [but] a system of compensatory education which can prevent or overcome earlier deficiencies in the development of each individual (Bloom, Davis and Hess 1965, p. 6).

And in Title 1 of the ESEA, "compensatory education" was born. But it was also resisted by local education agencies because the ideal of local control was still strong in America (Passow 1971; Murphy 1971/1991). Thus districts who were required to show that federal dollars were spent on poor children responded with the "pull-out" as a tracking mechanism. Children receiving Title 1 help were "pulled out" of classrooms to receive their special "compensatory instruction" which, following the logic of the arguments just sketched, was most often drill and practice in basic skills (Allington 1991; Odden, 1991).

Some social scientists and minority activists, as well as local communities, resisted the assumptions underlying compensatory education, albeit for very different reasons. Baratz & Baratz (1970) argued the reason compensatory programs had failed to raise achievement levels was because they had been created to prevent deficits that just were not there. The Baratzes blamed social scientists and the Title 1 advocates for failing to meet the needs of poor children: "Ethnocentric liberal ideology under girding social intervention programs denies cultural differences" (p. 30). They

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wanted schools to use "multi-cultural" materials, including tests and instructional strategies that used the child's existing culture and language to teach them new ones. Community activists were making similar indictments and calling for similar strategies (Church and Sedlak 1976). Here, cultural difference rather than deficiency was the key assumption explaining the problem of low achievement among poor, minority children.

After congressional hearings during which the idea of validating cultural differences was a powerful theme, Lyndon Johnson signed the Bilingual Education Act into law in 1968. Diane Ravitch (1983) argues that the purposes of bilingual education were hugely controversial. Support for cultural and language maintenance came from bilingual educators and ethnic group leaders, while members of Congress and federal administrators wanted to help students adapt to the mainstream of American life by teaching them to speak English. Public debates over language sketched here have been prominent in California, at least since the Progressive Era when the West was opened up by the railroads in the 1880s. At that time, non-Spanish-speaking "immigrants" began pouring in from the Eastern US, setting off a long-standing argument about the "official" language of the area (Raftery 1992; Acuna 1981).

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So the current call for intellectually rigorous instruction for all children is unprecedented in recent history. Opinion is divided over what sort of instruction is most effective for all children, but especially children disadvantaged by the effects of social and economic circumstances. Opinion is divided over whether or not there are effects. Nevertheless, for years the remedies have most often included remedial instruction of basic skills. The new curriculum policies not only challenge the assumptions informing

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In California, conservative groups and some parents have opposed the ideas and assumptions in recent policies aimed at improving the intellectual quality of instruction for any children, not just disadvantaged ones. They have opposed the press for critical thought in subject matter content areas. They have criticized the move away from more "basic skills," and especially the assessment of the new curriculum and instruction--that is, the CLAS. These people criticize the CLAS for its open-ended questions; for allowing multiple interpretations; for assessing students reasons for their answers, as well as their answers; and for requiring group or cooperative problem solving. Some parents and citizen groups, in the tradition of Thorndike and Progressive era social engineering, even have opposed the assumption that all children should learn to high standards. These parents are part of a long tradition of Americans citing competition and individualism as their reason for such opposition. Both groups are quite vocal about what they believe to be the purposes of schools: that is, to teach children basic, "factual" content and the basic skills of reading, spelling, and arithmetic computation. These kinds of skills are most often measured by standardized tests such as the CTBS.

Parents, citizen groups, and educators are also divided over the purposes of bilingual education--some consider assimilation to the mainstream culture the goal, others consider cultural maintenance the goal, still others suggest equal access to understanding subject matter is the purpose--and there is some popular antagonism over educating immigrant children such as those enrolled in Mission Elementary.

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Given this context, in California, any response to the recent call for intellectually demanding instruction for all children would be set in this sea of diverse and conflicting opinion. And any response would also likely be within the context of multiple and sometimes conflicting policy ideals that have accumulated in schools over the decades. How does one school staff respond to curriculum reform calling for rigorous standards of intellectual instruction for all children in this environment? How do such policies and their response interact with the way other programs in the school work; that is, those designed to remedy the effects of social, economic or linguistic disadvantage--specifically Title 1 of the ESEA and Bilingual Education? What happens when these policy and program ideas meet in a school enrolling many poor, limited-English-speaking children?

CENTRAL THEME AND CONCEPTUAL FRAME

The staff at Mission Elementary responded ambitiously to curriculum and instructional reform ideas. But the process of adapting those ideas to their situation entailed coping with considerable conflict: personal ambivalence, social clashes, and tensions in reforms--between competing ideas or ideals within the reforms as well as between the reforms and other notions of appropriate practice. They also had to manage the tension between reform ideals and the practical realities in the school. How people managed in the face of all those external or internal conflicts with only modest, sometimes insufficient resources for the task at hand is the central theme in my data.[22]

Mission Elementary school's response suggests that the staff there had embraced the curriculum and Title 1 reforms in varying degrees across several subjects. I observed elements of the curriculum reforms--in

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mathematics, science, and language arts--on some occasions, across all six of the teachers in my subset at Mission Elementary. All six also talked about the reform ideas in their interviews. Generally, both the principal and her Title 1 coordinator had made an imprint on the school that favored equitable academic expectations for students--a rich literacy, and reformed vision of instruction, though this last competed with other ideas about best practice. The staff's choices around categorical resources sometimes complemented the idea of school-wide curriculum reform; for example, they used Title 1 funds to develop a writing laboratory for all students, and a science laboratory. By the time this study opened in 1993, the Mission Elementary staff had responded to the 1988 amendments by eliminating most pull-out instruction, and by trying to integrate their Title 1 instruction with the regular curriculum. To do this last, the staff sometimes pooled categorical funds to hire special teachers. One such teacher , Monique Ponds, the bilingual Title 1 teacher, is featured in this study. Ponds' practice tended to integrate multiple program goals. Finally, teachers sometimes collaborated in small teams in an effort to coordinate their instruction. The school's "Compañero bilingual project" is a key example here.

Coping With Conflict

But managing in the face of conflict with only modest resources was the key aspect in the process of adapting ideas or precepts in the reforms to the context of Mission Elementary. That process was a steady attempt by staff to balance various ideas or ideals with the situation at hand, for which there was often no "solution." (Lindblom and Cohen 1979; Lindblom 1959; 1990).[23] Rather, the process called for managing trade-offs or balancing contradictory commitments in the face of dilemmas (Cuban 1992; Lampert 1985). First, the

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rriculum reforms in their broadest sense--described earlier to include the eals of staff collaboration, coherence, and rigorous intellectual achievement all students--not only tended to compete with other programs or ideas out appropriate practice,[24] but to compete (sometimes) with themselves as ll. Further, the staff at Mission often seemed to embrace the competing als. So, for example, aspects of curriculum reforms, in practice, tended to be tension with some of the means and aims of the bilingual education ogram (English as a Second Language instruction (ESL) for instance, or glish proficiency for another). The reforms calling for high standards of ellectual achievement by all children interacted with bilingual education als, which in turn seemed to be contradictory themselves at times. There re tensions within and between reform ideals in the case of Title 1 as well. e staff's choices around tensions--between the complexity in ambitious tructional reforms and the ideal of clear, specified goals, for example, or tween commitments to both clarity and collaboration for another--created de-offs, losses, as well as gains.

Second, aside from the problem of policy goals competing, teachers agreed with each other over what particular programs and policies meant d what to do about them (though until a significant decision to restructure schools' work norms, such disagreements were not generally made blic). And even when they did agree, they sometimes agreed for very ferent reasons. Teachers at Mission Elementary held conflicting beliefs out teaching and students, and those beliefs interacted with the meaning y made of various ideas. Third, teachers and school leaders were bivalent; not only did they disagree with others about the meaning of licy ideas and what to do about them, they disagreed with themselves about at to do. They were pulled in more than one direction at once. Finally, as

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noted at the onset, the policy and program ideals often were in conflict with the practical realities of life in this school as the staff at Mission worked to put those ideals into practice. The staff had to balance ideas or ideals with the situation at hand, for which there was often no one or final "solution." A very transient student population and only modest resources are two examples of the "practical realities" this school, and many like it, face.

Resources, Capacity, and the Potential "Pedagogy" of Policy

In this study, "resources" are conceptualized as financial, social, personal, and print or other media. Financial resources include funding to reduce class size, to purchase more support personnel, more time for staff conversations or other sustained learning opportunities related to reform. For several reasons--conflicting priorities, laissez-faire professional development norms, political controversy, budget cuts, the special needs of students, and so on--financial resources at Mission allocated to reform were thin when compared to the task of enacting them. Nevertheless, resources, from categorical programs especially, helped build capacity for reform--at the school level, and at the level of instruction.

The term social resource is informed by a "pedagogy of the policy" metaphor, and includes, among other social relations, scaffolding for learning about reforms through sustained instructional discourse with knowledgeable others--"teachers" of the policy--or mutual goals for student learning, and collaborative conversations focused on how to achieve them (Cohen and Barnes 1993; McLaughlin and Talbert 1993; Ball and Cohen 1996; Cohen and Ball 1997; Newmann and Wehlage 1995; Darling-Hammond 1992; Lieberman and Miller 1992; Peterson and Barnes 1996). Coleman's (1990) social capital theory also informs the idea that social resources reside in relationships

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where there are shared goals, understanding, trust, and so on. These kinds of resources helped to build capacity for reform at Mission, but they too were only modest when compared to the difficulty of the work of enacting reforms. And, in the case of individual teachers, social resources for learning tended to be invented ad hoc, without official incentives, rather than available as an integral part of the district system. When the staff began to build capacity for change through mutual understanding and goals, those social relations, while a potential resource for reform, also became a source of conflict. Social conflict was embedded in the social relations that had potential to build capacity for school-wide reform.

Print or other kinds of media resources include those that would provide specified curricular guidance as a means for educators to learn from the policy--using the pedagogy of the policy construct, a "curriculum of the policy." These too existed at Mission Elementary, because California had developed several elements of an instructional guidance system aimed at teacher learning related to reform. The CLAS was a potential "curriculum" for reforms, as were chunks of reform-oriented student curricula designated as "replacement units." The district and state curriculum frameworks served as a curriculum for teachers as well as administrators at Mission Elementary on occasions. And the state school improvement process that was centered on the task of aligning student work with the reform frameworks helped teachers at Mission specify the meaning of reforms for their particular classrooms. This process had the potential for becoming a very rich resource for learning at Mission Elementary. But these resources, though more than many states offer, were set within a competition of ideas and priorities, conflicting messages--from the state and the district--and "shopping mall" professional development norms. So, at Mission Elementary, these resources

were also thin when compared to the challenges of enacting the intellectually-rigorous reforms.

Finally, the term "personal resources" is a lens for considering the prior understanding, experience, education, and predilection that enactors bring to their work. Personal histories contribute to the set of factors in the reform environment that sometimes complement, sometimes compete with, but often complicate the reforms. The concept of "personal resources" is informed by both human capital theory and constructivist, cognitive theory of development. The latter--drawing on the work mentioned earlier by thinkers such as Piaget, Vygotsky, Dewey and Bruner--holds that people interpret new information--new ideas in policies for example--by building on existing cognitive structures; that is, they interpret new information based on what they know and understand. By using the pedagogy of the policy metaphor, one can imagine how the personal histories of enactors can inform the reformers' understanding of the "learners" of the reforms--the reform's end of the line, and likely most influential agents. The personal histories of the enactors are part of the reform environment (Cohen and Ball 1997).

The staff's personal histories can contribute to a school's capacity for change, but they are also a source of potential conflict. For all the commonalties in their roles and environment, educators are still individuals. And, for the most part, in schools where autonomy is the reigning norm, personal histories, different sources of information and understanding, different educational backgrounds and different convictions create differences in their practices. One assumption in a pedagogy of the policy construct--a construct that brings together cognitive theory, social theory, and policy implementation research--is that collaborative norms among educators have the potential to transform the differences in knowledge and understanding

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among teachers into sources and "scaffolding" for their learning (Ball and Cohen; Peterson and Barnes). But these differences can also be a source of social conflict and disagreement, as they were at Mission Elementary.

Mission's story is important because it can tell us something about the "implementation" of the "high standards" reforms in California, a state that was in some ways ahead of the federal government's Goals 2000 and Title 1 reforms. The reforms in California are without clear indicators of goals accomplished (though debate over their effects continues to rage). But accumulating research evidence--since the post-sputnik curriculum reforms--suggests that how an education reform fares depends upon those who put it into practice. The individuals at the end of the policy line are key to the policy implementation process (Lipskey 1980). One reason planned change in education fails may be because planners do not recognize the situation of the those who implement the change at the level of social interaction (Elmore 1979/1980; Elmore and McLaughlin 1988; McLaughlin 1976; McLaughlin, 1987). Thus, policies aimed at changing practice need the "essential contribution of teachers' perspectives" as informal guides (McLaughlin 1990). And understanding the "realities" of major participants in reforms is essential to understanding the feasibility of any change as it exists at the time of the planned reform (Fullan and Stiegelbauer 1991).

The recent reforms require not just any sort of change, but rigorous intellectual work by administrators, teachers, and students alike. Thus, understanding the recent reforms' feasibility in light of responses from people who have to interpret and enact them seems especially important. My study has grown out of The Education Policy and Practice Study (EPPS). EPPS research has focused in part on the importance of sustained learning opportunities for teachers, administrators, and others as a policy lever for

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changing practices (Cohen and Ball 1990; Peterson 1990; Wilson 1990; Weiss and Cohen 1991; Jennings 1992). So in this study, policy implementation is examined for its pedegogical potential. In spite of generally weak and fragmented instructional guidance in this country (Cohen and Spillane 1992), and in spite of most policies' historically weak "pedagogy" (Cohen and Barnes 1993), if one indicator or prerequisite to "successful" implementation of reform is taken to be a process of learning and relearning by enactors, then Mission's story offers insights into that dynamic process.

RESEARCH ORIENTATION AND DATA[25]

Generally, my empirical research orientation emerged through my work as part of the Education Policy and Practice Study (EPPS). EPPS was a team of researchers investigating reforms aimed at improving the intellectual quality of instruction by looking at the mathematics and literacy instruction in a set of classrooms in three states. My work with EPPS generated some of the broad analytic categories in my data--categories such as teachers' beliefs or attitudes, as well as their practices around mathematics reforms, literacy reforms, and so on. That research orientation is part of a long tradition of qualitative research with theoretical underpinnings in the symbolic interaction of the Chicago School of Sociology, and the phenomenological approach in which a researcher attempts to understand her subject's point of view on a topic (Bogdan and Biklen 1992).

In the tradition of the theories that emerged from the cognitive revolution sketched in the opening to this chapter, these research traditions assume that people are actively engaged in creating their own world. Humans interpret and negotiate the meaning of that world in interaction with others and with the help of their past experiences. Thus, the position of

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teachers and administrators as "learners" or "interpreters" of various reform policies is parallel to the conception of student learners portrayed in the curriculum policies themselves. This study is embedded in a larger research tradition that is intellectually consistent with the big ideas that emerged from the cognitive revolution and that informed the reform policies considered here.[26]

And, as sketched earlier, the intellectual history of competing ideas about the nature of cognition, the best kind of instruction for "disadvantaged children," and the education of immigrant children all interacted in the meaning that teachers and administrators constructed around policy. Those ideas and ideals have long been debated in the broader contexts of society. Within those broader contexts, this study focused on the "situated action" (Bruner 1990) in one school.[27] That action lies on the intersection of biography and social context: It includes the individual reports and practices of a subset of educators, as well as a view of social interaction and the school-wide environment. I explored multiple perspectives--school, classroom, and small group Title 1 instruction--on three key policies in one school. "Auto-biographical" sketches which unfold in each data chapter stand for a portion of the "prior understanding" and experience each of the subjects brought to the school culture as a whole.[28]

The Data

I observed and interviewed staff at Mission Elementary from January of 1993 to June of 1995.[29] But I first observed teachers at Mission Elementary in spring of 1993 as part of the EPPS wave of data collection that sought to learn about categorical programs and the instruction received by "disadvantaged" children in our study's schools. Among other questions we

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asked the following: "How do programs and policies intended to remedy the effects of social, economic, and linguistic "disadvantage" work in the schools in which we observe? How do teachers think about the education of students who are from disadvantaged circumstances and/or racial, ethnic, and language minorities?[30] How do efforts to dramatically improve the intellectual quality of instruction in literacy and mathematics interact with the patterns of thought and instruction that we observe when we pay attention to issues concerning children who come from different racial, ethnic, or linguistic groups or from different social class origins?"

For two years, I used interview and observation instruments developed by a subset of our EPPS group--those researchers who were especially interested in the education of "disadvantaged children" or in "diversity" issues.[31] Though I strayed from those some, and developed new questions in order to investigate particular issues as they arose in the context of Mission, the diversity instruments served as the foundation of my interviews and observations.

In year one I observed a Compañero bilingual team of second grade teachers: One taught mostly Spanish-speaking children, the other mostly English-speaking children, both had many Title 1 students whom they taught core subjects in their primary language. I also observed and/or interviewed a cluster of support staff and school administrators who were in various ways involved with the categorical programs--especially Title 1 (then Chapter 1)--at the school. The Title 1 bilingual teacher who worked part-time in the Spanish-speaking room was one key subject, because she worked with the handful of students whose instruction I was focusing on in that room. Meanwhile, near the end of the first year, the staff made a significant collective decision to restructure their Title 1 program by narrowing and

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clarifying the school-wide vision, then by working more collaboratively and coherently toward that vision. One important aspect of the plan was to concentrate the school's Title 1 resources in the early grades. That staff decision evolved over time--almost a one year period--and the conflict described in the opening vignette was only a portion of what they had to manage during the second year of the study.

So, after a year in the second grade Compañero classrooms (observing the Title 1 instruction), the set of Title 1 children whose instruction I had been observing were off to another Compañero team for the 1994-1995 school year. I followed the same subset of children to their new third grade teachers--another Compañero bilingual team--in order to compare the instruction they received that year with the year before. I continued to observe their instruction as well as interview and "shadow" the school's principal and Title 1 administrator. But I added one additional first grade bilingual teacher to my set of subjects the second year--Juan Ramirez. His room gave me a view into one classroom where three adults were working with first grade Title 1 children. This was a "resource rich" classroom because of a new Title 1 plan. But the "neediest" Title 1 children I followed to third grade lost most of their resources because of the new plan.

In all, I focused on eight people: Two second grade teachers, two third grade teachers, a bilingual Title 1 teacher who instructed the Spanish-speaking children in both second and third grade classrooms, a first grade bilingual teacher, the school's principal, and the principal's Title 1 assistant. Writing field notes, reflecting on my visits to Mission Elementary, analyzing data, and writing a paper for presentation clarified and reinforced two impressions I had after my first several days in the school: The competition of program and policy ideas floating around the school was fierce, and "how

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these programs worked" depended in part on whom I was observing and who was reporting.

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The need to manage or cope with conflict--internal or external--is likely part of any reform environment in American education, given the long history of debate and controversy, the fragmented system, the nature of change, and the nature of the work (Lampert; Cuban). But I found little documentation of the meaning such conflict holds for people working in schools--that is, in light of the enactors' lives, attitudes, understanding, and practices. Furthermore, while conflict may seem predictable given the literature, its significance has not been made especially clear to school leaders or staff by any of the reform documents. I found only one, somewhat cursory reference (noted earlier), to the potential for conflict and contradiction in the reform process. Nor do researchers who write about it make clear the significance of conflict to the people in schools who have to live with it. Finally, little has been reported about how recent reforms are faring in the case in "high poverty" schools, and/or schools that enroll many children who do not speak English.[32] So this study's view, from various perspectives in such a school, not only helps explain how policy goals and methods intended to help such students might interact, but also how conflict figures into enactors' response to the call for "high standards." While we know that conflict of various sorts occurs in the process of adapting reforms, this study sheds light on how it might happen, on some of the reasons for it, and on when it may be productive or counterproductive--all from multiple views of one school.

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[1]All names used in this study--people, school, and district--are pseudonyms.

[2]LM, June 1995, reporting on her thinking in the fall of 1994.

[3]LJ, March 1995, reporting on the fall conflict. She reported again in June, 1995.

[4]California Learning Assessment System (CLAS).

[5]The percentages for the school are from the 1994-95 school year.

[6]This information was reported in 1993.

[7]All figures used in this section are from district or school records provided by the school's principal or interviews conducted from 1992 through June of 1995.

[8] For example, Mather handed one kindergarten girl over to her mother who was "quite paranoid" due to various drugs she had consumed. The mother showed up at school screaming. Though Mather called the police, the child still had to be released to the mother's care. A fourth grade boy's anger is becoming unmanageable in the classroom. He was sent to California to live with his maternal grandparents after suffering from severe beatings from his parents in South Carolina. Another boy whose instruction I have followed for two years is living in a foster home because his mother is in jail for murder.

[9] Ideas about cooperative learning are important aspects of the curriculum and instructional reforms in this state. They are rooted in cognitive research and theories that argue students learn in social interaction with one another. These theories hold that collaborative groups can create "scaffolding" for students. Children learn from one another. Those who watch their classmates' ways of attacking problems, for example, can learn about problem solving. In this way, complexity is reduced. And, small groups of students working together also provide opportunities for children to be actively involved in their own learning. For more on cognitive learning theories informing the reforms, see Means, Chelemer, and Knapp (1991). See also Resnick and Klopfer (1989).

[10]Lampert (1985) and Cuban (1992) argue that managing in the midst of competing commitments is at the heart of the work that people in schools do.

[11]See the California State Department of Education Program Advisory CIL: 88/9-2. Improving educational opportunity for disadvantaged students: An advisory of programmatic ideas derived from the 1988 reauthorization of Chapter 1.

[12]Memorandum from Delaine Eastin, California Department of Education. March 1, 1995.

[13] Interview with the director of the Curriculum, Instruction and Assessment Division, California Department of Education. January 18, 1994. Interviews with Laura Mather, the principal of Mission Elementary and Louise James, the Title 1 Coordinator, 1993-1995.

[14] For more on this story, see The San Diego Tribune, March 1, 1993.

[15]San Diego Tribune, March 23, 1993.

[16]Tribune, April 1, 1993. The bill had been co-authored by the Assemblyman representing the southern California region covering the Maracas Unified School District. The MUSD superintendent was interviewed about the bill and said the district does not identify immigration status on school records. She said, "From my standpoint, the public schools should be educating every child that walks through the door. I think it's to the advantage of everybody in California to have an educated population." (Quoted from the local Maracas newspaper). This superintendent was at odds with her new conservative board and left the district in the Spring of 1994. Immigration issues and other controversial topics related to the debate among the conservative Christian board members, the superintendent and parents in the MUSD were reported regularly by the local paper. I have collected most of these articles as part of my data.

[17] For more information on the Los Angeles district, see Education Week, September 23, 1993. See also Organizing a compliant program for students of limited-English proficiency (1993).

California Department of Education. Complaints Management and Bilingual Compliance Unit. Bilingual Education Office.

[18]In 1995, only three states spent less than California per student--$4,307--a figure that is $1000 less than the national average and $3000 less than New York, another industrial state. For more on California's spending, see Education Week in collaboration with The Pew Charitable Trusts (1997). See also (Picus 1995). In the 1993-1994 school year, the MUSD's budget from state aid and local property taxes was $66,463,498 or just over $3300 per pupil based on an estimated enrollment of 21,224 (calculated using average daily attendance). Categorical revenues from the state--for such programs as special education, gifted and talented pupils, transportation, vocational education, counseling, and so on--represented another 18% of the district's budget, or approximately $16,500,000. Federal categorical programs accounted for a little over $3,000,000 of the total budget. Over 83% of the MUSD budget was used for salaries and benefits, with small fractions of the remaining funds going toward capital outlay, books, supplies, services, and other operating expenses. Mission Elementary received funding from federal and state categorical programs--Title 1 and VII of the ESEA, special education (PL 94-142) and so on. The reauthorization of Title 1 in 1994 had a positive effect on Mission's Title 1 budget. The district reduced the number of schools designated to receive Title 1 funds by two. Thus Mission stood to gain approximately $74,000 in fiscal year 1995-1996. But, during the two years of this study--1993/94 and 1994/95--the principal and Title 1 coordinator at Mission reported the school's Title 1 budget to be approximately $160,000 and $ 182,000 respectively. This federal money was important to Mission Elementary according to its leaders, because of state and local cuts. The small discretionary budget Mission received from the district for supplies and other expenses had been cut repeatedly according to Mather, and was cut another 10% in the 1993-1994 school year. Mather reported that Mission finally had air conditioners installed, but likely would not be able to afford to run them with the latest cut in funding. "It's the dawning of the era of austerity," Laura Mather commented wryly during her report on the cost of the air conditioners and the cost of running them.

[19]The key policy categories that this study considers are Title 1 of the ESEA, Title VII of the ESEA (Bilingual Education) and curriculum reforms instantiated in the California curriculum frameworks and other documents or policy instruments such as the CLAS. For an overview of key elements in these three reforms see Appendix B.

[20]Some of the material in this section was informed by work I did with David K. Cohen supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Our paper, High Standards, all children, and learning: Notes toward the history of an idea, was presented to Carnegie's Task Force on Learning in the Primary Grades at their February meeting in 1995. We expanded on the research informing our paper for a book chapter about the history of Title 1 (in preparation). I also drew on an unpublished paper I wrote entitled Progress on trial.

[21]Here I use some of the history of psychology to stand for a broader, more long-standing strand of thought about human nature, the nature of learning, and the nature of mind. See for example, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Émile, translated by Barbara Foxley. Everyman's Library. Dent: London and Melbourne, 1974/1986. During the French Enlightenment, in his treatise on education, Rousseau argued that children are born "good" as well as "free" and are therefore active agents in the world. The ideal student would "exercise his mind and judgment" (p. 165) by actively exploring the world. Learning during childhood would be a matter of taking part in a thinking apprenticeship. Rousseau argued the student should not be passive, but a "worker" and a "thinker."

[22] I take up the multiple meanings of the term "resources" below in the sub- section titled Resources, Capacity, and the Potential "Pedagogy" of Policy. The description "insufficient" does not refer simply to more funding. I use a conception of the term resources that is much broader than the conventional sense. Based on my work with the EPPS group, I argue throughout this thesis that the very ambitious nature of the reforms will require a

transformation in how we conceive of resources: new social relations, a closer look at personal resources, more opportunities to learn, new roles for policy documents, and so on. Because much of what I treat as resources do not now exist in many schools, we don't know what "sufficient" or adequate resources might be. More funding would have provided Mission Elementary with more of the resources they had. But what they had varied a good deal depending on how they used it, how personal resources contributed to inventing more social resources, and so on.

[23]Charles E. Lindblom and Lindblom and Cohen (1979) argue that some social problems are not "solvable," rather problem solving is an ongoing process. Problems that policies seek to address are redefined over time, after people understand a bit about "what happens" as a result of their choices. In this view, a policy idea may be tried, revised, or altered based on new information, tried again in it's new form, revised again, and so on (Braybrooke and Lindblom 1963).

[24]For example, ideas in the basic skills or effective instruction movements and the CTBS as described in the historical context section. Or, ideas about developmentally-appropriate education, for another example.

[25]For an expanded version of my research method, see Appendix C.

[26]John Dewey, one of the seminal thinkers in the "constructivist" tradition, was at Chicago during the formative years of the theoretical perspective known as symbolic interaction. He contributed to its development through his writing and personal contact with people like George Herbert Mead (Bogdan and Biklen 1992).

[27]Bruner's concept of "situated action" distinguishes between agency and effect, between action and behavior. Action is replete with intentional states: conviction and belief, desire, commitment, and intention. (pp. 9; 19). Action is situated in particular cultural settings and in the interaction of participants "intentional states." So while I was an outsider and took pains to represent a broader context than individual lives and one school culture, I also attempted to understand and plausibly represent the meaning of ideas and events that staff reported.

[28]For more on autobiographical method, what I mean by "perspective" and the "perspectives" I used, see Appendix C.

[29]For an overview of the subjects in this study, see Appendix A.

[30] Though the characteristics of the children and families discussed are debated, I draw from Natriello, McDill & Pallas (1990) for meaning of the term disadvantaged. See especially chapters two and three in Schooling disadvantaged children: Racing against catastrophe for a detailed discussion of indicators and their interaction. Not all children living in poverty do poorly in school, and racial as well as ethnic groups vary greatly. However, I use the term "disadvantaged" educationally or socially to denote broad categories often used by policy makers to plan programs, especially the categorical programs in this study. The categories are racial/ethnic minorities, poverty, and language background. Often one or more of these categories overlap.

[31]I worked with a small group of graduate students from EPPS and two project directors--David Cohen and Suzanne Wilson--to develop the questions and instruments for this particular wave.

[32]But these kinds of schools are becoming increasingly common the US. In California, for example, approximately one out of every four children attending school lived in poverty in 1995. At the same time, one in four did not speak English (Education Week in collaboration with The Pew Charitable Trusts 1997). And California, with 1.2 million limited English-speaking (LEP) students is not the state with the highest number: seven others have more LEP students.

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CHAPTER 2

MISSION ELEMENTARY SCHOOL: HIGH STANDARDS, COMPETING COMMITMENTS, AND COMPLEXITY

For Mission Elementary staff, the key aspect in the process of adapting reform precepts to their context was managing in the face of competing policy ideals and conflicting commitments with only modest resources.[1] Like many American principals, Laura Mather faced challenges inherent in her practice: Balancing conflicting educational goals is one example; managing competing and pressing priorities for the allocation of limited resource is another. These and other tensions pose dilemmas that are endemic to the work in schools. Thus, not only teaching, but also managing instruction and school organizations requires uncertain, complex judgments (Lampert 1985; Cuban 1992; Lipskey 1980; Lortie 1975; Little 1993). But the principal and teachers at Mission were coping with competing interests in a school that compounded their challenges; they were working out the reform ideas in a school where many students were at risk for academic failure--either because of poverty or language barriers or both. Further, they were responding to reforms in an era of budget cuts with only modest traditional resources, and with too few social resources for learning from the reforms. Thus, in the first year of this study, before the federal standards reform initiative was in full swing, and before a significant staff decision to "restructure" their school mission, the leadership and staff were responding ambitiously to an incredibly difficult reform--the California curriculum standards reform and Title 1 reform. But they were

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doing so in circumstances that made it even more difficult because they were coping with conflicting interests, with only modest resources to help them.

During the 1993-1994 school year and for some time prior, at least a fraction of the teachers at Mission were responding to the curriculum reforms with some enthusiasm, adapting the ideas to their classrooms in varying degrees across several subjects--to some extent mathematics, to a greater extent science, and to a still greater degree language arts.[2] Further, the Title 1 program in some respects resembled a model of the organizational reforms pressed in the 1988 Hawkins-Stafford amendments to the ESEA. Mission's staff had rejected "pull-outs" that focused on remedial instruction for Title 1 students, for example, and they were trying to use strategies that gave Title 1 students access to coherent instruction emphasizing thinking and communicating about important subject matter content in "regular classroom" settings (Public Law 100-297).[3] The staff at Mission were using categorical resources in ways that supported both curriculum and organizational reform.

But working out the ideas in these very ambitious curriculum reforms was especially challenging because of their weakly specified nature, and because of a context replete with competing notions about "best practice." The principal, Laura Mather, and her leadership team--Louise James, the Title 1 coordinator, among others--were responding to the curriculum reforms in the midst of multiple, competing policy and program ideals, most with accompanying, sometimes contradictory, instructional methods. For example, the CLAS was aligned with the state's reform-oriented curriculum frameworks as part of Superintendent William Honig's systemic strategy to improve coherence in California's education system, as well as improve the intellectual rigor of instruction (Webb 1993). But as noted in chapter one, that

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strategy did not eliminate older, more traditional, ideas about curriculum, assessment, and instruction: The school district in this study also required schools to give their students the California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS), a standardized basic skills test, as well as the CLAS. Mission staff used the latter test to identify Title 1 students, and to measure their progress from one year to the next. These two tests--CLAS and CTBS-- are informed by competing assumptions about teaching and learning.

Matters were complicated further by a large Spanish-speaking student population. While the school district pressed their schools to teach Spanish-speaking children the district's core curriculum--a curriculum consistent with the state frameworks--in their primary language, they also expected students to become English proficient. In practice, the bilingual policy goals--primary language instruction and English language proficiency--were sometimes at odds, not only with curriculum reform, but with themselves. The assessment clash and the tension between bilingual and the reform are only two of many ways in which policy ideals at Mission seemed to conflict.

Thus, before a significant staff decision to restructure the school mission (which began to evolve at the end of year one), the district and school provided some reform-oriented instructional guidance to teachers through the PQR process, workshops on the CLAS, and so on. Likewise, the district and school culture encouraged teachers to try out new ideas and work together to some degree, and they encouraged innovation in the direction of high, complex, academic standards for all children. Instruction for Title 1 students was less fragmented than it had been in earlier years. But at the same time, an under-specified school mission, multiple instructional leaders, and a somewhat "laissez-faire" culture (teachers worked and learned quite independently), combined with very mixed messages from the district to

create some intellectual incoherence in the school. Reforms competed with an array of ideas about educational aims and means even as staff seemed to embrace them, albeit with some ambivalence.

SPRING 1993-SPRING 1994: TITLE 1 AND CURRICULUM REFORM

Laura Mather inherited Mission Elementary School when it was considered by some accounts to be the district's worst. She reported the school having had a series of rather passive principals, and most teachers there were not interested in innovation or reform. But Mather was determined to turn the school around and set out to do so.[4] Over the past few years, she has been quite remarkable in her indefatigable campaign to improve Mission in the direction of equitable, high academic standards, to keep it running smoothly and to create a nurturing community for the school's children.

Mather seemed to have taken the call for high standards for all students to heart. She had worked to hire staff who generally shared her belief in children, then worked to focus their commitment around it. She was able to do this in part because several teachers left when the former principal did. By 1993 when this story opens, Mather had hired 24 teachers, approximately four-fifths of the faculty at Mission.[5] Though she shared her authority for hiring personnel with a team of administrators and teachers, Mather had managed to hire a generally interesting group of reform-minded teachers--though they varied in how they interpreted "reform"--who seemed, for the most part, dedicated to Mission's students.

Mission's staff had responded to organizational and instructional reform ideas embodied in the 1988 Hawkins-Stafford amendments to Title 1 almost immediately--by 1989--and in many respects the Title 1 program in the

school was a model of that reform when this story opened. For example, the staff tried to integrate Title 1 instruction with the regular classroom instruction. Further, the Title 1 plan was developed collaboratively and, to some extent, with a school-wide focus, in conjunction with Mission's School Improvement Program (SIP).[6] Louise James, the school's Title 1 coordinator, is also the School Improvement coordinator. She commented on those two planning processes: "We don't have a separate Chapter 1 Plan; it's all in the SIP [School Improvement Program] site plan" (LJ 8/93). That sort of coordinated, school-level planning and coherent instruction for students, while allowed by the 1988 amendments to Title 1, was about to be encouraged in the new Title 1 reforms--those initiated in the 1994 reauthorization.

As part of their school-wide improvement plan, the staff and leadership used their Title 1 resources to hire aides and Title 1 teachers, to pay for professional development for Mission's teachers, to buy materials, to fund "extended year" and "extended day" Title 1 "academies," and to sponsor special parent nights. They created the computer and a science laboratory. Using a teacher's truck, Laura Mather and Louise James picked up several computers donated from area businesses, then found a parent volunteer to have them repaired. Title 1 funds helped pay for some. It appeared that the school's children were growing adept at using the computer lab for such purposes as honing writing or problem-solving skills. And all of the children--Title 1 included--were spending time in the science laboratory, paid for in part by SIP funds, "doing science." These strategies--parental involvement, extended days and school years, encouraging students to practice problem solving skills, "authentic academic tasks" such as those found in the science laboratory--were all encouraged in the 1988 amendments to Title 1, or in the curriculum standards reforms. And they were about to be

pressed further, in the new 1994 school-wide approach to Title 1 as it was aligned with Goals 2000.[7]

While staff employed a variety of strategies, most of the Title 1 funds at Mission were used to hire personnel.[8] The staff shared in the decision to allocate these human resources--paraprofessionals and some special "hourly" Title 1 teachers--as equitably and evenly as possible, across all grade levels and classrooms. Nine instructional aides--one for each of three tracks at each grade level--worked in grades kindergarten, first, and second grade. Three English-speaking hourly Title 1 teachers--one per grade level--worked in grades three, four, and five, for an hour a day. Two bilingual hourly Title 1 teachers--one for each of two Spanish- speaking tracks--worked in first through fifth grades in the Spanish-speaking rooms. So the Spanish-speaking rooms had one teacher three hours a week. But thus allocated, resources were thin in many classrooms--Title 1 teachers worked for approximately three hours per day--and some teachers in the fourth and fifth grades reported that having one teacher less than three hours a week didn't provide the kind or amount of help they needed for their students.

Aides and hourly teachers worked for the most part in the "regular classroom." Mission had not used "pull-outs" for their Title 1 students in four years--not since the 1988 amendments discouraged such arrangements. As Louise James put it in January of 1993:

> Our Chapter 1 program is not a pull-out program. Many years ago it was, and I think people liked it because it made it easier on them . . . But it didn't allow for children to be a part of what's going on in the regular scheme of things . . . The law, the recommendations, changed . . . the focus is . . . to support these children during their regular curriculum and their regular instruction in the classroom, and so that's what we strive to do (LJ 1/93). [9]

So the instruction that most Title 1 students received in this school was generally integrated into regular classroom curriculum. Mather and James understood the plans to reauthorize Title 1 as confirming what they had been doing for some time in the way of moving the program in the direction of curriculum reform and high standards of intellectual achievement for all children--that is, in the direction the California frameworks and systemic reform efforts had been pressing. In the fall of 1993 Louise James explained:

> . . . these ideas [in the proposal to reauthorize Title 1] go right along with It's Elementary! and the direction of our state framework. For example, it says this is a proposal to 'have the same high standards for all children . . . performance-based assessment, rich instruction, and support in the regular classroom, not a pull-out program. . . ' For a lot of schools and a lot of places, that will be a big adjustment. But we've been working on that and we [Mather and James] have been hammering away at that here for a long time (LJ 8/93).

Thus, Title 1 instruction had been organized around the "regular classroom" and "the regular curriculum" for some time. And, in this school, the regular curriculum was in the general direction of the standards-based reform ideas. James' reference to the California Elementary Grades Task Force Report, It's Elementary! (1992), and the frameworks is an example of the sort of standards she and Mather were trying to set in the school. A key recommendation of It's Elementary! is "Make a rich, meaning-centered, thinking curriculum the centerpiece of instruction for all students . . . " (p. iii).

So Mission Elementary's leadership and staff were generally committed to the curriculum reforms for all students. In language arts, children for whom one might hold low expectations were reading good books; speaking in public; writing stories, letters and reports; taking part in interesting discussions. Many children who could not yet read, were provided with one-on-one tutoring and conversation with thoughtful teachers or aides.[10] In science, teachers at Mission were pressed to examine

their students' work in that subject matter to reflect on how they were teaching in conjunction with the framework. The science framework asks that the students be workers--that they do science, not just read about it. It asks that their work not simply be activity, but also "minds-on" work which leads to new understanding.[11] Finally, there were signs that teachers had at least accepted some of the big ideas in the mathematics reform and were trying them out.[12] The proposed new mathematics curriculum adoption at the district level seemed quite aligned with the most recent framework ideas, and most teachers in this study reported "liking" the new program. With Laura Mather's and Louise James' support, some teachers at Mission were trying a few of the new ideas via "replacement units"-- that is, special curriculum units designed in alignment with the reforms. They were attending workshops, consulting mathematics mentors, and so on.

Resources for Building Capacity: "Teachers and Curricula" of the Policies

An important example of Mission's response to curriculum reform is related to resources for teaching and learning from the reforms. These reforms, calling for a "rich, meaning-centered, thinking curriculum . . . for all children," are complex and require fundamentally new ways of thinking about teaching, knowledge, and learning. Understanding them requires a good deal of learning, "unlearning" and "relearning" (Cohen, McLaughlin, Talbert 1993; Wilson, Peterson, Ball and Cohen 1996; Cohen and Ball 1996).

Several of California's instruments for pressing the reforms coherently were potential resources for teacher learning. Those mechanisms--"replacement units," the PQR process, the learning assessment system (CLAS)--were more than many states have employed to build local capacity for the reforms. And Mission Elementary was taking advantage of those

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resources for learning. For example, the school had been engaged in improving science education for at least two years through their PQR process, which was part of the School Improvement Program (SIP) in California. And Mission's "CLAS action plan" suggests that Mission was using the CLAS as a teaching tool more than many of the other schools in the MUSD.[13]

While Mission's principal Laura Mather did spend some time in classrooms observing instruction with follow-up conversations, generally she pressed the reforms in her school by delegating instructional leadership to lead teachers (in science and reading). This was especially so in the case of Louise James, who was generally quite knowledgeable about the Title 1 and language arts reforms, as well as a very trusted friend and assistant to Mather. In this regard, James and Mather's relationship was a source of "social capital" (Coleman 1990/1994) , supporting Mather's leadership and curriculum reform in the school. Much of the organization of Title 1 in the direction of reforms, as well as elements of literacy and science reforms in the school, were in part, a result of the social resources located in that relationship.

Louise James was on the "leadership team" that led the PQR process which was instructional in nature--a potential resource for learning about curriculum reform in science. The leadership team, including the school's science mentor, created a professional discourse of sorts by collecting student work samples from all teachers, once each track cycle. The teachers selected these samples as "evidence . . . that students' work each year represents a well-balanced treatment of earth, life, and physical science in alignment with the district science matrix." There were additional "essential questions" the leadership team asked during their inquiry. Those questions were given to the teachers in advance so they could think about their practice in light of them, and about selecting work samples. During "walk arounds," the

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leadership team questioned students and talked with teachers. As part of this process, Laura Mather reported creating time and resources for grade-level groups of teachers to meet and talk about their science instruction, and to develop curriculum that would help produce student work of the sort the leadership in the school was pressing.[14]

The CLAS is another example of a resource for learning from reform--a potential "curriculum" for the reform, and one that Mission used. Laura Mather seemed to understand the difficulty of the learning task for teachers. She talked about her teachers' understanding as well as their need to learn in light of the CLAS and a "thinking curriculum" for students. Regarding mathematics, she said:

> CLAS is . . . testing exactly what we're supposed to be teaching kids how to do . . . as more and more teachers understand that . . . some kids are going to learn to [multiply with one digit numbers] earlier, some later. But that doesn't mean that we stop giving them opportunities to think. And that's the hardest part (LM 1/94).

Here Mather is pointing out the importance and the difficulty of teachers' understanding a big idea in the curriculum and Title 1 reforms: that "thinking opportunities" are important for <u>all</u> students, not just some.

Mission's leadership used the CLAS as a "curriculum" of sorts. They developed a "CLAS Action Plan" in order to focus teachers' attention on that assessment, and to help them understand what it expected of students. But for the most part, the focus was literacy, not mathematics, in part because Louise James' and Laura Mather's expertise was in literacy. Teaching teachers about the new assessment's expectations related to student work in the area of literacy was a key aspect of the plan. Mather reported that "[teachers] need to understand what students are expected . . . to do" (1/94). In May of 1993 the MUSD had piloted the new assessment. Shortly thereafter, Mather, together

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with James and the vice principal developed the "action plan" for Mission, then they met with the teachers--grades two through four--about it. Mather reported:

> . . . We have a plan . . . We met with teachers; we've sent them to workshops. Each group of teachers has . . . had an opportunity . . . to do some of the literature [scoring] . . . to read [the prompts], to read the story [item] . . . they've all had an opportunity to do . . . writing prompt for example (LM 1/94).

Some of the "workshops" Mather refers to here were taught by Louise James. Mather sent James to an intensive four day training on scoring the reading and writing CLAS. James reported feeling "battle fatigued" when she returned, but nevertheless organized a "mini-version" of the training she had received for teachers at Mission. For example, she had them develop their own rubrics--samples of student responses they might categorize as better or worse than others. Mather shared Mission's CLAS action plan with her principal's group at the request of her district supervisor.

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So, from the view just sketched, it seems clear that Mission Elementary's leadership was committed to curriculum and Title 1 reforms. Mather, James, and others were responding to the call for high standards for <u>all</u> children much in the direction of the 1988 reform amendments. When the Title 1 and curriculum reforms are considered, in some ways this school was ahead of the federal curve. Before Goals 2000 and the reauthorization of Title 1, the school had embraced many of the precepts contained in those reforms, and many staff were trying to put them into practice. The staff was trying to use Title 1 resources in a way that complemented curriculum reform for <u>all</u> students. The Title 1 plan was integrated into the school improvement plan, and the staff had managed to create a situation in which Title 1

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instruction was much less fragmented than it had been before the 1988 amendments.

Further, Laura Mather and the school's instructional leadership--Louise James, the science mentor, and so on--supported the staff in their reform efforts and even provided some instructional guidance related to literacy and science reform. With Mather's support, Louise James appeared to be learning from the CLAS, then teaching other teachers at the school. Likewise, James was learning the principles and methods of "Reading Recovery"-- a reform- oriented, language-experience intervention for first grade students who have difficulty reading. James was in turn teaching some of the teachers at Mission what she was learning. Finally, the PQR process was providing some instructional discourse for teachers in the domain of science curriculum reform.

A COMPETITION OF IDEAS AND COMMITMENTS

But the principal and her leadership team were responding to the reforms in the midst of conflict: political controversy over goals, competing commitments, and competing ideas. So while the leadership and staff in this school were clearly committed to the organizational reform in the 1988 Title 1 amendments, and to focusing attention on the curriculum standards reforms, those weren't the only ideas in the air around Mission Elementary. In fac,t the competition of ideas about educational aims and means was fierce in the MUSD and at Mission. For example, during this same year Mather was very concerned about Mission's low CTBS scores, and expressed uncertainty over what to do about them. Mather said:

> I think we are on the right road by looking at the bottom quartile . . . And saying those are the kids that are in the worst shape. What can we do for them? Unfortunately what we're finding is that . . . Even with

> that [all we are doing for chapter 1 children] it's really not enough. We still need to do something else. And I'm not sure that I know what that something else is (LM 1/94).

As noted earlier, the CLAS and the CTBS expect quite different responses from administrators, teachers, and students. For example, the CLAS tends to press for the effective use of language by students--varied, purposeful writing and student understanding of complex issues. The expectation here is for students to be workers--for example, that they think and actively construct their understanding of subject matter in the tradition of Dewey, Bruner, Piaget, and Vygotsky. But the CTBS tends to reward the rapid selection of answers to basic, "factual" questions. Here rote learning in the tradition of Thorndike is consistent. The CLAS assumes that a curriculum should be "meaning centered" and thus presupposes fewer topics, or big ideas, each considered in more depth for longer periods of time. But the CTBS assumes a more rapid coverage of a greater number of topics, in less depth. The CLAS asks students to think critically about the material they read and requires quite complicated academic performances; the CTBS does not. Rather it encourages reproducing the "right" answer to problems, and authority for "knowing" that answer is with others. But for many people at Mission Elementary--especially the principal, her Title 1 assistant, and to some degree the staff--both of these tests seemed to represent "high stakes." And, there is evidence from several studies that high stakes tests can influence both teaching and the content of students' work (Madaus et al. cited in Darling-Hammond 1992). These competing policy aims at Mission Elementary mirror some of the big social arguments about the goals of instruction in the US.[15]

Another example of competing commitments at Mission was in the pull between a child- centered "developmental" approach to educating children in the early grades, versus the idea of curriculum, grade-level,

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standards. There were district committees and school-level committees with recommendations and possible courses of action for both of these reforms at Mission. One Mission teacher who sat on the district developmental education committee expressed her concern over the fervor of district advocates and multiple reform strategies:

> It's almost like a religious experience for the people who created that [developmental] report card . . . If you don't like the report card you're going to hell because you don't believe in . . . how they interpret the scripture . . . It was a good thing to do. But it's just like everything else. Like this new math . . . [Some teachers feel] . . . it takes a lot [of effort] . . . [Some teachers said] I'm really pressured this year and . . . this is just one more thing . . . I just can't do it (RL 6/94).

Laura Mather talked about both standards-based curriculum reform and changing the school based on developmental education. She sent several teachers to a conference on developmentally appropriate instruction and others reported attending professional development activities focused on that idea. Classroom teachers talked about both. For example, one second grade teacher, Anita Lorenz, struggled with dilemmas in this tension between individual differences in "development" and high common curriculum standards for all children. Another teacher expressed confusion in a staff meeting while teachers were grappling with how to create a "non-graded" pilot which emphasized accepting individual differences in pace and content, and still hold high common standards for all children. She exclaimed: "Aren't we at odds with ourselves by trying to do both of these things?" They had been talking about subject matter standards, then switched to developmentally-appropriate instruction.

So while the PQR process and the CLAS had the potential to be quite powerful curricula as well as guides for teaching and learning from the reforms, they were competing with other district and school priorities.

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Because of limited resources--time, personnel, and so on--that competition, as well as the large size of the school, contributed to reform-oriented instructional guidance that was thin, especially when compared to the difficulty of the task of enacting reforms. For example, the PQR team visited classrooms only once each track cycle.[16] Had they done so once each week, the process might have produced quite a rich instructional discourse focused on science reform. Likewise, the CLAS workshops had potential for teaching and learning from the literacy and mathematics policies. But those learning opportunities too were situated within a professional development culture that encouraged teachers to choose from an array of options ranging from Egyptian art to building self-esteem.[17]

James explained how professional development funding from the SIP or Title 1 was allocated at Mission:

> We have not been strict [or] precise regarding exactly what a teacher [does] as long as . . . the professional development that they get is something that . . . can and will benefit their Chapter 1 children in the classroom . . . we keep teachers informed of the current [workshops] available [from the district, and county] and . . . if they see something they want to go to. . . they pull that brochure down and let me know . . . We need to . . . spread . . . [professional development money] around. So if . . . we haven't paid for them to go to anything and they would like us to, then we do (LJ 8/93).

So generally, the rationale for professional development activities was teacher predilection. Teachers could choose from a range of options offered by the county, state, and district, which were posted in the lounge. While there were a number of content courses focused on curriculum reforms--especially mathematics and language arts--there were also a good number that were unrelated to reforms and thus competed with the reforms for the time and intellectual energy of teachers. Several of the latter focused instead on yet another of the MUSD's policy priorities--bilingual education .

The Confounding Factor of Bilingual Education

Matters were further complicated at Mission by a large Spanish-speaking population and the multiple goals of the MUSD's bilingual education program. Generally, the ideal of bilingual education, promoted by the MUSD, and to some extent by the California Department of Education (CDE), was based on, among several others, three key goals: First was high curriculum standards, second was English proficiency, and third was integrated classrooms which promote cross-cultural respect and understanding.[18] The staff at Mission seemed committed to these goals and made a creative attempt to address all of them.[19]

Though the CDE's bilingual compliance manual notes in very small print "compliance is not mandatory," the document does list among the many "purposes" of bilingual education the following:[20]

> to develop in each child fluency in English . . . [to] provide equal opportunity for academic achievement . . . including instruction through the primary language . . . [and to] promote cross-cultural understanding.

Here "equal opportunity for academic achievement," in principle, seems quite complementary to curriculum reform--that is, the idea of "high standards" for all children. Another state document makes this relationship between the curriculum standards reform and bilingual education more explicit. The authors in the Bilingual education handbook: Designing instruction for LEP students (1990) argue that an effective program holds bilingual students to "the same high standards" as the mainstream students.[21] That document emphasizes rigorous content-based instruction including "thinking, communication and problem-solving skills" (p. 17) in students' primary language.

Referring to these state documents, the MUSD bilingual coordinator reported that both primary language instruction and English proficiency are the "basics of any bilingual program." She explained that in the MUSD:

> . . . schools are given the freedom to develop the structure of the program [but] we have basic guidelines: all the children should have access to the core curriculum in their primary language [for example]. [That is] basic. And, they need to get English as a second language; this is right out of the compliance manual. These are things that we know happen [in this district] (Interview 1/93).

In this district the "core curriculum" as instantiated in the district curriculum guide is reasonably consistent with the state frameworks. So the two goals of equitable academic standards--that is, learning challenging subject matter and advanced thinking strategies for understanding, and English proficiency for all students--are important matters of policy in this district. The goal of "cross-cultural" understanding through integrated classrooms is pressed by the state to some extent, and was a goal at Mission Elementary as well.

But these goals, perhaps complementary in principle, tended to be in tension when the staff at Mission tried to put strategies into practice to meet them. For example, according to Mission's principal, several bilingual staffers, and some researchers, the first goal--high standards for all students--involved teaching students a core, reform-oriented curriculum in their primary language to promote conceptual understanding and to develop advanced thinking skills. Laura Mather explained her reasoning (and the district's) related to this goal:

> Well, as research says, [Spanish-speaking students] will learn in English as long as they have that conceptual foundation for language arts and math . . . in their primary language. Then they can learn . . . other subjects--science and social studies [and so on]--using lots of sheltered English techniques . . . I think they learn [to speak] English by listening to English. [But] I do truly believe . . . that they [Spanish-speaking students] are going to be in much, much better shape to attain at higher

> levels in a second language [if they have a conceptual foundation in their own language.] I really do (LM 6/95).

In Mather's comments there are at least two important points that scholars of bilingualism have argued for some time: thinking skills acquired in one language can transfer to a second language, and making sense of academic content is a much different matter than simply listening or speaking in a second language. Au (1993) and Hakuta (1986) both reviewed the salient research on the issue of primary language instruction. Based on bilingual research and language acquisition literature, Au concluded that literacy skills in a student's first language "can have a powerful effect" on the student's literacy ability in a second language (p. 145). Hakuta citing bilingual, linguistic, and language acquisition research similarly concluded "there is considerable transfer of skills across languages" (p. 225). So transferability of thinking skills is one key piece of the argument used by bilingual advocates.

A second aspect of the argument is related to types of skills and language. Snow (1984) and Cummins (1974, 1980) both make the case, based on their own research, that language skills needed for academic discourse--thinking skills--take considerably longer to develop than simple conversational skills. The former are "decontextualized" while the latter are "contextualized" so that speakers have visual and other kinds of clues to help them. This research converges on a key argument of bilingual advocates: academic discourse of the sort encouraged by curriculum reforms requires language skills that are not only more nuanced, analytic, and specific, but must be used "without signals from an interlocutor" (Snow, cited in Hakuta p. 135).

Thus, bilingual advocates argue, second-language students should be taught a challenging curriculum for conceptual understanding, especially core

academic subject matter, by methods that center on making sense of "rich content" in their primary language. They argue these kinds of "higher order" thinking skills are best learned in students' native language, then "transferred" to the second language. The principal, and many of the staff at Mission referred to this research when they argued for such primary-language instruction and many seemed generally committed to teaching children a core curriculum for conceptual understanding in their native language.

But the second key goal of the bilingual ideal at Mission and the MUSD is to teach Spanish-speaking children to be English proficient. These two goals--primary-language instruction and English proficiency--can be contradictory in practice, because when children are grouped by primary language in order to teach them subject matter for understanding--that is, the reform-oriented curriculum--they are not exposed to much English, thus perhaps frustrating the important goal of teaching them to be English proficient. Both Laura Mather and Ruth Linn, the bilingual mentor teacher at Mission, reported some parents' concern that their children were not learning enough English. And district policy as well as state law requires that students be taught to speak English.

Matters were complicated further by staff interpretations of civil rights laws, concerns about segregation, and cross-cultural respect--a third goal of the bilingual program at Mission. Staff, but especially Laura Mather, worried that grouping children by primary language amounts to a form of segregation. Several teachers as well as Mather reported that segregating children by ethnicity was unlawful as well as morally repugnant to them. Mather explained:

> . . . it's section six or four of Title Six of the Civil Rights Act . . . I'm [not] sure, but I have I t . . . Basically, you cannot segregate kids for more than [a certain] percentage of the day. And . . . I'm going to . . . integrate

> the kids more because there are two things going wrong here. First of all, there's this class distinction thing that is occurring. There are the Anglo kids and there are "the other" kids. The "others" are Spanish-speaking kids. And because we have so many, it becomes a real problem. I mean, even the safety patrols . . . it becomes Spanish-speaking kids versus English-speaking kids . . . [The Anglos say] those kids are not as good . . . So that the Mexican kids become even worse off . . . That's an issue. And that's something that I don't want to have happen; I want to erase that (LM 6/95).

Thus, grouping by language to teach for understanding can be in tension with other important goals of bilingual education in Mission Elementary--integration, cross cultural respect, and understanding. Early in 1994, Mather reported her "biggest" concern with Mission's bilingual program was that there "wasn't enough integration of Spanish speakers and English speakers." She reported the current situation of segregating for primary-language instruction was contributing to conflict among the two groups of students. Angry Mexican-American parents had recently accused her of being "racist" and of allowing Anglo children to "beat up" and "call Mexican-American children names" (interview, 2/94). Mather had worked all one weekend at school facilitating a special parent meeting to address the ethnic conflict problem. She was considering changing to "mixed rosters" the following year--that is, putting Spanish speakers and English speakers together in bilingual rooms.

But Mather was torn. There was a dilemma here for her. She even reported the situation as such: "So now we have this big dilemma about mixing rosters . . . " she said. As a former bilingual teacher with a masters degree in bilingual-bicultural studies, and (according to her earlier comments) Mather believed that children do learn for conceptual understanding best, more powerfully, in their primary language. That idea is also sprinkled throughout the frameworks, as well as other CDE policy documents. And the

social science research evidence underlying that assumption was just reviewed. But Mather's earlier comments are also evidence that she believed segregating children by language was wrong. She said so on several occasions. So choosing to provide optimal instruction in primary language based on her understanding of the research and policy arguments seemed to cause Mather problems on two fronts: The students were not picking up English (some teachers like Ruth Linn and some parents said it was because they didn't have to); and, according to Mather, because they didn't socialize, hostilities were developing among students of different ethnic, language, and socio-economic backgrounds.

A final issue that Mather considered here in this cluster of potentially competing concerns around bilingual education and "high standards for all students" was the issue of when to begin teaching children in English. The timing issue was a matter of district policy. Both Mather and Mission's bilingual liaison reported that the MUSD bilingual policy was based on research findings. For example, Ruth Linn, the bilingual mentor at Mission, said:

> Our school district [refers to] specific research--it's Dr. Ramirez's. And his research showed that . . . it . . . took maybe five to seven years to acquire the academic English. And so that why our school district adopts a late exit philosophy based on his research . . . (RL reporting on the bilingual program 6/95).

So here, the problem for Mather and her staff becomes even more untidy. They had to manage the conflict between a commitment to the principle of equity--interpreted as equitable instruction consistent with the high curriculum standards--and at the same time meet the goal of ensuring that children would become English proficient. They also wanted to ward off conflict and promote mutual respect among students. But Mather's

interpretation of these goals at Mission was complicated by her own, quite nuanced understanding of the issues. Though she felt somewhat bound by the district policy, Mather seemed ambivalent about it and about the findings from research that informed it. Citing both research and some of Mission's parents, she said:

> . . . it takes [students} five to seven years to acquire the academic English, [but some students'] . . . parents, want them to learn the other language [English], sooner. They should have a right to do that I think (1/94).

Here Mather's dilemma, informed by a mix of moral and practical concerns as well as by research knowledge, includes yet another question; not only is there the question of what to do, but when to do it.

But the research evaluating bilingual program effectiveness is itself contradictory and difficult to interpret as a guide to school practices. The most influential study, the American Institutes of Research evaluation of Title VII programs,[22] generally found that bilingual programs ". . . did not appear to be having a consistent significant impact on student achievement" (AIR; Danoff 1978, cited in Cziko 1992, p. 11). Critics argued that the study did nothing to show the impact of quality Title VII programs. The study did not distinguish among kinds of programs.

The National Research Council (1992) reviewed two major studies of bilingual education initiated by the Department of Education: the Longitudinal Study and the Immersion Study. They concluded that the two studies did converge in suggesting primary-language instruction might improve achievement under "certain conditions." But, the studies did not "warrant conclusions regarding differences in program effects, in any direction" (p. 104). Like the critics of the AIR study, the council argued that

this lack of warrant was due in part to the studies not distinguishing the kind of instruction students were receiving.

Gary Cziko (1992) surveyed the results of seven major bilingual evaluation projects, including the two just noted above. He also concluded that such studies can't possibly demonstrate whether bilingual programs "work" or not--that is, whether they lead to higher achievement--because of the tremendous diversity in their findings. But, despite the general lack of definitive information about bilingual programs, Cziko argued that one study of the seven he surveyed did provide some evidence for what bilingual education could be: the Longitudinal study noted earlier by Mission's bilingual mentor and Laura Mather, often called the Rameriz study after its principal investigator.

While (Ramirez, Yuen, Ramey, & Pasta, 1990) found no difference in the results of English immersion and "early exit" bilingual programs--those that provide less than an hour of instruction per day in students' native language for two or three years--they did find differences in the mathematics, English reading, and language skills of "late-exit" bilingual students. Ramirez found that students who received much of their content instruction in their native language while only gradually being introduced to English (after five to seven years) were catching up with their majority-language peers--an uncommon trend among minority students.

So while the official MUSD district policy was based on this recent research that seems to at least suggest "late exit" bilingual programs are more effective than most others, this notion too is hotly contested among policy makers, educators, and researchers alike. Meanwhile at Mission, the multiple bilingual goals--English proficiency, primary language-instruction, and integrated classrooms to foster respect--sometimes competed with one

another, as well as with the curriculum reforms. But these were not simply competing program goals imposed by outsiders. They were competing commitments on the part of many staff at Mission. While district and state policy documents pressed some of the arguments Mather and her staff seemed to embrace, in part their commitments were also rooted in this particular school, its children, and the confounding factor of their variable English-language ability.

The Nature of the Work: Fragmented Days and Multiple Hats

Competing pressures from assessments and various program ideals were not the only worries vying for Laura Mather's time during the 1993-1994 school year. Inherited conceptions of principal's work, expectations from her district supervisors, and her own construction of the role combined to create a situation in which Mather spent much of her time coping with competing commitments. She has always given long hours to her school and continues to be involved in activities ranging from parent relations, funerals, fund-raising, and budgets to bus schedules, birthdays, and instructional reforms. Like many school leaders, she wore many hats, was subject to constant interruptions, and felt overloaded due to a long list of programs or directives from her school board, state, parents, and community groups. (Fullan with Stiegelvbaurer 1991; Peterson 1986). Of her reform agenda, Mather quipped:

> . . . I have a list of about 16 major things that are innovative kinds of things that we're supposed to be working on . . . just doing it as it happens . . . Trying to stay one step ahead of the flu and everything else. (LM 1/94).

Thus, like many principals, Mather was trying to manage competing priorities: The Title 1 and curriculum reforms--entangled with her bilingual

education dilemma--were only two among many others (Dwyer 1986; Fullan with Stiegelvbaurer).[23]

Any given day might find Mather observing a teacher's instruction, in battle with district administrators over hiring practices, meeting with parents, or dispensing pencils--often in Spanish--to a small, dark-eyed child in honor of his birthday. One week she raised funds for a family so they could bury their child--one of her students--who had accidentally drowned. Another week she had to manage a community group who appeared at Mission--along with the local press--to plant the trees they had donated to the grounds. At the same time, a student from the next-door junior high school was reportedly armed and looking for one of Mission Elementary's staff because of an earlier altercation. Meanwhile a boy had wet his pants and was waiting for attention from the office staff. Another week obscene graffiti--again the work of neighboring junior high school students--had to be removed from the school. Mather supervised more than one early morning to be certain the school was clean when children arrived. Between scheduling transportation, looking at test results, studying dwindling budgets and spread sheets filled with the abstract representations of her diverse students, Laura Mather called these children in, one by one, to reprimand them for fighting. Then she talked to them about how they might learn to "get along," in the spirit of the school's conflict resolution project and her own aversion to conflict between ethnic groups.

The nature of Mather's work days at Mission Elementary is no exception to the general image constructed by researchers who have studied such work. Inherited conceptions of the principal's role press school leaders to be everything from administrator to lead instructor. As Cuban, (1986) points out, there has long been a huge literature that calls for principals to "do

it all." Mather's daily activities and comments are consistent with what (Fullan with Stiegelbauer) found after surveying research on principals--that is, principals are torn in multiple, competing directions and generally feel overloaded. Fullan also comments on inherited conceptions of principals' work by noting that they are expected to be experts in at least six areas: school law, community relations, human resource development, student relations, administration, and instruction. Using results from a comparative field study of principals, Burlingame (1986) argued that potential school leaders should be well versed in political theory (p. 126) as well, because their "work structure" contains so many competing positions, values, and preferences. Dwyer (1986) and his colleagues found that among other work characteristics successful principals possess (having a clear vision, for example) they also "stand at the vortex" of competing forces (p. 15) as they attempt to guide their organizations. Given the sketch of Mather's work and inherited conceptions of such work, it is easy to see that curriculum and Title 1 reform were not only competing with other ideas about best practice (and other reform priorities), but the fraction of Mather's role devoted to acting as instructional leader of the reforms was also competing with other work priorities.

Managing conflicting commitments and competing priorities then was at least one key aspect of managing reform at Mission Elementary. When reforms are as intellectually challenging as the call for curriculum reform for all children, another key aspect of enacting reform is providing instructional guidance to teachers. Such work is uncertain by nature. All of the untidy problems Laura Mather had to contend with at Mission support the notion that the "technology" of managing schools and instruction, as well as the technology of instruction, are unspecified and uncertain (Lortie 1975; Little 1993). Goals are difficult to specify, prioritize and measure (Wise 1979;

Lipskey 1980). And the work environment in and around schools is also very uncertain: It includes shifting political climates and changing student populations, as well as competing reforms (Dwyer). Thus, much of the work of principals lies outside the territory of technical rationality (Cuban 1992; Greenfield, 1986). And many of the problems school leaders like Laura Mather face are dilemmas; that is, they are "complex, untidy, and insoluble" (Cuban, p 6).

But despite the uncertainty and complexity of the work, there is some agreement in the literature that what principals do is important to any reform or school change (Berman and McLaughlin 1978; Dwyer; Fullan with Stiegelbauer; Newmann and Wehlage 1995; Smith and Purkey 1983, 1985). For instance, many studies in the effective schools literature (Smith and Purkey) have found that strong instructional leadership on the part of the principal is a key feature of academically-effective schools. This literature often does appeal to a kind of technical rationality in the form of principles; key among these principles is coherent school-level planning, which includes clear, shared goals and measures. More recent studies on school "restructuring" (Newmann and Wehlage) also point to the effectiveness of leaders who build "professional communities" characterized by staff agreement on clear academic goals and collaborative work toward those goals--in essence, clarity of vision, consensus, and collaboration among staff regarding that vision.[24] While the effective schools literature tends to argue for strong instructional leadership and a clear vision on the part of the principal, others suggest that teacher leaders, or shared leadership with teachers, is just as powerful if not more so (Sykes 1990; Darling-Hammond 1992; Lieberman, Wood, and Falk 1994). Still, most of this research converges on the notion that staff collaboration on clear shared instructional goals

(teachers and principal alike) is a social resource for learning, accountability, and improvement.

The School and Mather's Leadership Before the Big Decision to "Restructure"

At this point in the story of one school's response to curriculum and Title 1 reform, staff at Mission Elementary did not seem to share a clear or specified goal, even though Laura Mather's leadership style might be characterized as "collaborative" in some respects, and democratic. She shared her decision-making authority and leadership responsibilities with staff, delegating much of the instructional leadership to teachers. Louise James, for example, was the reading mentor as well as Title 1 Coordinator. She was also on the Program Quality Review (PQR) leadership team--one key group that provided instructional guidance, and engaged teachers in curriculum reforms. A fifth grade science teacher took the lead in a committee of teachers who were working on science reform. He also led the development of Mission's garden, which was used school-wide as part of an "integrated" curriculum for science, mathematics, and language arts. Finally, Laura Mather delegated some instructional and other duties to her vice principal. He also was on the PQR leadership team, for example.

This team of teachers and administrators was a social resource for Laura Mather; their relationship was a source of "social capital" (Coleman 1990), supporting reform and her leadership of the school. Mather trusted them and believed they were in agreement on a general vision for Mission Elementary. For example, she talked about her vice principal this way:

> If I need a problem solved, I know that he could either do it or help me. And I rely on him a lot . . . As far as we're concerned, every kid [who needs help] . . . should have as much attention paid to them as somebody [in special education] . . . we agree on a whole lot of things

> and we have the same philosophies on [education and children] . . . He's like a mirror . . . but he also keeps me honest . . . I wouldn't be able to face him . . . if I . . . forgot why I was here. Looking at him reminds me . . . He's like my conscience . . . And I couldn't sleep at night if I thought that I had . . . let down this . . . unspoken pact that we have [about] what our mission is here (LM 3/95).

Mather trusted her vice principal, and that trust was a resource for her. His rapport with Spanish-speaking children and their parents, as well as his sense of equity, complemented Mather's values and priorities. James was also a trusted friend to Mather. She and Mather spent time together inside and outside of school.

So generally Mather trusted these teachers and administrators to press a vision of the school similar to her own. That vision included an emphasis on equitable treatment of Mission's students, including academic expectations as they were bound up in bilingual issues. It included the notion of a democratic community in which trying out new ideas was encouraged, authority was shared; and it included a deep respect for the power of good books.

Moreover, staff at Mission Elementary had developed a school mission together. And they often made decisions about resource allocation and organization collectively, generally spreading resources evenly, albeit thinly, across grades. Mather had encouraged the staff to work together in other ways as well. This entailed planning together and considerable interaction. Some teachers had been talking in groups across grade levels for at least a year--Mather had encouraged this conversation--in order to develop multi-age, developmental, instructional strategies. So in some respects the staff had a collaborative relationship.

But generally, that collaboration and shared leadership at Mission was filtered through inherited conceptions of school organization and work

norms. For example, the staff at Mission were not collaborating on a clear, common, school-wide goal, (something the Title 1 reform as it was tied to Goals 2000 would be pressing more vigorously by the end of this school year). As in most schools, teachers in this school had quite a bit of latitude to "do their own thing" (Little 1990; Cusik 1983; Lortie 1975). Despite sharing ideas and collaborative decisions about resources, teachers were more independent than interdependent when it came to specific teaching goals and means. This was especially so across grade levels, and according to Mather, especially in the lower grades--kindergarten through second (Little).[25] For instance, the school-wide mission that the staff developed collaboratively was vague, especially as it related to specific instructional goals:

> . . . To educate all students in an environment that nurtures individual potential, fosters positive self-esteem and promotes mutual respect . . . Our mission can only be accomplished through a shared responsibility between and among our students, families, staff and community.

That underspecified school mission allowed a wide range of interpretations of the various program ideas in the school. Further, neither Mather nor James reported using their authority to forge a clear, common vision across grade levels at the school. Nor were there any reports of the other instructional leaders doing so. One exception was the PQR process which did interject itself to some degree into teacher autonomy, as well as stimulate thinking and learning around a coherent vision of student work in science. But the staff, including leadership, appeared to treat the PQR process as one more project in a long list of projects the school was undertaking. So while the leadership team was committed to reform, and generally seemed to agree on the ideas of equitable academic standards, democratic leadership, and the importance of literacy centered on good books, those themes were not translated into clear or specific school-wide goals in the school mission.

Thus, during the first year of the study, before a significant staff decision to "restructure" the school mission, the district and school culture seemed to have encouraged teachers to try out new ideas--those in the reform among others--and to work with others to some degree as they did so. The culture at MUSD and Mission did encourage innovation in the direction of the complex curriculum reform and "high standards" for all children to some extent. Moreover, the broad nature of the school mission and Laura Mather's leadership style--characterized as democratic, often by consensus--seemed to minimize staff conflict: First the staff could disagree with one another without much need to confront those disagreements.[26] Second, because categorical resources--Title 1 aides, materials, Title 1 teachers, bilingual aides, and so on--were allocated equitably, there were few open disagreements about their use.

But at the same time, a rather vague school mission, multiple instructional leaders, and a somewhat "laissez-faire" culture, combined with the mixed messages from the district and state, also seemed to contribute to some intellectual incoherence in the school. Teachers could choose from a long list of professional development opportunities, some of which competed with reforms. So learning was somewhat fragmented. Teachers could--and did--hold conflicting interpretations of reforms without much need for negotiating some common sense of purpose. Thus, an array of ideas about educational aims and means in the school competed even as staff seemed to embrace them, albeit with some ambivalence and struggle.

While the school's leadership did not create the competition of ideas in the school, it also tended not to constrain that competition. In that respect, the school culture at Mission was typical of norms in many American schools (Little; Lortie; Sarason 1982; Goodlad 1984; Cusik; Powell, Farrar and Cohen

1985). So Mission's leadership team was in many respects responding ambitiously to a very difficult reform, and they were doing so before a new federal initiative would renew the press in that same direction for all American schools. But by embracing multiple competing ideas about best practice, they were responding by mixing the new ideas with inherited conceptions of roles and school organizations--grafting new ideas onto old rather than subtracting old practices or fundamentally transforming the school culture.

THE EDUCATION AND TIMES OF LAURA MATHER

In addition to inherited conceptions of work norms, school organizations, and the role of principal, Laura Mather's personal outlook--including the experience, knowledge and convictions she brought to the school--were a filter on the competing ideas and goals in and around Mission Elementary. Thus the competition of ideas at Mission (and the commitments Mather constructed around them) were charged with meaning that was deeply personal as well as richly historical--meaning informed by Mather's education, life, and the context in which she came of age in America. Laura Mather is just over fifty years old, of medium height, somewhat stout, with short brown hair, glasses, and a ready smile. She is divorced and has no children. Raised in the American West, Mather came of age in the sixties, an era that tested democratic processes with social conflict and political polarization. She has a masters degree in bilingual-bicultural education, and has studied bicultural issues in Mexico under the auspices of the University of Arizona. Her education has exposed her to considerable research evidence and theory related to native language instruction. But social action, especially on behalf of Chicanos, was also a central feature of her young adulthood and

education. From an early age, the power of books and a passion for the equitable treatment of people have been important themes in her life .

The Power of Books

From an early age, the power of books was an important theme in Laura Mather's life. Libraries and books, even more than formal schooling, were critical to Mather's learning as long as she can remember. She says, "They were my way to [really] learn about things."[27] Mather remembers always having a burning curiosity. At a young age, she set out to read all the books she could manage in the library next to the American Legion Hall where her mother worked as a bartender. After reading every book of interest in the children's section of the library, Mather managed to get special permission to read from the adult section. She remembers the importance of books: "The public library saved my life because . . . there was nothing I couldn't read [there] . . . I literally read the shelves . . . "

Reading, in addition to quelling her curiosity, took her to times and places quite distant from West Texas were she was born and raised: ". . . Reading always really did take me away . . . " she remembers. Reflecting further on why she read so much as a child, she invokes the words of a character in a movie about C. S. Lewis: "We read to know we are not alone." As a young girl, Laura Mather's library card was her ticket--via an informal, "self-education"--to a larger community of people, and to places she longed to see.

Literature remained an important touchstone; it played a transformational role in Laura Mather's life. As a young adult, for example, Mather discovered a body of literature while designing a high school course

on female authors. She remembers the process as one that changed her perspective on her formal education:

> I designed that course by picking out an anthology . . . an annotated bibliography of books by and about women and reading all those books . . . As I read I just became angrier and angrier that I had never read any of these women before. I didn't even know who they were . . . Art--I took an art course, but I never knew who Georgia O'Keefe was until I found out about her [when designing this course] and then began to read about her. So I [began] wondering how did I miss that . . .

This was a powerful learning experience for Mather. She began to feel skeptical about some aspects of her education. Mather had "double majored" in English and Spanish in college. The contrast between her college coursework and what she learned through her own research project on women changed her outlook: she became a feminist.[28]

Mather has also had a longtime mentor who has helped keep her interest in literature vibrant. A high school English teacher whose passion for literature matched her own remains a good friend of hers, even today, and their relationship is an important social resource for her learning. She reported having had regular conversations with him--when she was teaching high school and now as a principal-- about literature, theater, film, and so on. Her friend spends each summer in London or New York City specifically to immerse himself in the hubs of the literary world. He still teaches high school English and he visits Mather regularly. Their relationship is an important source of intellectual stimulation for Mather--a sustained resource for learning that she brought with her to the MUSD and to Mission Elementary.

Further, her longtime passion for books has not abated. That too is a resource that Mather brought to Mission--one that she draws on often as she talks to parents, greets students in the halls, or meets with teachers. Laura

Mather is on a mission to engage people in the joy of reading books. She models that behavior for her staff and students. She summed up her penchant as it is manifest currently:

> Books are important to me and it's interesting that I used the public library so much. Now I have to own them; they have to be mine. And look in here [her office at school]. See children's books in the basket and over there and over here and here are books here and then behind me there are more books there and I've had two sacks of books and just took them home. Loaning books to people, reading books; you know it's just real important to me.

So when it came to matters related to literacy, Mather brought her knowledge and enthusiasm--a personal resource for teaching and inspiring others--with her to Mission Elementary. She also brought or created resources for her own continued learning. Thus, in some respects Laura Mather was well situated to lead the reform in the subject of language arts.

Empathy With the "Underdog" and the Principle of Equity

In part, Mather's long hours at the library as a child grew out of the economic status of her family.[29] Middle-class security and the affluence of the post-war era stood in contrast to her family life in Texas. Mather's was a working class family, and though many of the images of that time reflected the prosperous, consumer-oriented, middle-class life--mother at home with shiny new appliances, father at work--such was not the case for Mather. She identifies these working-class roots with her early sense of being "different" than--having fewer advantages than--many of her classmates in school. Her father had only a fourth grade education; her mother had one year of college. Mather was known as "the smart one . . . the one who was going to make it . . ." among her parents' friends; still, she felt different, at a disadvantage,

like a bit of "an underdog." Despite her life-long love of books, she remembers her education living in a house without them:

> . . . at my house we were lucky to have a dictionary. We had a dictionary someone had given my parents. They didn't value books at all. The only magazines we had were the American Legion magazine; my dad was a member . . . Nobody bought magazines, we didn't have books at home . . . I never saw my parents reading a book--ever.

The feeling of disadvantage seemed to grow when Mather began high school. She remembers:

> . . . I'll never forget my freshman English class. These kids are all talking about going to MIT to be doctors and lawyers . . . these people were just destined to be . . . successful. I was in class with them because I was smart, but I didn't have the same frame of reference they had. I hadn't been on the trips they had been on . . . I was really out of my league and I felt badly . . . about myself.

In these comments, we hear Mather's sense of growing up at a disadvantage with a home life different from the one at school; it was perhaps "deficient" when compared to that of classmates and teachers. It is here that another strand in the story of her education and professional life--in addition to the importance of books and reading--first emerges: Her commitment to the principle of equity and to the underdog.

Laura Mather remembers experiencing racial prejudice--aimed at her friends--first in junior high school, then in high school. She remembers going to school in Texas "with brown, but not black students; they went to a separate school." Her Mexican-American friends were often the targets of racial bias in the schools she attended. She says, "I saw some things I didn't like and I think my social consciousness was raised a great deal." What Mather saw was likely not atypical for the place and time in which she was living, for until 1954, segregation held sway in American schools. Though the 1954 supreme court Brown decision made racial segregation illegal in all

American public schools, "defacto" segregation continued. Not as strictly segregated as black Americans, many Mexican American's lived apart. In Texas, "No Mexicans Allowed" signs were common (Acuna 1988, p. 312). So Mather went to elementary and high school in west Texas during an era when segregation was accepted by many as the general order of social life.

In April of 1963, just before Mather graduated from high school, the country saw black picketers in Alabama protest the fact that they were not allowed to sit down at the same lunch counter with whites. Martin Luther King led a march to gain national attention. In the ten weeks following the Birmingham riots--the spring and summer of Mather's final year at home--the Department of Justice counted 758 demonstrations across the nation. Almost 14,000 protesters were arrested (White 1978, p. 527). That fall, Laura Mather enrolled in a university-- formerly a state teacher's college--located near the Rio Grande where it cuts a border between the US and Mexico--136 miles from her home. She remembers the year vividly as a time that influenced her greatly, changed her. She remembers especially the death of President John F. Kennedy:

> . . . Suddenly my world was a little different I think . . . I began to read about the things that he said . . . And I think it made me more of a champion for the rights of the so-called underdog. I think I had a propensity for that anyway . . . But after [Kennedy's death, I thought] I have to do what I can do to make this [country] . . . a better place to live.

By the time Laura Mather was in college, the country had also seen the murder of white and black civil rights workers in Mississippi. Mather herself remembers her terror when she and a young black man were followed by men with guns in a pickup truck on a trip home from college. The incident convinced her to leave Texas. But there was also by then The Civil Rights Act

of 1964, pushed through Congress by President Johnson after Kennedy's death.

So not only did personal experience raise Mather's consciousness about the "underdog," but her transition to adulthood coincided with an era of history characterized by political polarization and skepticism directed at authorities of all sorts. When the baby-boomers reached college campuses, anti-authoritarian feelings were flourishing (Gitlan 1993). Claims to authority were called into question on all fronts--scientific, political, religious, and so on (Dickstein 1989; Gitlin; Toulmin 1990). Ideas such as participatory democracy and equal rights mingled with images of a polarized public--violence and jubilation, outrage and hope. Those images made their way into homes across the country by television (Gitlan; White). Much of the conflict was over the principle of equality and the practice of segregation. Laura Mather remembers; she was paying attention.

Mather's early experiences with racial prejudice and segregation, along with her memories of class identification and her personal reaction to the death of JFK, seem to form a cluster of memories which are the antecedents to a principle she has tried to live by as an adult: that is, the ideal of equity among the many ethnic, economic, and racial cultures that make up the American heritage. That ideal informs the issues Mather systematically studied after graduating from college and that she reflects on still--issues that by the seventies had been labeled "multi-culturalism."

Multiculturalism

Equity was a central value that informed Laura Mather's leadership--one she talked about often at Mission Elementary, and just as often related to bilingual or "bicultural issues"-that is, to a regard for students no matter their

ethnic background, race, or language. She repeatedly said her primary goal at Mission Elementary was to build a community where children were not penalized in terms of academic opportunities or treatment "because of the color of their skin or their language." So for Mather, curriculum reform and Title 1 reform were bound up in the principle of equity and in bilingual education. Mather's vision began to take shape in the sixties, but was completed in the seventies and eighties.

Rooted in the sixties, the multicultural movement expanded in the seventies, and Laura Mather was in the middle of it. She had paid for her college education (she was a Spanish-English major) with a National Defense Education Act (NDEA) loan which she repaid by working in an impoverished New Mexico school district as a bilingual teacher. After teaching for a year, Mather began to aggressively pursue in her formal education what has become her lifelong professional interest: "multi-cultural" issues. In 1969, Mather headed to a "bicultural institute" in Mexico, through the auspices of the University of Arizona, to begin a masters program in bicultural and bilingual education. In Mexico she became an activist on behalf of Chicanos.

The kind of traditional, disciplinary knowledge that the academic standards reform movement the 1980's would draw on was not a central concern when Mather was educated for her leadership at Mission Elementary. Note that the institute she attended falls into a category of university programs that would not have existed in another historical period. These programs were characterized by an emphasis on advocacy, group values, and cultural maintenance; they were generally lacking in historical analysis or other such traditional methods of scholarship and research (Glazer 1985). Often the programs were not linked to traditional academic fields, for their purpose was to change, not maintain, traditional bastions of influence in

American institutions. So Mather's masters program, unique in the university context, grew out of an activist ethos in the era in which she came of age, an era that included political and economic goals related to the principle of equity.[30]

Shortly after Mather returned from the bicultural institute, she left for California and a teaching job in one of the large agricultural valleys laying inland from the Pacific ocean. There she worked for several years as a bilingual teacher in a school enrolling many children of migrant workers--mostly Mexican American, Spanish-speaking children. After earning her masters degree, she changed jobs again, moving to the area of California where she now works, to take a job as an adult educator at a junior college. It was after this last move that Mather set down roots again and worked her way to her current position as elementary school principal: first as a bilingual resource teacher, then as a middle school Spanish teacher, then an administrator of the district's migrant program and the dean of students.

Learning on the Job

The key themes in Mather's personal history--the importance of equity; a passion for literature; knowledge of her students' language, culture, and learning needs--gave her only part of the frame of reference she would need to lead the new, disciplined-based reforms in the context of Mission Elementary. Further, she had few if any on the job opportunities to learn about what she should be trying to do as either a learner or teacher of reform. She and her leadership team, though responding energetically to these reforms, were doing so with too few resources for making sense of them. First, the district's instructional guidance strategy was aimed at teachers, not school administrators.[31] Next, like many districts, their professional

development combined reform-oriented workshops with an array of other options. And, as noted earlier, the district required schools to use the CTBS as well as the CLAS with quite high stakes attached: pressure to raise scores. Thus, the district sent conflicting messages to schools. Viewed as "pedagogy" such messages created quite inconsistent, fragmented instruction about "the policy" and the meaning of reform to Laura Mather and others who were expected to lead reforms at their schools.

Finally, like most district administrators, those at the MUSD didn't construct their roles to include instruction, and in interviews, they didn't raise the idea that school leaders--as potential instructional leaders--would require opportunities to experience the kind of teaching and learning that reforms were pressing for students. So, for example, Mather met with other principals regularly under the auspices of her district supervisor's office. Those meetings might have been a source of learning, an instructional discourse for making sense of reforms. But a look at the agenda items suggests the discourse did not center on reformed teaching, student learning, or even school work norms. Rather, a long and wide-ranging list of items had to be covered. Occasionally reform was on that crowded list. Laura Mather explained the nature and format of the meetings:

> All the elementary principals meet for at least three hours [each month]. We have an agenda. And we talk . . . for example . . . about next year maybe having two district minimum days . . . for staff development . . . And then . . . school-based whatever and the management retreat the last two days of the month . . . Then there's CLAS and then technology plans. We each have a technology plan. And . . . performance agreements . . . [Also] bilingual teacher needs . . . we have to figure out how many teachers we're going to need for next year . . . Then, people from departments come to explain stuff to us. It's a good place for us to let our hair down (LM 2/94).

Mather continued specifically in response to the question of using these meetings as professional development opportunities for principals:

> . . . usually some person . . . brings [some topic] to our attention and does a little overview . . . But many times it's one of us who went to a workshop, [or] was sent to a workshop and we do a [presentation] . . . Highscope, for example. [A principal] came back and did a whole thing on Highscope for us. When the developmental report card came out . . . one principal went to [a] kindergarten [conference] where they were just doing . . . all developmentally appropriate stuff. And she came back and did a whole in-service for us on that. So we do that for each other also (LM 2/94).

While the monthly principals' meetings were a potential resource for learning about curriculum reforms, they tended to also be a source of priorities or ideas that competed with reforms. And reform ideas tended to be transmitted in a presentation mode rather than used to engage principals in thinking about such ideas in order to understand them. So not only did the content of the meetings include ideas or commitments that competed with curriculum reforms for principals' time, but the "pedagogy" was counter to what curriculum reforms were pressing--that is, principals as students were assumed to be passive absorbers of information rather than active constructors of meaning.

What is more, Mather reported that most district-organized professional development opportunities were of little help to her: " . . . my management problems are not the same as the guy who's in charge of transportation . . . you tend to be forced to [attend] . . . (2/94). Most of Mather's interactions with the district related to reform ideas--loosely construed as "pedagogy"--might be characterized as inconsistent, contradictory, or didactic: District officials in essence "transmitted" various policy messages to Laura Mather and Mission's staff, nearly in the form of mandates, often clustered with other priorities.

As for her annual experience with conferences designed by one of the principals' organizations, Mather reported:

> They [the organizers and presenters] don't know what we do [at schools such as Mission Elementary]. They don't have a clue--[for example, some principal] from some little old village . . . in the East [will present]. [Even my friend] . . . a principal in Seattle . . . She has 200 kids and [operates on] a traditional calendar. What does she know about 950 kids on a year-round schedule (LM 2/94)?

So according to Laura Mather, much of the professional development available to her was not especially helpful. Nor did it relate to her learning needs related to curriculum and Title 1 reform.

The kind of opportunity Mather found most interesting and relevant to her work was about curriculum. For example, though she was a member of several professional organizations, she cited the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) annual conference as her most important source of learning because,

> . . . of the variety of people represented there . . . who have something to do with supervision and curriculum development at all levels (LM 2/94).

She found the ASCD conference and her membership in that association to be very helpful in teaching her what she was trying to learn. But her official opportunities to interact with this professional community was generally limited to once a year. In the interim, she frequently read further on topics she encountered and found interesting at these yearly conferences or elsewhere, even at district organized workshops on some occasions. For example, she reported:

> . . . I'm re-reading a Roland Barth book about improving schools from within because I got interested in that at a workshop that we went to . . . about change agents, leaders, shared decision making--[that kind of] stuff. That was a district retreat . . . (LM 2/94).

Roland Barth (1990) writes about schools in which staff are "interactive professionals" continuously learning from others. That is a fundamentally

different work norm from the inherited view of workplace autonomy; it is related to the kind of organizational reform that presses for new relationships and roles for school staff--for example, relationships that include continuous discussion and mutual responsibility for goals; or roles that require self reflection on practice, serious learning and critique of others. Mather also was reading other material that informed her about the big ideas in reforms: several journals, including Phi Delta Kappan; a book about thematic instruction; and a book entitled Endangered Minds: Why Children Don't Think and What We Can do About It.

Thus, while most of Mather's on the job "curriculum and instruction" related to reform was fragmented and episodic or even contradictory, she had found and was using some sources for learning about them. But she was doing so with too few social and practical resources for making sense of them: without a "teacher" per se, without a consistent "curriculum," without much time, and without much instructional or professional interaction with others (though she did report talking to some of the MUSD's principals about these matters).

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Laura Mather's story, filled as it is with the history of civil rights causes, integration movements, and Chicano activism, would not have been likely had she lived in another historical era; nor would it have unfolded as it did without her sense of growing up different than her wealthier classmates. Her story has no doubt been fostered by the particular places in West Texas where she attended school, came of age, left home, and attended college. Growing up and growing older, she has seen changing sensibilities around issues of race, language, poverty, and educational achievement. Brandishing a library card as a key to opportunity, and her personal standard of equity,

Mather interacted in unpredictable ways with numerous individuals and ideas at Mission Elementary. By the first year of this study, Laura Mather had made a definite imprint on the school. That imprint was informed by her life history and learning, centered on the principles of equity, democracy, multiculturalism, and on the power of books in overcoming personal experience (Buchman and Schwille 1983). So Mission Elementary's response to new ideas about curriculum and instruction was, to some degree, bound up with this particular principal--what she brought to the school or what she managed to learn about the reforms while on the job.

THE SCHOOL, THE PRINCIPAL, AND THE PERSON

The leaders at Mission Elementary were not only coping with competing messages and conflicting commitments, often in the face of "unsolvable problems," but they were trying to make sense of extremely complex instructional reforms that required fundamentally new ways of thinking about leadership, teaching, and learning. And they were trying to respond to such reforms with very little coherent instructional guidance themselves--no "teacher," a weak "curriculum," and so on--in an era of budget cuts.

Nevertheless, Laura Mather and others were committed to curriculum and Title 1 reform. Mather had created "social capital" for the school by hiring like-minded, reform-minded teachers--Louise James, the vice principal, and others--then delegating instructional leadership to them. The leadership team generally agreed on Mather's vision for Mission (sometimes tacitly, sometimes explicitly) that included equitable academic standards for all children, and Mather trusted them to help her lead reform. In this sense, Mather had created some of the individual and social resources the school

needed. She also had, and made use of some of the instructional resources needed to enact reform--the PQR process and the CLAS. Both of these policy instruments held potential for teacher learning and are more than many states provide. So in some respects she did have "curriculum" (the CLAS and frameworks), and the teacher leaders who could serve as "teachers" of the policy.

Moreover, drawing on her history and the predisposition she brought to the school, Mather was ,in some respects, reasonably well situated to move the curriculum-reform agenda in language arts forward: She had extensive knowledge of the students in her school--their culture, theory about how they learned, their language, and so on. She brought her passion for and considerable understanding of literature--including Spanish literature--with her to Mission Elementary, as well as a source for sustained learning in the form of her mentor. Further, Mather had some experience in teaching adults, and was also quite an aggressive learner: She read widely, based for the most part on topics she learned about at ASCD conferences.

All of the personal resources--sketched just above--for leading the reform, together with traditional categorical resources available to her, as well as the social resources Mather created at Mission, likely account for some of the reformed practices in this school. For when ideas and precepts in the Title 1 and curriculum reforms are considered, in some ways this school was ahead of the federal curve. Before Goals 2000 and the reauthorization of Title 1, this school had embraced many of the precepts contained in those reforms, and many staff were trying to put them into practice. When it came to interpreting Title 1 organizational reforms--called for in the 1988 amendments--this school seemed to have responded very sensibly: They had managed to integrate Title 1 curriculum and instruction into the regular

classrooms' core curriculum. In many instances, that instruction was much less fragmented that it had been before the amendments. And it was generally aimed at a high standard: "a thinking, meaning-centered" curriculum for all students.

But the principal and her leadership team were responding to the curriculum reforms in the midst of competing ideas and commitments with too few resources for making sense of the reforms in the context of Mission Elementary. For example, in the midst of political controversy over the reforms, the MUSD was pressing competing high-stakes tests--the CLAS and the CTBS--and potentially competing innovations--developmentally-appropriate instruction and grade- based standards. Ambitious bilingual education goals sometimes competed with each other and with the reforms when Mission tried to put them into practice. Deep budget cuts exacerbated the repercussions of those competing priorities--one of which was to dilute resources for reform. Likewise, inherited conceptions of the principal's role (and Mather's construction of that role) exaserbated the situation by creating a myriad commitments vying for her time.

Thus, while the PQR, the CLAS, and the curriculum frameworks had the potential to provide quite powerful instructional guidance for the reforms, they were only modest resources for learning at Mission, in part because they were competing with other district and school priorities. So, for instance, using limited professional development funds, teachers could choose from a large array of topics, some of which competed with the reforms. And teachers as well as administrators received "mixed messages" about what was important. Thus, reform-oriented resources for learning tended to be diluted, especially when compared to the monumental task of enacting curriculum reform. If all professional development funds had been

concentrated on reforms, and if the PQR and CLAS had been the central focus for the school leadership and staff, then the "pedagogy" and "curriculum" of the reform policy might have been a more powerful intervention.

But the staff faced a considerable number of practical problems that clashed with reform ideals as well, the largest of which was only modest financial resources compared to the challenges of the context. So in part the resource thinness was also due to the dwindling budgets, burgeoning student enrollments, and thus the lack of personnel in relation to the size of the school. Budgets at Mission had been steadily cut since Proposition 13 capped funding for education in California. Classroom size had grown: At Mission the average class size was thirty-two to thirty-three students, and modular aluminum classrooms were sprouting up around the school grounds. The instructional leadership team had multiple responsibilities, including classrooms of their own, and thus very limited time for instructional guidance. So the reforms were very challenging, class size was large at this school of 950 students, and the number of children who needed help great. The large student enrollment of poor, limited- English-speaking children definitely multiplied the challenges of enacting ambitious curriculum reform. Even the nine instructional aides and five special Title 1 teachers the staff purchased with categorical funds, were spread thinly across six grades--two of each on two tracks, plus one of each on a third track. Many teachers complained that such help, though welcome, was not sufficient to do the intensive tutoring and provide the kind of support they believed their students needed.

Finally, the fragmented nature of the principal's role--inherited conceptions of that work as well as the way Mather constructed her role--created competing priorities for Mather and the school, thus diluting

potential resources: Mather's time and expertise as an instructional leader, for example. A principal today is expected to be administrator, lawyer, organizer, disciplinarian, systems analyst, community/parent liaison, fund-raiser, as well as instructional leader (Cuban; Fullan; Council of Chief State School Officers, Interstate School Leaders Licensure Consortium, 1996). Such super-human performances are likely impossible just as implementing all the innovations that make their way into schools would be impossible. Nevertheless, when reforms are combined, even well synthesized or prioritized, they seem to assume school staffs will muster such superhuman capacity. And so did Mather's supervisors. So her role was co-constructed based on inherited visions of leadership and it would have demanded considerable professional risk for Mather to reconstruct it without guidance and support.

But in Laura Mather's case, education and background also tended to complicate the manner in which she made sense of the reforms, especially her construction of details around potentially competing goals, as she tried to put the big ideas in the reforms into practice. For example, perhaps because of her continuing study of bilingual issues, and her quite sophisticated understanding of the research about how children learn in a second language, Mather embraced competing program ideals and found dilemmas where others might not see them: One instance is the problem of teaching all children for conceptual understanding, teaching them English, and fostering an integrated learning environment. Finally Mather's education did not provide her with the kind of disciplinary knowledge of subject matter that might have helped her lead curriculum reform (with the exception of language arts).

Thus, not only did inherited conceptions of the principalship complicate Mather's job, but the prior understanding that she brought to the task of enacting curriculum reform for all students gave her only part of the frame of reference she needed--especially when it came to the teaching and learning of mathematics. For example, she had an interest, considerable understanding, a mentor, and ongoing conversations--with her mentor as well as with teachers at the school (in a book club)--in the realm of literature. Mather had many of the same kinds of personal and social resources in the domain of bilingual or bi-cultural issues. But she had no such conversations in mathematics or science, nor any guidance or experience in leading organizational change (that she reported)--managing conflict or reducing priorities, for example. Furthermore, the instructional leader Louise James, as well as most of Mission's teachers in my set, seemed to understand more about language arts reforms than mathematics reforms. So generally, literacy reform may have found a better environment in which to grow. Nevertheless, Laura Mather was expected to lead mathematics, science, and organizational reform at Mission. In doing so, she not only had competing commitments and complex reforms vying for her time, but she had few resources in the way of "instruction" or coherent "curriculum."

For most of what Laura Mather learned about, or from, all aspects of the various reforms in this study was similar to what most teachers learn from the fragmented, laissez-faire, instructional guidance "non-system": Basically Mather taught herself by attending a few workshops, sending her assistant to workshops, reading the frameworks, some books and journals--all the while working in a demanding job. So, even though the reforms required a great deal of professional learning, Mather had to be her own teacher. Paradoxically, she would thus have had to take the huge professional

risk (for one assigned the task of "leading" reforms) of admitting she was a learner--to her staff, her supervisors, and so on. She would also have had to confront her supervisors at the district with the multiple competing demands they placed on her school--another professional risk as noted earlier. Or, in making her own and her staff's learning a priority, she would have had to ignore some of the many demands. For example, Mather might have learned from the science mentor at the school had she immersed herself in the PQR process. It would have taken a good deal of her time, but it likely would have also provided learning opportunities and professional discourse focused on science reform. The PQR process seemed to be doing so to some extent for James, who was meeting and talking about student work, instructional goals, and curriculum with the science mentor (a teacher) and a few other teacher leaders.

But the sort of behavior sketched just above demands a new conception of the role of principal as instructional leader--i.e. the image of principal would include learning from teachers in some circumstances, as well as from other "teachers" of the reform. In this view, knowledge is distributed, social, and leaders learn from multiple sources as well as "teach." But "leader as learner" is not something generally accepted in the inherited view of such work, just as "teacher as learner" is not part of the inherited view of teaching. The press for more "site-based management" in conjunction with new rigorous curriculum standards requires that both teachers and school leaders recast their roles. For professionals to admit to being serious learners is risky but crucial if reforms are to grow. Reformers should consider how to create "safe" contexts for such learning on the job, even as they are raising the standards for preparing a new generation of leaders.

New conceptions of roles and relationships aside, at Mission Elementary in the 1993-1994 school year, the school culture was typical of norms in many American schools: While some teachers worked in small teams planning science units and coordinating their instruction in the bilingual program, for the most part teachers across grade levels, school-wide, worked quite independently--especially, according to Mather, in the lower grades--kindergarten through second. Teacher learning was somewhat fragmented and based for the most part on teacher predilection. A vague school mission allowed for multiple interpretations of aims and means (with science the possible exception). Finally, Mather had little time available for reflecting in a systematic manner on "the sixteen innovative things" the school was undertaking, curriculum reform among them.

CONCLUSION

Though Mission's leadership team was in many respects responding ambitiously to a very difficult reform, they were doing so by mixing the new ideas with traditional conceptions of school organizations--grafting old onto new rather than subtracting priorities or fundamentally transforming the school culture. Moreover, the school's leadership had few if any powerful enough learning opportunities to transform inherited conceptions of leading, teaching, and learning. District administrators at the MUSD didn't construct their roles to include instruction, nor did they raise the idea that school leaders--as potential instructional leaders--would require opportunities to experience the kind of teaching and learning that reforms were pressing for students. Further, the district sent conflicting messages to schools. Viewed as "pedagogy," such messages created quite inconsistent, fragmented instruction about "the policy" and the meaning of reform.

Still, the district and school culture encouraged innovation in the direction of high, complex academic standards for all children. By 1993, the Mission staff had responded to the 1988 amendments to Title 1 by eliminating most pull-out instruction, and by integrating their Title 1 instruction with the regular curriculum--a "meaning centered" curriculum, aimed at high academic standards. But at the same time, an under-specified school mission, multiple instructional leaders, and a laissez-faire culture (teachers often worked and learned quite independently) combined with the mixed messages from the district to create some intellectual incoherence in the school.

Though the leadership at Mission did not create the competition of ideas in the school, it tended not to constrain that competition. Multiple instructional leaders did not seem to assuage the competing intellectual priorities. In this school, collaborative, democratic processes seemed to function smoothly for staff when competing ideals and their conflicting points of view about teaching, learning, or the meaning of policies were allowed to co-exist behind closed doors and a hazy school mission. At this point in the story, while there seemed to be collaborative decision making and consensus over goals at Mission Elementary, just behind their vague agreement and thinly-allocated resources, conflict was brewing in the details. For good or ill, a momentous, "by consensus" decision to "restructure" their Title 1 curriculum would soon bring that conflict to the fore of staff interactions. I take up that decision and the ensuing conflict in chapter five.

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[1]Here, as described in chapter one, "resources" are conceptualized as financial, social, personal and print or other media. Financial include, among other resources, funding targeted to smaller class size, more personnel, more time for reflection, conversations, and other learning opportunities. The term social resources is informed by a "pedagogy of the policy" metaphor, and includes among other relations, scaffolding for learning about reforms through sustained instructional discourse with knowledgeable others--"teachers" of the policy--or mutual goals

for student learning, and collaborative conversations focused on how to achieve them. (Cohen and Barnes 1993; McLaughlin and Talbert 1993; Ball and Cohen 1996; Cohen and Ball 1997; Newmann and Wehlage 1995; Darling-Hammond 1992; Lieberman and Miller 1992). Coleman's 1990 social capital theory also informs the idea that the social resources reside in relationships where there are shared goals. The term "personal resources" provides a lens for considering the prior understanding, experience, education, and predilection that enactors bring to their work. That concept is informed by both human capital theory and cognitive theory, the latter of which holds that people interpret new information (or learn) by building on existing cognitive structures--that is, what they know and understand. Print or other kinds of media resources include those that would provide specified curricular guidance as a means for educators to learn from the policy--a "curriculum of the policy."

[2]I observed elements of the reforms--both mathematics and language arts, on some occasions, across all six of the teachers in my subset at Mission Elementary. All six also talked about the reform ideas in their interviews. But their practices ranged from instruction that was in some respects quite traditional, with a bit of the rhetoric and few of the accouterments of reform "tacked on," to instruction that seemed quite reformed, albeit an interesting mix of "old" and "new."

[3]See also the California State Department of Education Program Advisory CIL: 88/9-2. Improving educational opportunity for disadvantaged students: An advisory of programmatic ideas derived from the 1988 reauthorization of Chapter 1.

[4]Mather reported this information during a 1988 interview with David K. Cohen.

[5]The school is open year round and employs thirty classroom teachers (sixty-two staff in all) on three overlapping tracks.

[6]School level planning was one focus of the reauthorization of Title 1 in 1994. For details on the press for school-level improvement strategies see the school-wide program requirements from Federal Register, July 3, 1995, p 6 (B).

[7]See for example the USDOE "Ideabook" for school-wide projects by Pechman and Fiester (1994).

[8]And for staff development activities. In August of 1993, James reported that she, Mather, and the staff were trying to set aside approximately 10% of their Title 1 funds, or from $12,000 to $ 16,000 for professional development that school year--1993-94. That was a change for Mission. Prior to the 1993-1994 school year, they had allocated about $ 3300 from Title 1 funds, for thirty-three teachers. They used School Improvement funds to double that amount. So each teacher had approximately $ 200 for professional development. But this school year that would increase to approximately $360 to $450 per teacher--all from Title 1 funds. James attended a year-long course on Reading Recovery methods, and that was funded by Title 1 as well.

[9]The only exception to James' comment is the Reading Recovery program that James teaches. She works with a small number of first grade students tutoring them. She was taught the methods of Reading Recovery in a year-long course of study at the county education office, which was paid for by Title1 funds.

[10]These literacy tasks and practices are generally consistent with recommendations in the English-Language Arts Framework for California Public Schools (1987) and with the English-Language Arts Model Curriculum Guides (1988).

[11]See, It's Elementary! (1992).

[12]While I have observed mathematics lessons in all of my classrooms, this subject has not been a focus for Title 1 students in small groups.

[13]A memorandum from Mather's supervisor at the district office complimented Mission on its plan, and encouraged other schools to develop similar strategies. Mather reported making a presentation to her principals group on the plan at the resquest of her supervisor.

[14]I did not observe these, so I don't know how much time was devoted to them, or if these meetings occurred. But Mather reported she was supporting them. And her written "Goals for 1992-1993" as well as 1993-1994 included: "continue to provide grade level meeting time to share and build units based on science; continue to support staff development; continue to provide information."

[15]For example, nationally, educators and social scientists have argued over "whole language" methods and phonics, complex problem solving skills versus mastery of basic math facts. For decades learning was understood by many as a hierarchy of skills in which simple, basic skills had to be mastered before complex skills were tackled. Many educators have considered beginning with low level skills especially important for children at risk for failing in school. The new policy ideas challenged those notions, suggesting "higher order" thinking skills could be taught to all children. See, for example, Means, Chelemer & Knapp (1991). Part of the intellectual history of this debate was taken up in chapter one.

[16]This was due in part to the size of the school--they had to visit 30 classrooms per year and that number created time constraints. Further, the instructional leaders in this school had full-time classrooms of their own. Even Louise James was a half-time Reading Recovery teacher as well as the Title 1 administrator.

[17]These were two in a long list of available options in the county professional development handbook. Furthermore, while the district and county offered some mathematics reform workshops, no one at the school among the leadership team of principal, vice principal, or Title 1 administrator appeared to be taking the instructional lead in mathematics.

[18]Those goals have also long been the topic of heated debate in California as I sketched in chapter one and will take up again below.

[19]Based on a "cutting edge" model of bilingual education, the staff developed the "Compañero project," a version of team teaching in which a Spanish-speaking teacher and an English-speaking teacher would work together, sometimes mixing their students in order to promote bilingualism as well as "cross cultural" understanding. Mission's Compañero is taken up in detail in chapters three and four.

[20]Organizing a Compliant Program for Students of Limited-English Proficiency. Complaints Management and Bilingual Compliance Unit, Bilingual Education Office, California Department of Education. September, 1993.

[21]The handbook was prepared by the Bilingual Education Office, Categorical Support Program Division. California Department of Education. ISBN-8011-0890.

[22] In 1968 Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, amended the 1965 ESEA to establish the federal role in bilingual education.

[23] See especially pp. 144-164, Chapter 8, "The Principal."

[24]This research literature informed, in part, some of the ideas in the reauthorization of Title 1--ideas such as coherent school-wide planning, for example.

[25]Judith Warren Little (1990) diagrams a helpful continuum of collaborative work among teachers which I have drawn from here. Teacher's work can range from complete independence to complete interdependence. See page 512. Collaboration can sometimes entail work that does not demand much in the way of "mutual obligation" for specific goals.

[26]Across all interviews, there is a pattern of contradiction or staff disagreement over instructional and policy matters. But there was no overt social conflict either reported or observed across grade levels. Further, by all reports the school-wide staff decision to restructure the school--the subject of chapter five--was collegial, by consensus. But after the

Title 1 program was "restructured," hostilities mounted, conflict was reported in all accounts, and emotional distress.

[27]This and all other quotations in this section were taken from interviews with Mather conducted in January and February of 1994.

[28]As did many women at that time--the early seventies. Dickstein points out that literature played a role in transforming personal goals as well as informing political agendas. He argues, for example, that "Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique and Millett's Sexual Politics had real impact on how individuals thought about their lives. Furthermore, " . . . thanks to mass media, feminism touched many . . . women." (ix). Laura Mather was one such woman.

[29] Her mother's work, outside her home as a bartender at the American Legion, may have contributed to Mather's informal education. She spent long hours at the library reading, in part because her mother worked next door.

[30]When Mather was attending the bilingual institute and later continuing work on her masters degree, the federal regulatory role expanded in the direction of cultural maintenance and mandatory bilingual programs. Congress extended Title VII of the ESEA in the Bilingual Education Act of 1974, and it stressed bilingual instructional techniques as the principal means by which limited English-speaking children learn. When Laura Mather was solidifying her professional path and extending her knowledge of bilingual education, the federal role expanded toward the maintenance goal. This expansion was especially the case after the Supreme Court's Lau Decision (1974), which ruled that local school districts had to provide special language programs for limited- English-speaking children.

[31] Based on interviews with the curriculum director and other district officials, the strategy for a "pedagogy" of the curriculum policy in math and language arts seemed to consist of convening committees on curriculum reform in order to develop a "trainer of trainers" scheme for teachers. Lead teachers who were reform converts would sit on the committees; they would learn about and develop reform-oriented strategies, then hold regular workshops for other MUSD teachers. The district also organized district level workshops or professional development opportunities for teachers using the CLAS.

CHAPTER 3

MANAGING COMPETING COMMITMENTS: ANITA LORENZ, MONIQUE PONDS, AND RUTH LINN

Inventing a reform-oriented practice while coping with multiple, compelling though often competing commitments, with little guidance and practical constraints, is not only extremely difficult, it is uncertain and demands complex judgments. Like many teachers in this study, the two featured here were ambivalent: Conflicts of conviction, competing ideas, and uncertainty over both pulled them in more than one direction. But generally the unspecified nature of curriculum reform, the lack of traditional resources to support their practices, thin instructional resources--a consistent "teacher and/or curriculum" of the policy, for example--together with the competition of ideas in and around both the MUSD and Mission Elementary, heightened the uncertainty and the complexity of these teachers' work.

Nevertheless, on some occasions they managed to teach in the direction of the reforms, in the face of complex uncertainty and "unsolvable" problems. They did so in part from a general predisposition toward using enormous reserves of effort and energy: They were aggressive in seeking out collegial relations and other opportunities for learning. And they managed in part because of their personal histories--both were in teacher education programs when reforms had gained ascendancy in California, and both reported learning about the reform ideas during teacher education programs. Finally, they managed with the help of the school and district, neither of

which opposed the reforms and both of which supported the teachers' efforts to some extent.

Like many American teachers, Anita Lorenz and Monique Ponds were faced with challenges inherent in their practices: balancing competing ideas about instruction for one example; managing conflicting ideals for the education of their students for another. These tensions pose dilemmas that are endemic to the practice of teaching (Lampert 1985; Lipskey 1980; Lortie 1975). But these two teachers contend with competing interests in the context of a school which significantly compounds their challenges--including the challenge of trying to work out the ideas in the curriculum reforms with students considered at risk for academic failure because of poverty, language barriers, and other factors. Thus, the Title 1 program and the bilingual program intersected in their classrooms, forming the Compañero Project, a complicated organizational model of team teaching used in an attempt to address the needs of a rapidly growing, poor, Spanish-speaking population in the area. The goals and means of the Compañero were sometimes in tension with each other or with curriculum reform.

Not only did they have to cope with competing ideas about best practice and multiple commitments to sometimes contradictory ideals, but another sort of conflict was embedded in their work: that is, the clash between the reform ideals and the school's practical problems, the largest of which was insufficient resources.[1] First, for example, these teachers were responding to reforms in an era of budget cuts, with too few traditional resources to support the work they wanted to do. At this point in the story, Title 1 resources were thinly, but equitably, dispersed across the school; classrooms were overcrowded; support staff was meager when compared to the instructional

problems; funds for professional development, in part because of the equitable distribution, were sometimes not available to support reform.

On a second but related point, they were responding ambitiously to reforms with some, but only modest social resources for learning what the reforms required in the context of Mission. While Mission offered more than many US schools in the way of a "curriculum and instruction" for the reforms, still these resources were inadequate when compared to the challenging nature of the reform, and they were provided within a culture that did not constrain competing notions of best practice. As in many American schools, instructional guidance was taking place in the midst of a somewhat laissez-faire professional development culture--in both the district and the school--which included competing ideas and commitments. So learning was somewhat fragmented and episodic, and learning focused specifically on the reform was thin.

CURRICULUM REFORM AND COMPLEX UNCERTAINTY

Anita Lorenz is one of the energetic, reform-minded teachers Laura Mather hired in her attempt to improve Mission Elementary. An ambitious teacher, Lorenz was educated in the era of standards reforms and reported she "couldn't imagine teaching another way." By that she seemed to mean in a manner different from an integrated, whole-language approach, very much in the direction of California's language arts framework. She also reported using math journals, as well as teaching centers which focused on various strands of mathematics in the framework, including "logic and probability." According to Lorenz, her second grade students were sorting, counting, and representing on graphs every manner of object and opinion in the room. These activities too were in the direction of the science and mathematics

frameworks, and it was clear during a year of observing her that Anita Lorenz held very high standards for all of her students. But she also struggled with competing notions of what that might mean in a classroom of diverse learners. Lorenz's language arts practice illustrates how curriculum and Title 1 reform interact from the view of a classroom teacher. Lorenz's ambitious practice also offers a window into how the reforms and the commitment to high academic standards for all children looked in classrooms (especially for the "neediest" Title 1 students) before the school-wide decision to restructure.

In essence, during the 1993-1994 school year, Anita Lorenz was inventing a challenging instructional program, trying to manage the tensions between the sometimes opposing ideas in light of her students' needs: She struggled to balance whole language curriculum reform and phonics methods--that is, notions about interactive learning; authentic, integrated language use; and "higher order" thinking skills with ideas about direct instruction of basic word attack skills. And she worked at balancing her belief in high common standards with her belief in individual learning "modalities" complicated by the range of students in her classroom. These are not easy tasks and they required complex, informed judgments rooted in Lorenz's knowledge of her individual students, the subject matter, pedagogy, and learning. Balancing competing commitments required that she manage in the face of dilemmas (Lampert) and make difficult decisions often in the action of her classroom.

Curriculum Reform

Given a panoramic view of Anita Lorenz's room, a visitor would first be struck by the sea of small faces--from pale to deepest shades of brown--topped by hair ranging from straight blond to curly black. Her classroom is a

microcosm of California's cultural and linguistic diversity. Next, Lorenz would come into focus. Young and attractive, with dark eyes and long black hair, Anita Lorenz is often a blur of motion in her room. I've seen her sitting at her desk only once and that is when the children were out. But she often comes to rest somewhere in the classroom by one or more students, most often crouched by them in conversation, eye to eye.

Generally, Lorenz's language arts practice included a reform-oriented core curriculum of authentic language approaches for all 31 or 32 of her students: She expected them to read the same literature, complete the same writing assignments, and take part in the same literacy community within her classroom.[2] The children in Lorenz's room read, wrote, or were read to everyday. Anita Lorenz reported she believed in the writing process, and she used writers workshop strategies--instruction very much in the direction of curriculum reform in this state. The children and teacher spoke easily of their writing and the various "stages" it was in; that is, a first draft, an edited copy, and so on.. For example, at the end of the 1992-1993 school year, Lorenz talked about her students' reading and writing assignments:

> I have a pre-write which is always some sort of a brainstorm . . . then they do a rough draft and we edit and then they do a final copy so everyone is finally finished . . . I just want them reading every day. I . . . do a lot of writing because . . . [some students] couldn't even write sentences . . . when they came in . . . (AL 5/93).

At the beginning of the next school year she reported:

> Everyday they do writer's workshop for 45 minutes . . . they do reading for 35 minutes everyday [or] a reading based activity [such as being read to by tapes, other children or adults] . . . [they] are not doing writing or art or anything else [in that 35 minutes]. [They] are reading . . . [They're] . . . on the same story, but [doing] . . . whatever they can . . . (AL 8/93)

She explained how everyone could participate in writing:

> . . . the thing that's nice about writers workshop is it's for everyone . . . it accommodates everyones' level [of development] . . . your children who are at the picture-book stage--you work with them to expand [ideas] . . . and to write . . . you might choose the word balloon. Have them . . . write the letter B at the top . . . so you're encouraging as much writing as [any]child can handle . . . [Or] . . . they've told you more than the picture illustrates, so you make them . . . go to a second illustration based on what they told you . . . [for example they might tell you] . . . 'we're going to the store and we're going to a party.' [You respond] 'Well, I see that you're in the car and I see the store, but I don't see anything about a party . . . [and] . . . why are you going to the store before you're going to the party?' [They respond] ' . . . we're buying a cake . . . ' (AL 8/93).

In this excerpt, Lorenz explains that "writing" in her classroom means communicating effectively and expanding ideas for all her students, even if a student is learning sound symbol correspondence at the same time. Here and in many other examples, Lorenz pushes <u>all</u> of her students to think--about connections between story details, about reasons for actions, about being precise--no matter where they may be starting from, in their writing or reading.

Often, students and Lorenz "brainstormed" ideas together and in small groups. She used cooperative learning groups, another feature of the curriculum reforms: In this instance the reform is informed by theories rooted in the work of seminal thinkers such a Lev Vygotsky, who argued learning is social. In Lorenz's classroom, children sat in groups of four and were encouraged to talk as well as help each other with their reading and writing. They told stories while others wrote them down; they wrote stories using invented spelling or even letter sounds, as in the excerpt above; they illustrated stories and "read" them to others. Lorenz reported often she had " . . . kids read other children's work and edit for one another . . . (6/94)." But according to Lorenz, this sort of collaborative work did not come automatically to her students:

> Kids aren't going to be comfortable helping each other unless it's required and you teach them how to do it . . . I give them a lot of assignments that would be impossible to do unless they help each other. So once they're, . . . used to that, then I think they freely begin to help each other whenever they need it . . . They know that they're allowed to talk and get help as long as their talking is about [school work] and it's quiet (AL 6/94).

Observations confirmed Lorenz's explanations of her instruction and classroom work, here and further above. Her students worked together on factual reports, creative stories, and other projects. They talked frequently, but seemed to be engaged in schoolwork during these conversations. When she wasn't leading whole group activities--"group writes" for example--Lorenz was walking around the room, stopping at various groups of four to observe, question, or help. Her classroom walls were covered with samples of the students' writing and the writing of others; and there were tables, shelves and cupboards filled with good children's books. Using literature as well as the varied experiences of her students Lorenz often seemed to push her second graders to read, write, talk, or listen carefully.

Building on "prior knowledge"

During class discussions, Lorenz often asked questions that drew on what her students might already know or feel--their "prior experience."[3] These questions were open-ended; her students responded with their opinions and she encouraged multiple responses. It was not unusual to see and hear a discussion of this sort in Lorenz's classroom take twenty or twenty-five minutes. In the brief excerpt below, Lorenz explained that she wanted the children to have thought about the story's themes before they read it, and to have connected it to their own feelings and thoughts.

> Lorenz: L, how would you feel if you really thought everyone forgot your birthday?
> L: Mmmmm. Sad.
> Lorenz: Sad. How would you feel Ch?
> Ch: Mad.
> Lorenz: Mad! L would feel sad and kinda down. And Ch would be mad! (Here she evoked an angry tone)'You know, they forgot my birthday. I can not believe . . . '
> At this point one little girl interrupted to exclaim, "how rude!" And, Lorenz picked up the beat with, "how rude!" Several others mumbled, "how rude!" and the children began chattering about the awful possibility of people forgetting their birthdays. Lorenz interrupted their chatter by asking Cl how she would feel.
> Cl: I'd feel sad. (and something not audible) then I'd throw my own party (Fieldnote, 2/8/94).

Here, Lorenz's talk and practice are in the direction of curriculum reform and they reflect cognitive learning theories--again reminiscent of the "cognitive revolution" described in chapter 1--which argue successful readers use strategies to guide their reading. One such strategy is "activating . . . background knowledge" (Palincsar and Brown 1989). The idea is to encourage children to become actively engaged in thinking about stories so they will more readily understand it in light of their own experience. Implicit in this strategy is the assumption that children come to school with "prior knowledge" they use to make sense of new information and to actively construct meaning.

The excerpt is also an example of Lorenz using her students' ideas as a source of information and knowledge for the group. She encourages her second grade students not only to voice their opinions, but to listen to the opinions and ideas of others in order to learn from them. Below Lorenz explains:

> I like the children to hear . . . what the [other children] think . . . it gives them more ideas--a wider range of ideas--[about] how a person could even feel on this day (AL 2/94).

Here she wants to challenge her students to move beyond their own experience, to consider multiple opinions.

But not just any opinion will do in Lorenz's class. For example, at one point in her language arts lesson, Lorenz said to the entire group nestled around her near the front of the room, "can you think about what [the story] might be about?" When a couple of children gave answers that didn't seem to meet her standards, she pushed for more details, "try to be more specific" and "two people have given really good specific examples. Can you think of a specific example?" (Observation note, 2/94). Lorenz was encouraging multiple answers to her question, but she did not accept just any answer. In this particular exchange she wanted students to be clearer in their thinking, to provide more concrete details so others might better understand them.

Academic subject matter and disciplined thinking

So Anita Lorenz does not give her students the impression that "anything goes," even in their creative writing (in some instances telling or drawing) which has as one purpose: to explore open-ended questions in order to better comprehend stories. Lorenz is explicit about her expectations for the second grader's stories. She expects some description and some detail about who, where, and what happened. She asks why something happened, or how events might be connected. She wants her second graders to include these structural elements of a story in their writing and to think about what they write. Lorenz seems to want her students to not only use language to find meaning, but to communicate effectively with others. This too is in the direction of curriculum reform that calls for "disciplined academic study" (English-Language Arts Model Curriculum Guide 1988).

Another example of Lorenz tendency to push students to make their thinking clearer was in her earlier comments to a student expanding a story through drawing. She pressed the student: "I see that you're in the car and I see the store, but I don't see anything about a party . . . [and] . . . why are you going to the store before you're going to the party?" (8/93). In yet another example, a little girl responded "Valentines Day" to Lorenz's question, "What does this month make you think of?" Lorenz queried her further: "What made you think that? Why did you think that?" The girl explained she had been thinking of love and friendship, and Lorenz asked, "Now what do you think birthdays and love and friendship have to do with one another?" The conversation went on from there. In this example, Lorenz not only pushed the student to provide reasons for her response and to make some connections between her thinking and the theme of the discussion, but she had this student think aloud so that others might be privy to her reasoning; that is, she asked the student to "model" her thinking for the group. That idea is an extension of learning theory, informed by the seminal work of Vygotsky, which suggests children can learn to think well in a social situation where they attend to the reasoning of others (Resnick and Klopfer 1989).

Generally, Lorenz's practice as sketched above is consistent with the arguments of curriculum reformers who want children not only to read important literature and use language with fluency, but to be critical thinkers when they read, talk, and listen--that is, meet certain standards, understand connections, and be able to justify their thinking to others. Not only does Lorenz seem to tap her students background knowledge and encourage generally the use of authentic, purposeful language in her second grade classroom--listening, speaking, reading and writing for the classroom audience--she also appears to establish criteria for their discourse; that is, for

writing stories, listening and voicing opinions, that will stretch their present experience. Though Lorenz often asks open-ended questions, she does not always accept answers without comment. Sometimes she pushes the children to think harder and to explain their thinking to one another.

A Competition of Ideas: Phonics and "Basic Skills"

Clearly, literacy and curriculum reform ideas could be found in room 201 at Mission Elementary: They were in Lorenz's talk and in her practice. But she had not adopted the reforms wholesale. Notions about phonics, basic skills, and direct instruction were also sprinkled throughout her teaching and her talk. Teaching children to look for patterns as a tool to help them read and spell was an idea vital to her instructional repertoire:

> . . . there are some basic rules. I mean in general for the level our kids are writing, if there is a silent 'e' at the end, the vowel is going to be long . . . Why not teach that idea to them so that when they go to spell, they can sound out words a little bit better and spell them a little bit better?" (AL 8/93).

At the beginning of the 1993-94 school year, Anita Lorenz had been slowly revising her practice to incorporate more skill instruction--she called this aspect of her practice a "whole-language spelling program"--and said the reason for her change was that her students "need it." She reported that during her first year of teaching in Los Angeles, all her spelling words came from the literature she used to teach reading--this was consistent with curriculum reform ideas she was learning about in her methods courses--but, no longer. Because "by the end of the year I didn't feel it was very effective. If they were good spellers already they left being good spellers. And if they were poor spellers they left being poor spellers" (AL 2/94).

For two years Anita Lorenz had been thinking about how to develop a program that used literature and "whole language" approaches, but that included some discrete basic skills and spelling tools--that is, phonics as well. She worried aloud about getting the "right balance." On some occasions she tried to make phonics "authentic" by creating an "audience" for worksheets. On other occasions she managed to stretch simple vocabulary lessons into group conversations with the goal of "making sense." Some might consider her method at times to be in tension with curriculum reforms, and thus with the ideas of Title 1 reformers. But Lorenz adjusted her practice based on what she believed her children needed, what she believed "worked" in her classroom, and on competing ideas over how best to educate "disadvantaged" children.[4]

In Lorenz's case, the conflict theme takes shape in her ambivalence and uncertainty over competing instructional ideas: one, the interactive approach using "whole language,"--a reform idea; the other, direct instruction and rote practice of phonics or "basic skills"--a traditional idea (reminiscent of recommendations by thinkers such as E. L. Thorndike). The latter has been pressed in previous waves of reform, and has long been a mainstay for elementary reading teachers. Lorenz was working in the territory between two big ideas about teaching and learning, long debated among educators, and she was managing in the face of competing commitments. One was her commitment to creating authentic literacy activities for <u>all</u> her students; another was her commitment to seeing that <u>all</u> her students write and read aloud some words according to standard English conventions by the time they left her classroom. She seemed loathe to dismiss the former for children who were struggling and would likely be judged by their ability to do the latter.

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Title 1: Common Standards and Individual Differences

For Anita Lorenz, the demands of inventing a practice were complicated not only by competing notions about instruction, but by the range of differences in her students' preparation for the academic work she required of them. Title 1 reformers have argued that all children can meet high academic standards as well as learn to think, listen, or read more critically if they are pushed to do so in light of their own experience, and in a social setting that creates expectations for such thinking (Commission on Chapter 1 1992; California Department of Education Program Advisory 1988; California frameworks). Lorenz seemed to work hard at creating such an environment, one that challenged all her students. But in doing so she had to "adapt" her rigorous core literacy curriculum to the individual differences in her students. She reported being helped in this endeavor by her conviction that children have different strengths, weaknesses, and different learning "modalities."[5] These convictions Lorenz held as strongly as those about core curricula, phonics, and new ways of teaching literacy. Here is a teacher trying to respond seriously to the multiple aspects of education reform--both curriculum reform and Title 1 reform--and because of the context in which she is working, the complications of her job have multiplied.

Through a monumental effort, and the help of only one, part-time paid aide, Lorenz created an ambitious Title 1 program in her second grade classroom. She considered the program part of her "developmentally appropriate" core curriculum, which to her meant " . . . You're dealing with kids no matter where they are . . . It's adapt[ing] your curriculum so that you meet the needs of all your kids." For Lorenz, "adapting the curriculum" to meet her Title 1 students' individual needs did not mean lowering standards.

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As noted in the earlier sketch of Lorenz's instruction, while she respected each of her student's strengths, she did so with one eye on where she wanted all of her students to be. She pushed her Title 1 students to think, even if it meant, in some cases, expanding a sentence by one or two descriptive words:

> Something as simple as a word, getting them to expand the idea of the word, will . . . prepare them that much more for . . . expand[ing] the idea in a story . . . 'I saw a big ball.' Well, what color was the ball? 'Brown.' Well, how big was it? 'Very big' (AL 5/93).

Lorenz's expectations were demanding, no matter where a student was beginning. And, her Title 1 students often seemed to rise to those demands; they pushed themselves.

How did she manage with over thirty students? She reported often having four or more activities going on simultaneously in order to "meet all the needs" of her students. Her report was evident in her practice. An observer might see all and more of the following activities taking place during language arts in the morning and again in the late afternoon: While some children sat in clusters of three or four reading silently, a few were grouped around Mary Johns, the Title 1 aide, and Lorenz. These children read aloud, haltingly, and were helped by the two adults. Still others, two or three, were seated at the "listening center"--a small table on which Lorenz had strewn several books and tapes--with headphones over their ears. According to Lorenz, these were the beginning or "non-readers," and they were listening to tapes: on some days the tapes were stories read by famous personalities; on other days it was Lorenz reading--on tape--the same story that many of her students read silently to themselves. Lorenz reported that often there are picture books at the listening center so children can follow the story through the pictures as well as by listening. Still other children might be sitting knee to knee in what Lorenz called a "triad read-around." She

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arranged a heterogeneous group--"high, middle and low readers"-- and asked them to read to one another; they also helped each other with words.

Through these various methods and more, all of Lorenz's students had access to the "same" stories. But for some of her students, "reading" meant "listening" to the story at a reading center or in a small group of children reading orally. All the children were "writing" stories and informational reports, usually in cooperative groups. But for some students "writing" meant "telling" stories to an adult who would write key words from the oral account on the child's journal paper, then ask her to fill in the story with invented spelling. Or, writing meant illustrating a story through pictures. Or, Lorenz would write stories on the chalkboard in whole-group sessions, encouraging all students to contribute. This group story writing Lorenz called "charting." She wrote their dictation on the board, leaving some blanks which every child had to fill individually with their own words to personalize the story. All the children would take part in discussions during which Lorenz pressed them to think about their "writing" and the stories they "read" together.

Resources?

Anita Lorenz had very modest traditional resources to help her manage the competing commitments in her classroom and do her job the way she believed it should be done. For example, at this point in the story, Title 1 resources were allocated thinly, but quite equitably, across all grade levels school-wide. Further, Mather and James reported the "greatest need" was in the Spanish-speaking rooms because, "[that is] where we have the largest numbers of Chapter 1 children"(LJ 8/93). But Lorenz was teaching mostly English-speaking children, so she didn't receive the Title 1 bilingual

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teacher's help. Nor did she receive assistance from the bilingual aide who was paid with bilingual funds and worked with Lorenz's teammate for three hours each day. Moreover, she did not receive help from the Reading Recovery program that Louise James developed for Title 1 students, because that program was officially for first grade children.[6]

Thus, Lorenz had the help of one paid Title 1 aide for an hour and a half four days a week. And she made good use of the aide's time in relation to the reforms. She sought and won Title 1 funds to pay for release time in order to teach her aide the ways of Writers Workshop, and how to question children to draw out or expand their ideas. But Lorenz reported needing more help and feared losing what she had:

> I need more hourly help . . . I need more support . . . I need that person [Title 1 aide] here [more often] . . . My big beef is that the bilingual teacher gets a three hour bilingual aide plus a basic skills person plus she [shares] my Chapter 1 aide . . . if I loose my aide I don't know what I'll do (AL 5/93).

Lorenz and many other teachers reported the support they received in the way of para-professional or professional help from categorical programs was badly needed, but not adequate for the number of students they taught. For example, Lorenz argued--and the vignettes of Gerard and Kyle below seem to bear out--that all of her "adapting" and "individualizing" required a lot of one-on-one work with children. With thirty-two children, nineteen of which were Title 1 students, inventing then managing a reform-oriented classroom Title 1 program was more than Anita Lorenz could do by herself (she reported). It took enormous amounts of her own time and effort but she also managed with "a little help from her friends."

Lorenz told me it was her innovative classroom management, her one, very-valued Title 1 aide, and her volunteer recruitment that made it possible

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for her to do her job the way she felt she should. To manage her resource problem, and to help her create the literacy environment she wanted Lorenz spent a good deal of time and energy recruiting junior high school students, parents, a grandparent, as well as teaching her own students how to help each other. Any given day an observer would find extra instructors in Lorenz's classroom--ranging in age from very young to old--working with the students. Lorenz was recruiting help from sources that many researchers argue are powerful: the students' older peers and their parents. "Cross-age" tutoring has been pressed by reformers subscribing to constructivist learning theories, and parent involvement is considered one key aspect of programs that are successful in educating disadvantaged children. The Title 1 program has long encouraged teachers and schools to involve parents in their children's school life. Lorenz reported using tutors and parents to help her keep students "on task." Tutors helped children with their homework in the afternoons while others were working independently and after school. She told me that just having parents in the room seemed to improve her students' performance.[7]

To this observer, Lorenz seemed to be managing more than one classroom on any given day with a dizzying array of organizational and instructional methods. A single young woman, Lorenz reported expending most of her time and energy on her teaching. She mobilized the resources she needed to use multiple methods--working with children before and after school, peer tutoring, cross-age tutoring, parent volunteers, the listening center, dictation, and so on--for responding to individual students in a meaningful way, while pushing them all toward high standards. Lorenz put forth an Herculean effort to do so, and she expected similar effort from students.

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A closer look: Gerard and Kyle

A close-up view of Gerard and Kyle, two of the Title 1 children who have struggled the most according to Lorenz, show how she managed to adapt her core curriculum to individual Title 1 students, and how she measured progress toward high standards in her classroom. These children also demonstrate what it takes to achieve those standards, and the arguments Lorenz had with herself even as she maintained them. Lorenz was conflicted over just what to do. But one aspect of her instruction is constant in all of the variations; it cuts through the many seemingly contrary notions Lorenz holds: This teacher has high expectations for her students. Her expectations appear to place enormous demands on her personal life and the lives of her students. These children and this teacher provide an image to keep in mind when considering "what it will take" to achieve the high standards for all children set out by the curriculum standards and Title 1 reforms.

Lorenz assigned homework every day. She went to great lengths to see that it was returned by each child the next morning. During one of my visits, she actually had some problems with parents because she was demanding so much from their kids. The vice principal was getting complaints. Lorenz responded that she "knew" these students could do the work; they just had to put their minds to it. She thought they would fall "farther behind" if they didn't do the extra work.

During this same visit, she told me about one of her students, Gerard, who despite difficult circumstances--he lived with several siblings and parents in very close quarters--always returned his homework on time. She told me that Gerard never complained about his homework. And she felt his family members were supportive, but probably didn't have the time to help

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him much (though she required that all parents help their children with homework at least one night a week and asked them to "sign" their children's work).

When Gerard first joined Lorenz's class, he could only read a word or two and he could not write. Lorenz talked about her efforts to get him started:

> . . . it took him a half hour just to get his name and date on the paper . . . I would have to go over five and six times in a thirty minute [period], every five minutes, to get him back on task. I might get two more letters of whatever we were doing before I came back the next five, and got two more letters. I'd say, Gerard, just write this word (AL 8/93).

But Lorenz saw strengths in Gerard: "Every now and then he would say something that was so insightful and so mature in thought that . . . he perplexed me" (8/93). What did it take to see Gerard make progress? How did Lorenz adapt the curriculum reforms to meet his needs? What are some of his needs according to her?

As noted earlier, Lorenz believed an integrated language arts program--reading, writing, listening, and speaking--was important for all her students, but she also believed one of Gerard's special strengths was listening: "His modality is auditory learning." Lorenz explained further:

> Gerard . . . he's amazing! . . . I swear if I sat him down with a tape recorder . . . he would shut that thing off and tell me what they said. And he would remember the vocabulary. He's in RSP [resource specialist program], but as far as his auditory learning ability, he's just brilliant . . . [When] I question the kids . . . his hand shoots up and he remembers the most minute details. And he also gets the main idea (AL 8/93).

Based on her understanding of Gerard's personal learning needs, Anita Lorenz tried hard to respond to them throughout the year, but she also never abandoned her goal to have him read aloud and write sentences (even though, according to her, writing was not his strength). How did she maintain her standards and attend to Gerard's individual needs?

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Gerard, along with another child, Kyle, are two of the children who worked with junior high school tutors on their phonics homework assignments, and with the Title 1 aide "telling" their stories. They also sat at the "listening center" during silent reading time. There they listened to a variety of tapes on all manner of subjects, from social studies to science. Then they would join the class discussions, often making interesting contributions, according to Lorenz. They both attended Mission's Title 1 "academy" during their intercession. By the end of the year they were both making some progress. While Gerard began the year pulled out for special education, by midyear he was remaining with the group. He could read and write a few sentences and even read in front of the entire class on a couple of occasions. Lorenz reported: "He's really made a huge amount of progress . . . He still gets behind, but . . . he endures" (5/94).

But during one visit near the end of the year, Lorenz also confided her ambivalence about the work she had accomplished with Gerard. "Maybe I'm expecting too much from second graders," she thought out loud one day. She had discovered that Gerard was spending hours every night at home on the assignments she was giving him. She had not known he was working such long hours. She felt badly about pushing him so hard and told his mother, "if he spends more than an hour on homework, don't let him do it anymore! . . . I want him to play. He needs to play . . . he works too hard" (5/94). Lorenz was uncertain about her standards. She compromised by having junior high school tutors help Gerard with his homework assignment at school. The rest he continued to finish at home.

Like Gerard, Kyle could read and write by the end of the year as well. But he began the year sitting with his head down during language arts, according to Lorenz. Sometimes he would cry or put his hands over his face.

Both Lorenz and her Title 1 aide were worried about him. He was so discouraged. But near midyear, he suddenly began to write a bit, then read; and he became, in Lorenz's words, "so excited" for having done so. The following excerpt from a writers workshop lesson captures the exchange between Kyle, Lorenz and the Title 1 aide, the day he began to write:

> Lorenz said, "all right, tell me about your picture." Kyle said something very softly and Lorenz said, "who are your friends?" Kyle responded and Lorenz said, "okay, you had friends."
> Kyle interjected something and Lorenz said, "Oh, you called them on the telephone! Okay, you called your friends on the telephone and what are you up to?" (Kyle explains something) Lorenz said: "Oh, so you're sitting on the couch, calling your friends, telling them it's your birthday!" (All this time she was writing some of Kyle's words on his journal paper with a fine-tipped magic marker.) Kyle had a grin on his face as he explained his picture to Lorenz. She was crouched down, eye to eye with him and was also smiling. She continued to repeat/paraphrase the story Kyle was telling her. "So you're happy. You don't care that they forgot because you will just call them to remind them (Lorenz chuckles). You are just happy it's your birthday," she said with laughter in her voice. Kyle's faced beamed with a smile at this last sentence. Then Lorenz said, "okay, let's see if you can read your words." She put the journal paper down on the table and pointed to the first one. Kyle stared silently at the words.
> Lorenz said, "It is your what?"
> Kyle: Birthday
> Lorenz: And you are? (pause) You called your?
> Kyle: Friends
> Lorenz: Good! You're sitting on the?
> Kyle: Couch
> Later, Mary Johns [the Title 1 aide] turned to Kyle and asked him what sentence he would use for "friends." Kyle decided "my friends are coming." Mary nodded approval and Kyle went back to printing. When he finished, he had written the following on his journal paper: It is mi birthday. my friends are coming (Fieldnote, 2/8/94).

Here is an example of writing as "telling" and an instance of Lorenz's adaptation of language arts reform. Through dictation--something the language arts curriculum guide suggests teachers use--Kyle is able to do the same writing assignment as his classmates in preparation for reading and

discussing the story about a forgotten birthday. Kyle's curriculum is the same as his classmates, but the method is different.

There were curriculum standards in room 201 at Mission Elementary. Lorenz set them and she and her aide monitored the progress of the Title 1 children toward them. Though Lorenz "adapted" the core curriculum to meet Gerard and Kyle's needs, she always pushed toward another horizon: "You have . . . to make them want to write and keep pushing them to be better, more accomplished writers." Later, the same day as the teaching excerpt just above, Lorenz said to her aide Mary Johns, "Kyle is finally starting to write!" In the midst of the chaos around them, while children were running about preparing for recess, Lorenz and Mary looked at each other and smiled at this recent development: Kyle was starting to write. At the end of the 1993-1994 school year, Lorenz and her Title 1 aide counted Gerard and Kyle among their victories, even though some of the second grade students were writing, " . . . marvelous [two page] stories."

Maintaining Contradictory Commitments[8]

Anita Lorenz's effort to teach literacy in the general direction of the curriculum and Title 1 reforms shows not only the difficulty, but the complexity of an ambitious response to these reforms: It is filled with conflicts of conviction, competing ideas, and uncertainty over both. First there is Lorenz's uncertainty about her instruction in the face of competing commitments: She was ambivalent about much that she practiced. For example, in the midst of driving her students to improve academically, she wondered if she was pressing too hard, and reported the pull to honor individual strengths and to nurture her young charges as well. Further, in honoring a commitment to one important ideal in the reform, she had to

respond to "the prior knowledge" of a tremendous range of students. In honoring another important reform principle, she had to compare them all to rigorous academic standards. For Gerard, Kyle, and the others in her classroom, Lorenz seemed to be constructing a practice that maintained two important, though potentially contradictory, ideals of the curriculum reforms in dynamic balance: She held high academic standards for all her students, but she also tried to understand and respond to each child as a unique individual, building on what he understood and could do. She argued with herself over just how to maintain these two commitments.

Second, there is the complexity of sorting through and managing a flurry of sometimes competing instructional ideas--for example she wondered if she was including enough basic skills work in her instruction, or too much--as well as the problem of adapting them to her particular students. A myriad ideas had arrived there, in room 201 of Mission Elementary, from multiple sources--conferences, her education, workshops, and policy documents.[9] Furthemore, the culture of the school and district at this point in the story did little to prioritize or diminish the competition of ideas in the school. That culture--in the school and district--no doubt increased the uncertainty of responding to reforms. And her students had arrived at school from diverse backgrounds, with a great deal of variation in their preparation for school. She debated with herself over just how to balance the various ideas in ways that were sensible and that "worked" for particular students.

The "Policy" and the "Practice" Meet in Anita Lorenz's Teacher Education

One way to account for Lorenz's ability to manage an ambitious response to reform while coping with conflicting commitments is to consider her teacher education. That education was unusual because the ideas in the

two big reform themes sketched in chapter one--high academic standards for all children and new conceptions about how children learn--played an important role in both what Lorenz seemed to believe about teaching before she arrived at Mission, and how she learned it. The ideas in those two themes were definitely in the culture of Mission Elementary when I first arrive there, along with a myriad other ideas. So Lorenz's reported beliefs and practices were in part supported, and perhaps enhanced, by her work context. But reform-oriented "social constructivist" principles of learning[10] were also embedded in the way Lorenz learned about teaching methods. And such principles were encouraged by the California curriculum frameworks which were in part her teacher education curriculum--what she learned--as well as a key policy instrument in the reform.

The education of Anita Lorenz

Anita Lorenz had been teaching for about five years when this study began, in the spring of 1993--a fact that surprised her a great deal. Lorenz grew up in an LA suburb, not once wanting to be a teacher. She dreamed of doing something "different," something unexpected for a young woman starting a career. She settled on art as her major, graduated in 1988 from a California university, then began working for the design department of a southern California business. Lorenz soon discovered she was unhappy with such work. On advice from a friend, the following fall she took a teaching job in the Los Angeles area using the "emergency credential" California initiated in an attempt to remedy the teacher shortage there. For the next three years she taught each day, and went to her college methods courses each evening.

When recalling the impact of her life experiences on her current teaching practice, Lorenz repeatedly refers to three components of her teacher

education program that were especially important to her learning: First are the conversations with her "mentors" as well as regular discussions with her professors and peers--students in the same intern program who were teaching while attending post-graduate methods courses. Second are the curriculum materials organized around the California curriculum frameworks. And third, Lorenz often talks about the authentic nature of her coursework which, in addition to the focus on subject matter frameworks, was also embedded in her novice classroom practice.

Anita Lorenz reported that ongoing conversations about her teaching and curriculum were extremely helpful in learning to teach. She reported having two different, experienced, practicing teachers and one university professor assigned as her supervisors, watching her instruction. These people visited her classroom regularly and she talked to them quite often. Furthermore, she had regular discussions with her peers and with university professors who were teaching the methods courses. They talked often, both inside and outside of class. Lorenz describes the methods courses and her learning community this way:

> . . . it was a very . . . cooperative relationship--teachers and students working together. The professors [and students] affirmed what you were doing; they helped you come up with ideas to build on what you were doing; they challenged you on what you were doing or not doing . . . So it was a good program: You were able to question what you were learning . . . and . . . what you were doing (AL 5/94).

Here, in Lorenz's description, we see the shared norms of a group which include both challenge to novice teachers' assumptions in the form of critique and debate, as well as support for trying out new ideas and working through problems.

These norms are important to note because they are key to the "professional community" many teacher educators and reformers want to see

in more schools (Sykes 1990; Darling-Hammond 1992b; Newman and Wehlage 1995) and there are principles of cognitive learning theory embedded in them. For example, the classroom community described above takes the "prior knowledge" of the learners to be important: Instructors appear to have built on that knowledge when introducing new information (for instance, "they helped you come up with ideas to build on what you were doing.") Further, the learners in this community are not simply receiving instructions about how to teach; they are treated as a source of information and knowledge for the group--as "scaffolding" in cognitive learning terms (Brown, Metz and Campione 1996; Bruner 1983; 1990; Palincsar and Klenk 1991). Finally, the curriculum was rooted in part in the students' own problems of practice. These students of teaching were actively engaged in wrestling with these problems every day. "Active engagement" is an important principle in cognitive theory that takes learning to be a matter of constructing understanding (Tryphon and Voneche 1996).[11]

Not only was Anita Lorenz able to learn about teaching through challenging discussions rooted in her own experience with classroom problems, she was also able to build on what she understood using some of the big ideas in California's curriculum frameworks--one of the key instruments of curriculum reform in that state. She reported having courses in mathematics, language arts, and social science methods where she and the other students were required to develop curriculum units based on different elements in the frameworks. For example, in mathematics:

> My math teacher . . . really focused on the framework. Instead of just developing grade level units, she showed us the different strands of mathematics, and our unit had to include 14 math lessons--two for each of the strands . . . A lot of teachers don't do all the strands; [they] just do the number strand, the easiest one. But what about logic? . . .

> you can . . . be working with Algebra and Probability and logic in the primary grades. (AL 5/94).

In all her talk about coursework, Lorenz often emphasizes--both in the interview excerpts above as well as the one just below--the pragmatic, purposeful, nature of her teacher education around the state frameworks. Her curriculum development assignments were authentic because she used them in her classroom; likewise, as noted earlier, her questions were authentic. Anita Lorenz talks about the authentic, purposeful nature of her coursework below, and consistent with cognitive theory, students' "active engagement" in the subject matter appears to have been a source of internal motivation:

> So the assignments that we did we were using. We didn't create a [curriculum] unit that wasn't going to work in our classroom . . . And people were excited: They said, 'we're doing this and . . . here [are] students' samples of work' . . . It was great . . . .for three years . . . We had a lot more questions because we were [working in classrooms everyday] . . . In an intern program . . . you have . . . problems on a daily basis . . . And we . . . could go back and . . . talk about strategies . . . to make it all work . . .(AL 5/94).

In this interview excerpt, as well as the earlier ones, Lorenz seems to be describing what theorists, cognitive psychologists, and social scientists from John Dewey (1916/66) and Jerome Bruner (1960; 1983; 1990) to Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule (1986) have argued about learning: Important understanding grows out of purposeful, intellectually-challenging activity--that is, when learners wrestle with and bring knowledge to bear on important problems they truly care about in interaction with others. Anita Lorenz's experience as a learner in her teacher education program seems to be an instance of such purposeful, intellectually-challenging learning, and her curriculum was in part, "the policy" this study considers--the California curriculum frameworks.[12]

Throughout this educative process, as Lorenz explains it, both students and instructors were encouraged to critique each other's "knowledge" of teaching, while supplying support for trying new ideas. Such balancing of "contraries" is not generally easy to accomplish, nor is it common in college classrooms (Elbow 1986; Cohen, McLaughlin and Talbert 1993). In fact, most of the important components and characteristics of the education Lorenz described were unusual for university classrooms (Cohen and Barnes 1993; Goodlad, Soder, Sirotnik 1990). But then, as chapter one outlined, the currents of thought about teaching and learning that were gaining prominence in California in the 1980s were also unique in recent history, and Anita Lorenz was there.

In her teacher education program, Lorenz had an unusually rich social resource for learning to teach in the way of the curriculum reforms. It is not so surprising then that when this study opened, she was generally teaching in a manner somewhat similar to the manner in which she had learned: She made assignments authentic and purposeful for her second grade students, just as she believed the assignments in her methods courses had been for her. She engaged students from a range of different experiences, taking into account their "prior understanding" just as she reported her instructors had done with teacher education students who were "trying out ideas in their classrooms." She used cooperative learning groups based on the principle that students can "scaffold" complex tasks for one another, and that learning can result from students' exchanges. This too was part of her own educational experience. Using literature and ideas in the mathematics, science, and social science frameworks, Lorenz orchestrated discussions and tasks that encouraged students to think and to push beyond their current understanding. She recounted having analogous learning opportunities in

her methods courses. Not only were the twin themes of the reform ethos--disciplined academic standards and cognitive learning theory-- there in her practice, but the learning community Lorenz was creating in her classroom, permeated with social constructivist assumptions, was in many ways similar to the one in which she had learned to teach.

Further, Lorenz seems to have emerged from her program willing to question her practice and embrace complex problems, to adjudicate between multiple commitments and compelling instructional goals. Whether her toleration for complexity and uncertainty can be explained through learning opportunities or personal propensity (likely both play a role) the habits and attitudes Anita Lorenz emerged from her program embracing, are none the less unusual. Many people try to avoid or reduce complexity and uncertainty in their environment.[13] She reported that many people had dropped out of the intern program because it was so difficult to balance all the responsibilities. Whatever the source, she carried with her to Mission Elementary School what John Dewey calls "an attitude of open-mindedness" and Magdalene Lampert suggests is the ability to "act with integrity while maintaining contradictory concerns" (p. 183); that is, Lorenz was willing to consider multiple views when constructing her daily practice--the aims and means of her teaching.

Learning on the Job

Lorenz's attitudes and habits served her well in the school culture at Mission Elementary which, like most schools, embraced a myriad, sometimes competing ideas, and did not for the most part discourage independent work norms. But armed with her prior experience of learning while practicing within a professional community, Lorenz seems to have created some social

and intellectual support for herself while teaching at Mission: She made a point of conversing with colleagues and even visiting and observing classrooms when she was "off-track." She sometimes talked to colleagues very directly about teaching goals. For example, she reported telling a first grade teacher:

> I'd like to see you make it a goal that all your children can write a complete sentence when they come into my class at the beginning of the year (AL 6/94).

After some conversation, the first grade teacher agreed to try. Thus, in this instance, the two teacher were beginning to forge mutual goals: Lorenz could craft her expectations to build on what her students knew or could do after first grade. Lorenz did not want to be isolated in her teaching:

> . . . my . . . expectations [are] . . . to team with the other grade levels and the other people in my [grade level unit] . . . I do not wish [to be] isolated. I want to be with my peers. I want to be on the primary floor and work in a team (AL 6/94).

Lorenz's behavior and attitude in seeking out interdependent relations with teachers at Mission Elementary was unusual--not just at Mission, but unusual for American teachers generally (Lortie 1975; Little 1990; Cusik 1983).

On a related issue, Lorenz was quite serious about thinking of herself as a learner. So she often reported seeking out colleagues in order to learn from them. For example, she said of another teacher at Mission: " . . . we're going to mentor each other" (6/94). When she was off-track, she spent time observing classrooms in order to learn from other teachers. And, early in the study, when asked about the meaning of often-used terms such as developmentally appropriate instruction, she responded: "I'm still at the stage of . . . trying to learn what that means . . . " (8/93). Lorenz seemed comfortable admitting she was a learner, and she sought out opportunities to

learn from varied sources: her colleagues, her students, conferences, and college coursework.

It is not surprising that Lorenz seemed to have been attending to the reform-oriented "curriculum and instruction" that Mission Elementary school offered through the PQR process. There is evidence that she was thinking about her science and math program as it related to that state school improvement process--an example of instructional guidance focused on curriculum reform in science at Mission. Lorenz reported:

> . . . [In science one thing] I'm . . . doing [is[taped assessment. . . I didn't even think about that until they [PQR leadership and the assessment committee] started talking about [student work] samples. I was frustrated because I thought, if I could play a tape of [what my students understand] . . . I was really just proud of the kids in that [science] discussion . . . they really picked up on this stuff . . . So, I'm going to do tape. I do anecdotes. I'll have clip boards back there where I'm writing notes on them. I have assessment files and . . . I keep [work samples] that I get . . . [from students] (AL 8/93).

Here she was thinking of student work samples that might be evidence for what her students knew or could do in relation to the science framework. Video tape and student "graphing results" were listed among other PQR "student work" samples that teachers could use as evidence that their teaching was aligned with the science matrix. And, Lorenz's students were collecting, sorting, and graphing household objects which they brought to school in baggies.

Lorenz asked students to collect "100 of some object," then used them for discussion of various representations of 100--for example, a discussion focused on the question, "what does 100 look like?" Then students sorted objects by color and size and made graphs representing what they found. Lorenz reported thinking she might have students think about sorting, then graphing three variables at some point--color, size, and shape. The point here

is the PQR process--including demonstration science lessons by the leadership team, the process of thinking about and collecting student work, time for curriculum development in science, and so on--may have been a social resource for Lorenz's learning, one that stimulated reflection on her practice.[14]

"Shopping Mall" professional development

But while the PQR process at Mission likely provided some instructional guidance for Lorenz, and was in fact a potentially powerful pedagogical mechanism for curriculum policy, generally that guidance was only a modest resource in relation to the difficulty of the task. The PQR team visited classrooms at Mission only once each track cycle, in part because of the size of the school and limited personnel. For example, the instructional leadership team had to visit 30 classrooms and had a full load of teaching responsibilities as well. But perhaps the team's energy devoted to instructional guidance was somewhat dispersed, in part due to the multiple school and district priorities. But the PQR was also thin because Lorenz's guidance on curriculum reform was taking place in the midst of competing ideas and commitments. For example, there were parents, community members, and school board members who opposed the reform; and the school and district professional development norms were generally laissez-faire. Louise James explained the development process this way:

> We keep a lot of brochures regarding in-services for staff development. We get it from the district, from the county . . . from other private organizations and so forth and statewide things. And we keep teachers informed of all the things available by posting them in the lounge. And those are periodically . . . rotated . . . I'm always looking for [information] to give [staff] regarding issues that we have [taken up in the school] . . . not just about Chapter 1 . . . then if they want more . . .

> They can come and find out about it. For instance, Reading Recovery . . . (LJ 8/93).

So while development and learning were encouraged around the PQR in science, and while there was some reform-oriented instructional guidance at Mission Elementary, still the district and county offices offered extensive learning options focused on everything from Egyptian art to ESL and "Self Esteem in the Bilingual Classroom".[15] Courses related to learning in a second language or second language acquisition were especially encouraged by the district. Their staff development handbook offered more workshops on bilingual issues than in mathematics, language arts, science, or social science. What is more, the former were separated from the courses on curriculum content, set off in a category of their own, which certainly had the potential to fragment learning about matters of language and subject matter content.

So while Anita Lorenz was unusual in what she brought to the task of reform, and in her habits of seeking out colleagues and learning opportunities, she was still working in a culture typical in American education, where her choices for learning could be idiosyncratic and fragmented. The description just above of "curriculum and instruction" for teachers is reminiscent of "the shopping mall high school" (Powell, Farrar and Cohen 1985) in which the curriculum was expanded to provide "something for everybody" (p. 2). The great diversity of course offerings at the MUSD seemed bound together by one rationale: teachers' varied predilections. The pamphlet listing the courses opened with this: "The workshops listed in this book reflect the survey of teachers' interest and priorities." Teacher preferences in this district ranged far and wide. And, bilingual education issues contributed to the competition of ideas vying for Lorenz's attention.

COMPANEROS AND THE CONFOUNDING FACTOR OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The Compañero program adds the confounding factor of bilingual education to an already complicated array of ideas at Mission Elementary: The curriculum and Title 1 reforms intersected with the bilingual education program though the Compañero project--a small team of teachers collaborating to coordinate instructional goals. Lorenz "team taught" with another second grade teacher, her Spanish-speaking counterpart, Ruth Linn. Linn's instruction was mostly in Spanish, while Lorenz's was in English and they planned together every week to coordinate their instruction. For a few hours each week, they taught each other's students in a language other than their primary one--Spanish or English--as part of the bilingual program. Another member of the Compañero team, a bilingual Title 1 teacher, Monique Ponds, worked with the "lowest" readers in Linn's classroom (in Spanish). She was paid with a combination of bilingual and Title 1 funds. Two aides--one English speaking and one Spanish speaking--also worked with Title 1 students. So categorical resources in the second grade Spanish-speaking room consisted of one bilingual Title 1 teacher working one hour, four days a week, and one bilingual aide, working three hours four days a week.

Monique Ponds: Uncertain Judgments and Practical Constraints

During the 1993-94 school year, across the verandah-like hallway from Anita Lorenz's room, a small group of Spanish-speaking, second grade children worked with their bilingual Title 1 teacher, Monique Ponds. Ponds' small group is another view into Mission's adaptation of curriculum and Title 1 reform <u>before</u> the staff decision to restructure them. Her response

adds the element of bilingual education to the picture. She worked an hour each day in Ruth Linn's room helping Spanish-speaking, Title 1 students learn the "regular curriculum." Here she was addressing an important goal of bilingual education advocates, Title 1 reformers, and curriculum reformers alike: that is, trying to maintain high academic standards for all students--in this case, poor, Spanish-speaking students.[16]

Similarities: Reformed instruction and complex uncertainty

Like Anita Lorenz, Monique Ponds was adapting a version of the curriculum reforms--an integrated language curriculum, only in Spanish--in ways that made it more accessible to her charges. And they too were making some slow progress, according to their teacher. But Ponds was also similar to Lorenz in that she was ambivalent about her practice, uncertain about sometimes contradictory commitments. Further, the practical conditions--limited funding, too many students in need, and so on--of her situation were sometimes in conflict with the program principles of Reading Recovery--a key element of her Title 1 instructional program. For example, the central tenet of one-on-one tutoring conflicted with a combination of limited funding and a great number of students in need.

Ponds tried to organize her work with students in the direction of Title 1 reforms, to some extent. Though she pulled her students aside to work at a small table, in order to provide them with more "motivation and support" than they would receive in the large group, she stressed that the Title 1 program was not a "pull-out"--an organizational arrangement the Title 1 reforms have discouraged. She reasoned first that the small group work was coordinated with the regular curriculum. And Ponds reported the small, close-knit group provided a supportive learning environment for the Title 1

students. Within the safety of that group, she was able to press them toward more challenging academic tasks than she might have without it.[17] Ponds explained:

> . . . most important . . . is . . . motivation . . . more than anything else -- motivation and support . . . [The Title 1 students] are just . . . [arriving] . . . and they're scared to death . . . a lot of them, and not catching on . . . [Maria for example] Linn said that she just kind of sunk in the larger group . . . She's capable . . . just needs encouragement, organization . . . a little more motivation . . . Nan? Her attendance is poor. [Her parents] are really kind of apathetic [about school], so I'm sure [she doesn't] get a lot of support [for her schoolwork] at home . . . a lot of the [Title 1 students] are just immature. [Ana] was born out in the bush in Mexico, very premature . . . she was so small that . . . they set her up in a little shoe box and put lights around her . . . she was so small, she drank out of a little medicine dropper (MP 6/94).

Ponds observations about the instructional needs of Nan, Ana, and Maria--the young Spanish-speaking girls she tutored--were evident in her small group interactions with them as described in the fieldnote below:

> During a lesson in which members of the small group were writing a short report on what they "wanted to be," Ana, an especially tiny girl with a deep brown complexion and long hair, began sobbing because her eraser had torn her paper. The group seemed to take her outburst in stride and offered her immediate support: Nan, a talkative girl with a long braid hanging down her back, got up casually, walked over to get a tissue, then silently wiped the tears from Ana's face. She left the tissue with Ana, who began twisting it ,seemingly still agitated. Her lip was still quivering and she continued to twist the tissue in her hand.
>
> Ponds began taping the torn paper and said in Spanish, "it's okay, Ana. You can write here on the side, or with another sheet. Or I can write something for you on the other sheet so that it doesn't take so long."
>
> In all, the ministering took only moments, and Ana soon set back to work, finishing her report--she wanted to be a teacher when she grew up--but only with continued intervention and urging from Ponds. When she finished, she read it, albeit haltingly, to her teachers--both Monique Ponds, and later, to Ruth Linn. (Observation note and Recording, 5/94).

Here then is another look at Mission's Title 1 program, in this instance as it interacts with curriculum reform and bilingual education before the staff decided to "restructure." In this group, adapting the curriculum to the needs of individual children seems, in part, to consist of creating a nurturing environment in which children can then be challenged to think, and pressed harder to write and read than might be possible in a large group.

In these examples, Ponds' instructional goals--motivation and support--are another instance of a teacher pulled in more than one direction at once. She tried to maintain a balance between what could be thought of as contraries: pressing or "motivating" her students toward the hard work of academic achievement, while nurturing or "supporting" her small charges who, new this country and school, were "scared to death." She did this in part, by teaching the children in their native language. She reported that this instruction is not simply more supportive, but that her students learn for "conceptual understanding" more readily in their primary language. She cites research to bolster her claim, as do many bilingual teachers at Mission.[18]

Shared realities and differences in practice

Ponds' quest to balance nurture with the motivating factors that would prompt these children to work hard toward difficult academic standards is not so simple as it might seem. Nor is Anita Lorenz's work of maintaining a commitment to individual children while pushing them all to high achievement. Ponds' practice introduces a reality that staff at Mission typically coped with: The policy and program ideals sometimes competed with other urgent concerns for the time and energy of Mission's students and teachers. Like Laura Mather, Anita Lorenz, and most other teachers in this study, Ponds talked frequently about the lives of her students. The reality of

their lives made pressing them toward the hard work entailed in the policy visions--both Title 1 and curriculum reform--even more difficult for Ponds. The reports I've received are myriad. Here are only a few examples. One girl's father tried to hang himself after a history of violent abuse. I've observed that she, like Anna, had trouble concentrating during her Title 1 lesson. Another boy's mother is in jail; yet anothers' grandmother has passed away, leaving the child suicidal because she was his sole emotional support in a rough life. In some instances the problems children faced in just living, let alone learning, competed with the hard work of demanding instruction for the time and energy of teachers. But Monique Ponds and Anita Lorenz both seemed to balance the health and welfare concerns of their students with their commitment to press the students toward high academic standards.

Another example of this type of competition between a program ideal and practical considerations is related to a key difference between Monique Ponds' version of Title 1 and Lorenz's version: The former is an enthusiastic novice in a program grounded in considerable research evidence--Reading Recovery--which gives her some warrant for her practices (Clay 1979, 1985; Dyer 1992; Pinnell, DeFord, & Lyons 1988; Pinnell 1990). Ponds is able to use these methods in part because of a another important difference between her practice and Lorenz's: that is, she has a small and much more homogenous group than Lorenz. But even armed with some technical knowledge and research-based authority, and though she worked with a smaller number of students, Ponds was still uncertain about her practices, for she was constrained in what she did by her particular circumstances.

Ponds has read everything she could find about the Reading Recovery approach. Nevertheless, she reported her approach to teaching the bilingual Title I kids was "a very modified" version of the program's techniques first,

because there weren't any funds to send her to the year-long training. She explained, "I'm a risk [for training] because I'm just a Chapter one, hourly-paid teacher and that's a high turnover position." Second, the materials and methods were all prepared in English, not Spanish. She coped with the conflict between the program ideal and her practical constraints by adopting some of the Reading Recovery methods, rejecting others, and translating the materials--forging her own version of the program.

On the one hand, she rejected some of the time consuming methods because she just didn't have the time to work one-on-one with all her students, nor did she have the knowledge.[19] She explained:

> If I were a really technical Reading Recovery teacher, I would be taking logs, running records of that official reading. But at this point we're not doing all that . . . I don't have the time or the materials to do it. So a lot of times I'll jot down notes in their little books to myself about what they're improving on and what they're retaining and that sort of thing (MP 8/93).

Thus, she may have frustrated important aspects of the Reading Recovery method through the creative compromise just above. On the other hand, Ponds reported trying to teach Title 1, Spanish-speaking children the reading "strategies" they need to be successful readers. Without her personal effort to translate and to learn this aspect of the program, Ponds' students likely would not be exposed to instructional techniques that reformers and researchers say help children learn to read, especially children disadvantaged by economic and social circumstances.[20] Monique Ponds' version has been so successful, in her view, that she has changed the way she interacts with <u>all</u> her Title I students. And Ponds reported that her students from Ruth Linn's classroom were improving. Ana was struggling, but Nan and Maria "were taking off this year," (6/94) that is near the end the 1993-1994 school year.

Resources?

> It's . . . aggravating because I wish I knew more . . . I wish I had the training . . . [or] . . . I wish I had more training and more materials . . . (MP 8/93).

In her comments above, Ponds was expressing her frustration at not having the resources for learning and for practicing the way she wanted. Limited resource created dilemmas for staff at Mission, and made an ambitious response to reforms a matter of coping with conflicts between the ideal and the reality of school life. As noted earlier, Title 1 resources were equitably dispersed across the school at this point in the story. While Anita Lorenz had one part-time Title 1 aide, Monique Ponds was an hourly teacher paid with a combination of Title 1 and bilingual funds. And funds to support her in her quest to learn the precepts and methods of Reading Recovery were not available.

Further, and importantly, with many students to instruct, Ponds' time was spread thinly across five grades. One critical point here is that Monique Ponds lacked the resources to practice the Reading Recovery tenets having had the instructional guidance the program requires. Still another point is that she did what she could with what she had: she invented an ad hoc way to learn about Reading Recovery and adapt its tenets to her Spanish-speaking students' needs. This she and Louise James did with Laura Mather's support, but with few system incentives--materials, money, official time, credit of any sort--to do so.

At Mission Elementary, as in many instances where Reading Recovery has been used in America, it wasn't feasible to continue the one-on-one aspect of the program after first grade because of the cost. To do so at Mission would have meant finding more resources, or serving fewer children who

were in need. Laura Mather was even worried at the small number of first graders the program was reaching compared to those in need--this in light of the reported difficulty in maintaining the gains. She talked about her ambivalence over the program:

> . . . we figured it would cost nine to ten thousand dollars to train [and certify] one person . . . [including paying a substitute teacher] . . . to work with only four kids [one] at a time . . . [for thirty minute per day] . . . And [a trained teacher] can work with maybe four sets of kids . . . sixteen children a year for the training cost of ten thousand dollars. And what if they fall back once they're without extra help? . . . I don't know . . . [Mission would] need three people . . . One for each track . . . [and] two people for the two bilingual tracks . . . Wouldn't we be better served to have three hourly Chapter One teachers . . . working with small groups of kids for four and a half, five hours a day? Would[we] be reaching more kids and making more of a difference? I don't know.[21]

So the clash between program tenets and the lack of resources created a dilemma for Ponds, James, and Mather, just as there appears to be one for other American schools trying to use Reading Recovery to support reform in an era of budget cuts (Shanahan and Barr 1995). Choosing to end special instruction for students who needed it did not seem to be an option staff at Mission entertained for long. On the other hand, they did not have the resources to officially train Ponds, who was working on an emergency credential. Nevertheless, she was fluent in Spanish, and she along with Mather and James thought Spanish students could benefit from Reading Recovery methods. Ponds, James, and Mather compromised, and Ponds' adaptation of Reading Recovery precepts to her larger groups in grades two and three was the result of that compromise--between program tenets and the reality of life in this school.

Mission's adaptation may be something other schools are resorting to when faced with similar resource problems (Shanahan and Barr). A recent

independent evaluation of Reading Recovery concluded by "encourage[ing] innovations that might lower costs while maintaining effectiveness" (p. 959). Though Ponds did not report measuring "effectiveness" with standardized test results, still she seemed to believe her adaptations were "working." Monitoring students over time--those in the tutorial as well as in the small-groups receiving instruction based on Reading Recovery procedures--might have helped determine if Ponds was accurate in her assumption that the program "worked" at Mission (Shanahan and Barr).[22]

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Despite the differences in their situation and practices, both Monique Ponds and Anita Lorenz were managing to teach in the direction of Title 1 and curriculum reform. Important features that their versions of Title 1, curriculum reform have in common here are conflict, complexity, and uncertainty: These teachers were coping with conflict--between practical constraints and reform ideals or between competing commitments--and in doing so they made complex, uncertain judgments. Their two versions of reform contain some intellectual incoherence--considerable ambivalence, and a willingness to hold contradictory ideas. Further, these two teachers' inventions were not supported by a "hard ground" of technical knowledge or public agreement--even in the case of Reading Recovery, which Ponds had to adjust considerably within the context of Mission.

The education of Monique Ponds

One way to account for the similarities in the way they managed to respond to reform in the midst of conflicting messages and practical constraints is to compare their teacher education programs and other opportunities they had for learning. The educational opportunities Ponds'

identifies as most important to her practice were similar to Anita Lorenz's, and in part, those opportunities were linked to instructional leadership at Mission Elementary. An attractive young woman in her twenties, with dark hair falling over her shoulders, Ponds had worked at Mission as a Title 1 bilingual teacher since May of 1992. But even before then she worked as an aide there while getting her Liberal Arts degree in Bilingual, Bicultural Studies with an emphasis in Spanish, from a local college and state university. Monique Ponds was part of the Bilingual Teacher Corps, a group of student teachers who spent a year working in schools funded by a federal grant. This is when she became acquainted with people at Mission Elementary. So, like Anita Lorenz, Ponds had been in an intern program, and worked in classrooms while attending methods courses.

Also like Lorenz, Ponds had several "mentors" who were practicing in the direction of the curriculum reforms, and she studied the curriculum frameworks with college professors during her coursework. Two of Ponds teacher "mentors" were teachers at Mission Elementary. Ponds spoke highly of several staff there and said they had always treated her as a "teacher in process." But she was especially attached to Alice Michiels, the third grade bilingual teacher.[23] Michiels had embraced the language arts curriculum reforms and was in the midst of trying to change her mathematics teaching when Ponds worked with her. Ponds reported that she had learned a lot from Michiels, especially in relation to bilingual language arts.

Ponds, also talked about the guidance she was receiving from Louise James--one of the school's key instructional leaders and the Title 1 Coordinator. In this instance, with Laura Mather's support, James and Ponds invented a resource for teaching and learning, though there were few incentives in the system for them to do so. James had a link to instructors

outside of Mission Elementary because she was engaged in a year-long study of theory and practice related to Reading Recovery funded with Title 1 money. She helped Ponds learn the basic tenets of that generally reform-oriented program. Monique Ponds, like Anita Lorenz, was curious and eager to learn, and she had read all she could get on the subject of Reading Recovery methods. But James was a valuable instructional resource for Ponds.

Ponds and James spent time observing one another, and James acted as an instructional guide. The two teachers carried on a professional discourse of sorts, albeit limited by time constraints. James observed Ponds and provided helpful comments after the lessons. Conversely, Ponds observed James teach Reading Recovery lessons and they talked quite often. James loaned Ponds books about Reading Recovery--for example Bridges to Literacy. Both James and Ponds were very quick to say what Ponds did was not officially Reading Recovery. That qualification would come only with more education, time, materials, and money. Ponds said, "In the meantime, I just hope to attend some in-services and soak up whatever I can from Louise" (8/93). Ponds counts this opportunity to learn, along with her intern program, among those experiences that have influenced her practice quite significantly.

So several aspects of Ponds' educational experiences were similar to Anita Lorenz's: Both were in intern programs that combined learning about ideas in the curriculum frameworks with purposeful tasks rooted in classroom teaching. Both had access to mentors inside and outside of schools with whom they talked frequently about their teaching. Finally, though Ponds was working as a bilingual teacher when the study opened, she was not certified as such. Rather, Ponds had a one-year "emergency bilingual

certificate;" and she considered herself still learning--"a teacher in process." Both Ponds and Lorenz seemed to have become comfortable with the notion of "learning on the job," and both were aggressive about inventing or taking opportunities to ensure they would continue to do so.

The Confounding Factor of Bilingual Education

But, unlike Ponds, Lorenz and her teammate Ruth Linn had to manage a complicated organizational arrangement as part of the Compañero project, due in part to their worry over classroom versions of the three goals raised in chapter two: teaching their students a core curriculum for conceptual understanding in their primary language, teaching their students to be English proficient, and teaching them in "non-segregated" settings. In essence, these goals represented the interaction of bilingual and curriculum reform goals at the MUSD and Mission Elementary. Therefore, all students in both Linn's and Lorenz's classrooms were taught a "core curriculum" of math, reading, and writing in their primary language--either Spanish or English. In addition, the children were "integrated for at least 20%" of their school day in evenly-mixed groups receiving their instruction in either Spanish or English.

During these integrated "mixed lessons," as well as language lessons, the students changed rooms. Walking across a covered hallway--the two classrooms faced each other on either side of it--students would receive lessons in English as a second language (ESL) or Spanish as a second language (SSL); that is, Linn would take English speakers and teach them Spanish; Lorenz would take Spanish speakers for ESL lessons. Spanish speakers also received "sheltered English" instruction in both rooms during the course of their day (lots of visuals, animation, physical involvement, rhyming,

repetition, and so on) but according to Linn and Lorenz, the Spanish-speaking children learned all new "concepts" in Spanish in Linn's classroom.

Competing commitments in the Compañero ideal

It seems important to review the various parts of the bilingual program that were introduced in chapter two, in order to try to understand the teaching staff's purposes in embracing such complexity. Generally, Mission's Compañero program subscribed to an ideal of bilingual education, promoted by the MUSD and to some extent by the CDOE, that is based on the aims of equitable curriculum standards, English proficiency, and integrated classrooms.[24] The staff at Mission seemed to embrace these goals--though different teachers emphasized different goals--and the Compañero program was an attempt to address all of them.

For example, citing research, theory, and common sense--children can best make sense of material in their own language--Lorenz and Monique Ponds were generally committed to teaching children a core curriculum in their primary language in order to make curriculum standards equitable. Lorenz reported:

> A child may be a fluent speaker . . . and you don't understand why he's not successful in the classroom . . . [But speaking fluency] . . . is not going to guarantee academic success. You need to teach them . . . cognitive academic [language] proficiency [CALP] . . . There's a difference between speaking . . . and being able to . . . succeed because you have the academic fluency [in your primary language]" (AL 2/94).

Here Lorenz is referring to research (outlined in chapter two) by James Cummins (1982), Catherine Snow (1992) and others that suggests there are differences between conversational language skills and the more abstract, academic language skills. Ruth Linn was likewise committed, to some extent, though she disagreed with the school's "late exist" policy on the matter of

timing.[25] But English proficiency, another important goal of the bilingual ideal, can be at odds with the primary language commitment in practice (also noted in chapter two). When children are grouped by primary language in order to teach them subject matter for understanding--that is, the reform-oriented curriculum--they are not exposed to much English.

Further, Anita Lorenz and Ruth Linn also worried about a third goal of the Compañero project, that is, integrating students. Lorenz reported: " . . . We mix [students] to provide as little segregation as possible . . . (2/94)." And Linn said more than once, "no student should be segregated for any reason . . . it would be . . . unethical . . . " (5/93). Grouping by language to teach for understanding can cause problems here as well, because such grouping amounts to a form of segregation, according to some staff. So, in addition to ESL lessons, another way the Compañero program sought to teach English fluency and encourage integrated classroom work was to expose children to English in a "sheltered" environment--by creating "mixed groups" for subjects such as science, art, physical education, and social science once each day. Mathematics--a core subject that was usually taught in primary language--was taught in mixed groups once a week.

ESL and "mixed groups:" Compounding, competing purposes

There is a dilemma here for this group of teachers (and for their principal). They had to manage the problem of equitable instruction aimed at the high curriculum standards, and at the same time try to help limited English-speaking (LEP) children become English proficient. What is more, they wanted to do this in non-segregated classrooms when possible. These goals and the way school interpreted them complicated Anita Lorenz's practice, made the uncertainty she had to cope with even greater, and made

her judgments--already based on a large number of compelling considerations--even more difficult. For, as in Mather's case, these were not simply competing program goals but competing commitments on the part of some staff, rooted in part in their understanding of the multiple policies, but also in these particular children and the confounding factors of their variable SES, ethnicity, or English language ability.

For example, while earlier Lorenz talked about the range of academic preparation in her English-speaking students, here she talks about the range of individual differences in English proficiency among her ESL students:

> . . . I have kids here who come from Mexico and don't even answer or speak any words to me because they're at the very beginning level and other kids who are ready to be in transition [to the English mainstream classrooms]" (AL 5/93).

Once again, this teacher seems to have embraced multiple aspects of curriculum reforms--both subject matter standards and cognitive learning theory that takes students' "sense-making" through discussion to be a key pedagogical tool--but her job is complicated, not simply by differences in students academic preparation, but by language differences, and by another set of pedagogical ideas.

Lorenz speaks with authority about theory and practice related to language acquisition, and she has the credential to certify her as one. Since leaving her teacher education program, most of Lorenz's learning has been focused on language development. She received her Language Development Specialist (LDS) credential by taking courses at a local university, and she reported that the course work there has helped her teach ESL to the Spanish-speaking children from Ruth Linn's class. Ideas focused on rote learning methods seem central to her ESL program. For example:

> . . . [Students] have to do a lot of listening and repeating, chanting and rhyming. Something with some music in the background is real successful for them--and memorization . . . [The song in today's lesson] has a beat and a pattern which also increases their ability to memorize . . . [The song] has a lot of small words. It's seeing the words over and over again so you actually do learn those words and can read them . . . So it involves phonics, too (AL 5/93).

Here Lorenz goal was to help Spanish-speaking students, with a range of English ability, become English proficient. This goal and accompanying set of pedagogical methods appear to be at odds with the goal of "conceptual understanding" of subject matter and the complex problem-solving or discussion methods of the curriculum reform. But Lorenz teaches these students for forty-five minutes each day and reasons that, on balance, their English proficiency will be cultivated along with conceptual understanding in their own language (from the work they do with Linn).

As noted earlier, there is yet another goal of the bilingual program--that is, "integration" including an agenda that encourages understanding across language and mutual respect. Ruth Linn often talked about the problem of segregation for example: " . . . what you're doing is actually denying them access to other things--relationships with other peers . . . " (RL 5/93). Lorenz also seemed committed to the goal of integration. She explained, "they're in a mixed class so we don't have segregated teaching going on" (AL 5/93). But again, the instruction in service of this goal seems to compete with instructional time and energy more in line with curriculum reform. These mixed lessons seemed to be focused on rudimentary skills and rote methods.

Bilingual goals and curriculum reform compete at the level of small instructional teams in two instances of "mixed mathematics" below. Again,

Lorenz had to cope with competing goals and commitments. Children from the two classes in the Compañero were divided by language--one half of the children from each class were in Lorenz's room, likewise in Linn's room. These mathematics lessons were scheduled to last one hour each Monday, from 11: 20 to 12:20, but this day the transition took several minutes and it was close to 11:40 when students began to settle down to work.

Linn's class played "Around the World" with flash cards, speaking both English and Spanish. But here is a brief excerpt of what happened before "Around the World" began.

> RL: Quita, quita, quita. La siete escribas o que? (Take away. Take away. Take away. Do you write the seven or what?) Ok. Come on you guys make a straight line. They're ready to go. Portate bien. No quiero oir malas noticias. (Behave well. I don't want to hear any bad reports.)
> RL: Find a buddy. Find a partner to stick with. Find somebody new from our class that you need to sit with. We have room for a boy and a girl over here, a boy and a girl here, we need a girl over here with Susanne so she doesn't have to sit by herself. Leave that for a boy Francesca. Uvaldo needs a girl friend right there. [Linn continued in this manner for several minutes until the children had partners and were settled. Then]
> RL: Who remembers how we play this math game? Jose, can you explain it to everybody in English? Naw, I didn't think so. You can explain it to me in Spanish and I'll tell them what you said. Do you want to tell me and I'll tell them? How do we play Around the World? Destapa la boca. (Uncover your mouth.) How do we play Around the World?
> Jose: (S) Pasando los vueltos. (Taking turns.)
> RL: Ok, we go around we take turns . . . right . . .(Observation 5/93).

The students in this classroom were integrated by language and SES. Usually that meant the newer arrivals from Mexico to the US--the students who spoke only Spanish--worked with those who were familiar with English, as well as schooling in the US, in a "buddy system." The students often helped each other and became aquatinted--both Ruth Linn and Anita Lorenz reported friendships that likely would not have happened without the

mixing. Further, Spanish-speaking students were exposed to English in a "sheltered" environment; likewise, English-speaking students were exposed to Spanish. So two of the bilingual goals were addressed here.

But the mathematics curriculum reform--for example, problem solving through teacher-orchestrated tasks and discussion in order to understand important mathematical concepts--is not in view. Furthermore, the time spent shifting rooms and getting settled seems to be considerable. That too might detract from mathematics reform that promotes "in depth" discussion of problems, rather than fragmented "coverage" of topics (The Mathematics Model Curriculum guide, 1987; Mathematics Framework, 1991)

Across the hall, beginning at approximately 11:40 AM, Lorenz handed out worksheets numbered one through six, with a row of boxes beside each number. She also had the children work with partners (one Spanish speaker and one English speaker) adding "dollars and cents" on a calculator. Lorenz spent several minutes talking about the keys on the calculator and acquainting the children with their functions. She did this all in English, speaking more slowly than was usual for her. Then she dismissed the children and they scurried to their desks, which were placed in clusters of four, to begin working. Jose and Lonnie were partners: Jose is Hispanic, recently from Mexico, and is one of Ruth Linn's students. He speaks a little English, but mostly Spanish. Lonnie, a Caucasian boy and one of Lorenz's students, speaks a little Spanish, but mostly English. They were "buddies," seated side by side, with the calculator in between them. Jose had the worksheet in front of him.

> Lonnie set to work on the calculator. He quickly added $2.15 and $1.72 and wrote $3.87 on the line next to the row of boxes on the worksheet. Then Lonnie handed the calculator to Jose. Jose pushed the C button to clear it. Lonnie, blonde and fair skinned, leaned over

> and whispered to Jose to push the three. Jose whose dark hair and skin contrasted quite dramatically with Lonnie's, did so. Then Lonnie whispered "point." Jose pushed a key; [I couldn't see which because Lonnie was blocking my view.] "Seven," Lonnie whispered, and Jose pushed another key. They continued in this manner until, finally, Lonnie reached over, pushed the equals key and 6.87 flashed on the screen. He wrote $6.87 on the line by the row of boxes and filled in each box with its proper number, for example, C, 3.37+1.45=$6.87. Lonnie and Jose moved on to number four. Lonnie read the numbers from the worksheet: "one, point, zero, nine, plus, two, point, seven, six, equals. Jose began entering the numbers into the calculator. Though all the talk was in English, Jose seemed to comprehend the few words that Lonnie spoke to him. They worked in this manner until they reached problem number six, the final problem on the worksheet.
>
> Lorenz had been walking around the room. She stopped by the cluster of desks where Lonnie and Jose were working. She looked at Jose and Lonnie's paper and asked "does number three look high to you?" They had $6.87 as the sum of 3.37 and 1.45. Then she asked the girls across from Jose and Lonnie if they were doing their own work. Both girls nodded their heads; they also had $6.87 for the answer to number three. "Well, do number three again. Could it equal 6.87? Lonnie had been working rapidly from the moment of Lorenz's question. His fingers were flying over the calculator keys. He pushed the equals key, looked at the answer and wrote $4.82 on the line where $6.87 had been.
>
> Shortly thereafter, Lorenz had the class read their worksheets together. The class slowly sang out the numbers together until they had read each problem and answer. It was 12:20 and time for lunch. (Observation, 5/93).

On one hand, the rudiments of operating calculators are important for students to understand. The 1987 California framework and curriculum guide that Anita Lorenz learned in her methods courses says so:

> . . . As students understand basic concepts and learn the basic arithmetic operations, they are taught how and when to use the calculator (Mathematics Model Curriculum Guide, p. 5).

The framework argues that students spend too much time "practicing long and tedious procedures which are more efficiently done with calculators" (p. 9). Furthermore:

> Rather than blindly accepting calculator results, students [should be] given enough practice in estimating to know when they have made a mistake in using the calculator (p. 5).

In the lesson above, Lorenz did model and encourage students to estimate when she pressed them to consider whether one answer "looks high." Though she didn't spend much time during that particular lesson having the children do estimations to check their answers, she told me in an interview that she often does. So Lorenz does incorporate some elements of the curriculum reform into her instruction in these "mixed language" cooperative groups. Further, Spanish speakers are exposed to English and the students are integrated, working cooperatively, getting to know one another. The latter two goals are the stated purpose of these mixed math groups--one-half Spanish speakers, one-half English--which were created to alleviate the problems of segregation by ethnicity and language. Both descriptions sketched above do seem to accomplish those goals in the triad of purposes and methods in tension.

But "the solution" to one problem may create another from the view of curriculum reform and "high standards"--that is, the mathematics in these "mixed groups" tended to be "watered down" to drill-oriented games and basic skills so that all children could understand the language. Lorenz reported she usually kept lessons "simple enough for Spanish speakers" to understand. Thus, two of the bilingual program goals--integration and ESL/SSL--are working in tension with curriculum reforms and the more reform-oriented methods-- methods which include group debate and discussion, problem solving, journal writing, and other such activities "that help [students] to communicate mathematically" (p. 5). For example, the reform wants students to experience, and thus to understand, that problem

solving isn't simple computation, but "a process with solutions coming most often as the result of exploring situations, stating and restating questions, and devising and testing strategies overtime" (p. 4). But these last definitely involve "sense making" through language, and they might leave one or the other language group "out" of the mixed conversation. Not only does ESL and "mixed group" instruction seem to be in tension with curriculum reforms, they are, in one sense, in tension with the third goal of the Compañero: that is, equitable, high academic standards, which require teaching for understanding, which in turn is interpreted by many staff to require teaching core subjects in children's primary language.

A look at the Compañero schedule below reveals that mixed math is scheduled for only one hour per week. But over six additional hours are devoted to other mixed group instruction in science, social studies, music, or art. In addition, one and one-half hours are allotted for ESL or SSL each week. Approximately ten and one-half hours--just under one-third of the week--is given over to mixed instruction or second language instruction, while approximately thirteen hours--over one-third--is scheduled for core curriculum instruction in primary language. About nine hours each week are used for recess, lunch, and management routines. One characteristic both versions of mixed math have in common is that the time spent shifting rooms and getting settled seems to be considerable. That time might also be subtracted from time spent on instruction--of any sort.

8:30 - 8:50	Classes together for flag, patriotic songs, music, and calendar
8:50 - 9:00	Separate rooms for attendance, lunch, and class business in primary language
9:00 - 10:20	*Language Arts in primary language*
RECESS	
10:35 - 10:55	AL takes Rl's room for ESL RL takes AL's room for SSL

10:55 - 11:20	*Language Arts: Journals, spelling, handwriting, primary language*
11:20 - 12:20	*Math (primary language)*
	* Every Monday classes will be mixed 1/2 Spanish and 1/2 English for "Cooperative groups"
LUNCH	
1:05 - 1:25	Together & mixed language groups: PE
1:25 - 3:00	Mixed language group
	Monday (Science/Heath)
	Wednesday (Social Studies)
	Thursday (Music)
	Friday (Art)
	* Tuesday is computer lab and library
3:05	Dismissal

1993/94 Second Grade Compañero Schedule

Bilingual goals confound an already complicated situation for Anita Lorenz. The multiple goals in the interaction of the bilingual program and curriculum reform have created more tensions in her practice. Teaching for conceptual understanding--a goal of curriculum reform along with an accompanying set of pedagogical assumptions--and teaching English as a second language--one of three goals of the bilingual program, along with a set of pedagogical ideas--tended to be at odds in these instances. Those second language lessons in English or Spanish that I observed seemed concentrated on rote methods. Likewise, the "mixed math" lessons appeared to be versions of "sheltered English" which in Ruth Linn's words were sometimes "watered down" for both English-speaking children and Spanish-speaking children, in order to reduce complexity and compensate for language disadvantages. These lessons were in competition with instructional methods embedded in curriculum reforms that emphasize discussion, complex problem solving, and higher order reasoning--that is, "advanced thinking skills."

CONCLUSION

Despite competing comittments and practical conflicts, Lorenz and Ponds responded ambitiously to the both the curriculum and Title 1 reforms. On some occasions, both teachers were managing to teach in the direction of reforms, including integrating Title 1 instruction into regular classroom instruction of the core curriculum. They managed in part from a general predisposition toward using enormous reserves of effort and energy. Lorenz sought out extra human resources she needed for her classroom. Both Lorenz and Ponds were aggressive at creating or taking opportunities to learn about teaching whenever they could. They both seemed to think of themselves as "learners" or "teachers in progress." They sought out colleagues and conversed with them about their teaching. Lorenz even made a point of visiting and observing classrooms when she was "off-track." Ponds invented--with Louise James--an ad hoc structure for learning on the job. While their work together was supported by Mather, there were few system incentives for either the invention or the support. Essentially, both Anita Lorenz and Monique Ponds managed to create some social and intellectual support for their learning and their practice in the direction of reforms. That behavior on their part is unusual for the norms of "privacy" or "autonomy" generally still persist in schools (Little; Lortie).

Another way to account for their ambitious response to is to note that both Anita Lorenz and Monique Ponds were educated during an era of reform when ideas about engagement with subject matter, high standards for all, and using students' prior knowledge to build understanding were converging in an increasingly persuasive argument about teaching. These teachers--both relatively new to teaching--seemed to have brought ideas about reformed teaching with them to Mission Elementary. For example, they both

described their teacher education programs as providing opportunities to learn from curriculum reform (instantiated in the California frameworks and worked out in classrooms while they were interns). They both reported having mentors during their teacher education with whom they spent considerable time talking about reforms. And Anita Lorenz seems to have been taught in a manner similar to the way she was teaching when this study opened: that is, building on students' experience, encouraging critical thinking and problem solving, engaging students in important ideas in subject matter, and so on.

Finally, Lorenz and Ponds managed to teach in the direction of reforms in part because the ideas they brought to the school were reinforced in the MUSD and at Mission: The district and school supported their efforts to some extent. The school leadership certainly didn't oppose the reforms, and they offered a few resources in support of learning about them. The MUSD curriculum guide is consistent with the state frameworks, for example. The PQR process at Mission, as well as the CLAS, served as a "curriculum of the policy," and some instructional guidance was built into both of those. Those pedagogical policy mechanisms to encourage teacher learning are unusual and more ambitious implementation strategies than many states employ.[26]

An important feature their responses to Title 1 and curriculum reform have in common is that both teachers were coping with uncertainty and complexity: they made difficult, uncertain judgments in the midst of practical constraints and competing commitments. Their versions of reform contain considerable ambivalence, and a willingness to hold contradictory ideas. While both views show a tendency toward complex curriculum and instructional reforms, both also include attempts to balance that tendency with commitments or ideas that perhaps compete with the reforms.

For example, innovations in the direction of integrated language use, critical thinking, and conversation are not necessarily conducive to improving standardized test results (Darling-Hammond 1992)--one goal for Title 1 students in both the scenarios outlined in this Chapter. In this instance, reform ideas competed with long-standing arguments as well as traditional practices related to instruction, especially for "disadvantaged" children. Another example of "balancing contraries" is in Ponds' and Lorenz's commitment to "developmentally appropriate" instruction or "nurturing," which can be at odds with pressing students toward high, grade-level academic standards. Both teachers wrestled with honoring a commitment to nurture their students, as well as a resolve to push them to work hard toward high standards. Further, Lorenz wanted to honor each student's strength while ultimately comparing all of them to the same or similarly rigorous standard. Maintaining these sometimes contradictory commitments was part of their daily work, work that was more challenging for Lorenz because of the range of her students preparation for academic work. But despite differences in their particular situations, Ponds and Lorenz practices required that they cope with uncertainty and complexity.

Bilingual education goals and the way this school interpreted them interacted with the curriculum reforms to confound the problems of practice for teachers like Anita Lorenz. They added new commitments and another set of ideas to a pool already quite full. In practice, the goals and methods of bilingual education tended to sometimes compete with the curriculum reforms and even with themselves. For example, teaching for conceptual understanding, an important goal of curriculum reform and one key bilingual goal, tended to be in tension with another bilingual goal--English

proficiency--and ESL methods. Here the problems of practice in the face of a myriad compelling ideas and commitments increased for Anita Lorenz.

One explanation for Lorenz's response in this instance--that is, what appeared to be the competition between her bilingual methods and the curriculum reform--is that she and the staff were experimenting with something new. Some of Lorenz's methods--"mixed groups" for example--were bound up at Mission Elementary in a complicated organizational arrangement--the Compañero, a "cutting edge" model of bilingual education. The staff was trying it out as a way to manage the influx of poor, LEP students into the school. And, as Fullan (1995) argues, "trying out ideas" to see if they "work" in the context of a particular school is part of any change process. But, by end of the second year, there was agreement at Mission that "the Compañero wasn't working," (though there was a great deal of disagreement about why it didn't seem to be working). That year the staff was rethinking the program, changing it. So they were learning from their experience of putting precepts into practice, and they were adjusting their organizational arrangements based on what they learned. But again, they were doing this without much support for learning how to meld bilingual goals with various other reform goals.

Another explanation for Lorenz's response related to bilingual goals and methods is more directly related to the lack of resources for learning. The combination of competing goals in and around the school and district, and the school norms of relative staff independence related to professional development (both of which are typical of most schools) contributed to a somewhat fragmented "curriculum" and thus fragmented learning on the part of Lorenz after her teacher education program. While all her energy was focused on learning about developing English as a second language, she no

longer had the social resource of a professional discourse to help her make sense of her ESL coursework in conjunction with teaching reform-oriented curriculum content.

There was no one in the role of "teacher" of the curriculum reforms when it came to Lorenz's learning task of synthesizing new information she was acquiring in her ESL course work with curriculum reforms, especially in mathematics. Mather was a language and literacy expert, James and others were assigned subject matter reform, but James did not know much about learning in a second language. And though Lorenz reported talking with her teammate Ruth Linn frequently about teaching and language issues, literacy reform seemed less important to Linn than teaching her students to be English proficient. Here is where an instructional team knowledgeable about both language issues and subject matter reforms might have helped Lorenz make sense of the new information in the context of her school and her classroom.

A related problem here is that in the matter of integrating language and subject matter content issues, fragmentation seemed to have been built into all of Lorenz's instructional programs. For example, the professional development courses Lorenz took to earn her LSD did not factor subject matter into the conversation about learning a second language (or in a second language). At least she did not report such integration. Nor for the most part did the district and the county offices: They also seemed to categorize bilingual workshops separately from subject matter workshops. Nor had Lorenz's teacher education courses integrated the problems of bilingual students into subject matter concerns as part of the "content" of the reforms. Again, she did not report ever having discussed the problem of how students might make sense of challenging content in a second language during her

teacher education course work. But that is the kind of conversation that will need to take place, not only in teacher education courses, but in professional development and in schools if the call for high standards for all children is taken seriously. The reformed conception of mathematics education, for example, requires that students converse frequently and that they use academic language skills of the sort that many scholars of bilingualism argue take a good deal of time to acquire. Too often, language issues, learning, and subject matter are compartmentalized into separate domains by policy planners (categorical programs and curriculum project, for instance), by scholars, by schools, and so on.

In order to manage the problems that this teacher faced in responding to a reform calling for high standards for all students, teacher education programs, policy makers, researchers and school leaders will need to consider how these domains interact. Conversations which draw on multiple sources of knowledge across disciplines and interests are needed for teachers to really learn the kind of "content" knowledge it will take to respond to reforms that seek to improve instruction and curriculum for all America's students. Conversations of that sort might help coordinate and synthesize knowledge and experience from multiple sources in order to inform the ambitious practices of teachers such as Lorenz and Ponds. But it seems likely such conversations would reconceptualize what it means to lead, teach, learn, or plan for school change. In this new conception, all involved in the conversation are learners; capacity is distributed but shared, not isolated.

Finally, Ponds and Lorenz were managing with what they considered to be too few traditional resources to do the job the way they wanted. So, for example, Ponds' adaptation of Reading Recovery was a compromise, based on what she had to work with: too many students, too few funds for training.

Her invention for learning Reading Recovery with James was a response to the dilemma she and the school leadership faced in finding themselves with children who badly needed help, but without the resources--trained personnel--to serve them. Likewise, Anita Lorenz was unable to manage her reform- oriented classroom without recruiting many more human resources than Title 1 funds provided. She was aggressive about doing so, but she was also unusual.

Inventing a reform-oriented practice with little guidance, while coping with practical constraints, and multiple, compelling, though often competing commitments, is not only extremely difficult, it is uncertain and demands complex judgments. Here an important point to note is that the unspecified, complex nature of these teachers' adaptations in the midst of dilemmas does not lend itself easily to technical rationality. One example of such rationality called for in the Title 1 reform is "coherent" school and district-level planning, which includes "clear, common goals" and "accountability." Another example often used as a strategy to "implement" policies urging education reform and teacher change is training teachers to replicate practices. Related to the former point, the teachers' instructional choices in this case seem to make sense in the context of their classrooms--they are even ambitious responses to reform ideas--but they are not necessarily conducive to goal clarity aligned with "accountability" as it is often interpreted--that is, "student data" aggregated to show clear progress or "improvement" at the school and district level. Rather, their practices are uncertain, based on complex judgments rooted in part in their particular students, and in part in their knowledge and understanding of teaching and curriculum. What they expect from their students is also not easily reduced or represented in the aggregate.

Furthermore, even when their practices were based on more specified methods--methods that might be conducive to coherent, school-wide planning, or "teacher training," as in the case of Monique Ponds' adaptation of Reading Recovery techniques--practical circumstances (lack of time, money, language barriers, and so on) often thwarted reproducing the program ideal. Monique Ponds' adaptation of Reading Recovery principles to the needs of her small, Spanish-speaking, Title 1 group, show the difficult and uncertain judgments involved in such adaptations. Her example highlights the problem of assuming a technical or coherent "transfer" of reform ideals through "training." So in these classroom images of curriculum and Title 1 reform, the uncertainty and complexity of practices that are in the direction of "high standards" are not necessarily, but can be, at odds with the ideal of coherent school and district-level planning based on aggregate accountability measures or common practices. In this case, as the story unfolds in chapter five, it seems that they were.

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[1]As described in chapter one and two, here "resources" are conceptualized as traditional, social, personal and print or other media. Traditional include among other resources funding targeted to smaller class size, more personnel, more time for reflection, conversations and other learning opportunities. The term social resources is informed by a "pedagogy of the policy" metaphor and includes among other relations, scaffolding for learning about reforms through sustained instructional discourse with knowledgeable others--"teachers" of the policy--or mutual goals for student learning, and collaborative conversations focused on how to achieve them (Cohen and Barnes 1993; McLaughlin and Talbert 1993; Ball and Cohen 1996; Cohen and Ball 1997; Newmann and Wehlage 1995; Darling-Hammond 1992; Lieberman and Miller 1992). Coleman's 1990 social capital theory also informs the idea that the social resources reside in relationships where there are shared goals. The term "personal resources," provides a lens for considering the prior understanding, experience, education and predilection that enactors bring to their work. That concept is informed by both human capital theory and cognitive theory, the latter of which holds that people interpret new information (or learn) by building on existing cognitive structures; that is, what they know and understand. Print or other kinds of media resources include those that would provide specified curricular guidance as a means for educators to learn from the policy--a "curriculum of the policy."

[2]Language arts curriculum guides (1987/88) in this state and reform documents such as Becoming a nation of readers (1984) argue the best way for children to learn to write and read is by doing so often, and for a variety of purposes and audiences. The argument suggests that students must

be skilled in listening to others as well as speaking, in reading what others write, as well as writing. Thus "authentic language approaches" here means an integrated approach that combines listening, speaking, reading and writing for "authentic" purposes and audiences--audiences such as the classroom or school community, parents, and so on. This approach is in contrast to instructional methods informed by the assumption that good readers and writers are skilled because they have accumulated a foundation of necessary subskills and skills. The "whole language" or authentic language approach holds that children learn these subskills in the process of writing and reading (Knapp and Needels 1991).

[3]One key category in the California language arts curriculum guide addresses the need to base instruction on students' experiences or "prior knowledge."

[4]Reformers have criticized some Title 1 programs and educators working with disadvantaged children for relying too heavily on teaching decoding skills at the expense of comprehension skills (Allington 1991; Allington and McGill-Franzen 1989; Knapp and Needels 1991; Moll 1991; The Chapter 1 Commission, 1992). But others have warned that some basic skill building is needed in classrooms of disadvantaged children--especially in the early grades (Brophy 1991; Slavin, Karweit & Wasik, 1991)--and is sometimes sacrificed by integrated language arts programs to the detriment of disadvantaged children (Delpit 1986; 1988).

[5]Though she never mentioned Howard Gardener's "seven intelligences" the modalities Lorenz talked about seem to overlap somewhat with his. For more on the topic of "multiple intelligences" see Gardner (1991). Lorenz told me she first learned about individual learning "modalities" in her intern program where she took several credits of study related to "mainstreaming" children into the regular classroom.

[6]Her students did attend the school's Title 1 academies which she sometimes also taught. Lorenz was a fan of these extended year programs that provided extra instruction for students during intercessions.

[7]For example, since parents have been working in her room, the number of "positive grams" has increased dramatically for children in her class. Positive grams are calls the principal makes to parents reporting on some improvement in a child's behavior or work.

[8]Here the term "maintaining contradictory commitments" is from Magdelene Lampert (1985).

[9]On the point of multiple sources of competing ideas making their way into schools see Cohen (1995). Cohen elaborates on this point showing how policy documents are only one of many sources of the advice that educators in schools receive.

[10]Here, I use the term "social constructivist" because I will argue , Ms. Lorenz learning community seemed to include several principles of cognitive learning theory in its practices. For example it was a community that takes "prior knowledge" of the learner to be important and which builds on that knowledge to introduce new information to students in an effort to promote understanding. Also the culture or shared norms included using learners as a source of information and knowledge, encouraging debate or critique, and providing support for experimentation.

[11]Tryphon and Voneche (1996) edited a book of essays analyzing the work of Vygotsky and Piaget to commemorate the centennial of their births. The project was sponsored by the Jean Piaget Archives Foundation at the University of Geneva, Switzerland.

[12]Cohen and Barnes (1993) draw from Dewey's pragmatism and the experiences of teacher educators (Ball and Rundquist 1993; Heaton and Lampert 1993; Wilson with Miller and Yerkes 1993) in conjecturing about a "pedagogy" for policies that seek teacher change. This "pedagogy" to enhance teachers' capacity to enact curriculum reform would be set in a context which, like the collaborative community described by Anita Lorenz, would include both challenge to teachers' assumptions and support for trying new ideas. The ideal "curriculum" would resemble Dewey's in that it would be deeply practical as well as rich in ideas. Set in an interactive group process, it would at once be the method for teaching teachers about the

curriculum reform as well as the subject matter of the reform. See Dewey (1916/66) on the nature of method and the nature of subject matter. The assumptions embedded in Ms. Lorenz's learning community are "social constructivist" in nature. "Social constructivism" as a theory of learning and development makes the case for cultural factors in human development--learning is social. It has grown out of the work of Lev Vygotsky and been supported by American cognitive psychologists such as Jerome Bruner. John Dewey made important contributions to this line of thought. More detail on the history of "constructivist" thought and the "cognitive revolution" in chapter one.

[13]Personal communication, David K. Cohen. Cohen referred to work by March and Simon related to this point. See for example, March and Simon (1958) or March and Olsen (1976). See also March and Olsen (1975).

[14]see chapter two for more details on the PQR process at Mission.

[15]A sample from the county office "Staff Development Opportunities Calendar for 1992.

[16]In the section below I draw, in part, from a paper I presented in New York City at the 1996 annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association entitled Clarity, complexity and collaboration: The technical and political tensions of Title 1 reform in one school.

[17]Resnick and Klopfer (1989) write about the possible effects of small cooperative groups on motivation. They discuss motivation, social interaction, and support for complex performances.

[18]See chapter two for a review of salient research on second language acquisition, learning in first and second languages, and bilingual education.

[19]Reading Recovery is a tutoring program that requires a one-on-one teacher-student relationship for first grade students. Though Monique Ponds sometimes worked with one student at a time, especially first grade students, she also had as many as five students in a group when she taught in second or third grade.

[20]See for example, Means, Chelemer, and Knapp (1991).

[21]Laura Mather reporting her concern over the program (3/95). She reported she had been concerned about the cost since the programs inception at Mission Elementary.

[22]Shanahan and Barr 1995 examined all the available empirical work on Reading Recovery, including technical reports and various versions of the RR manual, in the first "independent evaluation" (p. 958) of program effects. They noted differences between implementation of the program in New Zealand, where a centralized system provides young children with earlier and more reading preparation compared to the US where the system is decentralized. Because American children seem to enter reading recovery with fewer literacy "resources" they are in need of more special instruction than New Zealand children. So the number of RR lessons and amount of time it takes to bring an American child up to class average is greater in this country, thus more costly. Furthermore, even in New Zealand, children often stay in the program beyond first grade. Shanahan and Barr concluded that the "cost effectiveness" of the program when considered in light of this information does pose questions about a program that generally serves only 8 children (one trained tutor) per year. While children in the program do make greater than expected gains in reading, the program is less effective and more costly than has often been claimed. Further, gains are difficult to maintain.

[23] I will introduce Ms. Michiels in more detail in chapter four.

[24]Those goals are the topic of heated debate in California as I sketched in chapter one. They are part of inherited disagreements over the policy goals of the Bilingual Education Act, the federal bilingual education program, and have been debated since its inception. Though the CDOE bilingual compliance manual notes in very small print "compliance is not mandatory" the district bilingual coordinator spoke of these goals as the "basics of any bilingual program." See chapter two for more on the "policy" as interpreted and communicated by the state DOE and the MUSD district office.

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[25] Linn was quite vociferous in her criticism that the school and district waited too long to "transition" students from Spanish classrooms to the English mainstream classrooms.

[26]But ironically, in this case, the episodic nature of reform may have eliminated just those mechanisms that with time, could have helped staff learn more from reform. In the 1994-1995 school year, the resources for learning noted above--both the CLAS and PQR process--evaporated in some instances, and were on the state "chopping block" under Delaine Eastin's leadership, in other instances.

CHAPTER 4

KATE JONES AND ALICE MICHIELS: SELF-RELIANCE AND DISCIPLINE VS. UNDERSTANDING GROUP DIFFERENCES

When the two small groups of Title 1 students left second grade, most of them went to the third grade Compañero team of Kate Jones and Alice Michiels. These two teachers, as with many others at Mission disagreed about methods and goals, sometimes quite passionately. Though the staff had made a school-wide decision to work more collaboratively on a narrower, more focused school goal at the end of the past school year, most of the leadership's time and effort was directed toward forging agreement on instructional goals in the lower grades--kindergarten through second. Thus, before and even after the school-wide decision to work toward a mutual obligation for common instructional goals, Jones and Michiels disagreed about teaching, what their students needed, and what various policy ideas meant for their practices. Their differences interacted with the competing policy assumptions in the CTBS and the CLAS. Together, personal belief, prior experience, and competing policy ideals created quite a competition of ideas, as well as conflict, during the two years the teachers worked together. Alice Michiels and Kate Jones demonstrate the conflict that can arise between assumptions represented in CTBS and CLAS, viewed from the classroom perspective of a small instructional team as opposed to state and national policy debates or district and school-wide debates.

While the many conflicts of conviction between Jones and Michiels seemed to heighten uncertainty for one teacher who was trying very hard to

change her mathematics practice, such conflicts, by repeatedly challenging deeply held assumptions, might have opened another to change, to the possibility of learning about reformed practices. Over the two years Kate Jones and Alice Michiels worked closely together, conflict seemed to contribute to Michiels' ambivalence, while it appeared to be one lever for changing Jones' mind about curriculum reform. Here again--as in the internal conflict so prevalent in the complex inventions of Lorenz and Ponds, for example--the theme of coping with conflict was intertwined in the daily work of adapting policy ideas to classroom practice with only modest resources to support that process.

ALICE MICHIELS' AMBIVALENCE

Alice Michiels, like Monique Ponds and Anita Lorenz, was ambivalent about much that she practiced. But this was especially so in her mathematics teaching, which she was working hard to change, in part because she was trying to make already difficult transformations in circumstances that made that work even harder: First, she had to "unlearn" much of what she learned in her teacher education program (unlike Lorenz or Ponds). While managing uncertainty and conflicting commitments is inherent in the work of teaching (Lampert 1985; Lipsky 1980; Lortie 1975), that task becomes much more difficult when a teacher is rejecting a portion of her professional past, while still unsure of the territory ahead (Heaton and Lampert 1993). Here, the ambivalence and emotional loss of change can be analogous to a kind of grief (Marris 1974), even when that change is desired. But there is more that made Michiels' attempts to reform her practice difficult: She was doing this work in the midst of conflict--a competition of ideas in the district and school as well as daily disagreements with her partner. That situation seemed to

heighten her ambivalence. Finally, Michiels did not have enough of the resources she needed to support her changing mathematics practice: time and a "safe" place to practice then reflect on what she was learning, for example; conversation with like-minded teachers for another; or instructional guidance and feedback from knowledgeable others. Though she did have a "curriculum" of sorts in the form of replacement units, books, and other materials from Marilyn Burns' mathematics workshops, for the most part she had to be her own teacher.

While Alice Michiels had an informal theory of practice, when it came to bilingual education, still she was often ambivalent over the potentially contradictory commitments of native language instruction for conceptual understanding, and English instruction. Her beliefs about bilingual education, much more so than Anita Lorenz, colored the way she thought about many instructional issues for all her students. Like Laura Mather, Alice Michiels often used the arguments that bilingual scholars and cognitive psychologists use when making a case for teaching students their core academic subjects for "conceptual understanding" in their primary language.[1] But Michiels also reported: "I think we need to spend more time in English. The bilingual Spanish-speaking parents want their kids to learn English" (8/94). So Michiels, like Laura Mather and others at Mission, was "rethinking" the bilingual program as it was currently configured--her own practice in particular. But she, like Mather, was torn about just what to do. Like others at Mission, Michiels seemed to argue with herself aloud during interviews. Given time limits, she doubted she could do all she wanted for her students. Managing uncertainty and competing commitments was integral to adapting ideas in policy to the context of her classroom.

Another example of Michiels' ambivalence was bound up in her teacher education, especially her methods courses on "effective instruction" for language minorities and "low achievers." She cited effective instruction and Madeline Hunter, task analysis and skills hierarchies, as prominent features in her teacher education, as well her first years of teaching in a low SES, primarily black elementary school. By the time I began observing her, Michiels was a veteran teacher: She had taught first grade in another district for five years, and second grade at the MUSD for two years. She came to MUSD in 1989, and had been teaching third grade for five years. She reported the emphasis in her early years of teaching had been on direct "effective," instruction, "then they threw it all out." To Alice Michiels, this was a case of "throwing the baby out with the bath water" (8/94).

But Michiels seemed not to have thrown out her belief in these earlier pedagogical methods completely. (Notice her quite direct approach to instruction during the "animal table" lesson below--a reform-oriented lesson which mixes old instructional commitments with new.) The entire class, including the Title 1 students who had been in Monique Ponds' group last year--Maria, Ana, and Nan--gathered around Michiels for a discussion of the "animal table" which some of Michiels' students in the Gifted and Talented Education (GATE) program had made (see Table 1). Michiels reported that this lesson was a "sheltered English science lesson" that was part of her "integrated" curriculum. She wanted students to "read across the curriculum" and be able to make sense of multiple kinds of texts:

> The children have notebooks and are gathered on the floor by the side chalkboard. Michiels has the "animal table" by her side. The pages in the notebooks are pegged with plastic organizers--science, math, language arts, and so on. Alice Michiels points to the table and begins to speak in Spanish.

Table 1 - Third Grade Compeñero's Animal Table

	Numero habitual de bebe's [translation: usual number of babies]	tiempo dentro de la madre [time inside the mother]	Edad A la que de ja de beber leche materna [stops drinking mother's milk]
ser humano (human being)	1	9 meses (months)	6-9 meses
Elefante africano (African Elephant)	1	22 meses	3-4 anos
Dromedano (African one-hump camel)	1	14 meses	9-19 meses
zorro rojo (red fox)	4-6	7 semanas (weeks)	8-10 semanas
Murcielago Come-frutos (bat eats fruits)		4 meses	3-5 meses
Perezoso de des dectos(sloth)	1	6 meses	3-4 semanas
Nutria asiatica de garras cortas (short-clawed Asian otter)	3	2 meses	3-4 meses
Mono Ardilla de gorro negro (black-hatted squirrel monkey)	1	5 meses	5-6 semanas
puercoespin africano (African porcupine)	1-3	4 meses	4-6 meses
Tigre indio (Indian tiger)	3-4	15 meses	3-5 meses
Koala (Koala bear)	1-2	7 semanas	6-12 meses

> AM:(s) African elephant, Charles? African elephant, . . .has how many babies at a time? (The children are checking their notebooks and looking at the table. A couple of children say "one").
> AM:(s) And how many months does it take?
> (More than one child say "22").
> AM:(s) How much longer than a human being? (long pause) How can you figure it out? . . ..(a child says something here, which I [JC] think is (in English) "can you write it?")
> AM:(s)(as she is writing on the chalkboard says) Yes--the elephant is pregnant (pause while writing) how many months (pause) longer than a human being? AM had written on the board: El elefante esta embarazado _____ meses mas largo que el ser humano. (translation: elephants are pregnant ____ months longer than humans.) AM: How can I get the answer, does somebody know? (pause) What math problem can I write to get the answer? (Fieldnote 8/94).

After quite a bit of coaching and prodding by Michiels, the group arrived at 13 by using the subtraction algorithm. Michiels followed with a series of questions which required students to use information on the table to compare such measures or quantities as length of pregnancy, number of babies, or nursing time. She spoke in both Spanish and English, but mostly Spanish.

At points the discussion was quite far-ranging, and students quite often responded to Michiels' queries using insects or animals not on the table. It seemed that some of the children were not clear about the task at hand, though Michiels repeatedly tried to clarify. For example:

> AM:(s) OK, which animal has more babies than any of them? Let's see . . . (She looks at the chart and uses her finger to move down the column under number of babies. Children talk among themselves for a few moments. They raise their hands with some excitement.) Yes? (she calls on a boy who says: "oh, but the spider has many babies!") Again Michiels directs the children's attention to the posterboard with the chart on it. As she does so, she says in Spanish: Spiders? We're not talking about spiders. But that's true, the spider has thousands, or hundreds of babies. (here a child says, in Spanish: "I know which one it is." But AM answers, perhaps because two children in a row have named insects or animals not on the table.)
> AM:(s) we don't have spiders here (pointing to the chart). The animal on the list that has most babies is the red fox because it has four to six.

In some respects, this lesson is consistent with curriculum reforms. Michiels was using an authentic, somewhat complex task--making sense of information on a table--in order to try to encourage "disadvantaged" students to use analytical thinking (for example, to think about the relationship between quantities). Michiels is encouraging her students to use ideas embedded in arithmetic computations--ideas such as more than, less than, and so on--in an "authentic" problem solving situation. Students had to use the information given in order to derive further information. These aspects of the instruction are consistent with curriculum reforms that call for teaching all students "higher order thinking," and unusual in classrooms of low SES, minority students (Means and Knapp; Zucker).

But in the comments above and in much of the lesson, the discourse was more convergent than divergent--that is, Michiels did not ask students to justify their multiple responses, nor did she allow responses to go unchecked. Rather, she was quite clear about a "wrong" answer or "right" answer. She was also generally quite explicit about <u>why</u> one answer was better than another. Though she asked lots of questions, she was also very directive about how she or a student would go about finding an "answer" computing from the table. On one hand, the discourse here is different than the kind of divergent deliberation and debate over various interpretations that many reformers maintain is needed to foster "a disposition to critical thought" in all students. That sort of disposition is one key to developing higher order, or advanced thinking, skills in students (Resnick; Resnick, Bill, Lesgold, and Leer 1991).

On the other hand, Michiels' practice above and earlier is consistent with some research that argues "disadvantaged" children do better when teachers use direct instruction--explicitly model or explain ways of thinking

that might be new to students. Likewise, students are better able to handle challenging material when teachers make their assumptions, expectations, and thinking processes very clear. The literature underlying these notions varies from that on effective instruction (Porter 1991; Brophy cited in McCollum 1991) to evidence from research on cultural differences (Delpit 1988; Comer 1988). Michiels reported learning about "effective instruction" in her teacher education program. She reported how well such instruction "worked" for her first students, who were mostly poor minority children. She has since changed much of her practice in the direction of the curriculum reforms that want students to be much more "active" in their own learning and teachers less directive. But her lesson was a mix of traditional and reformed practices. Michiels reported hanging on to some of what she had learned in school so as not to "throw the baby out with the bath water."

Nor had Michiels thrown out phonics. Unlike Anita Lorenz, whose teacher education consisted completely of "whole language" methods, and who changed her practice to include more phonics when she began teaching, Alice Michiels had relinquished some of her earlier attachment to "traditional methods"-- methods that were pressed in earlier waves of reform. But she reported phonics was very helpful in teaching reading and writing in Spanish because of "a one to one correspondence in phonemes"--a sound letter correspondence. These traditional methods were also helpful in teaching ESL and in sheltered English techniques, according to Michiels. So, like Anita Lorenz, though Michiels had embraced reforms, she seemed also to "embrace contraries" (Elbow) in her literacy instruction and to maintain her sometimes conflicting commitments in the flux of classroom action (Lampert).

But, for Michiels, more than any other teacher in my subset, changing her mathematics practice seemed to be quite painful. It was the area in which she felt not just uncertain, but uneasy, and even distressed. In this particular instance, her ambivalence was related not simply to competing commitments, but to "unlearning," which in turn involved change and loss--a letting go of some portion of her former "expert" identity. Thus, the process of enacting mathematics reforms was especially difficult on a very personal as well as professional level for Michiels. Some teachers, like Ruth Linn and Kate Jones, were not as committed to change as Michiels; in fact Jones was resisting the reforms until the end of the study. Another teacher in my subset was in the midst of change, but appeared to be taking his attempts somewhat less seriously than Michiels--perhaps because he was teaching first grade. While Anita Lorenz's practice was quite reform oriented, she had learned to teach mathematics in the way of the reforms during her three-year long, post-graduate teacher education program. Monique Ponds did not teach mathematics at Mission. But Alice Michiels did, and she had learned to teach it in a dramatically different way than the reforms pressed.[2] So though she argued with herself as well as with others about her goals and methods--not just in her mathematics teaching, but her Spanish literacy teaching as well--she seemed very uneasy about her math instruction.

After the Conversion, Then What?[3]

In 1992 Alice Michiels married and first heard about the mathematics framework strands: Both events reportedly changed her way of thinking a great deal, "shocked" her in fact. She credits the local county math mentor who, according to Michiels, was trained by Marilyn Burns, with "shocking" her into trying to change her mathematics teaching:

> I realized, oh my God! I've been teaching this old fashioned way. I never knew there was another way . . . That's the only thing I'd ever learned, the traditional way--you teach algorithms . . . In my eyes, I just changed overnight . . . She [the county mathematics instructor] had an extensive background in math. I just couldn't believe it. I was shocked (AM 8/94).

She admitted in the 1994 school year that she was still struggling with that change. Michiels referred frequently to the Maracus United School District's "yellow curriculum book" which compared the "old way of teaching math" on the left side, to the "new way," on the right side: "If you look on the right side [the new way] that's what I'm trying to do now." But it had not been easy for her. She said: "You change little by little. You can't just jump over there. I tried to do that and almost killed myself." She continued:

> I was stressed out because I couldn't do it all . . . they told you here are all the strands. Well, you can't possibly create all the materials for that in a few seconds . . . and you can't possibly know how to do all the replacement units unless you go to . . . the training. So I've been going to the training and learning the different ways. [But] you still have to keep some things in tack while you're working on learning how to teach the new way (AM, 8/94).

An important point here is that Michiels did not have the benefit of learning about these reforms in the context of an ongoing support group of peers and instructors as did Lorenz (and to some extent Ponds and Juan Ramirez). While the curriculum reforms had challenged her assumptions, she had little support for changing her practice. For example, Anita Lorenz changed what she believed about mathematics teaching, perhaps from an "apprenticeship of observation" within a reasonably "safe" context, with lots of social resources for learning: She had access to an ongoing college classroom conversation where she was able to try out new ideas, converse about how they worked in practice, challenge them, and so on--all with continuous feedback from instructors and peers. But Michiels was trying to change her practice without

any models of that practice. She was teaching herself while retaining sole responsibility for her classroom. But both challenge and support of the sort Lorenz had are important when attempting a change of the magnitude Michiels was trying.

Teachers who have made significant changes in their practices have reported how critical such support can be, for not only learning difficult material, but transforming that material into sound pedagogy, all the while maintaining responsibility for a group of students (Ball and Rundquist 1993; Wilson with Miller and Yerkes 1993; Heaton and Lampert 1993). Moreover, Rand researchers found some balance of "pressure and support" was necessary for any successful implementation of planned change (McLaughlin 1987 p. 173). Support included providing for constant interaction and conversation among staff, local development of materials, as well as access to knowledgeable mentors who could respond to concrete classroom problems. In the Rand and other studies, enactors' need for on the job advice--that is, "credible and easily accessible technical assistance "--was common across all "successful change efforts" (Elmore and McLaughlin 1988, p. 46). These are the kind of social resources Anita Lorenz had or created when she was learning to teach.

But Alice Michiels did not have this kind of support or these social resource for learning, and she had to "unlearn" and well as "relearn" central aspects of her instruction. She was not attempting just any kind of change, but one that required her to reconstruct her sense of what it means to do mathematics, as well as to invent new conceptions of teaching. Furthermore, she was an experienced professional with full-time classroom teaching responsibilities when she encountered the reforms. There were huge risks involved in admitting she was once again a novice by choosing to completely

change her practice (Ball and Rundquist; Peterson and Barnes 1996; Cohen and Barnes 1993a). Here Michiels was unlike Anita Lorenz, who gained confidence, a sense of efficacy, and professional identity while practicing in the way of reforms.

While coping with and learning to constructively manage uncertainty is inherent in teaching practice (Lampert; Lipsky; Lortie), that process becomes much more difficult when a teacher is casting aside some portion of her professional self, becoming a novice after years of teaching in order to transform her practice. In the latter case, the uncertainty between the "old" reliable construction of meaning, and the "new" or untried can seem extremely threatening (Marris 1974; Heaton and Lampert 1993). It can produce discomfort akin to grieving (Marris 1974). When change involves loss--even when such change is desired--the "disorientation" can be a source of "profound anxiety" (p. 149). In fact, Michiels' response to curriculum reform in mathematics seemed to cause her a good deal of emotional pain. Her discomfort was apparent in her comments earlier--"I was stressed out" and, "[the change] almost killed me," for example. Further, at one point she confided her belief that she had "hurt" her past students by teaching them to do algorithms by rote methods instead of teaching them to understand mathematical concepts. Michiels worried that perhaps she had "reinforced their misconceptions" as the woman teaching her about the reforms explained she might. In one sense, she was caught in a debate over two views of teaching--those represented, in part, by the CLAS and curriculum guides (in the tradition of Piaget, Vygotsky and Dewey), and those represented, in part, by the CTBS and earlier conceptions of "best practice" (in the tradition of Thorndike and Gagne). In the process of rejecting the latter, she was unsure about the former.

Michiels' reservations and uncertainty about the reforms were not so much a matter of will as of capacity. Nemser (cited in Elmore and McLaughlin 1988) suggests that "survival" is the first stage of development for any teacher tying to cope with the uncertainty of change. Surviving or functioning at even a minimum level requires first being persuaded on the merits of change, which Michiels seem to have been. She embraced the curriculum reforms with a fervor that marked many of her life's choices. But she felt quite unable to do what the reforms required in the domain of mathematics, and she had to learn in the midst of her daily teaching, with only modest resources to support her changing practice. According to Nemser, survival also requires social resources--or feedback from knowledgeable others, time for reflection, and interaction with colleagues. "Mastery" requires "safe rehearsal opportunities" among other learning opportunities, and time for that practice in the company of trusted others (pp. 45-46). These are the same social resources for learning that have been reported by teachers trying to change in the direction of the math reforms (Cohen, McLaughlin, and Talbert 1993) and similar to those reported by teachers where planned change has been "successful" (McLaughlin 1976). Such resources include a "teacher" of the reform as well as a professional community--the latter to provide "scaffolding" for learning, a safe context, and time for trying out new practices, having them challenged, revising them, and trying again. These resources for teacher learning are analogous to the kind of resources the curriculum reforms press teachers to create for student learning.

But neither Laura Mather nor Louise James had the expertise or the learning opportunities themselves to prepare them for the role of instructional leader in the domain of mathematics. The social resources for

learning that they and others had created in the school--time for curriculum development, mentors, a process for specifying the meaning of reforms while reflecting on student work--were directed at the subject matter of science or at literacy. Much of the leadership's time and energy was also aimed at "restructuring" work norms in the early grades: They were pressing teachers to take mutual responsibility for agreed-upon goals in those grades. So while the school culture was changing, those changes did not yet provide Michiels with collegial support that could have bolstered her reform attempts.

The school's leadership did help Michiels by making financial resources available. But while various workshops and a sympathetic school principal seemed to be enough to persuade Michiels to change, they were not enough to support or sustain the learning such change requires. After Michiels' conversion to a new way of teaching mathematics in 1992, Laura Mather helped Michiels buy the books (more than one by Marilyn Burns) replacement units, and other materials she wanted.[4] And Mather provided funds for attending workshops. The MUSD math mentor was one of Michiels' teachers at a district workshop. But Alice Michiels reported attending only one district workshop and a few other county "in-services" on the mathematics reforms. So despite the financial and moral support of her principal and district--more support than many schools offer in the form of curriculum guides, time, funding, and some instruction--Michiels reported needing more help.

During the 1994-1995 school year, Michiels seemed adrift, somewhere "between math facts and math concepts," because when she stopped teaching the facts completely, shortly after her change in beliefs, she noticed "they never did [learn them]." Michiels was struggling, conflicted over what to do in her practice, trying to "unlearn" as well as learn more about the math

reforms. Her internal conflict over her mathematics practice seemed to be exacerbated in part by her Campanero, Kate Jones. She spoke with some disdain about aspects of Jones' style, but then said: "Her CTBS scores are the best." At least four other people at Mission Elementary offered that same information, unsolicited. By all reports, Jones' students scored quite well on standardized tests. Thus, while the school had responded ambitiously to the curriculum reforms, those reforms were still competing with other goals and methods, even after the all-staff decision to forge a clear, shared sense of purpose. Though Laura Mather did observe and converse with Kate Jones about her practice, most of Mather and Louise James' efforts at reform, as noted earlier, were directed toward the lower grades--kindergarten through second.

In the case of Alice Michiels and Kate Jones, competing school and district messages--about the importance of CTBS and the CLAS results, for example-- together with Jones' success in using methods that conflicted with what Michiels was trying to learn, combined to heighten Alice Michiels' ambivalence about her reformed practices. Her ambivalence between the "old' reliable practices she had used to build her sense of efficacy, and the "new", untried, perhaps untrue practices she was working to invent, may have undermined her will to progress to some degree. On the other hand, the many conflicts of conviction between Michiels and Jones also prompted Michiels to think about her practice, and to defend it, perhaps alter it in light of her reflection, all of which can be productive aspects of professional development. Further, such conflicts, by repeatedly challenging deeply held assumptions, might have opened Jones to change, and to the possibility of learning about reformed practices.

While conflict appeared to be quite productive in Jones' case, it did not seem especially productive in Michiels' case; more social resources for learning of the sort outlined earlier were needed for both teachers. In both cases, some agreement on general goals--another kind of social resource--might also have helped. Newmann and Wehlage (1995) assert that "when . . .teachers send clear and consistent messages to one another about . . .methods of learning, learning is more likely because . . .effort can be directed more effectively toward intellectual ends" (p. 31). In the case of Kate Jones and Alice Michiels, while conflict could challenge assumptions and create some dissonance that was productive for Kate Jones, it did not seem to be able to support the further or deeper learning required by the curriculum reforms.

ALICE MICHIELS AND KATE JONES: A CLASH OF ASSUMPTIONS IN CLAS & CTBS

Michiels and Jones (compared to one another, and to Anita Lorenz) are an example of teachers at Mission Elementary who held conflicting beliefs, in this instance about everything from teaching and students to what policy ideas mean, or what to do about them. The differences between the third grade team and what they seemed to believe about instruction and students, interacted with the competing policy assumptions in the CTBS and the CLAS. Together they created quite a competition of ideas as well as conflict during the two years the teachers worked together. The team of Alice Michiels and Kate Jones is an example of conflict that can arise between assumptions represented in CTBS and CLAS, viewed from the classroom perspective of a small instructional team (as opposed to state and national policy debates, school-wide debates, or internal conflict).

When the small group of Title 1 children I observed in Anita Lorenz's room left second grade, those who spoke English went to Kate Jones' third

grade classroom. Jones was by some accounts quite a drill-oriented teacher. By all accounts, she was the most traditional teacher in the subset of teachers in this study at Mission Elementary, and she had resisted the curriculum reforms more than any other. In these behaviors and attitudes, Jones was an outlier on a staff whose central tendency had been to embrace and at least try to practice the curriculum reforms in varying degrees. Still, an observer could find many elements of reform in Kate Jones' literacy practice and conversation.[5] But she clearly tended toward the traditional end of the teaching continuum, as opposed to the reformed end.[6]

Jones' views about teaching and "what students need" differed quite dramatically from Anita Lorenz's views. For example, Jones told me she considered discipline to be one of the most important aspects of life as well as teaching. Anita Lorenz also seemed to have a respect for discipline and structure, but while Jones and Lorenz both talked about classroom management--rules, discipline, and the like--their students' swift transition between blocks of work time was the only way in which their classroom organization seemed similar. When compared to Anita Lorenz, who appeared to be one of the most "reformed" teachers in my subset, Kate Jones' practice appeared quite traditional.

For example, Jones' room was organized in a traditional manner: Rows of desks faced the front toward the teacher. Lorenz organized her students' in small groups facing one another, in order to foster group work and conversation. She expected her children to talk, albeit softly, to help each other, and actually spent considerable time teaching them how. While Jones arranged her students into what she considered heterogeneous groups (within rows) so they could help one another, she seemed to expect that the children would, for the most part, not talk to each other. Lorenz moved

about her classroom, stopping at various desks to talk to students; Jones rarely walked around the room. She sat in the front of the room on a tall, bright-blue directors' chair.[7] While Lorenz (like Michiels, Ponds, Linn and Ramirez) tried to create "authentic" reasons for students to read and write in order to "motivate" them to do so, Jones relied on rules and especially competition to motivate them. She "went by the textbook" more than any other teacher in the subset. Jones, more often than either Lorenz or any of the other teachers in the study, emphasized the mechanics of writing--spelling, punctuation, and so on. The conflicting practices and beliefs go on. So the children who moved from Lorenz's second grade room to Jones' third grade room had to adjust to some real differences.[8] Instructional policies such as curriculum and Title 1 reform looked very different between those two rooms, from one year to the next.

But while Lorenz and Jones did not work together closely, Jones and Alice Michiels did; and their attitudes about teaching seemed to conflict, even more than Jones and Lorenz's. The reforms looked even more different between Kate Jones' and Alice Michiels' rooms, despite the fact that these two were teammates in the Campanero project, and had worked together for two years by the end of this study.[9] While Michiels was struggling with new ways to teach mathematics, the no-nonsense Kate Jones was simply rejecting the new ideas. That had changed by the end of the study, but not before the two decided to part ways. Kate Jones was skeptical about many of the reform ideas that Alice Michiels was using. "Where in the real world would a child find unifix cubes?" she wondered.

Michiels was experimenting with math journals and discussion. She talked about these at the beginning of the year:

> Then I do things like--what is addition. And they write that down [in their journals]. And they would explain their thinking. And then I look at it and I figure out who knows what. . .And then we talk about it a lot . . . We'll do maybe . . . Marilyn Burns' raisin activity so we can work more on the concept [of addition]. And then we'll do the same thing for multiplication. What is multiplication? That's my first one. In the very end, what is multiplication (AM, 8/94).

But while Michiels was learning to do this sort of lesson with her students, Kate Jones was complaining that Michiels' students did not know their "facts." Consistent with her belief that discipline was a key to good teaching, Jones' students knew their multiplication facts better than any others: She drilled them on those facts and others nearly everyday. Michiels talked about her differences with Jones this way:

> This year I'm struggling with [my mathematics teaching] because my partner is using the more traditional approach. So I'm listening to what she's saying. She doesn't do the [framework] strands at all. She doesn't believe in manipulatives . . . We're like day and night. But she does an effective job with them [students]. I don't know. What do you do? Her kids know the facts better than anyone but she drills them into them. I don't know. I don't have that philosophy. I think they're gonna pick it up when they're ready. But . . . I've found that by not [working on the facts] that they . . . never did [learn them]. So I'm kind of . . . in between, kind of in between (AM, 3/95).

Not only do we hear Alice Michiels' ambivalence here, but it seems that her ambivalence is bound up in part in her conflicts and disagreements with Kate Jones. Differences of opinion and practice have the potential to be a resource for learning and scaffolding for teachers, as they were, for example, in the education of Anita Lorenz. But here such disagreements contribute to a somewhat threatening, as opposed to a "safe" context for Alice Michiels to be "rehearsing" her new practices. In this instance, conflict between teachers in a school and district where ideas about best practice still competed, made Michiels' reform work riskier than it might have been in a context where there was school-wide agreement on reform goals. While the school staff was

beginning to work on just such an agreement, at this point, in this third grade classroom, some big disagreements still prevailed. And many of those disagreements--internal as well as between the two teachers--mirror the long-standing debate in this country over the aims and means represented by CTBS and those represented by the CLAS--a debate going back at least to E. L. Thorndike and John Dewey.

Aside from math reform, Michiels and Jones disagreed on almost everything from "what these kids need," to how best to teach them. For example, Michiels has been steeped in the theory and practice of bilingual education--second language learning. Michiels talked frequently about types of communication skills, and methods of teaching ESL--kinesthetic, for example.[10] And she seemed to believe quite strongly that teachers had to connect school knowledge to the cultural knowledge that students brought to school. Michiels had a passion for understanding other cultures in order to make these connections for her students. At the beginning of their partnership, Kate Jones really didn't understand what "all the fuss was about." She seemed to believe that students--all students--could learn "the basics" through self discipline and hard work. (Michiels later changed Jones' mind about this matter, a bit.) Though she had adopted some of the literacy reforms--a version of the writing process, a writing portfolio, required core literature, and so on--Jones' instruction still featured some "basics" that she believed benefited all students--phonics, for example:

> . . . I [always go] back to phonics based[instruction] because I find children--if they can't sound out words; they can't spell; they can't read . . . The more I work with children, the more I see a need for [getting back to basics]. Not everybody agrees with that . . . (KJ 8/94).

Here Jones was talking about a Title 1 student. But phonics was central to her literacy program for all her students and, unlike Michiels, Ponds, Ramirez,

Lorenz, or Linn, Jones did not work to integrate phonics instruction into her reading and writing lessons. Phonics and spelling were much more traditionally separate elements of language arts in Jones' room. Again, Jones' views were rewarded by her students' achievement. In spelling bees, Jones' students sometimes won, even when competing with older students in higher grades---a fact Jones seemed quite proud of and brought up often.

Though Kate Jones talked about cooperative learning--

> . . . Children learn . . . from children . . . [as much as] they do from teachers. I tend not to teach. I tend to facilitate. They have to rely on their neighbor. They have to rely on what they know and you'd be surprised how they help each other because I believe in the team concept. Even though my classroom isn't set up in the groups of four that most people consider cooperative learning (KJ 8/94).

--she most often encouraged competition, or seemed ambivalent about these two. In addition to the spelling bees, Jones' children have competed against the upper grades on "math facts." Jones explained:

> . . . they learn them by rote . . . beginning with [multiplication and going to] long division, which is all the book takes it to . . . you need to reinforce . . . goals . . . through repetition--You're gonna get better the more you practice it is my theory . . . My children will walk out of my class [knowing their math facts] . . . Last year my third graders beat the fourth graders in multiplication facts . . . I . . . found a fourth grade teacher . . . and I said, I'll take your kids on. She said well I don't want to upset your children when they lose. I said no. My kids are good sports and it would be good for them to just . . . say hey, we took on the fourth grade (KJ 8/94).

In these comments, we can hear Jones' penchant for competition as well as her tendency toward drill and practice methods, and following the textbook--all very traditional approaches to teaching mathematics, since Thorndike and before. Here Jones' comment about learning by rote are reminiscent of Thorndike's first law of learning: that is, "exercise."

In contrast to Jones, Alice Michiels tried to avoid drilling students and spoke with disdain about that method, even as she seemed to ruminate over the fact that her students didn't know their "facts." She responded to Jones with pride in her own students' achievement. They could understand what "the facts" meant:

> So my kids may not have memorized stuff like some of her kids have, but they probably can tell you why. I'm going to put this problem on the board five times six--tell me three ways that you can illustrate that? And they will, you know they'll say okay that's five groups of six or that's five circles with six stars in them each (AM 3/95).

Michiels sometimes encouraged multiple answers (though did not seem to be deft at doing so), and she tried to encourage cooperation among her students. To that end she allowed lots of conversation and chatter (sometimes, but not always productive) in her classroom. Jones allowed practically no talking at all, even in her "cooperative learning groups." Michiels' transitions from one lesson to another took a long, long time. Jones' took less than 60 seconds; she set a timer and her students hustled. Michiels' students also hustled when they were in Jones' classroom for "mixed groups."

There were lots of other striking contrasts between Jones and Michiels and these "Campaneros" appeared to have had a rough year working together. The students had to make quite a few adjustments as they traveled back and forth between the rooms as well: To talk or not to talk, that was only one of the questions for these third graders. Michiels and Jones opted to split up their partnership at the end of this school year. But the answer to how this school responded to curriculum reform and how those reforms interacted with categorical programs differed depending upon which of these classrooms an observer might be documenting. Furthermore, their

collaboration provided many examples of their conflicting beliefs about teaching, and about the children they taught.

Here, in the fall of the 1994-1995 school year, Michiels and Jones were having a debate in their classrooms that was in part a reflection of the larger, longer-running debate about education in this country and in California. While Michiels was struggling to change her mathematics teaching to square with the CLAS, that fledgling assessment and what it represented was under attack: It appeared to be losing in the competition of ideas and opinions whirling around California, however temporarily. And by the middle of the school year at Mission Elementary, the school vision seemed to be shifting also, to a narrower conception of instruction. The ongoing negotiations among staff around the school-wide decision to focus on a clear, agreed-upon goal coincided with the demise of the CLAS. Thus, Jones' version of achievement, CTBS scores, was gaining ascendancy, having moved to the "top" of the pyramid in the "new school mission." Further, at this point in the story, the school's leadership was putting its energy elsewhere--beginning the process of developing shared instructional goals, for the most part in kindergarten through second grades.

Because they were, to some extent, on their own, in a school where inherited conceptions of teaching autonomy were only beginning to be transformed, what Jones and Michiels brought to the task of enactment can account in part account for their conflicting views. The disagreements between these two went deeper than the competition of ideas in the school, state, and country over how to best educate America's students. While the central theme in Michiels' teaching might be understanding and respecting different points of view, the central theme in Jones' seems to have been discipline and self reliance. These themes were also central to their lives, and

to the "prior knowledge" they brought with them to Mission Elementary. In this instance, the "content" of the reform as it was enacted at Mission Elementary included at least some portion of their personal histories--what they used to build understanding, enact the reforms, and defend their practices.

The Education of Alice Michiels: Understanding Differences

A cluster of Alice Michiels' recollections surrounding her education, interests, and personal experience form an important theme in her life: that is, a persistent, long-standing attraction to cultures different than her own, especially to Mexican culture and the Spanish language. During the year of my observations, Alice Michiels was 36 years old, slightly built, had long blonde hair, glasses, and a vivacious personality. Michiels repeatedly talked about the importance of understanding and respecting different points of view for the modern California teacher. For example, she said:

> . . . each [culture] has its own values . . . based on it's own cultural perspective, and we need to respect one another . . . we need to listen to what the other one is saying . . . The modern day classroom, the California classroom, does not have all Anglo students. They are a diverse group, and if the teacher is not trained, they are not going to know how to deal with [their students] . . . Your attitude, where you came from, your [cultural] background--[all these] determine the type of learner you will be and [learners from different cultures] are different (AM 3/95).

Michiels' comments here represent a theme in her teaching, as well as her life. That theme is reminiscent of the "different not deficient" theme dating back to Baratz and Baratz in the intellectual history sketched in chapter one--that is, the history of social scientists' attempts to explain the problem of low achievement among poor, minority students. Understanding differences has been a nearly life-long quest for Alice Michiels. She has taken up her quest

with passion. In Michiels' case--she did her undergraduate work before the curriculum reforms held sway in California, and she focused on issues of second language acquisition, not subject matter in her masters program--that quest may have complemented central ideas in the reforms, and opened her mind to learning about them--first in language arts, later in mathematics.

It is understandable that a young girl growing up in southern California might be attracted to such matters as Mexican culture and language, for the cultural heritage of that area of the US has long been intertwined with Mexico's, and the history of the permeable US-Mexican border.[11] Likewise, issues of language and bilingual education, so prominent in public debate in southern California, have been so at least since the Progressive Era. In the 1880s, the railroads made the West more easily accessible, and non-Spanish-speaking Americans from the East began pouring into the area, setting off an argument about the "official" language that continues even today.[12]

Alice Michiels' personal attraction to bilingual issues and Mexican culture was likely fostered in part by the times as well as the places in which she came of age. Michiels grew up in the late sixties and seventies, which locates her in a California elementary school when contemporary bilingual education advocates and Chicano activists launched the Bilingual Education Act of 1968. Passed in the wake of the civil rights movement, that act established the federal involvement in matters of language and schools. Michiels graduated from high school the year after the "Lau Remedies"--the Office of Civil Rights' response to a famous US Supreme Court decision--fueled the spread of bilingual education in the US by asking schools to instruct students in their native language.[13] Furthermore, Michiels was enrolled in California colleges during the years that the federal budget

funding bilingual education peaked. She lives there still, in a southern California town not far from Mission Elementary School.

Given the time and place in which she came of age, it is not surprising that as long as Alice Michiels can remember, she has had an interest in Mexican culture, especially in learning to be a fluent Spanish speaker. In 1976, after taking four years of Spanish in a California high school--coursework that included Spanish camps in the summer--Michiels traveled to Mexico. The trip was a graduation gift from her parents. There she remembers becoming even more captivated with the language and culture of that country. But Michiels enrolled in science courses, not languages, her first year at a junior college. She especially loved chemistry and was counseled toward that as a major. Science is still an important interest in her life: She teaches both her students and her team mate Kate Jones' students that subject, and she is on the PQR science leadership team. About half way into her course of study at a California state university, she decided to become a teacher. Michiels reasoned that education, with a bilingual, multi-cultural focus, would allow her to work with children-- something she enjoyed--as well as use her Spanish and knowledge of Mexican culture. She immersed herself in school, working overtime to make up her language credits. Michiels worked as an aide in a bilingual room mornings in exchange for books and tuition, and she was part of an immersion program in Mexico during the summer. Since that time, Alice Michiels has traveled back to Mexico almost every year and has many friends there.

Michiels' beliefs about bilingual education color the way she thinks about many instructional issues for all her students. She graduated from a California state university in 1982, before the "cognitive revolution" and the standards movement had gained ascendancy in education. As noted earlier,

Michiels' teacher education courses focused on "effective instruction, task analysis, and skill hierarchies"--all key to a traditional "behaviorist" view of teaching and learning that had held sway in the US since before Thorndike. Michiels earned a BA in "Liberal studies with a bilingual emphasis." She began teaching in an "inner city" elementary school which enrolled predominantly black and Hispanic children. Two years later she began her masters program, and after five years earned a masters degree in Teaching English to Speakers of other Languages (TESOL). Her coursework was heavily infused with theory and research about learning in a second language and second language acquisition.

Two brief examples using important life events--her honeymoon and the birth of her first child--highlight Alice Michiels' passion for Mexican culture, and provide some insight into the prominence of the multi-cultural theme in her life, even outside of her education. After teaching Mexican-American elementary students for a few years, Michiels was determined to supplement her social studies unit with a richer depiction of Mexican history and culture. With a great deal of enthusiasm, she began to plan a research project set in Mexico. When the man she was dating proposed to her, Michiels told him "yes, but on the condition we spend our honeymoon in Mexico." They did, and she spent much of it photographing Mayan ruins or reading about that ancient culture. She still uses the fruits of her work from that trip--a slide show of Mexican history and culture accompanied by children's stories--for her social studies lessons.

In 1994 Alice Michiels gave birth to her first child--a girl she is raising to be bilingual. Michiels speaks only in Spanish to her child, and her husband uses English. Michiels thinks of her daughter's language experience as "an experiment in bilingual education." Alice Michiels' "Mexican family"

(the family she has visited every year since high school) came to California to meet her newly born daughter. They stayed with the Michiels for several days and Michiels reported that the visit meant a great deal to her, especially having her "Mexican mother" there.

In one sense, Michiels' history was a resource for changing her practice in the direction of the reform. Like Laura Mather, Anita Lorenz, and Monique Ponds, Alice Michiels' views about bilingual education were entangled in her response to the curriculum reforms. While her views about such matters have been informed by her university education--she cited research and theory more than any other teacher to justify her practice--her personal experiences outside of school have also played a role in her positive response to policy ideals at Mission. For example, one reason Michiels may have been so engaged in the reforms is that her lifelong concern for understanding other points of view melded nicely with the aspects of reforms related to cognitive learning theory. In fact, Michiels mentioned cognitive learning theory in relation to her masters work about learning in a second language:[14] notions such as "building on students' prior knowledge," connecting new information to what a student already understands; or, the idea that learning is a matter of "making sense" of new material, not memorizing it. Those ideas--embedded in a theory that suggests mind develops through culture and social interaction--have been inherited from the work of Vygotsky and expanded in the US by thinkers like Jerome Bruner. These big ideas in the reforms seem to have resonated with Alice Michiels, with the themes in her education and life. Compared to the complexity in Michiels' perspective, Kate Jones seemed to live by a few simple principles.

The Education of Kate Jones: Discipline and Self-reliance

Kate Jones' practice and attitudes about teaching seem to have been filtered through a strong set of beliefs informed by her experience as a military wife, and later as the mother of a military man. Her life has been steeped in military norms, and she seemed convinced that one of the more prominent values of such a life--disciplined behavior--was a key principle to live by, as well as one to guide her teaching choices. From her timer--she allowed exactly 60 seconds for transitions between lessons--to her drills on "math facts" and the many rules that ordered classroom activities, Jones had a strong belief in the benefits of discipline on the lives of children. Not just the "disadvantaged children" she taught, but her own children and grandchildren as well.

A small woman in her early to mid fifties, with graying hair and a somewhat stern manner, Jones repeatedly talked about the importance of fostering the traits of self-reliance and self-motivation in her students (in addition to the benefits of discipline). For example, she said:

> . . . if I can see a child . . . accept responsibility for himself . . . figure out how to do things on his own and make good decisions, that's almost as important as learning how to read and write . . . And I see that happening. They're self-motivated . . . I think all children are if you give them an incentive. And with my kids [competition] is an incentive. Children of eight are very competitive . . . And as long as you can channel that positively you're winning . . . [I tell my students] 'You be the best you can be. It's just like the Army, folks. But be all that you can be' (KJ 8/94).

Jones' comments here are telling, for they might be a pep talk to herself as easily as to her students. Discipline and self-reliance have seen Kate Jones through some trying times. And true to the principles she espouses, she has seized the times of her life--good and bad--and used them for personal growth.

As a military spouse (and later a single mother of two boys) Kate Jones reported moving 20 time in 25 years and steeling herself for each change by imposing rules of order on her family and herself. Self-reliance, self-sufficiency, self-control: all these values were prominent in family routines as well as key themes in Kate Jones' autobiographical reports of her life on the military road. The first rule upon reaching a new home base was to find employment quickly, no matter the location or situation. Through her myriad moves, she has always found work that was interesting to her, and that fed her curiosity.

> When you move, you can't always get back into the federal civil service right away if they don't have a vacancy. So you take whatever is there. Well, I used that opportunity. I'd be interested in medicine, so I'd become a medical secretary (KJ 8/94).

During that time as a military wife, she was a civil service worker for various departments in the federal government. She also sold real estate, and worked as an executive secretary to a "Ted Turner type." She reported that in her professional career she has "done everything, literally everything" and believes that experience serves her well as a teacher. Kate Jones was convinced from her experience that a person can overcome problems through self-discipline, self- reliance and hard work.

Another self-imposed rule in Jones family was to "make the most of any new situation." She took "educational advantage" of the constant moving; that is, she used each location and new job as a learning opportunity for herself and her boys. She hoped to compensate for the disadvantage such moves might cause to her sons' formal education. For example, soon after her divorce in 1968, she moved her two young boys to Washington DC and was "hired at my first interview" as a federal civil servant. While living in DC between 1968 and 1972, Jones took her sons to the Smithsonian every

month and to a city event almost every Saturday. She feels that during those four years in DC "my boys lived American history . . . Resurrection City, Martin Luther King, the marches in '68 . . . My boys saw history" (8/94). Again, Jones reported that personal experience--from travel and living--taught her well.

She raised her two sons essentially by herself--Jones was divorced when they were in middle school--and has helped raise her grandsons. Her son is a US Marine and when he divorced, she followed him to a military based in California near the MUSD, to help with his two boys. In the early eighties Jones volunteered at her grandson's school, became an aide, and a MUSD district secretary. Laura Mather met her and convinced her to go back to college to get a teaching certificate. She did so, graduating from a California university in about 1988, just as the curriculum reforms we taking shape in California. She worked as a substitute teacher, then was hired as a full-time teacher in the MUSD. When I arrived in her classroom in 1994, she had been teaching for five years. Though she was the oldest teacher in my subset, she was not the most experienced.

Jones never mentioned the frameworks or any other aspect of curriculum reforms when talking about her education. She rarely mentioned the curriculum frameworks at all, or details of her education, through three interviews. But the themes of tradition, self-reliance, and discipline were prominent in her autobiographical reports. They were also prominent in the meaning she constructed around curriculum policy, Title 1 reform, and bilingual education as well as in her attitudes about teaching and her practice. While Michiels was trying to understand the ways in which different cultural backgrounds may affect learning, for the most part Jones seemed to expect that all students would learn in similar fashion, including Title 1 students, if they

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were motivated to use self-discipline and work hard. For the most part, Jones had similar expectations for all her students. But those expectations squared with the images of complex performance in the "high standards" reforms less than the expectations of any other teacher in the study--until the end of it when she seemed to be changing her mind.

CONFLICT AND CHANGE: QUESTIONING ASSUMPTIONS AND CONSTRUCTING NEW PRACTICES

From one angle--the view from Kate Jones' life and attitudes--it is surprising that an observer might find any signs of reform in her practice. But an important point in this story of Kate Jones and Alice Michiels is that for all their differences, they still had some aspects of their practice in common. In fact, despite the fierce competition of ideas in and around the school, all the teachers in this study did. Likely the teachers at Mission, with the exception of Jones, had more commonalties among them, than any one of them might have with teachers in a school that had not been exposed to curriculum and Title 1 reform whatsoever (especially a low SES school, with a high minority enrollment).

Two points about Kate Jones' behavior--the behavior of the least reformed teacher in the study--can shed light on what might account for this phenomenon. First, Jones' penchant--as a lifelong military wife and mother--for "following the rules" may account in part for those aspects of her practice that tended toward the reformed end of the continuum. Ironically that penchant prompted this quite conservative teacher to take a look at the new math adoption at the MUSD (near the end of the 1994-1995 school year). That new mathematics program was reasonably consistent with the mathematics framework and curriculum guides, which until that time she seemed to have

ignored. She reported thinking she would like the new program, and was even enthusiastic about it.

Furthermore, district guidelines or "rules" related to curriculum reform have informed Jones' practice, at least to some extent. For example, when she talked about all the writing she asked her students to do, she said, "in this district we have to keep portfolios for the students' records" (3/95). She followed that district rule by collecting numerous and varied writing samples for the students' portfolios. Thus, by "following the rules" she encouraged her students to write often, and for many purposes--a practice consistent with reforms. Likewise, she reported collecting "projects"--samples of students' work in science which was also a requirement--in this case a requirement of the Program Quality Review (PQR) process at Mission. As described in chapter two, Alice Michiels was part of the leadership team for the PQR along with Louise James, the vice principal and the science mentor at Mission. They visited classrooms, observed students' performances, collected student work samples, and asked a set of "essential questions" which they gave to teachers in advance so they could think about their practice in light of them. For example: "What evidence do we have that students are selecting a variety of approaches when solving problems?"[15] The PQR was a process linked to the state school improvement program which Louise James coordinated. While Michiels took most of the responsibility for teaching science to Jones' students, (Jones taught both classrooms music) still Jones reported thinking about student work samples in light of the PQR process, and in planning for the following year when she would be teaching science alone. In all these ways, policy levers and school leadership managed to have some influence on Jones, a teacher whose initial response to reforms seemed to be rejection.

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But a second important point about Kate Jones' behavior related to curriculum reform is that she may have also learned--or opened her mind enough about her teaching to consider changing her practice--because of ongoing arguments with her Compañero, Alice Michiels. Here conflict may have been a resource for change. By the end of the study, Jones was beginning to change her mind about the mathematics reforms, and even to think about adopting more practices consistent with the literacy curriculum reforms: For example, she had decided to "throw out the textbook" next year and use only literature from the library to teach reading and writing--something her partner had been doing for a couple of years. Jones' commented on her decision below:

> You know, textbooks can be deadly dull if you happen to look at one . . . I'm going to work up my own reading list for these children based on what we have in the library . . . and treat [the books] just like a school text--[that is] ask what did you think? How did you feel? . . . Would you recommend it to your friends? . . . You can do that with books, [so that] the next time they go to the library they see a book they are familiar with [and[are more likely to read it (KJ 6/95).

This was a major change in practice for Jones. And it may have been due in part to Michiels, who reported trying to "teach my partner different ways to think about literacy." For instance, Michiels talked about the first year these two teachers "teamed" in the Compañero project at Mission:

> . . . Because [my partner] would stand up in the class and just read from the textbook and wonder why nobody was interested and losing every kid in the class . . . So your kids just don't want to learn? No no no [I'd say] it is the way that you are teaching it (AM 3/95).

Here Michiels was commenting on Jones' ESL instruction during which Michiels' students were instructed by Jones. The two teachers "mixed" their students and they sometimes "exchanged" their students as part of the Compañero arrangement. Thus they had plenty of contact with one another.

Michiels reported another challenge to Jones' assumptions about literacy instruction at the beginning of their second year together. She said:

> My partner still has all her old phonics tapes and she uses those in the classroom because she finds it effective . . . So I [tell her] I don't think you wanna throw it out. I think you just need to contextualize it a little more . . . (AM 8/94).

In these comments, Michiels is pressing Jones more toward the "reformed" end of the continuum by suggesting she "contextualize" her phonics lessons. This notion is bound up with "whole language" theory, or integrated language arguments that want children to learn low-level skills in the context of learning to use language effectively. By midyear Michiels was reporting some demands she was making on Jones related to her ESL instruction and their "mixed group lessons." She reported:

> Because . . . in third grade . . . I am forcing it. I am making her do it that way . . . we are doing a lot of teaming . . . a lot of mixing of the students (AM 3/95).

There are more reports from Michiels in which she recounts challenging Jones on matters of teaching and learning, usually pressing her to consider an aspect of the reforms--in mathematics as well as literacy. As described here and in the earlier section, it appears that Jones and Michiels often argued about such matters as teaching practices--when and how to introduce basic skills, for instance, or students' needs (do they need more discipline or more attempts by teachers at understanding their thinking, for example).

There is evidence that Kate Jones may have been listening to Alice Michiels. For example, when asked how she managed to learn about ESL on the job (she had no preparation for teaching literacy or English to second language learners in her teacher education program) Jones reported:

> For one, you've got a partner like Alice. (Laughs) . . . And Alice will guide you along slowly and patiently . . . But we, together, try to build

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> the English from where the range of our students' needs begin (KJ 3/95).

Though the evidence does not suggest that Alice Michiels was "patient" in her dealings with Kate Jones, there are several other examples of Jones apparently paying attention to Michiels. And after repeatedly having her assumptions challenged, Kate Jones was perhaps beginning to change her mind about some long-held beliefs. That change of mind may in turn have been changing the way she thought about or responded to ideas in the curriculum reforms. For instance, Jones talked one day at the beginning of the year, without prompting, about unquestioned authority versus "critical thinking."[16] The views she expressed were not only atypical for her, but they were offered in the context of talking about Alice Michiels' practice:

> Alice has been teaching conflict resolution where students are taught you don't have to agree . . . All of our lives we're taught to get along and conform, which is wonderful if it works. But sometimes . . . you should be free to say, look you have your right to your opinion but I don't . . . go along with that . . . So we tried it in our room . . . I think I have the . . . responsibility of teaching the children to not always agree . . . Maybe question . . . (KJ 8/94).

This kind of talk goes against the grain of Jones' more typically "military-like" attitudes about discipline, rules, and obedience to authority. She seemed to be more ambivalent here about matters of authority, perhaps questioning her own past attitudes as much as her teaching practice. She may be changing her mind just a bit about an order in which authority is invested in the teacher (or some "other") without question. And her ambivalence on these matters may stem from Alice Michiels' challenges to Jones' assumptions. But more importantly for the argument here: Jones seems to have connected at least some of her questions about authority to her literacy teaching.

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It is here, in her thinking about language arts practices, that she produces something new that may have emerged from her conflicts with Michiels. She continued from her comments above:

> . . . And so that's why I'm showing them through stories and comparing . . . I am trying to get [my students] to judge and compare. I make them question the stories that are in that book . . . if they grow up believing everything that somebody tells them, they're gonna get into trouble . . . So I started to question [this year]. I [said to them] I want you to question. I think that's OK. You have that right . . .(KJ 8/94).

Here Jones does not talk explicitly about wanting students to justify claims using reasoned arguments or textual evidence. But while she does not seem to have yet made the connection between authority and argument, or authority and disciplinary knowledge per se, Jones may be moving closer to the kind of classroom discourse the literacy reformers envision; that is a discourse which requires all students to use language persuasively, to think rigorously, and to communicate effectively.

Likewise, Michiels seemed to have been watching and listening to Jones as well as arguing with her about teaching practice. Near the end of the school year, in the midst of reporting that she and Jones could no longer work together--it was too frustrating--Michiels digressed to report that actually she had learned from Jones, even as she was trying to change her:

> because she's really a mathematically powerful person. She does math a lot [and] she's very good herself in math. But I don't think she realizes that a lot of students don't have that power, and so she can model. She doesn't realize but I tell her . . . and I got some ideas from her. You know the way that she would ask and the kinds of questions she asks are really good . . . when you get to . . . watch each other teach, you pick things out. You can tell each other what you're doing . . . I get a chance to share ideas and we can help each other be better teachers actually (AM 6/95).

Here and in the earlier examples, the themes of adaptation and conflict are intertwined as school staff try to respond to curriculum policy ideas in the

daily work of classroom practice. Though these two teachers argued to the point of disbanding their partnership, in Jones' case especially, Michiels may have supplied "the pressure" Jones needed to begin to invest in the work of changing.[17] At this point, Mission Elementary School's culture was only beginning to change--due to a staff decision and the efforts of Mather to "restructure" that culture--from one in which teachers shared ideas toward one in which critical discussion opened their practices to scrutiny and challenge. But the school's leaders, Laura Mather and Louise James, were investing most of their energy in the lower grades, as noted earlier. And they didn't have expertise or authority in teaching mathematics. Thus, when it came to mathematics, Alice Michiels, who worked with Kate Jones everyday, was in a position to provoke dis-equilibrium and challenge Jones' assumptions more than the school's instructional leaders.

Comparing Kate Jones' Mathematics Practice Over Time

A comparison between Jones' mathematics instruction at the beginning of the school year, and at the end, illustrates not just a change of mind, but an observable change in her practice that may also be due in part to her conflict with Michiels (and in part due to her reading of the new math adoption at the MUSD as noted earlier). Kate Jones' attitudes toward mathematics as well as her mathematics instruction were quite traditional, more so than her language arts teaching. I described her views about mathematics, in part, earlier when contrasting Jones with Michiels. But as a reminder, here is Kate Jones commenting about her practice at the beginning of the school year:

> . . . when I can get a child to do 200 math problems in 30 minutes and cry 'cause I'm making him stop, I'm almost there . . . I just sit back and watch . . . (KJ 8/94).

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Observations confirmed Jones' sense of "successful" mathematics instruction and achievement, which in both her comments above, and the notes below, seems a good distance away from the reforms on any continuum of behavior or belief one might construct.

For example, the two brief excerpts of Jones' practice below are taken from field notes of observations at the beginning of the school year, and at midyear.

The room is quiet, all children are facing the front, pencils in hand. They are working one and two-digit subtraction problems. There are seventy-two problems on the page. The room is almost silent now, except for the very quiet rustling of paper now and then, or the sound of a pencil lightly touching the desks. Occasionally, children hold up a hand and count their fingers . . . 9:15 a bell sounded the end of working on worksheets. Kate said, "you have one minute to read and work the story problem. You have one minute, start now." A minute later, Jones called up a girl to work the problem on the board. The room was still silent. Jones broke the silence to say "a smart third grader will always write the big number first" as the girl wrote the algorithm for the story problem on the board (8/94).	Jones started a timer after asking "okay are you ready." Then, click, "you are on your own." The children are all facing the front of the room. It is very quiet--all are writing . . . Now at 9 AM, as more children finish their work, a few begin to chatter softly. Jones says "there is no talking we're in a test setting." At 9:04 AM, Jones says to the group, "you have one minute." Her comments elicit some sharp intakes of breath from a few kids. One minute later at 9:05, the buzzer goes off and Jones says "you have five minutes to study your spelling words before the biggie." Jones's warning of the impending spelling test seems to propel the children into action. Some pull out their words, papers fly, desks slam, a few begin to chatter with their neighbors . . . Jones says, "shhhhh. I don't understand the talking." They quiet immediately (3/95).

These excerpts of Kate Jones' classroom, along with her comments, show the fast paced, disciplined, drill-oriented aspects her mathematics teaching. These

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characteristics of her practice are far from the instruction and curriculum envisioned by reformers. While at this point in the story, Mission Elementary had not yet adopted its new mathematics program--one that squared with the state frameworks and the reforms--still, most other teachers in my subset were trying out the reforms. A few--Michiels, Lorenz and Juan Ramirez among them--seemed to be trying to practice them to some extent throughout the year. But Kate Jones was resisting them.

She said, "when the teachers first got it [samples of the new mathematics program] I thought, 'oh, my God we're going to play ourselves to death.'" And many of her comments noted earlier were consistent with this negative review of the reforms. Here, unlike Michiels, Jones seemed unwilling to consider changing her practice. She seemed to be interpreting the curriculum reforms as "too easy" or not rigorous enough--an irony given their intent to "raise academic standards for all students."

But the last time I observed Jones, near the end of the year, she was allowing her students to spend quite a bit of time "explaining their thinking" to the class, about how they solved a problem she posed to them. This approach--consistent with Michiels' desire to understand and build on what her students knew--was one that Alice Michiels had used and talked about for some time. Michiels had learned about this particular practice at a county "in-service" on the mathematics frameworks. A short excerpt from Jones' math lesson, on the idea of patterns (in this instance multiples of nine) follows:

> J: "Well I have a much harder pattern here" pointing to the second row of numbers--27,36,45, __, __ . "F (an Hispanic boy), what's our next number going to be?"
> F: 54 (very softly)
> J: and our next number?
> F: 63 (with more confidence in his voice)

> J: how in the world did you figure that one out?
> F: because 27 and then 36 is like going up and then down. Because 27, that's a small number and a big number. And, 36, is a bigger number and a smaller number.
> J: Does anyone else have another way to figure it out. R? (another Hispanic boy) what did you come up with?
> R: 9 times 5 is 45. And 9 x 6 is 54. And 9x7 is 63.
> J: so he used the 9 multiplication facts to get it. B [a poor, Caucasian boy, whose father is in jail] talk to me.
> B: one to the two is 3 and then take away one from the 7 which is 6. And just kept on doing it.
> Jones demonstrated how this might work on the board--adding 1 to the tens and taking 1 away from the 1s. Then she said, That's great! I would have done it the same way, but I would not have done it as quickly as you. They continued with several other patterns and Jones made comments --for example "anyone else do it differently?" Or, "give her some thinking time; don't rush her." Then she asked the students to work on their own to construct number patterns. After a bit she said, "trade" and the kids began trying to work out the patterns their neighbor had traded with them. Finally she called up several students to write their patterns on the board and have the class figure out the pattern. Jones ended this particular segment of the lesson with: "Tell me something that is nothing but number patterns, something you've learned for the past 22 weeks."
> Girl: multiplication?
> J: you got it. Multiplication is nothing but number patterns. You learn one little corner of it and you can really go (Fieldnote, 6/95).

This lesson, while perhaps not a model of rigorous mathematics reform, is nevertheless quite a contrast to the other two lessons from earlier in the year. This lesson differs from the others in several respects: First children in the lesson just above are not silent, while in the first two, for the most part, they were. California's 1987 mathematics model curriculum guide stresses the importance of having students verbalize their thinking because

> putting thoughts into words requires students to organize their thinking and to confront their incomplete understanding. Listening to others affords them the opportunity to contemplate the thinking of others and to consider the implications for their own understanding (p. 14).

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By having her students explain their thinking to the class, Jones was moving a bit closer to the curriculum reform, and to relatively new research that suggests students can learn "cognitive strategies" when such reasoning processes are made public (Porter 1991). Teachers and students can model alternative approaches for attacking a problem situation; this practice not only helps students develop some trust in their own knowledge, but provides an opportunity for students to help "scaffold" tasks for one another. Such "reciprocal teaching" occurs more often through discussion, not one-way transmission. (Means and Knapp 1991; Resnick, Bill, Lesgold, and Leer 1991). Furthermore, according to the curriculum guide, in order to teach students mathematics for understanding," teachers must

> . . . be interested in what students are really thinking and understanding . . . It is through the probing of the students' thinking that we get the information we need to provide appropriate learning experiences (p. 14).

So from the reform's view, not only should students be actively engaged in thinking and talking about math ideas, teachers should probe and listen for clues to understanding. Recent research informing the curriculum reforms suggests that all children arrive at school with some "mathematical knowledge" and teachers can use that knowledge, if they take it seriously, to help children learn more mathematics (Peterson, Fennema, and Carpenter, 1991). From Jones' comments in the follow-up interview it seemed that she was not only encouraging her students to talk a bit--something very unusual in her classroom--but she was actually beginning to listen to her students, and was pleasantly surprised by the range of strategies they employed. Both of these practices--listening to students' thinking and allowing for multiple strategies--are encouraged by reformers (Richards, 1991; NCTM standards). As noted earlier, Alice Michiels reported that she had been encouraging her

students to explain their thinking for some time, as well as "listening for what they understood," trying to connect new information to their "prior knowledge." Jones was aware of Michiels' practices, and may have learned from them, or been convinced to try something new, even as she was arguing with her.

In the later lesson, Jones was also encouraging students to take some time to think about the problems she had set up for them. This too was in contrast to her earlier mathematics practice in which she pressed students to arrive at a memorized answer or use computation procedures swiftly. The latter is reminiscent of Thorndike's laws of learning. But California's model curriculum draws on the intellectual heritage of men such as Piaget, Vygotsky, Dewey, or Bruner when it asserts that "too many students memorize. . .procedures and have no way of making sense out of what they have learned" (p. 10). Findings from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) suggest that while American children are reasonably proficient at computation, they aren't able to make sense out of the procedures they use (Peterson et al.). And, as noted earlier as well as sketched in chapter one, students in high-poverty schools have tended to spend more time on computational tasks than children in schools with more resources (Zucker, 1991).

For these and other reasons, the mathematics curriculum guide suggests students should make connections between big ideas such as patterns, and the arithmetic operations they do, in order to help them "make sense" of such operations. For example, they should understand that by identifying a rule they might "extend a pattern indefinitely" (p. 35). By asking students to predict the numbers that came next in the lists, then explain how they arrived at it, Jones was in the content territory--the "patterns and

functions strand"--of the state model curriculum, and a bit closer to the reformed end of instruction--toward "teaching for understanding" as opposed to drilling students on facts. For Jones, the examples described here ah operations. For example, they should understand that by identifying a rule they might "extend a pattern indefinitely" (p. 35). By asking students to predict the numbers that came next in the lists, then explain how they arrived at it Jones was in the content territory--the "patterns and functions strand"--of the state model curriculum and a bit closer to the reformed end of instruction--toward "teaching for understanding" as opposed to drilling students on facts. For Jones, the examples described here are all moves away from her traditional methods, toward a more reformed conception of mathematics teaching and learning. The move was also toward the kind of practice Michiels had been trying to do for some time.

At the end of the school year, the second year of my study, Jones seemed to be changing her mind about the mathematics reform. During the later math lesson and based on her comments after it, Jones appeared intrigued with what her students were saying and with the idea of learning more. She made comments to her students such as, "I never realized what you guys had in your heads!" And, "you all had a different way of thinking about it!" Contrary to her earlier fear that "we're going to play ourselves to death," Jones reported to me, "when I saw what you actually do with these things [mathematics adoption materials], I can live with all of this . . ." (KJ 6/95).

While Jones seemed to be mustering the "will" to learn more about the reforms, in part because of <u>pressure</u> from her teammate and district policy, she needed more <u>support</u> to develop her "capacity" for practicing in the way of the mathematics reforms. For example, here would have been a perfect

opportunity for a knowledgeable, easily-accessible mentor of the sort described earlier (Heaton and Lampert; Ball and Rundquist; Elmore and McLaughlin) to help Jones build on what she was learning in her classroom--by using the literature on children's thinking and problem solving (Peterson et al.) for one example, or by helping Jones understand more about the nature of mathematics for another (Ball, 1989; Porter). Though Michiels provided Jones with some thoughtful observations of her instruction, Michiels, struggling with the reforms herself, was unable to serve as an authoritative mentor. She was uneasy with her own practice and change attempts. When it came to the mathematics reform, she could challenge Jones, but not support her further learning. When this study concluded, and this particular lens on Mission Elementary left California, Kate Jones was on her way to a district "workshop" on the mathematics reforms, and perhaps with more help, further and deeper changes in her practice.

CONCLUSION

Kate Jones and Alice Michiels demonstrate potential for the reforms, reason for reformers to hope, as well as problems or current obstacles to the instructional reforms growing in schools. First, even Kate Jones, the most traditional teacher in my subset, was opening her mind to change, even changing her behavior a bit, by the end of the study. That seems to indicate reason for optimism. Here is a teacher who reportedly enjoyed mathematics and spent more time on that subject than any other teacher in my subset (at least based on my observations and interviews). But the content of that "time on task" for her students seemed to have been oriented to drill and practice. Though steeped in the military's culture of discipline, by the end of this study Jones was nevertheless questioning the basis of some of her beliefs about

discipline, "critical thinking," and how she spent her teaching time. Second, and importantly, district policy as well as conflicts of conviction--about teaching and what students need--with her teammate may have contributed to Jones' self-questioning. That questioning process may in turn have been changing the way Jones thought about or responded to ideas in the curriculum reforms--both language arts and mathematics.

So an important point here is that conflict was a resource for change. The conflict between Jones and Michiels was in the direction of professional interaction, the norm that research and theory suggest can be a source of learning as well as a means of accountability (Ball 1994; Sykes1990; Little 1990; Newmann and Wehlage). In part, the interactions between Michiels and Jones show how conflict might be productive and how it is embedded in the adaptation process--here in a process that includes a competition of ideas, challenge, negotiation, and adjustments in belief or practice. This discordant and adaptive process is consistent with the idea that "belief can follow action" (McLaughlin 1987; McLaughlin 1990). Jones may be an example of this phenomenon. Due in part to pressure from district policy and her teammate, Kate Jones was trying out some new ideas and practices. Those practices, in turn, intrigued her, may have prompted her to embrace the new ideas even more and take further steps. Jones was "pressured" to try out the reforms by her own penchant for "following the rules." But she also had her assumptions challenged by her teammate. For whatever reason, in trying some new practices--listening to the thinking of her students, for example--she reported feeling less resistant to the reforms.

On the other hand, the reforms face obstacles to becoming more deeply rooted in the practices of these teachers. At the point her internal motivation to change seemed high, Kate Jones needed more instructional support of the

sort outlined earlier in this chapter in order to develop her capacity for actually moving further in the direction of the reforms--especially the mathematics reforms. So did Alice Michiels. A problem here was that the interaction and debate between Jones and Michiels was confined, first by the school's changing, but still somewhat independent work norms--that is, Michiels' interference in Jones' practice was not sanctioned by school norms at this point--second by the still unspecified meaning of mathematics reform; and third by what these two teachers brought to the task of reforming their practices.

The first two points are related, for while the school culture was beginning to change toward professional collaboration at Mission Elementary, much of that difficult work of developing specified and common instructional goals was taking place in the lower grades--kindergarten through second--and for the most part in literacy, not mathematics. Moreover, while the school leadership team was working school-wide with teachers toward specifying the meaning of science reforms through the PQR process, the mathematics reforms were still on the "back burner." Thus, mathematics reforms were still quite open to a wide range of interpretations. So while the debates between Jones and Michiels were productive to some degree in changing Jones' mind about the reforms, their discourse did not range out far enough into the school, nor did it tap into the school's subject matter expert--that is, the representative on the mathematics curriculum committee. The former would have provided more accountability: the pressure of collective staff expectations as a means to judge Jones' or Michiels' personal instructional preferences. The latter could have been the sort of "credible and easily accessible technical assistance " that has been reported to help teachers change--someone to provide advice on concrete problems of

daily practice. Michiels may have felt "safer" to risk progressing on her reform path had she consulted regularly with Mission's mathematics "expert," a knowledgeable practicing teacher with links to district and county expertise.

Mission's mathematics representative had full classroom teaching responsibilities and likely not much time. Participating in the committee work took still more of his time. So more financial resources to release him to spend more time as a mathematics mentor in the school could have helped in this situation. But the norms in the school were also not conducive to teacher consultations and joint work on the core issues of practice. The school culture was only beginning to change toward professional collaboration, where teachers were pressed to open their practices to scrutiny, and to challenge their peers as well as consult them on issues that were at the very heart of their daily work and professional status.

Finally, each of these teachers brought only a portion of the understanding they would need to change their practice: Jones was comfortable with mathematics content, but her conception of authority and the nature of mathematics led her to consider learning a matter of reproducing "the facts." Michiels was uneasy with mathematics, but she understood a good deal about cognitive learning theory, her students, and teaching them to understand subject matter (in language arts and science). A culture of staff interdependence and continuous interaction might have been a more powerful force to transform those differences into opportunities for learning. Unlike Jones, the themes in Michiels' education and life seemed to have opened her mind to the curriculum reforms (including the notion that such reforms were important for all students, even Title 1 students). But she was trying to understand the meaning of reform-oriented mathematics

teaching for her own students, to change her own practice, and to persuade Jones at the same time. Further, she had to "unlearn" as well as "relearn" her mathematics practice because her undergraduate teacher education emphasized "effective instruction" and skills hierarchies. Thus, Michiels' uncertain assertions about reformed mathematics teaching were not always authoritative enough to convince Jones; nor were they sanctioned by school norms. Furthermore, Jones' position in resisting the mathematics reforms was defensible given the school and district context: Her students did well on one measure of achievement both the school and district were pressing--the CTBS. So Jones, while pressured to some extent to try reformed practices, was still reasonably free to choose from an array of instructional ideas in competition with them.

Michiels and Jones were both coping with conflict with only modest support, and without some of the social resources they needed: continuous feedback from authoritative sources--a knowledgeable "teacher" or models; a "safe" context in which to rehearse; the social resource and accountability of agreed upon goals; or serious conversation and problemsolving with other colleagues, in order to turn differences into "scaffolding" for learning (Elmore and McLaughlin; Cohen, McLaughlin and Talbert; Newmann and Wehlage). So although they were at quite different places in their response to curriculum reform--in terms of when and to what extent they had been persuaded to change their practices--both Kate Jones and Alice Michiels needed more guidance, and more opportunities to learn about important ideas in the reforms in order to move beyond where they were. This was especially so in mathematics, less so in language arts. Neither Laura Mather nor her deputies were prepared to provide that guidance in the subject matter of mathematics (though in literacy as it was bound up with bilingual

education, they were more prepared). And, the school mathematics mentor appeared to have little time to devote to instructional guidance.

Matters were complicated further because the mathematics reforms were underspecified by reform documents, albeit for good reasons--these visions of complex instructional performances defy reduction to a list of best practices (Ball 1996; Little 1993). And they were underspecified in the school because staff and leadership efforts were directed toward specifying instructional goals in literacy in the lower grades or science school-wide. Furthermore, the fierce competition of ideas in the district and state continued unabated. While Kate Jones and Alice Michiels were arguing over inherited ideas represented in the CTBS or the CLAS, an ironic shift at the state level may have left them even more uncertain about what to do.

As Michiels was struggling to change her mathematics teaching to square with the CLAS, Louise James was reporting in the fall of 1994, that "the CLAS is dead." That fledgling assessment, as well as the kind of curriculum and instruction it represented, had met with popular and political opposition. California's governor had withheld funds for the CLAS. The MUSD had hired a parent liaison to talk with angry parents who thought the CLAS was teaching their children to disobey traditional secular and religious authorities--parents, clergy, and the like. And Laura Mather reported several meetings with angry parents--parents who argued the CLAS was invading their children's privacy or squashing individual initiative.

By the time the no-nonsense Kate Jones was becoming less resistant to curriculum reform and could have used some help, the agreement over systemic reform in California was breaking down even more. A flurry of debates over the course that California had been taking, along with low NAEP scores in reading and mathematics, prompted the new Superintendent of

Public Instruction in California to appoint task forces charged with incorporating more basic skills into California's curriculum. The curriculum frameworks were coming under attack. Ironically, the demise of the CLAS and the state shifts toward basic skills (however temporary) coincided with the federal call for higher standards (along with coherence) and more rigorous intellectual conceptions of achievement. Thus Kate Jones, Alice Michiels, Anita Lorenz, Monique Ponds, Laura Mather, and Louise James were all left wrestling with the problems of adapting reform principles to practice in a context of political turmoil not uncommon in American education.

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[1]See chapter two for a review of research related to bilingual education and chapters two and three for a review of the "bilingual dilemma."

[2]Juan Ramirez also graduated from college before the reforms had really taken hold, but he remembered learning about the frameworks in his teacher education courses as well as in his graduate work in bilingual education. He also seemed to be less worried about the mathematics reform than Michiels. Though he was adapting ideas from that framework to his classroom instruction, he didn't reported being worried about having "harmed" his students by teaching another way, for example, as Michiels worried. While Jones was in her teacher education program in the eighties, she did not mention the frameworks in conjunction with her education, even once. It seems likely that she learned to teach in much the same way many teachers do; that is from an "apprenticeship of observation" (Lortie 1975).

[3]Mattson (dissertation in progress, Michigan State University, East Lansing) explores the metaphor of educational reform as evangelism. For a teacher, being persuaded to change their core beliefs is akin to a kind of "conversion."

[4]Though Michiels reported finding the mathematics replacement units very helpful, she also said finding the time to learn about and use them was difficult because her new baby was dampening her willingness to put in extremely long days.

[5]For example, talk of cooperative groups, writing portfolios, use of core literature, and so on.

[6]This was especially the case in her mathematics instruction which I take up in more detail in the final section of this chapter.

[7]In part this was because she suffers from emphysema likely due to years of smoking, a habit she was trying to quit.

[8]The small Title 1 group included (except for Gerard and Diane who were pulled out for special education or sent to second grade, though Gerard likely had similar adjustments to make in the RSP room) especially after Monique Ponds left, and they were without her more "reformed" version of literacy instruction.

[9]One reason for the greater difference was related to "class-room management style." Lorenz and Jones were more similar than Michiels and Jones, in this aspect of their practice.

[10]Here is another contrast between the policy ideal and life in Mission Elementary related to ESL instruction. Alice Michiels is highly trained for it but her Compañero Kate Jones is teaching it--poorly--according to Michiels. Michiels illustrates the ideal of a well trained

and certified ESL teacher which is the policy in California. But these teachers are in short supply and at Mission, in the Compañero program, they most often teach in the monolingual Spanish-speaking rooms. They do not teach ESL.

[11]It wasn't until after the Mexican-American war and the ratification of the Treaty of Guadeloupe Hidalgo in 1848 that California became part of the US. Before that it was part of the Republic of Mexico. And, even after the Mexican and Spanish officers left, southern California retained many vestiges of Spanish outposts, including the Spanish language. Missions and other artifacts of Spanish-Mexican influence still dot the landscape of the area around Mission Elementary School serving as physical reminders of the region's cultural heritage.

[12] Background information on the history of Mexican-American relations is from Acuna (1981) and Garcia (1977). History of southern California and the evolution of school systems is from Raftery (1992) and Garcia.

[13] Information on the history of bilingual education is from, National Research Council, The Case of Bilingual Education Strategies. Washington., DC.: National Academy Press, 1992. And, Hakuta (1986).

[14]While Linn, for example, another teacher with a masters in bilingual education, did not.

[15]From a school document titled Essential Questions, Program Quality Review, 1995.

[16]This was the beginning of her second year of teaming with Alice Michiels

[17]As noted earlier, implementation literature as well as literature on teacher learning suggests pressure is needed to bring about a change in behavior, as well as support for learning.

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UNDERSTANDING CURRICULUM REFORM IN ONE SCHOOL: A COMPETITION OF IDEAS AND COMMITMENTS

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CHAPTER 5

CLARITY, COMPLEXITY, AND COLLABORATION: THE TECHNICAL AND SOCIAL TENSIONS OF TRANSFORMING POLICY INTO PRACTICE

Near the end of the 1993-94 school year, the staff at Mission Elementary made an important school-wide decision to "restructure" their Title 1 program, and their mission, first by narrowing and clarifying the school vision, and then by working more collaboratively and coherently toward that vision.[1] That staff decision is consistent with research which suggests professional norms such as mutual obligation for clear goals can improve accountability, as well as organizational capacity for achieving those goals (Purkey and Smith 1983; Little 1990; Lieberman and Miller 1992; Newmann and Wehlage 1995). The decision evolved over time--almost a one-year period. Multiple views of Mission Elementary's changing response to reform, of circumstances leading up to the significant staff decision to change, as well as those following it, offer insights into the adaptation of policy ideals and the process by which one local staff coped with the tensions in such ideals.

The staff had to manage the tensions in reform ideals--between the complexity and ambiguity inherent in practicing the ambitious curriculum reforms and the ideal of clear school level goals, for example, or between commitments to both clarity and collaboration for another. Their choices around those tensions amplified to the school's Title 1 children. And the conflict that surfaced as a consequence of the staff decision to restructure their

Title 1 program provides a window on just how emotionally and politically charged the process of educational reform can be. The staff decision to work toward a common, clear goal amplified existing disagreements between staff, and created new sources of conflict. Likewise, Mission Elementary's bilingual goals interacted with curriculum reform and allowed plenty of room for conflict--that is different interpretations in emphasis and meaning; and disagreements about what to do, how to do it, and when. Enacting these reforms is not simply a technical matter for school leaders and educators: The process involves managing in the face of personal and social quandaries as well.

The difficulty of merging the key ideals of reform into practice with very little guidance and few resources--in the way of experience or knowledge of such tasks, adequate funding, or opportunities to learn--was compounded by a contentious political climate, where people throughout the education system disagreed. For example, in this case, staff attempts at melding the ideal of school-wide coherence with the ideal of complex academic standards--already a very difficult task--were complicated by the state's political turmoil and disagreements over education. Thus, the state and district shift toward standardized tests (however temporary) coincided with the federal call for coherence--an irony, given that coherence in the latter case is related to complex performances and high standards. And staff attempts at melding the ideal of coherent planning--goal clarity and clear measures of results--with the ideal of collaborative staff relations--a very difficult social and personal task--were complicated by long-standing arguments throughout the American education system over the goals and means of education.

THE DECISION TO "RESTRUCTURE" AND ITS AFTERMATH: INVENTING PRACTICE FROM PRINCIPLES

Three points are important to review in the multiple views--from the school level in chapter two and the classroom level in chapter three--of Mission Elementary's response to reforms before the staff decision to restructure their Title 1 program and school mission: First is the staff's general commitment to the organizational, curriculur, and instructional reforms--that is, "high academic standards for all students." Title 1 instruction was less fragmented than it had been before the 1988 amendments, as the staff had for the most part integrated that instruction with the reform-oriented classroom curriculum. Resources from categorical programs had supported that work, as well as other staff efforts to respond quite ambitiously to the call for high standards for all students.

For instance, in chapter two I described how the school's leadership used Title 1 funds to help create a science laboratory and a writing laboratory for school-wide use. According to staff reports and observations, all the school's students, including Title 1 students, were able to use those facilities to hone problem solving skills and improve literacy skills (writing for specific purposes and different audiences). Categorical funds also helped teachers like Anita Lorenz integrate Title 1 instruction into her regular classroom curriculum. In chapter three, for example, Lorenz reported needing more help, but she used the help she did have from her Title 1 aide to support her reform-oriented teaching. Monique Ponds integrated bilingual education, Title 1 instruction and a version of curriculum reform in her small group instruction. Teachers pooled bilingual and Title 1 funds to hire her. Alice Michiels used SIP and Title 1 funds to learn about mathematics reforms, and the school's leadership purchased mathematics manipulatives to support

teachers' reform efforts. There were more examples of general staff commitment to reform supported by categorical resources.

But a second important point to review in the staff's response to reform before their decision to restructure is the difficult, uncertain, and complex performances such a commitment entailed, especially when many of the students were poor, limited-English-speaking children, and bilingual education goals were added to an already complicated mix of ideas. The curriculum reforms are, for the most part, unspecified; the performances they require of both teachers and students are not easily reduced to a list of "best" practices. Rather, such practices are ambiguous and complex (Little 1993; Ball 1996; Sykes 1996). The technology for assessing these kinds of performances has lagged behind the call for high standards and even curriculum development (Little 1993; Cohen 1997). Furthermore, the "technology" of managing schools and instruction as well as the "technology" of instruction are uncertain and complex, but perhaps more so because of the challenging environment in and around Mission Elementary (Cuban 1992; Lampert 1985; Lortie 1975). The context of Mission (including the interaction of multiple policy goals) in interaction with the convictions and understanding that staff brought to the context, created dilemmas for them to "manage," not problems that were easily or finally "solved."

Finally, an important aspect of the environment in and around Mission Elementary before the staff decision to "restructure" their Title 1 program was the general intellectual incoherence in the district and school culture, as well as the political turmoil in the state. Reforms were competing with other aims the district and school staff found compelling--basic skills as represented by the CTBS, for example; "ungraded" developmental instruction for another; ESL instruction for yet another. The unspecified school mission

allowed a wide range of interpretations of a myriad program ideas in the school. And, despite sharing ideas, coordinating some instruction in small grade-level teams, and collaborative school-wide decisions about resources, teachers were more independent than interdependent when it came to specific teaching goals and means, especially across grade levels.[2] The broad nature of the mission, relative staff autonomy, and Laura Mather's leadership style--characterized as democratic, by consensus--seemed to minimize overt staff conflict: Staff could disagree with one another without much need to confront those disagreements, or challenge each others personal instructional preferences across grades levels.

In spite of the lack of clear, common school-wide goals, and the somewhat "laissez-faire" culture typical of most American schools, the school principal, her Title 1 assistant, and at least some of the teachers at Mission were trying to press students, including Title 1 students, toward "achievement" that tended toward high academic standards--that is, toward the complex notions of student performance in the reforms. But their work toward goals in the very ambitious curriculum and Title 1 reforms was challenging for staff and students alike, not only because of the difficult context and the reform's weakly-specified nature, but because they were working with only modest social and financial resources.

For example, before the decision to "restructure" their mission, differences in staff understanding or capacity to enact reforms did not translate into school-wide organizational capacity or scaffolding for learning, because teachers' generally engaged in only modest professional interaction across grade levels. While Mather had hired several reform-minded teachers, as noted earlier, they were working individually or in two-member, grade-level teams more often than not. So they could not always depend on their

colleagues to build on what they had accomplished with students (as in the case of Anita Lorenz and Kate Jones, for instance). Nor could they "teach" what they understood of the reforms to others in any official or sanctioned way (as in the case of Alice Michiels and Kate Jones, for example). Social resources for teaching or learning from the reforms and others tended to be invented by individuals or small teams, ad hoc, without official incentives, rather than available as an integral part of the district system. The exceptions here were the PQR process and the CLAS: both interjected the school leadership's reform views into teachers' autonomous instructional decisions to some degree, and both provided a social resource for teacher learning.[3] But generally, while some staff brought considerable personal resources to the school, those resources remained, for the most part, distributed, isolated, and in most cases partial when compared to the knowledge, skill, and judgment needed to enact curriculum reform.

Moreover while PQR, the CLAS, and the frameworks had the potential to be powerful interventions because they were providing teachers with some of the instructional and curricular resources needed to learn from reforms, during the 1994-1995 school year the authority of each began to be questioned. By the fall of 1994, the CLAS had met with political resistance and technical difficulty: Its future was uncertain, the meaning of the previous years' scores ambiguous at best. By early 1995, the PQR process was under review, and one of the new state superintendent's special task forces was recommending it be eliminated. The same task force wanted to revise the frameworks to include more basic skills. So lack of authoritative, coherent resources--instruction or "curriculum" of the "high standards" policy--made responding to this very difficult reform even more difficult for staff at Mission Elementary..

Then, in 1994, the uncertain elements of the reform agenda were joined by a more technical component: a renewed and rigorous press during the reauthorization of Title 1, tied to Goals 2000 for coherence--clear, common goals and "data driven", school-level, planning.[4] Here some technical guides were available, though mostly in list form and "in principle." More important was the lack of support for school leadership or teachers to learn about merging these different ideals of the reform in workable, school-level, and classroom practices.[5] As described in chapter two, Laura Mather's professional development opportunities related specifically to reforms were similar to most teachers'--that is, fragmented, episodic, and in competition with other district priorities.

Policy Ideals and Practice

Merging reform ideals or principles in practice can be extraordinarily difficult because ideals or principles, while compelling in the abstract, can be in tension at the level of practice. In the case of Mission Elementary, just as bilingual goals and the curriculum reform seemed to sometimes conflict, key ideals in the curriculum and Title 1 reforms also seemed to be at odds. For example, the problem of melding technical coherence (clear goals and measures of "results") at the school level--one key ideal of Goals 2000 and Title 1--with the uncertain, complex performances required in the discipline-based "high standards," (another key ideal of the same reform). The classroom stories in chapter three pointed to the possibility of that tension--between clarity and complex uncertainty--at Mission Elementary, especially when teachers were coping with conflicting commitments and competing ideas. Here the tension is detailed from a view of the school level--that is, the tension between the ideal of clarity on one hand, and the ideal of complex

performances with the accompanying uncertainty such performances seem to entail on the other hand.

But staff had to cope with a second tension as well--one that can arise between two important policy principles found in the effective schools literature; in more recent research on school restructuring (Newmann and Wehlage; Darling-Hammond 1992; Lieberman, Wood, and Falk 1994); and in the Goals 2000/Title 1 initiatives--that is, the problem of working toward a more focused, clear goal, while at the same time moving toward more school-wide, staff collaboration. The latter ideal is difficult without consensus or some sort of shared goals. On the other hand, clarifying and narrowing goals makes consensus very difficult, and thus collaborative relations can become more difficult. While both clarifying goals and working toward more school-wide staff interdependence may make schools "more effective," they also heighten the potential for conflict, which in turn may weaken the collegial, collaborative relations.

At Mission Elementary, when the school mission was vague, teachers did work collaboratively: They made shared decisions about resources and collaborated on various projects to some extent; they agreed on a mission, albeit a vague one; and they collaborated in small grade-level teams. There was little overt conflict, but they were also not working toward a clear, common, school-wide goal. Doing both--pressing toward clarity and school-wide collaboration--requires managing considerable conflict--conflict which can be productive or counterproductive.

April, 1994 - August, 1994
Making the Decison to Change: "A Religious Experience!"

In the spring of 1994, Laura Mather was feeling the pressure of competing aims which, at the district level, had been pressing schools to gear

up for the CLAS, but also wanted them to raise CTBS scores.[6] First, she was especially concerned because her school's mathematics scores on the CLAS were the second lowest in the district (though scores were very low statewide). And second, Mather was troubled by a small study Lyle Bills, her district supervisor, had asked her and other principals to conduct, using not the CLAS, but CTBS scores. Mather reported that after studying her school's CTBS scores: "I couldn't tell Lyle that the students who stayed at Mission for four years scored better than those who did not." Lyle Bills visited Mission Elementary in light of the low scores. He told Mather he saw some good things going on in classrooms, but staff at Mission didn't seem to be working toward a common goal from his perspective--a one-day visit after the CLAS results were available. He told Mather to work on raising the scores in mathematics. An important point to note here is that during this time of concern by Mather and her district supervisor, both Mather and her Title 1 coordinator reported that Mission's scores on the reading and writing portion of the CLAS were "average or above" for the district. But that information seemed to have been lost in the worry over the math CLAS scores and the all-around low CTBS scores.

Mather reported that Bills' assessment was likely correct; even though teachers had agreed upon a school mission, they did not have a common understanding of the mission; they were "going off in all directions" and "doing their own thing." In April, when staff from all the "tracks" at Mission Elementary met to plan for the following year, change in the Title 1 program was at the top of the agenda for Laura Mather and Louise James. Mather shared the comparative CTBS scores with her staff, and they all agreed that Title 1, as it was then configured in the school, did not seem to make a difference in their students' scores. That meeting, together with planning for

a Goals 2000 grant, contributed to a major staff decision to restructure the Title 1 program by first developing a more collaborative, commonly-understood school mission: that is, in Little's (1990) terms, by moving in the direction of "mutual obligation" for school goals, toward interdependence, and away from independence. Second, over the span of a few months during the process of planning for the Goals 2000 grant, staff developed an even narrower, technically-coherent goal which, for political as well as technical reasons, became, in effect, raising CTBS scores in reading.

Mather and James had been trying to build agreement for change, and initially the decision to restructure Title 1 around a narrower (less vague), more commonly-held vision--"literacy by the end of first grade"--was by all accounts collaborative and by consensus: All staff agreed to the new plan and helped to design it. First, staff decided to concentrate all Title 1 resources in the early grades--kindergarten, first and second--in order to both prevent later learning problems and serve the narrowed, school-wide focus of literacy by the end of grade one.[7] Upper grade teachers--led by a third grade teacher who Mather had hired--offered to give up their Title 1 resources to the primary grades, reasoning that they would benefit in the long run by inheriting students who could read. The third, fourth, and fifth grade teachers gave up their space, their aides, and their Title 1 teachers. Next, Mather asked the kindergarten teachers to work for an hour each day with Title 1 first graders in order to provide those students with some continuity from kindergarten to first grade, and again, to serve the new school focus of "literacy."[8] With a minimal amount of debate, kindergarten teachers agreed to help first grade teachers, and the staff seemed on their way to embracing a truly collaborative attitude across grade levels. Mather and James were ebullient, and likened the planning meeting and the new Title 1 plan to a "religious experience."

Mather was proud of her staff and convinced the change would be good for all students at Mission Elementary, in the long view. Every report by Mather, James, and staff alike suggested that the new school vision was shared, the plan was collaboratively constructed, and, for the most part, camaraderie reigned in the school.

But that state of affairs at Mission Elementary School turned out to be an idyllic interlude. Much of the work entailed in this staff decision to change would be an entirely new experience for Mission's staff. So when Kate Jones was still resisting the mathematics reforms, and to some extent the literacy reforms at the end of the 1993/1994 school year, Mission Elementary was in the midst of a momentous decision that would have consequences beyond what most staff seemed aware of at the time. Rather than adding new ideas about educating children to inherited, sometimes contradictory, ones, the staff decision to restructure would begin to radically change their daily work ,and thus a portion of their lives. It would change the fabric of the schools' social relations--pressing teachers to challenge one another and defend their practices that had, for the most part, been unquestioned. It would ask for sacrifices from upper-grade teachers and students in the service of a collective goal. And those sacrifices, in part due to Mission's transient students, would become more difficult than many staff seemed to understand at the time of the meeting. For example, some third and fourth grade students transferred to Mission still unable to read even a few words. Under the new plan, upper-grade teachers would lose the tutor they had had for these children--a Title 1 teacher for an hour, three days a week. Finally, the decision to restructure would challenge established routines and personally-held beliefs about the nature of teaching, curriculum, and so on.

But Laura Mather was steeling herself to press for these changes, even though such pressure was quite a change in leadership style for her. Her resolve to do so was bolstered by a talk Michael Fullan gave in a workshop at a ASCD conference. She reported: "I only needed 15 % of these people to agree with me," and, "Fullan said some things are worth fighting for" (5/9). But neither her reports of that workshop nor the reform documents she later encountered detailed or dwelled much at all on the social conflict that can burst out of the contradiction and ambivalence of change (Marris 1974). Mather had to manage that conflict with little support and very little guidance over the course of the 1994-1995 school year. She was still doing so when I left Mission Elementary.

September, 1994 - January, 1995
Goal Clarity And Collaboration: "If Looks Could Kill, I'd Be Dead."

-- Juan Ramirez, reporting on one of several staff meetings beginning fall of 1994

Conflict erupted soon after the plan became more than an abstract agreement, even though it represented a significant staff attempt to move toward school-level coherence--that is, goal clarity and school-wide collaboration informed by research and "student data." The new plan had increased the potential for conflict on two fronts: first because of the increased specificity in the school mission. The new mission would not accommodate as much variation in interpretation as the earlier, vague mission. At the same time, the "mutual obligation" or "interdependence" among the staff, especially kindergarten, first, and second grade teachers, also increased. That too increased the potential for conflict. After the decision, teachers at Mission Elementary had to interact more often; they had to talk about and come to some understanding of the variations in opinion about

the meaning of their decision to change the school's Title 1 program. But none of these matters or new obligations seemed to be readily apparent to teachers until the plan was actually put into practice in the fall of 1994. Norms consisting of non-interference in colleagues' instructional decisions have long been at the heart of most teachers' work, and Mission Elementary was no exception. Though some teachers at Mission had learned different norms--for instance, Anita Lorenz's reports of daily interaction with peers over core teaching issues during her teacher education studies--for many at Mission, the new norms their school-wide decision was pressing were a radical departure from past experience.

Laura Mather's new leadership stance was another factor that likely contributed to the social conflict at Mission. To move her staff toward change, she imposed some portion of the new plan, or at least used her authority more than was her usual style. Mather really pressed kindergarten teachers to follow their students to first grade in the service of the new literacy goal: She pressed the norm of more interdependence between teachers across grade levels; and she wanted kindergarten teachers to provide tutoring to their former students, now in first grade and struggling to read. While it might have been difficult to disagree in the midst of a large group, it seems likely that several of the kindergarten teachers were not happy with the new arrangement. Finally, it is important to note that at least some of the conflict that ensued from the new Title 1 plan would have been avoided had there been more financial resources available to the staff--that is, enough funding to hire quality personnel so that the upper grades could have received help from Title 1 teachers, as well as the lower grades.[9]

Resources at the school, though more than some schools enjoy, were nevertheless modest when compared to the size of the school, the pupil-

teacher ratio, and the difficulty of teaching a "rich, meaning-centered curriculum" to all students. The reauthorization of Title 1 in 1994 had a positive effect on Mission's Title 1 budget. The district reduced the number of schools designated to receive Title 1 funds by two. Thus Mission, a high-poverty school, stood to gain nearly $74,000 in fiscal year 1995-1996. That would have covered additional tutoring time in the upper grades third through fifth, and still allowed staff to concentrate some resources in the lower grades. But, during the two years of this study--1993-94 and 1994-95--the staff reported the school's Title 1 budget was distributed thinly across all grades, and was not enough to provide meaningful help in some of them. So there were trade-offs between the staff's coherent response to reform--concentrating resources and prioritizing goals to focus on improving literacy in the lower grades--and practical constraints in the school (limited funding for one, a transient study body for another).

Three instances of social conflict that ensued from the decision to restructure Title 1 are explored below: First, beginning in early fall, most kindergarten teachers resisted aspects of the new plan, especially those that required extra effort and time on their part. Conflicting convictions finally erupted in a series of emotionally-charged meetings and union intervention. Second, the primary grades disagreed over how to use their new-found assets, and on the meaning of developmental education and curriculum standards--ideals that had been in tension for some time at Mission, but apparently not argued over. Finally, the upper grades began to feel the loss of their resources--they wanted help now, not later. Their choice to forgo Title 1 resources in the service of a coherent school plan had consequences for their classrooms and Title 1 instruction--consequences that became much more clearly defined once they were living with them.

In September, one month after the new plan began at Mission, conflict erupted when kindergarten teachers--all but Anita Lorenz who had recently transferred to that grade from second grade--filed a grievance with their union over Mather's insistence that they work an extra hour in first grade in exchange for an extra Title 1 aide. Now the district contract has several paragraphs--coined the "Miss Laura" section by Mather's principals group--defining what a principal can or can not ask a kindergarten teacher do. Anita Lorenz's recalcitrance in that union matter resulted in a name calling session at a staff meeting. Another kindergarten teacher accused Lorenz of capitulating to extra demands; she called Lorenz a "wimp" for doing so. According to several reports, Anita Lorenz was angry. She disagreed with the other teachers and had reported thinking the new plan to follow students across kindergarten and first grades was "important." Further, she interpreted the new plan to mean the early primary teachers--kindergarten and first--should be mutually responsible for the new school goal of literacy by the end of the first grade, in exchange for their extra resources. She reported:

> . . . there are too many people who gave up their rights to have an aide and [other resources] . . . for the people [in primary grades] not to be accountable (AL 5/94).

But other kindergarten teachers disagreed with Lorenz and Laura Mather at a September staff meeting where the conflict escalated. Mather reported on that meeting:

> . . . it was so bad. They [other kindergarten teachers] were being so mean to Anita . . . [because] . . . [she] was the first one who started [the new plan] . . . Anita said . . . 'it's working fine for me.' That was the wrong thing to say because they [the other kindergarten teachers] didn't want it to happen. So it got real nasty . . . I was so angry. I slammed my hand down on the table and I said, 'that's it, I have had enough . . . Everything that I've ever wanted to do is to . . . make a difference for children . . . I thought we could try to make this work' . . . And my

> voice caught and I got up and I stormed across the room, went into James' office, slammed the door, sat down in her chair and started to cry (LM 6/95).

One of Anita Lorenz's friends reported that Lorenz told her the meeting "was brutal, really brutal." These accounts provide a window on just how emotionally and politically charged the process of educational reform can be. These are not simply technical matters for school leaders: They involve personal and social quandaries as well.

But the accounts also illustrate aspects of the norm of teacher professionalism--something reformers are pressing. True to her declaration that she did not want to work in isolation, Anita Lorenz seemed quite willing to take professional responsibility for a shared goal with the first grade teachers--that is, the goal of ensuring that all students could read and write by the end of first grade. Remember: she had even talked to the first grade teacher about a similar goal when she was still teaching second grade. Then she had pressed her colleague to try "mak[ing] it a goal that all . . . children can write a complete sentence when they come into my class at the beginning of the year" (6/94). Now, as a new kindergarten teacher, she was sticking with the professional stance she seemed to have brought with her to Mission Elementary:

> . . . my . . . expectations [are] . . . to team with the other grade levels and the other people in my [grade level unit] . . . I do not wish [to be] isolated. I want to be with my peers . . . and work in a team (AL 6/94).

The sort of professional collegiality that Lorenz's attitudes show--collective responsibility for student learning--when it goes to the heart of instructional decisions and daily practice can improve the capacity of schools as well as individual teachers (Sykes 1990; darling-Hammond 1992b; little 1990). And it

has been found to improve student performance in some schools (Newmann and Wehlage; Purkey and Smith 1983; 1985).

But just as teachers at Mission reported cooperative work among students did not come naturally, so too have researchers found that teacher collaboration and public discussion focused on student learning does not happen naturally. Lorenz, for example, reported taking care to teach her students how to help one another on academic tasks. Students had to learn how to be productive in such learning groups. Teacher collaboration also "requires a great deal of organizational and individual learning" (Lieberman and Miller 1992, p. 32). Teachers who move from the isolation of personal classroom decisions to a more professional, public arena have quite an adjustment to make. Still, the kindergarten teachers in this school (with the exception of Lorenz) seemed unwilling to consider a norm that would constrain their actions, even in the service of improving student achievement--at least not quickly. They resorted to the authority of collective bargaining instead.

In this case, working less independently and clarifying goals meant confrontation. Laura Mather was not used to such confrontation with her staff; and with more experience she might have tried to find some middle ground, some compromise during this series of emotional meetings. Or, had the school actually substituted "collective autonomy" (Little 1990)--that is, school-based accountability--for the norm of individual autonomy, Mather may have had more room for productive action. In this latter instance, individual practices would be publicly considered as a routine matter. The authority of teachers--deliberating over defensible practices using the "good for students" standard Mather evoked earlier--may have substituted for the clash of authority between the union and "management" that ensued here.

But in this latter instance, structural changes at the district and cultural changes at the school would have been necessary to bolster the rhetoric of "site-based management." At this point in the story, the former had not been considered (Mather was bound by district collective bargaining and union rules) and the latter--cultural change in the school--though underway, was in its early stages. Further, Laura Mather was learning about the difficulties of conflict and how to manage it productively, merely through on-the-job experience beginning in September. She had little or no "instruction" and no "curriculum" as guides. Such guides, in the form of an instructional conversation with veterans knowledgeable about school change, may have helped Mather guide her staff as they developed and enforced the norms of authority and professional practice. Or a mentor on school change might have helped her anticipate the conflict and manage it fruitfully. Such conflict can be an opportunity to learn when channeled into productive conversation.

Nevertheless, finding common ground around a sharply-focused goal, especially in matters affecting the personal and professional lives of teachers, is not easy. Consensus and goal clarity can be at odds with one another (Purkey and Smith). This principal had to try to manage the tensions between these two ideals. The task is perhaps made more difficult by a practical constraint: Principals work with union rules, and manage staff they have not hired. For example, Laura Mather had hired Anita Lorenz and the first grade teachers who all seemed to have at least similar conceptions of the new plan. But Mather inherited the other kindergarten teachers--those who dissented once the plan was underway. Whether or not their reasons for dissent were well-founded (these teachers cited research evidence when making their case) it may be easier for leaders to forge a common vision among those they have a hand in hiring (Newmann and Wehlage). Further,

the process of radically changing the work norms in this school created new demands on the teachers with whom Mather might have previously been quite satisfied. But to some extent, the work of forging common visions and mutual responsibility among staff in this case, collided with problems outside the control of the school leader. Structural changes, such as site-based autonomy in support of a collective staff accountability, may have helped, as may have some guidance on the problem of coping with the conflict embedded in change. These social resources for change were missing at Mission and at the MUSD, though Mather was trying to invent some of them.

But the problems surrounding some teachers' resistance to the new plan wasn't the only conflict in the air. Clarifying the school goal and working less independently had also begun to surface teachers' conflicting interpretations of the meaning of that goal, thus making consensus more difficult than it was when the plan was first developed in April of the previous school year. First grade and kindergarten teachers began to openly disagree over the meaning of developmental education and curriculum standards; therefore, they disagreed over the common goal they thought they had earlier agreed upon--literacy by the end of first grade--and what methods they might use to collaboratively achieve that goal. With the new, narrower, school-wide focus, teachers across grade levels had to confront their disagreements at the concrete level of day to day instructional decisions. In doing so they discovered another source of conflict: who should use their newly acquired, shared Title 1 resources and when? Deciding what to do about such conflicts, was a painful, difficult process, one that made "collaboration" in some respects more difficult than it had been with the vague school mission.

For Juan Ramirez, a young Latino, hired by Mather to teach first grade, the matter of his students' school success was worth the fight, no matter the pain and difficulty involved. He, unlike the kindergarten teachers, liked the new plan. But he vehemently disagreed with most of Mission's kindergarten teachers' conception of developmentally-appropriate instruction and curriculum standards. His perspective illustrates another view of the difficulties involved in working toward a clear, common goal when teachers disagree. At the end of the first year, he said:

> . . . one thing that has been very very difficult this year is . . . trying to rebuild so that we can work collectively [in] kindergarten through second grade . . . After alienating the K[indergarten] teachers at the beginning of this year . . . we are working to rebuild and trying to break down that alienation . . . it's been difficult . . . In essence [some kindergarten teachers] have become so accustomed to not teaching they don't want to teach, and that's how I see it. That was where I stuck my foot in my mouth. I have a teacher who is sending me students saying that the instrument [Title 1 assessment] is invalid because the material it covers hasn't been taught. [I said] 'Then why am I wasting my time [screening Title 1 students] if [the curriculum] is not being taught and if you are not . . . doing your job . . . In other districts where I've taught K[indergarten], my kids at the end of their year were reading. adding and subtracting. Here they know five vowels for God sake, five vowels a, e, i, o, u' . . . If looks could kill I would have been dead (JR 6/95).

This emotionally-charged disagreement illustrates the heightened potential for conflict when teachers move toward working more interdependently. Ramirez believed in a particular conception of literacy by the end of first grade. Now, under the new plan, he felt more dependent on the support of the kindergarten teachers to reach that goal. But he was dismayed to realize they did not agree with his conception of academic standards (what children should be able to do by the end of kindergarten and first grade) or developmental education (what methods are appropriate and when). He began to articulate the strong feelings he had about such matters in public

meetings. By several reports, the kindergarten teachers felt just as strongly about their views.

In the comments just above and below, Ramirez articulates his sense of "high standards," developmental instruction, and a shared obligation for the new school goal of literacy. His comments show at least some portion of the kindergarten teachers' views as well. Because of these different convictions about teaching and standards, Ramirez didn't think the kindergarten teachers should receive the extra resources "if you're not going to be utilizing them the way they should be." Because, he said:

> . . . the burden comes down on first grade . . . to create a group of kids that are literate--that's the whole goal now . . . well, that's been a site goal . . . research shows that if a child can become literate by first grade, then the focus is not learning how to read, but in learning from reading . . . If the burden is going to come to first grade, then I need to be supported by K[indergarten] . . . Now I don't expect the kids to write a paragraph. But I do [expect} those kids [to] be reading and writing and subtracting which is the most important thing that they should leave K [indergarten] with . . . [But, some teachers] hide behind these buzz words developmentally [appropriate]. Well, developmental means so much [to different people]. And [to me] it doesn't mean that you sit around and you play all day . . . No. It means that from day one you give [students] the opportunity to write and express themselves [in many ways]. But as. . . [they] develop the ability to go from exploratory expression on paper . . . to conventional writing: that's developmental! But so many people misinterpret the buzz words . . .(JR 6/95).

As for one of the kindergarten teachers who interpreted the developmental philosophy differently, Ramirez said:

> I . . . feel that her standards just aren't high enough . . . I think that she expects too little. I think that she really doesn't challenge these kids enough, and, by the time I get them they're already a year behind.

In Ramirez's comments, there are multiple conflicts of meaning and belief between him and other teachers over competing instructional ideas that is, grade-level standards and developmental methods, for example. And, his struggle with the other teachers demonstrates the tension that can arise

between goal clarity and staff collaboration. The drive toward goal clarity can make consensus more difficult; the lack of consensus can make collaboration more difficult. In this case, conflicts of interpretation surfaced as staff moved away from both their abstract school vision and the school norm of independence. Teachers began to disagree with each other over what developmentally appropriate means, and what to do about instruction in relation to that ideal. Teachers disagreed over the meaning of high academic standards and how to best work toward them. They disagreed over when to work toward them, and when children might be capable of mastering those standards. These are some of the same arguments that Anita Lorenz, Monique Ponds, and Alice Michiels were having--not with others, but with themselves. They were ambivalent and worked to balance the tensions between competing instructional ideas as well as competing commitments to their students.

The kindergarten teachers, in citing research that supported their view of developmental instruction, might have been drawing on theory and research from the broader social science, policy debate which has included some of these tensions as well. For example, some researchers and educators building on the contributions of the developmental psychologist Piaget, argue that motivation is key to young children learning to read, that is, interest in reading is an important determinant of reading or writing "readiness."[10] From this view, pressing a child to perform according to some standard beyond their "developmental capacity" leads to frustration and low self-esteem on the part of the learner, not to higher levels of performance. Moreover, some researchers argue that the school curriculum continues to be "pushed down" from the higher grades to kindergarten, to the detriment of young children (Shepard and Smith 1988). So educators across the system do

disagree about these matters, but when teachers disagree this strongly, working together toward a common goal is much more difficult than simply debating over what should be done.

Coping with conflict was embedded in the process of adapting ideals to practice at Mission Elementary. Here the social interaction of these teachers is beginning to move in the direction of a new norm for this school--a norm that requires public debate over practices and beliefs in order to integrate and defend them. This process has the potential to create social resources for change--for example, mutual understanding and professional accountability to one another for student performance. Such social resources can become a kind of scaffolding for teaching and teacher learning. In the latter instance, teachers can instruct one another and press for thoughtful defense of ideas and practice. In the former instance, teachers can contribute to one anothers efficacy through mutual obligation to students throughout the school (Newmann and Wehlagae 1995; Lieberman, Wood and Falk 1994; Little 1990). But inventing radical new norms without some guidance is not easy, and not without pitfalls. As in the case of Alice Michiels and Kate Jones, the debate between these teachers holds the potential to be counterproductive as well as productive.

The ideal of long-range, rational planning versus practical constraints

A final instance of school-level conflict that emerged after the staff decision to restructure shows how the difficulty of melding reform ideals in practice--already considerable--is also compounded by practical constraints (in this instance only modest financial resources and a transient student body). Initially, when devising their new school plan, the staff reasoned their Title 1 students were not going to "catch up," based on the comparative CTBS scores

Mather and James had shown them. Staff also made their judgments on research evidence arguing for a concentrated effort at prevention over later remedial work. Here is a seemingly rational, "student data driven" and research-based decision on the part of a staff working together in the service of a clear "school-wide" goal--all part of the coherence and collaboration ideals pressed by reforms.

But it didn't take long for the upper grade teachers to learn that the practical consequences of the plan were not to their liking. They began to feel the loss of their resources. Teachers in third, fourth, and fifth grades began to feel they couldn't wait for the positive results of their long-range collaborative planning--that is, of finally getting students who could read. One reason was that new students transferred into Mission very often. Some of those students were old enough to be placed in the upper grades; still they were unable to read even a word. The upper grades wanted help now. They began to complain. Louise James reported on a midyear staff meeting:

> . . . upper grade [teachers] said . . . 'we gave up this personnel for you. Is it working? Does it matter? How is it? . . . Because we're floundering up there.' See, they're feeling the lack of support (LJ 3/95).

Alice Michiels, the third grade bilingual teacher who agreed to the plan even though she lost her resources, felt the loss way before midyear. She said:

> Well, the weaknesses [in the plan] were [apparent] immediate[ly]. We had no help in the upper grades and so we were feeling really frustrated, trying to do everything and . . . having . . . kids that were like fish out of water, obviously not functioning. We could have sent them back [to second grade] but that's really hard on their [self-esteem] (AM 3/95).

In this instance of social conflict following the decision to "restructure", the staff at Mission had to balance the trade-offs between their response--a plan which seemed to meld the reform ideals of coherence and collaboration--and the practical problem of too few financial resources and a transient student

body. An important point here is that staff choices or strategies--whatever they may be--amplify to the school's children, thus further compounding the difficulty of managing in the face of the dilemmas they encountered.[11]

Managing conflict in pursuit of a common vision

Collaborative work and clear goals are compelling policy ideals, informed by social science research. But in this study, Laura Mather and her staff had the very difficult task of managing the tensions that can arise from trying to meld these policy ideals in practice. In all of the conflict examples above, Laura Mather and her staff were wrestling with the practical consequences of their decision to work more interdependently on a more focused, clear, goal. Coping with conflict was embedded in the process of adapting ideals to practice at Mission Elementary.

They were also wrestling with divergent conceptions of professional norms, which the decision to restructure forced them to confront. In the first instance, the traditional norm of collective bargaining was pitted against the norm of professional accountability to peers when the loss of individual choice was apparently too costly to some kindergarten teachers. In the second instance, the staff was moving out of the isolation of the classroom into the arena of professional debate. Here again, the norm of individual preference was challenged by teachers who had committed to a mutual goal, but who could not agree with some colleagues over the meaning of that goal. Ramirez took his responsibility to improve the performance of all his students seriously, but felt he was dependent upon other teachers to accomplish his goal. He could not accept the performance of some colleagues, and confronted them over issues at the heart of their practices. Like Anita Lorenz, his behavior is unusual when compared to teachers in most schools.

In the third instance, teachers who had sacrificed for the collective goal of improving all students' literacy skills--also a new norm in this school where equitable distribution of resources had been the norm--found it very difficult to watch particular students flounder every day (another sort of professional norm--that is, responsibility to their own individual students). While the former contributes to coherent planning and is sound in principle--personal sacrifice for the potential larger good--the latter--a desire to respond to the needs of individual students--is a powerful influence on teachers (Lortie 1975; Lipskey 1980; Jackson 1968). And with good reason. Teaching is not just personal, but an interpersonal profession. Together, Mather, Lorenz, Ramirez, Michiels, and a few other teachers that Mather had hired were introducing a new notion of what it means to teach into Mission Elementary; and in doing so, they had the potential to enrich the school's social resources for change. But the need to manage or cope with conflict was a key aspect of the new social relations they were creating.

Mather pressed forward with the original plan the group had decided upon in April, despite the emotional conflict and lack of consensus. So on one hand, the decision to concentrate resources in the early grades, to clarify their goals, and to take mutual responsibility for them may have caused so much agitation that the school's social fabric was damaged, and the new mission along with it. Some teachers, mostly those Mather had inherited rather than hired, continued to resist it. On the other hand, if Laura Mather had waited for everyone on her staff to agree, perhaps the staff would never move forward with a coherent plan to improve achievement.[12] The hard work of inventing new norms required balancing tensions in reform ideals: Pressing toward clarity and away from the unspecified mission, while at the same time pressing for some agreement, was contentious work. It had both

the potential to produce social resources for learning and change, as well as the potential to be counterproductive to the new goal of "collaboration."

Here it seems that Mather was faced with another quandary in her leadership. When should a leader use her authority in the service of the "content" of a new reform--a particular conception of achievement, for example-- and when should she encourage shared authority--the "co-construction" of school goals in order to foster a sense of mutual obligation. How might she move forward despite strong disagreements? These are difficult questions without easy "solutions." There are trade-offs to manage, no matter the choices a leader might make. In the midst of the social turmoil that had erupted at Mission, Juan Ramirez had a solution which he shared:

> . . . I say take a hike! Laura has talked about creating a magnet school with a common vision . . . What do you do [to] get a forum of teachers who all believe in the same philosophy? You adopt a goal, a vision, and you start to structure your school to meet that vision. Those who do not want to participate in it, well . . . the door . . . swings both ways. There are other jobs. If they don't want to teach that way or buy into that philosophy, there is somebody out there at another school who does (JR 6/95).

As noted earlier, there is some evidence that Ramirez' revolutionary suggestion is sensible. Newmann and Wehlage synthesized findings of research on reform by the Center on Organization and Restructuring of Schools (CORS) at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. Schools the CORS researchers judged to be "successful"--that is, schools that had restructured their school organization and curriculum in the direction of reforms, and whose students' achievement improved based on "authentic" measures--were all either schools of choice (both for students and faculty) or newly formed "charter schools" in which the staff viewed their freedom to select teachers who embraced the schools' vision as a key factor in their "success." These schools had managed to forge clear, shared goals and to work

interdependently to achieve them. But Mission Elementary's staff was a mix of people Laura Mather had hired, and those she had inherited.

January, 1995 - June, 1995
Shifting Politics and Shifting Pedagogy: Clarity or Complex Uncertainty?

Personal and social conflict in the school interacted with social conflict in the state and district. In this study, staff attempts at melding the ideal of coherence with the ideal of complex academic standards, already a very difficult task, were complicated by the state's contentious political environment and disagreements over education. Thus a state and district shift toward standardized tests coincided with the federal call for coherence--an irony, given that coherence in the latter case is related to complex performances and high standards.[13] By January, messages from the Goals 2000 initiative, in combination with several other forces, seemed to contribute to a staff shift toward an even narrower school mission--raising CTBS scores in reading--which in turn may have created a school climate less conducive to innovation and the complex, unspecified nature of instructional reforms for all children. Several forces likely contributed to the narrowing focus at Mission Elementary.[14]

First, the above mentioned political conflict over education in California was escalating; the policy context was shifting in some quarters toward an emphasis on basic skills. Second, the primary message of Goals 2000, as interpreted by district staff and Mission Elementary's leadership, seemed to be technical coherence--the importance of a strategy based on clearly articulated goals, informed by "data" from frequent monitoring of students. Third, another set of CTBS scores showed dismal results. Mather was depressed about the scores, and felt pressure from the district office to act.

Third, the sense of pressure from the district was no doubt intensified because her mentor and the female superintendent of the district, resigned, taking with her the district curriculum and assessment director--a woman who had supported the curriculum reforms and generally, the assumptions in the CLAS. This point in the story of one school's response to curriculum reform seemed to be a critical period of transition or ambiguity over education goals--in the district as well as the state.

One important result of the escalating conflict over education in California was the demise of the CLAS, California's recent and short-lived effort at aligning assessment with high intellectual standards of student achievement. The CLAS had run into popular and state-level political resistance, and by fall of 1994, Louise James reported from Mission Elementary: "the CLAS is dead." The results from the 1993-94 school year had arrived in February and were non-existent for Mission Elementary because of a small sample size. MUSD's school board had actively opposed most of the assumptions in the CLAS, as did many other school boards in southern California, and they had required that parents formally "opt in" before their child could take the test. Not many did. Another consequence of the contentiousness in the MUSD was that the superintendent resigned in frustration, after much disagreement with her school board, over the reform agenda and a myriad other issues. She and her deputy for curriculum and assessment had generally supported the curriculum reforms in the district. Mather considered the superintendent "a mentor," and "very supportive." Now it seemed that support for innovation was evaporating, or at least temporarily some confusion reigned in the MUSD.

Aside from political conflict, messages from the Goals 2000 initiative and the district office seemed to contribute to the narrower school mission.

One important message the school and district leadership received from the planning and application process for Goals 2000 was the importance of clearly articulated goals, based on "student data" and "accountability" for "results."[15] For example, Mather attended a Goals 2000 grant planning meeting at which Delaine Eastin, California's new state superintendent, pressed for a new state focus on "literacy achievement"--more specifically, raising NAEP scores in reading and writing. California's had been among the lowest in the nation. Second, the Goals 2000 grant criteria Mather received referred often to coherence, clarity, "data based" decisions, and accountability--all sensible suggestions for school level and district planning. Third, Mather attended a grant scoring session for Goals 2000 and reported "all the best grants" had "clearly articulated goals." She reported that reading those grants "was the best professional development opportunity I've ever had."

Finally, her district supervisor Lyle Bills suggested that Mather take the opportunity of applying for a Goals 2000 grant to "restructure" around "the assessment piece." When she returned from the Goals 2000 state meeting, Mather organized a series of school-level assessment and planning meetings to prepare for the Goals 2000 grant process. From those meetings an even narrower mission than the earlier "literacy by the end of first grade" emerged. Now the school mission was "achievement in literacy"--which in effect seemed to mean raising CTBS scores in reading.

When asked if Mission Elementary staff saw a connection between Goals 2000 and the reauthorized Title 1, Louise James, the Title 1 coordinator, explained it this way :

> . . . [Goals 2000] is connected [to the Title 1 program] in that it's a . . . unifying agent . . . it's a way to focus everybody's attention on achievement at this school, because our scores are low and they don't look good up against others . . . Laura has given this particular chart to

> teachers--a composite of where all the children are on each track based on CTBS, of where they are by quartile and what their average quartile score was . . .(LJ 6/95).

One way to account for this further shift toward an even narrower school focus is to consider disagreements across the education system. In California, messages from state policy instruments, district staff, and state-level officials shifted in the direction of basic skills and standardized test results. At least that is the manner in which they seem to have been interpreted. That shift intersected, ironically, with the simultaneous but contrary shift in policy goals at the federal level. While federal planners wanted the Title 1 reauthorization and the Goals 2000 initiative to press toward complex intellectual instruction and curriculum for all students (a move in the direction California had been traveling for some time), the headline policy messages in California began to shift toward a more traditional position of improving basic skills.

For example, at this point in the story, the CLAS no longer mattered the way it had earlier at Mission Elementary. California's Governor was withholding funding for it. Mission Elementary's scores were nonexistent because the school board actively resisted the ideals in the CLAS. The Superintendent and staff who had supported curriculum reforms were gone. Mather's district supervisor seems to have been pressing on standardized test results. And the new state superintendent seems to have been doing likewise--at least she was interpreted as such after the Goals 2000 meeting. If state and district pressures are considered layers in a system that have at least some effects on schools, all were moving away, at least temporarily, from what the CLAS represented--ambitious instructional reform.[16]

One effect of this general trend was to diminish some of the conflicting messages in the air. Another was to cut short the learning opportunities staff

and leadership at Mission might have had if the CLAS had persisted. While assessments may not "drive" instruction, they can challenge assumptions and provide the "text" for teachers' learning about instructional reform (Cohen and Hill 1997; Cohen and Barnes 1993a). The latter had begun at Mission. Louise James was one of more than 2,000 teachers in California who gathered to examine and score the CLAS statewide. She in turn worked with teachers at Mission to create rubrics based on the framework and Missions' students' work. Teachers then scored other students using those rubrics to gain a sense of the kind of performances the CLAS would assess. In these "workshops", teachers at Mission had the opportunity to think about specific kinds of student performances in light of a standard aligned with the state frameworks. A recent study of California mathematics reform found that such learning opportunities for teachers--when they were focused on content that students study and aligned with assessments--also paid off for students with increased scores (Cohen and Hill). But concern over learning about or from the CLAS ended when that controversial assessment "died," however temporarily.

Another way to account for the shift is to consider the tension between elements of the reforms, between the ideal of school-level coherence--goal clarity based on student monitoring and "results"--and the ideal of complex academic standards. In part this problem becomes a "catch--22" because much of the research on what makes schools effective is based on standardized conceptions of student achievement. So while not necessarily at odds, it is not difficult to see the problems that might emerge in managing these two policy ideals of school- level planning--which includes goal clarity and accountability for "results"--and ambitious curriculum reforms when the latter in effect requires very complex instructional and student performances.

Saying both are important is one matter; putting them into practice another, because the complexity of "results" in the latter instance is not a good fit with the technical practices used to assess "results" in the former instance.

First, for example, the current reforms envision teachers making judgments based on curriculum content, their students, and other context-dependent factors. Ambiguity and complexity, not technical clarity, are inherent features of this intellectually-demanding kind of practice (Little 1993; Lampert) for students as well as teachers. So while Anita Lorenz thought regularly about what would constitute good student work, not only was she ambivalent about what such work would mean in her classroom of diverse children, but her "results"--demonstrations of conceptual understanding or reasoning skills, for instance-- tended to be difficult to capture in school-level or district-level aggregates. Technical advancements in assessments that do capture open-ended reasoning in math or writing samples have lagged behind curriculum development and the press toward high standards (Little 1993; Cohen 1997). While California's learning assessment (CLAS) was one attempt to measure more complex performances by students, it met with many technical as well as political difficulties. For the most part, state and local policy makers still rely on standardized tests for measuring "results" and school level improvement.[17]

But standardized tests--while technically sound and suitable for reporting school or district-level student data--embody a view of schooling that competes with the reforms, as sketched in chapters one and two. For example, results on the CTBS would show how well Mission's students perform, relative to national averages of other students' performances, not how all students compare to Mission's reform-oriented curriculum goals or the state curriculum frameworks. And the kind of work expected by the

CTBS is different from the kind of work the reforms embody. The latter assumes that a curriculum should be "meaning centered," and thus that teachers should take up only a few topics, or big ideas, each for substantial periods of time in order to foster conceptual understanding in students. This is the kind of goal Alice Michiels reported having in mind when she planned to spend considerable time on a few problems aimed at helping her students make sense of multiplication, of what it means to do multiplication. But the CTBS assumes a more rapid coverage of a greater number of topics, in less depth. The reforms want students to think critically about the material they read and to demonstrate complicated academic performances. The CTBS encourages reproducing the "right" answer to problems. So, for example, Kate Jones' students were rewarded with high scores for practicing multiplication "facts." The divergent expectations go on, and trying to work coherently toward both kinds of "results"--ambitious complex outcomes based on specific curriculum standards as well as basic skills referenced to national student averages--can be an exercise in coping with contradiction.

Laura Mather and the staff at Mission were coping with this kind of tension, and had to decide what to do when key technical elements in the "systemic reform" puzzle--the CLAS for example--were missing, in part because of the contentious state and district environment. When ambitious, complex reforms make their way into a school such as Mission Elementary in the company of mixed messages and without the accompanying tools--in this case, an assessment aligned with the curriculum goals, for example; or learning opportunities that acknowledge the uncertain and rigorous nature of the instructional reform for another--they are, in effect, not very coherent themselves. Yet these reforms wanted a coherent strategy from schools. When pressed to act, and to plan coherently for improvement based on

"student data," this school and district responded by using what they had available to them (just as the Chapter 1 Handbook suggest they do). They used CTBS scores.

Striving for clarity related to a specified goal centered on "results" at the school level lead to a more pronounced focus on a standardized version of student performance. Here coherence at the school level tended to press practices that moved away from, not toward the complex performances in the reforms. In this study, the schools' decision to press toward, clarity--a sharpened, narrower focus and a more coherent school improvement strategy-- not only surfaced conflict, but might have also had the unintended consequence of casting success so narrowly it will shift staff energies away from curriculum reform ideas. Though Mather was still committed to performance-based assessments, and those are included in the mix of the new vision, without the CLAS or something similar, the district and state will likely measure school improvement using standardized test scores.

THE INTERACTION OF BILINGUAL POLICY AND CURRICULUM REFORM: MORE CONFLICTS OF OPINION

As other chapters have demonstrated, at Mission Elementary, working more interdependently on clear goals was complicated by bilingual goals; and it was made more difficult because teachers disagreed over those goals. For example, Monique Ponds, the Title 1 bilingual teacher introduced in chapter three, worried aloud quite often that Ruth Linn was introducing English "too soon." On this matter she agreed quite strongly with her mentor, the third grade bilingual teacher Alice Michiels. On the other hand, Juan Ramirez and Ruth Linn, both bilingual teachers, agreed in their disagreement with the district (and school) policy of "late transition" to English-speaking rooms.

Linn especially disagreed quite strongly with the district and school's bilingual policy on the matter of timing:

> . . . our school district adopts a late exit philosophy based on his (Ramirez's) research. [But] that's where my conflict [with the district policy] comes in . . . (RL 6/94).

They both argued that children who speak Spanish ought to be exposed to more English, earlier. They both practiced what they preached, moving from Spanish to English and back, in their classrooms. They reported that many of their students were able to speak English (and use it) quite well when they left second grade. But they complained that their efforts were dismantled when third grade teachers such as Alice Michiels received the students.

Michiels sometimes argued that young Spanish speakers should use only Spanish to learn for conceptual understanding--her masters degree taught her so--therefore she used mostly Spanish in her classroom. She cited James Cummins, Kenji Hakuta, and the Ramirez study to support her practice.[18] Though Michiels' ambivalence was growing when it came to the native language versus English controversy, in her practice, she was generally consistent with district policy. According to that policy, children were to stay in Spanish-speaking classrooms until they were reading and writing at grade level in Spanish (at least at the 75th percentile) using the district's third grade basal reader test. And they needed to score as a "fluent English speaker" on the English fluency test.[19]

While both Juan Ramirez and Ruth Linn disagreed with the district policy on the matter of timing, they did so for different reasons. They agreed in their disagreement with Michiels and Ponds--who they thought did not provide enough English instruction to second and third grade students--but Juan Ramirez disagreed with Ruth Linn on her reasoning for wanting an earlier "exist program."

Linn seemed to believe in part that some Spanish-speaking children would never achieve at a level high enough to meet the district standards for transition. She said:

> . . . there are some students who will never meet the district's criteria for transition--They actually have a transition team that you have to go and present your case to--so how many years are you going to [wait]? . . . (RL 6/94).

But Juan Ramirez reported the bilingual program at Mission allowed, even fostered, standards that were too low for Spanish-speaking kids. According to both Ramirez and Mather, some teachers at Mission did not have high enough expectations for Spanish-speaking students (even though Mather pressed for equitable treatment). This belief on the part of Mather and Ramirez was one source of the conflict between the kindergarten teachers and the first grade teachers that erupted when the school began to live with the new plan which required mutual obligation for literacy standards.

Success, according to Ramirez, meant students achieving at high levels in at least one language, just as he did in school. But he argued that many bilingual teachers were not prepared to teach to high standards in Spanish; and that the district had no supporting networks once students left Mission Elementary for junior high school. For example, on the first point, he said:

> . . . take a poll sometime, and find out how many bilingual teachers actually pick up Spanish literature on weekends or just to read for pleasure [in Spanish] . . . the percentage would be less than . . . three or two or one percent . . . Most of the Spanish that the bilingual teachers speak is . . . very . . . superficial . . . It's not a very proficient language base in Spanish, and yet they're expected to develop some very high-order skills in Spanish. Then at the same time they've got English [to teach]. It's a burnout . . . There are a lot of teachers who learn Spanish in an academic setting with those contrived dialogues. "Hola, Paco, que tal?" [But] . . . you can't teach poetry if you don't have . . . the language (JR 3/95).

On the second point, he explained:

> the district says that we have a [language] maintenance program. Well, if that was true then these children would have a support network when they went to middle school, [but that is] nonexistent. So . . . we really need to create a model that will bring success to these children (JR 6/95).

So unlike Ruth Linn's reasoning for wanting to teach English to her second graders--they may never perform well enough in any language to qualify for transition to English--Ramirez thought using English sooner would help Spanish-speaking students achieve to higher standards later.

Not only did teachers disagree over bilingual goals--just as they did over the new Title 1 plan--the ideal on which the bilingual program at Mission was based`` clashed with practical circumstances at the school (just as some of the ideals in Reading Recovery did in chapter three). Once again, rational planning was thwarted by practical realities which staff grew to understand over time. For example, Linn reported the Compañero project at Mission was "a really workable model" the first year of this study (RL 5/93); a year later, after working with it for a while, she argued: "The model only works if you do the model" (RL 6/94). She claimed it was especially difficult to implement "the model" at schools such as Mission because:

> the model only works if you have parents who buy it. The model only works if you have 50/50 [Spanish speakers and English speakers]. The model only works if you have parents . . . that . . . are not going to move to a new school every month . . . It's not a revolving-door policy, where any kid who comes into the door we're going to plug him into that program, even though he hadn't been in a program since kindergarten. And unless you have teachers that believe [in the model] from kindergarten through fifth grade, every time you bust your butt to do it right the next teacher is going to undo everything you did anyway (RL 6/94).

By the end of the 1994-1995 school year, both Linn and Mather reported that staff at Mission were questioning the extant bilingual program. Linn said:

> the struggle we're having at our school right now is we've decided that this Compañero thing doesn't work anymore . . . if you only have the kids five hours a day and three of them have to be in language and two of them have to be integrated with other kids, you have to figure out, 'how am I gonna integrate students and fulfill the conditions [for teaching core curriculum in the primary language] at the same time?' (RL 6/94).

In Linn's comments from the two excerpts just above and in her earlier comments, there are multiple points relating to the themes in this study. First, collaboration on clear, agreed-upon goals is difficult when teachers disagree over the meaning of multiple policies and what to do about them. Such collaboration requires managing conflict, working toward some shared understanding, and coping with problems for which there are no easy solutions. Second, sometimes the policy ideals conflict with practical considerations in school practices; staff learn about those conflicts, in part, through experience, over time. Here is another example of long range planning based on research--the Compañero project--that seems to be at odds with the problem of student transience (just as the plan to concentrate resources in the lower grades tended to be). And, again, as in the "restructuring" plan, a lack of consensus about goals across grade levels made collaboration difficult. Conflict was embedded in the process of adapting ideals to practice at Mission Elementary.

PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL SOURCES OF CONFLICT

Personal sources of meaning informed, the conflict at Mission Elementary--as much as tensions between policy ideals, clashes between the ideal and the practical, or the strain of new work norms. While conflict in schools which are trying to change is widely reported, I found very few reports about the difficulties involved in trying to work interdependently on a focused, clear goal from the "ground" view--that is, from a view of people

like Juan Ramirez, Alice Michiels, Anita Lorenz, Laura Mather or Louise James--those who are doing the work. Collaboration and clarity of vision are compelling policy ideals and two standards of professionalism. Still it is not surprising that social conflict emerged as part of this difficult process, given the practical constraints of modest resources and the nature of teaching: It is to some degree deeply personal and teachers hold conflicting convictions about the meaning of policy ideas or how best to teach their students. As previous research has shown (Ball and Rundquist, 1993; Wilson, with Miller, and Yerkes, 1993; Heaton and Lampert, 1993; Fullan with Stiegelbauer 1991) and as this study is showing, research knowledge notwithstanding, strong opinion-informing practice sometimes goes to the very heart of educators' lives.

But in a professional community, teachers lose the freedom to act solely on strong personal belief. Under the new norm of professionalism, authority is consensually validated; personal choices are publicly examined; and teachers' attitudes, practices, or both become accountable to colleagues (Sykes 1990; Little 1990). Among the "psychological costs" (p. 521) of collaboration on clear instructional goals for teachers is coping with challenges over issues that heretofore had been personal matters. The staff at Mission were wrestling with divergent conceptions--ranging toward inherited norms to radically new ones--of what it means to teach, to lead, and to work in schools. In some instances individual propensity or experience staff brought to the school melded well with the demands of the professionalism norm that Mather, James, and a few staff were trying to introduce at Mission Elementary: rigorous collaboration toward agreed-upon academic goals for all students. In other cases, the new norm, radical for most schools, clashed with those same aspects of the personal "resources"

Mission's staff brought to the task of enacting reform. In both instances, the new social relations were a way to manage conflict, but also a source of conflict.

A Personal and Professional Take on Policy Principles: Juan Ramirez, First Generation American

Juan Ramirez's conception of academic standards was informed in part by his life experience, and also by his personal convictions. His parents emigrated from Mexico and he lived in a Los Angeles barrio for some time. He talked about his students and the standards he sets for them in light of his own life:

> Most of my kids, their parents had them when they were fifteen, sixteen. They were children having children . . . And [their] level of education is . . . very low. Their expectations [for] being able to even leave the barrio and make it? They don't think that they really can do it . . . That really affects the way [students] think . . . But I do believe [they can make it out] because I'm a case of that. That's why I teach. That's why I don't live in the barrio anymore. Because I believe in myself . . . They [his students] need to be exposed to somebody who. . . can aspire (JR 3/95).

In Ramirez's case, aspiring to high standards of achievement for his students seems to be a very personal matter. Collaborating with others around a clear goal might have been a matter of compromising deeply personal convictions bound up in his identity. But his attitudes also square nicely with the professional norm of not only holding high academic expectations for all students, but of taking professional responsibility for meeting those expectations. Thus Ramirez was, in some respects, a leader for the reform norms: For personal as well as professional reasons, he was ready to fight for his standard of student achievement and teaching.

Another young teacher hired by Laura Mather in her attempt to improve Mission Elementary, Juan Ramirez is a Mexican-American in his

mid-thirties who exudes youthful energy: He is in constant motion, rarely seated at his desk, and always speaks with enthusiasm. For example, to gain his students' attention, he often asked with vigor, in either Spanish or English, "Are you ready to rock and roll!?" And they would say, "yeessss" back to him. A handsome man, with a deep complexion and dark hair, Mr. Ramirez dresses informally, often wearing khaki shorts, a casual shirt, and tennis shoes to class. He speaks quickly and with animation while moving around the room talking to students, or pacing in front of the chalkboard.

He is married to an Anglo woman who is by several reports a "gifted elementary school teacher." They met while teaching and Ramirez reported that they both take their teaching very seriously. Ramirez and his wife are also avid surfers, and they often "catch the waves" off the beaches near their home. He reported having a passion for surfing and was proud of his wife who, in his eyes, was excellent at that sport which pits personal stamina and skill against the forces of nature. Ramirez drew a parallel between surfing and teaching: Both require ambition, self-reliance, and individual strength; both are independent activities in which individual talents come to bear on the problem at hand.

The immigrant story: Self-reliance, aspiration and achievement

Juan Ramirez's family story is one of ambition, self-reliance, and achievement as well. His grandfather was killed in the Mexican revolution, and Ramirez's parents immigrated to this country from Mexico. An estimated 700,000 Mexicans left that country during and after the revolution, many of them locating in the southwestern US--in states such as New Mexico, Texas, and California (Garcia and Shaftel 1972; Garcia 1977; San Miguel 1987).[20] Another wave of immigration to the US from Mexico

occurred when W.W. II created labor shortages, and the US government, encouraged by farmers and industrialists, recruited workers from Mexico. But by 1960, around the year that Juan Ramirez was born in California, the census documented the dire straits of many Mexican Americans: Their per capita income was just $968, compared to $2,047 for Anglos. And Mexican Americans had, on average, four years less education than Anglos, as well as a higher unemployment rate. More than half nationwide held unskilled jobs (Garcia). Over 80% of the Mexican-American population in America at that time lived in urban areas. Juan Ramirez's parents were one such family. They were living in a barrio of East Los Angeles.

Ramirez's father was opposed to higher education, and considered those who read a lot to be "whimsical" or "not hard workers." Juan Ramirez reported that his father made his way in America by just that: ambition and hard work. He became a business owner; he now owns a restaurant and tortilla factory. Ramirez worked in that business while in high school, and his father thought he would eventually go to work there as an adult. But Juan Ramirez enjoyed reading; he read all the time and decided he wanted to go to college. So he left home, applied and received loans, participated in a "work-study" program, and eventually graduated. Though Ramirez rebelled from his father's chosen course, still, the older man's values of self-reliance and hard work remained important in Juan Ramirez's life. So did his father's mix of common sense and ambition.

Ramirez attended college at the end of the seventies decade and during the early eighties. He was a music major (he considers himself a tenor) at a California state university, and he reported having studied the curriculum frameworks in college. He feels strongest in his knowledge of language arts reforms. He has a masters degree in bilingual education, and studied the

language arts framework in undergraduate school as well as when he was earning his masters. Though he doesn't consider mathematics a big strength and isn't as familiar with that framework as with language arts, he was assigned to the district's mathematics curriculum committee. So (in the 1994-1995 school year) he was becoming more familiar with the 1991 math reform and reported it was "a welcomed change." Juan Ramirez, like Monique Ponds, Anita Lorenz, and others in this study began teaching school on an emergency credential because of California's need for teachers, especially bilingual or ESL teachers. While teaching, he earned his masters degree in bilingual education from the same state university he had attended as an undergraduate.

Self-reliance versus group advocacy

Ramirez remembers being influenced a great deal by the sixties era, though he was quite young at the time, because many of his close family members came of age then. He said "I saw friends and family leave for Vietnam and come back in a shoe box." He talked about the protests and the drugs, and said that living in an Los Angeles barrio in the sixties helped him to understand what some of his students experience today. But social action and group protests did not impress him. He reported watching during his college years as "group movements swallowed up" his friends--that is, took their energy and time, but accomplished very little.

> . . . people want to be radical and talk big . . . but they do nothing . . . [My friends] lost their scholarships because . . . they thought it was much more important to go out and boycott grapes. Well, you go to college to educate yourself. You relish that experience and then you make something of that . . . And if you really want to help other people you put yourself in a position to do that . . . you don't have to necessarily affiliate yourself with a movement . . . And that's why I don't like movements as a whole (JR 6/94).

Unlike Laura Mather, who found power in group advocacy and whose activism grew out of the sixties, Juan Ramirez, a young child in the sixties, rebelled against the seventies "multi-cultural" movement. He vowed to work as an individual and not wear his minority status "on his lapel." He said:

> There [were] many movements out there, but I felt that I could contribute so much more by just working with people and not being dictated to as to how I should act or talk . . . I believe I can do a lot more by myself . . .(JR 6/94).

His comments above and below show a resistance to group work or identification. And they show that he took his education very seriously. He was proud of not having majored in "Chicano studies"--a program of study he considered a cop out.

> I'm very proud to say I've only taken one [Chicano cultural studies] class . . . some people my color immersed themselves in [such classes], sort of taking the easy way out . . .(JR 6/94)

And, during his college years, while many of his friends were taking to the streets and fields in protest, he was planning his future. It was then, while volunteering in a school, that he decided to teach elementary school--against his father's wishes--and spent his spare time studying history.

Ramirez was not the only student in the seventies and eighties taking stock of future employment opportunities, rejecting the activism of the sixties (Glazer 1885).[21] The seventies had ushered in a conservative reaction to the sixties decade. Further, an economic recession had hit the country between 1973-1975 (Danziger and Gottschalk 1995; Dickstein 1989). So, for example, unlike students in the more economically abundant sixties, many students on college campuses in the seventies and eighties tended to enroll in "bread and butter" courses that would lead to secure employment; they also become more competitive for grades that would testify to their employability

(Dickstein). Juan Ramirez was a music major, but he was thinking also about how to turn his degree into his future "bread and butter"--that is, a teaching job.

Though Ramirez wanted to use his education to get ahead and favored working alone to group advocacy, still he was concerned about social change and progress for Mexican Americans. Another reason Ramirez decided to teach was to help other Mexican Americans "get ahead" through education, just as he was doing. And in 1994, Ramirez defended new arrivals to California from Mexico, people who work in the fields of southern California. He said, "they're doing the work no one else will do." In fact, Ramirez was quite passionate about improving conditions for "his group" and decided to teach elementary school as an alternative to fomenting revolution (he reported to me). Ramirez still believes teaching is a powerful force for change:

> I guess that is why I [decided to] teach . . . I really believe in revolution because it's romantic; [but] it's only an ideal . . . When you get down to reality . . . historically . . . if you want to see progress . . . in France, in Mexico, and China; it was all born in the universities, the schools; that's where all the minds are . . . and it is a powerful place . . . (JR 6/94).

Juan Ramirez continued by defending his position on the cause of Mexican Americans today, a position he says has really "cost him" in the eyes of others in his community.

> . . . I'm a first generation American . . . But I don't see the need to carry it on my lapel . . . There are some people who say I do nothing [for my group] . . . Well, my philosophy is, I teach; I show. I teach my kids how to be resourceful, how to educate themselves, how to be able to help themselves, and then hopefully, if they succeed, they will help someone else. . . (JR 6/94)

So Ramirez chose teaching in part to secure employment and in part to promote individual and social change--but in the latter instance, on a one-to-

one basis rather through group force, through gradual change as opposed to radical. His choice for his students--education--has long been a chosen route to individual opportunity and economic improvement for immigrants and first-generation Americans.[22] But Juan Ramirez seemed to be growing impatient with the pace of change at Mission Elementary. His attraction to a revolutionary solution surfaced in his advice to Laura Mather: Start a new school; show the door to those who disagree with our vision. In other words, overturn the existing system.

Personal identification and resources for change

Ramirez's passion for teaching aimed at change was a resource for reform at Mission Elementary. The personal resources he brought to the task of launching radically new professional norms--high expectations for his students (most of whom were poor, limited-English speakers) and a sense of responsibility for achieving them--melded nicely with the call for high standards for all students. Ramirez thought of himself as a professional with both the responsibility and the capacity to teach his students "how to be resourceful, how to educate themselves, how to . . . help themselves." He also brought "prior knowledge" of what it means to "aspire" and achieve despite adverse conditions. His attitudes, experience, and expectations made confronting his peers whose teaching he could not admire a personal as well as professional matter.

Ramirez's comments, both above and just below, illustrate that he identified with his students, considered himself a "role model" for them, even though he tended to shy away from "group movements." He reported that his life experience (in terms of cognitive learning theories--in part Ramirez's "prior knowledge") was similar to the life experiences his students

brought to school, and he talked often about his early years growing up in an LA barrio, living there with a large extended family:

> I try to let them know what it is that I've achieved . . . I make it very credible to them because I was raised in the same place that they're being raised now . . . I've lived in a barrio; I've had to learn to speak English; I understand what it feels like to have to know more than one language in order to survive; I understand sharing my homework with many extended family members; I know what it's like to be around drugs and alcohol . . . I lived in a house with my grandparents, uncles, aunts. I've shared my room with my uncles . . . So I come across to my kids . . . in a way that is believable . . . That [life in a barrio] is part of my experience; it's part of me (JR 6/94).

All of these experiences and more Juan Ramirez cites as the reason he considers himself a good bilingual educator.

Though he learned about the curriculum frameworks in his teacher training program, Ramirez's personal experiences as an ethnic and language minority inform his convictions about such policy matters as "high academic standards for all students"--as much as policy documents, workshops, or the research and theory he learned in his formal education. For all his dismissal of "group" attachment, Ramirez identified aspects of his personal experience--as part of the same group many of his students belong to--most often when asked about important influences on his practice (or interpretation of policy).

But Ramirez also weaves his high regard for the teaching profession, and the sense of agency that he derives from it, throughout his personal accounts. Both personal history and professional obligation account for his views related to the interaction of bilingual goals and curriculum reform. He opposed the "late exit" policy at MUSD and Mission Elementary, arguing that such a policy created lower standards for Spanish-speaking children. As a professional, he worried that trying to teach higher-order language skills in Spanish and English tended to "burn out" many bilingual teachers whose grasp of Spanish did not equip them to teach "literature and poetry" in that

language. Most students in his classroom at Mission spoke Spanish; many also spoke English. Juan Ramirez spoke both, and said he generally believes his students ought to learn English the way he did--by hearing it and using it early in life. He remembers quite vividly "what it feels like to have to know more than one language in order to survive." Most of his Spanish he learned at home; his English he learned at school and work. Ramirez reported:

> . . . the situation where I was put as a child . . . dictated . . . that I develop a very high degree of fluency [in English and Spanish.] . . . I was basically my parents' interpreter . . . And, I had to deal with all sorts of nationalities . . . I [have been] bilingual . . . ever since I can remember and . . . I never went to a bilingual program. I mean in my day you were immersed [in a second language] . . . (JR 6/94).

Here we see that not unlike Richard Rodriquez, Ramirez learned to speak English by exposure to it;[23] He was thrown into an all English-speaking classroom. His views on bilingual education have been informed by his masters degree in that field--he is aware of research knowledge in the bilingual domain--but his childhood experience remains a strong reference point as well. As in Laura Mather's case, Ramirez's views on bilingualism seem inextricably intertwined with his stand on equitable standards of achievement: both are professional as well as a personal matters to him. He feels obliged to see that his students "aspire" and achieve.

In some respects, Juan Ramirez's personal experience growing up as a first-generation American have prepared him well for acting as a teacher leader of the press for high academic standards at his school: He took his own education seriously and he takes his profession seriously. Ideas and academic knowledge are important to this teacher who has been reading history in his spare time for years. He believes that school can be "a powerful place" for change. And Ramirez seems to understand the reform's assertion--rooted in cognitive psychology and the seminal thinking of Piaget, Vygotsky and

Dewey--that all students bring to the learning situation important "prior knowledge" on which teachers ought to build when introducing new information. Like Anita Lorenz, Ramirez exudes confidence in his efficacy and pride in his profession. That is not to argue that these teachers are certain about instructional practices, but to point out their conviction that with hard work, their students could perform complex tasks. These convictions are not simply personal matters; they can be resources for improving schools. Research suggests that what teachers understand and believe can have an effect on student achievement.

But even confident, ambitious, knowledgeable teachers can not do their job alone--especially in this era of curriculum reform that demands intellectual rigor, content knowledge, and knowledge of increasingly diverse students. Furthermore, such teachers working alone would find it difficult to do their job when they can not count on their colleagues to support their goals. This was the situation Juan Ramirez found himself in when the new plan pressed for mutual accountability among kindergarten, first, and second grade teachers, and opened his own as well as the kindergarten teachers' practices to examination.

Ramirez, like the kindergarten teachers, was used to working alone. Here his history and personal preferences may have made it more difficult for him to deliberate or take part in productive dialogue. Though his position in the debate with the kindergarten teachers was strong in principle, even under public scrutiny, still the themes in his life may have added to the difficulty of rigorous collaboration. For example, Ramirez seems to have a strong penchant toward individualism--in overcoming adversity through individual effort, for example, in avoiding groups for another. His attitudes about such matters may have been shaped in part by his personal experience

in college, watching his friends lose their scholarships. He was likely influenced a good deal by growing up as an ethnic minority in a household that valued self-reliance and hard work as the path to personal improvement. He rebelled against his father's wishes by leaving home and what had become a potentially secure economic situation to invest in educational opportunity as a first generation Mexican American. Paradoxically, in doing so he demonstrated the independence and self-reliance he understood his father to value. Further, Ramirez said more than once that he liked working alone; he likened teaching to surfing, which he and his wife do often along the California coast. From teaching to surfing, he seems to have selected activities that are in great part done not by relying on teamwork, but by self-reliance.

In this inclination toward individualism, Ramirez is like many other teachers who seem to prefer autonomy in their work over interdependency. In his classic study of teachers and teaching, Lortie (1975) found that the "recruitment, socialization and system of rewards in teaching fostered . . . orientations toward . . . individualism . . . " (p. 202). So staff interdependency, or what Little (1990) calls "joint work," cut against Ramirez's personal preference as well as established teaching norms. Such work did not appear to come easily to this teacher for whom so much was at stake. Moreover, he had little guidance or prior notice from reform documents to support his work, along with that of a few others, of inventing social resources to boost the collective capacity for change at Mission Elementary.

Ruth Linn's Response: Personal Sources of Meaning and Purpose

For Ruth Linn, curriculum standards for all children seemed less of a concern than ensuring that all Spanish-speaking children could speak

English, and that they were not segregated from their classmates. Her strong disagreement and resistance to the "late exist" policy at Mission and the MUSD is somewhat unexpected because she was the school's "bilingual mentor." Her outspoken views were a source of some exasperation for Laura Mather, who tended to agree with Monique Ponds and Alice Michiels on the timing issues, but who was quite conflicted about the bilingual goals herself. Though Linn on occasions worried about all three of the key bilingual goals--teaching for conceptual understanding in the students' primary language, English proficiency, and integrated classrooms--she seemed to more often emphasize the latter two goals over the former one.

In fact, Linn seemed bent on teaching her second grade students--all of Hispanic heritage, all current Spanish speakers, most from Mexico--to understand and use English as early as possible. Through three long interviews over two years, she varyingly gave three reasons for her convictions about English proficiency: First, this is the USA and children should speak the language of the country--that is, English. Second, "they'll need it to survive"-- that is, her students will need the language to survive in this country. And third, she reported believing very strongly that it was wrong to segregate children by language or ethnicity, even for the purpose of teaching them in their native language. Though both her masters program and the district policy work she has done had taught her a good deal about the theory and research that serve as a rationale for MUSD's "late exit" bilingual program; still, she opposed it vociferously. Linn's response to bilingual policy--her argument that children should be taught in English, not Spanish from quite an early age--seemed almost counter to her self-interest and job security. She was, after all, a bilingual teacher, hired in part because of a shortage of Spanish-speaking teachers in southern California.

One way to account for Linn's perhaps surprising response to the interaction of bilingual goals and curriculum standards reform is to note that the ideal of long range planning embedded in Mission's Compañero project did seem to conflict--as both Linn and Ramirez argued--with practical concerns that Mission faced each day: a very transient student population, for example; and teachers across grade levels who disagreed about the bilingual program goals for another. So over time, Linn had learned from experience that the ideals of teaching important curriculum content in students primary language, maintaining that language, and teaching all students a second language did tend to conflict with Mission's situation: Children regularly moved in and out of the school, thus undermining possible cumulative benefits of teaching either second language skills or complex thinking skills in the primary language, in the early grades. At least at Mission such teaching began anew quite often as children without second language skills, sometimes without reading skills in any language, entered from other schools, often from Mexico, and children who had acquired some skills left Mission for other schools.[24]

Another way to account for Linn's response--from a woman trained to teach children in their native language of Spanish, but still bucking the mainstream culture of school and district--is to consider salient elements of the "prior knowledge" that informed Ruth Linn's interpretation of policy at Mission Elementary School--her higher education, job experience, professional development, and important (self-reported) personal experiences outside of formal schooling. For Linn, personal "prior experience" and what she learned from experience on the job seemed to hold sway over formal education, theory, and research findings in influencing her convictions about

policy and practice--in this case the interaction of bilingual policy goals and "high standards" or curriculum reform.

But Linn's personal expectations for all her students' academic work were inconsistent with the norm of professional responsibility for student learning--the stance that Ramirez took. In this instance, conflicting views might have been productive, had interdependent work norms created the social resources to challenge Linn's assumption that some of her students would never be literate. Such social relations may have increased the organizational capacity of the school. But public examination of goals and means was only beginning at Mission Elementary; it had not yet become a matter of routine.

Personal resources, professional accountability, and school-wide capacity

Ruth Linn, like Anita Lorenz, Monique Ponds, and Juan Ramirez, received her Bachelors degree before going back to college to earn a teaching certificate. Unlike Lorenz and Ponds, who did their undergraduate work in the mid to late eighties, Linn was an undergraduate in the seventies, before Juan Ramirez, and before the curriculum standards reform was a strong force in California or the nation. Linn's degree was in Psychology and Communications. When she couldn't find employment after graduating from college, she supported herself working as a "career guidance technician" in an Los Angeles area high school, then as an ESL instructor in her hometown high school, and finally as a part-time instructor "at a school for mentally retarded children." After two years of unemployment from 1979 to 1981, she landed a job at a private Christian high school teaching Spanish. But after a year, she was "laid off" because of budget cuts.

In the mid-eighties she applied for funds to continue her education. Her ability to speak Spanish and low-income status won her a full grant toward earning a bilingual teaching credential. When she was earning her teaching credential, California needed bilingual teachers. And, after she was nearly finished with her masters in "Bilingual, Multi-Cultural Education," the MUSD hired her during her first interview: She recalls the interview this way:

> I remember I was interviewed on my birthday in 1986 [here at MUSD] . . . And they offered me a contract right on the spot, at my interview. Because being a bilingual teacher you really are courted by many different school districts (RL 6/95).

By 1986, Linn was divorced with two daughters to support and, after years of "on again, off again" employment, she had a secure job at MUSD for which she was thankful. In fact, like Ramirez, Linn reported that employment was an important motive for earning her teaching credential. But unlike Ramirez, Linn did not report a sense of pride in the profession; rather, for Linn teaching was a means of survival. After teaching a few years, in 1990 she returned to a local college to finish her masters degree. When this study opened, she had been working at the MUSD for seven years, only one of them at Mission Elementary. She was sent to Mission after the school district, due to a voluntary de-segregation plan, closed the barrio school she had worked in for six years as a bilingual teacher.

Linn's graduate program, similar to Michiels', Ramirez's, and Ponds', was concentrated on bilingual issues. But the latter two both reported studying the frameworks in their teacher education programs. And Michiels reported her serious attempts to reform her instruction while a practicing teacher. But unlike Lorenz, Ponds, or even Ramirez, Linn did not mention curriculum frameworks in conjunction with her teacher education. And

Linn never reported attempting to change her practice in light of the reform movement. Though she was somewhat familiar with some of the content of these documents, the topics she talked about most often were practices, research, and theory related to learning in a second language, or to second language acquisition.[25] Even then, she seemed quite ambivalent about what to do with that information, and did not use it as the basis for her quite strong opinions about bilingual policy (in her interviews). Rather she cited her personal experience or what she learned from experience while teaching at MUSD.

In her preference for the former, Linn was like Juan Ramirez, who sometimes cited similar sources to defend his attitudes toward the bilingual policy and the standards reforms. But Linn's personal preferences were not as defensible as Ramirez's, in light of a professional stance. And no one at Mission reported any overt conflict with Linn or public examination of the basis for her belief that some children at Mission would never read at the third grade level in any language. During the 1993-1994 school year, for whatever reason, Anita Lorenz never reported challenging her teammate on this point, even though it seemed clear she disagreed, albeit perhaps tacitly. One reason for Lorenz's reluctance may be that she teamed with Linn before the school-wide decision to restructure was opening up individual classrooms for scrutiny.

So here is an instance of individual preferences conflicting--Linn's instructional expectations and Lorenz's or Ramirez's, for instance--without the needed social resources of public accountability and debate over agreed-upon purposes. Neither Lorenz nor Ramirez could count on Linn to support their ambitious teaching goals, just as Linn reported not being able to count on colleagues to support the Compañero's bilingual goals. Thus, here is an

example of conflict and the lack of social resources having the potential to reduce the organizational efficacy of the school. Or conversely, had there been rigorous debate and collaboration toward agreed-upon high academic standards, the school's collective capacity for change could have been more effective (Purkey and Smith; Lieberman and Miller; Newmann and Wehlage).

Personal preference versus professional debate

While Ramirez's disagreements with the MUSD's bilingual plan were based on both personal experience and professional concern for academic standards, the antecedent for Linn's conflict with that plan seemed to have developed in her first marriage, one she described as "bad." She seemed to have taken from that marriage a strong sense that her students should know and use English. Her attitude about English usage in turn influenced how she interpreted curriculum reform. She was married to an Hispanic man who insisted she learn and speak only Spanish in their home. She learned Spanish "from listening to it" and seemed fluent, but she reported her first husband was always "criticizing" her usage and pronunciation. They fought over this and other matters, eventually splitting, leaving Linn with a baby girl. While the knowledge of Spanish that she learned during her marriage provided her with the skill to support herself, and later contributed to her choice of higher education, now she is quite vociferous in her belief that Spanish speakers should know and use the English language if they are choosing to live in the US. So arguments over language in her first marriage, as well as her own family's attitudes toward minority languages--Linn reported her mother was opposed to the use of Spanish and resented the cost

of printing everything in that language--may account for some part of her strong convictions about English proficiency.

Likewise, though defensible in principle and perhaps even on instructional grounds, Linn's attitude toward separating her students by language, even for the purpose of teaching them a core curriculum in that language, also seems to have been rooted in personal experience. Linn was not only bent on teaching children, including her own, to speak English at an early age, she was also very opposed to segregating students. She said so on more than one occasion and in more than one context:

> No student should be segregated for any reason . . . because they'd never get any contact with kids who are different than themselves . . . it would be . . . unethical . . . what you're doing is actually denying them access . . . to relationships with other peers (RL 5/93).

Here she was speaking about Title 1 students, but Linn made similar comments about separating students by language and ethnicity when talking about why she and Lorenz sometimes "mixed" their students. Linn's repeated emphasis of this goal--one of several in the Compañero project--seemed to hold personal meaning for her. When I met one of her daughters whose dark hair and complexion did not resemble Linn's, her emphasis on integrating students seemed less surprising. Ruth Linn is blonde and fair, but she is raising a daughter whose deep olive complexion identifies her Hispanic parentage, and who might thus be the target of discriminatory impulses in southern California, where there has been a history of discrimination against people of Hispanic descent (Acuna; Garcia).

But personal belief and experience can limit professional reflection and action. Of the three key Compañero goals, English proficiency and integration seemed much more important to Linn than rigorous curriculum and instructional reforms--that is, teaching students complex thinking skills and

rich content in their primary language. For Linn, high academic standards seemed less of a concern than her students' survival. Within the context of her personal experience as a single, sometimes unemployed mother, raising daughters of part Hispanic origin in California--where feelings about ethnicity and language run strong, even in her own family--Linn's emphasis on "surviving" is not so surprising. But within the professional context of interdependent "authority and regard" (Sykes) based on "joint work" (Little 1990) with colleagues toward the academic achievement of all students, some of Linn's attitudes would have been challenged.

While Linn most often reported strong personal belief as the basis of her practices and take on reforms, she also sometimes based her arguments on professional observations. These kinds of differences in how Linn accounted for her actions might have been tested and sifted through had this school transformed the work norms from autonomy to collective accountability. Though they were working at doing so, they were in the first stages of the process. So, for instance, Linn's convictions about the interaction of curriculum reform and bilingual policy are informed in part by observations she has made over time while teaching at MUSD. As she points out, the policy ideals do appear to sometimes conflict with the practical realities at Mission. In a professional collegial forum, Linn would have been on solid ground using this kind of reasoning to support her desire to teach English to her students sooner rather than later. But she would have been on shakier ground using her other reason for wanting to teach her students in English--that is, her assertion that some students would never achieve third grade literacy skills in any language.

CONCLUSION

Mission Elementary's story provides a deeper look at the personal and professional nature of conflict, and how coping with it in the process of adapting reform ideals to practice can be productive as well as counterproductive. For example, Ruth Linn's and Juan Ramirez's views about curriculum reform, like those of most teachers considered in this study,[26] were to some extent entangled in bilingual issues, which interacted with reforms in different ways, depending in part on the personal resources--the understanding and attitudes--they brought to their job. In Ruth Linn's case, the culture at the school and district--where most agreed generally with the bilingual policy--did not seem to dissuade her of convictions she brought too the school: a determination to teach her students to speak English an aversion to segregating students for any reason a desire to help her students "survive" in America, and so on. Even though she attended district workshops, sat on district committees, and seemed to understand the social science basis of the district bilingual policy; still she disagreed with it, and with teachers who embraced it. She cited personal experience and professional observation when defending her point of view.

But Linn's personal expectations for her students' academic work were in some respect inconsistent with the norm of professional responsibility--the stance that to some extent Ramirez, Lorenz, and Michiels took. While her students' "survival" (as she constructed it) was perhaps an understandable goal, it was not aimed at high academic achievement. And the goal of integration, while a defensible position, still does not necessarily press toward high academic standards (though it might contribute to that goal). Thus, Linn's personal attitudes related to this key aspect of the professional norm--sending clear and consistent messages to all students about the ambitious

learning required of them--did not square with the reform goals. Linn's sense of efficacy and responsibility for all her students' achievement fell short of what the new school norm would have required of her--that is, to feel obliged with her colleagues for pressing all students toward high academic standards. Here is where the conflict embedded in the professional norm of collective accountability may have been productive in challenging Linn's assumption that some students would never attain third grade literacy skills (had such a norm been fully established at Mission). But with that social resource missing at Mission, Linn's personal view, as it conflicted with the views of Ramirez and Lorenz for example, likely remained counterproductive because the latter two could not count on Linn to support their instructional goals.

The personal resources Juan Ramirez brought to the task of school-wide reform--an understanding of his students; personal experience with aspiration and achievement, in spite of adverse circumstances; high regard for the teaching profession and the sense of agency that he derived from it--were complimentary to reform. Much of his personal history contributed to his tendency to hold high academic expectations for his students. But staff interdependency or "joint work" (Little 1990) cut against Ramirez's personal preference as well as established teaching norms. Such work did not appear to come easily to this teacher for whom so much was at stake.

He nevertheless found himself among a handful of unlikely leaders of a process akin to a revolution at Mission Elementary. The decision to restructure brought about a sudden change in relations with his peers: He was placed at the heart of a "joint work" project--working with the kindergarten teachers to see that all students were literate by the end of their first two years in school. Ramirez began confronting teachers with whom he passionately disagreed about core teaching issues. Those kinds of issues had

long been protected by norms of teaching autonomy (as such issues are protected from debate in most schools). In this instance, conflict may have been productive. By challenging the assumptions of his peers, Ramirez was using personal resources--a strong belief in his students, and a passion for teaching aimed at change--to help invent social resources for the school. But he, along with a few others, were trying to create new social relations without much guidance, and without much prior notice--from reform documents or elsewhere--of the conflict that is perhaps essential to the work of genuine collaboration.

The meaning of staff's collective response to Title 1 and curriculum reforms is uncertain because Mission's response was evolving--"a work in progress." Likewise, the Compañero project and the manner in which bilingual education goals interacted with the reforms--sometimes competing with them, sometimes complementing them--was about to change. By the end of the study, most of the bilingual staff as well as Laura Mather agreed "the Compañero isn't working." So, in a sense, the staff was "experimenting" with the interaction of curriculum reform, Title 1, and the bilingual program via the "restructuring" plan and the Compañero project. They were learning from experience but also coping with a good deal of conflict in the process.

But the collective response to reform as it had thus far been constructed at Mission Elementary can be interpreted from at least two different angles: First, conflict and the competition of ideas were counterproductive; or, second, conflict was productive because it helped launch innovation and new, more professional, school norms. From the first view, the press for more collaboration and clarity (mutual responsibility for meeting clear agreed-upon goals) surfaced major staff disagreements which led to staff strife--a difficult process that may have worked against the goal of collegiality.

Further, the staff move toward clarity appeared to narrow their conception of achievement so as to clash with the complex performances called for in the "high standards" reform. So one irony of this reform as it had thus far been constructed at Mission Elementary was that emotionally-charged conflict emerged from the process of working toward stronger collegial relations, thus perhaps weakening the social fabric of the school staff, at least temporarily creating a more difficult work environment. It would be another irony of the federal call for "high standards for all children" if in this school, by grafting a school-level, technical coherence on to the nuance and unspecified complexity of instructional and curriculum reform, standards for Title 1 students were lowered. (The fact that a component part of the "systemic reform"--the CLAS--was missing (due to lack of technical capacity and political contention at the state level) contributed to the tension between school-level coherence and complex instructional reform at Mission).

In part, the latter shift at Mission is a reflection of the fragmented system and shifting political environment that the school staff worked within. For instance, the opportunity to learn from the CLAS was no longer there at Mission Elementary when this lens left that school. And there was talk at the state level of eliminating the just-begun program quality review (PQR) process that asked teachers to collect and talk about student work samples. That process was recently written about as "an unnecessary burden to schools."[27] But that is the sort of "untidy", less-certain, results-oriented "data" that teachers will likely need to converse over to make sense of the more complex instructional reforms. They will need such processes to critique each others' work and ground their conversations about reform in classroom practices. Mission may continue that practice, but given competing demands, it seems unlikely.

On the other hand, from the second view (conflict was productive) the call for more coherence and collaboration challenged existing school norms at Mission Elementary. While the drive for goal clarity and mutual responsibility surfaced conflict, it also opened individual practices to scrutiny, and began to change the norms of the school toward a culture more conducive to deliberating over the complexities involved in holding high standards of intellectual achievement for all children. Such a deliberation, albeit laced with strong feelings and disagreements, can enhance the level and quality of learning about the meaning of reform in this school. The process can improve the organizational capacity of the school by creating the social resources for change--mutual support for instructional goals, mutual understanding, professional accountability, and so on. Teachers, who individually may have only partial knowledge and understanding, can integrate what they know to create scaffolding for one another. Teachers can instruct and challenge their colleagues as they press for a thoughtful defense of ideas and practices. The process of inventing these kinds of social resources was underway at Mission, and that process was in part productive.

It seems likely the two views just sketched are interacting contributions to the process of adapting policy ideals to particular contexts--that is, conflict is integral to the "mutual adaptation" process. (This includes the internal conflict or dilemmas individuals were coping with, the external or social disagreements, and the dilemmas or tensions the staff shared as a group.) At Mission Elementary, conflict was related to both productive and counterproductive "fits and starts, and was embedded in the change process--especially in the school-wide reform, but probably in many of the changes teachers were managing around the demanding reforms.

This key aspect of reform has too often gone without mention in reform documents, and has been too often ignored by reformers. Teachers and administrators alike needed more guidance on the problem of coping with the conflict embedded in change. For example, teachers at Mission needed more opportunities to learn about the pitfalls of moving from the isolation of their classrooms into the arena of public debate and challenge. Rigorous collaboration does not occur naturally in schools where such work is a radical departure from established norms. The new social relations the staff were trying to create had the potential to build capacity for school-wide reform, but they also had the potential to create obstacles to staff collegiality. Mather could have benefited from a mentor--a veteran of school change--who could have guided her on the work of channeling conflict into productive conversations, and into opportunities for teaching and learning. But instructional resources were missing at Mission and at the MUSD, though Mather and a few teachers were trying to invent them.

Advocates of change could make it "safer" for school administrators and teachers to take the huge risk that changing the work norms in a school requires if the difficulties of such change were made clearer--that is, if change agents understood they were not alone in their ambivalence and contradiction; rather, most schools that undertake real change face similar obstacles. This is especially so in an era of "site-based" management, where serious consequences--including "takeover" schemes and staff dismissal--accompany the risk of "failure." But too often the ideal of "clear, agreed-upon goals and collaborative work norms" are presented as though they were as easy to enact as a walk in the park. The reform image of "collaboration" has a benign aura about it that leaves the challenges hidden.

There is a dilemma here for change advocates, because they have to "sell" the idea of change to the "targets" and agents of the reform (Lipskey 1980; Cohen and Ball 1991; Elmore and McLaughlin 1988). The message that such change is extremely hard and will cause conflict--that it may be counterproductive at times, even as it leads to improvement--is not an easy "sell." When this lens left California, Mission's staff had made difficult choices about their school mission. They had to manage the consequences of those choices and the trade-offs inherent in them. In chapter six, I show the trade-offs more clearly. The school gained--turned the conflict to some advantage in launching new work norms. And Ramirez's first grade Title 1 students likely gained. But some third and fourth grade Title 1 students and teachers no doubt lost. That is what happens when people set priorities and make choices using limited financial resources. Further, the problems of managing the conflict that they and other educators were facing are ongoing, not "tidy" and solvable (Cuban 1992; Lampert 1985; Lindblom and Cohen 1979). A clear mission and support for it did not make their work of managing the dilemmas in their environment "go away." Managing the conflict in the American education reform environment is not at all like the finality of solving a problem, once and for all. It involves ongoing work, even struggle. To ignore the difficulties leaves school people awfully vulnerable, but "selling" the idea of school change as struggle is not an easy marketing task for reformers.

At this point in the moving picture of one school, the staff was struggling with the serious health and welfare problems their children faced aside from trying to reform their teaching and school organization. Some guidance and learning opportunities beyond the social discourse of the school--ones which acknowledged the uncertainty and complexity of reform

as well as provided links to knowledge about subject matter and planning--seem crucial if the reforms are to blossom. The staff lacked the adequate social resources for the task before them. And they lacked the technical resources they needed. For example, until a state or district assessment is developed that is technically defensible and politically feasible, systemic reform aimed at complex, intellectual achievement will likely be set back in this school.[28]

The case of reform at Mission Elementary School over time seems to confirm that when investigating the Goals 2000 curriculum and Title 1 reforms, it may be wise to look deeply into what the oft repeated words "restructuring," "coherence," "collaboration," and "high standards" actually mean in the context of a school.[29] The tensions among these reform elements at different levels of activity might provide important sites for conversations among policy makers, administrators, and teachers as they embark on "restructuring" toward Goals 2000 (Wilson, Peterson, Ball, and Cohen 1996). In chapter six, I take up those tensions in more detail--between the new, more coherent plan at the school level, and what the plan meant at the classroom or small group level--with a closer look at Title 1 students' instruction in year two.

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[1]The decision to "restructure" Title 1 essentially entailed changing the school-wide mission because 70% of the children enrolled at Mission were poor. Many of those children were eligible for Title 1 services based on CTBS test scores and teacher judgment.

[2]Again, as in chapter two Judith Warren Little (1990) was helpful in diagramming a continuum of collaborative work among teachers which I have drawn from here. Teacher's work can range from complete independence to complete interdependence. See page 512. Collaboration can sometimes entail work that does not demand much in the way of "mutual obligation" for specific goals.

[3]The PQR process pressed teachers to think about what science reform meant at the very specific level of student work within a common framework and with instructional guidance.

That process appeared to be developing common understanding about instructional goals in science across grade levels. And it was doing so without much overt conflict or disagreement. At least there was none reported. But generally the school's social resources--shared goals, understanding, trust and so on--were modest. Collaborative norms among educators have the potential to transform the differences in knowledge and understanding among teachers into sources and "scaffolding" for their learning. Such professional or collaborative learning communities in which expectations are high for all students can develop organizational capacity and may improve student achievement. (Newmann and Wehlage 1995; Lieberman and Miller (1992). But at Mission, the process of working toward those norms also became a source of conflict.

[4]Louise James showed me Sec. 114 in the Chapter 1 Handbook, November 94. Vol. XV, No. 3. That section was entitled "Schoolwide Programs" and she had marked the title in yellow. Among other stipulations for a school-wide plan were these: "(2) PLAN (A) (v) provides for the collection of data on the achievement and assessment results of students disaggregated by gender, major ethnic or racial groups, limited English proficiency status, migrant students, and by children with disabilities compared to other students, and by economically disadvantaged students as compared to students who are not economically disadvantaged; (vi) seeks to produce statistically sound results for each category for which assessment results are desegregated through the use of over sampling or other means; and (vii) provides for the public reporting of desegregated data only when such reporting is statistically sound." If a state assessment was not available the following held: "(B) Plans developed before a state has adopted standards and a set of assessments . . . 1111(b) shall be based on an analysis of available data on the achievement of students in the school and effective instructional and school improvement practices."

[5]For more details on the press for school-level improvement strategies see the school-wide program requirements from Federal Register, July 3, 1995, p 6 (B). For example, the school-wide plan has to "describe the data on the achievement of students in the school and effective instructional and school improvement practice on which the plan is based." And the school-wide projects "idea book" points out that while school-wide projects vary, "Many projects are designed on the basis of 'effective schools' correlates . . . " Two key principles include collaborative planning and a "clear and focused school mission" (Pechman and Fiester 1994).

[6]For a case study of the ways in which local school district personnel can influence policy decisions see Spillane (1994).

[7]For more on the idea of early intervention and prevention see Slavin, Karweit & Wasik (1991). See also, Slavin, Madden & Karweit (1989). Slavin's success for all program stresses early intervention and intensive tutoring for children who are at risk for failing in school. The principal and Title 1 administrator at Mission Elementary were aware of this line of research and of Slavin's program. James and Mather were also fans of Reading Recovery, another early intervention tutoring program. For more on that program see, Pinnell (1990).

[8]Mather reported she also wanted the kindergarten teachers to have a better sense of the academic expectations of first grade teachers. Here her concern was to have teachers work more interdependently across grade levels.

[9]As noted in chapter one, federal money was important to Mission Elementary according to its leaders, because of state and local cuts. The small discretionary budget Mission received from the district for supplies and other expenses, had been cut repeatedly according to Mather.

[10]See for example the advice to teachers of young children from Gullo (1992). See also Wadsworth (1989) for a version of Piaget's principles and possible teaching practices. And, the recommendations of early childhood associations, for example, NAEYC (1989).

[11]I take up this topic further in chapter six which explores the trade-offs in the staff's new plan to "restructure." A closer look at the third grade classrooms of Alice Michiels and her

teammate Kate Jones, the two teachers featured in chapter four, illustrates the added difficulty of school level choices related to financial resource allocation when considered at the concrete level of classrooms and Title 1 students. Nan, Anna, and Maria, the Spanish speaking girls introduced in chapter three who worked with Ms. Ponds, are now in Alice Michiels' room. Gerard, from Anita Lorenz's English-speaking room is now in Kate Jones' third grade classroom. Both classrooms are "officially" without any Title 1 resources because of the new plan.

[12]Purkey and Smith (1985) cite workplace researchers who advise industry and business reformers "not to wait for everyone to agree with proposed changes" (p. 379). They suggest this approach recognizes that a certain amount of dissent and conflict can be healthy for an organization. And, Fullan (1995) argues that "one of the most persistent myths about collaboration is that it requires consensus." (p. 159).

[13]California's NAEP scores in reading, writing, and mathematics were reported to be among the lowest in the nation. This caused a flurry of debates and some concern over the course California had been traveling. And, it led the new Superintendent of Public Instruction in California, Delaine Eastin, to appoint two task forces to develop more "balanced" curriculum plans for the state, i.e., recommendations for incorporating more basic skills into the California's curriculum. A March, 1995 headline in the San Jose Mercury read, "In California, Johnny can't read or add: Eastin may call for an overhaul of system and junk '80s reforms." Education Week reported in September, "More basic-skills in math, reading urged in California." And, a San Francisco byline in the July, 11 Christian Science Monitor read as follows: "Reading, writing, and phonics coming back to Calif. schools." While the reform visions have rarely painted an either-or picture of student achievement, the problem might be conceptualized as one of emphasis. The drift toward more basic skills instruction in California also does not suggest schools drop the more complex, demanding aspects of reform. See for example Every child a reader. The report of the California Reading Task Force. California Department of Education. Sacramento, 1995. See also A call to action: Improving mathematics achievement for all California students. The Report of the California Mathematics Task Force. California Department of Education. Sacramento, 1995. These two documents make recommendations for the adjustment Delaine Eastin requested. They juxtapose language about basic skills instruction and "research-based" techniques next to the more unspecified and complex instructional reform ideas.

[14]The new focus was ostensibly for "next year," the 95-96 school year, but most staff had begun to talk about it as their goal by March of this year, 94-95.

[15]See for example the "Goals 2000 Request for Applications" from the California Department of Education. Also the document titled "Partnerships for Improving California's Schools. The Improving America's Schools Act of 1994. Public Law 103-382." This document was a summary sheet from the USDE public affairs office. Both of these documents were in a packet that Laura Mather received from the CDE in relation to Goals 2000.

[16]for more on the idea of "nested layers" within the education system, see Purkey and Smith (1985). Spillane (1994) writes about the influence of district personnel on school reform.

[17]Even the "Chapter 1 Handbook" in the earlier footnote, the one that Louise James referred to, illustrates this tension between the kind of information policy makers generally want and the kind of information the reforms are likely to produce. The section on school-wide plans called for collecting achievement data "disaggregated-aggregated by gender, major ethnic or racial groups, limited English proficiency status, migrant students" and so on. The handbook stipulated that data be "statistically sound" for each category, or that schools at least try to collect and produce such information. In the case of a state assessment not being available, as in the case of California at this point in the story, the Handbook suggested that school plans be based on "an analysis of available data on the achievement of students in the school and

effective instructional and school improvement practices." In the past, school and teacher effects have been evaluated using standardized tests.

[18] For a review of the issues Alice Michiels raises see chapter two. For example some researchers argue that language skills needed for academic discourse take considerably longer to develop than simple conversational skills, (Snow 1984); that is, skills of the sort children might use on the playground (Cummins 1974, 1980). Based on this and other research Hakuta (1986) also argues for distinguishing between different functions of language when judging whether a child is proficient in English. He argues "this distinction may account for why some students are considered by their bilingual teachers to be proficient in English (that is, they can use it in context) yet have difficulty when they are transferred to monolingual English classrooms and have to pick up academic skills in English" (pp. 217-218). Hakuta comments further that "observant teachers suggest that there are some students who quickly pick up glib use of contextual language (on the playground, for example) but who take considerably longer to use the language in school-related skills . . . " (p. 218).

[19]According to reports by Ruth Linn, the Mission bilingual mentor. This report was consistent with reports by the district bilingual resource teacher and the assessment director of the "Newcomer Center" where students were tested for English fluency.

[20]This estimation is probably low. There is a good deal of discrepancy in immigration numbers which are most often drawn from census data as well as immigration data in both Mexico and the US. Further the data does not account for the number of undocumented immigrants to the US which is estimated to be considerable. For details see tables 2 and 4 in San Miguel's study. The increase in immigration to the US was due in part to the fighting in Mexico, and in part to a labor shortage in the Southwest. That shortage was due to a world war and deep nativist sentiment which drastically restricted European and Asian immigration. But US farmers and industrialist fought against such restrictions for Mexican immigrants (Acuna 1988; San Miguel).

[21]Though some scholars of Chicanos in America argue "there was a militancy among Chicano youths in 1970 reminiscent of the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s" (Garcia p. 111). Two important sites of such activism were barrio youth groups and campus youth groups. The latter may have been what drew several of Ramirez's friends, even in the late 1970s.

[22] The group activism on behalf of civil rights was in part, in reaction to the lack of progress such a personal or individual strategy produced. In part the strategy of "group power" be it black or brown, was in reaction to years of dashed hopes, that hung on the hard work of individuals in America's "separate but equal" schools (Church and Sedlak 1976; White 1978; Hirschman 1970).

[23] See Rodriquez's 1982 autobiography, Hunger of memory: The education of Richard Rodriguez.

[24]Transience was also a problem in the long range Title 1 plan that counted on early intervention to prevent later reading problems. Chapter six provides a closer look at how the plan amplified to the Title 1 children in this study: for example, one left Mission for another school, and one was a new arrival.

[25]See Appendix D for a more detailed account of Linn's practice in relation to curriculum reforms. Here I focus on her history and attitudes at they may have affected the organizational capacity at Mission--that is, how they were related to the social relations and resources of the school.

[26]Perhaps with the exception of Kate Jones.

[27]See the recommendations of the California Reading Task Force (1995).

[28]See Cohen (1995; 1997). It seems that no such assessment now exists, though some states have made a good deal of progress. See also A report card on the condition of public education in the 50 states. Education Week in collaboration with The Pew Charitable Trusts. January 22, 1997. Vol. XVI.

[29]See for example Richard F. Elmore's (1995) discussion of "educational practice" and "structural reform" See also Cohen's comments (1995) on "coherence in practice" versus "coherence in policy."

CHAPTER 6

MANAGING TRADE-OFFS: A CLOSER LOOK AT GAINS AND LOSSES

There were trade-offs in the new, more coherent school plan, and the manner in which the staff managed those trade-offs--in the context of Mission Elementary, where daily realities sometimes conflicted with the ideal of long-range coherent planning--amplified to Title 1 students. Thus, there were losses as well as gains for teachers and students alike. Coherent planning at the school level did not necessarily lead to coherent instruction for some Title 1 students at the classroom level. In year two, tensions among reform elements at different levels of activity, and the vicissitudes of school life, contributed to a more fragmented, narrow conception of instruction for some Title 1 students after the staff's plan to "restructure" went into effect. A view into Juan Ramirez's first grade classroom illustrates some of the benefits his students accrued from the new, more "coherent" plan to narrow the school mission and concentrate resources in the lower grades. But the contrasting images of Title 1 instruction before and after Monique Ponds left Mission Elementary illustrates in more detail the meaning of the losses sustained by the third grade teachers--Alice Michiels and Kate Jones--and their Title 1 students.

These teachers had to cope with the conflict between an ideal--coherent, long-range planning--and the practical realities of their particular school--a transient student body, for example--with only modest resources. What instructional resources did they lose when Title 1 resources were

eliminated from their rooms? How did they respond to such losses? In essence, how did these particular teachers manage the trade-offs in the collective response to the reform calling for school-wide coherence?

GAINS FOR TITLE 1 STUDENTS AND TEACHERS? A LOOK AT RESOURCES AND PRACTICE IN JUAN RAMERIZ'S FIRST GRADE CLASSROOM

Rameriz's Resources

Despite the emotional conflict, Juan Ramirez was embroiled in during the 1994-1995 school year, he still favored the new plan to narrow the school focus, concentrate resources, and encourage mutual responsibility for student work. He reported that he had gained needed resources under the new plan. He suggested that while the process of working toward agreement on goals was causing him difficulty and conflict, it was also promoting needed critique and communication. So, for instance, Ramirez said:

> . . . Let the communication begin. [we] are at odds now. Because now they are opening up their classroom so that other eyes can see what is going on there and . . . question what is going on . . . [But] we're learning how to communicate now . . . Believe me! (JR 6/95).

By the end of the school year, he reported his conflict with other teachers was subsiding some, and he was trying to take a new, perhaps more productive, approach:

> . . . instead of attacking, I'm offering, what can I do to help you? So now . . . I'm not criticizing . . . I'm . . . saying, [look] at what I'm doing. How can I help you? You know these should be our goals. If you need to do some outreach with parents let me be apart of it.

And he said:

> . . . We are working to rebuild now, trying to work collectively K-2 and then three, four , five . . . We are working to rebuild and trying to. . . break down that alienation . . . (JR 6/95).

He admitted the process was very difficult, but that staff was communicating now. As I argued in chapter five, at least in the early grades the staff in this

school may have gained some social resources from the new plan. The same social relations that are a source of conflict--more communication and social interaction among teachers--also hold the potential to build capacity and teacher efficacy. More communication about core teaching issues can build capacity for change and even improve student achievement.

Furthermore, this school year (1994-1995), as a result of the plan that concentrated resources in the early grades, Mr. Ramirez had two adults--one of them a teacher, one a paraprofessional--to support his teaching. Ramirez thought that situation too was a gain for his students and teaching. For example, he said having extra help:

> . . . frees me up [to work with smaller groups] because I don't know what a classroom size is in Michigan but it's not 32 I'm sure . . . the state of California is overwhelmed. We don't have the buildings; we don't have the qualified teachers; we have excessive groups in the classroom and not enough resources. . . (JR 6/95).

As noted in earlier chapters, Proposition 13 and a later amendment restricted funding for education in California by capping local property taxes and nearly simultaneously limiting the growth of state spending. Along with a state recession, these limits on local and state spending had left many California schools--Mission Elementary among them--overcrowded and short on resources. Under Mission's new plan to concentrate resources in the lower grades, Ramirez received the time and effort of two adults.

In previous years, first grade teachers had a bilingual aide for a few hours a day and a bilingual Title 1 teacher from approximately one-half hour to one hour, three days a week.[1] But under the new plan, Mission extended the hours of all hourly Title 1 teachers and hired additional bilingual Title 1 hourly teachers. The latter were scheduled for six hours a day rather than three and one-half; and they worked only in kindergarten through second

grades rather than kindergarten through fifth grade, as Monique Ponds had the previous year. (She was the only bilingual Title 1 teacher that previous year). Thus, under the new plan, Juan Ramirez had a bilingual paraprofessional for three hours a day, and a bilingual Title 1 teacher for up to two hours a day.

The latter--that is the teacher--was an especially valuable human resource to Ramirez because, first, she and Ramirez generally agreed on goals and methods. Second, she was a professional--in the midst of changing careers, just finishing her teacher education coursework--who could develop curriculum and whose instruction Ramirez admired. Juan Ramirez reported:

> Ms. Lake . . . is . . . going through a career change . . . What I like about her is that she is . . . being exposed to a lot of the type of teaching that I'm doing now which is exciting because . . . her philosophy . . . supports mine. So, that's good . . . (JR 3/95).

Here Ramirez and the Title 1 bilingual teacher had the ability to create social resources, building on the personal resources they each brought to the classroom. They could support each other's work through mutual goals, agreement on methods, trust, and understanding.

Ramirez was less enthusiastic about his bilingual aide because she did not take much initiative when working with students, and she disagreed with him about goals. So he had to develop lessons for her, generally with a goal of teaching phonics skills to students. Ramirez said:

> . . . we [don't] have. . . the same philosophy [about teaching goals and methods]. My aide, she's kind of from the old school. She is into a phonics approach to [reading] . . . There is nothing wrong with that because . . . it is much more feasible to take a phonetic approach to teaching [reading]--decoding--in Spanish . . . than trying to teach [reading using phonics in] English . . . But, . . . it's boring . . . And, I think kids can . . . get stuck doing these drills; it doesn't really focus on their other strengths (JR 3/95).

The attitudes and knowledge that this paraprofessional brought to Juan Ramirez's first grade classroom do not so readily translate into social resources for Ramirez. Nevertheless, he reported needing her help, wanting it, and he generally assigned her to work with small groups of students on basic skills--something he reported she felt "more comfortable" doing and he agreed his students needed.

But an important point here is the difference in individual resources that these two adults brought and could create in Ramirez's classroom. When asked generally about whether having additional adults in his classroom was helpful, Ramirez talked about such resources this way:

> It all depends . . . [sometimes] adults are just like having [another] child in the classroom . . . So anytime that I can get a certified person [such as the Title 1 bilingual teacher] who knows how to work with children . . . who can focus on weaknesses . . . and on developing strengths . . . who has the methods, that's great! . . . That's like having another teacher . . . It's much more of a professional asset . . . (JR 6/95).

In these and earlier comments, we hear that Ramirez valued the personal resources--knowledge, skill, and professional attitudes--the Title 1 bilingual teacher brought to his classroom. Such was not equally the case for all adults who had worked with him. There were differences between the "professionals" and the "paraprofessionals." But teachers at Mission even reported significant differences among the aides that Mission hired. For example, unlike Anita Lorenz who taught her Title 1 aide the ways of Writers Workshop and who was enthusiastic about the work her aide was able to do, Ramirez did not find his aide as helpful as Lorenz did because the aide resisted his teaching style and took little responsibility for students' learning. In this latter instance, equivalent financial resources did not necessarily translate into equivalent instructional resources in the two classrooms. In the former case (the Title 1 bilingual teacher versus the bilingual aide)

differences in financial resources between the bilingual program that funded paraprofessionals and the Title 1 program that funded his teacher made a significant difference in instructional resources.

Still, Ramirez made it clear that he was pleased to have the help of two adults in his classroom, even though there were differences in what those two resources could accomplish. Ramirez and his two assistants generally worked with small groups of children during mathematics and language arts. While he reported planning and coordinating instruction for more people meant more work for him, he certainly seemed to need the extra help in his room. Observations confirm Juan Ramirez's report that having three adults working in the room helped him meld some innovative, reform-oriented instruction with basic skill instruction and tutoring for his first graders--all in the service of the school's new literacy goal.

In essence, the resources Ramirez gained under the new plan were able to reduce the class size for this teacher. Slavin, Karweit and Wasik (1991) reviewed research on the achievement effects of reducing class size along with several other intervention strategies. They concluded that substantially reducing class size can bring about moderate increases in reading achievement in the first grade, but that this strategy alone does not result in a cumulative effect in later years. Rather, they suggest a comprehensive approach including "tutoring, preschool, extended-day kindergarten and reduced class size in first grade" (p. 21). Slavin uses cooperative groups and recommends explicit strategy instruction as well. These strategies are incorporated into Slavin's "Success for All" program. And each of these strategies was being discussed by the staff at Mission Elementary as part of their new plan. Ramirez's students were able to be part of a much smaller instructional group under the new plan, and receive strategy instruction as

well as work cooperatively with their peers. Those Ramirez thought needed it were able to have special tutoring under the new plan as well. Thus, he was able to use several of the strategies research suggests help students learn to read--mostly because he had additional resources.

A Snapshot of "Resource Gains" in Action

For example, in language arts, where once there were twenty-eight to thirty-two students for most of the day, now there were three groups of nine or ten. Ramirez created three "heterogeneous" groups which then rotated instructors--from Ramirez, to Ms. Lake, the Title 1 teacher, to Mrs. Hernandez, the bilingual aide--and kinds of lessons so they all received a mix of instruction. Most of the students, Title 1 or not, received instruction ranging from reform-oriented "language experience"--that is, discussion for understanding and for explicitly practicing reading strategies, practice in reading aloud or writing for authentic purposes, opportunities to dictate stories to adults and then read them back, and so on--to phonics practice with the bilingual aide. For example, one day Mrs. Hernandez was working with one group on phonics and the skill of alphabetizing a list of words. Ramirez was working with a group "drawing spring." And Ms. Lake was questioning students about the meaning of words in a poem they had read together (about nine or ten in the groups). After twenty minutes, the groups rotated until each group had been with each adult.

Ramirez had earlier (before Ms. Lake arrived) worked with the entire class to read two poems about spring written in Spanish on a large flip chart. Several children read it orally to the group. Then the entire class had gathered around him for a conversation about planting and other subject matter in the two poems. Ramirez asked them to discuss what "to plant"

meant. They discussed what happens during the different seasons and the order of the seasons. Finally, the whole group "brainstormed" ideas about spring after Ramirez asked "what do you think of when you think of spring? He wrote all the words the children thought of on the poster paper hanging in front of them. Snapshots of what followed this activity are below.[2]

> Shortly after Ms. Lake walked in, Ramirez picked up a small bell and rang it. The children quickly moved into groups and situated themselves around the room: one group at a table with Ms. Lake, another group at a table with Mrs. Hernandez, and another on the floor circled around Mr. Ramirez. Ramirez told his small group (in Spanish) to think about spring, think about the poem, think about all the words they generated about spring. Then, JR (in Spanish): "We're going to review writing. First we'll center the title 'spring'. Remember to write 'spring' with a capital letter . . . Pablo, you're missing a letter. OK, we're going to illustrate. What does that mean? Boy: "Do a drawing?" JR: "Very good Juan. We're going to draw spring. Then we will write what we drew." He gives them suggestions to help them out with their drawings using some words from the list they had generated earlier ("leaves, "to plant", rain", "skating", "sun", "trunk", "air" (which can mean wind in Spanish), "rainbow" , "grass", "roots", "flowers", "baby animals", "fruits", "bees", "flies", "seeds", "water", "birds sing". Throughout the lesson he encouraged them to add more details to their pictures, to take their time and not to rush. For example: "Is that the best you can do? I've seen you do better. Don't rush. The more you put in your drawing, the easier it will be to write about it later. Oh, you can do much better than that. Remember the poem while you do these. (He recited part of it: The Sleeping Bear/Bear so curled up/haven't you heard?/Come out of your den! Then: I like to plant/I like to plant . . . in the springtime I like to plant. JR pressed students to explain their drawings to him while they worked: For example, he asked a couple of students "what is that?" while pointing to something on the drawing and they answered "little chicken," or "dog". "What is it doing?" They responded. He asked Pablo "why is that so small?" and Pablo answered, "because it is very far away." They continue this work until JR says: "OK, put away your colors and turn in the papers. Just leave them. It's time for the next group." He rang the bell again (Fieldnote 3/95).

At the same time, Ms. Lake, the Title 1 bilingual teacher, was working with a group of eight children. They read another poem written on a flip chart titled La Reina Batata (The Queen Batata). Then they conversed about it and wrote

about it on half sheets of plain cream paper Ms. Lake had passed to each student.

> Ms. Lake is gesticulating, pointing to each child, asking them questions, talking with them about the poem. They are all leaning way up onto the table. Many have their elbows on the table with chins resting on their upturned hands. Some are almost laying on the table. Their eyes are on Ms. Lake or the book in which large letters spell out the words to La Reina Batata. Ms. Lake is speaking with a great deal of expression. Occasionally a child raises his/her hand. But very often, Ms. Lake calls on them. So very often the children are the ones who are talking. (They talk softly; it is difficult to hear). They are all discussing the "Reina Batata" poem, pointing to the book, using lots of expression, laughing or writing. (A short example follows.)
>
> Ms. Lake asks "what is the queen of batata like?"
>
> A small boy responds "she has a crown."
>
> Ms. Lake presses him to think about a word in the poem--threaten. She asks him what it means "to threaten." He responds, but not audibly. Then she asks the group for examples of threatening. She reminds them how the word is used in the poem: The chef looked at her/and the queen "se abatada—"(an invented word)/The queen trembled with fear/the chef with his finger/--yes, no, yes, no--(the chef is ordering her around)/In a bad mood, he threatened her/the queen saw through the opening/that he was sharpening his knife . . . The children respond to her request for "examples of threaten." For example: "I'll kill you." "I'll beat you up." "I'll cut you up." "I'll eat you." Ms. Lake asks them all to "make a bad mood face" when they reach that part of the poem. They read it again aloud. Then, she asks them to describe what the queen looks like when she is "abatada"(the word the author made up). One student says that this means that she's angry. Another says something else (not audible, perhaps "afraid"). They continue the discussion and writing on their papers until the bell tinkles once again. (Fieldnote 3/95).

In both of these short excerpts of small group teaching and learning, the students in Juan Ramirez's class are engaged in making sense of authentic texts--poetry in these instances--through conversation and interaction with peers. The children were given the opportunity to learn from their peers. And Ms. Lake was helping them to use some of the strategies that good readers use to comprehend text--contextual clues for example--when the

group constructed a likely meaning of the invented word in the poem, or when they discussed the meaning of the word "threaten." She connected the poem to students' experience by having them act out the meaning of threatening, and so on. Children were reading in the sense that they were constructing meaning as well as saying the words orally. Individual children were writing with help from the group discussion. Ramirez was pressing students to use the rules he had taught them, as well as their prior knowledge about "spring"--connecting the text of the poem to what they knew and expanding both. He also asked them to expand the details of what they understood by drawing, and by explaining their thinking as they drew. All of these are examples of reform-oriented authentic language experience in students' primary language--Spanish.

In addition to these two groups which were engaged in "whole language" tasks--using their own experience and literature to learn thinking, writing, and comprehension skills--Mrs. Hernandez was working with a group on more basic skills: recognizing beginning sound letter correspondence, for example, and putting words into alphabetical order for another. All of this instruction--basic skills instruction and whole language--integrated Title 1 instruction with the classroom core curriculum . And Title 1 students were integrated in heterogeneous, cooperative groups in the classroom. A few students received more intensive one-on-one or one-on-two tutoring in reading, also in the classroom.

So the additional resources in Juan Ramirez's room allowed him and his assistants to use a variety of instructional methods in very small, heterogeneous, classroom groups. Research on reading achievement suggests that this sort of "Success for All" strategy does have the potential to prevent later reading difficulties in students who are at risk for academic failure

(Slavin, Karweit and Wasik 1991). The small group instruction--during which all students were actively engaged in conversation with a teacher, or were receiving individualized instruction from an adult--would have been next to impossible without extra adults in the room. Ramirez explained his reasons for creating these heterogeneous groups:

> . . . The grouping is mixed so that children who have strengths . . . can . . . help kids who . . . have been identified as being Chapter One. Also, . . . the work that the Chapter One kids will be doing [is] not all remedial. They are working on higher level thinking skills. They are exposed to problem solving . . . they are exposed to a whole language reading atmosphere . . . kids who get stuck in a groove (working on basic skills) . . . never see the big picture. They never get to talk about a story line, about characters, about the 'what-ifs' . . . They never get there . . . because [they] can't decode a B from a D. They're just doing . . . sounds . . . when there is so much more to reading. I mean, literacy . . . encompasses everything: semantics, skills, syntax, grammar. And being given . . . the chance to figure it all out. If you're stuck with just . . . Spot and cat . . . I don't see that as real reading. I just don't (JR 3/95).

Here, Ramirez's reasoning for grouping students includes the idea of cooperative learning--an idea rooted in cognitive psychology and sprinkled throughout the reform documents. He wants his students to learn from one another. Title 1 students' instruction was part of Ramirez's regular classroom curriculum. As in the earlier fieldnote excerpts, Ramirez used literature as the text for teaching literacy, very much in the direction of the "high standards" curriculum reform. But he also included lessons in skill practice, usually taught by his bilingual aide. And he used this mix of old and new for all students (though a few Title 1 students received special tutoring that others did not). Ramirez talked about language arts goals and methods for all his first grade students in several interviews:

> [We've] read . . . almost every book that you saw on that literature . . . cart, and poetry. Poetry is a main stay in my classroom for the development of language (JR 6/95).

He also said:

> I'm trying to develop their written discourse. They need to know these structures . . . how to write the date, select and write a title. Or, that brainstorming that we did on spring? Each kid will choose an item of interest and then we'll . . . develop them. For instance we'll write a topic sentence and then we'll write two sentences that will support that (JR 3/95).

Ramirez wants his students to be able to use language effectively, to understand the meaning of literature as well as the mechanics of good writing. But his conception of literacy, of what it means to read and write, is much broader than traditional basal readers with their accompanying basic skill packets. Though his instruction is a mix of old and new, Ramirez's reasoning in the comments above, as well as his practices in the earlier excerpts, are consistent with the arguments of advocates of authentic language experiences and cognitive research. The former want all students to have authentic reasons to communicate effectively (Goodman and Goodman 1979). Ms. Lake and Ramirez were engaging students in such authentic communication in their conversation, thinking, and writing around poetry. The latter suggests interaction with peers provides students with motivation and "scaffolding" for thinking, reading, and writing (Resnick 1987).

The small "mixed" groups that Ramirez created provide his young students with such motivation and scaffolding--stronger students could help and motivate those who were struggling: for example, in Ms. Lake's group when the children began calling out examples of the meaning in "to threaten." By the end of the discussion, all of the students had provided an example. Together they constructed the meaning of a portion of the text that would have been difficult at best for the Title 1 students in the group to accomplish on their own. Both lines of argument--those by advocates of authentic language experience and those by cognitive researchers--as well as

the practices considered here in this first grade classroom, are consistent with the recommendations of the English-language arts model curriculum in California--that is, the reform document that calls for high standards of literacy for all students.

Moreover, because of the relatively small number of students in each group, Ramirez and Ms. Lake were able to engage each student. All the students in the small groups were responding to questions--"at risk" students as well as those who were not at risk for failure. The teachers pressed every child in each group to think. While research on meta-cognitive strategies suggests that students can acquire the thinking strategies to become independent learners (Porter 1991), children at risk of failing academically are less likely to possess them. They need guided practice and feedback as they use thinking strategies (Garcia and Pearson 1991) in safe contexts such as the small groups these teachers had created. It is unlikely that the children who were having difficulties in Ramirez's class would have had such practice and feedback in a larger group setting. For example, McCollum's (1991) review of research on instructional strategies for disadvantaged students noted that Brophy (1983) and Good (1981) have each shown that "lower ability" students are not generally given much opportunity to respond in whole-class instructional arrangements (p. 300). Ensuring that every student was actively engaged would have been difficult for Ramirez and Ms. Lake had the groups been much larger--thirty students for example. So the resources Juan Ramirez received under the new plan were able to support his mix of reform-oriented and basic skill instruction, as well as provide tutoring for a few of his first graders--all in the service of the school's new literacy goal.

Even beyond the narrower school literacy goal, Juan Ramirez seemed to be using his resources to support quite innovative curriculum and

instruction for all his students--Title 1 included. During another observation of the first graders' "garden project," children were growing tomatoes, onions, corn, and radishes. They were measuring and charting the progress of their radishes by change in centimeters every other day. They were also keeping a journal about their individual plants--writing or drawing a record of the project. This ongoing assignment integrated science, mathematics, reading, and writing according to Mr. Ramirez. The journals and graphs were student work samples cited on the "PQR" list, and the school garden was part of the schools' overall work to improve science instruction.

Additional resources supported Ramirez's instruction, and small group student work on these kinds of projects, which would have been difficult in a larger group. All these activities were consistent with curriculum reform for all students, and they certainly departed from the drill and practice of number facts which has been widely reported as characterizing most mathematics instruction for "disadvantaged" children (Zucker 1991).[3] In these instances, the new concentration of resources in kindergarten and first grade worked in the service of the new school-wide goal of literacy by the end of first grade, albeit in the midst of social discord. In fact, based on classroom observations and the sort of work this teacher was doing with his first grade students, in this room "literacy" seemed to be cast not narrowly, but in the direction of the more complex literacy assumed in the "high standards" reforms.

Juan Ramirez and his students gained from the new plan to concentrate resources and forge mutual staff obligation for a narrower, more focused, school mission. But that was not necessarily the case in the third grade classrooms of Alice Michiels and Kate Jones--at least not in the instances of the Title 1 students this study followed for two years.

LOSSES FOR TITLE 1 STUDENTS AND TEACHERS: A CLOSER LOOK AT RESOURCES AND PRACTICE

Michiels and Jones had to cope with the conflict between an ideal--coherent, school-level planning--and the practical problems of their particular school or classrooms--only modest resources for example, and a transient student body for another. Thus, while the idea of the new plan was to prevent the need for remedial instruction in the upper grades by preventing reading problems in the early grades, a transient student population meant that students from other schools--"non-readers"--were transferring into Mission. This was before the plan even got well under way, but there was no reason to assume the school population or its behavior would change in the future. Moreover, when the school's modest resources were concentrated in the lower grades, Alice Michiels and Kate Jones lost Monique Ponds, who had been the Title 1 bilingual teacher working with the third grade students for one hour, three days a week. Under the new, more coherent school-level plan, Ponds was slated to work in the early grades--kindergarten through second--and would have no longer been available to work with these third grade teachers. But together with Ponds and a fourth grade team, Michiels and Jones invented a way to manage their problem. They pooled bilingual funds and convinced Ponds to work for less time and less money in order to continue to work with a handful of Title 1 students who had been in her charge the year before. Nevertheless, the vicissitudes of school life, along with budget constraints and lack of qualified personnel, upset their attempt to manage the trade-offs in the new plan--that is to manage their loss of resources. They lost Ponds by midyear. What instructional resources did they lose when Title 1 resources were eliminated from their rooms? How did they respond to such losses? In essence, how did these particular teachers manage

the trade-offs in the collective response to the reform calling for school-wide coherence?

Managing Trade-offs and Coping with Tensions

Michiels' first response to the new plan under which she would lose Monique Ponds was to find a way to keep her. Using flexible funding under new categorical rules, these teachers devised a way for Ponds to stay with the Title 1 children who passed from second to third grade. By sharing human resources and using funding creatively, they tried to maintain the continuity in Title 1 instruction to meet the needs of their students. At the beginning of the year, Ponds reported she was no longer "officially" the Title 1 teacher. This year Ponds was paid with bilingual funds, not Title 1 funds. But she worked with both Michiels' and Jones' Title 1 children. So, official or not, Monique Ponds had been a thread of continuity in some of these youngsters lives for over a year. These teachers--Alice Michiels and a fourth grade bilingual teacher--responded creatively to their loss of Title 1 resources (a" credentialed" bilingual teacher in their room an hour a day, three days a week) by using bilingual funds, which generally were used to purchase aides for several hours a day. They pooled their money to pay for Ponds.

But the bilingual funding was less than Title 1 funding, and it was bound up in a hiring process that made it difficult to find and keep qualified people. So this was not a substitution of one pool of funds for another in several respects. Under the arrangement Michiels devised, the third and fourth grade teachers--two Compañero teams--would share Ponds, and would have her for a shorter period of time than they might have had a teacher under the auspices of a Title 1 resource (an hour and one-half per team, compared to two hours last year when Title 1 funded the support teachers).

Likewise, Ponds worked less than the two bilingual aides she was replacing would have (aides worked three hours each). Furthermore, the substitution of Ponds for a bilingual aide was not something these teachers could replicate. First, Ponds was willing to work fewer hours for less money because she had a new baby. And Michiels was her mentor; Ponds wanted to work with her. Still, the third and fourth grade bilingual rooms that pooled their money to buy Ponds thought less time with Ponds was a lucky break for them--a better resource than more time with bilingual aides.

Alice Michiels explains the situation as a human resource problem caused in part by bureaucratic routines and rules associated with the bilingual program. She casts the matter this way:

> Unfortunately the quality of these people [bilingual aides] was not [good] because they had been in the district a long time. They had seniority. You didn't have a choice over who you got. You just got this person that had been there. One of the things I would love to change would be the . . . way that [the district] hires people. It is so backwards . . . I mean, they don't hire necessarily qualified people. They go by seniority . . . So you're stuck . . . [Good] bilingual aides are so rare . . . And then [the district] treats [the good ones] like . . . 'take a number.' . . . We get so mad at [the district personnel] because they lose really good people. They can go anywhere and get a job if they're bilingual. . . .I've begged people to come here (AM 8/94).

So part of the problem with losing Title 1 resources and replacing them with bilingual funds was qualified help: Alice Michiels reported that she had to train and work with four bilingual aides last year. If they were good, they left for more pay. If they were not, they were more trouble than the time it took to train them.

Thus, under the new plan, when Alice Michiels lost her Title 1 resources--the Title 1, bilingual teacher, Monique Ponds--she could not easily replace her. Fewer funds embedded in a hiring system that wasn't working well meant she would have had to select from a pool of bilingual aides who,

because of hiring practices like seniority, weren't very good. Before the new plan, Michiels would have had Ponds for more time each day, in addition to a bilingual aide for several hours each day. Nevertheless, by using funds creatively, Michiels was able to keep Ponds, but only for a while.

The practical vicissitudes of school life thwarted the teachers' efforts to create continuity in their Title 1 students' lives: Midway in the school year, Monique Ponds quit because with the cost of child care, she was not able to net enough money to make ends meet. This situation is just one more example of the practical considerations--budget constraints and the lack of qualified help--that can conflict with staff attempts at coherent planning at the instructional level or the school level. Another is the transient student population.

Monique Ponds left in her wake several Title 1 students who appeared to be struggling to "make it" in the regular classroom, but who now had no help because of the new, more coherent school-level plan. One of those students transferred in from another school, and according to three reports, was suspected of having been a "crack baby." Because resources were tight, there is an unintended problem created in part by the long range "solution" to the problem of "non-readers" leaving first and second grades, and in part by a practical fact of life at Mission--that is, students are very transient. There were trade-offs in the choices Mission's staff had made--losses as well as gains. And teachers had to cope with those trade-offs.

Kate Jones and Alice Michiels provide a view into third grade classrooms that really did not feel the consequences of the new plan--loss of Title 1 resources--until Monique Ponds left at midyear and they could not replace her. This state of affairs at Mission is helpful for purposes of this study because comparing the rooms before and after Ponds' departure shows

the impact of what they--Jones and Michiels, and their Title 1 students--had then lost when they lost Ponds (their bilingual Title 1 teacher). Michiels and Jones can stand for the situation many of the upper grade teachers were in when they lost their Title 1 resources. Because most of Mission's upper grade teachers did not have the good luck of managing to hire Ponds or someone like her, even for a few months, they had to cope with a situation similar to Jones' and Michiels', only earlier in the year.[4]

At the same time, contrasting images of Title 1 instruction--before and after Ponds' departure from Mission--illustrate in more detail the tension that can occur among reform elements--the call for school-wide coherent planning and the press for more coherent, demanding instruction for Title 1 children for example--at different levels of activity. That practical conflicts with the policy ideals (such as those described above) occur is a topic which repeatedly appears in the data chapters of this study. But here, a closer look at the school shows the meaning their occurrence holds for teachers and students, and how teachers at Mission coped with those tensions.

Before and After Monique Ponds: Losing Human Resources

At the beginning of the 1994-95 school year, Monique Ponds reported on the progress of the Spanish-speaking Title 1 students who had been in Linn's second grade room and were now in Michiels' third grade room. Nan was progressing well this year. Toward the end of last year, she began to really take an interest in reading. Ponds attributed this newfound interest to Nan's older sister who was in fifth grade. Ponds converted her close relationship with the older girl into a valuable resource for Nan by asking the older sister to work with her at home. Nan was beginning to read quite fluently at home

and at school. Now, Ponds reported, she would likely dismiss Nan from the small group very soon.[5]

According to Ponds, Ana was "still really struggling. . . just as she was last year," and still a couple of years behind her peers. Her speech used to be unintelligible, but it was improving. Ponds thought this problem was a matter of maturity. But a few of her classmates still made fun of her speech, and the way her mouth moved to form the sounds. And Ana seemed shy about this. Several people reported that Ana was born very prematurely in the outback of Mexico and the village doctor predicted she would not live. But she did and was there at Mission, in the group of Title 1 children, still very small for her age. She seemed to be easily frustrated with the work demands Ponds placed on her. But Ponds insisted that Ana had to learn to do the work, and she continued to push her.[6] This year Ana was reading and writing a bit. And, despite her speech problems, she was even "speaking" in public, reciting poetry over a public announcement system as the vignette below will show.

Ponds thought Maria was improving, but still needed extra support to continue her progress--the sort of one-on-one tutoring and peer support she received in the smaller group. Ponds said Maria used to just "blank out" when she was in school, perhaps due to "overload:" a new school, a new country, new children in her life, and so on. Maria, who had recently arrived from Mexico, had shortly cropped black hair reminiscent of a twenties flapper. Her soft brown doe-like eyes were often cast downward. Though shy, Maria was capable of doing sustained work this year, and usually got right to the tasks Ponds assigned.

Before Monique Ponds left Mission Elementary, she had been arriving at 8:30 AM in Alice Michiels' classroom to tutor a small group of "the

neediest" Title 1 students--Nan, Ana, and Maria among them. Ponds spent most of her time--a total of one hour a day, three days as week--working with Michiels' Spanish-speaking children, either those who transferred to Kate Jones' room for ESL instruction or those in the Title 1, Spanish-speaking group. She only worked with Kate Jones' small Title 1 group for one-half hour a day because, as Michiels reported: "this year it happens my students have greater need. But we would change that if it needed to be" (AM 8/94). Michiels stressed that though Ponds pulled aside some students for special tutoring, she did so during "non-academic" times, such as the morning opening, or to support their work on assignments the entire class was doing. Both Ponds and Michiels reported that the Title 1 instruction was aligned with the regular classroom instruction, and observations seemed to confirm their reports.

Alice Michiels' room before Monique Ponds' departure: Images of curriculum reform and Title 1 instruction

At the beginning of the 1994-1995 school year--before the school's mission had narrowed to raising CTBS scores, but after the plan to concentrate resources in the lower grades--Alice Michiels' language arts practice was generally reform oriented. Like Anita Lorenz and Juan Ramirez, Alice Michiels generally tried to emphasize a form of "high literacy" (Scardamalia & Bereiter 1986). Her expectations for students' work, including Title 1 students, were in definite contrast to more traditional expectations for such students--expectations that include a heavy emphasis on "basic" component skills apart from classmates, meaningful texts, or genuine purposes for academic tasks.[7] Curriculum and instruction that hold high expectations for poor, language-minority children are unusual (Moll 1986; 1991). Knapp and Needles (1991) as well as Garcia and Pearson (1991)

surveyed research on literacy and found that instruction which emphasized mostly drill and practice of discrete skills--aimed at teaching students building blocks before more ambitious literacy skills--was widespread for disadvantaged children--that is, low SES and low achieving students. Further, such instruction--for Title 1 students especially--was often not integrated into mainstream classroom activities. Thus, students were segregated, and their curriculum fragmented (Allington 1991; Allington and Johnston 1989; Allington and McGill-Franzen 1986; Knapp and Turnbull 1991; Turnbull 1990).[8]

But the literacy activities in Michiels' room (as in Lorenz's and Ramirez's) were, for the most part, consistent with California's English-language arts model curriculum, and more generally with curriculum reforms that want students to have authentic reasons to communicate--that is, to use reading, writing, listening, and oral expression for genuine, meaningful communication (Goodman and Goodman 1979). For example, the curriculum guide (1987/1988) suggests that teachers use authentic texts and that students actively engage with such texts:

> Beginning in the primary grades the instructional materials used for the English-language arts program should be oriented less toward textbooks . . . and based more on literature (pp. 2-3).

And:

> . . . students have ample opportunities to discuss, listen, read, write, and also to experience literature in a setting which fosters active and not merely passive participation (p. 2).

As sketched earlier in this chapter, one assumption here is that authentic tasks carried out in interaction with peers provide students with the motivation as well as intellectual support or "scaffolding" to read, write, and think critically (Resnick 1987). Another assumption is that the mechanics of reading and writing as well as thinking skills and strategies can be learned

simultaneously in the process of using integrated language with purpose (Knapp and Needles). In light of the historical, intellectual background reviewed in chapter one, these assumptions square more with the theories of Vygotsky, Dewey, Piaget, and Bruner than with those of Thorndike, Gagne, and Bloom.

Moreover, before Ponds' departure, she and Michiels worked to integrate the kind of literacy reform just sketched with Title 1 instruction in this classroom. In one reform-oriented literacy lesson, they integrated reading and speaking for purposes that were quite genuine for the students. For example, the class had selected a poem and read it to their parents as part of their homework. Five Title 1 children were working on pictures which illustrated each of the poem's verses in preparation for an oral presentation.[9] While doing so, they were having a running conversation with Ponds about the poem and their drawings. Ponds helped with a variety of mechanical tasks as well as pressed them to think about their illustrations. For instance, just below she was helping with punctuation and spelling (using a phonetic approach), as well as answering various questions and keeping students on task:[10]

> MP: Look, the 'g', then the 'I', (and) 'There's no space there', 'striped . . . striped', (she sounds some words out slowly to help with spelling.
> . . . she continues, slowly articulating words)
> Child: What else, teacher?
> MP: Well, you know . . . The striped tigers (then together with the child) are lying down because they feel? (pause as they figure it out together.) MP continues: lying down (slowly articulating) you know. Look at my lips. You'll only learn if you want to. Only if you want to. Look at my lips. You know. Child: 'p'. MP: yes! you know a lot. (MP continues to slowly articulate words and phrases of the poems).
> . . . C: Teacher, now do I write (pause)? The child points to her picture.
> M: You write (pause)?
> C: The sky?

> M: YES, 'sky' is with 'c' ('ciego' is the word for 'sky.') (She continues to articulate words and helps with spelling.) (Fieldnote and audio tape, 8/94).

Here Ponds helped students with mechanical writing tasks, but within an authentic assignment that also pressed them to think and engaged them in meaningful conversation about the text. On the latter point for example, in another segment of the conversation Ponds pressed students to expand their representations of the verses (she assigned each child one verse) they were illustrating: once by tapping the personal prior experience of the group and once by pressing them to make connections to other information they had covered. Here they began by talking about how an ostrich might look like a ballerina in a skirt--an image used in a verse about ostriches:

> MP: How do the ballerina dresses appear, do you imagine? Have you all seen a ballerina? (They all respond enthusiastically that yes, they have and one child says that he saw a practicing ballerina in Mexico and describes her. She carried paper [streamers] in her hand. After a bit more discussion about skirts they resume work on their illustrations.)
> MP (To another child): What else can you do for this scene? Where do tigers live? Can you think? In mountains? In trees? (This was a reference to information the children had covered recently in science. This month Michiels was using an animal theme across her curriculum.)
> Child: Among trees? (they continued for a while, then at one point, Nan read her verse aloud spontaneously. Ponds said she was preparing for the big moment in front of the class. Ponds turned to Ana.)
> MP: Ana? Honey? I want you to do more with your drawing. (there was a pause then Ana said)
> A: uh-huh (nodding affirmative) (8/94).

These examples are instances of Title 1 students being pressed to think about and respond to images in poetry through images of their own. Ponds not only keeps them on task, but pushes them to expand their work, eliciting "background knowledge" from previous reading or experience. Here also seems to be an example of the "internal motivation" that researchers argue

can be generated through authentic tasks (Resnick; Knapp and Shields; Means, Chelmer, and Knapp 1991). Several students were reading the verses they had copied below their illustrations, not because the teacher asked them to do it, but because they wanted to prepare for the class presentation. This sort of oral reading is in contrast to what has been reported as more typical--that is, small groups of students in "read arounds" reading aloud from basals, repeating the same paragraphs while others follow along (Knapp and Shields). This day, according to Ponds, the children in her group were eager to rehearse their verses aloud by reading or reciting--outside as well as in the classroom.

At 9:35 AM, Alice Michiels tested the microphone--"testing, one, two"--then introduced Ponds and her students. They were gathered in front of the room holding their pictures. Ponds began in Spanish:

> MP (Spanish): My group chose a poem about the zoo, and each person . . . is going to recite [a verse] to you . . . The poem is called "the zoo" Ana? " (After a pause, Ana began reading the verse "the tigers" in Spanish, into the microphone. Her usually quiet, almost inaudible voice carried throughout the room as she spoke.)
> Ana (Spanish): the striped tigers. (pause.) The striped tigers are lying down because they feel sl . . . sl . . . sleepy.
> MP: very good. (applause from the entire class)
> Then Nan stood in front of the group to recite her verse. She had it nearly memorized and spoke into the microphone with gusto all the while holding her illustration up for the others to see.
> Nan (Spanish): the polar bears. White polar bears like the foam, like the clouds, dreaming snow. (more applause and Maria began. She also held her poster up to the group. Everyone in the room appeared to be attending to the presentation. Maria had drawn a picture of dancing ostriches.) She read the following: "The ostriches. Dressed in their feathers, the ostriches (pause) look like ballerinas (pause) waiting for them to turn on the lights." (Fieldnote and audio tape, 8/94).

When Ponds' group of students finished to great applause, Michiels had several other students read or recite to the class over the microphone.

Over the course of the week, the children had all made a public presentation to an "authentic audience," one they seemed to care about. All presentations were made in Spanish. Though Ana was holding her poster in front of her face (in part to hide and in part to use as a cue card Ponds later told me), she managed to exercise her oral language skills, boost her confidence (perhaps), practice reading, as well as "experience and respond to" literature--all while practicing the mechanics of language.[11] According to Ponds, though she had far to go, Ana was making headway: last year she could not read, now she was beginning.

None of the images from Michiels' classroom squared with the traditional images of a "pull-out" program where students are separated from their peers, usually in another room, to spend their time repeatedly reading segments of text from basals, filling out worksheets, or practicing low-level discrete skills (Knapp and Turnbull; Turnbull 1990). In this one example of a week-long language arts assignment, Ponds worked at connecting images in the students' responses to poems to students' own experiences or information they had recently learned (their "prior knowledge"). And she pressed them to expand their representations of poetry, to think, to make sense of the poem, to understand it. Her instructional goals were consistent with "alternatives to conventional wisdom" (Knapp and Shields) in the literacy curriculum reforms, and specifically the California curriculum guide that want students to learn the mechanics of reading and writing through an integrated language approach that has them actively engage with literature, cooperatively, in interaction with peers. It is also consistent with Title 1 reforms that want Title 1 students to have access to the "core curriculum", and want instruction coordinated with, rather than fragmented from, "regular" classroom instruction.

When Michiels lost Ponds, she lost a valuable human resource: a dedicated teacher who held beliefs similar to Michiels about teaching as well as bilingual policy; a professional who was capable of designing curriculum and instruction; and a supportive colleague who was helping Michiels integrate Title 1 instruction into the regular reform-oriented, classroom curriculum (in language arts). Jones also lost an important resource--a trained and conscientious tutor she could rely on to work with students who needed extra help.

Kate Jones room: Title 1 tutoring before Monique Ponds' departure

Another point of comparison before Ponds' departure illustrates the resource this teacher lost, as well as how school level choices amplified to teachers and Title 1 students. What Jones had in the vignette below, but then lost, due in great part to the new plan to concentrate resources, was an important human resource--a qualified and conscientious tutor for her students. When Kate Jones lost Ponds, she lost a tutor for a handful of students who seemed desperately to need it because transient students made long-range planning difficult in this school. For example, the new plan assumed students would be "readers" when they reached third grade. But in this example, Kyle, the boy who left Anita Lorenz's second grade class as a "reader," was no longer at Mission. (Though Gerard was, and he was one of Ponds' students.) The Title 1 student who took Kyle's place transferred into Kate Jones' room from another school.

What follows is an excerpt of a lesson with Diane, the girl who transferred into Mission Elementary and who both Kate Jones and Monique Ponds reported was a "non-reader." The day of this lesson Ponds reported they would read from a Dr. Suess book--Great Day for UP. Yesterday Jones

had wanted Diane to "do phonics" and Diane "hated it." So Ponds promised Diane she could read a book today. But Ponds read the entire story to Diane, sometimes stopping to talk about what words/phrases might mean and to find clues in the pictures; sometimes stopping to coach Diane on the one word she was to read--UP.

> Diane, a little black girl, walked up to the table. Ponds asked Diane, "have you ever read this book before?" Diane shook her head no. "Have you read any Dr. Suess books before?" Again, D shook her head. Ponds said The reason that I like these books is not only do they have great pictures, but they're kind of funny. And also they have rhyming words. "Do you know what rhyming words are?" she asked.
> Diane said: wake-up, wake-up
> MP(looking puzzled): Well, those words are kind of repeating words. Rhyming words would be like Jake baked a cake. Lets see if this book rhymes. [she opens the Dr. Suess book.] . . . The only word that you're going to have to read in this whole book is this word [she points to, but does not read, the word UP written in bold red letters on the cover of the book: Great Day for UP]. Can you read it?
> D: wake up
> MP: [still looking puzzled]: Not quite. Now how did you think of saying wake up? Why are you saying wake up, wake up? Did those words just pop into your head? Or, did you look at this book and think about waking up?
> D: I just looked at the book
> MP: Well you know. This says up [pointing to UP] and the book has to do with waking up. You're right! I'm impressed with how you noticed that. Okay, the title is Great Day for UP. So the one word you're going to read every time you see it is this word here. . . [pointing to UP!]
> D: wake
> MP: not wake the other one you said. Uuuuuuuuh?
> D: up
> MP: up. so why don't you start. I'm going to point to the word [Ponds points to the first two words UP! UP!]
> D: up (long pause) up
> MP: the sun is getting
> D: up
> MP: good. The sun gets?
> D: up
> They continue for a few moments, then

MP: Ear number one. Ear number two. See how this sort of rhymes? The sun gets up. So up with YOU. . . [she points to the next UP and says, "Here's your word."
Diane pauses for a while, then purses her lips to make a "W" sound. Then she says, "wake-up."
MP: Up
D: Up. . .
MP: heads
D: Up
MP: whiskers, tails! Great day, today. great day forrrrrr?
D: waaa, wu, waaake
MP: Look at those two letters. Just two letters. Uhhhhh [Ponds made the short u sound with her mouth and finally D said the word]
D: Up.
They continued with Ponds reading and pausing for Diane to read UP. Then they talked about a picture for a few moments and Ponds asked Diane some questions which she seemed to readily and sensibly answer. After a while Ponds read: great day to sing up on a wire.
Diane immediately noticed that Ponds had read the word UP.
Diane said: you said I could read UP
Ponds responded: Oh, you know, you're right. lets start over.
M: great day to sing . . . (pause)
Diane pressed her lips together and said: my. mmmmmm . . .
Ponds said: Uhhh uhhh
D: UP!
They finished the story in this manner. Diane read "her word " several more times. Then near the very end at the word "up," Diane said, "wake."
Ponds pointed in the book and said, "this one is wake. What is this one [up]. The one you've been saying. Everyone on earth is. . . ? Don't you remember? The u and the p? Uuuhhhh?
D: uuuhhh
Ms Ponds: UP
D: UP (Fieldnote and transcript, 8/94).

This is another example of Title 1 instruction coordinated with the "regular" curriculum: All Kate Jones' students were choosing, reading, and responding to Dr. Suess books from the library this week. But it and the earlier lessons in Michiels' classroom also show the kind of resource this teacher (and others in the upper grades) would have continued to benefit from, if the new plan had not been instituted--an additional qualified,

dedicated teacher in the room. And the lessons show that these students were struggling, very much in need of the extra tutoring. But Ponds was only with Michiels and Jones for a few months because of their special arrangement, and they could not replace her when she left. Thus, these vignettes not only illustrate the resource these teachers and students had--before the new plan went into effect and Monique Ponds left the special situation of their employment--but also what the upper grade teachers lost under the new plan.

The situation also illustrates the significance at the instructional level of the clash between coherent, long-range planning at the school level, and the practical problem of a highly transient student population. For example, Michiels had been in favor of the new school-level plan the previous spring. She along with her colleagues developed the more coherent plan with a school-wide goal in mind. Michiels reported:

> I thought [the plan to concentrate resources and focus on the early grades] was a great idea. Because . . . if we helped these students earlier, we may not be seeing the type of needs [we have] now. That was the main reason. Let's do prevention; let's try--we've tried remedial, that doesn't [seem to] work . . . Let's try prevention. (AM reporting on the previous spring, 6/95).

But after the plan went into effect:

> Well, the weaknesses [were apparent] immediately. We had no help in the upper grades and so we were feeling really frustrated trying to do everything and . . . having kids that were like fish out of water--obviously not functioning. We could have sent them back [to second grade] but that's really hard on their self-esteem . . . (AM 6/95).

Michiels spoke for other upper grade teachers in her situation because of the new plan when asked how it had worked over the course of the year:

> Well, it just kind of left us in a lurch for those kids that were [struggling] . . . So we have had to come up with other ideas for working with those kids . . . Teachers weren't happy with the [new plan

> that left them without help] because they have some kids that are nonreaders . . . I had a lot of students that were not reading. So I . . . relied heavily on the [new peer] tutoring program to increase their fluency, and it has worked with some of them . . . So [we coped] by restructuring . . . and doing some pull-outs, but with [fifth grade] students--having them teach each other--rather than relying on the Chapter One teacher who wasn't going to be there for us (AM 6/95).

Here Michiels' comments express concerns for the instruction of particular students. Teaching is interpersonal. Individual students, with whom teachers have personal relationships, influence their sense of efficacy. Picking up from the conflict sketched in chapter five, it is not surprising then that the upper grade teachers began to complain about the new plan to concentrate all Title 1 resources in the early grades once they had lived with it for a while. With limited financial resources and a transient student body, they were coping with a dilemma located between what was best for the school and what was best for their particular students.

There were several reports from third and fourth grade teachers about situations similar to the one Kate Jones and Alice Michiels were facing: students who could not read a word were transferring into their classrooms. They decided they could not "wait" for the year or years it may take to see the fruits of the new plan--that is "readers" coming to them from the first and second grades. Nor did they anticipate a change in situation they faced with students leaving and transferring into Mission. They had to act on the problems they were facing now. The upper grade teachers coped with the consequences of the new, more coherent school-level plan, as Alice Michiels comments above, by relying on multiple "pull-outs" for Title 1 students--a situation that likely fragmented the instruction of those students and thus was a move away from the 1988 amendments to Title 1 (for some students' instruction).

What happened after Monique Ponds left: Losses for Title 1 students?

By midyear, Ponds was gone and her students were pulled out for a drill-oriented peer tutoring program during which fifth grade students were tutors All the students I was following went to peer tutoring, two others went to "RSP" (the special education resource specialist program) and one went back to second grade. In all, twelve students left Michiels' room and she reported this gave her the relief she needed to then work with the twenty students who were left in the room during writers workshop. Kate Jones also reported sending students to special education. What happened to Gerard and Diane after Ponds left? What happened to Ana, Maria, and Nan?

Gerard, who had worked so hard last year in Lorenz's class to make it out of "RSP" into the "regular" classroom, was back in special education. He was "pulled out" of Jones' classroom to receive instruction in the "RSP" room from the resource specialist, Catherine Crosby. I also learned that Gerard was living with a foster parent, in the process of being adopted. And he was in counseling learning to "cope with the loss of his natural mother." She was in jail pending a trial for murder. Jones reported that though the murder had received a lot of publicity "it doesn't seem to bother" Gerard (KJ 6/95). Common sense might suggest otherwise, and if the literature on bridging home and family is consulted to interpret the situation, Gerard had not only lost his mother, but a "home to school bridge" when he lost Monique Ponds--that is, a personal relationship serving as a thread of continuity in his life (Delpit 1986; 1988; Comer 1986; 1990).

Gerard was also in the special new "peer tutoring" program, as were Maria, Nan, and most others in the two small groups of Title 1 students. Ana, the tiny girl who had some difficulty speaking but who had read her poem over the microphone, now received much of her instruction in the

special education program. Diane, the girl who had difficulty remembering the word UP, had been sent back to second grade.

The literature on retention suggests that generally such a remedy has no long term benefits for individual children (Slavin and Madden 1991). And retention in the early grades is a major predictor of school dropout (Lloyd 1978 cited in Slavin and Madden). Researchers have been critical of retention as well as the practice of shifting students to special education programs--using labels such as "learning disabled," "language impaired," or "emotionally disturbed"--arguing there is little evidence that such practices have positive effects on students. Some suggest there have been incentives for Title 1 schools to use these practices to "raise" their test scores by eliminating the lowest scores (Slavin and Madden; McGill-Franzen and Allington 1991). But in this instance at Mission Elementary, (placing Diane in second grade where there were three adults working in the classroom rather than leaving her in Kate Jones' room without help) is one way to manage the dilemma that with limited resources and a transient student body, might have meant choosing between school-level coherence or instructional coherence in particular classrooms for particular children. Sending Ana and Gerard to special education services is yet another way to cope with lack of resources, large class size, the students academic struggles, and so on.

With modest resources in this school of 950 students, there were trade-offs in the school-wide choices the staff made. While Juan Ramirez and his first grade students gained from the new, more "coherent" plan to narrow the school mission and concentrate resources in the lower grades, Kate Jones, Alice Michiels, and their students lost. When Ponds left they were without help. In part, the "solution" to one problem, created another one. The staff's response to the new problematic situation was not unreasonable, especially

from their perspective, but it may have contributed to the ironic turn at Mission away from the policy ideal of high curriculum standards for all children toward a more, fragmented curriculum and narrower conception of achievement for some Title 1 students.

On the latter point, for example, Catherine Crosby, the special education teacher who initiated the new tutoring program at Mission, believed in peer tutoring because it was based on "student data." She was commended by her former colleagues from another school, in a letter to the state superintendent because, " . . . the peer tutoring programs resulted in dramatic improvement in student achievement."[12]

Catherine Crosby demonstrated the peer tutoring program for two groups of prospective fifth grade tutors and their teachers:

> 9 AM: . . . A fifth grader walks up front and reads a list of vocabulary words projected on a screen, in Spanish. He also demonstrates the "script" the tutors use when working with third grade students on vocabulary words.
>
> "Peer tutors have to memorize a lot," says Crosby. "These are called scripts. Now a demonstration. Maria is going to make a mistake on purpose and you'll hear how the tutor corrects the mistake." A third grader [Maria, Ponds' former student from Alice Michiels' classroom] reads a short segment of text [from an overhead projection] in Spanish. She is timed by a fifth grader while doing so.
>
> Catherine Crosby asks the entire group, "how many mistakes did she make?"
>
> ALL: one
>
> Crosby says, "show how [the mistakes are recorded]." A fifth grade tutor points to the zeros on the overhead, signifying a mistake in the segment of text the third grader has read. The two girls demonstrate a timed reading [once again]. The mistakes are pointed out, corrected and the passage is read again--four times in all.
>
> Crosby gives examples of problems that tutors bring up--for example, "How can I keep my tutee's finger on the words?" She talks about how the tutors learn to be good friends to their tutees. . .
>
> 11:30: During another demonstration, Maria reads a list of vocabulary words, one of them incorrectly.
>
> Her fifth grade tutor Pat points to the word and says (in Spanish), "This word is stone."

> Maria repeats the word "stone."
> Crosby points out that the tutor doesn't laugh but just points out the error. The older girl continues reading vocabulary words and the younger one repeats them after her . . . Now Pat reads a segment of text projected by the overhead onto the screen. Then Maria reads, repeating what the older girl had read. The fifth grade girl corrects the mistake Maria made on purpose, for demonstration purposes. All the while the two girls are using a pen and finger to point out errors and follow the text on the overhead projector. Maria's small finger moves from word to word as she reads; Pat's pen does the same.
>
> Crosby asked the group "What did you notice about how Pat pointed with her pen and Maria with her finger?" A few students comment (not audibly). Crosby explained that it's so that they don't get lost. Then she explained that this is timed reading and that the tutor reads the passage once and the tutee reads it three times. They set a time of one minute to see how much the tutee can read in that time; and the tutor records the errors. (Fieldnotes and audio tapes, 6/95).

This is an example of a drill and practice approach to reading, using repeated, rapid, timed readings of a segment of text or vocabulary words. The piece of text and word lists were drawn from the story that Alice Michiels' entire class was reading, so the tutoring was based on the classroom curriculum. But at this point in the story, for some Title 1 students in this study, "dramatic improvement in achievement" was conceptualized as increasing the speed and accuracy of reading sight words or pieces of text. And "student achievement data" meant charting the errors in a segment of text after drilling students on it. Crosby's description of peer tutoring squared with the call for accountability. According to an explication of peer tutoring, the student readers' "progress toward specific objectives . . . [is] . . . measured daily".[13] And peer tutoring lent itself to technical transfer of program practices because students could be trained to replicate them. But as I argued in chapter five, while the program means may be transferable and "effective," the aims do not represent high standards, nor do they call for complex performances on the part of teacher or student.

Further, these students were "pulled out" of their regular classroom to receive this instruction, as well as special education instruction. In all these ways, instruction for some Title 1 students moved away from the "integrated" curriculum and coherent organization of Title 1 instruction that Mission had adopted after the 1988 amendments, and closer to the inherited images of "fragmented" pullouts with a focus on "low-level" skills, an image that the various reforms--both Title 1 and curriculum reforms--had been aiming to change. Whether these students "needed" this kind of instruction is a matter of debate. Research is very divided on what is most effective for "disadvantaged" children. But, from the point of view of the reforms and based on at least some research, this move represented a loss for this group of Title I students. At Mission Elementary, coherence at the school level did not necessarily translate to coherence at the instructional level.

CONCLUSION

Mission Elementary's staff made difficult choices about their school mission and how to use their limited resources. Thus, as with any such decision where people set priorities and make choices using limited financial resources, there were gains as well as losses for teachers and students. Juan Ramirez and his first grade students gained from the significant all-staff decision to concentrate resources in the lower grades and forge mutual staff obligation for a more specified school mission--literacy for all students by the end of first grade. But that was not the case for Alice Michiels, Kate Jones, and at least some of their third grade Title 1 students. Mission Elementary school's staff had to cope with trade-offs between reform ideals at different levels of activity--coherence at the school level or coherence at the

instructional level, for example--in part because the school was working with only modest resources.

But even equivalent funding did not necessarily translate into equivalent instructional resources in some instances (for example, in the instance of paraprofessionals in Ramirez's room and Lorenz's room). In other instances, only somewhat different (less or more) funding translated into quite dramatically different instructional resources, depending on factors such as hiring practices and qualified personnel (in the case of bilingual funding versus Title 1 funding, for example). Personal resources--knowledge, beliefs, skills, motivation, expectations for student work, and so on--shaped in part the extent to which financial resources could be transformed into valuable instructional resources in classrooms. So, for example, Ramirez and his bilingual Title 1 teacher were able to build on the personal resources they brought to support each others' instruction: they sent consistent messages to students because of mutual aims and means, understanding, trust, and so on. Social resources for reform resided in their relationship. Likewise, Anita Lorenz was able to create social resources with her paraprofessional who was eager to learn and who held the same high expectations for students' work as Lorenz did.

So the instructional resources--gained and lost under the new, more coherent, school plan--depended in part on personal resources individuals brought to the tasks of teaching children, and on social resources created by staff at the school. But personal resources were not "widgets" that were easily produced or evenly distributed. Similarly, the trust, understanding, and mutual expectations that resided in relationships that staff at Mission had created could be quite powerful resources. But they too were not necessarily interchangeable, and they took time to create.

Even though Juan Ramirez placed a different value on the adult support staff based on the personal resources they brought, the increased number of adults alone did make a positive difference for him and his students. The additional resources in Juan Ramirez's room allowed him and his assistants to use a variety of instructional methods in very small, heterogeneous, classroom groups, substantially reducing his class size. Title 1 students were integrated in cooperative learning groups, and a few students received more intensive one-on-one or one-on-two tutoring in reading. These kinds of strategies can make a difference in first grade students' reading achievement--especially those who are at risk for academic failure.

But the upper grade teachers lost Monique Ponds under the new school plan (when the money they substituted to keep her wasn't enough to pay for her daycare.) Thus they lost a valuable human resource--one that could not be easily replaced. For instance, Alice Michiels lost a supportive colleague who she had taught and with whom she had spent hours talking about teaching. Ponds did her student teaching in Michiels' room; and from both their reports Michiels had invested a good deal of her self in mentoring Ponds. They agreed on methods and goals, and had been working together to integrate curriculum and instruction for their students. The losses sustained by Michiels were especially difficult for her to manage. But both Michiels and Jones lost the time and energy of a capable, dedicated professional when they lost Ponds--a teacher who held high expectations for students, someone they could rely on to work with students who needed extra help. Likewise, some of the students who lost Monique Ponds as their tutor, lost not just a teacher, but a personal relationship that had been building for over a year. For children who are struggling to live their lives as well as learn to high standards, such a loss is significant.

The upper grade teachers were torn between what was best for the school and many of its students in the long run--preventing reading problems, thus avoiding later remedial work--and the immediate needs of particular students who were struggling--students with whom they had personal relationships. The clash between coherent, long-range, school-level planning and the practical problem of transient students created problems at the instructional level for these teachers. And, when professional efficacy depends in part upon the personal relationships between individual students and their teachers, watching even a handful of students flounder and fall is difficult. They managed by reverting to a drill and practice pullout strategy, special education pull-outs and, in the case of one child, retention, thus taking an ironic turn away from the 1988 Title 1 Hawkins-Stafford reform amendments they had earlier responded to so ambitiously. By responding to the reforms through coherent planning, the school moved away (in some classrooms and at least initially) from another element of the reforms: not separating Title 1 students from their peers through pull-out programs stressing basic skills. Mission's staff had made difficult choices about their school mission. They had to manage the consequences of those choices and the trade-offs inherent in them.

Their work was not a finished product when this lens left Mission Elementary; rather it was a work in progress. But this two-year view of one school and the people composing their lives there adds lived experience to research, theory, and even intellectual history. For the ironic twists, competing ideals, tensions between levels of activity, personal ambivalence, and the social conflict there tell a human story, one infused with passion as well as reason. Though our view ends here, at Mission Elementary, the story continues.

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[1]Reports on the exact amount of time differed between Louise James, Monique Ponds, and teachers. Louise James reported most teachers had a Title 1 teacher for approximately one hour. But Ponds reported spending only one-half hour in some grades. When I observed a bilingual Title 1 teacher in first grade the previous year she spent one-half hour tutoring a student using Reading Recovery methods. But she spend one hour in second grade.

[2]These conversations were all in Spanish and have been translated to English by Justin Crumbaugh who is currently a graduate student in Spanish literature. See chapter 1 or Appendix C for more detail on this aspect of my observation method.

[3]Though Rameriz had his children practice number facts from workbook pages as well as engage in the kind of activity described here.

[4]Moreover, even if all students left the first or second grades as "readers" as the plan called for, the upper grade teachers would still be in a similar situation with transient students.

[5]Nan, with bright brown eyes and long blue black hair often tied up in colorful ribbons, appeared to be the leader of the group of girls in the Title 1 gathering. Nan was especially protective of Ana, and she intervened quite often on her behalf.

[6]In chapter two, this aspect of Ponds' instruction demonstrated the contrary positions she tried to maintain, between supporting and challenging her students. She reported worrying about both. See chapter two for details on Ponds' dilemma.

[7]Though Michiels, like Lorenz and Rameriz, was ambivalent about how much and when to include basic skill instruction.

[8]Knapp and Turnbull (1991) distilled what they call "conventional wisdom" from research evidence reviewed in the book Better schooling for the children of poverty: Alternatives to conventional wisdom edited by Michael Knapp and Patrick M. Shields. Allington 1991 reviewed his own and colleagues' research in the same book.

[9]Michiels wanted everyone in the class to prepare and give a presentation. Ponds was working with her group of Title 1 students while Michiels was helping all the others with the assignment. Michiels had a total of 30 students this year.

[10]As noted earlier, this conversation was in Spanish and has been translated to English by Justin Crumbaugh.

[11]These were Michiels and Ponds' goals. Note that this week-long language arts lesson did very little to improve the students' English proficiency. All talk was in Spanish.

[12]These excerpts are from a public letter to Delaine Eastin, California's state superintendent, dated March 28, 1995. It was copied to the Governor's education advisor and various state assembly members as well as US Senators and Representatives. Crosby gave me a copy of the letter.

[13]See Joseph R. Jenkins and Linda M. Jenkins (1987). "Making peer tutoring work." Educational Leadership. (March) 64-68. Crosby gave me this article and told me she had learned a great deal from the authors when she and her former principal traveled to Washington state in order to learn about peer tutoring.

CHAPTER 7

A SUMMARY OF THEMES AND CONCLUSIONS

In some respects, Mission Elementary and the work of the staff there represent a microcosm of the key issues in American education today: first because of their situation--the school enrolled many poor, language-minority, immigrant children; next, because for the most part the staff was trying hard to enact a set of difficult reforms, unprecedented in recent history, calling for intellectually-rigorous instruction for all children, rigorous professional collaboration, and coherent planning. And, finally, Mission represents a microscom of current issues in education because of the contentious political environment surrounding the staff's work. The competition of ideas in California was fierce, but not uncommon for American education. Thus the school was not only a fascinating study, but both a difficult and rewarding place for its faculty and students.

Understanding curriculum reform at Mission Elementary School has meant looking deeply into what highly touted and hopeful solutions to the problem of low achievement among poor minority students actually mean in the context of a school--solutions such as "clear, agreed-upon goals" and "collaboration," or "school-wide coherence," "school restructuring" and "high standards." The staff at Mission Elementary had, for the most part, embraced the complexity of "high standards for all children,"--that is, curriculum reforms, and were wrestling with them in a somewhat intellectually incoherent school climate, where teacher autonomy was the

reigning norm. They had also worked for years to organize instruction in ways that were responsive to the 1988 amendments to Title 1 calling for less-fragmented instruction.

Then the staff at Mission embarked on another project: school-level coherence, that is, trying to "restructure" their work norms toward more interdependence and to be clearer about their goals. A growing body of research tells us such social relations among staff can make schools more effective, and improve student achievement. But given the mismatch between their resources and the difficulty of the task; competing messages from federal, state, and district sources; and a political shift in California toward standardized tests; this second wave of Mission Elementary's response to reform, though potentially productive, also seems ironic in that it may have moved some instruction and some staff energy away from the goal of high standards for all students. By embracing one aspect of reform, some staff moved away from other aspects of the same general reform.

That is not to argue that enacting reforms at Mission Elementary was a zero sum game in which losses negated gains. But the overview just above of Mission's response to reforms over time is just one example of how this staff had to cope with tensions in the reform ideals as they worked to enact them. In the instance I sketched above, staff had to manage in spite of the tension between the ideal of school-level coherence--including goal clarity and accountability for "results"--and the complex uncertainty in the instructional reform. Saying both are important is one matter, putting them into practice another, because the complexity of "results" in the latter instance, is not a good fit with the technical practices used to assess "results" in the former instance.

Variations on that central theme--coping with conflict with only modest resources--were the pattern that emerged in the adaptation process at Mission Elementary. Those variations ranged from the internal conflict or dilemmas individuals were coping with, to the overt or social, and sometimes very emotional, disagreements the staff had to cope with, to the dilemmas or tensions the staff shared as a group. At Mission, managing or coping with the conflict embedded in the adaptation of reforms was not at all like solving a problem once and for all. It was a process of defining and redefining a problem, trying out ideas, letting some go and trying again. Mission's response was regularly changing, and it will no doubt carry on. The problem of low achievement among poor, minority, limited-English-speaking children, like many social problems, has long been under attack by educators and social scientists alike, and it has had a shifting definition (Cohen and Barnes 1995). The "problem" has become more complex, and potential remedies perhaps more contradictory as a result of social scientists' divergent attempts at understanding them over the years (Cohen and Garet 1975; Lindblom and Cohen 1979).

The latest reforms envision both complex thinking performances for all students and mastery of basic skills; coherent, research-based, "results"-oriented strategies and high intellectual standards for achievement; clear, focused goals and staff collaboration--which perhaps does not require consensus, but is made more difficult without it. Further, the ambitious new policies are coming from a system in which social scientists, politicians, and policy planners disagree and in which popular opinion is very divided. At Mission Elementary, disagreements American's have over education were interpreted by yet another group of actors, with their own particular histories shaping their response to the ideas. Thus another layer of competing

commitments, conflicts in meaning, and strong conflicts of conviction emerged as the policy ideals and ideas were filtered through the staff at Mission. While most of the staff in my subset embraced reforms in varying degrees, they often disagreed about matters of emphasis and meaning, even with themselves. Making policy work at Mission Elementary entailed coping with conflict.

COPING WITH CONFLICT: PRODUCTIVE OR COUNTERPRODUCTIVE

The dynamic process of coping with or managing conflict at Mission was both productive as well as counterproductive for reforms: Gains as well as losses emerged from the process for students and teachers. Conflict was related to both productive and counterproductive "fits and starts" and was embedded in the change process--especially in the school-wide reform, but probably in many of the changes teachers were managing around the demanding reforms. Differences between productive and counterproductive responses depended in part upon social and personal resources.

Coping With Ambivalence: Anita Lorenz

Anita Lorenz was one among many instances of an individual trying to manage internal conflict and cope with dilemmas at Mission Elementary. Lorenz had to cope with conflicting commitments and competing ideas as she adapted her reform-oriented core curriculum to the needs of individual students. But she invented an ambitious practice, balancing competing ideas and commitments in the flux of classroom interaction: whole language and phonics, a commitment to high curriculum standards, and a fierce determination to respond to the individual differences in her students. This she did with students ranging from those for whom writing meant "telling"

and reading meant "listening," to those who could write a several-page story, and read silently as well as orally with fluency. Lorenz and others at Mission were also ambivalent about another set of contraries: They pushed their students hard to work toward difficult academic standards--this while many of them were living very difficult lives--and at the same time wanted to nurture and support these small children who, often new to the US, were "scared to death."

Lorenz was willing to consider "alien points of view" (Dewey 1916/66) and to modify her practice in light of them. In doing so, she turned conflict into productive, innovative practices. How did she manage? She was aggressive about recruiting resources to her classroom mission--parents, tutors, and so on. She invented social resources for learning--sought out collegial relations and other opportunities for learning; observed other teachers, talked about goals, was willing to assume responsibility for mutual goals, and so on.

But she also brought considerable personal resources to the task. She reported a challenging teacher education program in which she learned to teach in the way of reforms through an "apprenticeship of observation"--a context in which she was both challenged and supported by mentors, instructors, and peers. She left that program willing to embrace uncertainty. Lorenz arrived at Mission Elementary with an "attitude of mind which actively welcomes. . . relevant information from all sides" (Dewey p. 175). She brought her attitude of open-mindedness and her willingness to "maintain contradictory positions while acting with integrity" (Lampert 1985 p. 183) with her, perhaps due in part, to her three-year teacher education program. Finally, Lorenz managed with the help of the school leadership and district policies, neither of which opposed the reforms, and both of which

supported the teachers' efforts to some extent. For example, policy mechanisms such as the California Learning Assessment System (CLAS) and the Program Quality Review (PQR) process had the potential to be quite powerful pedagogical tools for teachers such as Lorenz. Anita Lorenz's practice was innovative. It melded ideas and practical judgments based on classroom particulars in a process that was at heart filled with both conflict and creativity.

But even in Lorenz's case, conflicting notions of best practice seemed to be counterproductive at times, as in the instance of her ESL and mixed language lessons. The process of coping with conflicting aims, which were accompanied by competing methods, with only modest social resources, contributed to practices that competed with reforms--even in this instance of an ambitious, energetic, talented teacher. One obstacle here was fragmented learning throughout the system: a teacher education program that did not consider the role of language in teaching a rigorous, meaning-centered curriculum; and a somewhat laissez-faire district professional development culture based on a range of options (some of which competed with reforms). Finally, the only modest level of social resources at the school and district was an obstacle to integrating the multiple, somewhat fragmented, content teachers were trying to learn.

Coping With Social Conflict: Two Examples

In the example of the third grade team of Kate Jones and Alice Michiels, the process of coping with conflict was again both productive and counterproductive for reform. In part, inconsistent or uneven resources--personal, social and financial--created obstacles to reform goals. First, conflict was in part a resource for change. Kate Jones may have learned--or opened

her mind enough about her teaching to consider changing her practice--because of ongoing arguments with her Compañero, Alice Michiels. The conflict between Jones and Michiels was in the direction of professional interaction, the norm that research and theory suggest can be a source of learning, as well as a means of accountability (Ball 1994; Sykes 1990; Little 1990; Newman and Wehlage 1995). So, in part, the interactions between Michiels and Jones show how conflict might be productive and how it is embedded in the adaptation process--here in a process that included competing ideas, challenge to assumptions, negotiation, and adjustments in belief or practice in light of other points of view. This last is one of Dewey's "preconditions for democratic deliberation" (Gutmann 1987, p. 76).

But while conflict appeared to be quite productive for curriculum reform in Jones' case, it did not seem especially so in Michiels' case. Rather, competing school and district messages--about the importance of California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS) and the CLAS results, for example--together with Jones' success in using methods that conflicted with what Michiels was trying to learn, combined to heighten Alice Michiels' ambivalence about her reformed practices. For Michiels, this was not a particularly "safe" context in which to be rehearsing new methods for teaching mathematics. Her practices were challenged but she had little authoritative support for them. Her ambivalence between the "old" reliable practices she had used to build her sense of efficacy, and the "new," untried practices she was working to invent, appeared to undermine her will to progress to some degree.

In part, the obstacle here was that the interaction and debate between Jones and Michiels was confined, first by the school's changing but still somewhat independent work norms, and second by the personal resources these two teachers brought to the task of reforming their practices. On the

former point, Michiels' interference in Jones' practice was not yet sanctioned by school norms. Further, their discourse did not range out far enough into the school to provide the pressure of collective staff expectations as a means to judge either Jones' or Michiels' personal instructional preferences. On the latter point, these teachers brought only part of the personal resources--knowledge, beliefs, and so on--they needed to change their practices. Here again, if ongoing staff deliberation on important issues of practice would have been routine at this school, these teachers might have transformed the differences in what they brought into sanctioned opportunities for learning. A culture of staff interdependence--that made the mathematics expert in the school accessible to Michiels, for example-- might have been a source of scaffolding for more powerful learning on the part of both teachers.

As in the internal conflict so prevalent in the complex inventions of Anita Lorenz, the theme of coping with social conflict was intertwined in the daily work of adapting policy ideas to classroom practice. But with only modest social resources to support that process, and when change meant giving up some crucial personal resources--for example when Michiels had to relinquish a portion of her sense of efficacy in order to change her practice--social conflict was sometimes counterproductive to reforms. While conflict fostered change in Jones' practice, without the social support of a guide or mentor, Michiels' conflict with her teammate may have blocked or slowed her progress toward reform.

In a second instance--debates across grade levels--the process of coping with social conflict was likely productive for the staff. Over the course of a year, Juan Ramirez challenged kindergarten teachers' assumptions about their teaching goals, and they in turn argued with him, defending their point of view. After a change in the school's work norms toward interdependence,

Ramirez felt dependent upon the kindergarten teachers to accomplish a new school goal of literacy for all students by the end of first grade. That meant confrontation over the meaning of the new goal and the methods for reaching it--social conflict.

In this instance, by challenging the assumptions of his peers, Ramirez was using personal resources--a strong belief in his students' capacity for academic work and a passion for teaching aimed at change--to enlarge the school's social resources as well as invent new ones. To the extent that conflict challenged individual beliefs and began to push further toward a culture conducive to staff deliberation on points of practice, such conflict, albeit laced with strong feelings, had the potential to build professional community--common understanding, mutual support for teaching goals, an arena for teaching and learning from one another, and so on. Thus coping with conflict could be turned to productive purposes for reform and the school. Here Mission's principal, by hiring teachers like Lorenz and Ramirez who held very high expectations for their students' academic work, was building a cadre of like-minded change agents at the school--social resources for school improvement.

But another related instance of conflict at Mission may have been counterproductive to the reform goal of collegiality, and may have damaged the social fabric of the school, thus making collaboration more difficult. For example, in one instance the traditional norm of collective bargaining was pitted against the norm of professional accountability to peers when the loss of individual choice was apparently too costly to some teachers. A few teachers were unwilling to embrace aspects of the norm of "mutual responsibility" for student learning--at least initially--because it would have constrained their actions. Laura Mather pressed for their presence in the first

grade classrooms for an hour a day so they could tutor their former Title 1 students, but also so they could gain an understanding of the academic expectations in that grade. In this instance, after a series of emotionally-charged meetings, several teachers filed a grievance with their union which then intervened in the matter by specifying what the teachers would and would not be willing to do. The emotional strain and antagonism that lingered after the series of contentious meetings likely worked counter to the goal of staff collegiality.

Here the process of coping with or managing conflict demonstrates the "double edged" nature of the social relations inherent in rigorous, professional collaboration. On one hand, the counterproductive conflict between kindergarten teachers and administrators was due in part to the lack of collaborative social relations at the school--for example, an established pattern of using public, teacher deliberation (based on a standard of student learning) as a balancing force on individual choices. On the other hand, the conflict was due in part to the staff's attempt to create such social relations without any guidance. From the latter view, instruction from a veteran on the problem of coping with the conflict that may be inherent in genuine collaboration could have helped Laura Mather and the others at Mission. Teachers moving to a public arena and mutual work goals from the isolation of classroom decision making have a good deal to learn about collaboration, not just as individuals, but as a group (Lieberman and Miller 1992).

From the former view--that is, conflict was due in part to limited collaborative relations at the school--the staff might have avoided counterproductive conflict had their fledgling attempt at establishing a norm of collective accountability had been further along, That norm could have been a social resource for the school. For example, if individual practices had

been publicly considered as a routine matter, the authority of teachers deliberating over defensible practices (using student learning as the standard) may have substituted for the clash of authority between the union and "management." Laura Mather as well as the schools' teachers would have had the forum and space for productive debate and action. But in both cases, the source of social resources can also be a source of counterproductive conflict.

Examples of Tensions the Staff Shared

The tension reviewed in the opening of this chapter--between the ideal of coherence at the school level, and the ideal of high academic standards when the latter require complex, ambiguous performances by students as well as teachers --was only one of many examples of tensions the staff shared as a group or in subgroups. Still another instance of coping with a tension of this sort--a clash between school-level aims and instructional aims--produced gains, was productive for some teachers and students; but there were also losses. The gains and losses were shaped in part by personal and social resources.

Mission Elementary School's staff had to manage the trade-offs between reform ideals at different levels of activity--coherence at the school level or coherence at the instructional level, for example--in part because the school was working with limited financial resources. Thus in one instance, upper grade teachers who had sacrificed all their resources for the collective goal of developing students' literacy skills early, had to cope with particular students in their own classrooms who were floundering every day.

In coping with the dilemma between their commitment to school-level coherence and instructional coherence, the upper grade teachers

reverted to a pull-out strategy that may have created more fragmented instruction for some Title 1 students. There were trade-offs in the school-wide choices the staff made. The new "coherent" school-wide plan to narrow the school mission and concentrate resources in the lower grades was productive for first grade students and teachers: They gained from it. But the upper grade teachers and students lost.

Furthermore, the value of financial resources--gained and lost under the new, more coherent school plan--depended in part on personal resources individuals brought to the tasks of teaching children, and on social resources created by staff at the school. So, for example, Juan Ramirez's resource gains were not straightforward. Because his goals clashed to some extent with the beliefs of one assistant he acquired under the new plan, that particular relationship produced some, but fewer social resources he could value than did his relationship with the other assistant he gained. The latter, a Title 1 teacher who began working with him under the new plan, was a valuable social resource because she and Ramirez trusted one another to support their mutual work. They held mutually-supportive expectations, and the synergy in their relationship created a resource gain that exceeded by far the gains won in the form of the other adult in the room. Conversely, when Alice Michiels lost Monique Ponds, she lost personal and social resources that could not be replaced quickly or easily. They had worked together for years and shared a vision of teaching. Ponds had also built relationships with the students she had tutored for two years. Thus Michiels and her students sustained a serious loss when they lost Ponds.

CHALLENGES AND OBSTACLES

In all the examples above, productive responses did not naturally or spontaneously occur as these reforms seem to assume they might. Managing productively in the face of conflict required learning, and the human resources to support it. For example, Anita Lorenz had rehearsed coping with uncertainty for three years in her teacher education program. She had also been challenged and was used to questioning her practice and having others do the same. But for some other teachers at Mission, moving from the isolation and freedom of choice they enjoyed in classrooms to a public arena of debate was a process that people had to learn how to do productively. Likewise, Juan Ramirez and the kindergarten teachers needed time and guidance to learn how to engage in rigorous "joint work" projects. For a while, some staff at Mission were not speaking to one another when they passed in the halls. The staff needed a "teacher" to guide them in their efforts.

Not only does managing conflict require the support of human resources, but transforming conventional or financial resources into the kind of capacity-building resources the reforms seem to expect that schools will somehow have or create, won't be easy for reform advocates or for schools. One challenge at Mission was that financial resources for reform were diluted by competing priorities. Generally, funding was sent into a "shopping mall" professional development system based on teacher choice. At Mission, if all professional development funds had been concentrated on reforms, and if the PQR and CLAS had been the central focus for the school leadership and staff, then the "pedagogy" and "curriculum" of the reform policy could have been a more powerful intervention. But financial resources that were only modest at best were then diluted. Likewise, policy mechanisms to support teachers'

learning--the CLAS and the PQR for example--were weakened by a system that sent inconsistent messages via competing tests, and multiple compelling notions of practice. Thus teachers at Mission--Kate Jones for example--had considerable latitude to reject the reforms if they chose to do so.

At Mission, another obstacle to converting financial resources into capacity-building resources for reforms, was that equivalent funding translated into quite dramatically different instructional resources, depending on factors such as hiring practices, qualified personnel, long term relationships, and so on. So personal and social resources shaped in part the extent to which financial resources could be transformed into valuable instructional resources in classrooms. But personal resources--knowledge, beliefs, skills, motivation, expectations for student work, and so on--were not easily produced or evenly distributed, even when financial resources were available. Similarly, the trust, shared understanding, and mutual expectations that resided in relationships the staff at Mission had created were not necessarily interchangeable, and they took time to create. The case of Alice Michiels and Monique Ponds is one example here: They had worked together for several years to build mutual understanding and trust. Personal and social capital shaped the value of the financial losses and gains when it came to instructional resource allocation at Mission.

Furthermore, the social relations (rigorous collaboration that includes interdependent work norms--"joint work"--ongoing conversation, debate, and negotiation over core issues of practice) that according to research and theory have potential to build social resources and capacity for change (for instance, scaffolding for learning, mutual trust, understanding, mutual responsibility for student learning, and agreed-upon goals) were also a source of conflict that worked against collaborative norms at Mission. Similarly,

personal histories that in part shaped the staff's response to reform were also a resource for change and could complement reforms. But they also sometimes conflicted with reform goals or become a source of conflict. In either case, teaching is in some respects deeply personal--thus, the difficulty of professional norms in which authority for goals and means is collective and negotiated. Such a norm of "collective accountability" challenges teachers' freedom to choose based on personal preference alone. That is a loss for teachers, as well as a significant, almost revolutionary, change in school norms. It is not likely to come easily, no matter the financial support.

Mission's story shows that in an era of both high academic standards and "site-based management," the current, very ambitious reforms have tacitly delegated an enormous amount of responsibility, work, and learning to schools. People who work in them are expected to somehow muster superhuman capacity for complex performances. They are to use conceptions of teaching, leading, learning, and school organization that are very different from inherited conceptions. And they are to understand and integrate knowledge from fragmented, contradictory and sources, then use it in the action of classroom or school practices.

Thus, while it is promising that the new reforms have located the work of improving education for "disadvantaged" children in the schools and classrooms--a middle ground between top-down mandates and the solitary exemplary efforts of individual teachers--it is not realistic to assume that schools and teachers can transform themselves without help. The idea of academic standards for all children, together with school-based management conditioned on a collective teacher accountability, has merit and potential. But professional collaboration and deliberation over high standards for student learning are also laden with pitfalls. To sell them as

otherwise is a disservice to teachers and administrators. Likewise, to construct "site-based" management as a way to devolve responsibility to schools without a support system in place to help teachers and administrators make sense of frameworks and school-wide strategies seems counterproductive to reform goals.

POSSIBILITIES

Reformers could leverage limited financial resources by thoughtfully constructing reform policies to include strong incentives for school districts (or other entities) to develop instructional systems directed toward reform goals. Developing reform-oriented personal capacity and synergistic social relations--among district and school administrators as well as teachers--might transform the allocation of limited funds into something other than a zero sum game. Over time, capacity for reform could be extended through growing personal resources and productive social relations. Though difficult to create, this kind of capacity building could be generative once it was developed. Key components might include at least the recognition that instructional reforms and new work norms are not small changes for schools to manage: Such reforms take time; structural support; and serious, credible, instructional support from school districts (or designated others).

While the reforms pose tremendous challenges to schools, and while there are no doubt obstacles to overcome, still the latest wave of reform rhetoric and action have also created possibilities for progress. This study has pulled apart the policy world of one school in order to examine its competing parts, but it has also provided multiple images of what is possible in schools such as Mission Elementary. Those images offer reformers some reason for optimism. A quick sampling of such images would begin with Gerard, a

small boy of Hispanic origin, described by some as illiterate, learning disabled. But a visitor to the school would see Gerard waving his hand with excitement, aching to respond to a point of discussion in Anita Lorenz's class. His teacher reported his comments were almost always insightful. To her, they counted as evidence that he understood a good deal of whatever topic was under discussion. By "listening" to the story others had read, he was able to exercise his judgment, to understand literature, to participate in the classroom literacy community, while still working on sound/letter correspondence. Imagine him poring over his homework pages for hours each evening in the cramped quarters of his home. Take in the walls of Lorenz's classroom covered with children's writing, and graphs of classroom opinions or objects the children had counted, sorted, and displayed. Spend fifteen minutes marveling at the deftness with which a second grade student tutors her Title 1 classmate on a list of words and their meaning--this "cooperative learning" activity being only one of four or five others taking place in the room where students have learned to help and ask for help.

Or a visitor might walk into Kate Jones' classroom as her students (among them a boy whose father was in jail) are giving their accounts of possible rules for predicting numbers in a discussion on patterns. Note that the discussion is taking place in the room of the least reformed teacher (in this study). At the end of a long hallway opening to the school's garden, Juan Ramirez's first grade students might be planting their radishes. On another visit, watch them measure and record the growth of their radishes in journals, then discuss root systems during science class. Or watch small groups of these young children talking about the meaning of poetry and children's literature, leaning over their small table with enthusiasm in order to offer an opinion (and their reasons for it) to the group. Walk over to

Monique Ponds' table in a room just down the hall, and observe a small girl, born in the outback of Mexico, crying, wringing her tissue in consternation over a torn paper. Observe as Ponds first consoles her, then guides her quickly back to the task of writing. In the fall of the following school year, this same girl would be standing in front of her classmates reciting poetry over a public address system, poetry that she had earlier discussed with her small group of peers, then illustrated, and finally read aloud herself.

Walk down a covered hallway open to a surrounding view of the foothills, and take in the underwater mural covering one wall. Notice Laura Mather as she speaks in Spanish to her students when they pass. Or think of her offering them pencils on their birthday, and library cards to their parents whenever she has the opportunity. Imagine her sitting day after day in meetings talking about each of her student's academic progress--or lack of it--with teachers and other staff. Wander back out to the school garden and notice the boxes of flowers and vegetables, listening as you do to the tinkling notes of Mandolin music coming from room 206. Then observe how teachers throughout the school use the garden to create authentic tasks for students in subjects such as math, science, or language arts. Drop in on Louise James tutoring first graders using Reading Recovery methods. Then follow her as she tutors Monique Ponds on those methods. Listen to the sounds of children chatting in Spanish and English while taking in the full range of skin tones, hair color, and eye color. Enjoy the third grade English-speaking students as they eagerly take part in a short play directed by Alice Michiels, all in Spanish.

Most of these teachers extended their work lives into the weekend, melding personal and professional spaces: Ramirez volunteered to help students who wanted to participate in the local K-3 race which took place on

Saturdays. Another teacher regularly arranged for students to visit his ranch to ride his horses on weekends. Still another was responsible for the music in the school, spending after school and noon-time hours teaching children to play Mariachi instruments. Anita Lorenz organized an art fair for the school. Michiels and Ponds spent many evenings together talking about teaching. Jones spent hours after school and on weekends talking to parents. Mather credits her for helping save a boy who may have been suicidal, by alerting and supporting his grandmother. Mather arranged to meet parents on weekends, did fund-raising, or other community work. The staff and students harvested vegetables from the garden and prepared food for the school's parents during evening open houses. There are many more images of what is possible in a school with permeable boarders that permit a flow of activity into the larger, surrounding communal spaces, and the private time of teachers or administrators. This was for the most part a dedicated staff, with a good deal of knowledge about their students, their community, and teaching.

But, without more structural and instructional help, Mission Elementary's staff may have gone as far as they could toward the reform vision. And they still had a ways to go. Though Mather was trying to invent social resources for change at her school, she was doing so without much institutional support from the district to bolster the rhetoric of "site-based management." At Mission, the state and the district delegated <u>responsibility</u> for achieving "high academic standards" to the school, but not the authority to support school-based accountability. Authority flowed from district management and the union, not from teachers and administrators arguing over standards of practice. While this construction of authority could have been challenged, still structural support from the district--lending at least

some authority to professional, collective autonomy at the school--was needed, and might have helped.

Furthermore, Mather, James, Ramirez, Lorenz, Michiels, and a few others were also trying to enact radical changes in the school, without much help or guidance from accessible mentors or role models. Mather especially had no "teacher." That teachers need instructional guidance as they attempt to change their practice is well documented. Guidance must be credible, accessible, and so on. But this is so for principals as well, especially in schools trying school-wide reform strategies. The research and theory reviewed in this study together with the story of curriculum reform at Mission Elementary converge on an important point: administrators as well as teachers will need credible and accessible guides to practice--veterans of school change and mentor teachers knowledgeable in subject matter--if reforms are to grow in schools.

Administrators, teachers, and others throughout the education system might also benefit from challenges to their traditional roles from credible sources. These sorts of challenges might best be accomplished through learning opportunities, not only within schools, but extending beyond schools. In order to encourage creation of social resources for local school systems, different conceptions of leadership might be introduced into the work norms of school districts and schools, ones in which a leader is also a learner. District office staff, principals, and teachers must be able to learn from one another without the risk of losing the respect of peers, staff, supervisors, or parents.

As it stands, these conceptions of leadership, accountability, teaching, and learning entail huge risks for professionals working in schools. The incentives for taking those risks are not as compelling as they might be with

more structural "safety nets." Advocates for change could work at creating a "safer" context for school change--for example, opportunities for rehearsing not only new instructional practices, but professional deliberation, and new ways of working toward common understanding or compromise if not consensus.

"Lessons from the field" that relate specifically to school-wide projects suggest that such projects "offer the potential for improving learning outcomes of disadvantaged students, but require coordinated and direct support from the central office and district" (Winfield 1991, p. 353). While studying a large urban district, Winfield found that successful school-wide interventions contained strong pedagogical components, including newly-created positions at the district and school levels. The new positions were filled by people who functioned as teachers or coaches for principals and teachers. These "teachers" ranged from experienced principals, veterans of school change, to "master teachers." Thus they were credible sources of help for practicing principals and teachers. In these school-wide projects, instructional frameworks served as a kind of "curriculum" that provided a common language for deliberation among a range of people within the district and schools. While some of the pieces listed here were available at the MUSD and Mission Elementary, some were also missing--for example credible "teachers" of the reform at the district level who could coach principals and coordinate district demands on schools.

Inventing new roles and the knowledge schools need will also mean that instructional support systems connecting outsiders--including state and district offices--with schools must allow for teaching and learning to flow both ways. The staff perspectives in schools such as Mission Elementary hold volumes of important information for district staff, agents of reform, and

others. This kind of "connected teaching" system-wide or in smaller subsystems, would assume there are reasons for what teachers and administrators in schools do. Likewise there are reasons for wanting to improve schools. This study has attempted to shed light on some of those reasons in both cases. But conversations are needed that will help integrate the understanding of people working in schools with the understanding of those trying to reform them. Conversations about reform are too often one-sided, didactic, with volumes of advice flowing into schools but few mechanisms in place for schools to "talk back." Though there are different "games"--different interests, functions, and timelines (Firestone 1989)--within the education system, players can at least <u>try</u> to talk across those games. Reformers as well as school administrators, policy planners as well as teachers will have to converse in an attempt to integrate the knowledge these ambitious reforms need--knowledge that is now distributed across "games." All of us who care about schooling in America could benefit from what Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule (1986) suggest is a matter of letting the "inside out and outside in" (p. 135).

In California, existing policy tools such as the CLAS, the PQR process, and replacement units have the pedegogical potential to begin the kind of conversations described just above. For example, at Mission the CLAS was used as a curriculum and teaching tool by teacher leaders. As described in chapters two and five, teachers at Mission were creating rubrics based on the frameworks, and their own students' work. This sort of "outside/inside" perspective has potential to integrate different ways of understanding the work of instructional reform. Mission's teachers used the rubrics they created to score student work and to gain a sense of the kind of performances the CLAS would assess. Cohen and Hill (1997) described similar learning

opportunities in California, ones that focused on content (aligned with the assessment) that students study. They found such opportunities paid off with higher student scores among those teachers who had participated in them.

Similarly, the PQR process at Mission gave teachers the opportunity to think about what science reform meant at the very specific level of student work in particular classrooms. The process challenged teachers' autonomous decisions to some degree, and it stimulated thinking around a coherent school-wide vision of student work in science. But it did this without appearing to cause much conflict. Here was a strategy that entailed teaching, learning, and the negotiation of meaning. Teachers could in one sense "talk back" to the reformers' perspective as they adapted the frameworks' content to particular classrooms. The process was collegial in that it fostered conversation, and seemed to develop common understanding about instructional goals in science. Teachers' assumptions may have been challenged, but because the process did not involve a press for overt school-wide agreement, those challenges did not seem to have emotional, sometimes counterproductive, conflict attached to them. Teachers thought about what science reform might look like in their rooms, but with a mirror held up (via the leadership team) with some concrete examples (model lessons based on the frameworks) and with some concrete materials (their students' work which had to meet certain specifications). The process integrated an "outside" perspective (frameworks and the leadership team) with teachers' own "inside" perspective. Teachers were working alone or in small groups, but in some respects they were doing so within a common school-wide framework, and thus a common language for what science meant.

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These were the sort of curricular and instructional tools that had the potential to be powerful forces for change at Mission. They were helpful resources and guides in the process of "mutual adaptation" where teachers are called upon to invent new, hybrid forms of instruction based on the big ideas in reforms and the particulars in classrooms. But when this study ended, the CLAS was gone due in part to public and political opposition and in part to technical problems. Furthermore, the new state superintendent's special task force had recommended the PQR be eliminated because it was creating too much paper work. They wrote that the PQR was "an unnecessary burden to schools."[1]

The demise of the CLAS as well as the pending elimination of the PQR process are but two examples in the very long story of America's episodic attempts at reform within its sprawling, fragmented, educational system. In one sense, the ironic turns in Mission's collective response to reforms--toward some elements in the Title 1 and curriculum reforms, and perhaps at the same time away from other elements in the Title 1 and curriculum reforms--tell that American story, but from the ground view. Thus, the ironic twists, competing ideals, tensions between levels of activity, personal ambivalence, and the social conflict also tell a human story.

That view of reforms in one school shows that when it comes to a competition of ideas and commitments, debating and doing are different matters. The ground view demonstrates some potential, reason for reformers to hope, and some problems or current obstacles to the reforms growing in schools. As described earlier, some of the latter might well give way to remedial pressure. For example, the lack of needed social resources might be remedied by multiplying the opportunities for educators in schools to tap into and broaden the discourse about these reforms. The CLAS and the PQR are

two among other policy tools that have the potential to expand learning opportunities for educators. But other obstacles--a fragmented education system in a politically contentious environment, for example--seem as solid as "the American way."

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[1]See the recommendations of the California Reading Task Force (1995, p. 13).

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

THE SUBJECTS AT MISSION ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Altogether I observed eight people in a subset of faculty at Mission elementary. Below is a summary of these people.

*** Year one (1993-1994 school year)**
Second grade "Compañero" team: Anita Lorenz (second grade teacher of English-speaking children; English as a Second Language (ESL) instructor for her teammate's Spanish-speaking children.)

Her Compañero, Ruth Linn (second grade teacher of Spanish-speaking children; Spanish as a Second Language (SSL) instructor for her teammate's English -speaking children.) Linn is also the bilingual resource teacher for Mission Elementary.

Monique Ponds (bilingual Title 1 teacher working with a small group of Spanish-speaking children in Ruth Linn's room.)

*** Year two (1994-1995 school year)**
Third Grade "Compañero" team: Kate Jones (third grade teacher of English-speaking children; ESL instructor for her teammate's Spanish-speaking children.)

Her Compañero, Alice Michiels (third grade teacher of Spanish-speaking children; SSL instructor for her teammate's English-speaking children.)

Monique Ponds (worked with a small group of Spanish speaking, Title 1 students in Alice Michiels' room. She also worked with a few English speaking, Title 1 children in Kate Jones' room.)

Juan Ramirez (a 34 year old, Mexican-American male, who taught first grade in Spanish and English to Spanish-speaking children.) Ramirez had a "resource rich" room this final year fo the study because of the new Title 1 plan. In year two, an aide and a Title 1 teacher, both bilingual, worked with Ramirez.

*** Year one and two**
The principal: Laura Mather
The Title 1/School Improvement Coordinator: Louise James
Monique Ponds

The Title 1 students: Gerard, Kyle, Diane (English speaking), Ana, Nan, Maria (Spanish speaking)

I followed these children to observe their instruction and try to understand something about their school experience from one year to the next. These children were with the second grade Compañero team, then with the third grade team. So, for example, Gerard and Kyle who were in Anita Lorenz's classroom, were promoted to Kate Jones' classroom. The latter teacher holds views about instruction that seem to conflict quite dramatically with Anita Lorenz's. Anna, Nan, and Maria who were in Ruth Linn's bilingual room last year (and who received instruction from the Title 1 bilingual teacher, Monique Ponds) were promoted to Alice Michiels' third grade bilingual room. Here, the students' teacher the second year held views about bilingual education that differed from the second grade teacher. Early in the second year Kyle transferred out of the school, and Diane transferred into Kate Jone's classroom from another school. Monique Ponds added Diane to the group of children with whom she was working. I did not interview these children. Rather, I have observed them in interaction with teachers for two years.

* I studied the school principal's response to policy ideas and her perspective through informal observations and "shadowing," informal and formal interviews. I also interviewed her quite extensively on her educational biography.

* I studied the teachers' responses through observations of their practice and interviews. I interviewed them to some extent, though not as thoroughly as the principal, on their personal histories.

* I studied the experience of the children they taught through observations over two years. Several different people instructed the group of students I followed over those two years. I observed "what happened" to them after a staff decision to restructure their Title 1 program and change their school mission. I interviewed teachers and administrators about their attitudes toward the progress these children were making.

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

ELEMENTS OF REFORM & POLICIES

For the purposes of comparing practice to some particular policies, and for the purpose of understanding how those policies and practices might interact in the school, I used generally three overlapping sets: the curriculum reforms, Title 1 reform, and the bilingual program. Here is a sketch of their elements which I constructed based on my subset of Mission's staff. These elements overlap in some instances; that is, the policies have some, but not all, elements in common. Sometimes the big ideas in the policies compete with earlier reform ideas about curriculum, instruction, and learning (intellectual history). They compete with current ideas about appropriate practice on some occasions. And sometimes those policies compete with each other's goals as well as teachers' interpretation of what those goals mean, and what the best method for reaching them might be. On some occasions, especially in the domain of resources, the multiple policies seem to complement one another: Title 1, bilingual academies for example, or Monique Ponds the "bilingual, Title 1 teacher." Finally, the ideals in the curriculum and Title 1 reforms were expanded 1994 when Title 1 was reauthorized and linked to a new federal initiative, Goals 2000. The reauthorized Title 1 renewed the press for "school-wide projects" which grew in part out of research suggesting that professional school norms can improve achievement (Pechman and Fiester 1994). Such norms include a cohesive, collegial community in which teachers take mutual responsibility for students' high academic achievement. Shared goals are forged through deliberation and debate of defensible practices. Coherence, professional collaboration and intellectually rigorous academic standards for all students: These were the themes in the cluster of reforms that were making their way into Mission Elementary during the course of this study--from the fall of 1993 to the spring of 1995. Likewise at Mission, there was also a change in emphasis in the curriculum and Title 1 reforms as they evolved over time. During the second year, an emphasis on school-wide organizational issues and teacher professionalism became an important focus in the school.

I. Curriculum Reform

A Disciplinary components, i.e., knowledge is constructed (not received). This is a constructivist view of knowledge:

1. But it is constructed using canons of evidence, rules of inquiry, argument, etc. In other words, there is disciplined thinking involved.

2. We (the EPPS researchers) looked for some of the big ideas and methods of the subject matter disciplines in the classroom. The borders between teaching and learning in classrooms and within the disciplines blur a bit.

B. Learning theory and cognitive research:

1. Learning is an active, not passive process (this is one of the big ideas in Piaget's work, Dewey's, Bruner's, and others). It is interactive, social (Vygotsky, supported and elaborated by Bruner).

2. Complex tasks and engagement with subject matter can occur along with learning simpler, discrete skills--there isn't necessarily a sequence of simple before complex (cognitive researchers such as Lauren Resnick et. al have found that learning is much less sequential than earlier theorists and behaviorist researchers argued).

3. It follows that we look for and hear students talking, working, wrestling with some complex tasks or questions, some concepts, patterns and themes, as well as, or instead of, simple, discrete skills and bits of knowledge. This item overlaps with A2 and is bound up in "constructivist" views of knowledge as well as learning.

II. Title 1 Reforms

A. Instructional issues in these reforms overlap with those above, especially the "low-level" skills versus more complex skills and notions about sequence of simple before complex. Reformers tend to argue for embedding simple in complex or doing both, <u>not</u> simply teaching Title 1 kids "low-level" skills.

B. Organizational issues include the following: aides versus professionals or specialists as teachers of Title 1 students; pull-out programs versus classroom instruction (the latter case might include students pulled aside but instruction is usually integrated into regular classroom curriculum in various ways;) coordination problems (do the adults who instruct Title 1 students communicate and coordinate their instruction? Plan together?) Critics (reformers) say no, instruction has thus tended to be fragmented for these children. Fragmented, low-level skill instruction for Title 1 children has been widely reported. These issues were raised in the 1988 Hawkins-Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Amendments (Public Law 100-297) to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

C. Midway through the study, with the reauthorization of Chapter 1 (which once again became Title 1), the ideals in the 1988 amendments were expanded. The Improving America's Schools Act of 1994 (Public Law 103-229) was linked to a new federal initiative, Goals 2000. Those two policies pressed the ideal of rigorous curriculum and instruction for all children, and they sought to encourage coherent, school-wide planning, curricular frameworks, and aligned assessments.

1. Here the Title 1, standards-based reform pressed a coherent school-wide approach first raised in the 1988 amendments (as opposed to "pull-outs" and other more targeted arrangements that seemed to be producing "fragmented" low-level skill instruction.) For example, planning that includes school-level factors such as clear, agreed-upon goals and collaborative work, two important characteristics found in the effective schools literature.

Bilingual issues confound the already complicated array of issues here.

III. Bilingual Program

A. Instructional issues overlap with curriculum reform issues, in both the subject matter and learning domains. One goal of the bilingual program in the MUSD is teaching Spanish-speaking children so that they understand the subject matter in the curriculum reforms-- that is, teaching them in that subject matter in their primary language until they can "transition" successfully to English.

1. Some researchers/scholars like James Cummins (1982), Kenji Hakuta (1985) citing Snow and others, and Kathryn Au (1993) argue that bilingual students learn more powerfully-- especially for conceptual understanding--in their primary language because there are important distinctions between types of second language skills.

According to Cummins, learning to speak a second language for routine exchanges--basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS)--often takes considerably less time than developing cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP); for example, using the second language for more abstract academic related matters that require a deep conceptual understanding. Hakuta (1986) suggests this makes some common sense as well, and that "observant teachers" confirm that some students "quickly pick up glib use of contextual language," but have trouble with English in the classroom.

B. ESL. But these issues--the ones noted above--are complicated by another goal of the bilingual program: i.e., teaching Spanish-speaking children to be proficient in English. Not only do goals compete here (at least as they were put into practice at Mission), but ESL and sheltered English instructional methods seem to be at odds with "teaching for understanding" methods--drill, repetition, practice with rhyming versus conversation, discussion about big ideas, or group problem solving.

C. Organizational issues

1. There is a dilemma here for Mission's staff, because when children are grouped by primary language in order to teach them subject matter for understanding (consistent with the high academic standards reform or curriculum reform) they are not exposed to much English, thus thwarting the other important bilingual goal.

2. The interaction of curriculum reform and the bilingual program are complicated further by civil rights laws and staff concerns about segregation. When children are separated by primary language to teach them subject matter in that language, such grouping practices amount to a form of segregation.

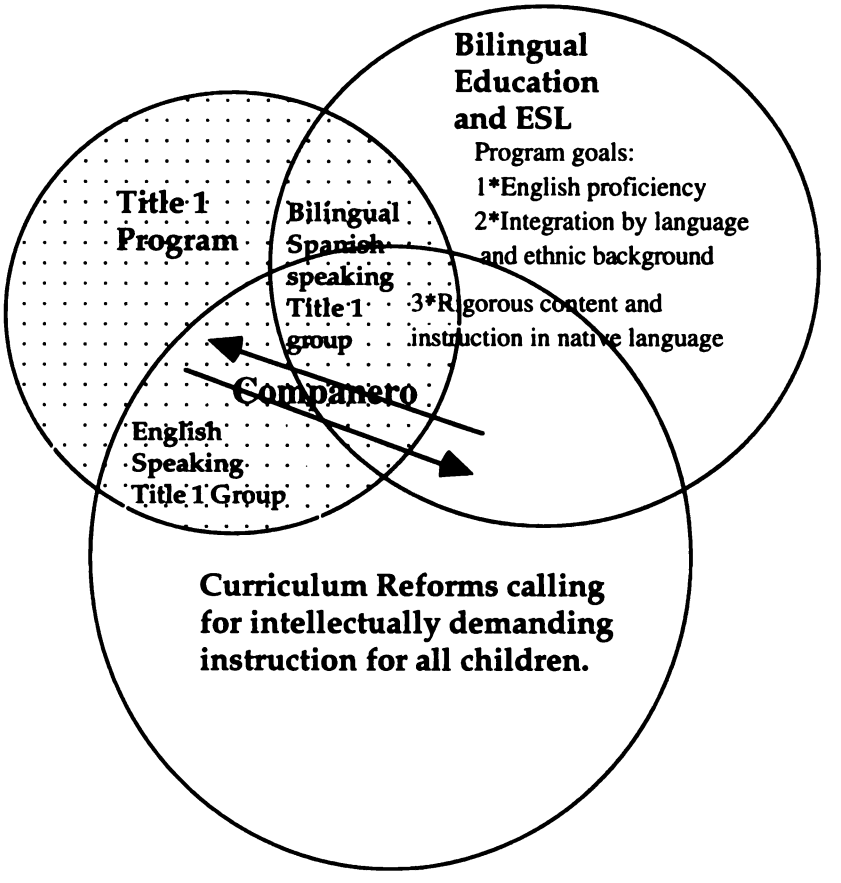

Figure 1 - Elements of Reform and Policies at Mission Elementary

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Generally, my empirical research orientation emerged through my work as part of the Education Policy and Practice Study (EPPS). EPPS was a team of researchers investigating reforms aimed at improving the intellectual quality of instruction by looking at the mathematics and literacy instruction in a set of classrooms in three states. My work with EPPS generated some of the broad analytic categories in my data--categories such as teachers' beliefs or attitudes as well as their practices around mathematics reforms, literacy reforms, and so on. That research orientation is part of a long tradition of qualitative research with theoretical underpinnings in the symbolic interaction of the Chicago School of Sociology and the phenomenological approach in which a researcher attempts to understand her subject's point of view on a topic (Bogdan and Biklen 1992).

In the tradition of the theories that emerged from the cognitive revolution sketched in the opening to chapter one, these research traditions assume that people are actively engaged in creating their own world. Humans interpret and negotiate the meaning of that world in interaction with others and with the help of their past experiences. Thus, the position of teachers and administrators as "learners" or "interpreters" of various reform policies is parallel to the conception of student learners portrayed in the curriculum policies themselves. This study is embedded in a larger research

tradition that is intellectually consistent with the big ideas that emerged from the cognitive revolution and that informed the reform policies considered here.

And, as sketched earlier, the intellectual history of competing ideas about the nature of cognition, the best kind of instruction for "disadvantaged children," and the education of immigrant children all interacted in the meaning that teachers and administrators constructed around policy. Those ideas and ideals have long been debated in the broader context of society. Within that broader context, this study focused on the "situated action" (Bruner 1990) in one school.[1] That action lies on the intersection of biography and social context, including the individual reports and practices of a subset of educators, as well as a view of social interaction and the school-wide environment. I explored multiple perspectives--school, classroom and small group Title 1 instruction--on three key policies in one school. Autobiographical sketches which unfold in each data chapter stand for a portion of the "prior understanding" and experience each of the subjects brought to the school culture as a whole.

I provide a sketch of my data in chapter one. Here I elaborate more on the data collection and add a section describing aspects of my analysis and more on "auto/biographical" method.

THE DATA AND ITS SOURCES

I observed and interviewed staff at Mission Elementary from January of 1993 to June of 1995. For two years, I used interview and observation instruments developed by a subset of our EPPS researchers who were especially interested in the education of "disadvantaged children" or in "diversity" issues. I worked with that small group--three graduate students

from EPPS and two project directors, David Cohen and Suzanne Wilson--to develop the questions and instruments particular to our interests in categorical programs and their interaction with curriculum reform. Though I strayed from those some, and developed new questions in order to investigate particular issues as they arose in the context of Mission, the diversity instruments served as the foundation of my interviews and observations.

During most interviews with my subjects I asked about changes in practice around mathematics and literacy. I also asked about changes in the school's categorical programs and about the children in the school, especially the subset of children I followed for two years. I did this to try to understand what teachers believed about the children they taught. What did they perceive their needs to be? What kind of academic expectations did they hold for their students? I probed to see if any new policy ideas from the state, or district, or school might be reported. I asked about assessments and opportunities for learning, and what my subjects learned. I interviewed teachers about each day's observation and what happened in the room that day, as well as their practices more generally. I interviewed each of my subjects, in varying degrees, about their personal history, especially the history of their learning and higher education. Some biographical questions were part of the EPPS protocol for teachers; some were adapted from a course on biographical method I took with Steve Weiland. Over the course of the two-year period I visited Mission Elementary, I followed leads about various events in the school and paid attention to staff choices around resources, organization, curriculum, and instruction.

In addition to the school principal and her Title 1 administrator, I interviewed district office personnel, including the district superintendent,

the curriculum and assessment director, the bilingual education resource teacher, the director of categorical programs, and a special parent liaison hired by the district to address questions and concerns over the CLAS. I also interviewed the state department staff in both the Title 1 office and the Bilingual Education office, as well as the director of curriculum. This last interview I conducted jointly with an EPPS project co-director Suzanne Wilson.

1993-1994 -- Year One

In May of 1993, I observed a "Compañero" bilingual team of second grade teachers: One taught mostly Spanish-speaking children, the other mostly English-speaking children, and both had many Title 1 students whom they taught core subjects in their primary language. In other curricular areas such as art, music, and science, they mixed the children in to groups of Spanish and English speakers, pairing them in a "buddy" system and instructing them in English. They also taught each group of children a second language for one-half hour a day--either English as a second language or Spanish as a second language. The school principal and staff reported they had recently decided on this model of bilingual education as one way to meet the multiple needs of the children they were teaching and the multiple goals of various policy directives. During that visit, I also observed and/or interviewed a cluster of support staff and school administrators who were involved in various ways with the categorical programs--especially Title 1 (then Chapter 1)--at the school. This was an intriguing group of people, quite dedicated in varying degrees to teaching and helping the poor, Mexican-American children in their school.

I selected five people from those I had interviewed or observed: two classroom teachers, a bilingual Title 1 teacher working with those classrooms, the Title 1 administrator, and the principal. Using interview and observation, I followed this group of people until May of 1994. I paid attention to the instruction I saw and to choices teachers and administrators were making around organization and the allocation of resources related to Title I, bilingual education, and curriculum standards. I observed the instruction in this set of classrooms, and in particular the instruction of the small group of children designated by the California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS) to be "Chapter 1 students" and by teacher judgment to be "especially needy."

During the 1993-1994 school year, I interviewed all of these people at least three times. I observed all but one of them three times. I spent considerable time analyzing data gathered from Anita Lorenz's classroom--the English-speaking half of the Compañero team--and I wrote a paper on her instruction. During the course of my observations, a few children stood out as really needing help; they were working very hard, getting extra help, but still struggling. There were some success stories that year in Lorenz's classroom. Anita Lorenz seemed to be quite a remarkable teacher. In her teammate Monique Ponds' room, the Spanish-speaking, Title 1 teacher was working with a small group of children. She reported having some success, but, according to her, it was "slow going." I observed that small group and their work with Ponds all through 1993-1994 school year as well. I took detailed notes of interactions at the time, and a Spanish -literature student Justin Crumbaugh worked with me to translate and transcribe the tapes of those sessions. A senior in his undergraduate program at Kalamazoo College at the time of this study, Crumbaugh is now a graduate student in Spanish

literature. He received the award of most outstanding student in Spanish at Kalamazoo College his senior year. Crumbaugh was invaluable in helping me make sense of teacher-student interactions in the Spanish-speaking classrooms. He sat with me during observations and responded to questions; he helped me document events, translated audio-tapes, and worked closely with me to construct field notes.

After a year in Anita Lorenz's and Ruth Linn's classrooms (observing Monique Ponds,) the set of children whose instruction I had been observing were off to another Compañero team for the 1994-1995 school year. Monique Ponds , the bilingual Title 1 teacher, was going to follow these children--the English-speaking group as well as the Spanish-speaking group. Her plan was to work with them a couple of hours each day in order to provide some constancy in their learning lives from second to third grade. I decided to stick with these Title 1 children to observe the instruction they received during the next school year.

1994-1995 -- Year Two

I followed the same subset of children to their new third grade teachers--another Compañero, bilingual team--in order to compare the instruction they received that year with the year before. Some in my group left the school, and a few new children transferred into the third grade Title 1 group I was observing. I continued to interview the principal, Laura Mather, as well as "shadow" her when I could; I interviewed her Title 1 administrator, Louise James, just as I had during year one. I also observed the Title 1 bilingual teacher, Monique Ponds, as she instructed the set of children I was following for both years. I added one additional first grade bilingual teacher to my set of people the second year--Juan Ramirez, a young,

Mexican-American male who was on the district mathematics curriculum committee. Ramirez had transferred from third to first grade after the school-wide, all-staff decision to "restructure," which included concentrating all resources in the early grades (kindergarten through second). Thus, Ramirez's room gave me a view into one classroom where three adults were working with first grade Title 1 children. This was a "resource rich" classroom because of the new Title 1 plan.

But the "neediest" Title 1 children I followed to third grade lost most of their resources because of the new plan. The fact that Monique Ponds, their Title 1 teacher, was still working with them was an exception to the new school-wide plan. She and the two Compañero teams had used creative financing--they used bilingual funds, not Title 1 funds--so Ponds was able to stay with the third grade children who were Spanish speaking. Furthermore, the third grade Compañero who taught Spanish-speaking children decided to "share" Ponds with her partner, even though Ponds was officially supposed to be working with Spanish-speaking children. In that way, Ponds could continue to work with both the English-speaking and the Spanish-speaking Title 1 children she had taught during their second grade year. But, midway through the year, she left. And the conflict described in the opening vignette erupted because of the way Title 1 resources and curriculum had been "restructured." At the same time, the principal and bilingual resource teacher decided the Compañero model of bilingual education "wasn't working."

Documents

Beyond observation and interview, my data include local newspaper articles (which I read to stay abreast of public reaction to education issues in California,) policy documents, school or district memoranda, and other

salient written communication (the principal's newsletter to staff, for example; or the school mission statement before and after it was redesigned for another; the principal's CLAS action plan for yet another example). During my visits to Mission Elementary, I collected policy and program documents that seemed relevant to the policies I was considering--bilingual education, Title I, and curriculum reforms. In part, I have used these documents as the source of policy ideals or ideas and a point of comparison with school practices at Mission Elementary. Some of these documents include: It's Elementary! Prepared by the Elementary Grades Task Force and the California Department of Education. Funded in part by a grant under Chapter 2 of the ESEA (1992). This document is informed by the California curriculum frameworks and theories of learning pressed by reformers. It includes recommendations to people in schools for putting reform ideas into practice. Two key documents related to the literacy curriculum reform in California are the English-language arts framework for California public schools: kindergarten through grade twelve. Prepared by the English-Language Arts Curriculum Framework and Criteria Committee. Sacramento: California Department of Education (1987); and, the English-language arts model curriculum guide. Sacramento: California Department of Education (1988). I also used the mathematics frameworks and curriculum guides for California Public Schools, as well as the Commission on Chapter 1 (1992) report, Making schools work for children in poverty. American Association for Higher Education. Washington DC. Mission Elementary staff gave me excerpts from this document and others that were reports published just prior to the reauthorization of Title I of the Elementary Secondary Education Act.

I used materials from the California Learning Assessment System (CLAS) training that some Mission Elementary staff attended. And, the

California State Department of Education Program Advisory CIL: 88/9-2. Improving educational opportunity for disadvantaged students: An advisory of programmatic ideas derived from the 1988 reauthorization of Chapter 1 (1994). Another document used by the California State Department of Education as an instrument for curriculum reform was the Guide and criteria for program quality review. Compiled by the School Improvement Office, California Department of Education. Sacramento. This guidebook had been used by Mission Elementary staff to help them align their curriculum with the state frameworks using samples of student work. I also collected and used several school and district level documents as mentioned earlier, including the school's mission statement, the principal's newsletters, the MUSD curriculum guide, and the MUSD bilingual education guide. Staff at Mission Elementary mentioned or provided these documents and others, including information about the reauthorization of Title 1 and Goals 2000, during my visits.

DATA ANALYSIS

My study focused on curriculum reform and instruction as well as on the organization of federal categorical programs and the instruction of poor, Mexican-American children. As noted in chapter one and earlier in this appendix, I was part of a team of researcher--the Education Policy and Practice Study (EPPS)--investigating reforms aimed at improving the intellectual quality of instruction by looking at literacy and mathematics instruction in classrooms. But I was especially interested in the instruction of children disadvantaged by poverty or other factors. Thus, I worked as part of a small subset of researchers in EPPS who were also looking at categorical programs and how they worked in schools. I first observed teachers at Mission

Elementary as part of the EPPS wave of data collection, asking, among other questions, the following: "How do programs and policies intended to remedy the effects of social, economic, and linguistic "disadvantage" work in the schools in which we observe? How do teachers think about the education of students who are from disadvantaged circumstances and/or racial, ethnic, and language minorities? How do efforts to dramatically improve the intellectual quality of instruction in literacy and mathematics interact with the patterns of thought and instruction that we observe when we pay attention to issues concerning children who come from different racial, ethnic, or linguistic groups or from different social class origins?"

Thus, I chose an approach to analysis that would allow me to focus on important issues in the school--how categorical programs worked and interacted with instructional reform, for example--as well as classrooms. The federal categorical programs have some, but not all, features in common with curriculum reform. Further, the instruction of "disadvantaged" children has for years consisted of methods and goals very different from the new literacy and mathematics reforms. So I wanted to understand how administrators as well as teachers interpreted and chose to enact the mix of programs and reforms. Further, reformers were using the 1994 reauthorization of Title 1 to press for school-wide change. The school level issues became very important midway in the study.

Therefore, to organize my data analysis and present what I learned, I used multiple and different views on three policies in one school. They have been generated in part by my research orientation and the questions I asked, and in part from what happened in the school. First, for the school perspective I used primarily the personal and role-connected view of Mission Elementary's principal and to a lesser extent, her Title 1 administrator. But I

also paid attention to some of the collective choices the staff made, to teachers' views on those school-wide decisions, to significant events, planning, or other matters affecting the school or staff as a whole. Laura Mather's personal history as well as the particular propensities and assumptions she brought to her role are salient here.

Second, the classroom perspective includes teachers' beliefs about policy ideas, instruction, learning, assessment, organization, and resources, as well as my classroom observations of practice. By using a subset of faculty at Mission Elementary, this view shows how school-wide or collective choices amplify to classrooms, and how particular teachers interpret policy ideas. I provide an overview in Appendix A.

Third, I have included a view of particular children in small group interaction. This view does not try to capture the point of view of children. Rather it stems from the question: What does the school day look like when an observer is looking closely at the instruction of a small group of Title 1 students? In addition to the instruction these children received (over a two-year period), this perspective includes them at work in small groups; "what happens" as a result of choices the staff makes; and some of the teachers' reports about the children's lives. Here I use observations of teachers and reports from teachers, the principal, or other administrators. I did not interview these children; rather, I tried to follow in their footsteps for a few hours each visit I made to Mission Elementary. I did so for two years to understand something about the instruction they received, their school experiences, and how policy ideas and staff choices might bear on those experiences.

Themes

One of the first steps in the analysis of my data, and a step that continued throughout the study, was organizing what I collected into clusters of responses. This was a process of "segmenting" (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983/1992) the interviews into computer files or color coding pieces of text on the printed version. As themes emerged, I created new files which eventually helped me illustrate the topics within them. I used field notes, interviews, and other documents to confirm or revise these topics, and then to elaborate on them as the patterns became clearer. Categories were generated in part from the EPPS questions--teachers' views on mathematics reforms, on literacy, on students and so on--and from the units of analysis I used--the school-wide perspective, classroom perspective and view of the small Title 1 group.

But categories also grew out of the interaction at the school. I was working inductively. Consistent with "grounded theorizing," my data collection was guided to some degree by emerging patterns in my data (Glaser and Strauss 1967 cited in Bogdan and Biklen 1992). For example, teachers and administrators' views on bilingual education became quite significant in this school as those attitudes seemed to interact with math and literacy reforms (across all three perspectives and most subjects). In fact, strongly held beliefs about, and extensive understanding of bilingual issues seemed to be entangled in many of the practices and organizational arrangements at Mission Elementary. As the files on teachers and administrator's views about bilingual education grew, the data began to illustrate how the ideas, attitudes, and methods bound up in language not only complemented the curriculum reforms (as in the notion of "making sense" of content using one's own cultural base) but also compounded the already competing ideals in the

school. Thus the bilingual files helped illustrate one variation on the theme of conflict, competing commitments, and managing despite dilemmas.

Another example of a file that emerged from practices and events at Mission involved a significant "decision" to restructure the school's curriculum and Title 1 program. The "decision" occurred midway in the study. I incorporated questions about that decision and surrounding events into my next round of interviews, and created a new file for those staff interview segments as well as salient field notes from that round of observations.

Over time I could illustrate several variations on the theme of conflict using numerous examples from interview and observation within and across files. I used these files to compare teammates in the Compañero:--Monique Ponds with Anita Lorenz and Alice Michiels with Kate Jones, for example. I used them to compare Title 1 instruction from one year to the next. And, I used them to help me organize the writing--that is to select interview text and vignettes that would illustrate particular topics within the big themes.

The FROM-TO analysis

Because I was interested in change over time--in Title 1 instruction, in classrooms, individual teachers, and in the school organization--I also organized my data chronologically. To better understand the dynamic process of adapting policy ideals to the context at Mission Elementary, I developed calendars that mapped events in and around important turning points--for example the "decision" to restructure. Using field notes and interviews, I created a chronological view of the data. Doing so helped me develop plausible interpretations of factors that may have contributed to various staff responses.

By having a clearer view of "what happened" and "when it happened," I was able to extract events that seemed most important and refine the calendars. When social conflict emerged after the collective "decision" to restructure, and after I had collected another round of data on that topic, I created a collage of events, responses, and attitudes by superimposing pieces of key interview text illustrating the kinds of social conflict that had erupted, over the calendar of events. Thus I was better able to compare and interpret the aspects of staff interaction, and key elements in the school organization at Mission Elementary, before the decision and after the decision. This provided me with what I needed for the historical analysis--FROM-TO--of Mission Elementary around a few key events (Bogdan And Biklen 1992). And, this process helped me select observation vignettes and interviews to illustrate what happened at Mission after key events: for example, after the decision to restructure, and after the Title 1, bilingual teacher quit. This line of analysis also helped in the comparison of Title 1 instruction from one year to the next or from the beginning of one year to the end of the year.

"AUTO-BIOGRAPHY"

Brief "auto-biographical sketches" of the subset of teachers show how the themes in their education and life contribute to their practices and interpretation of policy. I used this method--the "auto-biographical sketch"--for the following reasons: to capture what the subjects identified as important in their individual lives and education (the subjects' perspective or autobiography); to identify themes and provide a broader historical context of time and place (my interpretations as well as a recognition of historical context--"biography"; and to do both in a limited amount of space. I selected this method based on "Elements of Educational Biography," a list of

principles developed by Steve Weiland and used by students in the course on biography I took with him. An excellent survey by Louis Smith (1994) of the principles, components and styles of biographical (including auto-biographical) writing also influenced my decision to use "auto-biography." Among the many styles and purposes of biographical method, Smith suggests that "group biography can bind together constitutional and institutional history" with "personal biography." He points out that the field of life writing is contentious and suggests drawing from multiple views, then adapting them to particular projects.

I also drew on the work of Ivor Goodson, whose method has intertwined brief biographies into ethnography. Studs Terkel has used collections of brief autobiographical "episodes" in his tape recorded oral histories with some biographical editing. Goodson (1992, p. 234) argues that we have an "underdeveloped literature" on the personal aspects of teaching, especially literature that locates some portion of the teachers' lives within a wider contextual understanding--for example, historical background. All of the pieces noted here and more were suggested by Steve Weiland.

Finally, as Goodson raises just above, I have woven a few key historical streams of thought and events into some of the personal biographical material, especially in the cases of Laura Mather, Juan Ramirez, and Alice Michiels. I drew generally from the ethos during the years these subjects were coming of age, educated, and developing their professional paths. But I also supplemented that information with related arguments or events that may have occurred before their time, in order to provide a broader background context for the ideas, and their personal histories. I have tried to shed light on how ideas and events in a broader context might compete with,

complement, or be mirrored by the meaning that teachers and administrators construct around more current reform ideas.

Throughout each data chapter, I also used a variety of current literature for a similar purpose: that is, to illustrate debates over "the facts" beyond Mission Elementary. So I sometimes used the literature as a lens for interpreting practices at Mission Elementary or illustrating assumptions in the policies that I compared to practice --first to show how competing interpretations of the empirical data could produce different interpretations of practices or events, and second (especially in the instances of bilingual issues and leadership) to explicate some of the dilemmas that staff at Mission shared, as well as the "competition of ideas" that may have been informing their practices.

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[1]Bruner's concept of "situated action" distinguishes between agency and effect, between action and behavior. Action is replete with intentional states: conviction and belief, desire, commitment and intention. (pp. 9; 19). Action is situated in particular cultural settings and in the interaction of participants "intentional states." So while I was an outsider and took pains to represent a broader context than individual lives and one school culture, I also attempted to understand and plausibly represent the meaning of ideas and events that staff reported.

APPENDIX D

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RUTH LINN'S PRACTICE

Observations suggest that although Ruth Linn used the accouterments--geoboards, for example--language and some of the practices of the mathematics curriculum reforms, such reforms did not penetrate her practice very deeply. This teacher was quite traditional in many respects. She used the new materials in a manner that resonated with her understanding of the nature of mathematical knowledge and teaching; authority for knowing resided with her most often. Thus her teaching was quite different from images of reformed teaching, even though she used some of its materials. For example, though she did not stand in front of the room, and her students' desks were organized for "cooperative learning," Linn's pedagogy discouraged such learning and was quite didactic--all "right answers" flowed from her, no matter her position in the room.

In the instance of geoboards, for example, Linn reported wanting her students to use them in order to understand and represent multiplication. That seems to be an instance of reformed thinking and is quite different than drilling students on multiplication facts. Linn's charges were seated in small groups, facing one another with their geoboards in hand. This seating arrangement is another image that squares with reforms that want students to solve problems together and "scaffold" tasks for one another. But Linn didn't let her students discuss their various representations of the

multiplication facts she had asked them to create on the geoboards--facts such as 3 x 3, 4 x 2 or 3 x 7--demonstrated by stretching bands across three pegs and down three pegs, or across four and down two. While she told the children to "count the pegs to find the answer, " she also told the children several times not to "cheat" by talking about their work with one another. When it came to the "right answer" Linn did not ask for discussion in which students justified their work. She did not appear to want to know what they were thinking about this task, or how they went about working it out. She simply walked from desk to desk and compared her own geoboard to the students', making comments such as "when you are done let me know and I'll see if it matches mine." Or, "does that look like mine? Too bad. Wrong." Or, "does that look like mine? Good, way to go" (Fieldnote, 6/95). Ruth Linn had the "right answer" and clearly said so in her math lessons.

Her language arts instruction was more consistent with reforms. She used literature translated to Spanish, some cooperative group work, and writing portfolios. The students wrote quite often, for several different purposes, and they read good books or Linn read to them everyday. But class discussions appeared to be dominated by her talk, and she was quite didactic in some of her instruction in that subject as well. In this manner, Linn's practice differed from Lorenz's room, where Lorenz quite often listened to her students, worked to connect new information to students' "prior knowledge," encouraged them to think as well as talk about what they understood, and pressed them to give sound reasons for their responses.

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