Return of the Deficit

Curt Dudley-Marling
Lynch School of Education, Boston College

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Excerpted

> What is it about school that manages to transform children who are good at learning . . . regardless of their economic and cultural differences, into children who are not good at learning, if they are poor or members of certain minority groups?" (Gee, 2004, p. 10)

Education as the great leveler of social class is one of the enduring myths of American culture. With hard work and a good education "any American can grow up to be president." It was in this context that the *Brown v. Bd. of Education* decision of the US Supreme Court held such hope for African Americans. After decades of "inherently unequal," separate schooling sanctioned by the Supreme Court's *Plessy* decision, integrated classrooms and schools required by the Brown decision promised an antidote to the poverty and discrimination that limited the life chances of African Americans.

The persistent achievement gap between Black (and Hispanic) students and their White counterparts (NAEP, 2003) and the re-segregation of American schools (Kozol, 2005a; Orfield & Yun, 1999) mock the promise of *Brown*. The reality of increasingly segregated schools in American cities has led many Americans, including Black Americans

> to set aside the promises of Brown . . . to settle for the promise made more than a century ago in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the 1896 Supreme Court ruling in which 'separate but equal' was accepted as a tolerable rationale for the perpetuation of a dual system in American society. (Kozol, 2005a, p. 34)

The evidence indicates, however, that accepting *separate* schools means settling for "savage inequalities" that characterize segregated schooling in the United States (Kozol, 1992, 2005a). Compared to affluent, predominantly White suburban schools, urban schools overpopulated by poor Black and Hispanic students are more likely to suffer from poorly maintained and overcrowded facilities, shortages of qualified teachers, an insufficiency of instructional resources and materials, and impoverished curricula that emphasize "basic skills" to the exclusion of challenging curricula enacted in more affluent school districts (Kozol, 2005a).

No Child Left Behind (NCLB) has rightly focused on children who have, academically, been "left behind," a group in which poor Black and Hispanic children are over represented. Arguably, the testing and accountability mandates of *NCLB* insure that even *separate* schooling is *equal*; however, the evidence indicates that the principal effect of *NCLB* on students "left behind" is a narrow, skills-based "pedagogy of poverty" (Haberman, 1991, p. 290) "alleged to be aligned with governmentally established goals and standards and . . . suited to what are regarded as 'the special needs and learning styles' of low-income children" (Kozol, 2005a, pp. 63-64). The "special needs and learning styles" of low-income children are, in reality, code for presumed

deficiencies in the language, culture, and experiences of poor and minority children and their families (e.g., Hart & Risley, 1995; Payne, 2005). The danger is that a "pedagogy of poverty," by limiting low-income students' opportunities to experience rich, engaging curricula that characterizes the education of children in affluent schools, contributes to a process by which "intelligent, creative, cultured children [are] transformed . . . into seemingly 'slow,' deficited, acultured beings" (Gee, in Rogers, ix, 2003).

[…]

Consequences of a Deficit Gaze

Theories of cultural deprivation that emerged in the context of the War on Poverty and desegregation in the 1960s have re-emerged in the context of *No Child Left Behind* and the re-segregation of American schools. No child profits from a perspective that portrays her family or her community as deprived or deficient; however, a deficit stance per se is not problematic, but what comes from this stance is. A deficit gaze that pathologizes individuals, families, and communities is instantiated in pedagogical practices and dispositions that are primarily responsible for disproportionate levels of failure among poor and minority populations. In this concluding section, I consider the negative effects of a deficit gaze on poor students, their families and communities and for a progressive vision of a democratic society.

Consequences of deficit gaze on students

The deficit gaze is underpinned by a behavioral model of learning in which learning is operationally defined in terms of hierarchical sets of discrete skills and low- achieving students are constructed as people in need of de-contextualized skills and sub-skills. In this formulation, overcoming learning deficiencies – learning the right skills – requires more time and better methods. Linking learning to time leads to a general intensification of schooling, including longer school days, longer school years, more homework, increased use of grade retention, and, too often, the elimination of "frills" like art, music, and even recess that take time away from learning skills. Linking learning to methods leads to a "methods fetish" (Bartolomé, 1994) in which teaching is reduced to technique and students to test scores.

Inevitably, the behaviorist theories that undergird the deficit gaze lead to standardized curricula – really methods – as a means of ensuring quality control; that is, making sure that everyone learns the right skills, at the right time. Students are constructed as so many widgets – put in raw material (skills) at one end, treat it all in exactly the same way, and there will emerge at the other end a predictable and standardized product (Kohn, 2000). This deficit gaze renders students' background knowledge and experiences irrelevant, or worse, *risk factors*. In the context of*method*, students' background knowledge, culture, and experience are separated from the curriculum and are unavailable as resources to support students' learning, making learning more difficult. Bartolomé (1994) warns that separating students from "their culture, language, history, and values," reduces students "to the status of subhumans who need to be rescued from their 'savage' selves" (p. 176). Separating school learning from students' background knowledge and experience also makes it difficult for many students to see schools as places that have anything to do with them. To the degree that students' knowledge and language are permitted in the

classroom, they are there so that they can be evaluated for "correctness." However, as the discussion of Ruby Payne and Hart and Risley illustrates, the language of children from affluent homes is more likely to be valued by schools and the larger society as "correct" than the language of children from poor families which is typically portrayed as deficient. Arguably, the representation of students' language, culture, and lived experience as deficient contributes to student alienation, which many school critics see as the root cause of high levels of school failure in non-middle-class communities (McCarthy and Crichlow, 1993).

Linking learning to narrow constructions of *method* leads to dreary, de-humanizing, "proto-militaristic" (Kozol, 2005a) curricular practices in which there is little meaning or joy. The relentless focus on "best methods" (for teaching skills) separates learning to read from reading, for example, denying many students opportunities to read authentic, connected texts, a crucial experience in learning to read (Allington, 2005; Gee, 2004). Absurdly, in the context of the methods fetish, books may be seen as a threat to learning reading skills. Overall, the obsession with "skills" leads to impoverished curricula that deny large numbers of poor children, the rich, meaningful learning opportunities common in more affluent communities (Anyon, 1980; Bartolomè, 1994; Kozol, 2005a). Arguably, these differential curriculum practices contribute to increased failure among poor and minority students as they pass through the grades (Gee, 2004), a process by which the rich get richer. This circumscribed "pedagogy of poverty" (Haberman, 1991), enacted in many poor, urban schools, "manages to transform children who are good at learning . . . into children who are not good at learning, if they are poor or members of certain minority groups?" (Gee, 2004, p. 10).

Consequences of deficit gaze on families, communities, and a democratic society

In Annie Proulx's (1994) novel, *The Shipping News*, Quoyle, the main character, shares his worries about his daughter, who is about to start school, with his aunt, to which she replies:

> Why don't you just wait, Nephew. See how it goes. I agree with you that she's different, you might say she is a bit strange sometimes, but you know, we're all different [but] we learn how to disguise our differentness as we grow up. Bunny doesn't do that yet. (p. 134)

We all learn to hide many of our idiosyncrasies, but the deficit model demands more – much more. For many non-middle-class Americans, cultural and linguistic differences are constructed as deficiencies that must be overcome – or fixed – by learning the appropriate or correct cultural and linguistic practices of the middle-class. For these students, the price of success in school (and in society more generally) is rejection of the language and culture of their communities and families. For many non-middle-class students, this is too high a price to pay for school success (Ogbu, 1999).

Gloria Ladson-Billings (1994) identified *respect* – for students, for their families, and for their cultures – as a fundamental trait among successful teachers of African American students. Characterizing students' ways with words and their ways in the world as deficient is a quintessentially disrespectful act. To quote Geneva Smitherman: "[W]hen you lambast the home

language that kids bring to school, you ain just dissin dem, you talking bout they mommas!" (in Wheeler & Swords, 2004, p. 472).

Finally, deficit approaches to education that aim to remake poor and minority children in the image of the dominant, middle-class are antithetical to fundamental principles of a participatory democracy. A US Department of State website offers the following observation about the relationship between diversity and democracy.

> Democracies make several assumptions about human nature. One . . . is that any society comprises a great diversity of interests and individuals who deserve to have their voices heard and their views respected. As a result, one thing is true of all healthy democracies: They are noisy. (US Department of State, International Information Programs, online)

Political philosopher Chantal Mouffe (2006) argues that democracies are necessarily noisy – and messy. For Mouffe, democracies are characterized by intense, vigorous clashes among various ideas and values. A leveling of cultural and linguistic differences – in the name of school success – undermines the schooling of poor and minority children as it does violence to democratic participation. From this point of view, providing rich, engaging curricula that is respectful of the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of all American school children is in everyone's interest.

A Perilous Policy Path: Grade Retention in the Age of NCLB

Author: ***Pamela Powell, Ed. D.***
Northern Arizona University
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Consequences of Grade Retention

The existing theory regarding grade retention is that it is probably ineffective as a strategy to improve academic achievement or increase personal adjustment (Holmes, 1989; Holmes and Matthews, 1984; Jimerson, 2001, Jimerson & Ferguson, 2007). This option has been researched for almost a hundred years, often with no clear-cut benefits (Holmes, 1989; Holmes and Matthews, 1984; Jimerson, 2001). One distressing consequence of retention is its high correlation to subsequent high school dropout.

Children who are retained have a higher incidence of drop out (Alexander, Entwisle & Dauber, 2003; Bowers, 2010; Hickman, Bartholomew, Mathwig, and Heinrich, 2006; Grissom & Shepard, 1989; Roderick, 1994; Rumberger, 1995). Anderson, Whipple and Jimerson (2002) found "retention to be one of the most powerful predictors of high school dropout, with retained students 2 to 11 times more likely to drop out of high school than promoted students" (p. 2). Rumberger (1995) indicates that it is the strongest predictor of subsequent drop out.

The National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES, 1995) reported that those who are retained have almost double the rate of dropouts than those who have never been retained, and males were two thirds more likely to be retained than females. Frymier (1997) reported that those who have been retained in grade are about twice as likely to drop out as those who were never retained. Jimerson (2007) again examined the efficacy of the practice of grade retention and noted, "The association of grade retention and high school dropout is disconcerting and seems to be the most common deleterious outcome during adolescence," (p. 21).

With large scale grade retention efforts being initiated in multiple states since the inception of NCLB, what will the dropout statistics look like a decade from now? If the number of dropouts increases, what means will we have to accommodate the ensuing ramifications of dropout on the individual, the community, and the nation?

Educating the Populace

[…]Teachers may often be unaware of the research regarding grade retention. Pouliot (1997) found that teachers in Quebec who participated in her research strongly believed that retention was beneficial to students. Teachers in the United States have demonstrated similar views (Smith, 1989; Shepard & Smith, 1989).

Educators, legislators, and parents need information regarding the practice that has been entrenched in the educational institution which most have known. Based on a deficit model, this practice does not ensure positive academic outcomes and is highly correlated to later high school dropout.

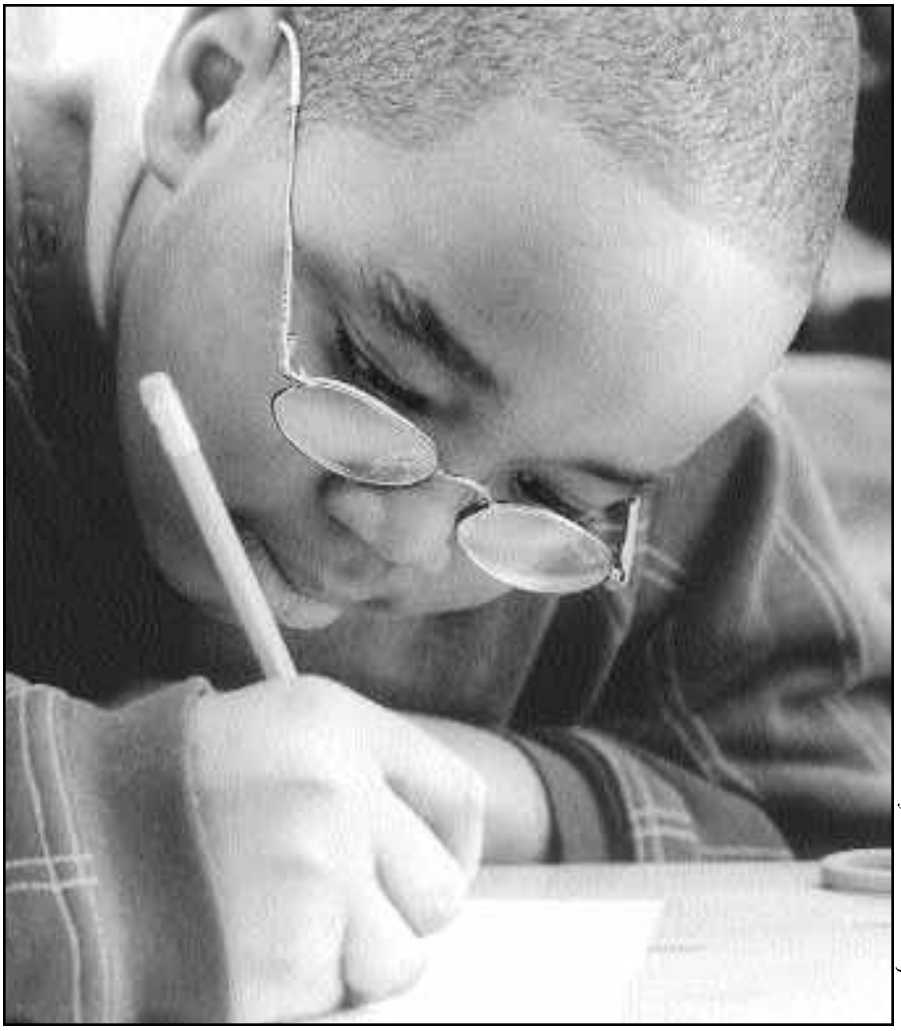
Shifting the Paradigm

Truly "leaving no child behind" will require another way of looking at schooling. If we are actually committed to the premise of all children being educated in a system which promises that no child will be left behind, looking at education from a different perspective is essential. In this system, consider the following assumptions:

- All children develop as individuals. Children are always "ready to learn," they are always learning. The notion of ready children needs to be paired with ready schools.
- Children would be better served through a system, which meets individual needs.
- Instead of comparing children with one another. Compare the child with the child.
- Switching schooling to a strength's-based model would assist children in developing talents and in using such to increase development in other areas.
- All children have assets.
- Competition is not the best way to improve schools or educate children.
- Schools need to be universally designed in order to provide for student success.
- Education in our country is a right. Children should not be excluded through subtle forms of discrimination, such as grade retention, because they are perceived to lack the necessary skills for them to succeed in schools where they are supposed to be welcomed to learn, not kept out or held in place because they do not have the same knowledge of peers who may have had more educational experiences and opportunities.

- Schools are places for all children to succeed. All children are developing across many areas simultaneously. Children in an aged graded classroom will have intersections where all will be able to relate and learn. This diversity is something to venerate.
- Learning in schools based on these assumptions may enhance the experiences of most pupils and give rise to a more just system of education thus raising the chance that no child will be left behind

It is conceivable that NCLB, through state and local implementation, has assisted in holding many children behind, particularly children of color or those living in poverty. The mandate with such great hopes of leaving no child behind may have succeeded in doing just the opposite.



Jean-Claude Lejeune

The Testing Craze: An Overview

Failing Our Kids: An Introduction

BY KATHY SWOPE AND BARBARA MINER
On Behalf of the Rethinking Schools Editorial Board

"How is my child doing?" is the most frequent question a parent asks a teacher. "How are our schools doing?" is an equally common question asked by community members.

Both are important questions. Standardized tests, however, can't adequately answer them. Decades of experience and research show that mis-use of standardized tests distorts student learning, exacerbates inequities for low-income students and students of color, and undermines true accountability between schools, parents, and the community.

The problem goes beyond the growing obsession with test scores. The tests, often tied to state standards, can result in a narrowing of the curriculum and the imposition of a restricted, official view of what constitutes knowledge. In addition, standardized tests are often "high-stakes" measurements. This high-stakes approach mandates that students who fail a particular test be retained, denied access to a preferred high school, or, in some cases, even refused a high school diploma. Some districts and states also use standardized test scores to evaluate principals, teachers, and entire schools.

Mis-use of standardized tests can distort learning, exacerbate inequities, and undermine true accountability.

Most important, standardized tests will never answer the question of what our children need to learn to be leaders and informed citizens in a multicultural, ever-changing world.

Rethinking Schools is pleased to present this booklet, *Failing Our Kids: Why the Testing Craze Won't Fix Our Schools*, as a contribution to the movement against test-based reform. *Failing Our Kids* is not a comprehensive analysis but rather a sampling of key topics. Most of the readings are adapted from articles that appeared in *Rethinking Schools* and draw on the experience of parents, students, teachers, and activists from around the country.

Many of the political and corporate backers of standardized tests skillfully use the language of high standards to promote an agenda that, contrary to the rhetoric, will increase divisions between the haves and have-nots.

Some advocates of standardized testing hope to use tests to improve teaching standards in low-achieving schools. Clearly, some schools do not adequately serve their low-income students, students of color, students with special needs, and students who do not speak English as their first language.

The irony is that an inappropriate reliance on standardized tests is likely to make problems worse for such students.

African-American and Latino students, for example, are disproportionately failing "high-stakes" standardized tests. This has historical precedent. Dating back to the development of IQ tests at the turn of the century, standardized tests have been used to sort and rank children, most reprehensibly along racial and class lines, and to rationalize giving more privileges to the already privileged. Indeed the first standardized tests were developed to support theories of the intellectual superiority of northern European whites.

Given the historical use of standardized tests, it is little surprise that the latest testing craze coincides with a resurgence of the view of the intellectual inferiority of African-Americans, as seen in the 1995 publication of *The Bell Curve*; with a conservative upsurge that looks down on programs designed to counter institutionalized discrimination; and with a growing division between the rich and poor despite unprecedented economic prosperity.

Standardized tests do more than legitimize and preserve existing power relations. Standardized tests can shape teaching and learning in ways that can harm children. Teachers are increasingly pressured to drill students on the tests, even when

J. Kirk Condyles/ Impact Visuals

they know that the tests don't assess the most essential aspects of thinking and learning. Entire subject areas — such as music, art, social studies and foreign languages — are de-emphasized in some schools because they aren't tested. Students often internalize the judgments of the tests — as if test scores were the final word on one's knowledge or potential.

In addition, when standardized tests become the engine of reform, they narrow the discussion of what is truly needed to transform schools — improvements involving funding equity, class sizes, teacher training, and reducing child poverty.

Standardized tests also come packaged with demands for more standardized curriculum. These calls are part of a broader effort to promote a narrow version of what children should learn. As scholar and activist Harold Berlak notes in his essay on page 93, state-mandated standards and tests "are an effort to put an end to the most valuable asset of a multicultural society: its vibrant cacophony of views about what constitutes truth, knowledge, and learning, and about what young children ought and ought not to learn at school. Standardized curriculum and tests insist upon one set of answers, and only one."

Alternative Assessment

To acknowledge the origins and consequences of standardized tests is not, however, to dismiss parent and community concerns about how well our children are learning.

Developing more equitable forms of assessment is essential to defeating calls for standardized curriculum and testing. Educators must acknowledge the need for schoolwide, district wide, or statewide assessment. Historically, social justice activists have used such aggregate data to show how schools fail to provide a quality education to all children — to highlight schools' "savage inequalities."

Asignificant section of *Failing Our Kids* outlines the potential benefits of "authentic assessments" or "performance assessments" — assessments that simulate real–life tasks and knowledge.

We want to sound some notes of caution on alternative assessments, however. New forms of assessment aren't inherently less biased than standardized tests; racist attitudes of educators can just as easily bias classroom observations or portfolio assessments. Moreover, new forms of assessment might simply be more effective ways of assessing a Eurocentric, low-level curriculum.

The challenge is two-fold. How can assessments help teachers to better know the strengths and weaknesses of their students' work — so that the teachers can help students to engage in thoughtful and complex work?

Second, how can assessments be used to nurture critical inquiry, problem-solving, and multiculturalism — so that students are better prepared to understand the world and change it?

The question, as is true with so many areas of school reform, is what will best foster more equitable schooling and promote skills and values that are necessary for a more just society. ❐

Standardized Tests: Common Questions

The following is based on an interview with Kathy Swope, an editor of Rethinking Schools *who taught for 20 years and is currently an administrator in the Division of Research and Assessment with the Milwaukee Public Schools. The interview provides a brief overview of issues further discussed in this book.*

Q. What is a standardized test?

Generally, people are referring to tests that are "standard" — they have the same questions, the same directions, the same time limits, the same answers — so that student scores can be compared. Standardized tests most often involve multiple-choice questions given to large numbers of students and scored by a computer which recognizes only one "correct" answer.

Q. What's wrong with standardized tests?

One big problem is that the tests generally permit only one correct answer. Therefore the tests penalize multiple perspectives. The tests also avoid questions that require a complicated, thoughtful answer. Because the tests are given under time constraints, they also privilege students who quickly come up with answers. In order to better sort students, the tests often have obscure or "trick" questions. Just two or three "wrong" answers can dramatically alter a score.

Many standardized tests are also norm-referenced. They are designed to compare, sort, and rank children. In a norm-referenced test, 50% of the children will always be "below average." They will fail, no matter what they do or know.

Standardized tests also have a long history of cultural bias. There have been attempts to eliminate bias, but the very structure, time limits, and types of thinking that are rewarded in standardized tests carry their own biases. There are many ways to process information and demonstrate one's intelligences. Standardized tests focus only on a limited range of standardized approaches and standardized answers.

Q. But some questions have only one right answer. The Declaration of Independence, for example, was signed in 1776, not in 1976.

Questions that only have one right answer tend to rely on rote memorization. They are fact driven instead of being driven by critical thinking and analysis, which reflect higher levels of learning. We don't want to encourage students to merely regurgitate isolated facts. We want students to learn facts and procedures as part of thinking deeply about issues, events, and people — and to also make connections and integrate what they know.

Q. If we don't have standardized tests, how do we know how our schools and children are doing?

There are other methods of assessment. One alternative is performance-based assessments. These ask children to perform actual tasks or create things that are of value in the real world — essays, research projects, science experiments, and so forth. A second alternative involves portfolios, which take a look at student work over a period of time. Many teachers encourage student projects, such as building models to scale, or role playing and skits, or science fairs, or writing short stories or essays. There are any number of ways that teachers can capture students' learning.

Q. But these assessments don't let parents know how their child's school is doing compared to schools in other neighborhoods, districts, or states.

If we as a society establish high expectations for all students, which would include reading, writing, critical thinking, and deep analysis, and we assess how students are doing along a continuum to meet those goals, we would know how our schools are doing. Just as all students are given standardized tests, all could be given more authentic types of assessments.

We should remember that the goal of assessment is, primarily, to help students learn and to provide them a quality education — not to constantly compare schools and students.

Finally, it is a myth that standarized tests are a good indicator of student progress. Standardized tests merely show how well a student is able to perform on a particular test, versus how well a student demonstrates in-depth understanding of a given subject — or the way a student actually constructs and uses knowledge.

Q. Are all standardized tests bad?

A. Some people would argue that, used in moderation, standardized tests are okay. However, the problem is not just with the standardized tests themselves, but also with how the tests are used. When the results are used to dictate what should be taught, when they are used to promote low-level thinking and memorization, when they are used to rank and track students, when they are used instead of more meaningful school reforms — these, in my mind, are educational disasters.

Q. Why do African–American and Latino students generally perform less well than Whites on standardized tests?

This is a complicated question and I will touch on a few points.

First, students of color sometimes receive fewer opportunties and a less rigorous education. This can be manifested in less-experienced teachers, a more remedial-type curriculum, larger classes and less individualized attention, lower expectations for students of color, and overall fewer resources in the school. Also, the parents' educational level is a strong indicator of how well a student will do on standardized tests. Due to the long history of discrimination and unequal opportunity, the families of many students of color have not had the economic and educational benefits of a higher education.

Second, there is cultural bias in standardized tests. This bias is not always overtly noticeable and sometimes is embedded in the very structure and design of the tests.

For example, an overt bias might involve the subject matter — is the question about yachts or famous white writers? But bias can also be embedded in the way language is used.

Use of language is fundamentally tied to cultural experience. The language of a standardized test ordinarily follows European, Anglo-Saxon

Jean-Claude Lejeune

language patterns. Further, standardized tests tend to reflect a linear mode of thinking. Yet the linear mode of thinking is not consistent with an Afrocentric world view and thinking style, which tends to be more eclectic and which reflects what can be described as a spiral pattern.

Q. The disparity in test scores can be used to argue for more resources for urban schools. Isn't that a good thing?

Can you give me one example where an urban school that had a large percentage of poor minority students received significant additional funding just because the school had low test scores? If so, then perhaps we can explore that as one reasonable use of standardized testing.

Q. People often refer to "high-stakes" testing. What do they mean?

Standardized tests are being used to make "high-stakes" judgments of students and, increasingly, schools. This is happening even though the test-makers themselves say the tests should never be the sole determinant of important educational decisions.

In essence, "high-stakes" means that, on the

basis of standardized test scores, students are being flunked, denied access to a desired course or school, or even denied a high school diploma. In addition, some schools or principals are being judged primarily on the basis of standardized test scores. Important educational indicators — attendance, grade point averages, dropout rates, the rigor of the curriculum — are downplayed or ignored.

Q. A standardized test doesn't take up that much time in a classroom. So why all the fuss?

Every minute of classroom time is valuable. Nothing should be taking place in a classroom that does not enhance teaching and learning.

In some cases, teachers spend an inordinate amount of time preparing for a standardized test — by practicing test-taking skills, teaching specifically to the test, and so forth.

In addition, the breadth of a curricular area cannot be captured on a standardized test. If teachers limit themselves to emphasizing what is on the standardized test, students are being cheated out of the richness of a rigorous, comprehensive curriculum.

Q. That sounds great if students are in a school with a rich curriculum. But what about schools where very little real learning goes on?

Some districts and administrators use standardized tests to ensure that students get a minimal level of education. But the level of education that we should be demanding for all students requires that we go way beyond what is inspired by standardized tests. My concern is that standardized tests are becoming the top bar of expectations, not the minimal bar.

Furthermore, if you rely on standardized tests to close the achievement gap, that's terribly misleading in terms of who will get a quality education. Students in more privileged groups will get not only the material on the standardized tests, but may also receive drama, art, music, and important elective courses. It's essential to understand that relying on standardized tests has been shown to dumb-down the curriculum.

Q. Testing is everywhere in society and it's an important survival skill. What's wrong with teaching kids how to take standardized tests?

We have an opportunity — and a responsibility — to create a more just and more equitable world. We cannot do that if we continue to rely on the status quo in education and testing. Just as we have evolved technologically in the last quarter century, we need to evolve with our assessment practices.

Q. Whether we like it or not, students need to pass standardized tests to get into college. They can't wait for a more just and equitable world.

Students actually perform better on standardized tests when they have had a richer classroom experience. Assessments and practices that actually improve teaching and learning in kindergarten through high school will help students perform better on standardized measures.

Some people advocate a dual strategy: that we need to get rid of the reliance on standardized tests, while still ensuring that low-income students and students of color do well on these tests. Because of prejudice, discrimination and bias over time, many people of color and other disenfranchised people feel the need to demonstrate, without a doubt, that they are achieving at levels equal to their white and middle-class counterparts. And they are using standardized tests to demonstrate that achievement.

But ultimately, the problem is with the prejudice, discrimination, and bias in society at large. When students of color perform well on standardized tests, that doesn't guarantee equal access to quality education. Other forms of institutional prejudice and discrimination remain in place. ❐

QUOTABLE QUOTE

"Teaching to the test is going to deny kids the education they deserve and need in the long run. It's like eating a candy bar before a race to get a boost of energy. A diet of candy bars won't work in the long run."

— Monty Neill, executive director of FairTest.