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Latino educational opportunity in discourse and policy:
A critical and policy discourse analysis of the
White House Initiative on Educational Excellence For Hispanics

by

Susana Hernández

A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Major: Education (Educational Leadership)

Program of Study Committee:
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Katherine Richardson-Bruna

Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa
2013
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DEDICATION

Para mis padres, Obdulia y Apolonio Marin, y mis hermanos Luis y Filiberto,

gracias por ser mis maestros de la vida.

Aunque este tesis solo tiene un nombre, representa nuestra familia.

To my parents, Obdulia y Apolonio Marin and my brothers Luis and Filiberto,

thank you for being my life teachers.

While this dissertation bears one name, it represents our family.

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ABSTRACT

This study interrogates how federal policy discursively shapes Latino educational opportunity and equity. The White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanics (WHIEEH) represents the pre-eminent federal discourse on Latino educational opportunity, and sets the parameters by which institutions are able to be informed and respond to its espoused objectives. Despite the recommendations and strategies previously conveyed by WHIEEH reports, Latino educational equity remains to be achieved. This study adopts critical and policy discourse analyses as methodological tools to identify the discourses that are informing how the policy subjects, problems, and solutions are being constructed and produced through the WHIEEH.

The findings suggest that policy subjects are constructed and informed by a discourse of homogeneity, American discourse that supposes citizenship, a discourse of disadvantage, and a marketplace discourse. Problems constructed in the WHIEEH, are informed by a crisis discourse that helps to produce framing the lack of contributions of Latinos to the country as an unintended problem. This is made possible, by discursively framing Latino educational opportunity in relationship to the economic well-being of the country. Solution constructions are informed by an accountability discourse that leaves further questions about who is ultimately accountable for ensuring Latino educational opportunity.

The study disrupts traditional and conventional policy analyses and raises imperative understandings of how Latino educational opportunity is discursively constructed in federal policy.

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CHAPTER ONE. INTRODUCTION

Education is one of the most critical public policy issues facing Latinos in the United States and it is a fundamental part of social life that influences employment opportunities, access to health care, and social and economic mobility (Leal, 2011). Latinos influence all aspects of American society and are crucial to any measures of success. Efforts to raise and maintain the importance of educational opportunity and equity must extend beyond a particular community's interest, and be a shared value across local, state, and national entities.

The future of American education, and of the country, is dramatically changing and heavily influenced by Latinos who comprise a growing segment of the general U.S. population, and consequently, education enrollments. While there is a social narrative that connects the demographic growth of Latinos to the economic success of the country, this narrative fails to interrogate the philosophical assumptions and sociopolitical conditions that result in Latinos not enjoying the same economic, social, and political benefits that other communities have enjoyed (See Alvarez, 1999; Garcia, 2012; Merisotis, 2012). This popular discourse suggests that Latinos play an integral component of the future of the country and policies that influence the educational opportunities of this community will play an important role in shaping their experiences. However, in opposition to this popular discourse, it is important for research to challenge assumptions embedded within policies whose efforts attempt to address Latino education. It is critical to deconstruct normative assumptions about Latino educational opportunity as represented in policies. The assumptions embedded in policies are often not contested and are

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usually taken for granted. The implicit assumptions embedded within policy are historically rife with deficit perspectives that may reproduce the problems policies attempt to address (Valencia & Black, 2002), having an adverse effect on Latino communities.

Thus, this study calls for new ways to think about the role of policy, specifically how Latino educational opportunity is created and reflected in federal educational policies. I am particularly interested in studying the White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanics (WHIEEH). The WHIEEH was created to provide advice and guidance to the Secretary of Education on issues related to Latinos and address academic excellence and opportunities for the Latino community. The President of the United States appoints commissioners to the initiative and their role is to identify and highlight the educational needs of Latino students through a series of town hall meetings held throughout the United States. The WHIEEH functions as a mechanism to address Latino educational concerns on a national level. As the preeminent federal policy initiative dealing with Latino educational opportunity, WHIEEH serves as one representation of the federal role in addressing Latino educational opportunity. The WHIEEH provides a cross-sectional perspective of Latinos across the educational pipeline and highlights the role the federal government plays in addressing the conditions of this population. As a federal policy initiative, the WHIEEH is an entry-point to understand the discursive construction of Latino educational opportunity and the optimal policy to understand this federal discursive construction.

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I will adopt critical and policy discourse analyses as methodological tools to identify and investigate how subjects are constructed in federal policy, how problems are constructed and solutions are consequently considered. Examining the underlying ideologies of a specific federal policy and the political contexts surrounding it will enable deeper understanding of how federal policy shapes, constructs, and produces Latino educational opportunity. **Ultimately, the aim of this study is to interrogate how federal policy discursively shapes Latino educational opportunity and equity.**

As such, this study will identify and analyze the multiple discourses that are drawn upon to inform Latino educational opportunity in the United States, as anchored by the WHIEEH. These discourses include the texts of executive orders that constitute the WHIEEH, official reports produced by the WHIEEH, and the official political discourse related to the WHIEEH, which will be described further in Chapter 2.

The following orienting questions help organize this study:

1. How is Latino educational opportunity constructed/produced through the WHIEEH?

2. What discourses are informing how the policy subjects, problems, and solutions are being constructed/produced through the WHIEEH?
    a. How are Latinos constructed/produced as subjects?
    b. How are policy problems constructed/produced?
    c. How are policy solutions constructed/produced?

By answering these questions, I will be able to understand the assumptions embedded in the naming of policy problems and examine the discourses that may produce unintended consequences of policy solutions offered by the WHIEEH.

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Federal policies such as the WHIEEH help inform and frame the national discourse on Latino educational opportunity. Therefore, this study's critical approach is vital to examining how this initiative is constructing the problems and solutions meant to address Latino educational opportunity and more importantly creating or making the possible material conditions that Latino students' experience.

I begin with a brief introduction of the WHIEEH followed by an explanation of key constructs at stake in this inquiry.

White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanics

Since 1990, one of the federal responses to address Latino educational concerns has been the creation of the White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanics (WHIEEH). Housed in the Department of Education, the WHIEEH is a federal policy initiative that provides advice and guidance to the Secretary of Education on education issues related to Latinos, and it is the only federal initiative exclusively dedicated to addressing the academic excellence and opportunities for the Latino community. The WHIEEH sets a national stage from which to engage the challenges that impede Latino educational success and determines how educators and community leaders can begin or continue to address their educational concerns. The findings and recommendations set forth by the WHIEEH must not be taken lightly as they provide us with a direction as to how to develop a national agenda that ultimately aims to achieve Latino educational equity. Chapter 2 will provide an extended description of the WHIIEH that outlines the policy initiative's history, function, structure, and political nature, and relationship to agencies within and outside the Department of Education. In this study, the

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WHIEEH is the primary artifact used to ultimately trace how Latino educational opportunity has been constructed at the federal level.

Key Constructs

The following section outlines the key concepts relevant to this inquiry: Latino as a term, policy, discourse, and policy-as-discourse.

"Latino"

The theoretical and political significance of labels cannot be taken lightly and this brief section outlines the varying terms used to describe the Latino community. The United States government began to use the term "Hispanic" in the 1970 U.S. census to refer to "a person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race." Up until that point Latinos were designated as "non-white" or "Black." This new designation raised some controversy, as some felt that it was artificially imposed and did not resonate with the community it attempted to describe (Gimenez, 1997; Rumbaut, 2006). In 1976, the U.S. Congress passed Public Law 94-311, requiring that federal government agencies categorize and collect information on "Hispanics." This was the first and only time that an ethnic group was identified in this manner (Taylor, Lopez, Martinez, & Velasco, 2012). While other ethnic groups are identified by federal agencies, they are all categorized as distinct racial groups. In contrast, "Hispanics" are identified as an ethnic group with individuals that share a common language, culture, and heritage but do not necessarily share a common race. The terms "Hispanic" or "Latino" to describe persons of "Spanish origins" is unique to the U.S. As such, the meanings of these terms are not widely used outside of the U.S.

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and when the terms are used, they may carry vastly different meanings (Rumbaut, 2006).

Given the tension around these ethnic labels, a study was conducted by the Pew Hispanic Center to examine how Latinos self-identify. Their recent report, entitled, *When Labels Don't Fit: Hispanics and their Views of Identity*, suggests that there is no unifying term that Latinos use to identify themselves. Only 24% of Latino adults self-identified as "Hispanic" or "Latino" and more than half (51%) say they identify according to their family's country of origin such as Mexican, Cuban, Salvadoran, etc. (Taylor et al., 2012). Among those Latinos born in the United States, 40% identified as "American." The report's results demonstrate how variable self-identification can be and the challenges associated with the normative use of a pan-ethnic term.

In light of this context, the term Latino will be the primary term used in this inquiry to describe a heterogeneous community that is richly diverse. I use this term while recognizing the label's history, development, and contestation in order to offer some consistency in the ways in which we name an otherwise diverse set of people. The term "Hispanic" or any other variation of the term will only be used when citing a federal document, which as previously indicated, was federally created and is used for reporting purposes. As I wrestle with this tension, I use the term Latino cautiously and wearily as I try not to reproduce the very same

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production that my study critiques. However, for the sake of consistency, I will use the term Latino.[1]

Policy

Critical policy scholars broadly define policy as the dynamic and value-laden process through which political systems operate to solve problems (as adapted from Allan, Iverson, & Ropers-Huilman, 2010). It is important to recognize how this definition challenges dominant understandings of policy as being neutral and value-free (Ball, 2006). As Ball (2006) asserts, "[P]olicies do not normally tell you what to do, they create the circumstances in which the range of options available in deciding what to do are narrowed or changed or particular goals or outcomes are set" (p. 46). Thus, the WHIEEH sets the parameters from which institutions are able to be informed and respond to its espoused objectives.

Policy also represents a form of ideological contestation where values are debated and ultimately decided upon. Describing policy in such a manner, suggests that policies are value-laden, carrying meaning and power (Ball, 2006). Critical approaches to examining policy challenge the naturalness and normalcy of policy as being value-free. Specifically, they analyze the ways in which policy is the cultural-textual expression of a political practice (Levinson, Sutton, & Winstead, 2009). This study aims to promote an understanding of how policy serves to both transmit and produce realities that influence Latino educational opportunity.

[1] For further discussion of this tension along with a reflexivity statement see Appendix H.

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Policy is one way in which institutions, state, or federal governments attempt to influence, remedy, and solve social problems. Policies often begin with an identification of a problem (Worthman, Murillo, & Hamann, 2002), however, the identification of the problem is not always explicitly made. Additionally, while policy recommendations are concluded, the remedies suggested might not be addressing the original problem that the policy is attempting to solve. For example, while No Child Left Behind (NCLB) attempted to strengthen accountability measures to improve underperforming schools, it neglected to provide resources for school districts that needed the additional funding to improve their schools while rewarding those that were able to meet the federal standards (Leonardo, 2007). The problem, underperforming schools, can be argued, was further exacerbated by NCLB even though in theory it was attempting to improve underperforming schools. More notably, Leonardo (2007) contends that NCLB acknowledges the symptom of failing schools, but not the causes of the achievement gap between students of color and White students, thus ultimately not being able to address the structural inequalities that exacerbate the problem. Similarly, this study will understand the problems the WHIEEH is attempting to rectify and address how the solutions are being undertaken. Applying critical policy analysis to this inquiry enables me to make explicit connections to the embedded assumptions within policies such as the WHIEEH that scholars like Leonardo have applied to other educational policies.

The public policy arena is where debates often take place and where public frustration and opinion is expressed. Federal policies reflect the values and priorities of the country. What is considered important is arguable, and what is

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taken up for discussion at the federal level is a reflection of what is deemed as important and necessary for national discussion. Marshall (1999) contends, "[D]ebates over education policy are power conflicts over which knowledge is the 'truth.' Those who control the discourse discredit or marginalize other 'truths.' Thus, debates over required curriculum, the cannon and requirements for professional credentials are power/knowledge struggles" (p. 65). Policy debates are then, contestations of knowledge, of which some truth is legitimized while others are not. The examination of the WHIEEH provides a compelling opportunity to examine how federal policy privileges certain knowledge and truths that are deemed important and relevant in addressing Latino educational opportunity. The interrogation of the WHIEEH will uncover the debates at play and how certain truths are legitimized over others across a period of time. As the only federal policy initiative exclusively dedicated to Latinos, the WHIEEH provides a platform to uncover how Latino educational opportunity has been discursively constructed.

Discourse

Discourse holds multiple definitions depending on the theoretical perspective. Some discourse analysis has shed light on how meaning can be created via the arrangement of words, paragraphs, and conversations (Johnstone, 2010). This type of analysis usually asks questions about semantics and syntax to uncover meaning. For this study, discourse is grounded in the work of Michel Foucault (1978; 1980) and critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992; 2010). From this outlook, discourse refers to the different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice (Fairclough, 2010). Discourse not only reflects culture, but it

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actively produces it. As Ball (2006) contends, "we do not speak a discourse, it speaks us" (p. 48). This means that language, both written and spoken, is merely a reflection and/or instantiation of the discourses we attempt to describe.

One of Foucault's influences is attributed to how discourse is a combination of power and knowledge (Fairclough, 2010). This conception of power is not positional, but rather implicit within everyday social practices in all domains of social life (Fairclough, 2010). Additionally, power is not violent or coercive but rather it can be blind and mute, and can incite speech and visibility (Jones & Ball, 1995). Foucault states, "It is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together" (Foucault, 1978, p. 100). This perspective enables the interrogation of power-knowledge as an inseparable configuration of ideas and practices that constitute a discourse. "Together, power/knowledge and discourse provide conditions of possibility – the conditions necessary to think of ourselves, and our world, in particular ways and not in others" (Allan, 2010, p.17). This conception of power suggests that discourse and language are of central importance in the social processes of society. There is greater emphasis upon the description of texts as finished products, and less attention on the production and interpretation of the relationship between knowledge and power. Foucault's influence on educational research enables new textual examinations of educational discourse (i.e. policy documents). Foucault's influence on the design of this study will be further described in Chapter 3.

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Policy-as-Discourse

Policies are not static entities, nor do they exist in vacuums. Viewing policy as discourse raises new understandings of how policy discourses are actively circulating power/knowledge and actively producing new constructions (Allan, 2010). Understanding policy as discourse allows for the examination of which truths are legitimized over others. This understanding of policy acknowledges the multiple and sometimes contradictory ways in which policy attempts to privilege and legitimize certain truths.

Policies themselves reflect the values and priorities of those in power to make choices about what and how problems should be solved. Understanding policy as discourse allows for the examination of how policy produces conditions of possibility for thought and action (Allan, 2010). This means that policy texts set the parameters of which what is conceivable to be thought and enacted upon. Policies make the conditions available for possible policy solutions to be considered, ultimately shaping the micro-levels of society.

The convergence of policy and discourse offers the opportunity for new insights to be made about policy and the ways in which policies themselves contribute to the production of knowledge and perceived truths. This unique approach to examine policy as discourse emerges from post-structural approaches to qualitative research that enable the interrogation of policy documents as sources of discourse (Allan, 2010). Policies as a site of contestation, affords meaningful considerations of the ways in which knowledge is legitimized that enables and/or constrains Latino educational opportunity.

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Poststructural Theory

This study is framed by poststructural theory, which helps raise important questions about the control and production of knowledge and power (Foucault 1978; 1980). Rather than viewing power within people who hold structural authority, Foucault highlights the ways in which social change occurs through local power exchanges and discourses (Jones & Ball, 1995). Foucault's work (1978; 1980) helps raise understandings of power as a productive force, which is produced and transmitted through knowledge and discourse. In this sense, power is not possessed but rather it is exercised via discourse. Discourse, power, and knowledge are then, indistinguishably linked together in structuring our realities.

Poststructuralism does not carry a fixed meaning however there are common assumptions that will be made explicit. Postructuralism refers to a loosely connected group of theories that critique structural approaches to investigate language (Prasad, 2005; Allan, Iverson, & Ropers-Huilman, 2010). As an intellectual movement, poststructuralism challenges dominant notions of structuralism. Post-structuralism moves away from structuralism assumptions about language, that suggests language carries fixed or intrinsic ideas (Prasad, 2005; Jones & Ball, 1995). Poststructuralist views on language contend that language is socially constituted and is mediated between text, readers, and cultural contexts (Allan, 2010). Poststructuralists contend that language and discourse are dynamic sites for the construction of meaning, which are bound by a particular moment in time.

Applied to policy analysis, postructuralism enables assumptions embedded within policies to be made explicit and provides an opportunity to examine the

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unintended consequences of policy (Marshall, 1997; Allan, 2010; Allan, Iverson, & Ropers-Huilman, 2010; Nudzor, 2009). From a poststructural perspective, policies are not static and are rooted in power (Allan, 2010). A poststructural approach to policy analysis seeks to describe the subject positions produced through policy discourses, and as previously mentioned, make explicit the embedded assumptions in the framing of policy problems and solutions. This is valuable to educational policy because it provides an opportunity to interrogate educational policies that may seemingly be well intended in their efforts. Understanding that educational policies are rooted in power suggests that there are values decided upon and reflected in policy. Poststructural approaches to policy analysis enable understandings of how policy reinforces possible normative judgments of how problems can be solved. Applying a poststructural lens to this study will enable the discursive shaping of policy problems to be named and identify how the embedded assumptions within problems may contribute to the consequences of policy solutions that may not be explicitly intended.

Method(s) of Analysis

Policy discourse analysis will serve as my methodology, while archaeology and genealogy, will serve as my methods of analysis to investigate Latino educational opportunity and its construction and development in federal policy as represented in the WHIEEH. The following section will briefly describe how I will use these methods of analysis and a more extensive description will be provided in Chapter 3.

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Before describing my use of policy discourse analysis, I will outline how critical discourse analysis informs this work. Critical discourse analysis is an umbrella term for a number of methodologies that try to uncover how discourse and ideology are intertwined, how social structure and power relations are represented, enacted, constituted, maintained, or challenged through language (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Rogers, 2004a; 2004b; Manjarrés, 2011). The main goal of critical discourse analysis is to describe and explain how power is enacted, reproduced, or legitimized by the text and through the speech of dominant groups or institutions (van Dijk, 1993). While discourse analysis may be performed with different procedural variations, there are underlying assumptions that operate within critical discourse analysis (Powers, 2007). One of the underlying tenets of critical discourse analysis is that all representation is mediated by value-systems embedded in language. Pertinent to organizational change and policy development, it assumes that values are discursively determined and produced in the language of policy.

Critical discourse analysis is also concerned with ideology and identifies the explicit and implicit meanings in which power operates through discourse (Allan, Iverson, & Ropers-Huilman, 2010). The WHIEEH as a federal policy initiative, is influenced by the bias, power, and values embedded in text (Marshall, 1999). This analysis will challenge traditional assumptions of value-free and neutral language by examining how texts are embedded with ideology that is often implicit.

It is important to note that this study does not employ a linguistic analysis that examines phonological features, morphology, or syntax of texts. This level of linguistic analysis is not applied to the data reviewed in this study.

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Policy Discourse Analysis

Traditional policy analyses attempt to identify and calculate the effects of policies with apolitical, objective, and neutral methods (Marshall, 1999). Policies studied using conventional approaches often ignore the social construction of the problem and uncritically examine the underlying assumptions that are often taken for granted about solutions embedded within how a problem is represented (Allan, 2003; Iverson, 2007). This study will adopt critical and policy discourse analyses as methodological tools (Marshall, 1997, 1999) to identify the interconnectedness of politics and policy in education, identify some of the cultural values and choices in policy, and consider how problems are constructed and consequently solutions are being considered.

Policy discourse analysis draws from critical discourse analysis but focuses on the talk and action within policy (Allan, Iverson, & Ropers-Huilman, 2010). Of interest in each of these analyses are the ambiguities and contradictions within and across policy and discourse (Allan, 2010). By focusing on the text within the policy, the analyses will reveal the discursive junctures where policy problems are created. The study of discourse in this inquiry centers the examination of texts and its relationship to the social context in which it is constructed.

Policy discourse analysis is described as a hybrid methodology that utilizes a multitude of methodological tools to examine policy (Allan, 1999, 2008, 2010). Policy analyses are constituted as discursive practices that create, shape, and produce truth claims that can be questioned (Allan, 2010). Archaeology and genealogy are the specific analytical tools used in this inquiry.

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Archeology & Genealogy

Foucault's work (1978, 1980) is central to this study's interrogation of WHIEEH. Archaeology is the process of investigating the archives of discourse (Kendall & Wickham, 2003). This will enable me to answer the second research question of identifying the discourses that are informing how the policy subjects, problems, and solutions are being constructed/produced through the WHIEEH. Genealogy allows for understanding processes related to the aspects of discourse and has a greater concern with the analysis of power. This method allows for the identification of how one constellation of power-knowledge relations is displaced by another (Kendall & Wickham, 2003). This will enable me to answer how Latino educational opportunity is discursively constructed.

Archaeology, genealogy, and discourse, are tools Foucault used to analyze history not as a moment in time, but rather as how problems are constructed. Foucault applied these methods when he examined how the prison developed into a form of punishment (Kendall & Wickham, 2003; Foucault, 1978). Within poststructuralism, archaeology and genealogy are appropriate analytical approaches to understand history through the examination of discourse (Kendall & Wickham, 2003). For example, differences in terminology within policy texts reflect a particular historical and cultural context that influences the ways in which concepts are understood (Taylor, 2004). The use of archaeology and genealogy in this study will be described in greater detail in Chapter 3.

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Evidentiary Sources

This study will draw from multiple evidentiary sources. Primarily, the study will draw from the WHIEEH website that is the formal host of all activities conducted as part of the initiative. I will draw from the following three broad categories of evidentiary sources:

1. Texts of executive orders that constitute the WHIEEH
2. Set of official reports produced by the WHIEEH
3. Official political discourse related to the WHIEEH

These evidentiary sources are multi-modal and include policy texts, videos, and transcriptions. Appendix A provides a detailed description of all evidentiary sources.

Educational/Social Significance

This inquiry calls for new ways to think about the role of policy and how Latino educational opportunity is created and reflected in federal policy. This study will enable readers to think differently about educational policy issues and policy analysis by identifying the hidden assumptions within policy that are often unidentified. Examining the underlying ideologies of federal policy and the political contexts surrounding it will enable further understanding of how federal discourse shapes Latino educational opportunity. Undertaking this analysis will contribute to a deeper understanding of the ways in which possible competing discourses about Latino educational opportunity are constructed and produced.

The WHIEEH represents the pre-eminent federal discourse on Latino educational opportunity, and sets the parameters by which institutions are able to

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be informed and respond to its espoused objectives. Despite the recommendations and strategies previously conveyed by WHIEEH reports, Latino educational opportunity equity remains to be achieved. This study's critical approach is vital to examining how this initiative effort is constructing the subject at stake in this policy initiative, and the problems and solutions meant to address Latino educational opportunity and more importantly creating or making the possible material conditions that Latino students' experience.

Overview

As the primary artifact used to trace how Latino educational opportunity has been constructed at the federal level an extended description of the WHIEEH outlining the policy initiative's history, function, structure, political nature, and relationship to agencies within and outside the Department of Education will be described in Chapter 2. Chapter 3, The Role of Policy in Latino Educational Opportunity will provide an overview of the demographic characteristics of Latinos over the past 30 years followed by their educational participation in the United States. This chapter will highlight Latino educational enrollment, access to higher education and conclude with the role of policy in Latino education.

Chapter 4 describes the theoretical framework and methodology used in this study. The findings from this inquiry will be presented in three separate chapters beginning in Chapter 5 where the construction of the policy subjects, problems, and solutions will be described. Chapter 6: Policy Subject, Problem, and Solution Productions, will describe the genealogical analysis of the study.

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This inquiry calls for new ways to think about the role of policy and how Latino educational opportunity is created and reflected in federal policy. Chapter 7: Latino Educational Opportunity will present the analysis of how the WHIEEH has represented Latino educational opportunity. The findings of the examination of the underlying ideologies of federal policy will provide a deeper understanding of how federal policy contexts, shape, construct, and produce Latino educational opportunity. This chapter will conclude with an implications section that makes connections between the WHIEEH's construction of Latino educational opportunity and the material conditions of Latinos students. This chapter will offer insights that raise new understandings of the role of federal policy in addressing Latino educational opportunity.

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CHAPTER 2. EXTENDED DESCRIPTION OF THE WHITE HOUSE INITIATIVE ON EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE FOR HISPANICS

The WHIEEH is the only federal policy initiative exclusively dedicated to Latino educational opportunity. This chapter will provide an extended description of the WHIEEH outlining the initiative's history, political nature, structural capacity and its relationship to other federal agencies. Each executive order will be described highlighting each instantiation's intended goals.

History

On September 24, 1990, the WHIEEH was created as Executive Order No. 12729 by President George H.W. Bush to provide "advice and guidance to the Secretary of Education on education issues related to Hispanics and address academic excellence and opportunities for the Hispanic community" (WHIEEH, 2012). Since the initial executive order, there have been three other consecutive instantiations of the initiative with varying goals and objectives.

The following table outlines the executive orders and under whose presidential term it was issued and signed.

Table 2.1

History of the WHIEEH Executive Orders

Executive Order	Date	President
Executive Order 12729	September 1990	George H.W. Bush
Executive Order 12900	February 1994	William Clinton
Executive Order 13230	October 2001	George W. Bush
Executive Order 13555	October 2010	Barack Obama

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Political Nature of the WHIEEH

Politically, the WHIEEH is made possible through the executive order process. An executive order is a "presidential directive that requires or authorize some action within the executive branch. Presidents have used executive orders to establish policy, reorganize executive branch agencies, alter administrative and regulatory processes, affect how legislation is interpreted and implemented, and take whatever action is permitted within the boundaries of their constitutional or statutory authority" (Mayer, 1999, p. 445). Executive orders do not require congressional approval however; they carry the same legal weight as laws passed by congress. This means that executive orders have full federal support and the stipulations outlined by the executive order must be carried through by pertinent federal agencies. There are multiple perspectives on their importance and impact of executive orders. Some legal scholars suggest that executive orders are an important instrument of presidential power that can utilize their constitutional and statutory power available to them (Shane & Bruff, 1996). Others suggest that executive orders are generally used to direct federal agencies and officials in their execution of congressionally established laws or policies and offer limited or temporary policy initiatives (Schramm, 1981).

While their influence may be contested, many important policy changes have occurred through the executive order process. For example, President Eisenhower used his executive authority to issue Executive Order No. 10730 to desegregate schools while Presidents Kennedy and Johnson used the executive order process to bar racial discrimination in federal housing. (See Executive Order No. 10730, 1957,

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Executive Order No. 10925, 1961, and Executive Order No. 11246, 1965). In 2001, shortly after September 11th, President George W. Bush signed Executive Order No. 13220, which established what we now know as the Office of Homeland Security and the Homeland Security Council, which dramatically changed the coordination and implementation of our country's national strategy to secure the border. (See Executive Order No. 13220, 2001). These are just some examples of the varying levels of influence and outcomes executive orders can have on influencing and dramatically changing federal and social structures.

While the importance of executive orders may sometimes be obscured, the presidential power to issue a directive cannot be taken lightly. The WHIEEH was established through the executive order process as a means to shed national awareness of Latinos and their educational success. This next section will outline the structural components of the initiative followed by the objectives and mission of each executive order.

Structural Capacity

The WHIEEH is a supported and funded agency within the Department of Education, and is comprised of an executive director named by the President or Secretary of Education and a support staff. The initiative's mission ends with the administration that created it, but the agency continues into a new administration with the expectation that a new executive order will be issued in which the Secretary of Education can reassign and/or appoint a new staff.

During the initial executive order, an executive staff was comprised that included an executive director and a staff that was financially supported and housed

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within the Department of Education. A list of all executive directors can be found in Appendix B.

A component of Executive Order No. 12729 was the establishment of the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans (PACEEHA). The President appoints the members of the PACEEHA and commissioners represent educational, business, professional, civic, sports, and entertainment backgrounds. The commissioners are selected based on the President's selection of individuals with relevant experience or subject matter expertise related to Latinos. The size of the PACEEHA varies by administration and is usually led by two co-chairs. The commission membership varies by presidential term but one of the PACEEHA's charges is to produce reports on the educational conditions of Latinos.

Relation to other Federal Agencies

The WHIEEH exists amongst one of three other initiatives that address other communities of color. The other initiatives include, the White House Initiative on Historically Black Colleges and Universities, the White House Initiative on Tribal Colleges & Universities, and the most recently created, the White House Initiative on Asian Americans & Pacific Islanders. All four initiatives have varying missions and goals but as stated on the WHIEEH website, all work closely with the Department of Education, Office of Communications and Outreach, Office for Civil Rights, Office for Elementary and Secondary Education, Office of English Language Acquisition, Office of Postsecondary Education, Office of Vocational and Adult Education, Federal Student Aid, and the Institute of Educational Sciences. The chart above, illustrate

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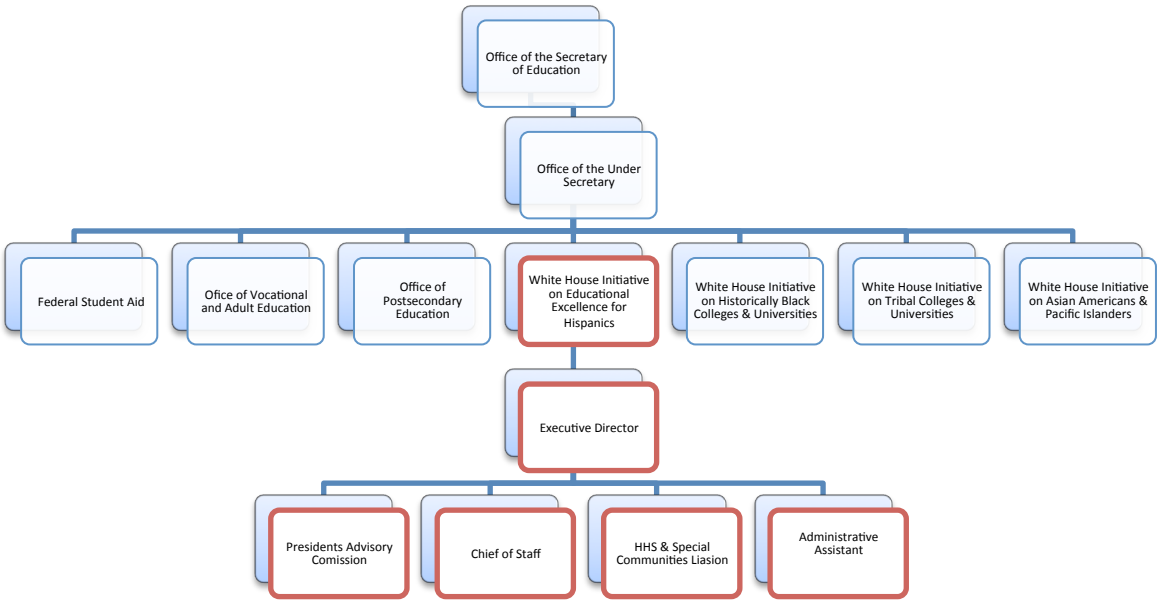
the relationship between the WHIEEH and other federal agencies. As noted, the WHIEEH reports all information regarding Latino educational opportunity directly to the Office of the Secretary of Education. This unique positioning of the WHIEEH, provides great opportunity and influence to inform the national office responsible for overseeing educational matters in the United States. As Figure 2.1 illustrates, the WHIEEH is unilaterally positioned among other federal efforts aimed at improving educational opportunity for other communities of color. The figure below illustrates the organizational structure of the WHIEEH.

Figure 2.1 White House Initiative on Educational Excellence Organization Structure



Executive Order No. 12729

President George H. Bush signed the first WHIEEH as Executive Order No. 12729 on September 24, 1990. The initial conception of the initiative was to provide advice and guidance to the Secretary of Education on education issues related to

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Latinos and addresses the academic excellence and opportunities for this community. The inaugural initiative established the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanics (PACEEH), which as previously mentioned, are appointed commissioners by the President and are responsible for advising the Secretary of Education. The size of the commission changes within each administration and its members are chosen from a diverse set of backgrounds. As cited by the WHIEEH's website, the initial commission was responsible for advising the Secretary of Education on the progress of Latinos on the following set of criteria:

- Enhancing parental involvement
- Promoting early childhood education
- Removing barriers to success in education and work with an emphasis on limited proficiency in English
- Help students achieve their full potential at all education levels
- Increase private sector and community involvement in improving education (Executive Order No. 12729, 1990)

The commission issued its first report in October of 1992 titled *A Progress Report to the Secretary of Education from the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans* outlining the status of Latino educational opportunity. This report was the first official document released by the initiative and it sets forth the educational conditions of Latinos from early childhood through graduate and professional education during this time. Key findings from the initial report include:

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- A snapshot of the status of Hispanics in relation to national education goals
- The Commission's ongoing efforts to assemble and examine relevant information and expert opinion
- An analysis of the challenge faced by the nation in providing Hispanics with a quality education
- A statement of the Commission's vision for the major education-related themes it is addressing, including greater parental involvement and educational partnerships
- The Commission's proposed next steps for carrying out its responsibilities in support of educational excellence for Hispanic Americans and for increasing accountability in both governmental and the educational community to ensure that appropriate progress is made.

Executive Order No. 12900

President William J. Clinton re-established the WHIEEH and the goals of this new initiative were modified. This new commission was charged to provide the President an "annual federal plan to promote Hispanic American educational excellence (Executive Order No. 12900, 1994). This plan was created to help Latinos attain educational improvements and targets as set forth by the National Education Goals. The new charge was to report on the progress of Latinos based on national standards of educational achievement.

President Clinton appointed new members and the commission issued several reports, that included *Our Nation on the Fault line: Hispanic American Education report,* W*hat Works for Latino youth, Educational Standards, Assessment, and Accountability: A new Civil Rights Frontier,* and *Creating the Will: Hispanics Achieving Educational Excellence*. Reports outlined the educational conditions of Latinos, and identified best practices that could improve their educational outcomes. As cited

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from the *Creating the Will* report (2000), Commissioners used the following five tenets in designing a plan to raise Latino educational achievement:

1. All sectors – public and private – have a vested interest and responsibility to improve the education of Hispanic youth.
2. Recognizing the educational assets as well as the educational needs of Hispanic students is essential to ensuring that these children achieve educational success.
3. There must be a sense of urgency to resolve the educational achievement gap for Hispanics. Small increment improvements will not be enough. Hispanics' population growth and educational achievement gap require quantum leaps rather than small improvements.
4. The nation must adopt a coordinated an intentional agenda for action to raise the educational achievement of Hispanics to the highest level.
5. The actions that will secure educational achievement by Hispanic students will strengthen the educational achievement of all students.

These tenets guided the Commissioners' efforts to highlight the conditions of Latinos within all sectors of the education pipeline. The challenge they identified was to "raise the educational performance of all Hispanic students to the same level of achievement as other students in America by the year 2010" (*Creating the Will: Hispanics Achieving Educational Excellence*, 2000, p. 52) and concluded with offering 10 things the next presidential administration must do to improve the educational conditions for Latino students.

Executive Order No. 13230

President George W. Bush continued the WHIEEH and the commission's mandate was modified once again to include the following goals:

- Map the progress of Hispanics in closing the academic achievement gap and attaining the goals established by No Child Left Behind
- Develop, monitor, and coordinate federal efforts to promote high-quality education for Hispanics

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- Develop ways to increase parental, state, local, private sector, and community involvement in improving education (Executive Order No. 13230, 2001)

This Commission issued four reports: *The Road to a College Diploma*: *The Complex Reality of Raising Educational Achievement for Hispanics in the United States*, *From Risk to Opportunity: Fulfilling the Educational Needs of Hispanic Americans in the 21st Century, Pathways to Hispanic family learning,* and *A summary of Activities, Accomplishments and Hispanic Education Attainment: 2001-08.* In the first report, the Commission adopted a strategic planning process that began with assessing the educational landscape of Latinos and reviewed data on the impact of cultural, nativity, ethnicity, acculturation and socioeconomic factors on the academic achievement of Latino students (*Road to a College Diploma*, 2002). The Commission used President Bush's *No Child Left Behind Act* as a framework of their work, and determined that four elements, accountability for results, state and local flexibility, focusing resources on proven educational methods and expanding choices for parents, would be the criteria used by the Commission to evaluate and asses best practices that should be used in working with Latino students.

The Commission's final report, *From Risk to Opportunity: Fulfilling the Educational Needs of Hispanic Americans in the 21st Century (2003),* Commissioners offered the following six recommendations:

- Recommendation 1: Set new and high expectations across America for Hispanic American children by helping parents navigate the educational system, creating partnerships that can provide expanded options for children, and implementing a nationwide public awareness and motivation

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campaign aimed at increasing educational attainment and achieving the goal of a college education.

- Recommendation 2*:* The Commission strongly supports full implementation and full enforcement of the *No Child Left Behind* Act. The Commission challenges the states and school districts to, within five years, increase the percentage of fourth graders reading at or above proficient on the National Assessment of Educational Progress by 30 percentage points and meet or exceed the annual measurable objectives defined in each respective state's accountability plan.
- Recommendation 3: Reinforce a high-quality teaching profession by more fully preparing all teachers to address the diverse needs of their students, including Hispanics, those with disabilities and those with limited English proficiency by attracting more Hispanics to the teaching profession, and by providing incentives and compensation for successful performance as evidenced by improved student achievement. Launch a national study of the curricula, practica, student teaching experiences and the models used to integrate these preparation formats employed by colleges of education to prepare educators for reading instruction of diverse children.
- Recommendation 4: Initiate a new coherent and comprehensive research agenda on the educational development of Hispanic Americans across the educational spectrum from preschool through postsecondary.
- Recommendation 5: Ensure full access for Hispanic American students to enter college and demand greater accountability in higher education for Hispanic graduation rates. Challenge the nation's postsecondary institutions to graduate 10 percent more Hispanic American students from colleges and universities each year, than are currently graduating, over the next decade. Urge institutions to explore the increased development of retention programs that would benefit Hispanic American students.
- Recommendation 6: Increase the accountability and coordination of programs within the federal government to better serve Hispanic American children and their families.

Executive Order No. 13555

The current WHIIEEH under Obama's presidency recognizes the growth of Latinos in the United States in the executive order text and describes the rapid growth of Latinos and the urgency to address their educational opportunity. Some of the goals the current instantiation outlines include:

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- Expand educational opportunities, improve education outcomes, and deliver a complete and competitive education for all Hispanics
- Increase general understanding of the causes of the educational challenges faced by Hispanic students
- Implementing successful and innovative education reform strategies and practices in American public schools to ensure that Hispanic students, like their peers, receive a rigorous and well-rounded education, and have access to student support services that will prepare them for college, a career, and civic participation.
(Executive Order No. 13555, 2010)

The current WHIEEH administration and Commission has held a series of action summit meetings in more than 90 communities across the country to talk about the local conditions of Latinos. While these are not new efforts, the current administration has made a more explicit effort to solicit the opinions of the community. In March of 2012, the WHIEEH released *An America Built to Last: White House Hispanic Community Action Summits: Interim Report,* which summarized the national summits held throughout the country. Additionally, the WHIEEH convened a National Education Summit and Call to Action in October of 2010 to provide a forum to discuss the improvement and academic achievement of Latinos. In April of 2011, the WHIEEH issued *Winning the Future: Improving Education for the Latino Community* that provided an overview of President's Obama's vision for education and his goals for the Latino community.

As a federal policy initiative, the WHIEEH represents the platform of which Latino educational concerns are addressed. The WHIEEH sets forth policy recommendations for institutions to respond to in order to remedy or address Latino educational opportunity. Some of the policy recommendations for institutions include:

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- Improving the knowledge, skills, and cross-cultural competencies and effectiveness of teachers and administrators
- Improving the quality of instruction at every point along the educational continuum
- Designing and promoting appropriate use of testing and assessment to enhance high quality instruction

A more detailed description of solutions offered by the WHIEEH will be described in Chapter 5.

For the purpose of this study, I have analyzed all of the various constituent texts that have been generated through WHIEEH activities and are treating them as a cumulative policy regime. The evidentiary sources that constitute the WHIEEH, are organized into a) texts of executive orders that constitute the WHIEEH, b) set of official reports produced by the WHIEEH, and c) official political discourse related to the WHIEEH. All the texts that constitute the WHIEEH in this study are described in Appendix A. These data represent what I refer to as the WHIEEH, unless otherwise noted.

This chapter provided an extended description of the WHIEEH outlining the initiative's history, political nature, structural capacity and its relationship to other federal agencies. Each instantiation of the WHIEEH was described highlighting key features of each initiative's efforts. The following chapter will provide a description of the relevant literature related to Latino educational opportunity.

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CHAPTER 3. THE ROLE OF POLICY IN LATINO EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

Latinos in the United States

In May of 2012, the United States Census Bureau announced, that for the first time, racial and ethnic minorities comprised more than half of the children born in the United States (Passel, Livingston, & Cohn, 2012). The nation's racial and ethnic composition has been changing for decades; however, the growing sector of non-white children indicates the demographic changes can no longer be ignored today, or in the future. This next section outlines the demographic characteristics and geographic dispersion of Latinos in the United States. This is followed, by a brief outline of Latino educational participation highlighting the enrollment of Latinos across all education sectors as well as key findings of the literature on Latinos and education. This section concludes with the role of policy in addressing Latino educational opportunity.

Demographic Characteristics

It is important to recognize the diversity that exists among the pan-ethnic term "Latino." Acknowledging the diversity within this community is critical to ensure that Latinos are not essentialized into one homogeneous group. According to the 2010 American Community Survey, the Pew Hispanic Center estimates there are 50.7 million Latinos living in the United States (Motel & Patten, 2012). Within this population, 65% (or 33 million) self-identify as being of Mexican-origin, which is the largest Latino subgroup by a great margin. The second largest group is those that identify as Puerto Rican, which make up 9% of the population. The survey indicates that the 10 largest Latino origin groups are Mexicans, Puerto Ricans,

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Cubans, Salvadorans, Dominicans, Guatemalans, Ecuadorians, and Peruvians (Motel & Patten, 2012). It is critical for researchers, scholars, and policy-makers to understand the rich diversity that exists among Latinos in order to not essentialize their experience into one homogenous group. A recent report by demographers documents that while Mexicans continue to be about 60% of the Latino population, Hondurans population growth has increased nearly 400% since 1990, and currently number over 600,000 (Logan & Turner, 2013). Failing to account for specific populations growths among the Latino population is problematic as each community migration and integration into the United States is different. This is especially meaningful for educators who will interact with the Latino community as this next section outlines their relative young age.

While members of minority groups account for 36% of the total U.S. population, an indication of the future of the U.S. is that members of minority groups make up 50.4% of the nation's population under the age of 1 (Passel, Livingston, & Cohn, 2012). Of the population under the age of 1, Latinos comprise 26.3% of the population. Similarly, members of minority groups also account for nearly half of the children less than five years of age (Passel, Livingston, & Cohn, 2012). Of great significance, is the fact that Latinos are younger than the U.S. general population. The median age for Latinos is 27 years while it is 37 years of age for the U.S. population (Motel & Patten, 2012). This indicator is especially important and significant given that Latinos are a relatively young population that will continue to shape the social and educational composition of this country.

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The demographic characteristics are important to understand as they influence and shape the educational system of the United States. As a young population, Latinos make up and will continue to be a great and even greater portion of our educational system and their characteristics must be understood in order to provide comprehensive and meaningful policy that positively influences their educational achievement. These demographic characteristics also mean that schools, educators, and policy makers need to pay greater attention to the changing demographics of this country and their local communities as many members of the Latino community are settling into places not traditionally known to be Latino centers.

Geographic Dispersion

The demographic change in the U.S. is no longer concentrated in particular regions of the country (Motel & Patten, 2012). Increasing numbers of Latinos are settling both temporarily and permanently in areas of the United States that have not been traditionally home to Latinos and other immigrants (Worthman, Murillo, & Hamann, 2002). States like North Carolina, Maine, Iowa, and Georgia are just some of the states that have experienced a recent growth of Latinos. Their arrival has raised new challenges for local institutional settings (e.g. government, schools) to meet the needs of this population.

Additionally, while there is greater dispersion of Latinos across the country, there are regions and counties that comprise the largest composition of Latinos. For example, Los Angeles County is home to the largest portion of Mexicans, Salvadorans, and Guatemalans while Bronx county New York, contains the largest

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Puerto Rican and Dominican populations (Motel & Patten, 2012). These Latino centers create unique communities that do not reflect the demographic change that other communities are experiencing. Many of these Latino centers, have been home to Latino communities over a long period of time.

However these large Latino centers have also seen some shifts. Logan and Turner (2013) document that while New York has been a central hub of Puerto Ricans, their concentration has decreased in the past twenty years. For instance, in 1990, New York's Puerto Rican population was 50% and currently has dropped to 31%, while the Mexican representation grew from 4% to 15% during this same time period. Logan and Turner (2013) also document the increase in Dominicans, Central Americans, and South Americans have increased in this region. It becomes important that while there are traditional known Latino centers with specific ethnic concentrations, that we also not neglect the changing demographics of these communities and assume that these locations are concentration with one specific ethnic community. It is critical for educators and policy makers to remain informed about the demographic characteristics of the communities they serve as these shifts continue to take place in regions across the country.

Leal (2011) suggest that if you want to see the demographic future of the country, the best place to look into the future, is in schools. In light of the demographic characteristics, the need to invest in the academic success of the Latino community could not be more important. Latino youth represent a large portion of K-12 enrollment and this next section will highlight their educational participation in the United States.

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Latino Educational Participation in the United States

Latino Education Enrollment

Given the large demographic representation of Latinos in the United States, it is not surprising that Latinos compose a large sector of students in the American public educational system. Latino youth comprise the largest minority group in K-12 schools and are also the fastest growing segment of students (Contreras, Flores-Ragade, Lee, & Mcguire, 2011). According to a report by the Pew Hispanic Center, the number of children in public schools increased by 4.7 million from the 1993-1994 to the 2002-2003 school years and 64% of the increase was due to growing Latino enrollments (Fry, 2006). During this same time period, the number of new Latino students was three times larger than the new 1.1 million African American student and half a million Asian students (Fry, 2006). In contrast, during this time period, White public school enrollment dropped by 35,000 students (Fry, 2006).

By 2025, it is estimated that one in five U.S. residents, and one in four school-age children will be Latino (Fry & Passel, 2009). The enrollment of Latinos in secondary education continues to increase however, the proportion of Latino students who enroll and graduate from postsecondary education is not relative to their representation in the general U.S. Population (Zarate, Saenz, & Oseguera, 2011; Contreras, et al., 2011).

Latino Participation in Education

The disparaging educational outcomes for Latinos are well documented in the literature (Contreras, 2011; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Yosso, 2006; Gándara, 2009; Macdonald, Botti, & Clark, 2007). The inequities begin as early as pre-school

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as Latinos have the lowest participation rates in early childhood education (Contreras, et al., 2011). Reports from the WHIEEH have also documented the low participation of Latino children in early childhood education programs and have identified this as critical and major educational problem affecting this community.

Gaps in educational opportunity are evidenced among different racial and ethnic groups (Solorzano, Villalpando, & Oseguera, 2004; Gándara, 2005; Rodriguez, 2008; Pearl, 2011). Not only is Latino educational achievement low, put it is typically lower than other racial and ethnic groups (Leal, 2011). One of the clear constraints on Latino educational opportunity is the alarmingly high school drop out rate. Rodriguez (2008) highlights the disparate high school educational outcomes of Latinos and raises attention to the national Latino school dropout problem. While the dropout rate among high school age students in the United Sates has remained at about 30% over the past few decades, the rate of for Latinos exceeds over 50%. The severity of students not completing school spreads across the educational pipeline as Latinos at every age group have higher dropout rates than any other group except for American Indians (Rumberger & Rodriguez, 2011). This problem is also the longest persistent for the Latino community than any other ethnic group (Rumberger & Rodriguez, 2011).

Latino youth are also less likely to graduate from high school than any other ethnic group as the previous literature indicates the alarming high school dropout rate (Villalpando, 2010; Rumberger & Rodriguez, 2011). Even though a larger number of Latino students are attending high school, their likelihood of graduating has not changed over the last 20 years (Villalpando, 2010). This educational

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outcome limits future academic and employment options and can consequently hinder economic and social mobility (Gándara & Contreras, 2009). Scholars have documented some of the possible structural and institutional reasons and conditions why Latino students do not matriculate to college that include attending overcrowded schools (Rodriguez, 2008) and receiving poor academic and college counseling (Pearl, 2011). Scholars have also challenged the role that educational institutions play in "pushing out" Latino students from school and suggest that schools themselves contribute to this inequity (Luna & Revilla, 2012).

A segment of the literature on education also focuses on the schooling conditions of Latino students. The schooling conditions for secondary education literature include understanding school segregation. Valencia (1991) documents the early forced school segregation in the early 1930's and the enrollment of Chicano students in inferior schooling that included funding inequities and lower quality teachers. Blanco (2010) reports that 80% of California school districts for example, placed Mexican children in separate "Mexican" schools. Unfortunately, the segregation has continued, as Latinos are more likely than any other ethnic group to attend racially and ethnically segregated schools (Gándara & Contreras, 2009). Valencia (2011) discusses how the historical and contemporary evidence that the segregation of many Chicano students has been, and continues to be associated with a number of academic indicators that negatively affect Latino students. These indicators include diminished scores on academic achievement and high number of dropout rates (Valencia, 2011). Rodriguez (2008) attributes the high rate of Latino high school dropouts to structural conditions and constraints to high schools

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attended by Latino students. Because many of these schools are large and impersonal, many students feel anonymous and ignored (Rodriguez, 2008).

Solorzano & Ornelas (2002) conducted a critical race analysis of advanced placement courses to see how they impact educational outcomes for Chicana/Latina students. The authors wanted to understand how school structures, processes, and discourses help maintain racial/ethnic/gender/class discrimination in access to advanced placement and honors classes. They examined a school district in California and found that Chicana/Latina students are disproportionately underrepresented in advanced placement classes district-wide, schools that serve urban, low-income Chicana/Latina communities have low student enrollment in advancement placement courses, and when Chicana/Latina students attend high schools with high numbers of students enrolled in advancement placement classes, Chicana/Latinas are not equally represented. Their findings point to the structural and institutional conditions that limit educational opportunity for Latino students.

Understanding the experiences of Latino students across the educational spectrum is important and needed to be able to provide policy solutions that address their concerns. The literature on Latinos and higher education in this study is broadly focused on college access, college enrollment, and educational attainment. The following section will outline the three broad categories of literature that affect educational opportunity for Latino students.

College access literature has documented multiple mediators that affect college access such as financial difficulties. Heller (2002), for example, found that the change to merit-based financial aid versus need-based aid has benefited middle

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and higher income families and resulted in declines in affordability for lower income students and families. Zarate & Fabienke (2007) conducted a national survey of Latino parents and students and their findings suggest that Latino parents and youth are unfamiliar with college admission processes and their perceptions of college costs may cause students to reconsider attending, enrolling, and paying for college. Financial literacy is an important mediator that can enabler or constrain educational opportunity. This finding is supported by other studies conducted in California that found California Latino youth perceived college to be unaffordable (Zarate & Pachon, 2006).

Other mediators that affect educational opportunity include advising (McDonough, 2004), information on post-secondary options and financial aid (Oakes, 2004), admission policies (Kimura-Walsh, Yamamura, Griffin, & Allen, 2009) and family involvement (Perna, 2000a and b; Ceja, 2004). These mediators can both enable and constrain college access for Latino students. For example, Kimura-Walsh, et al., (2009) examined college preparatory experiences at an urban Latina/o majority high school and they found that students relied heavily on school resources to navigate their college preparation process. Their study found that school personnel provided differential opportunities to learn based on class ranking and perceived eligibility for selective colleges. McDonough's (2004) work emphasizes the important role teachers and college counselors play in college advising and the large student to counselor ratio that creates challenges for students to be able to seek adequate advising. Lee and Ekstrom (1987) documented how Latino students are less likely to have course planning guidance and college counseling which leads

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to enrollment in non-college tracks. When students do receive college counseling, as documented by Kimura-Walsh et al., (2009), most of the students that receive counseling are perceived to be the top students in their class and most likely to be prepared for college. Family involvement and support is relevant for academically successful Latino students as Ceja (2004) documents the role that families and in particular siblings play in serving as role models and sources of college information.

In terms of enrollment of Latinos in postsecondary education, the enrollment of Latinos is concentrated in specific types of institutions such as community colleges and Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs). It is well documented that community colleges serve as the most common point of entry for Latino college students (Snyder & Dillow, 2012; Brint & Karabel, 1989; Ornelas & Solorzano, 2004). One in two Latino students begins their postsecondary education at a community college (Snyder & Dillow, 2012) and a growing segment of the literature is exploring the unique experiences of Latino students who enroll in this segment of postsecondary education (Rendon, 1994; Ornelas & Solorzano, 2004). To contribute to the understanding of educational inequities, Solorzano, Villalpondo, & Oseguera (2004) use a critical race theory framework to analyze the educational inequalities and racialized barriers that Latino students face as they navigate the educational pipeline. Their analysis finds that Latinos are overrepresented in community colleges and have low transfer rates to four-year institutions. Their analysis reveals that approximately two-thirds of all Latinos enrolling in postgraduate study begin at a 2-year community college (Solorzano, Villalpondo, & Oseguera, 2004). Although the majority of Latinos aspire to transfer to a four-year institution the systems and

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support structures in place are inadequate to support their transfer. Their analysis shows that graduation rates among Latinos at two and four year institutions are the weakest among all major racial/ethnic groups in the United States. Through a critical race theory framework they argue that the disparity in Latino student enrollment between two an four year institutions illustrate the chronically persistent racial stratification of higher education in the United States.

A growing section of the literature is also focusing on documenting the experiences of Latino students who attend HSIs, which is a federally designated term for universities whose total enrollment is at least 25% Latino. The number of HSIs continues to increase as more and more Latinos attend institutions of higher education. Although HSIs represent a relatively small percentage of institutions of higher education, they enrolled 54% of all Latino students in 2009–2010 (Santiago, 2012). Scholars have begun to explore multiple facets of the HSI designation and the relationship between this unique institutional type and Latino educational opportunity and success. Tomás A. Arciniega, CSU President Emeritus, served as president of California State University, Bakersfield for 21 years and urges improving access to Latino students and emphasizes the important role HSIs play in improving educational outcomes (Arciniega, 2012). He also names the challenge of educating Latino students as not just a Latino higher education issue but also a national imperative. Santiago (2012) also identifies increasing Latino degree attainment as a national interest and raises concerns over how public policy is increasingly focused on holding recipients of public funding accountable. She raises questions about meaningful measures that impact public funding and educational

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attainment at HSIs. In particular, she calls for greater research to understand how institutional efforts at HSIs improve or strengthen retention and educational outcomes for Latino students beyond simply being designated as a HSI. This is relevant, as the WHIEEH has identified HSIs as a partner in increasing Latino educational opportunity.

Existing literature also documents the complex realities of students once they enroll in post-secondary education. It is critical to note the wide educational disparities for Latino degree attainment. Only 11% of Latinos over the age of 25 hold a bachelor's degree in comparison to over 30% of Whites (Villalpando, 2010). Given this large discrepancy it is important and compelling to understand the factors that influence Latino higher education achievement. One of the factors affecting Latino college persistence is financial aid. Cabrera, Nora, & Castañeda (1993) found that the availability of college financial aid provided Latino students with the ability to meet their financial needs and direct more time and energy to their academic responsibilities. This financial assistance is critical for Latino students who have financial obligations to family and lack the funds to support their college education (Longerbeam, Sedlacek, & Alatorre, 2004). The importance of family support and encouragement is documented as important for Latino students in their first year (Hurtado, Saenz, Santos, & Cabrera, 2008). As mentioned earlier, parents, siblings, and extended family members serve as sources of support and encouragement to persist in college (Ceja, 2004; Nora, 2004). McDonough (2004) suggests that parents are a great influence on their children's college aspirations and persistence while mentors and role models also serve as important sources of

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support (Castellanos & Jones, 2003). The role of the family in addressing Latino educational opportunity cannot be ignored as the literature supports that family is a mediator that enables educational opportunity.

The WHIEEH sets the national policy agenda on Latino educational opportunity and the literatures related to Latinos and education are important contributions to understand Latino educational opportunity. The WHIEEH has issued numerous reports outlining the educational conditions of Latino students across the educational pipeline (See appendix C) and this set of information will also allow for a deeper understanding of the educational experiences of Latinos and the mediators that enable and constrain their success.

The Role of Policy in Latino Education

Multiple layers of policy across institutional, state, and federal institutions affect Latino educational opportunity. Gándara & Contreras (2009) describe the consequences of failed social policies as the "Latino education crisis" and detail the disadvantages that Latino students face in American schools. Their book highlights the gap in educational outcomes for Latinos and makes a case for why this community's educational achievement is integral to the success of the country. Their work outlines various educational and language policies that have not been able to achieve educational equity for Latinos and have described these efforts as failed social policies. While their work makes great contributions to the general understanding of how failed policies have detrimental affects on Latino education, their work follows traditional policy analysis that do not critically examine the

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naturalness and normalcy of policy as being value-free. Their choice to frame the issue of Latino education as a "crisis" should not be taken lightly, as their work does a good job detailing the need for policy to effectively address this population. The "crisis" discourse that informs their work is present in the WHIEEH construction of policy problems that will be further described in Chapter 5.

In her recent book, *Achieving equity for Latino students: Expanding the pathway to higher education through public policy,* Contreras (2011), describes the role that educational policies play in failing Latino students and the opportunities that exist for improving their participation in society generally, and education in particular. While her work makes contributions to the general understanding of the critical role policy plays in addressing Latino education, her work fails to interrogate the policies themselves and how they may be exacerbating the problems the policies are attempting to address. My study seeks to complicate the understanding of education policy and offers a deeper understanding of the role of policy in addressing Latino educational opportunity.

While some of the challenges to achieve gains in Latino educational opportunity and outcomes are not new, and have been raised in the literature over several decades, the consequences and politics of forgetting continue to have detrimental consequences for Latinos and society as a whole. Gándara (2005) has captured the "politics of forgetting" in California, where access to postsecondary education was limited to students of color when the Regents of the University of California passed SP-1, the resolution that prohibited the consideration of race and ethnicity in college admission. This exemplar highlights the consequences of a failed

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social policy, of which continues to deny students of color the opportunity to access higher education.

This study will be able to identify the historical development of the WHIEEH's efforts to address Latino educational opportunity and the choices made within the federal policy initiative to address Latino educational opportunity. The following chapter provides a description of the theoretical framework that grounds this study and the methods used to analyze the data.

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CHAPTER 4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter will outline the theoretical perspective that grounds this study. Poststructural theory will be reviewed as it relates to questions about the control and production of knowledge and power (Foucault 1978; 1980) and particular emphasis will be placed on how poststructuralism has informed critical policy studies. Policy discourse analysis serves as the methodology of the study and Foucault's archaeological approach which is concerned to describe the historical assumptions of a given system of thought and genealogy, concerned to trace the historical process of descent and emergence by which a given system or process comes into being will be described. Together, these methods allow for the interrogation of the WHIEEH for greater understanding of how federal policy discursively constructs and produces Latino educational opportunity.

Poststructuralism

Poststructuralism does not carry a fixed meaning however there are common assumptions that will be made explicit. Postructuralism refers to a loosely connected group of theories that critique structural approaches to investigate language (Allan, Iverson, & Ropers-Huilman, 2010; Olssen, et al., 2004). As an intellectual movement, poststructuralism challenges dominant notions of structuralism. Post-structuralism moves away from structuralism assumptions about language, that suggests language carries fixed or intrinsic ideas (Jones & Ball, 1995; Prasad, 2005). Poststructuralist views on language contend that language is socially constituted and is mediated between text, readers, and cultural contexts (Allan, 2010). Poststructuralists contend that language and discourse are dynamic

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sites for the construction of meaning, which are bound by a particular moment in time.

Gale (1999) contends that few policy researchers are committed to examining their understanding of policy or acknowledging what these understandings are. Ball (1994) agrees that the meaning of policy is taken for granted as the omission of policy meanings are exacerbated in the policy literature. The nature of policy and its production has changed significantly over time as scholars have challenged dominant notions of policy as value-free and apolitical. Gale (1999) argues that policy texts and the production of policies as a series of decisions without acknowledging the social and material contexts in which decisions are made, detaches policies from a process that is highly political and contextual. The context of policy production is important to the understanding of policy production as values, resources, and interests are ultimately informing how policies are constructed.

From a poststructural perspective, policies are not static and are rooted in power (Allan, 2010; Fisher, 2003; Codd, 1988). A poststructural approach to policy analysis seeks to describe the subject positions produced through policy discourses and make explicit the embedded assumptions in the framing of policy problems and solutions. Poststructural approaches to policy analysis enable understandings of how policy reinforces possible normative judgments of how problems can be solved. Applying a poststructural lens to this study will enable the discursive shaping of policy problems to be named and identify how the embedded assumptions within

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problems may contribute to the consequences of policy solutions that may not be explicitly intended.

Michel Foucault & Critical Policy Analysis

Central to the analysis of Foucault's epistemology is the concept of power-knowledge. Rather than viewing power within people who hold structural authority, Foucault highlights the ways in which social change occurs through local power exchanges and discourses (Jones & Ball, 1995). Foucault's work (1978; 1980) helps raise understandings of power as a productive force, which is produced and transmitted through knowledge and discourse. In this sense, power is not possessed but rather it is exercised via discourse. Discourse, power, and knowledge are then, indistinguishably linked together in structuring our realities.

Critique, for Foucault, enables identifying and exposing the unrecognized forms of power in our lives. Critique, "aims to free people from the historically transitory constraints of contemporary consciousness as realized in and through discursive practices" (Olssen, et al., 2004, p.39). Applied to policy, the role of a critical policy analyst is to understand the historical nature of texts through a detailed examination of the practices from which a particular style of reasoning emerges and develops. Foucault states,

> Criticism is no longer going to be practised in the search for formal structures with universal value, bur rather as an historical investigation into the events that have led us to constitute ourselves and to recognize ourselves as subjects of what we are doing, thinking, and saying. In this sense the criticism is not transcendental, and its goal is not that of making metaphysics possible: it is genealogical in its design and archaeological in its method. (1984, p. 45-46).

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By applying critical policy analysis to this study, I will be able to uncover how federal policy constructs and produces Latino educational opportunity over the past 30 years. Understanding the historical nature of policy is critical, as Foucault suggests that we need to identify and expose the unrecognized forms of power that exists. On the role of power Foucault (1994) contends,

> In a society such as ours, but basically in any society, there are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterize and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse. There can be no possible exercise of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the basis of this association (p. 31).

The power that Foucault discusses is exercised through discourse which permeates our society and provides the material conditions in which individuals are produced as both subjects and objects. This next section will outline the methods of the study and how they are operationalized in this inquiry.

Method(s) of Analysis

Policy discourse analysis will serve as my methodology, while archaeology and genealogy, will serve as my methods of analysis to investigate Latino educational opportunity and its construction and development in federal policy as represented in the WHIEEH. The following section will describe how I will use these methods of analysis in this study.

Policy Discourse Analysis

Traditional policy analyses attempt to identify and calculate the effects of policies with apolitical, objective, and neutral methods (Marshall, 1999; White,

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1994). Policies studied using conventional approaches often ignore the social construction of the problem and uncritically examine the underlying assumptions that are often taken for granted about solutions embedded within how a problem is represented (Allan, 2003; Iverson, 2007). Codd (1988) contends policy is about the exercise of political power and the language used to legitimate that process. Policies are neither neutral nor objective as they are the outcome of a process that requires values to be debated and decided upon. Traditional policy analysis, however, views policies as texts with measurable outcomes that can be formulated and calculated (Evans, Davies & Penny, 1994). Drawing from critical policy analysis, this study seeks to investigate the contradictions, ambiguities and tensions that exist within and across the WHIEEH.

Policy discourse analysis draws from critical discourse analysis but focuses on the talk and action within policy (Allan, Iverson, & Ropers-Huilman, 2010). Of interest in each of these analyses are the ambiguities and contradictions within and across policy and discourse (Allan, 2010). By focusing on the text within the policy, the analyses will reveal the discursive junctures where policy problems are created. The study of discourse in this inquiry centers the examination of texts and its relationship to the social context in which it is constructed.

Policy discourse analysis is described as a hybrid methodology that utilizes a multitude of methodological tools to examine policy (Allan, 1999, 2008, 2010). Policy analyses are constituted as discursive practices that create, shape, and produce truth claims that can be questioned (Allan, 2010). This study will adopt critical and policy discourse analyses as methodological tools (Marshall, 1997,

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1999) to identify the interconnectedness of politics and policy in education, identify some of the cultural values and choices in policy, and consider how problems are constructed and consequently solutions are being considered. Archaeology and genealogy are the specific analytical tools used in this inquiry and their use and application will be described.

Archeology & Genealogy

Foucault's work (1978, 1980) is central to this study's interrogation of WHIEEH. Foucault's work has been described as three sequential phases, archaeology, genealogy, and the care of the self, which represent significant shifts in his philosophical thought (Scheurich, & Mckenzie, 2005). Archaeology, genealogy, and discourse are tools Foucault used to analyze history not as a moment in time, but rather as how problems were constructed as was the case when he examined how the prison developed into a form of punishment (Kendall & Wickham, 2003; Foucault, 1978). Foucault does not see archaeology as less than genealogy as some scholars have suggested (Sheurich & McKenzie, 2005). Within poststructuralism, archaeology and genealogy are appropriate analytical approaches to understand history through the examination of discourse (Kendall & Wickham, 2003).

Archaeology

First it is important to understand that Foucault's archaeological method is not related to the academic discipline of archaeology as in the study of past cultures (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2005). Foucault's reflexive discussion of archaeology is described in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969/1972) as well as in his three archaeologies – *Madness and Civilization* (1961/1988), *The Birth of the Clinic*

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(1963/1994), and *The Order of Things* (1966/1973). While this study does not provide a comprehensive account of Foucault's three archaeologies, the study adapts and is influenced by the broad context of Foucault's archaeological work.

Applied to policy studies, archaeology takes a different approach by critiquing how policy problems are conceived and defined and how solutions are consequently created (Scheurich, 1994). Archaeology refuses the acceptance of social problems as neutral choices and examines closely the emergence of social problems (Scheurich, 1994). This process can shed light to how a problem came to be seen as a problem, what problems become identified while others do not, and how these problems gain social and political visibility. Applied to policy analysis, archeology as a methodological tool suggests that policy problems are social constructions. Achaeology enables to identify and trace the emergence of policy problems before they are named and deemed as a problem. This process is contrary to traditional policy approaches that begin their analysis with the identification of the problem, it at all. This process will identify and make explicit the process by which policy problems become identified by tracing the numerous, complex, and often contradictory ways in which policies attempt to solve social problems.

It is important to clarify and reiterate that archaeology does not trace the history of the emergence of a social problem (Scheurich, 1994). However, one of the prominent features of archaeology is how history, and in this case historical artifacts (i.e. documents), serves to support and trace the ways in which problems are constructed. The focus of archaeology is to "investigate the intersection, or, better, the constitutive grid of conditions, assumptions, forces which make the emergence

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of a social problem, and its strands and traces, possible to investigate how a social problem becomes visible as a social problem" (Scheurich, 1994, p. 300).

Archaeology as a method identifies the network of social regularities that constitute a social problem. Scheurich (1994) argues it is important to note that no particular individual or group consciously creates these regularities. By this he means, that while individuals and/or groups are responsible for identifying social problems and creating policy solutions, no individual and/or group has conscious control of the social regularities that archaeology seeks to identify (Foucault, 1972). Foucault suggests that regularities are productive and reproductive without the need for individual conscious or intention (Foucault, 1972). Secondly, the regularities do not determine social problems or policy solutions as an outside force but rather; the regularities are constitutive of social problems and policy solutions (Scheurich, 1994). Regularities constitute what is socially acceptable and legitimate. In the case of policy analysis, regularities constitute was it socially legitimized (constructed) as a social problem and what is socially legitimized as the options and range of policy solutions.

Regularities are also historical as they change, disappear, and reappear as new regularities appear over a period of time. The regularities are contextual as they are bound by a particular moment in time with specific contexts. Foucault's (1978; 1980) notion of history is important to clarify as he uses history as his main technique to make points about sexuality, madness, punishment, the self, and the body (Kendall & Wickham, 2003). Foucault's use of history does not involve assumptions of progress. To use history in a Foucaltian manner is to suggest that

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history never stops which challenges dominant assumptions of progress and order. History is used disturb the taken for granted and to look for contingencies instead of causes (Kendall & Wickham, 2003). Recognizing the incongruity in social arrangements is an important part of Foucault's methods. Foucault challenges traditional approaches that suggest one can trace statements and ideas back to a founding era or moment.

Statements then, are reflections of events that are tied to a historical context (Olssen, 1999). Foucault's notion of archeology is concerned with describing the historical assumptions of a given system of thought. More specifically, archeology helps explore what is said and can be seen in a set of social arrangements found in texts (Kendall & Wickham, 2003). Archaeology is "the process of investigating the archives of discourse" (Kendall & Wickham, p.25, 2003). Applied to this study, archeology will enable the examination of how the different statements within WHIEEH are constructed in a particular moment in time and/or change over time. This methodological tool enables to provide a description of the regularities, differences, or transformations made during different phases of history. Archeology seeks to identify changes between discursive systems, and applying this methodological tool to each of the instantiations of the WHIEEH will enable me to trace how policy subjects, problems, and solutions are being constructed/produced over time. The use of archaeology will help identify the discourses that are informing how the policy subjects, problems, and solutions are being constructed/produced through the WHIEEH.

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Genealogy

Genealogy is concerned with tracing the historical processes by which a given system of thought or process comes into being (Olssen, 1999). This methodological tool aims to explain elements of knowledge by contextualizing them within power structures grounded in history. Essentially, genealogy calls for denaturalizing explanations for natural phenomenon by asserting the historical constitution of constructs (Olssen, 1999).

Foucault's critiques assumptions of Western modernity and challenges that history moves upward and forward from a particular origin (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2005). Foucault suggests that the "pursuit of the origin" is grounded in the idea to capture an essence. What genealogists would find however, is that there are no such origins and that origins are often fabricated. What he suggests genealogists' would find are competing, random, and disparate details rather than a reasoned chronological order (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2005). Scheurich and McKenzie (2005) contend, "Foucault is making an argument that traditional (modernist) history is an effort to console ourselves with the assumptions that there is unity, continuity, teleology, meaning, destiny, and so on built into history itself, a view that makes us feel safe or that would make 'history' our safe harbor" (p. 853). The work of a genealogist is to "critique the pursuit of origins by showing they are fabrications to show that the body is 'imprinted by history" (p. 853). In other words, a genealogist does not use history to trace an origin of an idea or statement but rather, identify the ways in which constructions are sometimes random and messy.

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In his genealogical study, *Discipline and Punish* (1975/1979), Foucault highlights the ways in which power operates. To Foucault, power does not only exclude or repress it also produces. Social acts and policies are part of a social function and structure and genealogists should regard social acts and policy as part of a complex social function that is grounded in power (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2005). In *Discipline and Punish* (1975/1979) Foucault discusses the ways in which power is exercised by doing a genealogical analysis of punishment. In his analysis, punishment, as an act is part of a greater social function. He challenges us to view actions that are related to the government or governmental actors as not merely functions of particular individuals independent from the larger social structure. Instead,

> "He usually means that a procedure or process multiplies across a social field because of a complex set or collection of reasons or causes that are not entirely intentional or rational. Thus, these governmental acts, procedures, or processes are not only or simply a function of legislation or social structures; instead, to the genealogist, they are ways that power multiplies, without some agentic agent consciously accomplishing this, across a social field" (Scheurich & McKenzie, 2005, p. 855).

Foucault shows how the prison as an actual thing, produces statements about criminality that are reinforced by statements about criminality that reinforce the prison (Kendall & Wickham, 2003). Foucault views power as productive, not merely prohibitive and exercised from above but as widely distributed.

The principle focus of genealogy then, is to see how power spreads across a particular system. In his study, the prison served as the system he was investigating and scholars have applied this methodological tool to investigate other types of

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power such as the use of school uniforms in schools. For example, Meadmore, Hatcher, & Mcwilliam (2000) conducted a genealogical examination of school uniforms in schools as a mandatory set of clothing, providing an understanding of how school uniforms have come to be an integral part of the culture of the school. They argue that school uniforms constitute an example of the body and power coming together in strict codes of regulation. Through the use of genealogy, they were able to trace the requirement of school uniforms across historical periods.

Genealogy maintains some of the essential principles of archeology, primarily the examination of bodies of statements, however genealogy has a greater concern with the analysis of power (Kendall & Wickham, 2003). Genealogy allows for the identification of how one constellation of power-knowledge relations is displaced by another (Shiner, 1982). This methodological tool facilitates the tracing of the discursive construction of Latino educational opportunity, as anchored by the WHIEEH. Genealogy, as a methodological tool, allows me to trace the possible patterns or contradictions in the exercise of power through discourse in the WHIEEH (Allan, 2010). This methodological tool will allow me to answer how Latino educational opportunity is constructed/produced through the WHIEEH and specifically how it has changed over time.

Applied to this study, the genealogical approach interrupts taken-for granted assumptions embedded within policy and isolates the contingent power relations that make it possible for assertions to operate as truths (Ball, 1994). Genealogy is a mode of analysis that emphasizes the development and change of interrelations across historical moments (Kendall & Wickham, 2003). This study will trace the

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genealogy of Latino educational opportunity using the WHIEEH as the artifact to understand this manifestation of this construct over the last 30 years.

Treatment of Data

This section will describe the treatment of the data by organizing this process into three phases as outlined in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1 Treatment of Data

Phase I	Phase II	Phase III
Search & collection of data	Deductive analysis	Genealogical analysis
Organization of data	Line by line coding	
	Categories of constructions	

The first phase required the search and collection of all official texts related to the WHIEEH. This initial phase required the search of all policy documents related to WHIEEH by conducting an online examination of the WHIEEH website. The site served as the primary host of all WHIEEH related business and was the primary source of data collection. Additionally, during this phase, I was able to organize all policy documents into types as outlined in Appendix A. The data was organized into Executive Orders that constitute the WHIEEH, official reports produced by the WHIEEH, and official political discourse related to the WHIEEH. During Phase II, a line-by-line analysis of each policy document was performed to identify and code the policy subjects, problems, and solutions. This description required the review of 19 WHIEEH policy documents that included over 200 pages of text. A more detailed description of all the data analyzed in this study can be found in Appendix A.

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Appendix D describes the codes used to identify the policy subject, problem, and solution constructions.

Appendix G is an exemplar of how the data was treated to code for policy subjects, problems, and solutions. This exemplar illustrates how the data was treated and demonstrates the simultaneous use of constructions found within each document. The texts in red are data that was coded for the varying subject constructions used in WHIEEH documents. Tables D.1, D.2, D.3, D.4, D.5, D.6, D.7, D.8, D.9, D.10, D.11, D.12, and D.13 in Appendix D summarizes the varying subject constructions that were coded to illustrate the multitude of subject constructions found within the documents. Tables E.1, E.2, E.3, and E.4 in Appendix E provide a more detailed description of the policy problem constructions and the subsequent codes that were used to identify each construct. The texts coded in blue in Appendix G described problems the WHIEEH explicitly named as requiring local or national attention. Lastly, Tables F.1, F.2, F.3, and F.4 in Appendix F summarizes the solution constructions identified within the WHIEEH and these were coded in orange in Appendix G. These texts illustrate the numerous types of solutions offered by the WHIEEH and will be described in greater detail in Chapter 4.

Lastly, during Phase III, a genealogical analysis was conducted to determine the discourses used to inform the policy subject, problem, and solution constructions. Once the constructions were organized, I examined the explicit naming of policy subject, problem, and solution constructions to determine the discourses that were informing the constructs. I examined how the texts were used

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to frame the constructions and consequently named the discourses that were informing this framing. This analysis will be further described in Chapter 6.

Summary

This chapter outlined poststructural theory and its appropriate use in grounding this study. Policy discourse analysis serves as the methodology of the study that enables to answer the following research questions:

- How is Latino educational opportunity constructed/produced through the WHIEEH?
- What discourses are informing how the policy subjects, problems, and solutions are being constructed/produced through the WHIEEH?
    a. How are Latinos constructed/produced as subjects?
    b. How are policy problems constructed/produced?
    c. How are policy solutions constructed/produced?

Together, these methods allow for the interrogation of the WHIEEH for greater understanding of how federal policy discursively constructs and produces Latino educational opportunity. The following chapter will describe the construction of policy subjects, problems, and solutions.

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CHAPTER 5. POLICY SUBJECT, PROBLEM, AND SOLUTION CONSTRUCTIONS

The focus of this chapter will be on how the WHIEEH constructs the subjects, problems, and solutions within this federal policy initiative. The poststructuralist backdrop of this analysis generates an important way of looking at the constructions by allowing complicating our view of policy and investigating the ways in which contradictions and ambiguities in texts are constructed. Policy texts define the range of options available for consideration, and in this first section, the "who" this policy targets is presented. This chapter will focus on answering the orienting question regarding how policy subjects, problems, and solutions are constructed.

Subject Constructions

The first part of this chapter identifies the policy subjects the WHIEEH constructs. This description required the review of 19 WHIEEH policy documents that included over 200 pages of text. A more detailed description of all the data analyzed in this study can be found in Appendix A. A line-by-line analysis of each policy document was performed to identify and code the subjects in the policies. In total, there were 154 different policy subjects referenced in the WHIEEH policy documents. This section will identify the subject constructions constructed in the WHIEEH. The constructs are organized into 13 descriptors outlined in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1

Subject Constructions
Hispanic/Latino variations
Citizenship status
Immigration
Class
Gender
Age

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Language acquisition
Education
Location
Economic promise
At-risk
Demographic growth
Relationship to other ethnic groups

Hispanic/Latino Variations

An archaeological analysis enables the identification of subject constructions across a period of time. As a methodological tool, it enables the identification of the sayable and visible by describing the constructs and the relationship they may have to each other. A critical review of these policy documents exposes the many variations the WHIEEH uses to describe the policy subjects. While traditional policy analysis would suggest this policy is about "Hispanics" and "Hispanic education" this chapter will identify the multiple and sometimes contradictory ways in which policy constructs and produces the targets of policy and challenges the notion that this policy is about one particular target group.

For instance, Appendix D identifies 48 different subject constructs (in alphabetical order) that describe Hispanic/Latino variations of the policy subjects. These constructs relate specifically to an ethnic/racial identity. When describing "Hispanics," the WHIEEH identifies 35 different types of "Hispanics" ranging from children, families, parents, students, and workers. Identifying policy subjects as Hispanic was the dominant description as there were only 4 varying type of Latinos identified in the WHIEEH. Additionally, the WHIEEH identifies distinct ethnic groups such as, "Cuban," "central and S. American," "Mexican Americans," and

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"Puerto Ricans." These distinct ethnic groups are identified while others are not mentioned in the documents.

Citizenship

Another set of policy subjects the WHIEEH constructs relate to the subject's citizenship status. These subject constructions also vary within this category in describing who the policy is concerning. In total, there were 21 constructions related to the subject's citizenship status. Most of these subject constructs referenced the policy subjects as "Americans, " "Americans of Hispanic origin," or "children of Hispanic ancestry. " The citizenship status is also distinguished among students as the WHIEEH describes "U.S. born and immigrant students" as policy subjects.

Aside from citizenship, this WHIEEH also includes subject constructions related nativity. The WHIEEH distinguishes between those born in the United States and those who are not naming these subjects as "foreign-born." These subjects were described as "native born and foreign born Hispanics," "native born Latinos," and "native born U.S. Hispanics." Additionally, references to generation were also constructed. Subjects are identified as "first-or later generation Hispanic young adults born in the United States." When referencing country of origin, Mexico is the only country referenced in relationship to citizenship. The WHIEEH describes "those born in the United States and those born in Mexico." This naming of Mexican ancestry is the only country referenced in relationship to citizenship.

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Immigration

In addition to citizenship status, the WHIEEH also identifies subjects in relationship to an immigrant experience. In total, there are 14 subject constructions related to someone's immigrant experience. These variations describe a subject in relationship to their own or their parents' immigration experience, i.e. immigrants and/or children of immigrants. Additionally, similar to citizenship, the WHIEH references Mexican immigrants in particular naming no other country specific migration experience. The WHIEEH describes these policy subjects as "children born in the U.S. to Mexican immigrants" and "Mexican immigrant (foreign-born) students." Additionally, a temporal component of immigration to the United States is identified when subjects are identified as "recent arrivals" and "recent immigrants" distinguishing those marked as "native-born."

Immigration descriptors are also connected to citizenship. The WHIEEH constructs the policy subjects as "Latino immigrants, the vast majority of whom are 'legal.' This construction relies on two descriptors immigration and citizenship to construct the policy subject.

Class

WHIEEH policy subjects are also constructed in relationship to their class or economic condition. There are six subject constructions related to the subject's income-level. In the six constructions identified, all are in relationship to being on the lower level of income distribution by describing policy subjects in the following ways: "minority and low-income students," "poor Mexican Americans," "youth from low-income and language minority families," and "low-income families in at-risk

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communities. All of the descriptions related to class, describe the policy subjects as "disadvantaged" or "at-risk." Similar to immigration and citizenship, Mexicans in particular are referenced in relation to being poor.

Gender

In the review of all policy documents, the WHIEEH only references gender twice. In both instances, they specifically relate to males. The WHIEEH constructs "Latino males" and Latino/African-American males" as descriptors to identify policy subjects. In all other references to subjects, no gender is specified.

Age

This set of subject constructions relate to the policy subjects age. The WHIEEH identifies nineteen different subject constructions related to the subjects' young age. The policy subjects relate to being of a young age by identifying them as "children," "children and young people of Hispanic origin," "Hispanic children," "Hispanic youth," and "Latino children." While no numerical age is explicitly made, these constructions suggest that the policy subjects at stake in this initiative are young. Aside from the "children" descriptor, other descriptions related to age include, "Latino youth," and "Latino young people."

Location

The WHIEEH also identifies policy subjects in relationship to spatial and geographic features. The WHIEEH identifies seven different constructions related to the subjects' residence. These include subjects who live in the United States, Puerto Rico, "emerging Hispanic communities," and schools. In reference to location, the descriptors suggest that space is important highlighting the differences between

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locations. This can be seen by distinguishing between "residents of Puerto Rico" and "Puerto Ricans living on the island of Puerto Rico." Similarly, the WHIEEH also distinguishes describes "Mexicans living in the United States" versus those that live in Mexico.

Education

The WHIEEH identifies nine different types of subjects in relationship to education, namely students. These also include references to being educationally "disadvantaged." The WHIEEH constructs policy subjects as "Latino students," "Hispanic students," "disadvantaged Hispanic students," and "minority and disadvantaged students."

Language

The WHIEEH also describes policy subjects in relationship to their English language acquisition. There are eight subject constructions relating to language all of which relate to the subjects' limited English proficiency. Policy subjects are constructed as "ELL students," "English language learners," "school-age children with limited English proficiency" and "students still learning the English language." In all of these descriptions, policy subjects are described in relationship to English proficiency and particularly their "limited" English acquisition.

Economic Promise

Another set of descriptors the WHIEEH identifies policy subjects are in relationship to their economic promise. There are six subject constructions that describe the subjects' potential positive economic contribution to the country and its economy. These descriptions include describing policy subjects as "an untapped

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resource," and describing "Hispanic American population as a major socio-economic force." These descriptions relate to the potential and future financial contributions of the policy subjects. For example, the WHIEEH constructs the policy subjects as "Hispanics, are a young, family-oriented group who will continue to bring new consumer power and social growth and stability to the nation's communities well into the next century." This construction blends age, income, and economic progress to describe the policy subjects. The future economic contributions of the policy subjects is also described by the following construction, "This population must be recognized as a rich, untapped resource for raising the productivity of the nation's workforce and enhancing the lives of all Americans." This construction connects and names the economic promise of the policy subjects benefiting "Americans." A description of which "Americans" the WHIEEH is naming is not provided in policy documents.

At-risk

Another descriptor used to identify the subjects was the term "at-risk." This description included constructs that named policy subjects as "children at risk," or "disadvantaged children." This descriptor was used to describe the educational conditions and outcomes of Latino students and in other times no context was provided for what made the policy subject "at-risk," nor was it stated what policy subjects were at-risk of. Additionally, the descriptor was used to describe policy subjects in relationship to dropping out of school with constructs such as "fate of dropouts" and "students at risk of dropping out." Lastly, in this category of subject descriptions, policy subjects are described as "historically underserved."

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Demographic Growth

The subject constructs in the WHIEEH were also described in relationship to Latino demographic growth in the United States. Appendix D illustrates the six constructs describing or suggesting the growth of the Latino population. Descriptions like "fastest growing, and soon to be largest, minority population" as well as "the fastest growing and youngest population group in the United States." These references describe the demographic growth of the Latino community while several references are made to the growth of Mexicans in particular with descriptions such as the "Mexican phenomenon." Again, no mention of other ethnic group is provided. Another construct used in the WHIEEH was the "Latinization of America" to describe demographic growth.

Relationship to Other Groups

This last set of descriptions identifies how the policy subjects are described in relationship to other ethnic groups. These set of constructs identify some of the ways in which the WHIEEH recognizes the diversity that exists within the Latino community. Statements like "… Hispanic Americans as a group, it is important not to lose sight of the significant diversity among the origin groups that are included in the Hispanic American population." This set of descriptions can be found in Appendix D and describe the policy subjects as "Hispanic and other culturally and linguistically diverse student groups."

The 13 descriptors highlight the many subjects that the WHIEEH is talking about. While the WHIEEH is about "Hispanics" it is also about different and specific types of "Hispanics" as these descriptions emphasize the varying descriptors used in

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relation to the subjects at stake in this federal policy initiative. These descriptions are important because they construct the target of the WHIEEH's effort. Equally important, are those that are not named as policy subjects of this federal policy initiative as will be discussed in a subsequent section.

Changes in Subject Construction

Through the examination of policy documents of the WHIEEH, there are changes in policy constructions throughout the existence of this federal policy initiative. One of the changes in policy subjects can be found in the current WHIEEEH executive order. Executive Order No. 13555 (2010), which is the text that describes the goals and objectives of the WHIEEH, drops the American descriptor in the title of the initiative. Prior to this change, the previous three executive orders named this policy initiative as the White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans. The current instantiation of the WHIEEH makes the least references to Hispanics as Americans and many of the descriptions used to describe the policy subjects at stake in this initiative, are connected to being Latino or Hispanic.

Problem Constructions

As described in a previous chapter, the methodology of this study, policy discourse analysis, supports the goals of this inquiry to understand what problems the WHIEEH is attempting to address. This method uncovers the implicit naming of problems as problems. Scheurich (1994) writes

> Instead of accepting a social problem as an empirical given… policy archaeology… questions or brackets this giveness… Policy archaeology, refusing the acceptance of social problems as natural occurrences, examines

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> closely and skeptically the emergence of the particular problem. By what process did a particular problem emerge, or better, how did a particular problem come to be seen as a problem? What makes the emergence of a particular problem possible? Why do some problems come identified as social problem while other 'problems' do not achieve that level of identification? By what process does a social problem gain the 'gaze of the state, of the society, and, thus, emerge from a kind of social invisibility into visibility (p. 300).

Again, policy discourse analysis highlights the discursive power of policy by utilizing policy documents as primary data sources. This section will trace the construction of the problems that the WHIEEH has attempted to address in the thirty years of its existence and the discourses that are informing their construction will be described in the following chapter.

Before describing the problems the goals of the WHIEEH will be described. The goals of the WHIEEH have largely been framed as the following, "in order to advance the development of human potential, to strengthen the capacity to provide quality education, and to increase opportunities for Hispanic Americans to participate in and benefit from Federal programs, it is hereby ordered as follows…" (Executive Order No. 12729, 1990). The goals of Executive Order No. 12900 and Executive Order No. 13230 are very similar to the first WHIEEH. However the current executive order frames the goal of the WHIEEH a bit different. It states its goal is, "to restore the country to its role as the global leader in education, to strengthen the Nation by expanding educational opportunities and improving educational outcomes for Hispanics and Latinos (Hispanics) of all ages, and to help ensure that all Hispanics receive an education that properly prepares them for college, productive careers, and satisfying lives, it is hereby ordered as follows…"

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(Executive Order No. 13555, 2011). These goals are important to identify as they lay out the objective, aim, and purpose for each instantiation of the WHIEEH.

A close examination of the policy documents reveals that nearly every WHIEEH names one or more of the following problems related to Latino educational opportunity outlined in Table 5.2. For organizational purpose, the types of problems identified by the WHIEEH under each presidency will be described in greater detail.

Table 5.2

Problems identified by the WHIEEH
Educational outcomes
Social concerns
International standing
National imperative
Quality of education
Federal participation
Representation

Executive Order 12729: 1990 -1994

Under the presidency of George H.W. Bush, the WHIEEH names poor educational outcomes and social concerns as the problems affecting the Latino community. The type of poor educational outcomes that are named in the WHIEEH are declines in educational attainment, smaller enrollment in college, high rates of high school drop out, and low educational achievement. Related to social concerns, the WHIEEH identifies health, employment and language obstacles as a problem affecting the Latino community. Additionally, the international standing of the United States is also named as a problem that affects the nations ability to reinvigorate the workforce. Lastly, the problem is also framed as a national

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imperative characterized as requiring the commitment of the entire country. Appendix E provides a description of the specific problems this WHIEEH identifies in the policy documents reviewed in this study.

Executive Order No. 12900: 1994 -2001

Similarly, the WHIEEH under President Clinton's administration named poor educational outcomes and social concerns as problems affecting the Latino community. These types of problems are characterized by poor educational attainment, low pre-school enrollment, low adult literacy levels, and the disparity in educational outcomes between Latinos and other groups. Additionally, this initiative also describes the quality of education that Latino students experience as a problem as well as the underrepresentation of Latinos among school personnel. In terms of the quality of education problem, the WHIEEH describes the improvement of educational conditions, inadequate school funding, segregation in adequate schools, and inequity in school financing as some of the types of problems that contribute to the quality of education being a problem faced by the Latino community. This initiative also names the lack of federal participation by Latinos as a problem and describes the lack of adequate planning or accountability procedures to gauge Latino participation. This problem is characterized by a lack of development, monitoring, and coordination of federal goals to promote high – quality education for the Latino community. Another problem named by the WHIEEH was the framing of Latino educational opportunity as a national imperative. This problem was characterized by identifying the lack of collective and collaborative response of the nation and identifying Latino education vital to the

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national interest. A detailed description of these problems can be found in Appendix E.

Executive Order No. 13230: 2001 – 2010

The WHIEEH under George W. Bush's presidency raises similar problems identified by prior initiatives related to poor educational outcomes, poor quality of education, social concerns about the Latino community and why Latino educational is a national imperative. In identifying the educational outcomes as problem, the WHIEEH continued to highlight the achievement gap and the low participation in early childhood education as a problem. The WHIEEH documents the high school drop out rate and low college graduation rate as problem. This initiative also names the quality of education of Latinos as a problem framed by poor academic instruction, low expectation, lack of quality early childhood education programs, poor academic instruction, and limited parental and community engagement choices. Similar to the previous initiative, the federal participation in Latino educational opportunity is framed as a problem naming the federal governments lack of adequate monitoring, measuring, and coordination of programs and research that benefit the Latino community. This initiative also names social concerns as problems affecting the Latino community naming, poverty, upward mobility, financial security, income potential, and low societal expectations as problems. Lastly, problems are constructed as a national imperative naming economic consequences of an uneducated workforce straining the U.S. economy and framing Latino educational opportunity as critical to the U.S. economy.

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Executive Order No. 13555: 2010 – Present

The current WHIEEH, identifies educational outcomes, the quality of education of Latinos as a problem but also attributes the country's international standing as a problem. Educational outcomes continue to be a problem identified by the WHIEEH similar to the three previous initiatives. Educational outcome based problems are characterized by low participation in early childhood programs, low high school graduation rates, students being inadequately prepared for college and dropping out high school. The quality of education is also identified as a problem and is characterized by large class sizes, low-performing schools, and the quality of early childhood education programs. Social concerns are identified as problems affecting the Latino community and this WHIEEH identifies unemployment rates, immigration enforcement, and comprehensive immigration reform as problems affecting the Latino community. The problem affecting Latino educational opportunity is also characterized as a national imperative, that frame this issue "not just as a Latino problem, it is an American problem." This characterization is described as a national imperative that influences the last type of problem identified by the initiative which is the country's international standing. The problems addressing Latino educational opportunity is framed as influencing the country's international standing and is characterized by trying to "out-innovate, out-educate, and out-build the rest of the world." The description of other problems can be viewed in Appendix E.

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Changes in Problem Constructions

One of the common features between all four instantiations of the WHIEEH is naming educational outcomes as problems affecting Latino educational opportunity. The WHIEEH describes numerous descriptions to highlight the educational outcomes of Latino students across the educational pipeline. These problems were consistent and pervasive across the WHIEEH policy documents. While the types of problems named varied, each report produced by the WHIEEH described the low educational achievement of Latino students and named this as a problem affecting Latino educational opportunity.

A problem highlighted in the second instantiation of the WHIEEH, was the quality of education Latino student experience as a problem affecting Latino educational opportunity. This was not named a problem when the WHIEEH was created, however the three subsequent initiatives have named problems related to the quality of education Latino students receive and experience. These types of problems related to poor schooling conditions and inadequately funded schools that Latino students attend.

A consistent problem named in the WHIEEH was Latino educational opportunity being a national imperative. Each initiative described problems related to Latino educational opportunity being a national imperative. The national imperative of addressing Latino educational opportunity was initially attributed to requiring the commitment of the entire country and increasing the state, private, and community involvement in this endeavor. However, in the WHIEEH under George H.W. Bush's presidency, you begin to see that the national imperative to address Latino

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educational opportunity was connected to how critical Latinos and Latino education is to the U.S. economy. The connections between Latino educational opportunity and the U.S. economy were continued to the current instantiation which connects Latino success in education an in the labor market to both immediate and long-term importance to the American economy.

While each of the initiative described social concerns related to Latino educational opportunity, the current initiative names immigration and comprehensive immigration reform as part of the problems related to Latino educational opportunity. These problems were identified at every town hall meeting held by the WHIEEH and the most recent report released by the WHIEEH, describes that it was the most consistent concern raised by the Latino community (*An America built to last: White House Hispanic community action summits: Interim Report*, 2012).

Solution Constructions

Consistent with the research methods from both critical and post-structural approaches to policy analysis, this section presents the construction of solutions in the WHIEEH. As previously mentioned, the WHIEEH objective is to provide advise and guidance to the Secretary of Education on Latino education. This section will describe the solutions that were privileged over others by highlighting the solutions WHIEEH has provided to address Latino educational opportunity. As stated in the previous section, nearly every report highlights the poor educational outcomes of Latinos and offers evidence to demonstrate their low educational performance and attainment. This section presents the solutions the WHIEEH identifies to help remedy the poor educational conditions of Latinos, and the accountability discourse

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that helps to shape these solution constructions will be described in the following chapter. This section concludes with outlining who the WHIEEH describes should care about Latino education.

In this section I describe the findings from my analyses of WHIEEH policy documents related to the policy solutions the WHIEEH constructs. As described in Chapter 4, the analytic process involved deductive coding in response to each of my research questions related to policy, subjects, problems, and solutions. For the sake of clarity, this section will report my analysis organized by each WHIEEH instantiation.

My archaeological analysis of the WHIEEH identifies numerous solutions to address Latino educational opportunity. The solutions identified by the WHIEEH were organized into categorical types listed in Table 5.3 and a description of the categories is provided followed by the types of solutions identified by each instantiation of the WHIEEH.

Table 5.3

Solution Constructions
Asset Based
Accountability Based
Partnership Based
Cultural Based
Quality Based
Funding based
Research based
Competitive based

Asset based solutions are solutions that identify how Latino educational opportunity would produce value and have a positive economic contribution to the community or country.

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Accountability based solutions are solutions that identify or acknowledged an entity as responsible for addressing Latino educational opportunity.

Partnership based solutions are solutions that call upon an entity, being familial or organizational to serve as a partner or partners in addressing Latino educational opportunity. These solutions require the collaboration of another entity besides or in addition to the WHIEEH.

Cultural based solutions are solutions that recognize an ethnic or cultural quality of the Latino community as part of the solution to address Latino educational opportunity

Quality based solutions are solutions that call upon the improvement of specific educational conditions such as schooling, instruction, or funding.

Funding based solutions are solutions that call upon monetary resources to be allocated to improve Latino educational opportunity.

Research based solutions are solutions that call upon greater understanding of research-based practices to improve Latino educational opportunity. This type of solution also calls upon greater understanding on ways to improve Latino educational opportunity.

Competitive based solutions are solutions that require the competition of funds.

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Executive Order 12729: 1990 -1994

The findings of my archaeological analysis of the first WHIEEH under President George H.W. Bush reveal numerous solutions to address Latino educational opportunity were informed by asset, accountability, partnership, cultural, and quality based solutions. This WHIEEH identified "Hispanic Americans" as a major socio-economic force and framed their economic progress as a solution to improve the economic well being of the country. This initiative also identified the need to "improve the nations ability to reinvigorate its workforce so it can compete successfully in the world market" (*A Progress Report to the Secretary of Education from the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans*, 1992, 5-1) This WHIEEH identifies Latinos as a "rich, untapped resource for raising the productivity of the nation's workforce and enhancing the lives of all Americans" (*A Progress Report to the Secretary of Education from the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans*, 1992, 5-1). As these examples illustrate, the solutions identified by this instantiation of the WHIEEH are not directly related to Latino educational opportunity but also to improving the economic condition of the country.

Examples of accountability-based solutions included the development and monitoring of federal efforts to promote quality education and completing an inventory of education-related federal programs. The solutions constructed in this instantiation of the WHIEEH also called for greater data collection activities related to Latino educational opportunity.

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This initiative also identified many partnership-based solutions. These solutions included enhancing parental involvement, increasing private sector and community involvement, and developing and partnership with these entities to promote quality education to Latino students. This initiative also called for establishing greater linkages among public and private educational institutions, the government and the private sector.

Cultural-based solutions were also identified that included greater cultural awareness of the Latino community. This initiative also called for community and political empowerment in Latino communities. Lastly, this initiative also called for solutions that improved the quality of education generally and early childhood education in particular.

Executive Order No. 12900: 1994 -2001

The solutions offered by the second instantiation of the WHIEEH are categorized similarly to the first WHIEEH however this initiative also suggested funded based type of solutions. Under quality-based solutions, this initiative called for equitable and a quality educational system that also improved the quality of instruction at every point along the educational pipeline.

The accountability-based solutions in this initiative, similar to the first, called for greater development, monitoring, and coordination of federal efforts to promote high quality education. This initiative, also called upon the United States executive department of to prepare a plan for and document, the agency's effort to increase Latino participation in federal education programs on the following characteristics: elimination of unintended regulatory barriers to Latino participation in federal

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education programs, the adequacy of announcement of program opportunities of interest to Hispanic-serving school districts, and ways of eliminating educational inequities and disadvantages faced by Latinos. These types of solutions were the greatest amount offered by the initiative and for a more detailed description of other accountability-based solutions refer to Appendix F.

This initiative, similar to the previous, called upon increase state, private, and community involvement in improving education. These partnership-based solutions also called for the collective commitment and concentrated action of every sector to improve educational achievement.

Cultural based solutions were more prevalent in this initiative calling for the affirmation of the value and dignity of Hispanic communities, families, and individuals. The initiative also constructed that public school systems must value and affirm the culture of Latino students by providing quality education services and becoming more community oriented. The initiative also urged for the improvement of knowledge, skills, and cross-cultural competencies of teachers and administrators. Lastly, this initiative called for funding based solutions that ensured that state and local governments equitably allocate the necessary resources in public school funding for academic support and capital improvements to schools with large concentration of Latino students.

Executive Order No. 13230: 2001 – 2010

Many of the solutions offered by the WHIEEH under George W. Bush's presidency were accountability-based solutions aligned with No Child Left Behind legislation. The kinds of solutions offered by this initiative were accountability

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based that called for greater "monitoring" and measuring of Latino education. Another solution was the "development of a monitoring system that measures and holds executive branch departments and agencies accountable for the coordination of federal efforts among the designated executive departments and agencies to ensure the participation of Hispanic Americans in Federal education programs and promote high-quality education for Hispanic Americans." (Executive Order No. 13230, 2001)

Another distinct feature of this initiative solutions were the large number of partnership-based solutions that this initiative identified to improve Latino educational opportunity. For example, solutions included greater research and information on the effectiveness of current practices involving Latino parents in the education of their children and the identification of successful methods utilized in increasing parental, state, local, private sector, and community involvement in improving education. This initiative, also called upon HSIs and the important role they play in preparing Latino students.

This initiative called for cultural-based solutions that predominantly involved the family, and in particular parents. Solutions focused on raising parental understanding of the American educational system, and creating ways to improve the expectation they have for their children. Similar to the previous initiative, solutions also included reinforcing a high-quality teaching profession that is fully prepared to meet the diverse needs of Latino children and students.

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Research-based solutions called for greater understanding of research based effective practices. Greater understanding was called on effective practices at the local, state, and federal levels in closing the achievement gap.

Executive Order No. 13555: 2010 – Present

A unique type of solution offered by this initiative is competitive-based solutions that require schools to compete for funding to improve the educational conditions of their students. This initiative calls for policies that would require low performing programs to compete for funding to ensure that the most capable providers serve children and families.

Accountability-based solutions of this initiative called for federal programs and initiatives administered by the Department of Education and other agencies to ensure that they are serving and meeting the needs of Latino children, youth, and adults. Partnership-based solutions of this initiative, called for greater partnerships with public, private, philanthropic, and nonprofit stakeholders to improve Latinos' readiness for school, college, and career. Another partner in improving Latino educational opportunity was Minority Serving Institutions, which collectively prepare half of all minority teachers, and according to this initiative, play a major role in developing the next generation of effective teachers for Latino students. Lastly, this initiative, names HSIs as essential to the higher education system and vital source of strength. The remainder of partnership-based solutions offered by this initiative can be found in Appendix F.

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Changes in Solution Constructions

One of the consistent solution constructions across the WHIEEH were accountability-based solutions. While the specific solutions offered by each instantiation of the WHIEEH were different, they all called for greater accountability between specified entities. All accountability solutions involved greater development and monitoring of federal efforts to promote high-quality education to Latino students. Now, this may be in part due to the goals and objectives of the WHIEEH, which is to serve as the federal policy initiative responsible for underscoring the ways in which Latino educational opportunity can be improved. However, who was held accountable to assisting in the effort of improving Latino educational opportunity varied. The WHIEEH under Clinton's presidency, called for local, state, and federal policy makers to take serious and immediate action toward improving Latino educational achievement an called for greater corporate sector support in this endeavor. Under George W. Bush's presidency, accountability solutions were also offered, however the accountability measures were grounded in terms of measurement and assessment. The accountability measures by this WHIEEH, called for focusing resources on "proven" educational methods and choice, and calling for criteria that could be used to evaluate and assess models or programs that identify best practices. Accountability under this time period also called upon available research and information that demonstrate the effectiveness of practices in local, state, and federal levels that demonstrated progress of closing the educational achievement gap. The current initiative used less direct language around accountability however, there were accountability-based solutions that

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would require entities to compete for their funding to be able to improve the educational conditions of Latinos.

Cultural based solutions were constructed across the WHIEEH, however there were unique differences among how culture was characterized as part of the solution. For example, the founding WHIEEH, called for solutions that improved cultural awareness, and community and political empowerment in Latino communities however, it did not specify who or how this would be made possible. The subsequent WHIEEH, made more explicit claims around cultural-based solutions that "affirmed the value and dignity of Hispanic communities, families, and individuals." This initiative, also held public school systems responsible for valuing and affirming the cultural of Latino students and called for teachers and administrators to improve their knowledge, skills, and cross-cultural competencies. Cultural based solutions under George W. Bush's presidency, called for setting new and higher expectations for Latino children and families, calling for supporting parents figure out to navigate the American educational system. Cultural based solutions under the current WHIEEH, called for greater support among families, communities and schools working in partnership to advance Latino educational opportunity.

Summary

The first part of this chapter identified the constructs the WHIEEH names as policy subjects. The constructs were organized into 13 descriptors that include, Hispanic/Latino variations, citizenship status, immigration, class, gender, age,

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language acquisition, education, location, economic promise, at risk label, demographic growth, and relationship to other ethnic groups.

In this chapter I have also described the problems constructed by the four WHIEEH instantiations. The types of solutions were characterized by problems related to the following:

- Educational outcomes
- Social concerns
- International standing
- National imperative
- Quality of education
- Federal participation
- Representation

The chapter described the construction of the policy problems to address Latino educational opportunity and the crisis discourse that informs how these problems are constructed will be described in the following chapter.

Lastly, in this chapter I have described the solutions offered by the four WHIEEH instantiations. The types of solutions were characterized by:

- Asset based
- Accountability based
- Partnership based
- Cultural based
- Quality based
- Funding based
- Research based
- Competitive based

The chapter described the construction of the policy solutions to address Latino educational opportunity. The following chapter will describe the genealogical

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analysis that describes the discourses that are informing the constructions of the policy subject, problem, and solutions.

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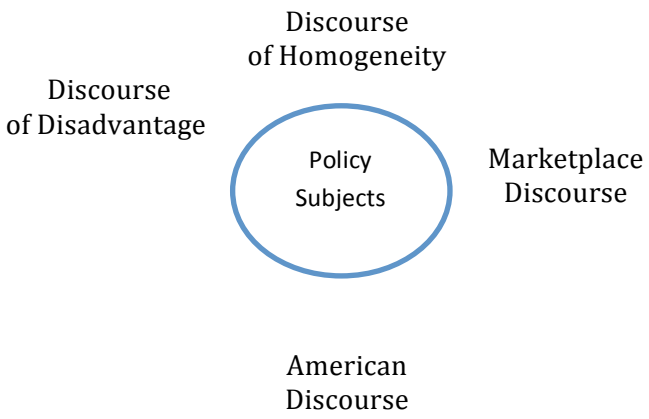
CHAPTER 6. POLICY SUBJECT, PROBLEM, AND SOLUTION PRODUCTIONS

This chapter provides my genealogical analysis of the policy subject, problem, and solution productions. Each section will begin with a concept map to illustrate the discourse that are informing each production. The chapter begins with identifying the discourses that are informing the construction of policy subjects.

Policy Subject Productions

This study enables the examination of who is produced by the discursive framing of the WHIEEH. Discourses do not occur in isolation, and as postructuralism supports, it can be likely that multiple and competing discourses exist at the same time transmitting conflicting subject constructions and productions. Figure 6.1, illustrates the multiple discourses that are informing the production of policy subjects. One of the ways in which the WHIEEH produces the policy subjects is as a homogeneous group.

Figure 6.1 Discourses Informing Policy Subjects



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Discourse of Homogeneity

A closer and critical examination of the subject construction determines that the WHIEEH is constructing a normative "Hispanic" group. The analytical processes for this study identified a discourse of homogeneity that is employed to shape and frame the policy subject in the WHIEEH. Of the 48 Hispanic/Latino variations, 35 of them specifically homogenized the subjects as Hispanic.

Even though the WHIEEH states,

> the terms "Hispanic' and 'Latino' are used interchangeably in this report, and refer to a group of Americans who share common cultural origins and language. However, Hispanic-Americans come from diverse nations and backgrounds with distinctive histories and distinctive socio-economic and political experiences (*Our Nation on the Fault Line: Hispanic American Education Report*, 1996, p. 23).

By normalizing the subject in this policy, it simultaneously recognizes the rich diversity within Latinos while producing them as a homogenous group. The normalization of this heterogeneous group further exacerbates the notion that Latinos have similar economic, social, and immigration backgrounds, which is simply not the case. The recognition that Latinos have "distinct histories and distinctive socio-economic and political experiences" signals that Latinos from different national backgrounds have divergent migration experiences in the United States. By not naming these distinct migration experiences, the WHIEEH is producing a normative Hispanic subject that denies the divergent immigration experiences that Latinos experience. While the WHIEEH acknowledges this perspective by stating, "Hispanic Americans as a group, it is important not to lose sight of the significant diversity among the origin groups that are included in the

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Hispanic American population." However, discursively, it seems like the WHIEEH has lost sight of the diversity by producing the policy subjects as a homogenous group.

This homogeneity is further supported by the lack of identification of other Latino ethnic groups. For example, the WHIEEH identifies, Cubans, Cuban Americans, Mexicans, Mexican Americans, Central and South American, and Puerto Ricans. This identification excludes a number of ethnic groups not named and consequently recognized as a subject in this policy initiative. The recognition of specific ethnic groups denies the unique social, economic, and educational experiences communities must navigate in the United States. The acknowledgment of these communities is only referenced in reports outlining the disparate educational outcomes. The "Latinization of America" that the WHIEEH references further supports the disaggregation of ethnic groups within this richly diverse community.

The WHIEEH also recognizes this contradiction by acknowledging that research on Latinos needs to be disaggregated by ethnic groups by stating, "Our research data are woefully insufficient concerning the impact of important characteristics such as nationality, legal status and linguistic challenges on the academic success of Hispanic Children" (*The Road to a College Diploma: the Complex Reality of Raising Educational Achievement for Hispanics in the United States*, 2002, p. 3,). While the identification of aggregate data on Latino educational outcomes is important and critical, it is equally imperative that if we are talking about Latinos we also make sure to address the respective needs of each community. Failing to do

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so, excludes the recognition and attention to the needs of varying ethnic groups within the Latino community.

The recognition of multiple and varying backgrounds and histories makes the use of Hispanic more problematic particularly when this policy initiative goal is to address the needs of this richly diverse population. The use of a single term may be "easier" or more convenient to reference in written communication like policy reports; however, there are consequences to this choice. One of the consequences being that this policy initiative is signaling whom this policy is and is not about by failing to acknowledge and honor the varying histories of the diverse community that is represented in the Latino community.

As a scholar, I too recognize this tension and struggled to decide on a term/identity to describe a richly diverse group. While the use of a single term can be convenient for oral and written communication such as this study, it is crucial that I not reproduce the very same problem I am critiquing or problematizing. I also recognize that my caution is not resolved with a neat and simple answer as I too recognize the complexity of identity and how to constructs the subjects I refer to in this study. However, I would suggest that through caution and troubling the assumption that this initiative is about "Hispanics" future policies can be more specific and inclusive of the intended targets of their policy efforts.

American Discourse

The subject construction is in a network of social practices that are infused with power relations. By drawing on an American discourse, the WHIEEH is producing subjects in relationship to citizenship in ways that privileges Latinos who

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hold citizenship in the United States. By focusing on this specific community, the WHIEEH is signaling disregard for Latinos who live in the United States as undocumented or as residents waiting on their citizenship. Even though, at many of the town halls hosted by the WHIEEH, and all of the town halls hosted during this current presidential administration, issues of immigration and citizenship were brought up as major concerns of the community (More on this topic in the problem and solution chapters). As mentioned earlier, the current WHIEEH drops the American designation in the executive order text itself. It is unclear why this descriptor was dropped however, this current WHIEEH has made more explicit statements about the role immigration plays in the concerns of the Latino community than the three other instantiations of the initiative.

In addition to citizenship, there are also distinctions made between "foreign-born and native-born Hispanics" in relationship to their educational outcomes. These descriptions are made in reference to the differences in educational outcomes in relationship to English acquisition. The role that nativity plays in the WHIEEH wavers between heavily relying on American discourse to talk about Latinos while at the same time identifying that the WHIEEH efforts are addressed for all Latinos regardless of when they arrived to the United States. The following statement can support this claim:

> This Commission, however, in meeting its obligations, aims to ensure that *all* children of Hispanic heritage, regardless of where they were born or when they came to this country, have the same opportunities for educational advancement. Our decision to use the terms Latino, Hispanic and Hispanic American interchangeably throughout this report reflects the complexity of the heritage and circumstances of the population that is our concern (*The*

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> *Road to a College Diploma: the Complex Reality of Raising Educational Achievement for Hispanics in the United States*, 2002, v).

On the one hand, the WHIEEH is acknowledging the varying length of migration of Latinos and identifies that the WHIEEH is concerned about their educational, social, and economic success. However, the WHIEEH as a whole makes minimal references to undocumented students, and recent immigrants and the ways in which the WHIEEH is focused on their success.

At the same time, the WHIEEH acknowledges that interventions cannot also be homogenous in addressing the educational needs of the Latino community.

> Intervention strategies do not exist in a vacuum and are never 'one size fits all.' The diversity within the Hispanic community requires equally diverse solutions that can specifically focus on and target the problems faced by the different groups of Hispanic students. Effective and appropriate educational instruction and intervention are a major part of decreasing these problems, but further research is needed to investigate the optimal approaches and to develop and test new, creative strategies (*From Risk to Opportunity: Fulfilling the Educational Needs of Hispanic Americans in the 21st Century*, 2003, p. 18)

The acknowledgment of a one-size fit all model contradicts the production of a homogenized Latino. This analysis illustrated they ways policy can make subject constructions more prominent than others. As a federal policy initiative, the WHIEEH is focusing on a specific subject in the policy who is marked by a status of citizenship.

Discourse of Disadvantage

Descriptions of Latinos as "at-risk" for educational failure are prominent in the WHIEEH policy documents. These characterizations are made possible by a discourse of disadvantage, which constructs the subjects as individuals and families

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"at-risk." This discourse describes the subjects of this policy as disadvantaged in relationship to their educational experiences. The WHIEEH describes Latinos as "students at risk of dropping out," "children at risk," and the "fate of dropouts." These descriptors suggest that Latinos are disadvantaged however, they fail to interrogate why Latinos disproportionally experience these outcomes.

While Latinos disproportionally have lower outcomes compared to other groups, failing to acknowledge what these risks are or the systemic factors that contribute to their existence produces these subjects in a discourse of disadvantage. Scholars have raised questions and concerns about the conceptualizations of risk and what these concepts signify to those who are attached with this label. Gadsen, Davis, and Artiles (2009) challenge and question the use of at-risk labels that research, practice, and policies have taken that may inadvertently re-write rather than alleviate the constraints that these labels place on people. For example, Gadsen, Davis, and Artiles (2009) point to recent discussions about the achievement gap being part of a larger conceptualizing of the constraints and challenges placed on students well being and success and call for researchers and policy makers to problematize and contest focuses on negative links between students and their educational outcomes. The authors contend,

> …it is the manipulation of the concept of risk that makes many uneasy, not because they do not think that many students are place in vulnerable situations but because they fear that the rhetoric of risk supersedes any effort to understand the issues that makes students vulnerable in schools; the social conditions and, often, marginalization that contribute to their

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> vulnerability out of school; and the possibilities that must sit in school and that have the potential to interrupt and erode the conditions that create the vulnerability, hence risk, in the first place (2009, ix).

This notion is particularly fitting, given that when the WHIEEH describes policy subjects, as at "at-risk" or "disadvantaged" there is not a context from which to suggest what they are "at-risk" of. O'Connor, Hill, & Robinson (2009), contend that the *A Nation at Risk Report* propelled the "at-risk" label into educational and popular discourse. In the report, the at-risk status was described as a function of inadequate educational outcomes, consequently linked to demographic groups deemed as inadequate. Delinquency and deficiency discourses situate risk as an inherent trait of children and communities rather than identifying social conditions that create risk (Vasudevan & Campano, 2009).

Consequent studies of achievement and racial groups began labeling demographic groups as "at-risk" when describing their inadequate educational outcomes. A range of discourses focus on youth and the problems they encounter. Vasudevan & Campano (2009) contend that the public narrative of crisis about adolescents' literacies in particular, has acquired media attention, which locates the blame on inadequate teaching, unsupportive families, and a general culture of moral decline among youth. In their work, they use a sociocultural lens to examine the issues of adolescent risk and literacy. They understand literacy to be socially constructed and mediated by the social and cultural contexts in which meaning occurs. Rather than understanding how students are placed at risk through forms of

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structural violence (e.g. poverty, school tracking, and under resourced and overcrowded schools) they are blamed for the conditions that oppress them. While this may not be the intention of the WHIEEH efforts, by describing policy subjects within a discourse of disadvantage, the WHIEEH is producing subjects at risk without recognizing or naming the systemic or structural conditions that place students in educational conditions that mark them as disadvantaged.

Some scholars argue that discourses gender, particularly on males specifically ensue a narrative of moral panic. Data such as arrest statistics (Mauer, 2003) and high school graduation rates and more specifically drop out rates (Stillwell & Hoffman, 2008), are often interpreted through essentialist lens that fail to account for the structural inequalities. These inequities are obscured behind a language of blame and vilification as black men, for example, are placed at greater risk of being labeled as less intelligent and excluded from being in advanced placement classes and other educational opportunities (Noguera, 2003). Noguera (2008) contends that these patterns of punishment and remediation on certain students serves to reinforce stereotypes about intellectual capacity and ability through which "implicit and explicit messages about racial and gender identities are conveyed" (p.30). This scholarship points to how students are actually placed at risk by an educational system that anticipates the criminal justice system through discipline and punishment particularly for students of color (Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002; Fenning & Rose, 2007).

By relying on a discourse of disadvantage to describe policy subjects as "at-risk," while failing to conceptualize what "at-risk" means, the WHIEEH contributes

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to framing Latinos in deficit perspectives. Pica-Smith & Veloria (2012) contend that unexamined use of pervasive terms such as at risk in education and human service courses can lead to reifying raced, classed, and gendered deficit perspectives of youth. Their study examined the social construction of the term "at-risk" by following students in education and human services undergraduate and graduate courses and the counselors and teacher educators as they engaged in the process of deconstructing the term. Their findings suggest that students enter the classroom with raced and classed perceptions of who is at risk and demonstrated a deficit orientation and often did not include white youth. Similarly, in their review of the at-risk literature O'Connor, Hill & Robinson (2009) found that studies that invoke this term, few work to conceptualize what it means. They suggest the term is extended as a status that readers take for granted in relation to the populations under study.

In this analysis of the WHIEEH, a discourse of disadvantage helped to inform the inadequate educational outcomes. Thus, providing a logic for assigning at-risk status to a demographic group whose educational outcomes have been judged as inadequate.

Marketplace Discourse

Although Latinos constitute a growing portion of the American populace, the descriptions of Latinos as the "fastest growing, and soon be the largest, minority population" are connected to the economic stability and promise of this country. For example, several times in WHIEEH policy documents, Latinos are described as the following, "Hispanics, are a young, family-oriented group who will continue to

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bring new consumer power and social growth and stability to the nation's communities well into the next century" (*A Progress Report to the Secretary of Education from the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans*, 1992, p. 5-1). Statements that describe the "Hispanic American population as a major socio-economic force" further support a marketplace discourse. Describing Latinos as an "untapped resource," suggests that Latinos are a commodity whose participation in American society can, and should be, taken advantage of. Another statement in a WHIEEH policy reports states, "This population must be recognized as a rich, untapped resource for raising the productivity of the nation's workforce and enhancing the lives of all Americans" (*A Progress Report to the Secretary of Education from the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans*, 1992, p. 5-2,). The education of Latinos is a national imperative that is connected to the economic progress and future of the national economy.

Scholars have argued that many countries push higher education as a solution to economic troubles through the development of knowledge workers and the fueling of knowledge economies, including the United States (Jankowski & Provezis, 2012). Under the rationality of a market-driven discourse, Latino educational opportunity is required to be consumed by the larger market, namely the American economy. Within this framing, Latino educational opportunity is being utilized as a means to examine how Latinos can be employable subjects, being commoditized as subjects.

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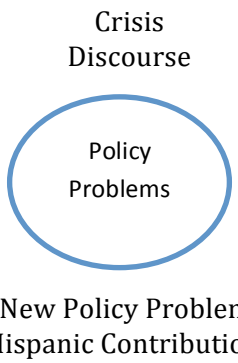
Policy Problem Productions

The problems explicitly named as challenges threatening Latino educational opportunity outlined in the previous chapter and in Appendix E share a common thread among all the WHIEEH policy documents producing the problems Latinos face as a national crisis. Figure 6.2 illustrates the discourses that are informing the policy problems. The following section outlines the ways in which the policy problem is produced by a crisis discourse.

Figure 6.2. Discourses Informing Policy Problems



Crisis Discourse

The first report produced by the WHIEEH, *A Progress Report to the Secretary of Education from the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans* (1992) highlights the "apparent crisis in Hispanic education." The report outlines the available measures and indicators that show Latinos are failing to meet the National Education Goals[2] and as the first report produced by this

[2] In 1989, President Bush and the nation's governors adopted six National Education Goals. The National Educational Goals identify levels to be achieved by the year 2000 in readiness for schooling, high school completion, competence in specific subjects, adult literacy, and establishment of an environment conducive to learning

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initiative, the document presents the educational outcomes of Latinos and the projections to achieve the National Educational Goals by the year 2000.

One of the early efforts of the initiative was to hold public forums throughout the country to understand the needs of the community. With regard to these public forums, "All expressed their concern about the quality of education being offered to Hispanic students, and voiced their concerns for the future of those students at risk of dropping out and about the fate of dropouts not being served at all" (*A Progress Report to the Secretary of Education from the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans*, 1992, p. 3-1). The report outlines the President's Advisory Commission's vision for their work and as previously stated, highlighted some of the prominent challenges facing Latinos in the United States.

The crisis discourse continued to inform the problems identified by the next administration of the WHIEEH as the first report released, *Our Nation on the Fault Line: Hispanic American Education Report*, in 1996. The report describes, "the successful resolution of what has become noting less than a crisis is embedded in the collective and collaborative response of the nation; and it must be characterized by the affirmation of the value and dignity of Hispanic communities, families and individuals" (*Our Nation on the Fault line: Hispanic American education report*, 1996, p. 13). This report continued to document the educational outcomes of Latinos across the educational spectrum and described the circumstances as a crisis. This is further supported by the following statement, "By recognizing the gravity of the educational attainment disparity between Hispanic Americans and the majority

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(*A Progress Report to the Secretary of Education from the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans*, 1992)

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population, and by changing the conditions faced by the vast majority of Hispanics, the nation can begin to address a well-documented crisis in education for its fastest growing, and soon to be largest, minority population" (*Our Nation on the Fault line: Hispanic American Education Report*, 1996, p. 14). This report discusses the state of education for Latinos across the educational spectrum and outcries a "call for action." This Commission takes a bit difference stance than other commissions by taking a stand on the nature of the problem as the following: "The nature of the problem with the education of Hispanic Americans is rooted in a refusal to accept, to recognize, and to value the central role of Hispanics in the past, present, and future of this nation. The education of Hispanic Americans is characterized by a history of neglect, oppression, and periods of denial of opportunity" (*Our Nation on the Fault Line: Hispanic American Education Report*, p. 13, 1996). The crisis in this initiative is seen as a failed response to addressing the educational needs of Latinos while neglecting their contributions to the country.

The crisis is evidenced in a majority of reports since the first WHIEEH report in 1992 to the most recent WHIEEH federal initiative that began in 2010. Executive Order No. 13555 defines the educational condition as a crisis by stating,

> Hispanic students face educational challenges of crisis proportions. Fewer than half of all Hispanic children participate in early childhood education programs, and far too few Hispanic students graduate from high school; of those who do complete high school, many are not adequately prepared for college. Only 12 percent of adult Hispanics have a bachelor's degree, and just 3 percent have completed graduate or professional degree programs. At the same time, large numbers of Hispanic adults lack the education or literacy skills they need to advance their careers; they also are less likely than members of other groups to have taken job- or career-related courses, with the exception of basic education classes, such as English as a second language

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(2010).

The crisis identified in the current executive order uses the guiding document itself to lay the disparate educational outcomes Latino students experience across the educational pipeline. The choice to identify the educational outcomes in the executive order text itself signals the severity of the issue and the context in which the WHIEEH is attempting to present solutions to address this national concern.

Gándara and Contreras (2009) have described the educational outcomes of Latinos as a "Latino education crisis" citing failed social polices as the means for the educational crisis. They cite the achievement dilemma as a major crisis affecting Latino students, particularly highlighting that even in the early stages of schooling, Latino students perform worse than other ethnic groups. For example, in a national sample of America's kindergarteners, African Americans, Latino and Native American children were found to be the most likely to score in the lowest percentile on reading and math testing (Gándara & Contreras, 2009). In their description of the achievement dilemma, they cite, study after study that demonstrate the poor educational achievement of Latino students. Gándara & Contreras (2009) name the most urgent challenge facing American educational system having a Latino face and document the crisis of Latino education by highlighting the low educational achievement of Latinos. Similarly, Rodriguez (2008) documents the high rates of Latino high school dropouts as a crisis by highlighting the structural conditions and constraints placed on high schools that Latino students attend. He frames the high Latino dropout rate as a crisis affecting the Latino community and as a pervasive problem that requires immediate local and national attention.

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The crisis, is not only connected to the educational conditions of Latinos and their educational outcomes, but also to what the crisis means for the community in terms of their economic and social condition. For example,

> The present crisis not only threatens to leave behind yet another generation of Hispanic children and youth, it also will limit their mobility in the labor force. Moreover, it may threaten our country's ability to compete economically. As the fastest growing and youngest population group in the United States, Hispanic Americans will soon be the second largest segment of the labor force. However, the group's lagging rates of educational attainment limit their upward mobility. (*From Risk to Opportunity; Fulfilling the Educational Needs of Hispanic Americans in the 21st Century*, 2003, p. 2).

The connection of education to other social and economic conditions is true as research does suggest that education does increase economic mobility (Contreras, et al., 2011). However, the problem is consequently produced to suggest that if Latinos educational conditions do not improve, it "threatens" the country's ability to compete internationally creating a new policy problem. This framing of the policy problem suggest that Latino educational opportunity should not be improved to increase economic and social mobility within this community but rather, to raise the United States economic and global power. The contributions of Latinos are thus commoditized into something to be maximized and to be taken advantage of, producing an unintended problem as a lack of "Hispanic contributions."

Production of a New Policy Problem: Hispanic Contributions

Given the disparate educational outcomes the WHIEEH cites in their reports, the contributions of Latinos are also being discursively framed as a problem. Another problem the WHIEEH identifies, is the lack of social and economic

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contributions Latinos are and will be able to make to the country if their educational outcomes continue to persist. As one report outlines, "As the United States positions itself to meet the social and economic challenges of a rapidly changing economy and world order, the emergence of the Hispanic American population as a major socio-economic force must be recognized as an asset. (*A Progress Report to the Secretary of Education from the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans*, 1992, xvi). Latino educational opportunity is framed in relationship to the economic well –being of the country. This framing is evidenced across multiple WHIEEH efforts. This is further evidenced in the following statement, "Strategic to improving the nation's ability to reinvigorate its workforce so it can compete successfully in the world market is the challenge of better educating Hispanic Americans" (*A Progress Report to the Secretary of Education from the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans*, 1992, p. 5-1,). The economic contribution of Latinos is seen as a problem that requires attention and resolution, as supported by this statement, "Unequal educational outcomes diminish the nation's ability to compete in the global economy, thus weakening its national fabric by not utilizing all of its human capital. The nation essentially is being robbed of the full intellectual, moral, and spiritual strengths of a major segment of the American population, Hispanic Americans" (*Our Nation on the Fault Line: Hispanic American Education Report*, p. 65, 1996). The "robbing" suggests that non-Latinos are being deprived from the educaitonal, social, and economic benefits Latinos contribute further supporting the commodification of Latino contributions. The oppportunity to take "advantage" of

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the contributions Latinos can make is attributed to the reasons why Americans should care about their educational opportunity. In, the *Progress Report to the Secretary of Education from the Presidnt's Advisory Commision on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans* (1992), the reports states, "Why Americans should care: International and domestic events combine to make this an opportune time for the United States to recognize and take full advantage of the potential offered by its Hispanic population" (p. 5-2). In the same report, it is suggested that the time is ripe for taking advantage of the potential of the Latino community by stating, "With the end of the Cold War, the United States is in a position to redefine the basis of its national strength. In doing so, the nation needs to take a closer look at assets such as its Hispanic population; many are young, under-educated, under-employed, and eager to work, but are not yet able to realize their full potential" (p. 5-3).

The contributions of Latinos continues to be a "problem" that needs to be evaluated as the WHIEEH continue their efforts to address the Latino community. In the 2nd instantiation of the WHIEEH, one of the reports states, "Addressing the educational needs of the fastest growing community in the United States—the Hispanic community—is vital to our national interest" (*Creating the Will: Hispanics Achieving Excellence Report*, 2000, p. 2). The contributions of Latinos remain to be seen as an integral component of the United States success. However, the success of the country is seen as the greatest benefactor of these contributions and not the Latino community themselves as is supported by the following statement,

> Raising the educational achievement of Hispanic students, therefore, is critical to the U.S. economy as well as to the individuals whose lives are shaped by poverty. If these employment statistics do not change, the

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> economic consequences of an uneducated work force will strain the economy of the United States. Hispanics are not maximizing their income potential or developing financial security. This leads to lost tax revenues, lower rates of consumer spending, reduced per capita savings and increased social costs. (*The Road to a College Diploma: The Complex Reality of Raising Educational Achievement for Hispanics in the United States*, 2002, p. 10)

During the second WHIEEH, the severity of the educational conditions of Latinos forecasts a dire impact on the United States economy. One report suggests, "An uneducated work force would also have a substantial impact on important domestic programs like Social Security. By 2050, Hispanic workers will make up nearly one-quarter of the working-age population, bearing enormous financial responsibility for supporting the baby boom generation's retirement. These factors will put an additional strain on the current Social Security system (*The Road to a College Diploma: The Complex Reality of Raising Educational Achievement for Hispanics in the United States*, 2002, p. 10). The role that Latino educational opportunity plays in the national scope is attributed to the negative impact it will have on the United States economy and those who would or would benefit from social security.

The educational opportunity of Latinos continues to be connected to the economic and social well being of the country as is evidenced by the most current release of the WHIEEH which states, "Given the role that Hispanics will increasingly play in our labor force, in our economy, and in our public education system it is undeniable that the success of our nation is inextricably tied to the success of the Hispanic community" (*White House Hispanic Community Action Summits Interim Report*, 2012, p. 2).

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The WHIEEH does recognize some of the challenges that contribute to the problem of "Hispanic contributions" as one of the reports suggests: "Obstacles to Hispanic contributions: The realization of the economic potential of Hispanics is impeded by severe educational, health, employment and language obstacles" (*A Progress Report to the Secretary of Education from the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans*, 1992, p. 5-2). While these challenges are acknowledged and identified, the greater problem is how these challenges inhibit the discursive problem being framed, which is the lack of economic and social contributions Latinos will not be able to make if their current educational outcomes do not improve.

A closer examination of the problems the WHIEEH is attempting to address reveals that the WHIEEH is using a crisis discourse to describe the problems associated with Latino educational opportunity. The crisis discourses is evident in all of the WHIEEH's efforts to frame the poor educational conditions of Latinos. Framing the problems identified in the WHIEEH through this discourse, suggests that Latino education has reached a critical phase. But how does this discourse contribute to advancing educational opportunity. Do the solutions offered by the WHIEEH match the crisis discourse that is informing the problems the WHIEEH is identifying? A crisis discourse would suggest that there is an extreme, urgent, and pressing crisis in Latino education and arguably, given the educational outcomes that the WHIEEH sites, it would mean that Latino educational opportunity would be a federal policy priority. The crisis discourse that is informing the WHIEEH to

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construct the policy problems as a crisis in Latino educational opportunity suggests that Latino education is a pressing concern that requires the immediate and direct

This analysis also reveals that the WHIEEH is producing an unintended problem that frames the lack of social and economic contributions Latinos will be able to make should the poor educational outcomes continue. This is in contradiction to the overarching goal of the WHIEEH which have largely been framed to advance the "development of human potential," as stated in the texts of the Executive Orders which sets the goals and objectives of each respective initiative (See Executive Order No. 12729, 1990). This contradiction may be unintended as the WHIEEH goals and objectives outline the development of human potential and to increase opportunities to Latinos. However, by producing the problems that affect Latino educational opportunity in a way that suggests that these problems must be addressed not for the benefit of the Latino community, but for the economic well being of the country contradicts the goals and objectives of the WHIEEH. By identifying the problems that challenge Latino educational opportunity, in a way that connects these issues to the economic well being of the country, the WHIEEH is producing unintended problems that no longer are in the benefit of the Latino community.

Solution Productions

This section will identify the discourses that are informing the solution constructions identified in the previous chapter as illustrated in Figure 6.3 below.

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Figure 6.3. Discourses Informing Policy Solutions

Accountability Discourse

Analysis reveals that every WHIEEH identified accountability based solutions to address Latino educational opportunity. This is not unexpected given that the aim of the WHIEEH is to provide greater national attention to Latino education. What is unclear however, is how accountability-based solutions are being materialized rather than simply relying on the discourse to inform policy solutions. For example, all instantiations of the WHIEEH, call for the development and monitoring of federal efforts to promote Latino educational opportunity. What is unclear from this call, or objective, is how federal efforts will be held accountable to this goal. Relying on an accountability discourse to inform solution constructions to address Latino educational opportunity seems like common sense, however some scholars have argued otherwise.

Under the auspices of globalization and neoliberalism, educational reforms have fostered a discourse of accountability that has become a common sense approach to policymaking (Harvey, 2007). Ranson (2007) helps to elucidate some nuisances of accountability by distinguishing between being "held to account" and "giving an account." The first approach which he terms hierarchical answerability,

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defines "a relationship of formal control between parties, one of whom is mandatorily help to account to the other for the exercise of roles or stewardship of public resources" (p. 199). This nature of holding to account requires empirical data that can be compared to national, regional, or local levels, fostering a sense of informed choice. This suggests that emphasizing optimized performance through maximizing outputs, neoliberalism helps to foster the discourse of holding to account. An example of this holding to account would be high-stakes testing in which school funding is connected and dependent upon achievement based on government-mandated goals. Fitz (2003) raises critical questions about this approach by suggesting that accountability becomes downward-rather than upward focused, meaning that the onus of accountability is placed on local education authorities and institutions by the government, while the government itself, remains relatively unaccountable for its polices and practices. Education policies such as standardization of curriculum and resource allocation can create an illusion of equality within the educational system that can have detrimental effects. When local educational authorities fail to meet pre-determined outcomes, responsibilities then becomes placed onto schools rather than the centralized governments that created and instituted the policies (Horsley, 2009). Ranson (2007) describes communicative reason, which he describes as giving of accounts, which requires a candid explanation of why actions are taken and how decisions are reached. He contends that governments that determine educational policy rarely frame accountability in conjunction with transparency of policy development. Ranson's (2007) work helps to elucidate how the WHIEEH, may be asking for entities to

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provide accounts of their efforts to improve Latino educational opportunity, however the onus of accountability is a bit unclear.

Green, Vandekerckhove and Bessire (2008) argue that the concept of accountability has changed and become perverted from its original meaning. Through their analysis of the literature in organization studies, they found that the notion of accountability has been emptied of its substance. They contend, that the powerful are often no longer held accountable and are able to make those to whom they have hitherto been accountable, accountable to them instead.

Who Should Care about Latino Educational Opportunity?

Inextricably linked to the national crisis of Latino education is the inadequate attention to the crisis. Alongside the problem of the lack of national concern, is the raising awareness of the importance of Latino educational as a national concern and imperative. In the early stages of the WHIEEH, one of the policy reports states, "The essential purpose of this Call to Action is to compel local, state, and Federal policy makers to take serious and immediate action to improve the educational attainment of Hispanic Americans" (*Our Nation on the Fault Line: Hispanic American Education Report*, 1996, p. 15). While the policy report is framed as a call to action, it also beckons who should care about Latino educational opportunity and calls upon policy makers to begin or take a stronger look at Latino education.

Similarly, in the same report, the solution to the "national crisis" identified in chapter 4, the WHIEEH describes, "The successful resolution of what has become nothing less than a national crisis is embedded in the collective and collaborative response of the nation; and it must be characterized by the affirmation of the value

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and dignity of Hispanic communities, families, and individuals" (*Our Nation on the Fault Line: Hispanic American Education Report*, 1996, p. 65). These two examples illustrate the solution is for a greater national concern about Latino educational opportunity.

One of the underlying solutions to the problem is the realization of the problem itself. The following statement supports this,

> To this end, the President's Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans challenges the nation to meet the following: Raise the educational performance of all Hispanic students to the same level of achievement as other students in America by the year 2010. What will it take for our nation to respond to this critical challenge? It will take recognition of the problem; proven actions that will close the achievement gap; replication on a larger scale of effective practices and solutions; high expectations; targeted technical assistance; and a determination that Hispanic children deserve the very best this country has to offer (*Creating the Will: Hispanics Achieving Educational Excellence Report*, 2000, p. 3).

This report comes ten years after the WHIEEH was established and four years after the first WHIEEH policy report was released which identified the gravity of Latino educational outcomes. This report contends that the solution is to create the national will for key stakeholders to address the needs of Latino students. It calls upon the country to address the concerns of Latino by stating, "It will take the collective commitment and concentrated action of every sector to raise the educational achievement of all Hispanic students to the same level of excellence as other students in America by 2010" (*Creating the Will: Hispanics Achieving Educational Excellence Report*, 2000, p. 4).

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Summary

By closely examining how the WHIEEH constructs and produces the subject within this federal policy initiative, this chapter has identified that the WHIEEH is drawing on a discourse of homogeneity, an American discourse, a discourse of disadvantage and a marketplace discourse to produce the subjects at stake in this policy.

This chapter also identifies a new policy problem being created by the WHIEEH that frames the lack of Latino contributions to the economy as a problem. The following chapter describes the findings of how Latino educational opportunity is discursively constructed/produced through the WHIEEH in light of the previous chapters.

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CHAPTER 7. LATINO EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

This chapter presents a discussion of my analysis of the WHIEEH policy documents and how Latino educational opportunity is discursively framed in this federal policy initiative. I extend my discussion of the findings described in the two previous chapters and suggest recommendations for future research and implications for policy-makers interested in advancing Latino educational opportunity. Finally, I will provide some personal reflections regarding this study and offer some concluding remarks.

Despite the propagation of the WHIEEH's solutions and efforts, Latino educational equity remains to be achieved. This study offered new insights to influence federal policy development and offered caution to those seeking to create policies that help to inform Latino educational opportunity. The poststructural framework that grounds this study supports a belief that multiple truth claims exists. As a reminder, postructuralism rejects the belief that one Truth exists and rejects the notion of a rational and essential self and society. So as a result of this theoretical perspective, this chapter presents the account of multiple discourses that shape, construct, and produce Latino educational opportunity.

Summary of Findings

Guided by the orienting questions outlined in Chapter 1, the goal of this study was to investigate the discourses that informed how the policy subjects, problems, and solutions are being constructed/produced through the WHIEEH. Through this investigation I was able to examine:

- How policy subjects, problems, and solutions are constructed in Chapter 5;

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- How policy subjects, problems, and solutions are produced in Chapter 6;

Ultimately, these questions helped address how Latino educational opportunity is discursively constructed/produced through the WHIEEH. As described in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, this study employed policy discourse analysis to investigate the construction of subjects, problems, and solutions anchored by the WHIEEH. A brief summary of the findings in relation to these research questions is provided below.

Summary of Findings: Subject Constructions

As described in Chapter 5, analysis of policy documents described in Appendix A, revealed there were over 150 different policy subjects referenced in WHIEEH policy documents. The subject constructs were organized into 13 descriptors as outlined in Appendix D. Subject constructs included:

- Hispanic/Latino variations
- Citizenship status
- Immigration
- Class
- Gender
- Age
- Language acquisition
- Education
- Location
- Economic promise
- At-risk
- Demographic growth
- Relationship to other ethnic groups

Also described in Chapter 5 were the descriptions of each characterization and the discourses that made each of these visible were discussed in Chapter 6. These characterizations are made visible by a discourse of homogeneity, American discourse that supposes citizenship, discourse of disadvantage, and a marketplace

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discourse.

Summary of Findings: Problem Constructions

As described in Chapter 5, analysis of WHIEEH policy documents revealed that policy problems could be attributed into the following seven categories:

- Educational outcomes
- International standing
- Social concerns
- National imperative
- Quality of education
- Federal participation
- Lack of representation

Chapter 6 describes how a crisis discourse helped to inform the problems identified by the WHIEEH and produced an unintended problem, namely the lack of contributions made by Latinos. Problems related to Latino educational opportunity are described by the WHIEEH in relationship to the economic well being of the country.

Summary of Findings: Solution Constructions

Analysis of WHIEEH policy solutions identified eight different types of categorical solutions offered by the WHIEEH as outlined in Appendix F. These included:

- Asset based
- Accountability based
- Partnership based
- Cultural based
- Quality based
- Funding based
- Research based
- Competitive based

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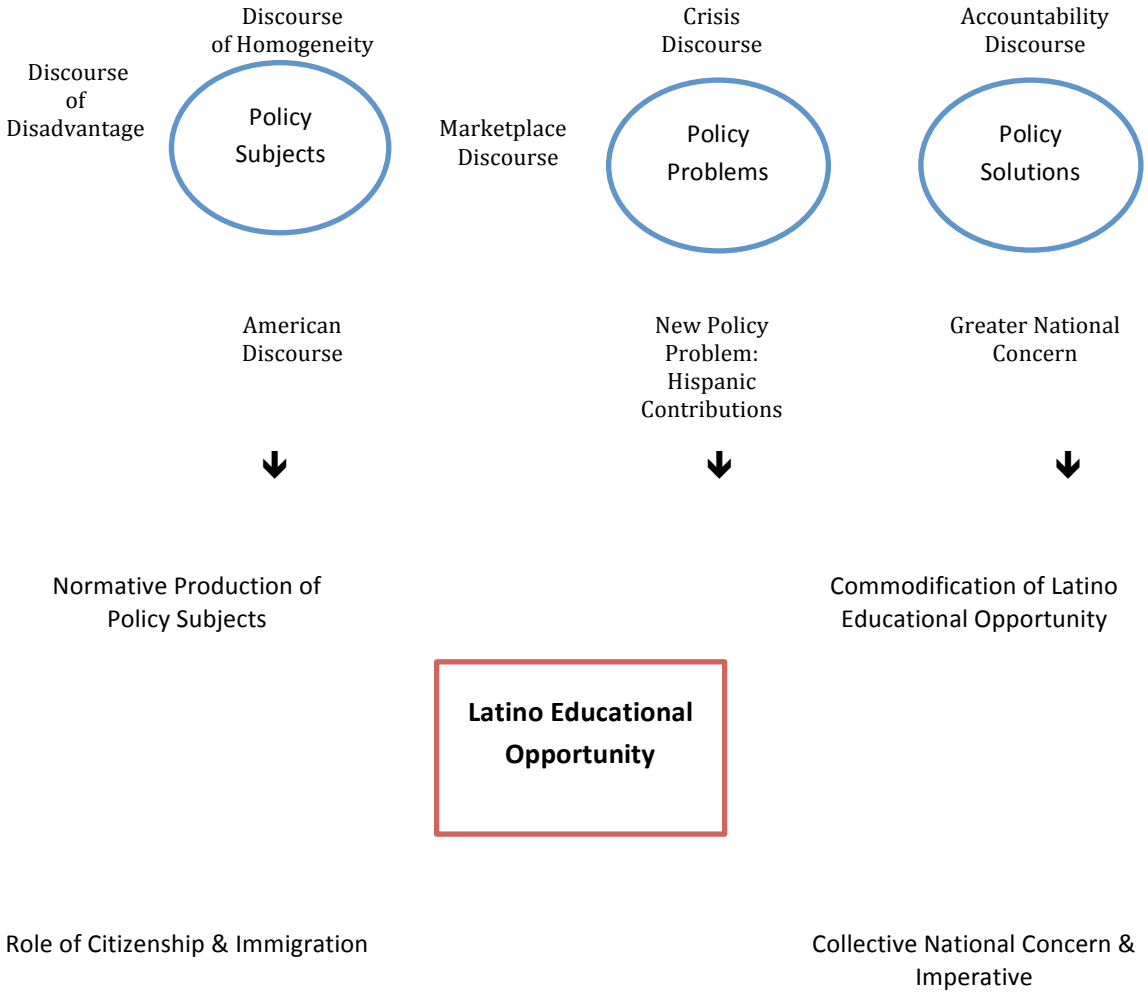
Chapter 5 described the construction of the policy solutions to address Latino educational opportunity that are informed by an accountability discourse as described in Chapter 6. In addition to these categorical solutions, a description of who the WHIEEH identifies should care about Latino education was also presented.

In the following section, I offer my interpretations of the findings of this study using the structure of the research questions as a framework to present and organize the discussion of how Latino educational opportunity is discursively produced by the WHIEEH as illustrated in Figure 7.1

Figure 7.1. Latino Educational Opportunity



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The Normative Production of Policy Subjects

So who are the policy subject targets of the WHIEEH? The findings of this study point to the need to challenge and problematize the seemingly obvious subject of this federal policy initiative. While yes, the WHIEEH is focused on "Hispanics" as is evidenced in the initiative name itself, the findings in Chapter 5 counter this assumption and identify over 150 policy subject constructs. These subject variations suggest that while this policy initiative is about Latinos, it also becomes about different kinds of Latinos with varying degrees of citizenship, immigration experiences, class, gender, age, residency, and education. At the same, the WHIEEH is normalizing policy subjects as Hispanic. While the Hispanic term is often treated as a norm in federal government documents in the United States, it is a form of false universalism that threatens the WHIEEH's effort to better serve the community it purports to address (Rodriguez, 2013).

Some argue, that Latino is a more inclusive and politically progressive term (Rodriguez, 2008). The term Latino was developed from a grassroots effort to provide an alternative to the Hispanic term created by the federal government. The Hispanic term, according to Comas-Diaz, Hayes-Bautista, and Chapa (1987) first, developed and imposed by a government many felt did not adequately understand the population they were trying to enumerate. Secondly, the term was considered degrading by many individuals from Latin American descent as they are associated with histories of internalized colonization and domination by those who viewed their European ancestry as superior to the conquered indigenous peoples throughout Latin America.

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For instance, Rodriguez (2013) warned against false universalism, which he described "as the collective treatment of individuals, such as those from Latin American descent, without considering their heterogeneity occurs when the process logical induction is applied inappropriately" (p. 185). He goes on to state that, "false universalism, affects the collective treatment of a group of individuals, mistaken assumptions about their homogeneity, and the failure to acknowledge their complexity of interconnected variables that influence the group as individuals " (p. 185). By producing policy subjects in the WHIEEH as a normative, homogenous group, yet simultaneously acknowledging possible differences, there is bound to be groups that are excluded as policy subjects. When labels create an exclusive norm hierarchy will invariably result. To this end, Gomez (2002) dissuades us from focusing on the experiences of Mexican descent specifically as that restricts our understandings of the various cultural groups that make up persons from Latino American descent. By naming specific ethnic groups, namely Mexican and Puerto Rican, the WHIEEH is consequently excluding other groups.

The Role of Citizenship & Immigration in Latino Educational Opportunity

The WHIEEH also made numerous references to citizenship and immigration when referencing policy subjects. As a federal policy initiative, the WHIEEH made references to citizenship that suggested Latino educational opportunity is about Latinos with American citizenship. This is evidenced in the initiative name itself as the first three executive orders were called the White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans (See Executive Order No. 12729,

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1990; Executive Order No. 12900, 1994; Executive Order No. 13230, 2001). The current instantiation drops the American term in the title of the initiative however the policy documents within this current instantiation makes many references to citizenship to signal that the policy subjects are directed to those who hold US citizenship.

Other distinctions made within WHIEEH policy documents were the recognition of the varying educational experiences of "native born Hispanic students" and "foreign born Hispanics." These distinctions were explicitly made in recognition of the disparate social and economic conditions these communities experience. However, no solutions are offered in direct relationship to undocumented students throughout the first three instantiations of the WHIEEH. The current WHIEEH placed greater emphasis on the role of immigration in Latino educational opportunity as it is discussed in its latest report. Immigration is identified as the single most discussed topic brought up in all town hall meetings held throughout the country. The following statement was made in reference to immigration:

> Participants at every summit have voiced many concerns about immigration enforcement and expressed frustration that the Administration has not done enough to enact comprehensive immigration reform. Summit attendees shared personal stories and experiences with Administration officials. Throughout the summits, it has become apparent that the Administration's efforts to enact immigration reform legislation are not well known and the communities have concerns over the consistency of the implementation of policy changes (*An America Built to Last: White House Hispanic Community Action Summits Interim Report*, 2012, p. 12).

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This statement captures the frustration expressed by town hall meeting attendees regarding their discontent about immigration reform. As previously mentioned, the current WHIEEH has made more explicit connections about immigration and the role it plays in addressing Latino educational opportunity, however, it is unclear what the WHIEEH's role will be, if any, to mediate their concerns.

Latino Educational Opportunity as a Commodity

Through my archaeological analysis of the policy subjects in the WHIEEH policy documents, there is explicit naming of policy subjects. Genealogy enables me to examine, identify, and expose the unrecognized forms of power that exists. The marketplace discourse operating within the WHIEEH frames Latinos as economic commodities. For example, by identifying policy subjects as an "untapped resource" the WHIEEH is commoditizing Latinos as resources to be taken advantage of. Describing Latinos as "a major socio-economic force" further supports this notion that Latino contributions are to be monopolized and exploited.

A WHIEEH policy report described Latinos as the following, "This population must be recognized as a rich, untapped resource for raising the productivity of the nation's workforce and enhancing the lives of all Americans (*A Progress Report to the Secretary of Education from the President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans*, 1992, 5-2). Not only did this report suggest that Latino contributions are a resource but a commodity to enhance the lives of all Americans implies that it is for the purpose to benefit others. This discursive framing produces Latino educational opportunity as a commodification for the

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benefit of others. Latino educational opportunity is extended to benefit the global market as is evidenced in the following statement:

> Unequal educational outcome diminish the nation's ability to compete in the global economy, thus weakening its national fabric by not utilizing all of its human capital. The nation essentially is being robbed of the full intellectual, moral, and spiritual strengths of a major segment of the American population, Hispanic Americans (*Our Nation on the Fault Line Hispanic American Education Report*, 1996, p. 65).

The notion that institutions would produce students with the necessary knowledge and skills to contribute and drive the economy has led higher education being viewed as a commodity for private use as opposed to for a public good (McMahon, 2009). By relying on a market-driven discourse, Latino educational opportunity is being used as means to address and improve the market. McMahon's analysis is important since the focus on enhancing Latino educational opportunity through market mechanisms is occurring at a time when public funding and support for education is decreasing.

By relying on a market-driven discourse to construct the policy subjects of the WHIEEH, and discursively framing Latino educational opportunity in relationship to the economic well-being of the country as an implicit problem, the federal discursive construction of Latino educational opportunity is constructed in such a way that it can be variable to the market. Through these discursive framing, Latino educational opportunity is federally constructed through market-based language that can be volatile to economic pressures that counter the goals and objectives of the WHIEEH. Under this market-driven discourses it is important to

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remember the goals of the WHIEEH were framed to advance the development of human potential and to strengthen the capacity to provide quality education. By operating in a market-driven discourse, the WHIEEH regulates itself within discourses that do not enable Latino educational opportunity to be achieved, but rather requires them to be reactive to changing market demands. The WHIEEH should strive to improve Latino educational opportunity not as response to market pressures but for reasons of institutional and national integrity.

Latino Educational Opportunity as a National Imperative: But Who Is Accountable?

A Foucaldian analysis would suggest that the assumptions of a collective national concern embedded in the policy solutions represented in the WHIEEH needs to critiqued. Applied to this study, the genealogical approach interrupts taken-for granted assumptions embedded within policy while isolating the contingent power relations that make it possible for assertions to operate as truths (Ball, 1994). The WHIEEH identified numerous problems affecting Latino educational opportunity. As described in Chapter 5, these related to educational outcomes, quality of education, federal participation and social concerns affecting the Latino community. The problems are informed by a crisis discourse that suggests the gravity and urgency of the problem.

Through the archaeological analysis, problems identified by the WHIEEH remain unchanged over the past thirty years. All iterations of the WHIEEH identified poor outcomes as a major problem affecting Latino educational opportunity. The

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problems described low rates of participation in early childhood education programs, declines in educational attainment, high rates of high school drop out, and the achievement gap that exists between Latinos and other groups. All of the educational outcome based problems identified continued into each of the next iterations of the WHIEEH. The WHIEEH provides an extensive description of the problems affecting Latino educational opportunity but does not attribute any of the reasons why these educational outcomes persist. However, in one of early reports produced by the WHIEEH one of the reports suggests:

> The nature of the problem of education of Hispanic Americans is rooted in a refusal to accept, to recognize, and to value the central role of Hispanics in the past, present and future of this nation. The education of Hispanic Americans is characterized by a history of neglect, oppression, and periods of denial and opportunity (*Our Nation on the Fault Line*: *Hispanic American Education Report*, p. 13, 1996).

This statement attributes Latino educational outcomes to broader societal problems of negligence and contextualizes the educational outcomes to a broader history than the current conditions Latino students face. This is one of the few times in all of the WHIEEH policy documents that the problem is attributed to explicit disregard for the Latino community.

The solutions offered to address the extensive and pervasive problems affecting Latino educational opportunity were informed by an accountability discourse that called for greater partnerships and accountability. The accountability-based solutions were the most prominent types of solutions offered

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to address Latino educational opportunity and Mehta (2008) helps to depict how accountability measures have informed educational policy.

Broad support for accountability in the 1960's and 1970's helped to develop the influential report *A Nation at Risk*, by the National Commission on Excellence in Education. Mehta (2008) suggests, this report, was the culmination of two decades of growing concern over the performance of public education and created a new paradigm that continues to inform accountability discussions today. According to Mehta, this shift includes four elements:

> 1. It posited that the economic purpose of education in the most central one to America's future;
> 2. It shifted the focus from improving the lot of high poverty students to the need for improved performance by all students;
> 3. It emphasized that schools were the primary culprit for what it described as declining performance, and suggested that schools, and not broader social forces, were responsible for improvement; and
> 4. It specified that the outcome measure of success should be performance on quantitative tests.
> (p. 3).

These principles have had significant impact on American educational system. According to Mehta, the overall effect of this philosophy is that is has "a de-emphasis of more humanistic educational aims and an increased emphasis on goals of efficiency" (p. 3). What remains unclear is how accountability discourse helps improve Latino educational opportunity, particularly when the problems identified by the WHIEEH are not recognizing the structural and systemic inequities that contribute to the poor educational outcomes that the WHIEEH identifies.

While Latino educational opportunity remains framed as a national imperative requiring urgency and national attention, contradictions about how

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Latino educational opportunity and equity will be achieved persist. In the *Creating the Will: Hispanics Achieving Educational Excellence* report, it states,

> There must be a sense of urgency to resolve the educational achievement gap for Hispanics. Small, incremental improvements will not be enough. Hispanics' population growth and educational achievement gap require quantum leaps rather than small improvements. Local, state, and national leaders must fully commit themselves to the task (p.3, 2000).

This statement explicitly addresses the urgency of Latino educational opportunity. However, at the signing ceremony of Executive Order No. 13555 in October of 2010, President Obama gave the following statement,

> I know there will be cynics out there who say that this improvement that we're seeking is not possible; that the reforms won't work; the problems in our education system are too entrenched. It's easy to think that way. This initiative, for example, has been around for 20 years, and we still face many of the same challenges. And it's true, as I've said ever since I ran for this office -– and as everyone here knows firsthand -– that change is hard. Change takes time. Fixing what is broken in our education system will not be easy. We won't see results overnight. It may take years, even decades, for all these changes to pay off. But that's no reason not to get started. That's no reason not to strive for these changes. That's a reason for us, in fact, to start making them right now. It's a reason for us to follow through. And as long as I'm President, I will not give in to calls to shortchange any of our students.

Change does take time, but a rhetorical question endures: how much time must go on before Latino educational opportunity is improved? The notion that change requires time does not address the educational conditions that Latino students experience every day.

Additionally, this statement and sentiment contradicts the crisis discourse that is informing many of the problems the WHIEEH identifies needing to be addressed. The crisis discourse that is framing Latino educational opportunity as a

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national imperative contradicts the notion that change will require time. In the *Creating the Will: Hispanics Achieving Educational Excellence* report, data was presented and documented to express the national imperative Latino education must be in order to make dramatic improvements to Latino educational opportunity. The report compels, local, state, and national leaders to move to action and commit themselves to finding ways to improve Latino educational opportunity. That sense of urgency however, is trumped by statements that suggest that time is in fact part of the process. It might be that time, is also part of the problem. Ultimately, it is unclear how relying on an accountability discourse to frame the urgency as a national imperative, ultimately helps to improve Latino educational opportunity.

Recommendations for Future Research

Since "much of the action of government is language" (Fairclough, as cited in Ball, 2007, p. 2), policy discourse analysis provides an important and critical perspective to further explore the federal role in addressing Latino educational opportunity. Language, is a means through which social reality is constructed and maintained, and examining language and the ways in which it is used in federal policy is an important and area of further research. While the WHIEEH is the only federal policy initiative exclusively dedicated to Latino education, there are numerous policies that influence Latino educational opportunity that can be examined using a critical perspective.

The examination of the WHIEEH served as entry point to examine the federal role in constructing Latino educational opportunity, yet there is still much more to

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learn about this policy initiative's efforts and future role it will play in the Latino community and for Latino education. Critical theoretical perspectives such as critical discourse analysis, and policy discourse analysis, provide an influential understanding to the politics of discourse, power relations, and the discursive dimensions of policy texts. Based on the notion that policies serve as a discursive space, where political agendas are constituted and can be reconfigured, applying critical theoretical perspectives to policy efforts that pertain to improving educational conditions of student populations is an important are of research that warrants further exploration. Such a conceptual understanding affords critical and imperative opportunities to challenge, question, and discover the ways in which federal policies discursively construct other aspects of education, like accountability.

Important questions remain about how the discourse of accountability relate to how power is exercised within policy texts. The relationship between accountability and Latino educational opportunity as an area of study that should further be explored to understand to further understand to what end are accountability discourses informing other policy efforts. Poulson (1996) calls for further analysis and conceptualization, of accountability and the relationship of this concept to policy efforts as a fruitful area of future research. As accountability continues to play a greater role in education and policy efforts, the need to further understand accountability as a concept and as a discourse could not be more important.

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Recommendations for Policy

The WHIEEH is an important policy initiative to understand the federal role in Latino educational opportunity. This section will outline some significant recommendations for policies in local, state, and federal contexts that also address Latino educational opportunity.

The Importance of Inclusivity

Language has an important role in shaping belief systems and constructions of reality that inform policy and policy makers. One important finding of this analysis, was challenging assumptions about who policy targets are in policies. While WHIEEH's title suggest the policy initiative is about "Hispanics," it is important for policy makers and others responsible for influencing Latino educational opportunity, to remain vigilant about who is named in policy and consequent efforts. The silence can be loud for those who are not named in policy efforts as their experiences and needs may not be reflected in policy solutions. It is critical for policy to be inclusive of all intended policy efforts, as the exclusion of this naming can produce unintended consequences that may not have been intended. Barton (2004) contends that we must be cautious with the value-neutral assumptions that are represented in policy texts, as it frames the way we think and act, while at the same time limiting what we can see. Policy subjects, ultimately are the targets of who are policy efforts are aimed, and as Barton suggests we cannot make assumptions about who these targets include.

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The Role of Accountability

The role of accountability in policy efforts remains to be determined. While policy may be responsible for holding others accountable or for asking accounts to be provided to them, it is important for policy makers to have greater negotiations about how accountability is operating in their efforts. One of the ways this may be achieved is by democratizing the accountability process to ensure that all relevant parties are part of the negotiation of the accountability. Using the WHIEEH as an example, there is no clear understanding of who is held accountable for the solutions offered by this federal policy initiative let alone how or why the WHIEEH should be the entity holding others responsible. It is important for policy and/or policy efforts to be more explicit about the notion of accountability throughout the development of the policy efforts. It is also critical for accountability not to be an afterthought in policy efforts.

Enduring Questions

In closing, I'd like to offer two enduring questions that I continue to wrestle with in understanding Latino educational opportunity.

The Power of Naming

One of the enduring questions I am still left thinking about is how we can be more inclusive in our naming of policy subjects? I think this question has larger implications than policy contexts, and is a question addressed to researchers and scholars alike. As I continue to wrestle with the tension that exists within my own writing and scholarship, I am left still wondering how I am contributing to a homogenizing discourse that is not honoring multiple realities and perspectives.

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My choice to use Latino as the primary term in this study also bears consequences. Am I excluding those that do not identify with this term? Am I reifying a label that is offensive to some and empowering to others? My choice to use the term was to offer consistency to my readers, but what is the cost to this consistency? Is the cost worth it? I do not know that I am fully able to answer this question, as this analysis has taught me about the power of naming and exclusion.

Who Is Accountable For Latino Educational Opportunity?

Another question I am left wrestling with is the issue of accountability. Who *is* ultimately responsible for Latino educational opportunity? Who *should* be held accountable for ensuring that Latino educational equity is achieved? While I hold myself responsible for assisting and promoting Latino educational opportunity, this process has enabled me to explore why I feel that responsibility and how I hope to continue to be part of the process. As a Latina scholar and educator, how do I remain accountable to this effort?

Conclusion

Policies are neither neutral nor objective as they represent an outcome of a process that requires values to be debated and decided upon. Drawing from critical policy analysis, this study sought to investigate the contradictions, ambiguities and tensions that exist within and across the WHIEEH. This study raises important questions for us to consider, as policy efforts are developed to improve Latino educational opportunity. Applying policy discourse analyses to interrogate the WHIEEH provided a space to understand the federal discursive construction of Latino educational opportunity.

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This type of work is critical in order to construct federal policies that improve the educational conditions of all students not just Latino. Through questioning and problematizing seemingly neutral policy subjects, problems, and solutions, this study sought to understand the discourse that were informing the WHIEEH. Policy discourse analysis provided a space to interrogate the ways in policies are embedded in complex discursive formations that produce unintended consequences.

I conclude with a call for us to consider whether the programs, policies, and practices we enact to address Latino educational opportunity are based on real understandings of inequities that are pervasive in our social, economic, and educational system. It also important to consider whether the programs, policies and practices we enact to address Latino educational opportunity in local and state levels get at the real understandings of the inequities that are so pervasive in the Latino community. We must remain committed to continue to examine explicitly and implicitly the discourses that inform policies that inform Latino educational opportunity. Even though Latino educational equity in the United States remains to be achieved, the struggle for equity is still worth the effort.

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APPENDIX A. DESCRIPTION OF EVIDENTIARY SOURCES

Table A.1

Executive Orders that Constitute the White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanics

Text	*Description*	*Date*	*Author*
Executive Order 12729	President George H.W. Bush signed Executive Order 12729 to establish the White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanics (WHIEEH). This document stipulates the goals and objectives of the WHIEEH during his administration	September 24, 1990	President George H.W. Bush
Executive Order 12900	President William J. Clinton signed Executive Order 12900 renewing the WHIEEH. This document stipulates the goals and objectives of the WHIEEH during his administration	February 22, 1994	President William J. Clinton
Executive Order 13230	President George W. Bush signed Executive Order 13230 renewing the WHIEEH. This document stipulates the goals and objectives of the WHIEEH during his administration	October 17, 2001	President George W. Bush
Executive Order 13555	President Barack Obama signed Executive Order 13555 renewing the WHIEEH. This document stipulates the goals and objectives of the WHIEEH during his administration	October 22, 2010	President Barack Obama

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Table A.2

Official Reports Produced by the White House Initiative on Educational Excellence

Text	*Description*	*Date*	*Author*
A Progress Report To The Secretary Of Education From The PACEEH	A report prepared by the PACEEH. The progress report covers the following topics: (1) a snapshot of the status of Hispanics in relation to the National Education Goals; (2) the PACEEH's ongoing efforts to assemble and examine relevant information and expert opinion; (3) an analysis of the challenge faced by the nation in providing Hispanics with a quality education; (4) a statement of the PACEEH's vision for the major education-related themes it is addressing, including greater parental involvement and educational partnerships; and (5) finally, the PACEEH's proposed next steps for carrying out its responsibilities in support of educational excellence for Hispanic Americans and for increasing accountability in both governmental and	October 1992	Prepared by the PACEEH

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	the educational community to ensure that appropriate progress is made		
Our Nation On The Faultline: Hispanic American Education Report	First complete report produced by the WHIEEH which presenting data on educational conditions of Latinos, research findings, and highlights from town hall meetings	September 1996	Prepared by the PACEEH
What Works For Latino Youth	This report is a directory of programs throughout the U.S. dedicated to the educational development of Latino children and youth	September 2000	Prepared by the WHIEEH
Creating The Will: Hispanics Achieving Educational Excellence Report	A report to the President of the U.S., the Secretary of Education, and the Nation. Report provides an overview of the conditions of Latinos in education and how each education sector can help students achieve. Report offers recommendations for the next administration	September 2000	Prepared by the PACEEH
The Road To The College Diploma: The Complex Reality Of Raising Educational	The PACEEH defined five strategic imperatives: coordinating a national campaign for	September 2002	Prepared by the PACEEH

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Achievement For Hispanics In The United States Report	action; putting college on the radar screen; establishing measurable strategies and goals; abandoning one-size-fits-all thinking; and asking what works and for whom. This report explores the PACEEH's first 7 months of work		
From Risk To Opportunity: Fulfilling The Educational Needs Of Hispanic Americans In The 21st Century Report	This is the final report offered PACEEH outlining "The present crisis: The Latinization of America and offer six recommendations to close the achievement gap for Latino students	March 31, 2003	Prepared by the PACEEH
A Summary Of Activities, Accomplishments, And Hispanic Education Attainment: 2001-2008	This report presents the culmination of the activities conducted by the WHIEEH between 2001 and 2008	September 2008	Prepared by the WHIEEH
Winning The Future: Improving Education For The Latino Community	This document entails President Obama's vision for education: 2020 goal and the Latino community	April 2011	Prepared by the Department of Education and the WHIEEH

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Table A.3

Official Political Discourse Related to the White House Initiative on Educational Excellence

Text	*Description*	*Date*	*Author*
PACEEH Biographies	This document entails the professional experiences of appointed commissioners	No date listed	No author listed
PACEEH Full commission meeting agenda	PACEEH full commission meeting agenda	February 27-28, 2002	No author listed
PACEEH Full commission meeting minutes	PACEEH Full Commission meeting minutes	February 27-28, 2002	No author listed
PACEEH Full commission meeting transcripts	PACEEH full commission meeting transcription	February 27-28, 2002	No author listed
PACEEH Full commission meeting	PACEEH full commission meeting agenda	April 17-18, 2002	No author listed
PACEEH Full commission meeting minutes	PACEEH Full Commission meeting minutes	April 17-18, 2002	No author listed
PACEEH Full commission meeting transcript	PACEEH Full commission meeting transcript	April 17-18, 2002	No author listed
PACEEH Educator working group agenda	PACEEH Educator working group agenda	June 20, 2002	No author listed
PACEEH Family working group agenda	PACEEH Family working group agenda	June 25, 2022	No author listed

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PACEEH Government resources and accountability working group agenda	PACEEH Government resources and accountability working group agenda	July 12, 2002	No author listed
PACEEH Community partnerships working group agenda	PACEEH Community partnerships working group agenda	July 15, 2022	No author listed
PACEEH Public awareness working group agenda	PACEEH Public awareness working group agenda	July 22, 2002	No author listed
PACEEH Full commission meeting agenda	PACEEH Full commission meeting agenda	August 6, 2002	No author listed
PACEEH Full commission meeting minutes	PACEEH Full commission meeting minutes	August 6, 2002	No author listed
PACEEH Working group meetings agenda	PACEEH Working group meetings agenda	October 10-11, 2002	No author listed
PACEEH Full commission meeting agenda	PACEEH Full commission meeting agenda	December 16-17, 2002	No author listed
PACEEH Full commission meeting minutes	PACEEH Full commission meeting minutes	December 16-17, 2002	No author listed
PACEEH Full commission conference call agenda	PACEEEH Full commission conference call agenda	March 14, 2003	No author listed
Video of national education summit & call to action	Video of the national education summit & call to action. 5	October 18, 2010	Video recording provided by the U.S. Department

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	separate videos include over 6 hours of coverage of the event		of Education on usedgov YouTube channel
National education summit & call to action	Transcribed session notes from the national education summit	October 18, 2010	No author listed
Executive Order 1333 Signing Ceremony Video	Video of President Obama's signing Executive Order 13555	October 19, 2010	Video recording provided by the U.S. Department of Education on usedgov YouTube channel
Executive Order 13555 Signing Ceremony Transcript	Transcript of President Obama signing Executive Order 13555	October 19, 2010	Office of the Press Secretary
Moving America forward: President Obama's agenda for the Latino community	Document entails President Obama's agenda for the Latino community	No date listed	No author listed
Improving educational opportunities for Latino students	Document entails the Obama's administration advances to address Latino educational priorities	No date listed	No author listed

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APPENDIX B. LIST OF WHITE HOUSE INITIATIVE ON EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE DIRECTORS

Name	*Term of Office*	*Presidency*
Gilbert D. Roman	October 1990 - November 1990	George H.W. Bush
John Florez	September 1991 - January 1993	George H.W. Bush
Alfred Robert Ramirez	February 1994 - July 1997	William Clinton
Sarita E. Brown	August 1997 - December 2000	William Clinton
Leslie Sanchez	May 2001 - June 2003	George W. Bush
Maria Hernandez Ferrier (acting)	June 2003 - December 2003	George W. Bush
Adam Chavarria	December 2003 - January 2009	George W. Bush
Juan Sepúlveda	May 2009 – December 2011	Barack Obama
Jose Rico	December 2011 – December 2012	Barack Obama

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APPENDIX C. WHITE HOUSE INITIATIVE ON EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE REPORTS

Initiative	*Texts*	*Year*
Executive Order 12729 1990 - 1994	*A Progress Report to the Secretary Of Education From The President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence For Hispanic Americans*	1992
Executive Order 12900 1994 - 2001	*Our Nation on the Fault Line: Hispanic American Education Report*	1996 -1st edition 1998 – 2nd edition
	What Works for Latino Youth Report	1999
	Educational Standards, Assessment, and Accountability: A New Civil Rights Frontier	1999
	Creating The Will: Hispanics Achieving Educational Excellence Report	2000
Executive Order 13230 2001 - 2010	*The Road to the College Diploma Report: The Complex Reality Of Raising Educational Achievement For Hispanics in the United States*	2002
	From Risk To Opportunity: Fulfilling the Educational Needs Of Hispanic Americans in The 21st Century	2003
	Pathways To Hispanic Family Learning	2005

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	The American Competiveness Initiative: Challenges And Opportunities for Hispanic-Serving Institutions	2007
	A Summary Of Activities, Accomplishments and Hispanic Education Attainment: 2001-08	2008
Executive Order 13555 2010 - Present	*Winning the Future: Improving Education for The Latino Community Report*	2011
	National Education Summit	2010
	An America Built To Last: White House Hispanic Community Action Summits: Interim Report	2012

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APPENDIX D. SUBJECT CONSTRUCTIONS

Table D.1

Hispanic/Latino Variations
All Hispanic Americans
Central and S. American
Cuban
Cuban Americans
Hispanics of all ages
Hispanic
All Hispanic Americans
Hispanic American children (combining children on the continent and on the island of Puerto Rico)
Hispanic American children and youth
Hispanic American families
Hispanic American parents
Hispanic American parents with children in poor-performing public schools
Hispanic American students
Hispanic Americans
Hispanic Americans in general
Hispanic children
Hispanic children and their families
Hispanic children, youths, and adults
Hispanic community
Hispanic descent
Hispanic families
Hispanic family
Hispanic family- and, by definition, the extended family
Hispanic leaders and other community stakeholders
Hispanic parents
Hispanic parents in the education of their children
Hispanic population
Hispanic students
Hispanic students and families
Hispanic subgroups
Hispanic workers
Hispanic youth
Hispanic-Americans
Hispanics

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Hispanics and Latinos (Hispanics)
Hispanics in America
Hispanics of all ages
Hispanics of Mexican descent as a group
Latino
Latino communities
Latino community
Latino population
Latinos
Mexican
Mexican Americans
Other
Puerto Rican
Puerto Ricans

Table D.2

Citizenship
All Americans
All citizens, Hispanic and non-Hispanic
American child – his or her
American students
Americans
Americans of Hispanic origin
Children of Hispanic ancestry living in this country
Children of Hispanic migrant workers
Citizen concerns
First-or later-generation Hispanic young adults born in the United States
Foreign-born and native-born Hispanic
Foreign-born Hispanics, not U.S. citizens
Hispanic citizens born in the United States
Latino Americans are U.S. born citizens residing in the United States
Native born and foreign born Hispanics
Native born Latinos
Native born U.S. Hispanics
Non-citizen Hispanics
Those born in the United States and those born in Mexico
U.S. born Hispanics
U.S.- born and immigrant students

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Table D.3

Immigration
Children born in the U.S. to Mexican immigrants
Hispanic immigrant youth
Hispanic immigrants
Immigrant children
Latino immigrants, the vast majority of whom are 'legal'
Mexican children who immigrate before the age of five
Mexican immigrant (foreign-born) students and their U.S.-born Hispanic peers
Mexican immigrants
Migrant students
Native-born
Recent arrivals
Recent immigrants
The children of migrant and seasonal farm workers have special needs that place them at a greater disadvantage…
Undocumented students

Table D.4

Class
Hispanics and non-Hispanics alike - rich, middle-class, and poor
Low-income families in at-risk communities
Minority and economically disadvantaged students
Minority and low-income students
Poor Mexican Americans
Youth from low-income and language minority families

Table D.5

Gender
Latino males
Latino/African-American males

Table D.6

Age
All children of Hispanic heritage regardless of where they were born or when they came to this country
Children and young people of Hispanic origin
Children at risk
Children of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds

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Children who do not attend high-quality effective early intervention programs
Every child in this country- black, white, Latino, Asian, or Native American; regardless of color, class, creed
Hispanic children
Hispanic children and youth
Hispanic young adults
Hispanic young people
Hispanic youth
Latino children
Latino children and youth
Latino young people
Latino youth
Latino youth and those with limited English proficiency
Young Hispanic Americans
Young Hispanics
Young people

Table D.7

Location
Persons of Hispanic origin in the United Sates
Emerging Hispanic communities
Hispanic communities throughout the United States and Puerto Rico
Mexican population in the United States
Puerto Ricans living on the island of Puerto Rico
Residents of Puerto Rico
Schools with large concentrations of Hispanic Americans

Table D.8

Education
All our students
All students
Disadvantaged Hispanic students
Hispanic students
Latino student
Latino students
Minority and disadvantaged students
Minority students
Students

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Table D.9

Language
ELL students
English language learners
Latino students still learning the English language
LEP students
Puerto Rican and Mexican Spanish
School-age children with limited English proficiency
Students still learning the English language
Young people still learning English

Table D.10

Economic Promise
An untapped resource
Hispanic American population as a major socio-economic force
Hispanic American population as a major socio-economic force
Hispanic culture's strong work ethic, family consciousness, community-mindedness, and a patriotism…
Hispanics, are a young, family-oriented group who will continue to bring new consumer power and social growth and stability to the nation's communities well into the next century
This population must be recognized as a rich, untapped resource for raising the productivity of the nation's workforce and enhancing the lives of all Americans
Uneducated workforce

Table D.11

At-risk
Children at risk
Disadvantaged children
Fate of dropouts
Hispanic American students are at risk
Historically underserved
Students at risk of dropping out

Table D.12

Demographic growth
…fastest growing, and soon to be largest, minority population
As the fastest growing and youngest population group in the United States, Hispanic Americans,…

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Fastest growing community in the United States
Invisible minority
Latinization of America
Mexican phenomenon

Table D.13

Relationship to other groups

...Hispanic Americans as a group, it is important not to lose sight of the significant diversity among the origin groups that are included in the Hispanic American population.
Analyses that do not distinguish among subgroups within the Latino population may give misleading impressions of educational prospects, because the obstacles differ in some ways among these groups
Hispanic and other culturally and linguistically diverse student groups
Latino/African-American
Other Hispanic subgroups
The terms "Hispanic' and 'Latino' are used interchangeably in this report, and refer to a group of Americans who share common cultural origins and language. However, Hispanic-Americans come from diverse nations and backgrounds with distinctive histories and distinctive socio-economic and political experiences

U.S. Hispanic population and it's subgroups

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APPENDIX E. PROBLEM CONSTRUCTIONS

Table E.1

Problems identified by the WHIEEH- President George W. Bush

Educational Outcomes
Declines in educational attainment
Failing to meet National Education Goals compared to other groups
Smaller enrollment in college
Rates of high school drop out
Low educational achievement

Social Concerns
Health
Employment
Language obstacles

International Standing
Nation's ability to reinvigorate the workforce

National Imperative
Commitment of entire country
Problems do not belong to government but to each and every citizen

Table E.2

Problems identified by the WHIEEH – President William J. Clinton

Educational Outcomes
Progress of Latinos toward achievement of National Education Goals
Educational attainment
Pre-school enrollment
Disparity between Latinos and other groups
Drop out
Adult literacy levels
Achievement gap

Quality of Education
Development, monitoring, and coordination of federal goals to promote high-quality education
Improving educational conditions
Denial of equitable educational opportunity
Inadequate school funding
Segregation in inadequate schools
Inequity in school financing

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Lack of sufficient bilingual and English as a Second language programs and teachers
Misuse of assessment and testing
Multicultural training for school personnel

Federal Participation
Development, monitoring, and coordination of federal goals to promote high-quality education
Expand and complement federal education initiatives
Shift away from federal mandates and performance standards in education
Lack of adequate planning or accountability procedures to gauge Latino participation
A coordinated and intentional agenda for action

National Imperative
Increase state, private, and community involvement
Collective and collaborative response of the nation
Latino education vital to national interest
Nation's economic well-being
Enriches nations cultural and linguistic resources as a nation
All sectors-public and private- have a vested interest and responsibility to improve the education of Hispanic youth

Representation
Underrepresentation of Hispanics among school personnel

Social Concerns
Bilingualism as a liability

Table E.3
Problems Identified by the WHIEEH – President George W. Bush

Educational Outcomes
Achievement gap
Lowest participation in early childhood programs
Highest high school drop out rate
High rates of suspension and expulsion
Lowest college graduation rate
Academic preparation

Quality of Education
Evidence of success
Poor academic instruction
Low expectations
Lack of quality early childhood education programs

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Limited parental and community engagement choices
Poor academic instruction
Not enough scientific research to drive instruction
Teachers and college faculty- who are poorly prepared to teach Hispanic students

Federal Participation
Federal education program need to have performance measures to gauge results
Federal government does not adequately monitor, measure, and coordinate programs and research to the benefit of Hispanic American children and families
No accountability for results

Social Concerns
Poverty
High mobility and limited parental time
Upward mobility
Income potential
Financial security
Low expectations
Low societal expectations

National Imperative
Critical to U.S. Economy
Economic consequences of an uneducated workforce will strain the U.S. economy

Table E.4
Problems Identified by the WHIEEH – President Barack H. Obama

Educational Outcomes
Low participation in early childhood education programs
Low high school graduate rates
Inadequately prepared for college
Adult literacy skills
Drop out of high school

Quality of Education
Attend low-performing schools
Large class sizes
Quality of early childhood education programs

Social Concerns
Unemployment rates
Immigration enforcement
Comprehensive immigration reform

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National Imperative
Not just a Latino problem, it is an American problem
Latino success in education and in the labor market is of both immediate and long-term importance to America's economy

International Standing
International competition
Out-innovate, out-educate, and out-build the rest of the world

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APPENDIX F. SOLUTION CONSTRUCTIONS

Table F.1

Solutions Identified by the WHIEEH- President George W. Bush

Asset Based
Hispanic Americans as a major socio-economic force
Potential of Latino contributions
Improving the nation's ability to reinvigorate its workforce so it can compete successfully in the world market
Rich, untapped resource for raising the productivity of the nation's workforce and enhancing the lives of all Americans

Accountability Based
Development and monitoring of federal efforts to promote quality education
Completing the inventory of education-related Federal programs
Data collection activities for Hispanic education

Partnership Based
Enhancing parental involvement
Increase private sector and community involvement
Development and monitoring of federal efforts to promote quality education
Establishing linkages among public and private educational institutions, government, and the private sector
Encouraging the establishment and development of a national Hispanic council

Cultural Based
Language achievement
Cultural awareness
Empowerment
Community and political empowerment in Hispanic communities

Quality Based
Promoting early childhood education
Promote quality education

Table F.2

Solutions Identified by the WHIEEH – President William J. Clinton

Quality Based
Equitable and quality educational system
Improving the quality of instruction at every point along the educational continuum
Improving the conditions of schools

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Accountability Based

Development, monitoring, and coordination of federal efforts to promote high-quality education

Executive department prepare a plan for, and document, the agency's effort to increase Hispanic American participation in Federal education programs on the following:

- Elimination of unintended regulatory barriers to Hispanic American participation in Federal education programs
- The adequacy of announcements of program opportunities of interest to Hispanic-serving school districts
- Ways of eliminating educational inequalities and disadvantages faced by Hispanic Americans

Compel local, state, and federal policy makers to take serious and immediate action to improved the educational attainment of Hispanic Americans

Challenging Federal, state, and local agencies to provide Hispanic Americans with equitable opportunities

Challenging the corporate sector to provide Hispanic Americans more support and opportunities to enter all sectors of the work force and at every level and

Designing and promoting appropriate use of testing and assessment to enhance high quality instruction

Partnership Based

Increase state, private, and community involvement in improving education

Collective commitment and concentrated action of every sector to raise the educational achievement of all Hispanic students to the same level of excellence as other students in America by 2010

Cultural Based

Affirmation of the value and dignity of Hispanic communities, families, and individuals

Public school systems must value and affirm the culture of Hispanic students by providing quality education services and becoming more community oriented

Improving the knowledge, skills, and cross-cultural competencies and effectiveness of teachers and administrators

Recognizing the many talents Hispanic students bring to the classroom

Funding Based

Ensure that state and local governments equitably allocate the necessary resources in public school funding for academic support and capital improvements to schools with large concentrations of Hispanic Americans.

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Table F.3

Solutions Identified by the WHIEEH – President George W. Bush

Accountability Based

The appropriate role of Federal agencies' education programs in helping Hispanic parents successfully prepare their children to graduate from high school and attend post secondary institutions.

A multi-year plan, based on the data collected concerning identification of barriers to and successful models for closing the educational achievement gap for Hispanic Americans, that provides for a coordinated effort among parents, community leaders, business leaders, educators, and public officials at the local, State, and Federal levels to close the educational achievement gap for Hispanic Americans and ensure attainment of the goals established by the President's ''No Child Left Behind'' educational blueprint.

The development of a monitoring system that measures and holds executive branch departments and agencies accountable for the coordination of Federal efforts among the designated executive departments and agencies to ensure the participation of Hispanic Americans in Federal education programs and promote high-quality education for Hispanic Americans

Focusing resources on proven educational methods and expanding choices for parents—should be the criteria by which the Commission would evaluate and assess model programs and identify best practices

Increase the accountability and coordination of programs within the federal government to better serve Hispanic American children and their families

Partnership Based

Available research and information on the effectiveness of current practices involving Hispanic parents in the education of their children

The appropriate role of Federal agencies' education programs in helping Hispanic parents successfully prepare their children to graduate from high school and attend post secondary institutions.

The identification of successful methods employed throughout the Nation in increasing parental, State and local, private sector, and community involvement in improving education for Hispanic Americans

Closing the education gap for Hispanic children requires a coordinated, national campaign that will integrate the efforts of students, parents, educators, community and business leaders and public officials at the local, state and Federal levels.

The Commission, through the work of the Community and Faith-Based Initiatives Working Group, wants to emphasize the importance and relevance of community and faith-based partnerships in closing the educational achievement gap for Hispanic Americans

Our plan recognizes that the effort must be pursued by parents; faith-based, community, and business leaders; educators; and public officials at the local,

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state and federal levels
The White House Initiative also recognizes that public and private institutions, in addition to the family, are essential elements that will contribute to the educational growth and development of children, youths, and adults
Hispanic Serving Institutions have an important role to play in preparing this talent and leading the nation in critical research and innovation

Cultural Based
For many Hispanic parents and their children, language and cultural differences, as well as unfamiliarity with the educational system, hinder their ability to envision a college degree as an achievable goal. The Commission will continue to evaluate the results of a public awareness campaign to raise the ceiling of educational aspirations for Hispanic families
Set new and high expectations across America for Hispanic
American children by: helping parents navigate the educational system, creating partnerships that can provide expanded options for children, and implementing a nationwide public awareness and motivation campaign aimed at increasing educational attainment and achieving the goal of a college education
Reinforce a high-quality teaching profession by more fully preparing all teachers to address the diverse needs of their students, including Hispanics, those with disabilities and those with limited English proficiency by attracting more Hispanics to the teaching profession, and by providing incentives and compensation for successful performance as evidenced by improved student achievement

Research Based
Available research and information on the effectiveness of current practices at the local, State, and Federal levels in closing the educational achievement gap for Hispanic Americans and attaining the goals established by the President' s " No Child Left Behind" educational blueprint
Our research data are woefully insufficient concerning the impact of important characteristics such as nationality, legal status and linguistic challenges on the academic success of Hispanic children. We know far too little about which programs or strategies work best and for whom. We need new scientific research
Initiate a new coherent and comprehensive research agenda on the educational development of Hispanic Americans across the educational spectrum from preschool through postsecondary

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Table F.4

Solutions Identified by the WHIEEH – President Barack H. Obama

Accountability Based

Help ensure that Federal programs and initiatives administered by the Department and other agencies are serving and meeting the needs of Hispanic children, youths, and adults

We're challenging programs that don't measure up to compete for their funding, because if you're receiving tax dollars, you'd better be able to deliver results for our children

Competitive Based

Policies that would require low performing programs to compete for funding to ensure that children and families are served by the most capable providers

Cultural Based

The Obama Administration recognizes the importance of the Hispanic community and its families in supporting their children's education, because a parent is a child's first teacher. We must support families, communities, and schools working in partnership to deliver services and supports that address the full range of needs of Hispanic students

Partnership Based

Work closely with the Executive Office of the President on key Administration priorities related to the education of Hispanics

Encourage and develop partnerships with public, private, philanthropic, and nonprofit stakeholders to improve Hispanics' readiness for school, college, and career, as well as their college persistence and completion

Minority-Serving Institutions (MSIs), which collectively prepare half of all minority teachers, can play a major role in developing the next generation of effective teachers for high-need schools including Latino teachers

Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs) are essential to our higher education system and vital sources of strength for our Nation's students

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APPENDIX G. DATA CODING EXEMPLAR

Federal Register **65417**

Vol. 75, No. 204

Friday, October 22, 2010

Title 3— The President **Presidential Documents**

Executive Order 13555 of October 19, 2010

White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for His- panics

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, to restore the country to its role as the global leader in education, to strengthen the Nation by expanding educational opportunities and improving educational outcomes for Hispanics and Latinos (Hispanics) of all ages, and to help ensure that all Hispanics receive an education that properly prepares them for college, productive careers, and satisfying lives, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. *Policy.* At more than 52 million strong, including 4 million in Puerto Rico, Hispanics constitute the country's largest and fastest growing minority group. They have had a profound and positive impact on our country through, among other things, their community's strong commitment to family, faith, hard work, and service. Many Hispanics contribute to this Nation bilingually in the English and Spanish languages—a true asset for our country in an increasingly global, interdependent world.

Hispanic students are the largest minority group in our Nation's schools, numbering more than 11 million in our public elementary and secondary school system, and constituting more than 22 percent of all pre-K-12 students. Hispanic students face educational challenges of crisis proportions. Fewer than half of all Hispanic children participate in early childhood education programs, and far too few Hispanic students graduate from high school; of those who do complete high school, many are not adequately prepared for college. Only 12 percent of adult Hispanics have a bachelor's degree, and just 3 percent have completed graduate or professional

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degree programs. At the same time, large numbers of Hispanic adults lack the education or literacy skills they need to advance their careers; they also are less likely than members of other groups to have taken job- or career-related courses, with the exception of basic education classes, such as English as a second language.

Our country was built on and continues to thrive on its diversity, and there is no doubt that the future of the United States is inextricably linked to the future of the Hispanic community. To reach the ambitious education goals we have set for our Nation, as well as to ensure equality of opportunity for all, we must provide the opportunities that will enable Hispanic students to raise their educational attainment at every level of the American education system. America's future competitiveness in our global economy will be substantially enhanced by improving educational outcomes for Hispanics.

Sec. 2. *White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanics.* (a) **Establishment.** There is established the White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanics (Initiative), to be housed in the Department of Education (Department). The mission of the Initiative shall be to help restore the United States to its role as the global leader in education and to strengthen the Nation by expanding educational opportunities and improving educational outcomes for Hispanics of all ages and by helping to ensure that all Hispanics receive a complete and competitive education that prepares them for college, a career, and productive and satisfying lives.

(b) **Initiative Administration.** There shall be an Executive Director of the Initiative, to be appointed by the Secretary of Education (Secretary). The Initiative shall be advised by the Commission established under section 3 of this order and supported by the Working Group established under subsection (c) of this section. The Department shall provide the staff, resources, and assistance for the Initiative and the Working Group. To the extent permitted by law, departments, agencies, and offices represented on the Working Group shall provide resources, including personnel detailed to the Initiative, to assist the Department in meeting the objectives of this order.

(c) **Interagency Working Group.**

(1) There is established the Federal Interagency Working Group on Educational Excellence for Hispanics (Working Group), which shall be convened and chaired by the Initiative's Executive Director.

(2) The Working Group shall consist of senior officials from the Department, the

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White House Domestic Policy Council, the Department of Labor, and the Department of Health and Human Services, as well as such additional departments, agencies, and offices as the President may designate. Senior officials shall be designated by the heads of their respective departments, agencies, and offices.

(3) The Initiative's Executive Director may establish subgroups of the Working Group to focus on different aspects of the educational system or educational challenges facing Hispanics, such as early childhood education, K/12 education, higher education, career and technical education, language acquisition, and adult education.

(d) **Initiative Objectives.**

(1) To expand educational opportunities, improve education outcomes, and deliver a complete and competitive education for all Hispanics, the Initiative shall, consistent with law, promote, encourage, and undertake efforts designed to meet the following objectives:

(i) increasing general understanding of the causes of the educational challenges faced by Hispanic students;

(ii) increasing the percentage of Hispanic children who enter kindergarten ready for success by improving access by Hispanics to high-quality pro- grams and services that encourage the early learning and development of children from birth through age 5;

(iii) implementing successful and innovative education reform strategies and practices in America's public schools to ensure that Hispanic students, like their peers, receive a rigorous and well-rounded education, and have access to student support services that will prepare them for college, a career, and civic participation;

(iv) ensuring that all Hispanic students have access to excellent teachers and school leaders, in part by supporting efforts to improve the recruitment, preparation, development, and retention of successful Hispanic teachers and school leaders and other effective teachers and school leaders responsible for the education of Hispanic students;

(v) reducing the dropout rate of Hispanic students and helping Hispanic students graduate from high school prepared for college and a career, in part by promoting a positive school climate and supporting successful and innovative dropout prevention and recovery strategies that better engage Hispanic youths in their learning, help them catch up academically, and provide those who have left the

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educational system with pathways to reentry;

(vi) increasing college access and success for Hispanic students and providing support to help ensure that a greater percentage of Hispanics complete college and contribute to the goal of having America again lead the world in the proportion of college graduates by 2020, in part through strategies to strengthen the capacity of Hispanic-Serving Institutions, community colleges, and other institutions of higher education serving large numbers of Hispanic students; and

(vii) enhancing the educational and life opportunities of Hispanics by fostering positive family and community engagement, improving the quality of, and expanding access to, adult education, literacy, and career and technical education, as well as increasing opportunities for education and career advancement in the fields of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics.

(2) In working to fulfill its mission and objectives, the Initiative shall, consistent with law:

(i) help ensure that Federal programs and initiatives administered by the Department and other agencies are serving and meeting the needs of Hispanic children, youths, and adults;

(ii) work closely with the Executive Office of the President on key Administration priorities related to the education of Hispanics;

(iii) increase the Hispanic community's participation in, and capacity to participate in, the Department's programs and education-related pro- grams at other executive departments and agencies;

(iv) advise Department officials and, through the Working Group, other agency officials on issues related to the Hispanic community and the educational attainment of Hispanic students;

(v) advise the Secretary on the development, implementation, and coordination of educational programs and initiatives at the Department and other agencies designed to improve educational opportunities and outcomes for Hispanics of all ages;

(vi) encourage and develop partnerships with public, private, philanthropic, and nonprofit stakeholders to improve Hispanics' readiness for school, college, and career, as well as their college persistence and completion; and

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(vii) develop a national network of individuals, organizations, and communities to share and implement best practices related to the education of Hispanics.

(3) The Initiative shall periodically publish reports on its activities. The Secretary and the Executive Director of the Initiative, in consultation with the Interagency Working Group and the Chair of the Commission established under section 3 of this order, may develop and submit to the President recommendations designed to advance and promote educational opportunities and attainment for Hispanics, including recommendations for short- and long-term initiatives.

(e) **Collaboration Among White House Initiatives.** The White House Initiatives on Educational Excellence for Hispanics, Historically Black Colleges and Universities, Tribal Colleges and Universities, and Asian-American and Pacific Islanders shall work together whenever appropriate in light of their shared objectives.

Sec. 3. *President's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for His- panics.* There is established the President's Advisory Commission on Edu- cational Excellence for Hispanics (Commission) in the Department.

(a) **Commission Mission and Scope.** The Commission shall advise the President and the Secretary on matters pertaining to the educational attainment of the Hispanic community, including:

(1) developing, implementing, and coordinating educational programs and initiatives at the Department and other agencies to improve educational opportunities and outcomes for Hispanics of all ages;

(2) increasing the participation of the Hispanic community and Hispanic Serving Institutions in the Department's programs and in education programs at other agencies;

(3) engaging the philanthropic, business, nonprofit, and education communities in a national dialogue regarding the mission and objectives of this order; and

(4) establishing partnerships with public, private, philanthropic, and non-profit stakeholders to meet the mission and policy objectives of this order.

The Commission shall meet periodically, but at least twice a year, and may work through task forces composed exclusively of Commission members, as appropriate.

(b) **Commission Membership and Chair.** (1) The Commission shall consist of no more than 30 members appointed by the President. The Commission may include

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individuals with relevant experience or subject matter expertise that the President deems appropriate, as well as individuals who may serve as representatives of a variety of sectors, including the education sector (early childhood education, elementary and secondary education, higher education, career and technical education, and adult education), labor organizations, research institutions, corporate and financial institutions, public and private philanthropic organizations, and nonprofit and community-based organizations at the national, State, regional, or local levels.

(2) The President shall designate one of the members to serve as Chair of the Commission, who shall work with the Initiative's Executive Director to convene regular meetings of the Commission, determine its agenda, and direct its work, consistent with this order.

(c) **Commission Administration.** The Executive Director of the Initiative shall also serve as the Executive Director of the Commission and administer the work of the Commission. The Department shall provide funding and administrative support for the Commission, to the extent permitted by law. Members of the Commission shall serve without compensation but shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law for persons serving intermittently in the Government service (5 U.S.C. 5701–5707). Insofar as the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (5 U.S.C. App.) (Act), may apply to the administration of the Commission, any functions of the President under the Act, except that of reporting to the Congress, shall be performed by the Secretary, in accordance with the guidelines issued by the Administrator of General Services.

Sec. 4. *General Provisions.* (a) This order supersedes Executive Order 13230 of October 12, 2001.

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APPENDIX H. REFLEXIVITY STATEMENT

The experience of pursuing a doctoral degree and writing this dissertation has provided me with the privilege to engage in the intellectually curiosity of what Latino educational opportunity means in federal policy. When someone asked me why I pursued a Ph.D., I would always respond with, 'I really enjoy learning.' This response was usually followed with a pondering look and a statement along the lines of 'really?' My intellectual curiosity brought me to move thousands of miles away from home to a place that I have often described that made me feel like a foreigner in "my own" country. A place that was unfamiliar yet simultaneously familiar to the racism and discrimination my parents had described they had experienced when they arrived to this country in the 1970's. While I am not comparing my privileged experience to my parents who did not speak English, and were not validated for the capital they had as immigrants, I do think that living in the Midwest was oddly familiar. Oddly familiar to the struggles that my parents shared with me and my brothers and a constant reminder of the role that my family and my family's migration plays to my work.

My Relationship to the Topic

My decision to understand Latino educational opportunity stems from addressing my journey as a Mexican American, Latina, first-generation, low-income college student. As I thought about my own relationship with education, and those of my family, I realized that my curiosity was more than an intellectual curiosity but rather a personal commitment to understanding and promoting Latino educational opportunity. As I reflected upon my undergraduate experience, I realized that I was

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engaged in the practice of promoting Latino educational opportunity long before I had intellectualized it. My professional career was also committed to educational opportunity as I spent most of my student affair experience in outreach, admissions, and developing mentoring programs for Latino students.

When I thought about the topics I would choose to write about in class, or the topics that I would engage most with my colleagues and friends, it always almost was related to educational opportunity and equity, and more likely the educational (in)equity of Latino students and other students of color. My intellectual curiosity, emotional, and spiritual connection to the topic, stems from my personal commitment to understand, advocate, and learn more about educational opportunity for Latinos and other historically marginalized groups.

My Relationship to the "Data"

My interest in understanding the role of federal policy in Latino educational opportunity came from my interest in learning more about Hispanic Serving Institutions and the role they play in promoting Latino educational opportunity. As someone who cared deeply about Latino education and had worked in student affairs for over 10 years, I was a little concerned that I had not heard of the WHIEEH and was intrigued to learn more. Having worked at an HSI institution and with a Title V grant, I initially wanted to learn more about HSI's and the role they played in Latino educational opportunity so I thought the WHIEEH was the best place to start since, it is the only federal policy exclusively dedicated to Latino education. As I began to learn more about the topic and my interest in critical discourse analysis and policy discourse analysis simultaneously grew, I thought it would be a worthy

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endeavor to engage in a critical policy discourse analysis of the topic. The intersections of race and immigration were salient notions and experiences that informed this project. As a racialized person and a daughter of immigrant parents, these experiences have shaped how I've come to see and experience the world. Based on this context, I decided to spend the past four years learning more about Latino educational opportunity and engaged in this project aimed to how federal policy discursively shapes Latino educational opportunity and equity.

On Latino Word Choice

I cannot find the words to adequately articulate and describe the tension that I have experienced in using the term "Latino" to describe the "subject" at stake in this inquiry. While I spent time reading about the complexities of identity and terminology, and I as I reflect upon my own self-identity and the thought process I have undergone to self-identify, I am still left with the tension of the consequences of my choice.

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