

LEARNING BY THE NUMBERS: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF REPRESENTATIONS
OF NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND PUBLIC LAW 107-110 IN PUERTO RICO

By

Thea L. Mateu Zayas

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS
in
English Education

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO
MAYAGÜEZ CAMPUS
2007

Approved by:

Ellen Pratt, Ph.D.
Member, Graduate Committee

Date

Rosita L. Rivera Rodríguez, Ph.D.
Member, Graduate Committee

Date

Jocelyn A. Géliga Vargas, Ph.D.
President, Graduate Committee

Date

Luis A. Avilés, Ph.D.
Graduate School Representative

Date

Betsy Morales Caro, Ph.D.
Chairperson, Department of English

Date

Abstract

The implementation of Public Law 107-110, No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) has far-reaching implications that redirect the course of education in Puerto Rico by imposing policies through a process that has not been participatory and has not been a result of locally-based initiatives. This research project examines the discourses being produced about NCLB in Puerto Rico by three types of institutions: the Department of Education, the teacher organizations (Federación de Maestros de Puerto Rico), and the press (*El Nuevo Día*). The representations of learners, educators, schools, the Pruebas Puertorriqueñas de Aprovechamiento Académico, and the State are all examined using a Critical Discourse Analysis methodology. The voices that are authorized to speak and the discourses of resistance to NCLB issued by these institutions are also identified. Discourses are examined within the context of the colonial history of education in Puerto Rico in order to contribute to the scholarship on educational policies on the island.

Resumen

La implementación de la Ley pública 107-110, Que ningún niño quede rezagado (NCLB por sus siglas en inglés) tiene implicaciones profundas que redirigen el curso de la educación en Puerto Rico al imponer políticas públicas mediante un proceso que no ha sido participativo, ni ha resultado de iniciativas locales. Empleando la metodología de "Critical Discourse Analysis," o análisis discursivo crítico esta investigación examina los actos discursivos referentes a NCLB de el Departamento de educación de Puerto Rico, las organizaciones docentes (Federación de maestros de Puerto Rico) y la prensa escrita (*El Nuevo Día*). Las representaciones de estudiantes, maestros/as, escuelas, las Pruebas puertorriqueñas de aprovechamiento académico y el Estado son analizadas. Las voces autorizadas a hablar respecto a NCLB y las expresiones de resistencia a la ley también son identificadas. Los discursos se examinan en el marco de la historia colonial de Puerto Rico a fin de contribuir a la discusión en torno a la implementación de políticas educativas en la isla.

Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge some of the many lives that made this research project possible:

Thank you to my mother, Brunilda Zayas, for leaving her first grade classroom when the teacher put a dunce cap on her head for reading.

Thank you to my Aunt Leticia Weiss for fighting for Puerto Rican kids' right to learn in NYC.

Thank you to my friends for understanding my monomaniacal writer's isolation. Thank you especially to José Jiménez Justiniano for being an outstanding outside reader and to André DeRosa for coffee and cheerleading.

Thank you to my committee members:

to Dr. Jocelyn Géliga Vargas for commitment and passion: you are an inspiration.

to Dr. Rosita Rivera Rodriguez for being a role model, for your time and patience.

to Dr. Ellen Pratt for bringing clarity and for your ongoing support over the years.

Thank you to the English Department at the UPRM for the years of growth.

My gratitude goes out to Dr. Betsy Morales current Chair of the Department of English and Dr. Beth Virtanen, former Interim Chair for their support and encouragement.

Thank you to all the awesome teachers who have inspired me, and the burnt out ones who led me to question.

Thank you to all my students throughout the years who have made me grow, question, laugh, cry, learn, and wonder.

Dedication

"Gracias a la vida que me ha dado tanto.

Me ha dado el sonido y el abecedario,
Con él las palabras que pienso y declaro;
Madre, amigo, hermano, y luz alumbrando
La ruta del alma de la que estoy amando."

Violeta Parra

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations.....	1
List of Illustrations.....	2
Chapter I: Introduction: Education in Context- Puerto Rico from colonial legacy to NCLB.....	3
No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), Public Law 107-110.....	4
Brief History of Education in Colonial Puerto Rico.....	6
Focus of the Study and Objectives.....	24
Chapter II: Methodology.....	25
Critical Discourse Analysis.....	25
Research Questions.....	28
Types of Representations.....	29
Types of Discourse and Data.....	30
The concept of <i>Voice</i> and <i>Resistance</i>	34
Chapter III: CDA of the <i>Departamento de Educación de Puerto Rico's</i> Web Site.....	36
The DE's Website.....	36
Representations in the DE Website.....	38
Authorized Voices in the DE Website.....	52
Resistance in the DE Website.....	53
Chapter IV: NCLB and the FMPR.....	56
Representations in the Texts of the FMPR.....	57
Authorized Voices in the Texts of the FMPR.....	69
Resistance in the Texts of the FMPR.....	70
Chapter V: NCLB in <i>El Nuevo Día</i>	74
The Press in Puerto Rico.....	74
Representations in <i>El Nuevo Día</i>	77
Authorized Voices in <i>El Nuevo Día</i>	102
Resistance in <i>El Nuevo Día</i>	106
Chapter VI: Conclusion.....	109

Discussion of Findings.....	110
Implications of the Study.....	117
Limitations of the Study.....	122
Suggestions for Future Research.....	123
References.....	125

List of Abbreviations

AFT: American Federation of Teachers

AMPR: *Asociación de Maestros de Puerto Rico*¹

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

DE: *Departamento de Educación*²

ELA: *Estado Libre Asociado*³

ETS: Educational Testing Service

FMPR: *Federación de Maestros de Puerto Rico*⁴

NCLB: No Child Left Behind

OAF: *Oficina de Asuntos Federales*⁵

PPAA: *Pruebas Puertorriqueñas de Aprovechamiento Académico*⁶

PIP: *Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño*⁷

PPCE: *Pruebas Puertorriqueñas de Competencias Escolares*⁸

¹ Teacher's Association of Puerto Rico

² Department of Education

³ Free Associated State (literally)—Commonwealth

⁴ Teacher's Federation of Puerto Rico

⁵ Office of Federal Affairs

⁶ Puerto Rican Tests of Academic Achievement

⁷ Puerto Rican Independence Party

⁸ Puerto Rican Scholastic Competency Tests

List of Illustrations

Illustration #1: Logo representing NCLB

Chapter I: Introduction

Education in Context- Puerto Rico from colonial legacy to NCLB

*“La educación es la madre de la libertad.”*⁹

Luisa Capetillo

Education plays a critical social role; it is a vehicle for the transmission of cultural and ideological norms, and a powerful source of social structuring. It is inevitably political: what should be taught, who should teach it, and how it should be taught, are questions with social implications that shape the culture and ideology of a people. Education in a colonial context is a vehicle for the transmission of the cultural and social norms of the colonizing power and the promotion of assimilation to the dominant culture: its language, values, norms, world views, and doctrines. As Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (1996) contend, education “remains one of the most powerful discourses within the complex of colonialism and neo-colonialism.” It is a technology of social control that “also offers one of the most potentially fruitful routes to a dis/mantling of that old author/ity” (p.427). Regarding the specific colonial context of my project, Rodríguez Bou (1999) argues that “the influence of education has carried great weight in the transformation of Puerto Rico as an instrument of conquest and a symbolic bastion of hope” (p.160). In order to offer a context for the latest

⁹ “Education is the mother of freedom.” Note on translations: Throughout this manuscript all Spanish quotations appear in the body of the text in their original language and my English translations are included in footnotes. In order to reveal the meaning and the power of the discourse with as much accuracy as possible, I will deal with the original texts. This will prevent any possible distortion through my translation.

imposition of the United States, Public Law 107-110 No Child Left Behind Act I would like to briefly review the history of education on the island. My study is specifically concerned with the ways in which this law has been represented by the Departamento de Educación (DE),¹⁰ Teacher organizations, and the media. In order to ground my subsequent analysis I present in this chapter an overview of the law as well as of educational policies in Puerto Rico. I conclude the chapter with a definition of the focus and objectives of my study.

The No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), Public Law 107-110

NCLB is the most recent reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965 signed into effect by George W. Bush in 2001. The law reflects the persistent drive in education in the United States towards standardization, quantifiable results and measurable outcomes.

The United States has had a long and troubled history with testing and educational reform, going back to policy debates of colonial education by Benjamin Franklin in the mid 1700s (Willis, Schubert, Bullough, Kridel, & Holton, 1994). In the twentieth century the Russian launching of Sputnik in 1957 gave the US undeniable evidence that their educational system had let the nation down by allowing the Communist USSR to surpass them in technological achievements. This led not only to the creation of National Aero Space Administration (NASA) but also to a drive towards accountability in education and curricular emphasis on Science and Math (Willis et al 1994).

¹⁰ Department of Education

In 1983 the National Commission on Excellence in Education appointed by the Reagan administration published the important report *A Nation at Risk*, which gave rise to a new series of questions about the state of the nation's education. The alarming title gives an accurate foretaste of the ensuing panic and restless policymaking that went on to guide the nation's educational priorities. Testing became more than ever a measure of standardization and accountability. Funding became a state responsibility and the idea that one curriculum is appropriate for all learners gained national support (Willis et al. 1994). Two decades later NCLB was crafted as the next link in the chain of policies and standards imposed on classrooms in the United States.

The 670 pages of the policy amount to a radical redirection of education at all levels, from the organization and functioning of school districts to the ways in which children are being educated in the classroom. The information garnered from standardized tests administered in classrooms is analyzed; based on these results, annual report cards are provided for states, school districts and schools, rating and grading their performance. When a school is evaluated as underperforming (determined on the basis of test scores) and does not make adequate progress for two years, students can be "eligible to transfer to another public school with transportation provided by the district" (Public Law). If a school continues to be identified as underperforming, students become eligible for supplementary services such as tutoring and summer school.

In order to receive the Federal funds that schools depend on, states must comply with the standards set forth by NCLB. This continues to be the cause of

controversy and lawsuits in the United States. States like Connecticut, and school districts in California and Pennsylvania have contested the limitations imposed by the tests (Winerip, 2006; Zehr, 2005). Students have contested the legality, and the ethics, of failing to be promoted based on test scores alone (Marciniak, 2006).

These reactions, however, have not occurred in Puerto Rico. The colonial history of Puerto Rican education might, at least, partially explain this fact.

Brief History of Education in Colonial Puerto Rico

In this section I focus on the history of education in Puerto Rico beginning with the establishment of the first education system in Puerto Rico under the Spanish colonial regime. The second section details the educational history of Puerto Rico under the rule of the United States. This section is further subdivided into historical units and follows chronological order bringing us to the present day and the consideration of Puerto Rico under NCLB.

***La Madre Patria:*¹¹ Puerto Rico under Spain**

The colonial history of the island begins in the year 1493 with the arrival of Christopher Columbus to the Caribbean. As a colony of Spain, Puerto Rico received its name and radical changes in government, economy and, logically, education. Little is known about the education on the island before the arrival of Columbus. There is evidence that the indigenous inhabitants, the Taínos, had a well organized social and political structure and they had a strong communal

¹¹ Literally “Motherland” but used by convention to refer to Spain specifically.

religious and ceremonial life that implied some form of knowledge transmittal (López Yustos, 1997; Alegría, 1999).

Under the Spanish regime, the state of education did not change overnight because the establishment of a public education system was not seen as a function of government (Tirado, 2003; Rodríguez Bou, 1966). Neither Spain nor its colonies had a public education system (Rodríguez Bou, 1999). Instruction was religious in nature and carried on by religious institutions or private tutors. Education was intended to encourage Spanish citizens to settle into a society where the social structure of Spain would be recreated with the settlers and their descendants forming an elite in terms of education, wealth, racial hierarchies, and political power.

The *Escuela de la Catedral*¹² was the first school on the island, established in San Juan in 1512 by the Dominican order (López Yustos, 1997; Tirado 2003). Education was only available to citizens of Spanish descent who could pay for it. On the other hand, community schools were facilitated by the Catholic Church and were geared to religious instruction (Tirado, 2003; Rodríguez Bou, 1966). These schools were based most often in the houses of neighbors and the curriculum remained focused on the basics of the three R's: Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic with Religion added. Education was not accessible to those families who were poor, who lived off the land, or who simply lacked the experience or context of formal education that would enable them to even attempt entry into the system or know it was, theoretically, available.

¹² The Cathedral School

It was only in the 1770s that a public education system was established in San Juan and San Germán, the two major cities on the island at the time. The ideological shift toward education for the average citizen was not supported with the necessary financial conditions that would allow for facilities to teach in, salaries for teachers, and time for students to actually attend classes (Tirado, 2003). The spread of schooling was slow and was plagued by many stops and starts as Spain went through political changes in the 19th century, and the political climate on the island started to lean strongly toward autonomy.

The 1800's were characterized by increased political unrest on the island and Spain responded by tightening restrictions: "*En la medida que fueron cobrando fuerza las ideas liberales-reformistas, el gobierno español fue desconfiando del profesorado criollo*"¹³ (Maldonado Jiménez, 2001, p.167). Teachers were fired for not observing sufficient *españolismo*¹⁴ (Maldonado Jiménez, 2001) in an ideological witch-hunt that helped to undermine the educational system that had finally started to bear fruit.

Accusations of *falta de españolismo*¹⁵ were presented on the basis of complaints from parents or community members that teachers were promoting a classroom environment where Spain was not sufficiently exalted, reading newspapers put out by the reform movement, and associating with others who had already been accused. The Spanish authorities ruled education with a heavy hand. The heavily authoritarian model of education was not tolerant of dissention.

¹³ "As liberal-reformist ideas grew stronger, the Spanish government grew in its distrust of the local educators"

¹⁴ Literally Spanishness, in other words, loyalty to Spain

¹⁵ Lack of españolismo

Education was offered free of cost, under government subsidy beginning in the 1820s. By 1865 the curriculum was officially set by the authorities, and education was mandatory until the age of 12. However, by the time the island fell into the hands of the United States in 1898, education was in a state of crisis. Teachers born on the island had been replaced by teachers imported from Spain which added to the mistrust of education under the crown. The political struggles of the end of the century had resulted in the closure of many schools and a weakening of the infrastructure which made the transition to United States' educational system more difficult for Puerto Rican schools.

Puerto Rico under United States rule

A. Transition: 1898-1900

In July of 1898 United States troops invaded the island of Puerto Rico as a result of the Spanish-American war. The United States led a major naval effort to secure the territories of the European nation and it was only when Puerto Rico was signed over to the US in the Treaty of Paris that peace was attained. Maldonado Jiménez (2001) has noted that educators were initially hopeful that the United States would bring with them an educational system that would help Puerto Ricans to emulate the progress and growth of the "great" nation. As a military government was established on the island, education became a priority in the process of cultural transformation the northern nation hoped to speed along.

One of the surveys of the Puerto Rican educational system commissioned by military governor George W. Davis indicated not only the high rates of

illiteracy that were a logical consequence of inconsistent access to education under Spain but also the extreme poverty of Puerto Ricans:

*Tan grande era su pobreza, que siempre están en deuda con sus patronos o comerciantes. Viven en chozas de madera cubiertas con hojas de palmas. Una familia de doce miembros habita en un cuarto con el piso de tierra, carecen de alimentos o algo que así pueda llamarse; la ropa muy escasa, mientras los niños de siete y ocho años están siempre desnudos. Se alimentan de frutos y si son jornaleros de arroz con un poco de bacalao.*¹⁶ (George W. Davis qtd. in Colón, 2001, p.16)

Colón points out that the survey reflects specific conditions related to the devastating consequences of the hurricane San Ciriaco in 1899. Given the extreme poverty of rural Puerto Ricans, the basic needs of shelter, food, clothing, and medical care took priority over formal education. The conditions under which United States educational reform was being implemented were far from ideal.

The rapid transition from being a colony of Spain to being a colony of the United States was a strain for the island. It was a conflict between “a stronger, younger, more technical, more aggressive culture [the US], and another [Spain], less dominant, less arrogant but equally sure of its values” (157, Rodríguez Bou 1966). The construction of a national identity as Puerto Ricans was a new cultural project,¹⁷ already thrown in to flux by the change in colonial rule, which

¹⁶ “Their poverty was so great, that they were always in debt with their employers or with business-owners. They live in wooden huts covered with palm fronds. A family of 12 lives in one room with a dirt floor, they lack proper nutrition; clothing is very scarce and children up to 7 or 8 years of age are always naked. They eat fruit, or if they are day workers, they eat some rice and salted codfish.”

¹⁷ Cruz Monclova (1966) identifies the 19th century as the pivotal point when “[...]Puerto Rico could no longer be considered a mere collection of ethnographic elements and began to manifest traits of social coherence. The pronoun “we” acquired a national sense throughout the island [...]” (15). The relationship

was not favored by all. Fernández Savala (2003) captures the conflict in her exploration of arts in the Puerto Rican curriculum when she states that “*la invasión Norteamericana dejó atolondrada a media humanidad en mi país. ¿Cómo podrá la nación portaestandarte de la libertad ser represiva y explotadora? con la invasión seguramente llegarían las libertades*”¹⁸(p.57). The discovery that education was also an instrument of repression was devastating for many educators.

The model of education originally introduced included as salient features its universal access, its secular nature, and the use of English as medium of instruction. Education was considered the key to the *Americanización*¹⁹ of Puerto Rico (Tirado, 2003). The transmission of the language used in the classrooms as well as the cultural values and beliefs would all serve to ideologically align Puerto Ricans with the colonial powers (Torres Navarro, 1999).

The United States was applying its own models of education, which had resulted out of a radically different historical and political trajectory of education and a different culture. From its birth as a nation the United States had a system of organized education with goals and priorities set by the country’s own government. While initial efforts focused on Higher Education public education followed shortly and instruction was considered a priority for life in the new nation (Willis, Schubert, Bullough, Kridd & Holton, 1994). Puerto Rico, on the other

between the formation of a Puerto Rican national identity and the increased push for political self-government is not coincidental. The political relationship with the United States is understandably problematic when viewed in this light.”

¹⁸ “The North American invasion left half of the people in my country dumbfounded. How could the nation that was the leading example of freedom be repressive and exploitative? With the invasion would surely come increased freedom.”

¹⁹ Americanization

hand, was facing a newly organized educational system coming from a cultural context that was completely alien and whose political and economic interests did not privilege the needs and interests of the colonial subjects.²⁰

One of the main concerns of the newly imposed school system was uniformity, and centralization was the mechanism to insure it. The history of education in the US has been characterized by drives toward uniformity, toward accountability and often toward testing (Winerip, 2006; Sedlak, Wheeler, Pullin and Cusick, 1986; Kohn, 2004). The drive for uniformity and the systematization of public education without taking into account local cultural attributes resulted in the absence of a self-regulating educational philosophy to guide the schools leading to a loss of identity:

Como resultado de ese plan educativo desarticulado, se destacan el desconocimiento de los estudiantes puertorriqueños de su historia con el fin premeditado de las metrópolis de mantener al pueblo alejado de los verdaderos asuntos trascendentales de su devenir como colectividad. De esta forma se mantiene al pueblo neutralizado y controlado para evitar su

²⁰ The school calendar is one example of the imposition of United States' values and cultural reality. In the 1960s an attempt was made to change the calendar in order to allow for a longer vacation during the winter months and shorten the summer vacation (Tirado, 2003). This initiative was expected to increase attendance given the fact that children were often absent in order to help their families picking coffee or other crops. This in contrast with the United States where many children would only be able to attend in the winter when there was less work on the farms and their labor could be spared. The result was a slight shift in the calendar with a longer Christmas vacation, classes ending in May instead of June, and the semester beginning in August. Governor Pedro Roselló tried to align the PR calendar to the US during the late 1990s but the measure was resisted. The imposition of the US calendar on the tropical Caribbean reality was not successful nor was it logical. A change in the school year has been considered for years in the United States since agriculture took a back seat to industrial development in the nation.

*concientización y oposición a la relación colonizador-colonizado.*²¹ (Torres Navarro, 1999, p. 4)

In *Portrait of the Colonizer* Albert Memmi (1967) refers to the phenomenon by which the colonizer becomes “the custodian of the values of civilization and history, he accomplishes a mission; he has the immense merit of bringing light to the colonized ignominious darkness” (75). The United States and its early educational system adopted this role on the island.

The displacement that took place in these early years of United States colonial rule included not only language and culture but also teaching staff. With instruction carried out exclusively in English, Spanish born and/or Spanish trained teachers were unable to work in the schools. Teachers were brought in from the US to fill the schools and Puerto Rican teachers were forced to comply with new requirements before being allowed to enter the classroom: they had to speak English and they also had to have a teaching degree.

B. Civil Government: 1900-1946

In 1900 the Foraker Act replaced the military government with a civilian one. Governors were appointed by the President of the United States and had control over an executive council, including the Commissioner of Education. The Commissioner had the power to dictate what would be taught, what schedules and calendars would be adhered to, and what instructional strategies would be

²¹“As a result of this unarticulated educational plan, Puerto Rican students are noted for being ignorant of their history a premeditated goal of the metropolis to keep the people away from the truly transcendental issues of its collectivity. In this way, the people are kept neutralized and controlled in order to avoid their raised consciousness of and opposition to the colonizer-colonized relationship.”

used (Osuna, 1949). The power resided with the figure of the Commissioner in a pyramidal structure that allowed little feedback from teachers, students, or community.

While Spain's exploitation of Puerto Rico's resources focused on gold, the United States was after the "white gold" or sugar that became the main product of the island (Tirado, 2003). By the 1920s the poverty on the island as well as the incentives offered by the US government led to the first wave of mass migration as Puerto Ricans left in search of jobs (Whalen, 2005).

The use of English in the classrooms, which was resisted under the military administration, went through the first of many policy changes in efforts to respond to low student performance and attrition. In 1900 Spanish became once again the language of instruction and English was taught as a subject matter in Elementary school, and in High School the opposite was done (Algren de Gutiérrez, 1987; Rodríguez Bou, 1966). In 1903 schools went back to using English as the language of instruction for all subjects except Spanish. In 1913 Spanish became the primary language of instruction in schools again. In 1921 this position is reversed once again under Juan Huyke, the first Puerto Rican Commissioner of Education. In 1937 Spanish was the language used in general instruction in the first four grades, fifth grade was a transition year and then English became the main language in the classroom in the sixth grade.²²

²² In a 1937 letter to the Commissioner of Instruction president Roosevelt sets forth the goal of having all Puerto Ricans grow up with complete mastery of English. He states that "*el bilingüismo lo logrará la próxima generación de puertorriqueños solamente si se emprende la enseñanza del inglés en todo el sistema Educativo de la Isla, con todo el vigor, propósito y devoción, comprendiéndose que el inglés es el idioma oficial de nuestra patria*" (López Yustos, 1997, p.73). ["Bilingualism will be attained by the next generation of Puerto Ricans only if the teaching of English is undertaken in the whole educational system of

In 1948 Spanish was made the language of instruction and English was a subject through High School (Rodríguez Bou, 1966). As this brief overview shows, educational policy was characterized more than anything by lack of consistency and already showed the connection between educational policy changes and government administration changes.²³

While the focus of this research project is not the language policies of the United States, it is necessary to take note of the destabilizing effects of the constant changes in language teaching strategies and policies on the island. In the case of Puerto Rico, the repeated attempts to enforce English were a colonial strategy that was not entirely successful the second time around. The replacement of the colonial language of Spanish with the new colonizer's English was not a smooth process. What has happened, however, is a reinforcement of the colonial discourse that sees the colonized people as less able or intelligent: the Puerto Rican people have been berated for their "failure" to learn English. What to some has been held up as a source of resistance, to others becomes an example of the indolence and intellectual deficiencies of the colonized people. Puerto Rican children in the first decades of the twentieth century were characterized as incompetent while facing a system of education that was culturally foreign to them:

the island with all the vigor, purpose, and devotion, understanding that English is the official language of the homeland."]

²³ Teachers were affected by the changes in language of instruction and requirements, as well as by the practice of bringing in teachers from the United States. In 1912 they formed the Asociación de Maestros de Puerto Rico (AMPR), which agreed, in its first assembly, that Spanish should be the language of instruction in Puerto Rico (Tirado, 2003). The idea was not well received by the United States nor was it honored in policies through the years. That is still not legally the case 95 years later. Policies have continued shifting back and forth since that time. The most recent change, the *Proyecto para un ciudadano bilingüe* or 'Project for a Bilingual Citizen' in the late 1990s promotes the creation of bilingual public schools where English is the primary language of instruction.

One of the first things American publishers did was to have standard American textbooks hastily translated into Spanish [. . .] Readers with stories on sleighing and skating parties could not be appreciated by the children as well as if they had treated of swimming parties or even picnics and problems of arithmetic on apples, peaches, pears, bushels, and whatnot, could not be appreciated by the children as if they had been on bananas, *nísperos*,²⁴ *aguacates*,²⁵ oranges, and *fanegas or quintales*.²⁶ (Juan José Osuna qtd. in Rodriguez Bou 1966 p.185)

How many Puerto Rican children in the first half of the century would have had a cultural referent for snow? To add insult to injury, they had to face classrooms where the language was changing every few years between one they knew and one they didn't know but were supposed to learn in order to become good Americans. It is not surprising to learn that the educational system of the United States was resisted by students and teachers: passively by student non-attendance, and actively by teachers' union negotiations and strikes. As the economy of the island started to move toward industrialization in the 1940s, the system of education slowly made changes to adjust.

C. Muñoz Marín and the industrial development era: 1948-1968

In 1948 Luis Muñoz Marín became the first popularly elected Puerto Rican governor. It was a time of political changes, unrest, opposition, and lingering

²⁴ Loquat

²⁵ Avocado

²⁶ Spanish units of measurement

poverty. The change was welcome and guarded optimism prevailed as Muñoz Marín also led the island into a new industrial era expected to pave the way out of poverty for Puerto Ricans.

In 1952 the island of Puerto Rico obtained a new status and the right to its own constitution. The *Estado Libre Asociado*²⁷ (ELA) or Commonwealth is a political association with the United States bearing much resemblance to the status of territory or colony but with some rights to self-governance and to federal aid. Education is given a high priority in the Constitution as a resource for progress as defined by the economic model imposed by the colonial power. The changes brought on by industrialization led, in Puerto Rico as elsewhere, to a belief in education as a functional system necessary for employment (Sedlack, Wheeler, Pullin and Cusick, 1986, Tirado, 2003). Indeed, Muñoz Marín declared that the period from 1958 to 1968 “the decade of education.” The view of education guiding his policies was a functional one: school as a training ground for industry. In a speech to the legislature he characterized education as a medium to create “*miles de trabajadores diestros, de técnicos, de ayudantes de ingeniería, de ingenieros y científicos, de administradores y de trabajadores semi-diestros*”²⁸ (Muñoz Marín qtd in Tirado, 2003, p.78). Education was framed as a source of hope and growth, measured in industrial indices. Unfortunately, the policies implemented were not sustained as the island entered a new period of changes in administration.

²⁷ Commonwealth; literally Free Associated State

²⁸ “Thousands of skilled workers, technicians, engineering assistants, engineers and scientists, administrators and semi-skilled workers”

D. Changes and Challenges:1968-1990

Once the initial boom of industrial growth was over, the island began to face the consequences of over-industrialization, and of political division. The highly politicized nature of the island's educational system became evident during this period as each change in administration brought with it a change in policies in response to the political ideologies of the rulers.

The lack of a clearly articulated educational philosophy to guide the Department of Instruction had major repercussions as each new Secretary imposed a new agenda without taking into account the complex history of educational policies or developing a long term plan. In 1966 Rodriguez Bou argued that, "a language policy, politically combined with Americanization, has traditionally substituted for a philosophy of education" (153). Missing was a sense of continuity or unity in the educational endeavor. From 1969 to 1990 there were a total of 9 different Secretaries of the Department of Instruction, which led to much confusion and inconsistency.

The changes in policies resulted in discontent and confusion for teachers, parents, learners, and policymakers. Pedro Cebollero characterizes the gravity of the results:

la situación ha producido un efecto paralizador en el sistema educativo; los objetivos han quedado indefinidos; los programas de estudio... desorientados; los métodos no han cristalizado en un sistema definido; a la preparación de maestros le ha faltado dirección; no ha surgido el libro

*de texto apropiado y ha quedado trunco el desarrollo de una filosofía educativa autóctona.*²⁹ (qtd in Rodríguez Bou, 1999, p.159)

In 1966 a new voice and source of support for teachers was formed: the Federación de Maestros de Puerto Rico (FMPR). It adopted a militant position toward issues regarding curriculum, work conditions, and wages and provided an alternative to the allegedly more conservative AMPR.³⁰

As a response to the ongoing pressure from teachers and politicians the Department of Instruction underwent a major organizational and ideological change in 1990, becoming the Department of Education under law #68. The new law placed learners at the center of the curriculum and granted greater autonomy to schools. This was the first of many changes that would come in the following period of restructuring.

E. Restructuring and renovating: 1991-2001

In the 1990s Puerto Rico's educational system entered a period of flux with policies racing to catch up with the important changes of the times: globalization, the growth of technology and technology-related industries and the inevitable loss of factories on the island. After many false starts, it was in this decade that the educational system was decentralized. Schools finally became

²⁹ “This situation has had paralyzing effects on the educational system: objectives have remained undefined, programs of study have been unadvised, the methods have not taken shape in a defined system, teacher preparation has lacked direction, the appropriate textbooks have not emerged and the development of an authentic local educational philosophy has been truncated.”

³⁰ Their increased militancy is still reflected today with the website that provided much of the information on the union: <http://www.fmprlucha.org>. Lucha can be translated as struggle or fight.

more stable with high rates of attendance and consistency of services (Tirado, 2003). Then came the latest change.

Under Law 18 in 1993 the means for decentralization of schools was a project called *Escuelas de la Comunidad*.³¹ These schools would be fiscally independent and there were significant changes in the administration of schools and in the ideological underpinnings of education. The student was placed at the center of the curriculum and the authoritarian model of education, which began with Spain and was modified by the United States, was finally cast aside in favor of a model based on collaboration and partnership. Power was redistributed, responsibilities shifted and all was reorganized in the classroom as in the larger educational agency.

These new measures met with fierce resistance from teachers. Tirado summarizes the reactions: "*Muchos argumentaban que la reforma significaba más trabajo, otros indicaban no sentirse preparados para las exigencias de los nuevos cambios, mientras otros manifestaban que estando próximos a una jubilación no estaban dispuestos a involucrarse en asuntos nuevos y complicados*"³² (2003, p.162). Tirado points out that the traditional centralized, colonial system of administration left a legacy resulting in a culture of fear and of conformity where decisions are expected to come from the central administration and the orders of the central administration are blindly complied with³³ (2003,

³¹ Community Schools

³² "Many argued that the reform meant more work, others reported feeling unprepared for the demands of the new changes, while still others expressed that being close to retirement they were not willing to get involved in new and complicated affairs."

³³ One issue that was successfully resisted was the program of educational vouchers proposed by then Governor Pedro Roselló. The vouchers would provide funding from public education monies for families to

p.182). He also comments on the rhetorical normalizing of the power embodied by the Department of Education:

Se desarrolló también la actitud de que siempre había que esperar que las órdenes 'bajaran' del 'Departamento' (entiéndase Administración Central u Oficina del Comisionado/Secretario). En esta forma también se generalizó, como parte de la cultura organizacional escolar frases y dichos como "dicen que bajó un memo para...", "va a bajar un carta circular relacionada con..." y "hasta que no baje tal o cual directriz yo no me muevo"³⁴ (p.183).

Another program implemented in this period was the *Proyecto para formar un ciudadano bilingüe*³⁵ This project authorized schools to use Spanish and/or English as the language of instruction and led to the creation of some bilingual public schools on the island.

F. No Child Left Behind in Puerto Rico: 2002-2006

The year 2002 began with two major events in Puerto Rican education. The first was the conviction of former secretary of education Víctor Fajardo (1994-2000) for embezzling \$4.3 million belonging to the Department of Education. The second major change in 2002 was that a new public law went

send their children to private schools. It was violently contested by the unions who already saw the restructuring of the Department as a threat of privatization, not unreasonable given the privatization this decade of the Puerto Rico Telephone Company which had been a government agency until 1998. The vouchers were ruled unconstitutional.

³⁴ "One must always wait for orders to 'come down' from the 'Department' (Central Administration or Office of the Commissioner/Secretary). Some phrases or sayings became generalized as part of the organizational culture of schools: 'they said a memo came down to...' 'a letter is coming down related to...' and even 'until the orders come down I'm not moving'" (183).

³⁵ Project for the formation of a bilingual citizen

into effect, changing and redirecting the face of education for the United States and its territories: The No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), Public Law 107-110.

Like many of the states and territories included in NCLB, Puerto Rican schools appear to be struggling to produce and administer the tests in a timely manner, and to perform in accordance with the expectations. The standardized tests known as *Pruebas Puertorriqueñas de Aprovechamiento Académico*³⁶ (PPAA) have been implemented and have yielded troubling results with as few as 6% to 20% of students performing at an A or B level on tests as of 2005 results (Tendencias, 2006). Another aspect of NCLB, the new standards for "highly qualified teachers," has also gained some attention on the local front. This complicated requirement includes educational standards, continuing professional development and training, teacher competence testing, reforms to tenure systems, and exceptions permitted for mid-career professionals, military personnel, and new college graduates with a record of academic excellence. Because licensing requirements are being changed and applied retroactively, tenured teachers are also required to comply with the standards of "highly qualified teachers." Both the Federación de Maestros de Puerto Rico (FMPR) and the Asociación de Maestros de Puerto Rico (AMPR) have made public statements against this section of the policy.

The renewed emphasis on testing takes on an especially sinister role. In the past Puerto Ricans have been characterized as illiterate, slothful, and unsanitary by the colonizer and test scores become yet another method for

³⁶ Puerto Rican Tests of Academic Achievement. Puerto Rico has already implemented the PPAA in Reading, Math, and ESL for grades 3-8.

asserting our colonized identity (Tirado, 2003; López Yustos 1997; Rodríguez Bou, 1999). By showing that teachers are not doing a good job, by showing that children are not adequately learning English, or even worse are not fully competent in their native tongue, the superiority of the policy enforcer is indirectly affirmed. In this case superiority is granted to those children, teachers and schools that are high performing, those in upper middle class neighborhoods and usually those without the presence of children with disabilities, brown children, particularly those who don't speak English at home, or any other group that would adversely sway scores.

This law affects the progress report of Puerto Rican students who are also affected by the implications of NCLB in terms of testing and assessment procedures. The effects of the kinds of tests administered to English language learners has been examined, particularly as the methods of testing are not consistent across states. In the case of Puerto Rico, subject tests are in Spanish and only the English test uses English as a Second Language. The expectation is that subjects will go on to be tested in English as well in the future (Public Law).

A criticism issued about the US context is pertinent to consider as well the impact of NCLB in Puerto Rico. It is worth quoting at length:

If all schools had fully certified and experienced teachers, current textbooks for every child, up to date computers for every student, decent facilities, students who are (and historically have been) well fed, students and teachers who are fluent in English, effective administrators, adequate

counselor to student ratios, and active parent teacher associations, and the necessary fiduciary capital to achieve its goals, then it would make sense to apply uniform standards. (Mayers, 2006, p.453)

When the Puerto Rican school is viewed in light of these conditions, it becomes clear that the colonial call for standards is still not taking into account the context, material and cultural conditions of the island. In this respect it has become another instrument of the colonial educational project. Discourse analysis is a venue to unveil the significations attributed to this policy by those who are being affected by it in Puerto Rico.

Focus of the Study and Objectives

This study focuses on the discourses that have been circulated in Puerto Rico regarding NCLB. My main objective is to determine how agents affected by NCLB are being represented in Puerto Rico. In order to do this I used a Critical Discourse Analysis methodology, as outlined in the following Chapter, to examine the representations of the law articulated in three types of sources: the Department of Education, discussed in Chapter III; the Federación de Maestros de Puerto Rico, discussed in Chapter IV; and the newspaper *El Nuevo Día*, discussed in Chapter V. In Chapter VI I present a comprehensive discussion of my results as well as suggestions for further research.

Chapter II: Methodology

*“In responding to a sentence there is always the joy of decipherment, of unraveling, the inherent mystery of its mass and shape, its light and shade, its allusions and graces, and in the capture of recalcitrant signification, indeed in the enjoyment of the ‘pleasure of the text’ as Barthes called it”
(Pareinbanayagam, 1991, p.8)*

Critical Discourse Analysis

This research project utilizes Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methodology to examine texts in order to uncover the sociopolitical dynamics underlying the public and official responses to NCLB in Puerto Rico. This method is appropriate to studying educational policies in the colonial context of Puerto Rico because it “has an explicit sociopolitical agenda, a concern to discover and bear witness to unequal relations of power which underlie ways of talking in a society and in particular to reveal the role of discourse in reproducing or challenging sociopolitical dominance” (Bell & Garret, 1998, p.6).

Norman Fairclough proposed a model of discourse analysis that examines "description, interpretation, and explanation of discursive relations and social practices at the local, institutional, and societal domains of analysis" (Rogers, 2004a, p.7). The local domain includes the particular texts examined, the institutional level includes the social institutions that "enable and constrain the local domain," and the societal level encompasses the increased abstraction of "policies and meta narratives that shape and are shaped by local and institutional domains" (Rogers, 2004a, p.7). Rogers argues that "this recursive movement between linguistic and social analysis is what makes CDA a systematic method

rather than a haphazard analysis of discourse and power" (2004, p.8). My project will follow this model in the analysis of representations of NCLB in the colonial context of Puerto Rico. In order to examine how power relations are articulated and negotiated, I will look specifically at the representations issued by some of the key voices in the debate about NCLB in: the Department of Education, teacher organizations and the press. In this manner the specific texts (local domain) will be contextualized on the institutional level of the groups producing and promoting discourses and even further set in the societal level of Puerto Rican educational policies.

CDA does not regard texts as 'objective' or 'neutral' discourses. Language and education are both political entities with ideological charges behind them and they will be examined as such in my study. The bidirectional relationship between text and context is captured with the use of CDA because, "discourse within CDA framework is not a reflection of social contexts, but constructs and is constructed by contexts. Discourses are always socially, politically, racially, and economically loaded" (Rogers, 2004a, p.6).

CDA regards discourses as "words with the power to establish what we take to be the facts of a matter. They lay down regimes of truth and define the truth about our subjectivity and identity" (Matthews, 2005, p.208). The analysis of discourses should reveal "how they position the speakers and how they reproduce the relations of power" (Stevenson, 2004, p.20). Revealing these relations of power is a central objective of this study.

Fairclough (1998) speaks of CDA as “a combination of two commitments: an interdisciplinary commitment, and a critical commitment” (p.144). Fairclough and Wodack established the 8 foundational principles of CDA: “[CDA] addresses social problems; power relationships are discursive; discourse constitutes society and culture; discourse does ideological work; discourse is historical; a sociocognitive approach is needed to understand how relations between texts and society are mediated; discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory and uses a systematic methodology; CDA is a socially committed scientific paradigm” (as cited in Rogers, 2004a, p.2). While an in depth incorporation of each of these principles is beyond the scope of this project, this research project incorporates them as general guidelines in its design and execution by examining the context in which texts are produced, historically and culturally, and by making explicit the hegemonic currents underpinning the rhetorical responses to policies.

Discourse analysis provides a useful framework for the examination of educational policy. Rebecca Rogers advocates for the use of Critical Discourse Analysis in Education because, “researchers using CDA can describe, interpret, and explain the relationships among language and important educational issues. One such issue is the current relationship among the economy, national policies, and educational practices” (Rogers, 2004a, p.1). In an exercise similar to the one proposed by my study Haley Woodside-Jiron examined the history of reading legislation in California. By reviewing the policy and debates surrounding it, discursive strategies were made explicit and resistance was informed by the understanding of power relationships. Woodside-Jiron contends that “the critical

analysis of policy using CDA offers an exciting way into analyzing how power is used in producing and effectively distributing various ideologies, discourse practices, and texts in society and schools" (Woodside-Jiron, 2004, p.202).

Educational policy literally drives the ideological and practical directions that education takes: it is the underlying structure of education that determines what can be taught, how, by whom and, also, to whom. Educational policy also drives funding in education, without which schools are hampered in their ability to provide the physical and material conditions for optimal education. The examination of educational policy is therefore critical to envisioning educational change.

Research Questions

In order to analyze the sociopolitical implications of representations of NCLB as an educational policy in the Puerto Rican context my research was guided by the following questions:

1. How are learners, educators, schools, the PPAA and the State represented in the discourses about NCLB produced by the Department of Education, Teacher organizations and the media?
2. What voices are being authorized to speak on NCLB in these three types of discourses?
3. To what extent do these three discourses incorporate voices of resistance to NCLB?

In the following sections I explain how I proceeded to methodologically address each of these questions in my study.

Types of Representations

As I stated above, I am interested in examining the power relations that are articulated in discourses about NCLB. These relations involve five central figures or subjectivities, whose discursive representation merit consideration for multiple reasons.

First, I am interested in the representation of learners because students are the reason education exists and, to use the language of industry which schools are increasingly assimilating (Giroux & McLaren, 1989), they are the “customers” the educational system should ultimately serve. The ways in which they are being represented and portrayed is critical to our understanding of the policy’s social meaning. Second, the representation of educators or teachers deserves examination as well because they are the mediators between the policy and the students; they are responsible for translating curricular changes into practice in their classroom. Third, I will consider the representations of schools as institutions because they play a crucial role in the implementation of NCLB and are a point of encounter between the colonial regulation of education and the local communities in which they are based. Fourth, I will also examine the representation of the PPAA, especially in light of the fact that the adjective *Puertorriqueñas* was applied to tests that were imposed by the Government of the United States. This analysis will allow me to consider the extent to which the

federal imposition of standardized testing has become nationalized or regarded as a national (Puerto Rican) educational imperative. And finally, I will look at the representations of the State because of its prominent role in the configuration of our colonial educational system. The figure of the State is crucial to understanding the power relations that drive Puerto Rican education insofar as the State is at once the enforcer who dictates the policies schools and teachers must implement and simultaneously plays the role of the subject who must submit to the power of the federal government.

I will examine the representations of these five figures in the discourses of three sources who have contributed to the debates about NCLB in Puerto Rico: the Department of Education, teacher organizations and the press.

Types of Discourses Analyzed

A. The Department of Education

I study the discourse of the Department of Education regarding the players involved in NCLB policy because this institution is the central point of contact between the federal government and the local constituents in the educational arena. The history of the Department of Education in Puerto Rico has been a reflection of colonial processes and powers.

As I established in the preceding chapter, the centralization of the educational system, which began with its foundation under the government of Spain and was in place consistently until 1999, left an indelible mark on the future of education, influencing the future attitudes and administrative styles. This

legacy of authoritarian administration is now compounded by the explicitly colonial role of the agency's implementation of NCLB. The colonial microcosm reproduced in the Department of Education as it engages in the difficult endeavor of adjusting educational policy for the Puerto Rican context is an important source of information about policy representations. As Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin argue, "education, whether state or missionary, primary or secondary (and later tertiary) was a massive cannon in the artillery of empire. The military metaphor can however seem inappropriate, since outright territorial aggression, education effects in Gramsci's terms a 'domination by consent'" (1996, p.425). The participation and consent of the colonized make this a rich area for exploration of the "loose network of terms of reference which *construct* a particular version" of phenomena and "which position subjects in relation to these" phenomena (Willig as cited in Stevenson, 2004, p. 18).

The discourse of the DE was obtained from its official website (<http://www.ed.gov>), which has become an information clearinghouse for the institution. Articles on discourse analysis of online materials mainly focus on discursivity in online environments such as chats and message boards as speech acts, no publications were found analyzing the content of websites themselves as discursive texts.

For the purposes of this analysis the website was analyzed by examining the structure and content of the page. 14 pages with content or links to NCLB were identified and visual as well as textual discourses were examined.

B. The Teacher Organizations

I have already mentioned that there are two Teacher organizations in Puerto Rico: the AMPR, founded in 1912 and the FMPR, founded in 1966. Both organizations have fought for the rights of teachers to be represented collectively. In 1998 this was finally granted in Law 45: *Ley de Relaciones del Trabajo para el Servicio Público de Puerto Rico*,³⁷ which gave teachers the right to unionize. Teachers went through a process of elections in order to determine which body would represent them and the FMPR was selected.

The rhetorical elaborations of the FMPR regarding the implementation of NCLB in Puerto Rico provide an important source for the analysis of the representations of the actors involved in or affected by the implementation of NCLB in PR. As teacher organizations both bodies are responsible for ensuring that members are aware of the changes implemented and how they will affect their professional development and performance as well as their conditions of employment.

I originally intended to base my discourse analysis of these organizations on the publications of both the AMPR and the FMPR. However, I was eventually forced to limit my examination to the FMPR (the official teacher's union), because neither of the organization's newsletters are archived in a publicly accessible collection. Regional officers of the FMPR informed me that many of the articles printed in their newsletter are also available on their website: <http://www.fmprlucha.com>, and I chose to use this resource to gather the texts for

³⁷ Public Service Employee Labor Law of Puerto Rico

my study. A total of 19 articles were retrieved by using search terms including NCLB and its key components (*Maestros Altamente Cualificados*³⁸, *PPAA*, *Escuelas en Plan de Mejoramiento*³⁹) and their English equivalents. The texts include papers given at the University of Puerto Rico at Mayagüez and Río Piedras campuses, articles from the newsletter, and informative notices for members.

C. The Press

The discourse of the popular press will be examined by looking at the coverage of NCLB in *El Nuevo Día*, the newspaper with the highest circulation on the island, and an influential agenda-setter on the media landscape. *El Nuevo Día* was founded in 1909 and has been in continuous circulation since then, which makes it the most enduring journalistic voice in Puerto Rico.

The data used for this analysis was obtained by searching in the online archives of the newspaper *El Nuevo Día* (<http://www.endi.com>). The articles are faithful to the print version and the archives are available digitally from 1998 to the present. A total of 55 articles were obtained by searching with various key words related to the research questions, including: NCLB (by its name in English and Spanish translations), PPAA, Highly Qualified Teachers (and Spanish equivalent), and variations. These articles were then reduced to 53: two articles were eliminated because they only contained a mention of the name of the law but not substantive content related to NCLB. The articles were then organized

³⁸ Highly Qualified Teachers

³⁹ Schools on an improvement plan

based on themes uncovered in the content, using Fairclough's structure of local, institutional and societal domains of analysis. The use of this model allows for an examination of text in context and identification of relationships of power and authority within the discourses examined.

I identified the names mentioned in the articles, including any titles given (i.e., Professor, Doctor, Chair, Mr. etc.), determined whether the person had been quoted, paraphrased or just mentioned. I was able to identify the main voices put forth in the press to speak about NCLB. I also noted textual elements that helped reporters to reinforce discourse or to distance from it such as the use of quotations and the integration of news headlines.

The Concept of *Voice* and *Resistance*

My analysis of the discourses of the media, the DE, and the teacher organizations is not only concerned with how the parties involved in and affected by NCLB are represented. As Research Question #2 suggests, I am also concerned with identifying the voices that are granted agency in the discourse of these institutions.

Authority to speak is significant as a way to determine relationships of power (Stevenson, 2004). This is a particularly problematic issue when it comes to educational policy given its centrality in the lives of many subjects whose agency is compromised by official policy such as learners and classroom educators. When those who are affected by policies are unable to be heard, the power to construct representations does not move beyond the official discourse,

which will logically be reinforcing the official positions. By examining the voices that are privileged by being quoted, legitimated, and reiterated in the discourses of the press, the State and the teacher organizations, it is possible to obtain a more complete understanding of who is doing the representing of the areas explored in the first research question.

On the other hand, my third Research Question examines the issue of *resistance*, which I regard in my study as the articulation of a critical stance against any component of NCLB. Woodside-Jiron contends that, "to ensure the success of policy, one must engage in discourse practices that eliminate as much resistance as possible" (2004, p.190). I am therefore interested in examining the extent to which the discourses of the DE, the teacher organizations, and the press allow for any kind of counterhegemonic response to the policy, and if this is the case, what are the subject positions and power relations represented in the cruces of resistance.

In the following three Chapters I present the Critical Discourse Analysis of the three sources under consideration: the Department of Education, the FMPR and *El Nuevo Día*.

Chapter III:

CDA of the *Departamento de Educación de Puerto Rico's* Web Site

"La educación es esencial en el proceso de liberación del ser humano

*(Freire, Hostos)."*⁴⁰

(<http://www.de.gobierno.pr/>)

In this Chapter I will present the results of a Critical Discourse Analysis of the representations of NCLB in the DE's website. In order to establish the role of the DE as a producer of official discourse it is necessary to take into account the review of the history of public education administration in Puerto Rico presented in Chapter I. The most relevant aspect of that history for the purposes of my study is the fact that this administration has consistently operated in a centralized manner until 1999. Eight years of decentralization are not likely to have challenged the authority of the DE as a producer of educational discourse. This status will undoubtedly play a role in the discourse of the DE.

The DE's website

The website of the Department of Education made its online debut in 2004. The main page of the DE can be found at <http://www.de.gobierno.pr/DEportal/Inicio/Inicio.aspx>. The website contains information on test scores and school performance, a requirement of NCLB. It has been promoted in DE printed materials (brochures and leaflets) and news articles as a source of information on education in Puerto Rico. Since the DE

⁴⁰ "Education is essential in a human being's process of liberation (Freire, Hostos)."

does not have any periodical publications, the website is important as the only publicly and consistently available source of information.⁴¹

The website has external links to other government agencies, and a link to *El Vocero*, a major newspaper on the island. There are a series of pages associated with the website with the main headings being: *Nuestro Departamento, Estudiantes, Docentes, Comunidad, Escuelas*⁴² and a search feature. The format of the website, with multiple links on one page, makes the boundaries between subjects less clear: a main page can contain information on several different subjects and links to specific information.

It shall be noted that there is no content on NCLB as a law (as opposed to the policies it has engendered) on the DE website. Links are provided to information on NCLB to three main sites: (1) the White House's web site on educational policy, (2) the main page of NCLB, and (3) the *Oficina de Asuntos Federales*⁴³, an agency that deals specifically with federal policy in Puerto Rico but is outside the *Departamento de Educación*. The discourses of these pages are not considered in my analysis, which focuses specifically on the DE as a local voice. However, the implications of the rhetorical distance implied by this configuration of the website will be examined further in the discussion of voices and authority.

⁴¹ Approaching a website using CDA methodology is an unusual proposal. Research has been published on the discourses of online communities such as message forums but not on static/non-participative website content.⁴¹ The evaluation of websites is usually limited to the validation of its content—identifying sources of information, dating material, and establishing accuracy are all central aspects (Gants, 1999; Kirkwood, 1998; Sweetland, 2000).

⁴² "Our Department, Students, Faculty, Community, Schools"

⁴³ Office of Federal Affairs

In the following section I will address my first Research Question and examine the representations of learners, educators, schools, PPAA, and the state in the texts of the DE website.

Representations in the DE Website

Learners

Representations of learners and NCLB on the page of the DE are scarce. The only verbal reference to students is in the reports about test results, which will be discussed separately. However, learners are visually present; indeed, they comprise the visual focus of most of the main pages of the DE website. Their visual presence serves as a humanizing force, breaking up the clearly institutional web content with attractive children in clean uniforms engaged in various learning tasks.

The main page, which features a link to NCLB, opens with a flashing banner that starts its loop with a series of 5 pictures of children in learning situations.⁴⁴ The first picture shows a little boy in a wheelchair with an adult, presumably his teacher, seated next to him at his desk. The next frame shows a male teacher or librarian with a group of young children. The adult is reading while some children stand next to him in costumes and others are seated on the floor watching in a tableau reminiscent of early education story time. The middle frame shows a young girl seated at her desk writing something. Her head is resting on her hand and her posture of concentration suggests that she is taking

⁴⁴ Due to the animation on the flash banner it was impossible to include images in this discussion. Interested readers should consult the DE website at <http://www.de.gobierno.pr> in order to view the images.

a test. The fourth image is of four girls with bright red ties holding a tray with some kind of food. The final picture shows a school band in uniform with the clarinet section in the forefront.⁴⁵

The banner clearly connotes diversity by putting forth images of a disabled child, a male teacher, and a mixture of boys and girls. The racial diversity of Puerto Rican children is not as clearly evident in the frames. The children depicted are all representative of the prototypical Puerto Rican with light brown skin. Black children are not represented in the page, an omission that deserves more consideration than my research project can devote but that is significant enough to deserve mention particularly given the homogenizing effect of this visual display.

The transition from visual to written text is accomplished by the integration of the two. The letters "*Hacia*" appear, incorporating the pictures into their fill and followed by "*la excelencia*" in the next flash panel with a spotlight pursuing the letters. The two final screens complete the phrase with "*educativa*" and "*DE.*"⁴⁶

The children in these images are representing an idealized depiction that objectifies and glamorizes their images by playing on the emotional reactions of the reader. The children in the pictures are all bright-eyed, well groomed and happy, a picture of "excellence." As the images are incorporated into the word *excellence*, the learners who are not excelling are left out. The children who are not interested, who are sweaty from running around outside, whose uniforms are

⁴⁵ School bands are extremely rare in Puerto Rico, even before funding was cut to school arts programs. Few schools include music as a curricular offering, making this particular image problematic when presented as representative of students' experiences.

⁴⁶ "Towards excellence in education DE"

dirty, are not granted representation in the website: in other words, real children are not given space. This use of the term *excellence* in combination with the visual representation reinforces the argument that excellence is ideologically charged:

the term *excellence* is reduced to a code word for legitimating the interests and values of the rich and the privileged [. . .] This labeling not only serves to entrap students within the contours of a professional discourse, doubly confirming the legitimating power of school practices, but also serves to reproduce intergenerational continuity by defining who are to become members of the elite class and who are to occupy the subaltern caste. (Giroux & McLaren, 1989, p.16)

The discourse of excellence, when seen in this light and when reinforced by the visual representations, is an exclusionary one and one that silences the reality of many children who are not excelling, for a plurality of reasons including socio-economic factors, different learning styles, curriculum, and school facilities.

The page that corresponds to the link "*Nuestro Departamento*"—which is rendered *Nustro Departamento*⁴⁷ [sic] in an unfortunate typographical error—has a banner with the image of a pretty little brown girl with big brown eyes and a huge happy smile. She is wearing a nice and neat uniform and holding a book. The words on the banner read: "*Preservemos nuestro mayor tesoro...*"⁴⁸ The ellipsis leaves the statement unconcluded in a presentation that privileges text by infusing it with movement while background images are static. The lack of

⁴⁷ Note the missing 'e' in Nustro

⁴⁸ "Let us preserve our greatest treasure..."

conclusion in this statement is a troubling instance in the representation of learners, whose main portrayal other than the visual ones are as numbers or test-takers by default as scores on the PPAA. Presenting students as a treasure is a problem because it objectifies them and it denies them of any agency when it comes to their own education. The static qualities of treasure along with the imperative "*preservemos*" negates children, denies them of participation as learners and reinforces a paternalistic view of students. This characterization as treasure, gold or money, also perpetuates the view of education as a utilitarian institution linked to the production of capital. Students in this view become an asset or an investment and are further objectified.

On the entire configuration of the DE website there are few verbal references to learners. The section designated "*Estudiantes*" consists mainly of a pdf document that lists student organizations and includes the initiation rites, colors to decorate with and special pledges of each organization. If anything, this page reinforces the lack of student representation by showing how devoid of student input or creativity the organizations are.⁴⁹ The voices of students are thus silenced in the DE site.

On the other hand, the main link of the DE to NCLB content at the federal government website (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/education/>

⁴⁹ The initiation for the Organización de Bellas Artes includes the following directives "*Coloque una mesa cubierta con un mantel blanco en el fondo del escenario,*" ["Place a table covered with a white tablecloth in the back of the stage."] And, "*El presidente y los demás miembros de la directiva deberán sentarse detrás de la mesa (el presidente en el medio de los demás).*" ["The president and the other officers should sit behind the table, the president in the middle of the others."] The ceremony also includes a script that must be followed by students in the rites. The level of specificity, including the seating of the president (rendered in masculine gender) does not invite student decision-making or creativity.

index.es.html) presents interesting representations of learners. The banner on this site reads "*Reformas Educativas: Que Ningún Niño Se Quede Atrás,*"⁵⁰ and it shows a presumably Caucasian boy and a brown-skinned girl. The background against which these children are presented are the stars and stripes of the American flag, in a photographic recreation of NCLB official logo which is used as part of the link on the DE page.⁵¹

In the center of the banner a cap and tassel are prominently displayed, poised on the edge of the frame as a reference to the ultimate goal of the law: seeing all those children in public schools graduate successfully.

The consistent presentation of the image of healthy, well groomed, well dressed smiling children endows NCLB with positive connotations. The simultaneous lack of any textual validation denies children their participation in their own educational process. By being represented only as attractive photographs without being substantively mentioned, much less given space on the DE website, children appear to be more of an image and marketing gimmick than the center of their own education, which the changes in educational policy in the *Escuelas de la comunidad* stated, as I discussed in Chapter Two.

Educators

Educators, like learners, are noticeably absent from the DE website. As I mentioned before, teacher figures are marginally included in the opening banner

⁵⁰ "Educational Reform: No Child Left Behind"

⁵¹ See Appendix A

of the site: they are present only in two frames and in both cases appear in the background.

Educators are textually represented in a section on *Maestros Altamente Cualificados, Ley Pública 107-110* (NCLB). The page provides instructions for the use of a form that can be downloaded at the bottom of the page and explains the process of completing a portfolio. In order to inform my discussion of how the site represents teachers, I would like to quote at length one section of the instructions:

*Complete la rúbrica siguiendo las instrucciones en el instrumento. Una vez obtenga la puntuación mínima de 100 puntos, entregue el portafolio y la rúbrica al director escolar. Este **verificará que en efecto**, alcanzó los 100 puntos y certificará que usted puede ser considerado altamente cualificado para los efectos de la Ley NCLB.⁵² (Departamento de Educación, n.d., emphasis mine)*

A number of major issues play out in this directive. No definition, translation or overview of the law is provided here or in any of the DE pages. Teachers are being directed to complete a rubric and determine their score, but the reason for this scoring is not given. The scoring of points lacks any context in the statement, promoting the idea of some external evaluator who will score not only children, but also teachers (and schools). By not clearly defining the law or its policies, the law is presumed to be the DE itself, in what would appear to be an arbitrary new requirement. This effectively erases the presence of the federal

⁵² Complete the rubric following the instructions on the instrument. Once you obtain the minimum score of 100 points, hand in the portfolio and the rubric to the school principal. This will verify that you have in effect reached 100 points and will certify that you can be considered highly qualified for effects of the law NCLB."

government and its Department of Education: its power is given to the colonial representative in the figure of the DE as an evaluating agency. This contributes to the mechanized representation of teachers. Teachers' qualifications are related to their ability to follow orders and fill out the correct papers. This representation scheme also privileges the role of teachers in perpetuating the vertical hierarchy of the school system. The use of the term "*altamente cualificado*" alongside the allusion to a points scale reinforces the picture of quantifiable evaluation of teacher performance. Without any context for the requirement, "*altamente cualificados*" is not read as the name of a policy but rather as a type of teacher. Given the absence of teacher voices, this intervention reiterates the position of the DE as a central voice of authority. Teachers are not being authorized to intervene on the educational landscape, they are being directed to complete instruments that will measure their qualification.

A memo is available for downloading on this page where the requirements for "highly qualified" are spelled out:

*tiene, por lo menos, un bachillerato de una institución de educación superior acreditada, un certificado regular de maestro en la materia que enseña y ha demostrado competencia en cada una de las materias que enseña*⁵³ (Departamento de educación, 2005)

The definition of "*demostrar competencia*"⁵⁴ is also provided as compliance with one of a series of options including: passing the teacher certification test, having

⁵³ "Possesses at least a bachelor's degree from an accredited institution of higher learning, a regular teaching certificate in the subject they teach and has shown competency in each of the subject matters they teach."

⁵⁴ "Showing competency"

majored in the subject matter, having specialized graduate courses in the subject or having a master's or doctorate degree in the subject they teach.

While a discussion of the standards, their appropriateness, pedagogical relevance or their applicability to the context of PR given the socio-demographics of the island is clearly beyond the scope or focus of this project, it is also missing from the DE website, where it arguably belongs. There is no justification provided for teachers, other than the need to comply with a vague and undefined regulation. This omission reiterates the authority of the DE to issue orders. Educators are only represented by a score; this reduction to numeric value without an explanation of the parameters denies the evaluation of any authority as a representation of teachers and their performance.

The lack of representation of teachers in the DE website signals the distance that separates educators from the Department for which they work. Not only does the site construct teachers as subordinates of the DE but it also refuses to acknowledge other teacher identities. The teacher as professional is not represented, nor is the teacher as community member, or role model. Teachers are only represented as deskilled compliers with DE policies. Giroux addressed what he called the "teacher-proofed curriculum, which creates a non-dialectical separation of conception from execution and effectively reduces teachers to the status of technicians or state-sponsored functionaries" (1989, p.16). Teachers do not receive a balanced depiction as professionals and educators: they are merely another cog in the bureaucratic machine.

A final instance of silence is significant: there are no links on the website to teacher organizations such as the official teacher's union FMPR or the other main organization the AMPR. Teachers as professionals will not find themselves in this website.

Schools

Schools do not fare well on the DE website. In a link to *Escuelas en plan de mejoramiento*⁵⁵ the reader can access a list of the underperforming schools in Puerto Rico. The list contains a daunting total of 701 schools or 43% of the schools in Puerto Rico. Once again, silence is problematic when paired up with numbers. No operational definition is given for the phrase "*escuelas en plan de mejoramiento*" on this page, or any others found in my review of the website. The lack of a definition in tandem with the lack of information linking it to NCLB explicitly creates the impression of a judgment issued directly by the DE. This reiterates the power relationship between the DE, as the purveyor of orders and the school as an institution that lacks agency. The representation of schools is cast in the figure of failure.

The only other representation of schools in the DE is as results of the tests of the PPAA, which I consider below. Schools are represented only as test scores, mainly as **negative** test scores. Numbers are given for the schools that need improvement but no numbers are available to acknowledge schools that are performing well on the tests. No positive information is on display regarding

⁵⁵ "Schools in need of improvement"

the role of schools in relation to NCLB. Thus, we might say that the DE website represents the schools as inefficient, and non-compliant institutions.

PPAA

A link to the "*Pruebas de Aprovechamiento Académico*" is available on the main page of the DE website. The link takes the reader to a page where results can be retrieved on the "*Pruebas Puertorriqueñas de Aprovechamiento Académico*." This difference in naming is revealing. With the omission of the word *Puertorriqueñas* from the name there is a deviation from the official name of the tests. The omission of this word has the effect of rhetorically distancing the tests from the DE as the agency assumes no claim of ownership. This omission is ideologically charged as the tests are not, properly speaking, *puertorriqueñas* in practice but rather the result of the imposition of an educational policy. The discrepancy can be read as an instance in resistance in the DE and as a way of distancing from a policy that is not of their authorship.

The page with information on the PPAA contains no information about the tests but gives the reader the option of looking at the results of "*Grados 3ro hasta 8vo y 11mo en Español, Matemáticas e Inglés*"⁵⁶ by inserting the name of the school into a search field. This is useful in order to look at a particular school but keeps the reader from being able to navigate information and get some insight into the systemic picture. This goes beyond convenience of access to impact the discourse that the user will encounter: what information they need to provide in order to get any answers or understanding of the PPAA and their consequences

⁵⁶ "3rd through 8th grade and 11th grade in Spanish, Mathematics and English."

.By avoiding a panoramic view of the tests the full impact of the tests is not presented. While this issue is structural, it has ideological underpinnings. Because the only information about the tests is the scores, the tests themselves are legitimized if not reified as a normative measure of performance. The PPAA are not questioned, particularly given the colonial history of Puerto Rico and education. The exclusive representation of negative results perpetuates the colonial dynamic that has characterized the history of educational policy in Puerto Rico. As I discussed in Chapter I, from its very inception, the US has presented education within a model of deficiency by emphasizing the perceived weaknesses of learners on the island. The focus on the negative scores is a fear tactic that sends the clear message that our students are failing, not only tests, but education. The message that schools cannot perform to the satisfaction of the federal/colonial powers reiterates the acceptance and nationalization of the tests as they are granted the power to determine what definitions of failure or success are for Puerto Rican children.

In addition to the test results, readers can find documents that detail the concepts and skills that students are expected to master at each grade level.⁵⁷ These documents are presumably the guide for curricular content but their specific function or relationship to the PPAA is not established. This gap is another significant omission in the representation of the tests in the DE. These

⁵⁷ Unfortunately some of the links were broken over a period of months during which I repeatedly visited the website. The links that were working led the reader to download a document with a chart and detailed standards divided by grade level. It was unclear from the information provided whether these standards are available to teachers elsewhere, or if the website is the only source for this information which would logically guide curricular content.

silences and lack of explanations serve to legitimize the PPAA themselves and the DE's role in imposing them.

The State

The representations of the State on the DE website show fragmentation and distance from the policies the DE is charged with enforcing.

The information available on NCLB is mediated through one of three sources: (A) the website of the White House (B) the *Oficina de Asuntos Federales* (OAF) or (C) the main page of NCLB at the United States Department of Education website.

A. The link to the White House page on educational policy is the first available source of information on NCLB.⁵⁸ Because this is not part of the DE it will not be analyzed in depth; however, this link merits a passing review because it is the source used by the DE to refer to the law.

The White House page does not feature an overview of the law or any guide to NCLB. The center of the page features a picture of President George W. Bush with a group of children and information on his latest evaluation of the law. On the left side is a clipboard with "*Declaraciones y Discursos*"⁵⁹ with dates and links to the president's latest speeches on the subject. The focus of this page is on the role of the president as shown by his prominent visual presence as well as his speeches and links to his biography.

⁵⁸ <http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/educations/index.es.html>.

⁵⁹ "Statements and Speeches"

B. The OAF is linked under the heading "*Asuntos Federales*."⁶⁰ This office is responsible for administering Federal funding of the DE, including NCLB, for providing technical assistance and coordinating with other offices that handle Federal funds. On the OAF website there is a page dedicated to NCLB, which provides a definition of the law:

El Acta Que Ningún Niño Quede Rezagado (conocido como NCLB por sus siglas en ingles⁶¹ [sic]) del 2001 reautoriza la Ley Elemental y Secundaria de la Educación (ESEA). ESEA es la ley federal principal que afecta la educación desde pre-escolar hasta superior. El acta de NCLB se basa en una responsabilidad más fuerte por los resultados, más libertad para los estados y las comunidades, métodos probados de educación y más opciones para los padres.⁶² (Oficina de Asuntos Federales)

Some omissions are significant in this description. The alleged benefits of NCLB are not clearly defined: what does "*responsabilidad más fuerte por los resultados*"⁶³ mean, in practical terms? How is that responsibility being played out?

The terms that are used are significant in their weight and ideological charge. The association of NCLB with terms like responsibility, liberty and proven methods represents a rhetorical strategy that is discussed by Woodside-Jiron in his CDA of policy:

⁶⁰ "Office of Federal Affairs"

⁶¹ A noticeable typo, the missing orthographic accent on "*ingles*" seriously detracts from the professionalism of the statement and the webpage in general.

⁶² "The No Child Left Behind Act (known as NCLB by its English acronym) of 2001 reauthorizes the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). ESEA is the main federal law affecting education from pre-school through high school. The NCLB act is based on greater responsibility for results, greater freedom for states and communities, proven methods of education and more options for parents."

⁶³ "Greater responsibility for results"

Lexical cohesion through consistent vocabulary or reference to 'current and confirmed research' also build cohesion and helps naturalize a text. [. . .] In transmitting this particular idea about how things are and should be, policymakers are positioning themselves in a rather dictatorial way, which means that other must be more passive and receptive. At the core of naming what counts and what does not is a power relationship between dominant and passive participants, thus influencing principles of selection. (2004, p. 201)

The pairing of NCLB with the notions of liberty and options for Puerto Rican schools, learners and parents is a reiteration of the colonial discourse that has been articulated by the liberal and democratic US nation since it took possession of Puerto Rico over a century ago. Furthermore, it reaffirms the role of the state in perpetuating the colonial structure.

The presentation of NCLB as an instrument for freedom is clearly at odds with some of the other ways in which it is being represented by the DE. The many significant omissions that characterize the representation reinforce the power and dominance of the state in matters of educational policy. The omission of educators and learners as substantive participants in the DE website confirms their passivity. By relegating educators to deskilled bureaucratic evaluations, their importance in education is minimized. The omission of links to teacher organizations is also reinforcing the power of the DE and muting the voices of teachers in policy debates. The representations of the PPAA as a persistently nationalized and validated/validating instrument is also at odds with the

polysemic freedom invoked in the OAF's definition. States are not free to make policy decisions outside of the framework of NCLB, and Puerto Rico, in particular, due to its political status and subordinate economic position, does not participate in the making of policy at any level. These representations establish the authority of NCLB and of the DE as an enforcing and mediating agency. The examination of the voices authorized in the DE will also shed light on the role of the DE in the discourse surrounding NCLB.

Authorized Voices in the DE Website

The DE website offers a space for the department as an agency to express its views, its policies, and positions and make them available to the public. It also offers a space where, ideally, the people that make up the Department--teachers, supervisors, school principals and logically, learners--should see themselves reflected and included. Given the potential and the responsibility of this medium, the examination of voices authorized to speak in this site is an important exercise.

When it comes to NCLB, the DE is not speaking. The website presents a fragmented collection of pieces of policies that have no definition, no justification, and no explicit connection to NCLB. The only voice authorized to speak in the DE website is the voice of the Federal Government in the links provided and the OAF, an agency outside the department. The colonial dynamic is played out in the dynamics of the Department. The policy has not been accepted and adapted to the Puerto Rican educational context, if such a feat is even possible. The

policy is enforced by the Department but it is not addressed or appropriated by the DE in its official website.

Finally, the incorporation of the newspaper *El Vocero* in the sponsored links of the DE, with no mention of any other media publications, implies an official endorsement of the discourse of the newspaper by its inclusion. Further exploration of the links between the DE and *El Vocero* is beyond the scope of this project, but is a potential source of officially sanctioned discourse.

Resistance in the DE Website

Searching for voices of resistance within the website of the agency implementing the policies of NCLB may seem like a futile exercise. While there is no explicit resistance some moments of conflict or crisis in the data (Fairclough, 1992, as cited in Rogers, 2004b, p.55) were identified that effectively represent moments of cognitive dissonance. The department's distance from the policy is one such instance.

By privileging the voice of the Federal Government of the United States and not making any concerted statement on the law or its impact on education in Puerto Rico, the DE is rhetorically denying association with and ownership of the policy. This distance is reinforced by another moment of crisis, this time on the page that details the department's educational philosophy. The educational philosophy of the DE, which was one of the significant changes brought about by the changes in organization in the department in 1999, begins with the following:

*La educación es esencial en el proceso de liberación del ser humano (Freire, Hostos). Es necesario entender el término 'liberación' en el marco de una concepción del ser humano enraizado en su sociedad y cultura. Liberar al ser humano requiere que este comprenda su interacción con la cultura y la sociedad que vive, que adquiera las diversas herramientas que su cultura le ofrece y desarrolle tanto la capacidad de ser crítico de su propia cultura como la imaginación para crear un espacio dentro de la sociedad.*⁶⁴ (Departamento de educación, n.d.)

Alluding to the figures of Paulo Freire, an important Brazilian educator of the 20th century and Eugenio M. de Hostos, a Puerto Rican pioneer in Latin American education in the 19th century, is a significant rhetorical move. Both intellectuals viewed pedagogy as a tool for freedom and popular organization, and both suffered persecution for their political ideals. Puerto Rican education is being repositioned onto the political and cultural context of Latin America rather than the United States, recognizing a sense of cultural affinity and kinship that surpasses political relationships.

Here, unlike the rest of the website, terms are defined specifically. Defining *'liberación'*⁶⁵ as tied to society and culture reinforces the ideology implicit in the use of Freire and Hostos and creates a moment of resistance when contrasted with a law that is so completely outside the cultural context as to receive no mention on the website.

⁶⁴ "Education is essential to the process of liberation of human beings (Freire, Hostos). The term 'liberation' should be understood in the framework of a conception of human beings as rooted in their society and culture. Liberating human beings requires that s/he understand his/her interaction with the culture and society s/he is a part of, the acquisition of the diverse tools offered by the culture and development of an ability to be critical of his/her own culture as well as the vision to create a space within society."

⁶⁵ "Liberation"

The contradiction between this philosophy and the representation on the rest of the website is sharp: the only representations of most of the members of the educational community on the pages are the scores, the numbers generated by a testing instrument imposed by a federal law.

The representations of NCLB in the DE website are characterized by the non-participation of the components of the agency, the non-identification and omission of clear information on the policies being enforced, and the mechanization of education. These representations work together to simultaneously validate the educational policy and distance the DE from its implementation. By placing the responsibility for substantive content about the law and its policies on agencies outside the DE (the Federal Department of Education and the OAF) the responsibility is displaced while the persistent implementation and lack of participation reinforces the role of the DE in the validation of NCLB. This cognitive dissonance hints at the possibility of institutional resistance, a point I further discuss in Chapter VI.

Chapter IV:

NCLB and the FMPR

*"¡Defendamos el presupuesto del Departamento de Educación y la escuela pública
puertorriqueña!"⁶⁶*
(FMPR)

In this chapter I will present the results of my CDA of the articles available on the website of the FMPR.⁶⁷ As I mentioned in Chapter II, the FMPR was constituted in 1966 as a militant alternative to the AMPR.⁶⁸ The FMPR was behind the major teacher strike of 1973 which led to 10,800 teachers staying out of the classroom in support of their demands for higher salaries, the right to negotiate collectively, more and better educational materials, and increased government subsidies of teacher health care plans. It has also been the official representative body of teachers in Puerto Rico since 1998.

The discursive position of the FMPR can be instantly recognized as one of resistance and opposition to NCLB and the DE. One of the discursive strategies of the FMPR is to set up a series of oppositional binaries that guide the reader to pick sides and articulate local, institutional, and societal power relations. In the following sections I will first discuss how the FMPR represents the agents affected by NCLB and then proceed to examine the organization's resistant discourse.

⁶⁶ "Let us defend the budget of the DE and the Puerto Rican public schools!"

⁶⁷ Unlike the case of the DE the website of the FMPR will not be analyzed because it was only used to retrieve archived articles. My analysis will focus on the texts themselves.

⁶⁸ The two organizations have been in opposition to each other since, a history worth examining, but sadly not within the scope of this project.

Representations in the Texts of the FMPR

Learners

Learners are represented, within the polarized scheme that dominates the rhetoric of the FMPR, as victims of educational policy. Students are not represented as active participants in education but as passive recipients.

Criticism of NCLB, as enacted by the DE is justified by the effects on these passive, receptive children. Reactions to the policies evoke fear and outrage, from "*efectos nefastos para la educación de nuestros niños y jóvenes*"⁶⁹ (Feliciano Hernández, 2005) to, "*inconcebible que nuestros estudiantes de nivel elemental sufran las consecuencias de la incapacidad administrativa de la alta gerencia*"⁷⁰ (Feliciano Hernández, 2007a). Children are "*juzgados por PPAA*"⁷¹ (Feliciano Hernández, 2007b). The fear and loathing toward the policies are not however clearly defined or justified, an omission that promotes the paternalistic presentation of children as defenseless victims. The use of terms such as "*nefastos*" which can literally be translated as "evil" or "unholy," the combination of "inconceivable" and "suffering" all seem to be lending an extreme, incendiary picture without the presence of specificity regarding the nature of the "unholiness" that is besieging children. The outrage over having learners be judged also seems problematic when it is only applied to the effects of the PPAA

⁶⁹ "Pernicious effects on the education of our children and youth."

⁷⁰ "Inconceivable that our children, at the elementary school level, should suffer the consequences of mismanagement of the higher administration."

⁷¹ "Judged by the PPAA."

when no consequences are being described, nor are any learners' reactions or impressions included.

The passivity of children is in direct contrast to what the FMPR cites as ideals of education that focus on the individuality of children as learners: "*El pensamiento crítico, las inteligencias múltiples, la multiplicidad de procesos evaluativos, las diferencias en las maneras de aprender tal parece que quedan subordinadas a una visión de educación estandarizada, donde todos aprendemos lo mismo y de forma idéntica*"⁷² (Federación, 2007, p.4). This description of educational missions invokes learners as being diverse, critical, and capable. Nevertheless, empowered representations of students are absent in FMPR discourse, which actually reinforces the portrayal of children as defenseless. Despite the criticism of the pedagogical effects of NCLB, the FMPR is also reductionistic in its representation of learners: they appear as the victims of an educational system who are to be rescued by teachers.

Educators

Teachers as the constituents of the FMPR are central to the discourse of the organization. Teachers are represented as sacrificing and giving, as martyrs to the cause of education. Their sacrifice and competence are particularly contrasted with the ineptitude of the DE:

Si algo mantiene en pie la educación puertorriqueña es el esfuerzo y sacrificio de los trabajadores de la educación que hacen de tripas corazón

⁷² "Critical thinking, multiple intelligences, multiple evaluation process, the differences in learning styles, all seem to have become subordinate to a vision of standardized education where we all learn the same things in an identical manner."

*para ayudar a sus estudiantes, no de boca, no desde lejos sino al calor de la lucha diaria a pesar de las graves deficiencias que ningún Secretario de Educación ha sido capaz de resolver*⁷³ (Federación, 2005b).

This statement, housed in an article that is critical of the policies of NCLB, sets up one of the binaries that will be reiterated in other texts of the FMPR: the contrast of action with inaction. Teachers act in a way that supports education whereas the DE is characterized by inaction or by bureaucratic action consisting of little more than gratuitous policymaking. Teachers are the workers, in the rhetoric of the organization, that make it all happen. Their presence in the sweat and toil of the daily classroom is represented as nothing short of heroic here, in contrast to the evil policies of the NCLB.

The use of the colloquial phrase "*hacen de tripas corazones*"⁷⁴ exemplifies another discursive mode of the FMPR. Many of the articles use a combination of formal discourse with the use of colloquial phrases and proverbs, often infused with a sense of poignancy as is the case with this text where teachers are doing the impossible to educate. The use of phrases that are proverbial accomplishes two major effects: the first is that it infuses the discourse with a sense of tradition associated with popular lore and opposed to intellectual or bureaucratic jargon. The language of the FMPR is very much the language of a labor union in that it combines the political rhetoric of social justice with the populist discourse that appeals to a wide audience. The texts are reminiscent of what Thomas Walker

⁷³ "If one thing keeps Puerto Rican education from collapsing it is the effort and sacrifice of educational workers who make the best of what they have to help their students, not just by saying so, not from afar, but in the heat of daily toil despite the serious deficiencies that no Secretary of Education has been able to solve."

⁷⁴ Literally, they make hearts out of intestines—they make the best of what they have.

refers to as "soapbox oratory" which incorporates the "self-assumption of the right and authority to speak," and the social practice that builds its own platform and legitimizes its own discourse (2006, p.66).

An example of the opposition of Teachers vs. DE follows: "*Realmente esas escuelas [en plan de mejoramiento] se sostienen gracias al esfuerzo y la dedicación de muchos maestros (as) que se niegan a rendirse frente a la desidia y el discrimen del Departamento*"⁷⁵(Feliciano Hernández, 2007a). Teachers are characterized by "*esfuerzo*"⁷⁶ and "*dedicación*"⁷⁷ whereas the DE is represented by "*desidia*"⁷⁸ and "*discrimen*."⁷⁹ Teachers are the protagonists in the educational stage and the DE is the antagonist; teachers are the industrious defenders of children whereas the state is the evil force imposing discrimination and decay. The discourse of the FMPR makes use of extremes and contrasts to make the point that educational policy is not in the best interest of learners or educators.

One case that merits examination is the coverage of an article in the newsletter dated May 17, 2005 detailing the DE's response to claims that teachers in two schools were 'helping' their students answer the PPAA in their class or, as the FMPR euphemistically puts it, "*la práctica de darle una ayudita a los estudiantes para que pasaran la prueba*"⁸⁰(Federación, 2005c) The refusal to spell out the accusations in specific terms is an effective strategy because it might make the teachers less sympathetic as agents. The specific actions of the

⁷⁵ "Really these schools that need improvement are maintained by the effort and dedication of many teachers that refuse to give up when faced with the indolence and discrimination of the Department [of Education]."

⁷⁶ Effort

⁷⁷ Dedication

⁷⁸ Indolence

⁷⁹ Discrimination

⁸⁰"The practice of giving a little help to students so they pass the test."

teachers would make it more difficult to polarize the situation in general terms. The FMPR displaces responsibility for any wrongdoing onto the PPAA and DE for implementing them:

El maestro no tiene control alguno sobre el contenido de las pruebas, sabe que las mismas no miden el material cubierto en su clase por lo que sus estudiantes van a sufrir el discrimen de ser sometidos a unas pruebas fraudulentas, engañosas; lo quieren responsabilizar por unos resultados que tampoco controla, pues no debe ser extraño para nadie que una forma de resistencia contra una situación obviamente opresiva, sea ayudar a los estudiantes de alguna manera.⁸¹ (Federación, 2005c)

The FMPR sees the teachers' actions as being at the crux of an ethical dilemma, but they resolve this conflict in an unexpected way, while normalizing the unusual view by saying "*no debe ser extraño para nadie.*"⁸² The moral implications are dismissed without ever being fully considered. Much like the teenager who justifies shoplifting by complaining that their allowance is insufficient to purchase the items he/she needs, the rationale that the unfairness of the tests justifies the actions of the teachers is expressed by the teachers' organization. The teachers' actions are presented as noble: they are saving the students from failure and discrimination by supplying them with answers or "*ayudita*"⁸³ for the test. They are resisting oppression according to the FMPR. The use of the term "*ayudita*"

⁸¹ "The teacher has no control whatsoever over the content of the tests, s/he knows that they don't measure the material that has been covered in class, therefore students suffer the discrimination of being subjected to tests that are a fraud, a lie: yet the teacher is blamed for results that s/he does not control, therefore it should not appear strange to anyone that one form of resistance against an obviously oppressive situation be to help the students in some way."

⁸² "it should not appear strange to anyone"

⁸³ "Little help"

which is repeated throughout the article is lending its strokes to the portrait of benevolence and service painted by the FMPR. Instead of calling the practice "cheating" or "academic dishonesty," either of which label might apply, "help" strips the negative associations and the diminutive suffix "*ita*" further minimizes the importance of the teachers' actions. Furthermore, it aggrandizes the image and the merits of the figure of the teacher savior.

Schools

In the discourse of the FMPR schools are figured as the opposite to the cushy offices of bureaucratic bigwigs. The DE is criticized for its inaction while teachers are praised for working under the difficult conditions they must face in schools: "*¿Les gustaría a [los burócratas] trabajar en un salón infestado de asbesto o de hongos o ratas, al lado de un desbordamiento de aguas usadas?*"⁸⁴ (Federación, 2005b). The dire conditions cited by the FMPR actually invoke the colonial trope David Spurr refers to as Debasement, where "misery and abjection are presented as two faces of the same condition, each serving as the sign of the other, so that the physical suffering of indigenous peoples can be associated with their moral and intellectual degradation" (199, p. 78). Of course, having this trope enacted in the discourse specific to education is particularly poignant. In this case, rather than being the voice of the colonizer denouncing and justifying intervention, the logic of debasement is being utilized as an indictment against the colonial model perpetuated by the DE. The association is between the

⁸⁴ "Would the bureaucrats like to work in a classroom that is infested with asbestos, mold, or rats, or next to overflowing sewage?"

substandard classroom conditions and the underperformance of children but the blame is placed on the State for being inadequate providers.

The model of school administration put into effect by the DE is rejected by the FMPR:

Aceptando las disposiciones discriminatorias y antipedagógicas de la Ley No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Aragunde⁸⁵ está poniendo en práctica una visión empresarial de la educación, que ve la escuela como si fuera una fábrica que si no cumple con unos estándares de productividad se cierra y se traslada a los estudiantes y a los maestros.⁸⁶ (Feliciano Hernández, 2007a).

Here the motif of the unspecified discrimination and anti-pedagogical practices is retaken by the FMPR. Without specifying what the adverse conditions are, the law is rejected. The dehumanization of students and teachers is captured in this mechanized and capitalist figuration of the schools.

The vision of schooling as a factory that the FMPR alludes to parallels the contention of critical pedagogy scholars who note how schooling has been linked to the ideology of the marketplace (e.g., Giroux, 1989). Jamie McKenzie, relating this trend to NCLB argues that "the current administration offers up a sad menu of warmed up leftovers from previous decades that are already discredited and untrustworthy, but they dress these strategies up in trendy language to make them seductive" (2003, p.2).

⁸⁵ Rafael Aragunde has been the Secretary of the DE from 2005 to present.

⁸⁶ "By accepting the discriminatory and antipedagogical dispositions of No Child Left Behind Law (NCLB) Aragunde is putting into practice a empresarial vision of education that sees the school as if it were a factory and if standards of production are not complied with they will be closed and students and teachers alike will be transferred elsewhere."

The use of the factory analogy is particularly poignant in Puerto Rico given the historical role that industry has played on the island. The reference to school closings is particularly entrenched in the population's memory as in the past decade dozens of major factories that were significant contributors to the economy of Puerto Rico have closed down.

According to the rhetoric of the FMPR then, schools are spaces that are either neglected to the point of decay by the state as represented by the DE, or assimilated into a dysfunctional capitalistic model that sees education as a utilitarian commodity.

PPAA

The PPAA are presented in negative terms by the FMPR as an instrument of oppression utilized by the DE: an imposition of the United States and a threat to children. They are referred to as "*Pruebas Anti-Puertorriqueñas*"⁸⁷ (17 may 05) and described as "*engañosas*"⁸⁸ and "*fraudulentas Pruebas Estandarizadas (Puertorriqueñas)*"⁸⁹ (Federación, 2005c).

The FMPR also argues that the tests are not applicable to the context of Puerto Rico:

son pruebas enlatadas que responden a realidades y diseños educativos distintos a los que experimentamos en Puerto Rico. Peor aun al ser estandarizadas resultan ser mecanismos antipedagógicos pues pretenden

⁸⁷ "Anti-Puerto Rican Tests"

⁸⁸ "Deceitful"

⁸⁹ "Fraudulent Standardized (Puerto Rican) Tests"

*medir a todos los estudiantes con la misma vara a sabiendas de que cada estudiante es distinto, individual [. . .]*⁹⁰ (Federación, 2005c)

The discourse of the FMPR thus bears the traces of preexisting discourses regarding the effects of colonial education in Puerto Rico. The reference to the test as "*pruebas enlatadas*"⁹¹ and the lack of relevance with the Puerto Rican context are both triggers and arguments that have been made by policymakers, educators, and politicians over the past century. The FMPR also speaks of the pedagogical reasons the tests are not appropriate for students by referring to the individuality of students. By emphasizing the inappropriateness of the cultural context and the lack of consideration for students' individuality, the FMPR evokes the distant figure of an authority who is imposing these culturally irrelevant standards—the United States—thus reviving the anticolonial trope.

The FMPR further argues that the students disregard the tests: "*ésta no son tomadas en serio por la inmensa mayoría del estudiantado, son discriminatorias y se basan en principios educativos fracasados y carentes de validez*"⁹² (Federación, 2006). Unfortunately, their argument resorts once again to the use of general categories without mentioning the specific points that are discriminatory. By blaming the lack of interest of students for potential failure, and then shifting the blame for the lack of interest on the poor construction of the tests, teachers are kept out of the picture and the blame is only on the institutional representations of the tests.

⁹⁰ "They are canned tests that respond to realities and educational designs different from those we experience in Puerto Rico. Even worse, being standardized they end up being unpedagogical by trying to measuring everyone with the same yardstick despite knowing that each student is different, individual [. . .]"

⁹¹ "Canned tests"

⁹² "These are not taken seriously by the majority of students, they discriminate and they are based on educational principles that failed and they lack validity."

The State

As has been anticipated by the representation of the other groups in the rhetoric of the FMPR, the representations of the State are without exception critical. An overview of terms applied to the figure of the state and the DE yields the following: "*absolutista*," "*represivo*," "*presiones*," "*amenazas*," "*chantaje*" "*cómplice*"⁹³ (Federación, 2005c). The DE is also conflated with "*clases dominantes*"⁹⁴ in several instances (Santiago Torres, n.d.[a]).

The binary of State vs. teachers is enacted repeatedly in the discourse of the FMPR: "*los sectores dominantes proclaman que el problema mayor de la educación es la falta de exigencias y rigurosidad, de forma discreta están afirmando que el mal reside en el estudiante y el maestro*"⁹⁵ (Santiago Torres, n.d.[a]). Santiago Torres' use of the ideologically charged term "*sectores dominantes*"⁹⁶ tacitly invokes the opposite in the binary: "*clase trabajadora*,"⁹⁷ which in the rhetoric of the union logically refers to the teachers who are being discreetly blamed for the lack of rigor in education. This characterization of the DE as the dominant class leads also to their representation as ineffective bureaucrats: "*¡Así de fácil sale el DE de los compromisos que contrae! Y mientras la burocracia se echa fresco, que el maestro lo haga todo*"⁹⁸ (Federación, 2006a). These bureaucrats are not only guilty of indolence but

⁹³ "Absolutist," "Repressive," "Pressures," "Threats," "Blackmail," "Accomplice"

⁹⁴ "Dominant classes"

⁹⁵ "The dominant classes proclaim that the biggest problem in education is the lack of standards and rigor, and in a discrete way they are affirming that the fault resides with students and teachers."

⁹⁶ "Dominant sectors or classes"

⁹⁷ "Working class"

⁹⁸ "That's how easy the DE gets out of its commitments! While the bureaucracy rests on its laurels, let teachers do it all!"

actually accused of being actively against teachers as evidenced by former Secretary of Instruction Ramón A. Cruz's assertion that "*los maestros no pueden enseñar lo que no saben*"⁹⁹ quoted by the FMPR (Federación, 2005b). Cruz along with Celeste Benitez, another former Secretary, and the current Secretary Rafael Aragunde are accused of carrying out "*una cruzada antimagisterial y contra la escuela pública*"¹⁰⁰ (Federación, 2005b) Aragunde's "*servilismo a la nefasta ley federal 'No Child Left Behind'*"¹⁰¹ is cited as the main motivation behind his neglect of teacher's needs (Federación, 2006a). In the view presented by the FMPR, NCLB is a punishment imposed on teachers and students by the state, mainly in the figure of the DE which is synecdochically associated with the "dominant classes."

Finally, the state is also characterized as incompetent: "*trabajamos en un sistema que sueña con una computadora para cada estudiante, pero no puede garantizar el papel sanitario en los baños*"¹⁰² (Santiago Torres, n.d.[a]). The contrast between computers and toilet paper, one a basic need for hygiene and health and the other a luxury item by comparison, emphasizes the divide between the State and the "real" school problems as represented by the FMPR. The comparison, while extreme, is founded on facts making it all the more effective as a rhetorical assault. The DE has spent millions of dollars on a system that will allow schools to have internet access, a proposal that has met with

⁹⁹ "Teachers cannot teach what they do not know."

¹⁰⁰ "A crusade against teachers and public schools."

¹⁰¹ "Servile attitude toward the abhorrent NCLB federal law."

¹⁰² "We work in a system where we dream of a computer for each student, but we can't guarantee toilet paper will be available in the bathrooms."

failure due to an infrastructure that does not support the technology. The request for toilet paper is thus a significantly more legitimate demand.

Military presence

While it was not included in the design of the original research questions one unexpected theme that emerged in my analysis of the discourse of the FMPR was the role of military recruitment in the enactment of NCLB. Because of its relevance to a study that is firmly grounded on the history of Puerto Rico's colonial education, and contributes to its ongoing documentation, I have chosen to discuss the representation of the military in this section.

Under NCLB high schools are committed to allowing military recruiters to have access to student information, including name, phone number and address. There is also a provision in the law that allows for parents, or students, to request their exclusion from this disclosure. This relationship between schools and the military was criticized repeatedly by the FMPR, and iterated as an example of the failure of the DE to protect children from NCLB.

In a speech dated the 27th of January and reproduced textually on the FMPR website Prof. Luis Santiago Torres declared that "*La Ley Federal y su implementación por las autoridades escolares en Puerto Rico violan la privacidad del estudiantado. Pretende equiparar lo que no es igual, entiéndase la opción militar con la formación académica*"¹⁰³ (Santiago Torres, n.d.[a], p.4). The opposition of military service with education is especially poignant given the

¹⁰³ "The Federal law and its implementation by school authorities in Puerto Rico violate the privacy of students. Trying to equate what is not the same, in other words the military option with academic formation."

colonial status of Puerto Rico. Participation in the military has been a contentious issue in Puerto Rico since World War I when Puerto Ricans were sent to war without even having the status and rights of US citizens. The statement that students' privacy is being violated by the military feels especially predatory as a failure of the state to protect youth.

Authorized Voices in the Texts of the FMPR

Within the discourse of the FMPR five voices are represented as authors. Most of the texts are not attributed to any author (8 out of 19 or 42%). These omissions serve to rhetorically attribute the authorship and the authority to any and all teachers. The anonymity of the speaking subject thus produces a collective subject.

The largest number of articles with an acknowledged author (6 out of 19, an approximate 32%) were written by Prof. Luis M. Santiago Torres, director of the *Departamento de quejas y agravios*.¹⁰⁴ Five of the articles (approximately 26%) were written by Rafael Feliciano Hernández, *Presidente*¹⁰⁵ FMPR. The position of each of these writers within the organization automatically grants them authority and privilege.

Only two voices are directly quoted in the texts of the FMPR: former secretaries of the DE, Ramón A. Cruz and César Rey. In both cases they are only briefly quoted and both quotes are fodder for criticism. I already discussed Cruz's declaration about teachers' inability to teach. On the other hand, Cesar

¹⁰⁴ Department of Complaints and Grievances

¹⁰⁵ President

Rey's declarations about NCLB are quoted as he justifies the law: "*El lenguaje de N.C.L.B. no es exógeno al que nosotros habíamos planteado en nuestro proyecto, aún sin conocer la Ley Federal*"¹⁰⁶ (Federación, 2007). He goes on to explain how the fortuitous law only accelerates what was already being implemented. The FMPR criticizes this declaration, particularly the idea that the federal mandate is in keeping with the best interests of Puerto Rican learners.

Absent from representation in the FMPR's texts about NCLB are the voices of teachers. This is an important area of silence: as a teacher's organization it would be logical to expect that teachers would have a chance to speak and be heard. The other group that does not come to voice is, as was suggested earlier, learners. They are not represented within the FMPR as anything other than a general category that receives education, rather than participates in it. The monolithic voice of the FMPR undermines the populist views it puts forth; the power of speech is thus not spread horizontally in the organization's texts.

Resistance in the Texts of the FMPR

The resistance of the FMPR to NCLB is categorical and is characterized by a number of consistent discursive strategies. The text of a speech on the impact of the law delivered at the University of Puerto Rico-Río Piedras is reproduced as follows:

¹⁰⁶ "The language of N.C.L.B. is not foreign to what we had proposed in our project, even before knowing about the law."

Si usted antepone lo privado sobre lo público, si aboga por una educación centralizada, estandarizada y poco reflexiva, si es copartícipe que el criterio casi único para medir aprovechamiento se sustenta en una sola prueba anual por material, si se aleja de una educación que nos acerque a la paz, la tolerancia, la diversidad y la justicia social avalando el militarismo en las escuelas, si usted como educador va a permitir que le impongan lo que es o no es un método científico sin ningún respeto a la libertad de cátedra, entonces puede aceptar sin problemas el modelo educativo impuesto bajo la Ley Federal ESEA y decir que es el modelo transformador del siglo 21.¹⁰⁷ (Federación, 2007)

This excerpt is worth examining in depth as it deploys a number of strategies that are typical of the discourse of the FMPR regarding NCLB. This argument is structured on the basis of a series of oppositions. Their resistance to the law is unambiguous: the lines are clearly drawn. Either you are with us or against us.

Another discursive strategy employed by the FMPR is to mock the names of the policies as in "*Pruebas Anti-puertorriqueñas*" or the "*plan de amenaza*"¹⁰⁸ instead of "*plan de mejoramiento*"¹⁰⁹ in schools. By taking the brand names associated with NCLB and twisting them around, the FMPR is deconstructing the law and challenging its rhetorical authority.

¹⁰⁷ "If you put the private before the public, if you advocate for centralized education that is standardized and not self-reflexive, if you participate in the almost exclusive criteria for measuring achievement that is substantiated on only one test in a subject in a year, if you move away from an education that brings us closer to peace, tolerance, diversity, and social justice by promoting the military presence in schools, if you as an educator are going to allow them to impose upon you what is or is not a scientific method without any respect for freedom in the classroom, then you can accept the educational model put forth by the ESEA without a problem and say that it is the model for educational transformation in the 21st century."

¹⁰⁸ "Threat plan"

¹⁰⁹ "Improvement plan"

Similarly, a refusal to render the Spanish translation of the law signals distance and resistance. The lack of legitimacy of this law to the Puerto Rican educational context does not even earn it a Spanish title. The FMPR refers to the title of the law as "*un nombre publicitario*"¹¹⁰ (Federación, 2007), again robbing the law of authority by denying the label or brand name that is an important rhetorical strategy of policy cohesion: "through repetition and constantly being pointed to as authority, these texts come to be established as normal" (Woodside-Jiron, 2004 , p.179). The FMPR evidently resists this normalizing.

Woodside-Jiron further argues that, "resistant readings of [. . .] policy are reduced by way of anchoring new and often vague terms against specific bodies of research, proclaimed experts, and instructional materials" (2004, p.201). By taking the terms that have been promoting the policies and turning them on their heads as in the use of "*pruebas anti-puertorriqueñas*," resistance is effected by incorporating the very elements that are expected to shield them from criticism.

Another common rhetorical strategy and an important discursive mood is found in the conclusions of the articles. The articles overwhelmingly conclude with an explicit reiteration of resistance. They end with a call to action or a motto related to the critical content of the article as in, for example: "*¡Defendamos el presupuesto del Departamento de Educación y la escuela pública puertorriqueña!*"¹¹¹ (Santiago Torres, Todos Quieren Bailar, n.d.), with an

¹¹⁰ "A name for publicity"

¹¹¹ "Defend (plural imperative) the budget of the Department of Education and the Puerto Rican public schools!"

affirmation of the FMPR and its power as a union: "*¡Sí Federación: la que siempre te defiende!*"¹¹² (Feliciano Hernández, 2007).

Finally, the large number of articles written by the director of the complaints department serves as a fair indicator of the amount of resistance the law has met with. Santiago Torres is the main voice of authority in the coverage of the NCLB and his position in the FMPR is clearly stated putting the information regarding NCLB under the banner of complaints and grievances.

As a representative of teachers the FMPR has a responsibility to present a collective voice for teachers. As has been shown in this analysis, however, their discursive representation of both teachers and students is one dimensional and relies on inflammatory rhetoric rather than concrete evidence and facts. On the other hand, schools are represented as zones of contention that are besieged by the DE. The PPAA are categorically rejected and described as abusive to learners and their best interests. The State as represented by the institution of the DE is cast in the figure of the enemy to be fought and conquered by the union. The FMPR provides a strongly resistant and militant voice in keeping with the long struggle of teachers to gain participation and representation in the educational system in Puerto Rico.

¹¹² "Yes Federation: the one that always defends you!"

Chapter V:

NCLB in *El Nuevo Día*

"[Bryan Molina y Nereida Martínez, maestros] aspiran a que algún día nuestro sistema de enseñanza figure entre los mejores del planeta. No obstante, les preocupa que éste, en lugar de progresar se ve amenazado por una Ley que al momento se implantó en Washington D.C."¹¹³
(Méndez Martí, 2004, June 19).

In order to contextualize the representations of NCLB in *El Nuevo Día*, a brief overview of the history of the press in Puerto Rico will provide perspective on the institutional and societal domains framing the discourses under examination in the last 5 years.

The Press in Puerto Rico

Freedom of the press has been a contested right in the history of Puerto Rico. The first time Puerto Rico was granted press freedom was in 1810 under the rule of Spain. In 1823 the right was revoked, although later restated in 1837, under tight controls (Baralt, 2002). The political unrest of the late 1800s was countered with increased censorship as newspapers were shut down and writers were imprisoned. As the movement towards autonomy gained strength, repression countered the tides of political unrest. The Spanish American War was a particularly difficult time for the press in Puerto Rico. According to Baralt (2002), thanks to the news cables, the world knew about the battles being fought

¹¹³ "[Brian Molina and Nereida Martínez, teachers] hope that some day our educational system will be among the best on the planet. Nonetheless, they are worried that the educational system instead of making progress is being threatened by a Law that was implemented in Washington."

in the towns of Yauco, Ponce, and Guánica, but residents of the island, mere kilometers away, did not know what was going on.

The United States used the press to distribute the Proclamation of General Nelson Miles justifying the invasion of Puerto Rico, stating the following: “*esta no es una Guerra de devastación, sino una Guerra que proporcionará a todos, con sus fuerzas navales y militares, las ventajas y prosperidad de la esplendorosa civilización*”¹¹⁴ (Baralt, 2002, p.30). Unfortunately the hope that these advantages would extend to freedom of the press did not come to fruition.

*El Diario de Puerto Rico*¹¹⁵ founded in 1909 (shortened to *El Día* in 1911 and reborn as *El Nuevo Día* in 1970) was originally Ponce's newspaper. The paper managed to keep up with the times and change as readership changed with industrial progress.

In 1948 the first major policy to attempt to limit freedom of the press after the establishment of a civilian government in Puerto Rico was proposed. The so called *Ley de la mordaza*¹¹⁶ intended to curtail the *Nacionalista*¹¹⁷ movement which fought for the political freedom of Puerto Rico under the leadership of Pedro Albizu Campos. The law was resisted by civic organizations and politicians but nonetheless went into effect making dissention illegal by criminalizing, “*el promover, abogar, aconsejar o predicar, voluntariamente y a sabiendas, la necesidad, deseabilidad o conveniencia de derrocar, paralizar o subvertir el Gobierno insular o cualquier división política de éste, por medio de la*

¹¹⁴“ This is not a war of devastation, but rather a war that will provide all, with its naval and military forces, the advantages and prosperity of the splendidous civilization.”

¹¹⁵ Puerto Rico Daily

¹¹⁶ Literally, muzzle law.

¹¹⁷ Movement for Puerto Rican political independence and sovereignty as a nation.

fuerza y la violencia"¹¹⁸ (Baralt, 2002, p.232). The law stayed in effect for 4 years but its effects on the relationship between the state and the press were enduring.

In 1971 *El Nuevo Día* left its native city of Ponce to make the move for the capital city of San Juan. In 1987 a law was proposed that would make it illegal for reporters to acquire government documents through any sources other than the official procedures, and eliminated the 'privilege' of reporters to protect their sources. The proposal did not make it through and was tabled, however the attitude of the government remained very much against the press.

In 1990 a new project emerged reviving the *Ley de la mordaza*. The law was opposed by the *Asociación de Periodistas de Puerto Rico*, the *Sociedad Interamericana de Prensa*, the *Colegio de Abogados de Puerto Rico*,¹¹⁹ the Senate, the Press and the public at large (Baralt, 2002). The law was challenged in Federal court. A series of lawsuits followed but in 1993 when Pedro Roselló became governor, the issue had not yet been resolved. His first day as governor involved dismissing the law as he had promised in his campaign for election.

Roselló's second term (1997-2001), however, proved to be less benign for the press as he ordered the cancellation of advertisements from party supporters to the newspaper *El Nuevo Día* in 1997 as a response to a series of critical articles published in the papers. The case was taken to court by *El Nuevo Día* and the government was criticized by press organizations world-wide. It was

¹¹⁸ "promoting, advocating, advising or preaching voluntarily, and knowingly the necessity, desirability or convenience of overthrowing, paralyzing or subverting the insular Government or any political division of said government, through the use of force and violence."

¹¹⁹ Association of Puerto Rican journalists, InterAmerican Press Society, Puerto Rico Lawyer's Bar

not until 1999 that the case was finally won by *El Nuevo Día* and freedom of the press was reaffirmed in the decision.

It was also in the 1990s that *El Nuevo Día* emerged as the leading newspaper in Puerto Rico. Its participation in the creation of discourse pertaining to NCLB is critical as a major contributor to the public discourse in Puerto Rico, especially in light of its own and the press's history of resistance to State censorship.

The examinations of the various representations in the following sections will prove to be complex and sometimes paradoxical as can only be expected of a publication with a professed mission to edify discussions on Puerto Rican culture and society. In keeping with this mission, *El Nuevo Día* includes a wider variety of voices in representations, such as teachers and students, and also expounds at length on an issue that was present as well in the FMPR: the military recruitment associated with NCLB.

Representations in *El Nuevo Día*

Learners

The representations of students in *El Nuevo Día* include are more complex than those previously examined in Chapters III and IV. Students are sometimes presented by name and granted some individuality and other times characterized as a group of test-takers. The paper employs children's voices and stories, although used for contrasting purposes.

An article from Diana Schemo reprinted from the *New York Times*, introduces a three year old by the name of Giselle Gálvez, "*que puede cantar el alfabeto y distinguir el rosado del púrpura. . .*"¹²⁰ as an example of the success of Head Start programs (Schemo, 2003, Feb 13). The teacher is also mentioned by name and she is said to teach children who are not yet two years old that "A es de avión"¹²¹ (Schemo, 2003, Feb 13). However, funding has been cut, "*al tiempo que los directores del programa Head Start interiorizaban la decepción sufrida la semana anterior, B es de bloqueo de donaciones*"¹²² (Schemo, 2003, Feb 13). The image of enthusiastic preschoolers is invoked by recourse to singing the alphabet, an early literacy activity which, more importantly, is instantly evocative of childhood and innocence. The play on the alphabet motif is extended as a criticism of NCLB is launched, B is no longer an neutral letter in the song but is now an example of the effects of policies on education: lack of funding.¹²³ However, the article reflects a classroom in the United States; the representations of local children are used to support and praise NCLB instead of denouncing it.¹²⁴

In another article Merssa Torres, Director of the *Instituto Nacional Complementario para la Excelencia en la Docencia*¹²⁵, is quoted as stating that,

¹²⁰ "who can sing the ABCs and tell pink from purple..."

¹²¹ "A is for airplane."

¹²² "while Head Start directors internalized last week's let down, B is for blocked donations"

¹²³ One result of NCLB was the shift of Head Start programs to the Department of Education rather than Health and Human Services whose auspices it had been under. This significantly impacts the areas of support covered by the program which serves low-income children and had provided comprehensive services including social workers, health, and nutrition services.

¹²⁴ In the representations of *El Nuevo Día* only two articles from syndicated sources were found: the majority of the articles are of the authorship of local reporters. While all articles included in the newspaper are representative of the discourse of *El Nuevo Día* by their inclusion, they are nonetheless a product of a different source and not directly produced by the newspaper.

¹²⁵ National Complementary Institute for Excellence in Teaching

"este año se notó un 85% de aumento en las destrezas de escritura y lectura, lo que se refleja en [las] notas [de los estudiantes]"¹²⁶ (Parés Arroyo, 2004, Nov 12). This increase is attributed to NCLB, and the tutoring of children who were on the verge of failure, as was the case with the two children featured. Daneli Ferreras, a 7 year old, is quoted as saying "*Me gusta leer*"¹²⁷ and Ángel Ruíz says he enjoys "*escribir palabras y oraciones*"¹²⁸ (Parés Arroyo, 2004, Nov 12). By putting the positive statements in the voices of children, the reader is maneuvered into accepting the positive evaluation. After all, it is undoubtedly positive to have a child enjoy reading, or a child gladly writing words and sentences, therefore, logically the connection is made with NCLB, which must by association, also be positive. In their enjoyment and increased building of skills, learners are represented as active participants in their own education. This is emphasized by the fact that children are named rather than presenting a child who is namelessly generic. While the two samples are supporting contrasting ideological positions they both prove the effectiveness of the play on emotions made by the deliberate use of children's experiences.

Another case of students presented as active participants is in dealing with the issue of military recruitment which is embedded in NCLB and which represented an unexpected motif in this research project as discussed in Chapter IV. While further examination of the issues specific to representations of the military and NCLB will be presented in a separate section, the role of this issue

¹²⁶ "this year an 85% increase was noted in the skills of reading and writing, which is reflected in students' grades."

¹²⁷ "I like to read."

¹²⁸ "Writing words and sentences."

on the portrayal of students will be briefly uncovered with an example given below.

Under NCLB military recruitment officers are given access to the same information as college recruiters, an issue that has met with great resistance and criticism on the island. There is, however, a provision allowing for parents to opt out and not have their teenagers' information disclosed. It was also revealed that, "*los estudiantes de las escuelas superiores públicas del país podrán prohibir o autorizar que sus datos personales sean divulgados al Departamento de Defensa de Estados Unidos [. . .]*"¹²⁹ (López Cabán, 2005, Oct 30). In addition to the important power given to High School students to protect their own privacy and make decisions about their own ideological convictions, the statement reveals the discursive privileging of student agency. By placing the prohibition first in the sequence, the withholding of information is privileged in what has been a contentious debate over the linking of educational funding with military recruitment.

Unlike the personal representations above, which focus on active aspects of learners, the third major area of representation is as test takers. The tension between these two representations lies in the potential for depersonalization as children are reduced to numeric values on scores.

In an unsigned article with the title "*Lo dicen estudios*"¹³⁰ students are divided by sex and their performance is praised based on test scores: "*Al igual que en el 2005, las niñas aventajan a los niños en los conocimientos avanzados*

¹²⁹ "The students of the country's public high schools can prohibit or authorize the sharing of their personal information with the Department of Defense of the US."

¹³⁰ "Studies show"

de las materias. *Conocimiento avanzado significa que el estudiante demuestra un amplio dominio de los conceptos y destrezas del nivel; y que aplica e integra efectivamente los conocimientos y conceptos aprendidos a situaciones de la vida diaria*¹³¹ (Lo dicen estudios, 2006, 15 Sept). In this presentation the view of learners as scores is unquestioned and is normalized, down to the breakdown of scores along gender-lines. Children become lost among the numbers and definitions and are reduced to a quantifiable set of skills and knowledge. Unlike the prior examples, childrens' likes and dislikes, their skills and interests, do not figure in the representation.

An article entitled "*A medir el provecho*"¹³² opens with the line, "*Los estudiantes de escuelas públicas: Prepárense*"¹³³ (Rodríguez Cotto, 2003, April 25). Here students are harshly subjected to the PPAA. With this colloquial expression in the imperative mode, the subtle threat of measurement is only slightly mitigated. This representation of learners as being under the threat of testing is fueled by sympathy as much as condescension: "*no eran los exámenes de medio semestre ni mucho menos los finales, pero ayer miles de estudiantes de las escuelas públicas sentían el mismo cosquilleo en el estómago. La misma ansiedad que se nota cuando se toma una prueba*"¹³⁴ (Rodríguez Cotto, 2003, May 1). The point is made that the evaluation is not related to students' grades by taking the tests out of the context of midterms or finals, but, the tests are

¹³¹ "Just as in 2005, girls outperformed boys in advanced knowledge of subject matter. Advanced knowledge means that the student shows broad mastery of concepts and skills at the level, and that s/he effectively applies and integrates knowledge and concepts learned to situations in her/his daily life."

¹³² "Measuring performance"

¹³³ "Public school students: get ready!"

¹³⁴ "They were not midterms, much less finals, but yesterday thousands of students in public schools felt the same butterflies in their stomachs. The same anxiety felt when taking an exam."

nonetheless a source of stress and nerves for students. This mention of their anxiety is not followed by any kind of criticism of the PPAA but rather by commentary on the students' performance and attendance. Student anxiety surrounding testing is normalized: it's simply part of going to school.

Educators

The representations of teachers in *El Nuevo Día* are invariably sympathetic although not unproblematically so.

In a heartwarming representation of children and teachers, Hidelisa Ríos-Maldonado presents in detail a lesson where a teacher used the painting of a rabbit to discuss various features: texture, shapes, light, and shadow, and then had the students write about the painting. She writes that, "*ahora me doy cuenta de que la clase no era de arte, sino de escritura. Ella había insertado sabiamente la travesía artística para motivarnos a escribir (no a copiar) y así practicar la caligrafía en cursivo, apelando al lado derecho de nuestro cerebro, y por consiguiente a una de sus funciones: la creatividad*"¹³⁵ (Ríos- Maldonado, 2005, June 11). The reference to the right brain as a center of creativity reflects the trend in educational policy that makes allusions to research as a way of reinforcing or justifying policymaking (Woodside-Jiron, 2004). Rather than simply praise the creativity of the teacher the reference to neurological research on differences between right and left brain is alluded to in passing as a way of validating the use of the arts. The story could very well focus on the many

¹³⁵ "Now I realize that the class was not an art class but rather a writing class. She had wisely inserted the artistic journey to motivate us to write (not to copy), and in that way practice our penmanship in cursive, appealing to the right side of our brain and as a result to one of its functions: creativity."

applications of art in the curriculum, on classroom community, on the creativity of her teacher but the focus is instead shifted onto policy and its justification. The article is actually focused on a symposium:

*El propósito del simposio era resaltar la importancia que le otorga la ley 'No Child Left Behind' (NCLB) a las bellas artes, situándolas junto a las disciplinas de corte académico. En este contexto, se enfatizó la importancia de que los maestros de bellas artes tengan una preparación de excelencia y una formación respaldada por estudios no tan solo a nivel de bachillerato sino hasta de maestría y doctorado.*¹³⁶(Ríos-Maldonado, 2005, June 11)

This frame of childhood classroom memories stands in sharp contrast with the conference that is dealing with educational policy. The implication here is that the arts are being legitimized by their placement alongside the more traditionally academic subjects. Teachers, according to this argument, stand to gain from their increased legitimacy. Teachers go from being benign figures of memory to being reduced (or exalted) to educational degrees. The context of the requirements for Highly Qualified Teachers resulting from NCLB is not mentioned as the focus is on the positive experience of an arts teacher. By praising teachers and presenting the nostalgia and affection of a personal memory the sting is taken off the suggestion that art teachers are not sufficiently prepared to work in the DE, as is implied by the discussion of NCLB.

¹³⁶ "The purpose of the symposium was to highlight the importance given by the law NCLB to fine arts, placing them alongside other academic disciplines. In this context, the emphasis was on the importance of fine arts teachers having excellent preparation and training not only at undergraduate level, but also at the Master's and Doctoral level."

The role of teachers in the implementation of NCLB is recognized in the press. Just as teachers' importance is declared however, they are relieved from blame for students' failure. In an article titled "*Defensa a la calidad de los maestros*"¹³⁷ Waldo Torres, the Subsecretary of Academic Affairs, declared that: "*el maestro es el actor principal, pero no responsable exclusivo. No podemos poner sobre los maestros la responsabilidad absoluta*"¹³⁸ (qtd. in Roldán Soto, 2005, Dec 6). Examining the title of the article reveals the conflict present in the text: something is only in need of "defense" if it is under attack. In this case, the level of responsibility teachers should actually be accountable for is not clearly delineated beyond the fact that they are not the only culprits for failure. The act of negation invokes the opposite position.

The participation of teachers is praised by the Director of Educational Programs, David Sherman, of the AFT who is quoted repeatedly on several different issues: "*La participación activa de los maestros es la clave que asegura el uso adecuado de los fondos de Título I destinados a complementar la educación de estudiantes de escasos recursos*"¹³⁹ (Millán Pabón, 2004, June 5). He also expressed his concerns about the applications of the law, "*Sherman indicó que la preocupación más significativa expresada por los líderes de la FMPR-AFT es la inconsistencia de la implementación del programa a nivel de distrito y de las escuelas, la falta de información y el rol de los maestros en esta*

¹³⁷ "Defense of the quality of teachers"

¹³⁸ "The teacher is the main actor, but not solely responsible. We cannot put upon teachers the absolute responsibility."

¹³⁹ "Active participation of teachers is the key that ensures adequate use of the funds for Title I, destined to complement the education of low-income children."

implementación"¹⁴⁰ (Millán Pabón, 2004, June 5). By highlighting inconsistency in implementation and the role of teachers Sherman emphasized their importance. By framing it as a concern, it is made clear that the participation of teachers has not been sufficiently incorporated into the implementation of NCLB. The details of their ideal role, versus their current role in the enactment of NCLB are not presented by Sherman, making it difficult to determine what the problem is in concrete terms. How are teachers being denied participation? What participation is being denied them? These questions remain unanswered. However, Sherman is a representative of the AFT from the US, on the island for AFT business and not a local representative with the first hand knowledge of these issues.¹⁴¹

The representations of local teacher organizations reflects some of the same issues with increased specificity. In an article also addressing the participation of teachers, López Cabán writes about the AMPR's laundry list of demands, including "*en el renglón académico, exigió 'verdadera' participación de los maestros en la toma de decisiones y vistas públicas para que se discutan los proyectos de política pública de la agencia*"¹⁴² (López Cabán, 2004, Dec 29). The use of quotations is particularly telling as a mechanism that marks the words as the discourse of the other, "quotes suggest that 'these are his words' and are used routinely when the journalist wants to distance himself from such an

¹⁴⁰ "Sherman declared that the most significant concern expressed by the leader of the FMPPR-AFT is the inconsistent implementation of the program at the district level as well as in schools, the lack of information, and the role of teachers in this implementation."

¹⁴¹ The importance of his role as outsider will be examined further in Section II: Voices in *El Nuevo Día*.

¹⁴² "In the academic arena, she demanded the 'true' participation of teachers in decision making processes and public hearings to discuss the public policy projects of the agency."

expression" (VanDijk, 1988, p.70). Unlike the discourse of Sherman, the distance created in speaking of the AMPR negates the validity of the represented teachers' concerns. The use of the strongly charged term "*exigir*"¹⁴³ is marked, unlike the use of "*indicó*"¹⁴⁴ which is a neutral and positive tone of observation rather than contention, "whereas negative implications are often associated with politically or socially defined them-groups, neutral or positive implications may be associated with the acts considered as we-group" (Van Dijk, 1988, p. 71). The "we-group" in this case is the AFT.

This privileging of the discourse of the AFT extends the colonial ideology to the representations of teachers. The voices of the experts are the voices of the leaders from the US and they are the ones authorized to speak about the teachers' issues.

Representations of teachers in *El Nuevo Día* are more complex than those of the FMPR, and the DE. Unlike the DE, teachers are presented as more than numerical computations. Also, unlike the FMPR teachers in the newspaper are much more than martyrs. Their representations are positive, but not unequivocally so.

Schools

While there is variety and tensions in the representations of teachers articulated in discussions about NCLB in *El Nuevo Día*, the paper erects a

¹⁴³ "Demand"

¹⁴⁴ "Indicated"

singular image of the schools. Its discourse suggests that schools are failing, are on the verge of closing, and, as if that weren't enough, they are not safe.

In a striking headline the failure of schools is concisely exposed, "*A punto de 'colgarse' 48 planteles escolares*"¹⁴⁵ (Colón, 2002, Nov 14). By applying the terminology of student evaluation, particularly the slang expression "*colgarse*"¹⁴⁶, schools are robbed of their institutional power and are subjected to the process of evaluation, and failure, that students, and now teachers, must also endure. This signals an instance of the newspaper's appropriation of the discourse of NCLB, where test scores reign supreme and schools are classified as failing based on results. The situation is further explained in a separate article, "*el posible cierre de 48 escuelas con bajo aprovechamiento académico es un problema de 'prioridad inmediata' que, sin embargo, debe atenderse sin obviar el resto de los planteles para asegurar, que tal cifra no aumente en un futuro*" en la opinión el presidente de la FMPR Jesús Delgado"¹⁴⁷ (Colón, 2002, Nov 16). The phrase "*bajo aprovechamiento académico*"¹⁴⁸ much like "*colgarse*" makes the link to student evaluations and puts the pressure to perform on schools as institutions as well.

An even more serious threat to schools is detailed in an article about a hearing before the commission of federal affairs:

Según la exposición de motivos que autorizó la investigación [de la Comisión de Asuntos Federales], 15 escuelas de la zona metropolitana,

¹⁴⁵ "48 schools on the verge of flunking"

¹⁴⁶ "Flunk"

¹⁴⁷ ""The possible closure of 48 schools with low academic performance is an 'immediate priority' problem that, nonetheless, should be tended to without neglecting the rest of the campuses in order to ensure that this number does not grow in the future' in the opinion of the president of the FMPR Jesús Delgado."

¹⁴⁸ "Low academic performance"

*entre las que se encuentran las de las comunidades Manuel A. Pérez, San José, Manuel Cerero, Reparto Paraíso y Quintana, estaban prácticamente desiertas durante la semana del 4 al 7 de febrero por el temor de los padres a una guerra entre narcotraficantes. El número de estudiantes afectados ascendió a 6,729, precisó Ortiz Daliot [presidente de la comisión].*¹⁴⁹ (Rodríguez Sánchez, 2003, May 3)

The communities affected by the drug wars are immediately recognizable as poor, public housing areas, all notorious for the dangerous conditions. The mention of specific dates for the occurrences lends poignancy by providing specificity and proximity. More significant is the mention of the location of these schools, by highlighting the low income communities affected the article emphasizes the social problems that are also attached to education such as poverty, inadequate housing conditions, drugs, gangs, violence, and, at a basic level whether students have enough to eat on a daily basis. The problems of drugs and violence are shown as having a direct impact on classrooms by literally keeping children out of them in fear for their safety.

Schools in the representations of *El Nuevo Día* are a far cry from the idealized location for the remembered lessons of a news reporter looking at the paintings of bunnies in a classroom. Schools are not safe places, nor are they reliable as they are threatened by the twin evils of closure and privatization. This representation is similar to those of the FMPR where schools are described as

¹⁴⁹ "According to the exposition of purpose that authorized the investigation [of the Commission of Federal Affairs], 15 schools in the metropolitan area, among which were the communities Manuel A. Pérez, San José, Manuel Cerero, Reparto Paraíso, and Quintana, were deserted during the week of the 4th to the 7th of February due to parents' fears given the war among rival drug dealers. The number of students affected reached 6,729, according to Ortiz Daliot [President of the Commission]."

dangerously lacking in maintenance, supplies, sanitation, and space. In both instances, schools are largely represented as perilous to children's health and wellbeing, certainly not spaces that are conducive to promoting a love of learning. In the discourse of the FMPR as well, schools are evaluated based on the criteria of the NCLB, however this valuation is questioned. The blame is shifted from the schools onto the larger problem of educational administration in the discourse of the FMPR. *El Nuevo Día* leaves that connection largely unexplored.

PPAA

While the PPAA are a threat to children, as implied by the warnings discussed in the representations of learners, they are otherwise figured as a valid and even valuable resource for Puerto Rican education.

At this point, it is worth revisiting the article that contained the touching anecdote about incorporating arts into the classroom because it yields an important validation of the PPAA. Just as the academic qualifications of arts teachers are presented as positive for the development of the subject in classrooms, the PPAA are presented as an important and positive tool:

Conjuntamente al destacar las bellas artes como cualquier otra disciplina académica, la ley obliga a que éstas sean evaluadas por pruebas estandarizadas, la expresión creativa se puede medir y contabilizar para evaluar las ejecuciones del maestro de bellas artes con los resultados sobre el conocimiento y la sensibilidad artística de sus alumnos. Además,

*sirve como evidencia para recibir los fondos necesarios.*¹⁵⁰ (Ríos Maldonado, 2005, June 11)

This statement seems to go against the argument that opposes standardized testing arguing that it does not accurately represent creativity or different learning styles (Hill, 2005; Kohn, 2004; McElroy, 2006). As the deputy commissioner of education in Massachusetts, Sandra Stotsky put it: "*Explore* isn't a word that can be put into a standard because it can't be assessed" (cited in Kohn, 2004, 49). The combination of "*conocimiento*"¹⁵¹ with "*sensibilidad artística*"¹⁵² here is intended to legitimize artistic expression as it is allegedly measurable according to the argument. The addition of funding at the end ensures that the reader is left with the impression that the tests are not serving a purely institutional function but have a primary function as a pedagogical instrument.

The relevancy of the PPAA is taken up in the argument that,
[. . .] *más allá de cumplir con las leyes federales, Educación confía en que la nueva prueba tendrá una mayor pertinencia para el estudiantado puertorriqueño, toda vez que fue diseñada en el marco de la cultura puertorriqueña. Para ello, Educational Testing Service contó con la colaboración de 58 maestros, directores y supervisores de Educación.*¹⁵³
(Colón, 2003, April 30)

¹⁵⁰ "Also, by emphasizing visual arts as an academic discipline like any other, the law forces the evaluation by standardized tests. Creative expression can be measured and counted in order to evaluate the performance of the arts teacher based on results of students' knowledge and artistic sensibility. Additionally, they serve as evidence to receive necessary funding."

¹⁵¹ Knowledge

¹⁵² Artistic sensibility

¹⁵³ "Beyond complying with federal laws, Education trusts in that the new test will have more relevancy for Puerto Rican students, given that it was designed within the framework of Puerto Rican culture. In order to accomplish this, Educational Testing Service collaborated with 58 teachers, principals and Education supervisors."

The inclusion of teachers and supervisory staff along with the specific number of participants, supports the test as being something Puerto Rican rather than imposed by the US legislation alone. The emphasis of the Puerto Rican context, with the repeated use of the adjective, mitigates the mention of a non-Puerto Rican agency: the Educational Testing Service. The explicit use of the verb "*confía*"¹⁵⁴ sets the stage for the fully supportive and positive presentation of the law. Testimonial evidence also reinforces this positive reaction to the law.

The director of the region of San Juan for the DE expressed her approval of the tests when they were administered in 2003 stating,

*creo que esto ha sido excelente porque se ve un buen ambiente y lo que he podido ver, ya que las pruebas son confidenciales, me demuestra que el vocabulario de los exámenes es cónsono con el vocabulario que manejan nuestros estudiantes.*¹⁵⁵ (Milagros Hernández, cited in Rodríguez Cotto, 2003, Sept 11).

The declarations of Milagros Hernández Rosario add even further legitimacy to the tests as a report from ground zero. Her witnessing of "*buen ambiente*"¹⁵⁶ flags the PPAA as an event that could possibly bring an adverse atmosphere, given her need to explicitly declare the calm surrounding them. Nonetheless the reported facts remain that the tests went on without a hitch and without resistance.

¹⁵⁴ "Trusts"

¹⁵⁵ "I think this has been excellent because I've noticed a good atmosphere and from what I've been able to see, because the tests are confidential, it shows me that the vocabulary on the tests is consistent with the vocabulary our students managed."

¹⁵⁶ "Good atmosphere"

The apparent contradiction between the confidentiality of the tests and Hernandez Rosario's vote of confidence for the appropriateness of the vocabulary contained therein is not acknowledged or resolved in this declaration. The tests are supposed to be confidential, meaning that tests should not be examined or their contents discussed. Instead, this ethical issue is not discussed and the tests are once again declared appropriate.

The theme of *appropriateness* is reiterated in the statement that, "*palabras como 'extranjeros,' 'inmigrantes,' 'deambulantes' y 'socioeconómico' se incorporan en las preguntas que son las mismas que los maestros utilizan como parte de su vocabulario regular en el salón de clases, explicó Hernández. Antes, las pruebas se traducían del inglés al español y las connotaciones que se daban no eran de acorde a la cultura puertorriqueña, por lo cual no comprendía lo que se le preguntaba*"¹⁵⁷ (Rodríguez Cotto, 2003 Sept 11). The PPAA are defined as appropriate to Puerto Rican culture, which is definite ("la") and singular. This monolithic culture is, according to the discourse of the newspaper, appropriately represented by the tests. The use of vocabulary items adds the specificity that supports the argument that the tests are appropriate and, *Puerto Rican*. The specific lexical items utilized are significant in that they don't seem to actually be words that would be in common usage in the classroom. The topics of socioeconomic differences, marginalization, and poverty implicit in the connotations of these items are not usually present in the discourse of the Puerto

¹⁵⁷ "Words such as 'foreigners,' 'immigrants,' ['deambulante' means one who wanders literally, used to refer to homeless people], and 'socioeconomics' are incorporated into the questions and are the same ones that teachers use as part of their regular vocabulary in the classroom, Hernández explained. Before, the tests were translated into Spanish from the English and the connotations given were not in accordance with Puerto Rican culture, therefore they did not understand what they were being asked."

Rican classroom. It is noteworthy that these are all ideologically charged items, that mark the category of the Other, or to return to Van Dijk's terminology, "them-groups" (1988, p.70). The use of these terms as representative of Puerto Rican culture within the context of the history of Puerto Rican education would seem to fit within an ideological framework of colonialism where the discourse of difference and of superiority is perpetuated.

The contrast presented between the tests that are now "accurately Puerto Rican" and the tests that were available prior to the PPAA is a motif that is retaken repeatedly. The history of the DE and standardized testing in the last ten years is summarized in the following:

La nueva 'Prueba Puertorriqueña de Aprovechamiento Académico' sustituirá las controvertibles 'Pruebas Puertorriqueñas de Competencias Escolares' (PPCE) que fueron utilizadas durante la pasada administración. Estas pruebas a su vez sustituyeron las versiones conocidas como 'Aprenda' y 'Senda,' que le han costado \$14,172,812 a la agencia en un periodo de 10 años.¹⁵⁸ (Millán Pabón, 2002, Aug 5)

By placing the PPAA alongside the PPCE, which are labeled as '*controvertibles*' the former are granted legitimacy by contrast. The association of the PPCE with the prior administration is consistent with the highly politicized history of Educational administration in Puerto Rico, with changes in administration often leading to drastic changes in policies. The citation of a number that is specific

¹⁵⁸ "The new Puerto Rican test of Academic Achievement will substitute the controversial Puerto Rican Scholastic Competency Tests that were utilized during the prior administration. These tests in turn replaced the versions known as 'Aprenda' [Learn] and 'Senda' [Route] which have cost the agency \$14,172,812 over a period of ten years."

has a significant discursive impact by virtue of its painstaking specificity. The cost of implementing tests has been a drain to the budget of the DE according to this figure and therefore tests are suspect, despite the hopeful position towards the PPAA.

Factual information about the tests is also framed in such a way as to make them appear to be a positive resource: *"las pruebas fueron confeccionadas por la empresa Educational Testing Service que es la que realiza los exámenes que se dan [sic] las universidades"*¹⁵⁹ (Rodríguez Cotto, 2003 April 25). The connection of the ETS to Universities is presumably intended to give the agency validity and status as a creator of the PPAA. A problem with this attempt is that the use of "the" as a determiner does not address the fact that there is not one University test. While the attempt is made to link higher education to the ETS, it is unclear exactly what University tests are offered by the company, if indeed any.

The only moment of criticism of the PPAA is masked by presenting the view that supports the role of the tests:

*El Sindicato Puertorriqueño de Maestros*¹⁶⁰ *acusó ayer a la Federación de Maestros de poner en riesgo los fondos federales para el Departamento de Educación al restarles importancia a las Pruebas Puertorriqueñas de Aprovechamiento Académico. El Sindicato teme que las críticas de la Federación, en el sentido de que los exámenes no reflejan la realidad del*

¹⁵⁹ "The tests were created by the company Educational Testing Service, which is the same company that creates the tests that are offered in Universities."

¹⁶⁰ The Sindicato Puertorriqueño de Maestros is affiliated with the AMPR.

*estudiantado, fomenten la indiferencia respecto a las mismas.*¹⁶¹ (Roldán Soto, 2003, Oct 28).

Placing the opinion of the Sindicato against that of the official teachers' union deauthorizes the criticism that is captured regarding the PPAA. The reason given by the Sindicato for their concern is worrisome: should funding be the only consideration taken into account by a teacher organization when it comes to standardized testing? It would seem to be imperative for the organization to also incorporate a statement on the relevance of the tests since that is the concern reported about the FMPR. Instead, the only reason given for their position is funding. This is a reaction of fear and of colonial subjectivity. It is a reaction that seeks to suppress resistance in the interest of funding, without so much as mentioning the impact of the tests on students.

The representation of the PPAA in *El Nuevo Día* tends to legitimize the tests. Though some questions are raised, the emphasis is on the validity, reliability, and cultural relevance of the tests. The reiteration of the adjective *Puertorriqueñas* and the local construction of the tests is in contrast with the protest of the FMPR and fearful reaction of students.

State

In the representations of *El Nuevo Día* the main role of the State is to secure funds from the Federal government of the United States. As a

¹⁶¹ "The Puerto Rican Teachers' Union accused the Federation of Teachers of putting federal funding for the DE in jeopardy by taking away importance from the Puerto Rican Tests of Academic Achievement. The Union is afraid that the criticism of the Federation, stating that the tests are not an accurate reflection of students' reality, will promote indifference towards the tests."

representation this is problematic because it glosses over the colonial relationship reenacted in the DE. This relationship leads to the perpetuation of a DE that has its main focus on the US, and complying with Federal policies for more monies, rather than on Puerto Rico, and the relevance of these policies within the context of the educational philosophy and goals of the island. As the Associate Secretary of the DE put it in *El Nuevo Día*, "*si no entramos en las reglas del juego (federal) no tendremos fondos. Tenemos que negociar nuestra idiosincrasia, pero también que administrar otras pruebas adicionales. Eso nos pone mas presión*" anticipated Carmen Collazo, *Secretaria Asociada del DE*, al referirse a las '*pruebas nacionales*' del *National Assistance of Educational Progress (NAEP)*" ¹⁶² (Millán Pabón, 2002, Aug 5). By referring to policies that shape educational realities as playing a game, their importance is obviously minimized. This trivialization is reiterated in the representations of the State.

Praise for the DE's performance was given by the federal Department of Education:

[El director de la Oficina de Finanzas del Departamento de Educación federal, Jack Martin] alabó la labor del Gobierno de Puerto Rico, en especial al titular de educación, César Rey. Afirmó que Puerto Rico es líder en la implantación de la ley "No Child Left Behind" y señaló que la Isla podría recibir un aumento de más de \$1400 millones si el Congreso

¹⁶² "If we don't play by the rules of the (federal) game we won't have funding. We have to negotiate our idiosyncracies but we also have to administer additional tests. This puts more pressure on us" anticipated Carmen Collazo, associate secretary of the DE referring to the national tests of the National Assistance of Educational Progress."

*de Estados Unidos aprueba la recomendación de presupuesto sometida por el presidente, George W. Bush.*¹⁶³ (Rivera Marrero, 2003 May 31).

The structure of this announcement clearly delineates the cause and effect relationship: the subservient colonized is praised for performing well and offered money as a reward for being obedient. The fact that this praise comes directly from the federal officer to the head of the DE only reinforces this power dynamic between the two agencies.

The idea of a reward system is also clear in the following:

*Un día después de anunciarse la sentencia de 25 años contra el exsecretario de Educación, Víctor Fajardo, el Gobierno de Puerto Rico recibió la buena noticia de haber recuperado la confianza del Departamento de Educación federal, y con ello, la liberación de \$272 millones para Título I que se habían congelado debido al mal manejo de la pasada administración.*¹⁶⁴ (Rivera Marrero, 2003 May 31)

Within a day of the sentencing, trust was regained from the federal agency. The State had been punished by the withholding of funds but the trust that has been granted comes with the reinstatement of an allowance. The expediency of the response is telling, particularly given that Víctor Fajardo had been in trial and not acting secretary, making the wait in releasing funds seem more like a punishment than a concern with mismanagement. The DE had already corrected

¹⁶³ "[The director of the Office of Finances of the federal Department of Education, Jack Martin] praised the work of the Puerto Rican Government, particularly the Secretary of Education, Cesar Rey. He affirmed that Puerto Rico is a leader in the implementation of NCLB law and he added that the island may receive an increase of more than \$1400 million dollars if the United States Congress approves the budget proposed by president George W. Bush."

¹⁶⁴ "One day after the 25 year sentence against ex-secretary of Education Victor Fajardo, the Government of Puerto Rico received the good news of having recovered the federal Department of Education's confidence, and with this the liberation of \$272 million dollars for Title I that had been frozen due to the previous administration's mismanagement."

the problem of mismanagement by getting rid of him as head of the agency and beginning the legal process against him.

The importance of NCLB to Puerto Rican education and the role of the DE in the enactment of the policies is framed in the same terms as the progress of students and schools: "*El Departamento de Educación tiene la responsabilidad de establecer como guía dicho estatuto federal [NCLB] para evitar quedar rezagado también en la distribución de los recursos*"¹⁶⁵ (Luciano, 2003 Aug 6). In order to avoid leaving children behind, the Department has to comply with policies or it too will be left behind in the distribution of funds. The role of the DE as purveyor of policies is reified in the discourse of *El Nuevo Día*.

Military

The largest number of articles on any one topic dealt with the theme of the military: Sixteen of the 53 *El Nuevo Día* articles analyzed address the representations of the military in connection with NCLB.

The provision in the law is explained as follows, "*la sección 544 de la ley "No Child Left Behind Act" estipula que los reclutadores militares tendrán acceso al nombre, dirección y teléfono de los alumnos de grados superiores de la misma forma que se le provee dicha información a las universidades y empleadores*"¹⁶⁶ (Colón, 2002 Dec 6). The contrast between the recruitment efforts of employers and universities and the military is an indicator of the ideological position taken

¹⁶⁵ "The Department of Education has the responsibility of establishing as a guideline the law [NCLB] in order to avoid being left behind as well in the distribution of resources."

¹⁶⁶ Section 544 of the law NCLB stipulates that military recruiters will have access to the name, address, and phone number of High School students, in the same way as that information is provided to universities and employers."

by Colón, and *El Nuevo Día* in general. Given the persistent anti-militaristic rhetoric that dominates the discussion of this issue, the contrast between the constructive efforts of universities and employers and the war efforts of the US military is poignant when Puerto Rican children are the ones at stake.

A major effort was undertaken by the *Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño* (PIP) and allies in the anti-military movement to distribute information about students' rights and to encourage them to sign the forms that would exempt them from having their information available to military recruiters. The position of the PIP is expressed by the Vice-President, María de Lourdes Santiago, who is quoted by Rivera Vargas:

*Estamos en absoluta oposición a que las escuelas de Puerto Rico se usen como centros de reclutamiento militar. Lo vemos como una anticipación al regreso del servicio militar obligatorio que tanto combatimos hace tres décadas' [. . .]. 'Es una auténtica crueldad que se abuse de la candidez de los adolescentes para convertirse en carne de cañón para el ejército de los Estados Unidos' destacó Santiago. 'Hay que acabar con ese tributo de sangre.'*¹⁶⁷ (Rivera Vargas, 2004, Aug 16)

The painfully vivid use of the expression "*carne de cañón*"¹⁶⁸ applied to teenaged students makes the position of the PIP visceral and carries a strong appeal to pathos. Added the images of a blood bath and the responsibility of the United States, the argument has poignancy that is privileged by the presentations of the

¹⁶⁷ "We are completely against Puerto Rican schools being used as military recruitment centers. We see it as an anticipation of the return of the military draft that we fought so much against three decades ago [. . .] It is absolutely cruel to abuse of the candor of adolescents to become meat for the canon of the United States military forces' argued Santiago. 'We have to finish with this blood tribute.'"

¹⁶⁸ "meat for the canon"

newspaper, providing a space of resistance that would seem to be in opposition to the positive portrayal of learners under NCLB and the PPAA.

The instances of approval for the military provision serve to reinforce the portrayal of resistance rather than the other way around. The views of the leader of the *Partido Nuevo Progresista*¹⁶⁹ Carlos Pesquera's are also presented "[. . .] *dijo que el 'sector separatista' intenta 'sacar de proporción' esa disposición y que la inclusión de Puerto Rico en la ley federal de 'Ningun niño quede rezagado' 'acerca' la estadidad.... Dijo que 'la realidad' es que 'Puerto Rico es parte de Estados Unidos'*"¹⁷⁰ (Santana, 2002, Dec 9). The use of quotation marks over selected phrases here, rather than an integral block of speech serves a double function: it deauthorizes Pesquera's voice and it distances the reporter from the statements he is presenting (Van Dijk, 1988). Pesquera's declaration is contradictory. By referring to the members of the PIP as *separatists* he is appealing to antagonistic rhetoric that demonizes the ideological stand of the opposing party.

Finally, the other instance of resistance to the military provision of NCLB is presented in an article that states that, "*el congresista republicano John Boehner le restó importancia a la controversia que ha surgido en Puerto Rico en torno a la ley federal que a partir de febrero les dará acceso a los reclutadores militares a obtener información sobre los estudiantes de escuela superior*"¹⁷¹ (Colón, 2003,

¹⁶⁹ New Progressive Party: the political party favoring statehood as the status of Puerto Rico

¹⁷⁰ "PNP Carlos Pesquera also stated that 'the separatist sector' is trying to 'blow out of proportion' the disposition and that the inclusion of Puerto Rico in federal law NCLB brings statehood closer. . . . he said that 'in reality' Puerto Rico is part of the United States."

¹⁷¹ Congressman John Boehner denied the importance of the controversy that has resulted in Puerto Rico regarding the federal law that will give military recruiters access to information about High School students beginning in February."

Jan 17). In this instance, giving John Boehner the authority to trivialize the controversy over military recruitment is more effective in undermining the resistance to the law. Once again, the voice of the Federal government is authorized to speak on Puerto Rican policy.

The reactions of the Secretary of Education at the time are shown in a critical light by *El Nuevo Día*:

Cuestionado sobre la posición de Educación en torno al principio mismo de que las aulas sean utilizadas para fines militaristas [César Rey] se mostró parco en su respuesta, aduciendo que 'la ley 'No Child Left Behind' es compleja y la implantación requiere discusiones. En este renglón que es neurálgico, estamos evaluando las implicaciones.' 'Estos matices los quiero seguir evaluando para tener el cuadro completo,' agregó el funcionario público, quien lleva un mes analizando la medida'¹⁷² (Colón, 2002, Dec 6).

By highlighting his inaction and his unwillingness to commit to a response or any official position, the failure of the figure of the State to protect young adults is implied. The indolence attributed by the FMPR to the DE is visible in this characterization where the Secretary has spent over a month studying the document, and yet is unable to articulate a public response.

As we have seen, the representations in *El Nuevo Día* reflect the complexity of reactions to NCLB. Responses are critical of the state, of military

¹⁷² When questioned about the position of the Department of Education regarding the principle of using classrooms for military purposes Cesar Rey was short in his response, implying that the law NCLB is complicated and its implementation requires discussions. in this area we are evaluating implications. I want to continue studying the nuances in order to have a full picture" added the public official who has been analyzing the policy for a month."

recruitment and of the conditions in schools, while simultaneously praising tests, children, and teachers.

Authorized Voices in *El Nuevo Día*

A number of significant instances of subjects being allowed to intervene in their representations have been presented in my discussion above. The agents authorized to come to voice in *El Nuevo Día* are a reflection of the complexity of the newspaper's portrayal of NCLB.

Secretaries of Education and other figures of the State are consistently allowed to have a voice in the discourse. They are the main voices describing the law, its implications, and its implementation. The main agents quoted in the bulk of the articles were the Secretaries of the DE, other officials of the DE such as the Sub Secretaries of Academic Affairs, and the Associate Secretaries of the DE. They were quoted most often, at most length, and given the most authority because of their titles and the weight given to their pronouncements (Woodside-Jiron, 2004). Another group that was overwhelmingly present in articles about NCLB were politicians of the three political parties on the island. These ranged from current and ex-Governors to assorted senators of different parties. The PIP was prominent in the discussions of the military provisions of NCLB and given ample space to present their arguments. Because the PIP was one of the groups leading the campaign to inform students regarding their rights to resist military recruitment their prominence is justified. They are only present as voices in the articles dealing specifically with this issue and are absent from the

discussions of other aspects of NCLB such as the PPAA, or the conditions of schools.

A smaller but powerfully significant number of interventions are granted to Federal Department of Education officials. These interventions carry with them the full weight of authority of the word *Federal* and are focused on the granting (or threatening) of funding to the DE related to NCLB. The authority granted these figures is reinforced by their status as Federal officials and their discursive presentation as quotes and declarations with no interventions by local politicians or administrators other than those that are presented to accept praise or funding.

One example of this presentation is found in the article examined above under representations of the state entitled "*Liberados los fondos de Educación.*"¹⁷³ In this article the announcement is made that following the sentencing of former DE secretary Víctor Fajardo funds were once again granted to the DE for Title I. the Public Policy Advisor for the Federal Office of Language Acquisition, Kathleen Leos was quoted: "*Al liberar este dinero y al aceptar este plan de Puerto Rico quiere decir que esta Administración en la Capital (estadounidense) tiene confianza en los líderes de Puerto Rico. Esto es muy importante*"¹⁷⁴ (Rivera Marrero, 2003, May 31). By giving this federal official the space to determine what is very important, and by emphasizing her ability to determine what is worthy of "*confianza*"¹⁷⁵ and what is not, her authority remains unquestioned. The interventions of local officials are limited to explaining what

¹⁷³ "Education funding freed up"

¹⁷⁴ "By freeing up these funds and accepting Puerto Rico's plan it means that the Administration of the Capital (US) has confidence in the leaders of Puerto Rico."

¹⁷⁵ "trust"

will be done with the newly released funds. There is no commentary on the fact that Puerto Rico is still considered "*una jurisdicción de alto riesgo por mal manejo fiscal*."¹⁷⁶ The judgment of federal officials is accepted without question as are the funds. The representation of these voices reinforces the colonial structure of education in Puerto Rico.

Yet another representation of voices from the US is granted to union representatives from the AFT. In the section above on representations of teachers an article quoting David Sherman of the AFT and his pronouncements on the role of teachers and DE in the implementation of NCLB was discussed. His voice is presented with complete authority, emitting judgments on what should be done in Puerto Rican education. Why it is that he is able to speak at such length and be validated and authorized by *El Nuevo Día* instead of giving Puerto Rican teachers or union organizers similar exposure. The weight of authority is consistently given to the officials granted the status of "experts," mostly from the United States. Local officials represented were not granted the same status.

The voices of teachers and students were briefly represented, which is a significant difference between their representations in the newspaper and the other discourses examined. These voices had more passive interventions, appealing to pathos rather than being actors on the educational landscape.

One significant area of silence lies with the voices of parents. Parents were not allowed to have a single instance of representation in the coverage of NCLB. This omission is significant given the complexity of responses and the

¹⁷⁶ "A high risk jurisdiction for poor fiscal management"

scope of *El Nuevo Día's* coverage. The newspaper presents a number of different perspectives, not fully endorsing any one representation as is the case of the PPAA, for example. The tests are discursively represented as valuable, but elements of resistance and controversy are not omitted from these representations. The inclusion of the voices of students and teachers is another area where the newspaper shows a willingness to engage with participants in education, while simultaneously reiterating the authority of the official discourse. The inclusion of parents, would then seem logical as a way of closing the loop and fully represent the wide impact of the policies.

A final concern in the discussion of the voices represented in the discourse of *El Nuevo Día* is the identity of the reporters doing the representing. A total of 53 articles were analyzed for this research project. These 53 articles were written by 21 different reporters, two were articles from the Associated Press and one had no byline. Nine of these writers were credited with only one article on NCLB, seven had two articles, five of them had a total of three articles and the remaining two were the most prevalent: Camille Roldán Soto with five interventions, and Wilma Colón with 11. This is problematic as a reflection on the production of discourse of the newspaper seeing as there is no consistent bank of experts on educational matters who write on the subject repeatedly. This lack of regularity may account for some of the inconsistencies in the representations of NCLB. The absence of continuity and expertise may reflect the perception of the law as not a critical or ongoing issue, and further complicates the discourse of the newspaper.

Resistance in *El Nuevo Día*

The long history of *El Nuevo Día's* involvement in resisting censorship laws, and the publication's role as a media leader in Puerto Rico is reflected in the cruces of resistance to NCLB. The voices of teachers are represented as one source of resistance.

*La falta de conocimiento en torno a la implantación de esta ley en Puerto Rico—tanto del Gobierno como de los padres—es un obstáculo que a juicio de ambos [Bryan Molina y Nereida Martínez, maestros residentes y naturales de Corozal] no se ha analizado. A pesar de que esta ley no se pondrá en vigor hasta el 2014, ambos entienden que es preciso actuar ahora.*¹⁷⁷ (Méndez Martí, 2004, June 19).

The teachers bring up an important point and one that motivated this research project: the apparent lack of information regarding NCLB. The painfully ironic fact however is that in their declaration about lack of information the teachers are also giving inaccurate information: the law has been in effect since 2002. This makes painfully obvious the truth of their statement.

The teachers go on to declare that, "*es irónico que las medidas que establece esta ley van en contra de la idea general de fomentar la importancia de hacer un esfuerzo. A los estudiantes hay que fomentarles el interés por aprender, sin embargo, esta ley los castiga por no llegar a un estándar general* [.

¹⁷⁷ "The lack of knowledge surrounding the implementation of this law in Puerto Rico affecting both the government as well as parents, is an obstacle that in the opinion of both [Bryan Molina and Nereida Martínez, teachers and residents of Corozal] has not been analyzed. Even though this law will not be implemented until 2014, they both believe that it is necessary to act now."

. . .]”¹⁷⁸ (Bryan Molina, as quoted in Méndez Martí, 2004, June 19). This perspective in the teachers' voices provides resistance and pedagogical support for the opposition to the law. As their argument implies, obedience is not learning and students need to be challenged and motivated rather than punished.

Another instance of resistance is in the voice of Aida Díaz, former president of the FMPR: *"explicó que este estatuto se implantó de manera uniforme en Estado Unidos y Puerto Rico, pero no se tomaron en cuenta las 'diferencias claras' en equipo, materiales y apoyo que existen entre los maestros de ambas jurisdicciones"*¹⁷⁹ (López Cabán, 2004, Dec 29). The reporter is distancing from the position of Díaz by placing the "clear differences" in quotation marks. The statement, however, stands that there are differences and the fact that many Puerto Rican schools are in dire conditions and that lack materials would be known to any reader of the paper who had seen the ongoing articles denouncing school needs.

A final instance of resistance provides a seemingly simple declaration, "Preguntado si prevalece la ley federal o la estatal, [Secretario de Educación César] Rey indico que *'yo represento al Estado Libre Asociado'*"¹⁸⁰ (Mulero, 2003 Jan 25). The ambiguity of his statement is a direct replica of the colonial model his choice of status invokes. Stating that he represents the Commonwealth means that he represents neither the state law and not the interests of the

¹⁷⁸ "It is ironic that the measures established by this law go against the general idea of promoting the importance of making an effort. The interest of students in learning must be fueled, however this law punishes them for not reaching a general standard."

¹⁷⁹ "Explained that this statute was put in place in Puerto Rico in the same manner as in the US but the 'clear differences' in equipment, materials, and support between teachers in the two jurisdictions."

¹⁸⁰ "When asked if Federal or state law would prevail, [Secretary of Education César] Rey stated that 'I represent the Commonwealth.'"

federal powers. This is a source of resistance in its refusal to grant specific privilege to the federal level but is also a perfect example of the complicated participation of the agency he represents in the creation of colonial hegemony.

Given the importance of *El Nuevo Día* as a media leader in Puerto Rico it is not surprising to find that their characterization of NCLB is complex and at times contradictory. The message is both asserting the need for relevant Puerto Rican educational policy while also celebrating the influx of funding and the authority of the federal government, perpetuating the colonial paradigm. In the following chapter, the representations of the three institutions analyzed will be integrated and discussed.

Chapter VI: Conclusions

NCLB has far-reaching implications that redirect the course of education in Puerto Rico by imposing policies through a process that has not been participatory and has not been a result of locally informed initiatives. As such, the examination of its representations yields important information about the public responses to NCLB. By examining the discourse of three major institutions: the media, teachers' organizations, and the DE, some significant patterns were unveiled.

My use of CDA methodology to identify the representations of NCLB was guided by three research questions which I will proceed to discuss in the following sections.

Discussion of Findings

Learners, educators, schools, the PPAA, and the State in the discourses about NCLB produced

The representations of learners in relation to the NCLB exhibited some consistency across institutions. Learners were underrepresented by all three, with *El Nuevo Día* being the only institutional representation to actually give students names and voices. The voices of students were used to support the NCLB in *El Nuevo Día*.

The DE relied mostly on students as a visual display on their website, only emphasizing their omission from the textual representations on the website. The FMPR provided a reading of students as victims of the law but did not go beyond that victimization to include genuine, complicated representations.

The lack of representations of students is troubling in a newly reorganized educational system that claims to be 'learner centered' in a pedagogical approach. It also seems counterintuitive since, after all, it is students' education that is being compromised by this series of policies and regulations. The under-representation of students reflects their position as passive subjects of education. This is particularly problematic when it comes to a series of policies that are seeking to promote uniformity of learning and hold numerical results as the ultimate outcome of learning.

The representations of educators in relation to NCLB were also scarce in all three discourses. The FMPR generally figured them as martyrs for the cause of education who sacrifice for their students and who are in direct opposition to the bureaucrats of the DE. The language of the labor union was polarizing and incendiary.

The DE, on the other hand, represents teachers only as a set of requirements to be fulfilled and complied with, reinforcing the power structure that defines the DE as a colonial mechanism that is an intermediary between policy and the classroom. The absence of any links to teachers' organizations on the webpage of the DE is also a discursive omission that reiterates the lack of participation or agency of educators in the public schools.

El Nuevo Día presents a more balanced picture of teachers by including individual teachers and testimonies as well as representing the official positions of the teachers' organizations.

Unlike educators, schools do not fare well in any of the representations. In the website of the DE schools are represented as scores, namely failing scores that put them in danger of closure. In the FMPR's discourse the schools' deteriorated physical conditions are represented to the exclusivity of any other institutional conditions. These poor conditions are contrasted with the images of luxury that are granted to the DE's officials. In the case of *El Nuevo Día*, schools are not only in danger of closure or privatization but are also unsafe as the news covered school closures due to drug wars in the area.

Schools, in the representations of the three discourses examined are not safe places, they are not the supportive and friendly places that some of us may remember from our own kindergarten experiences. Schools are not even sanitary here!

The PPAA are represented by the DE as a positive instrument to measure student performance and help students meet goals. This is also echoed in the discourse of *El Nuevo Día* where the tests are praised for having been adapted to the Puerto Rican context and for their relevance. They are praised for being a useful measurement in the classroom and the resistance to the PPAA is criticized. This characterization however, is not without any contention as the same articles that praise their relevance and applicability also cite their creation by an agency that is outside the island: the ETS. Furthermore, the PPAA are

represented as something children should be nervous and fearful about, suggesting that there is something menacing about the tests.

On the other hand, the FMPR's representation of the tests is encapsulated by their renaming of them as "*Pruebas Anti-Puertorriqueñas*" (Federación, 2005b). The PPAA are characterized as a Federal bureaucratic imposition that punish children and reduce them to numerical scores.

In the case of the DE, the tests are represented only as individual school scores. The lack of a panoramic view has serious repercussions in the importance granted to NCLB within the educational landscape. If the only view available is a snapshot of particular schools, it is impossible to formulate generalizations, to accurately determine the impact of the law, or to even get a sense of the validity of the scores. The discourse of *El Nuevo Día* does include generalizations on scores, as well as the validation of them as instruments. This information is valuable if any understanding of the law or resistance to it is to be formulated. The lack of specificity in the DE is a theme that is reflected in the examinations of the figure of the State.

Representations of the State in the DE website show a disconnection between the department and the policies it is enforcing. The role of informing about NCLB is given exclusively to outside agencies: the US Department of Education and the OAF. The DE does not provide any substantive information on the policies it enforces, an omission that reiterates the colonial position of the DE as an agency without the power to self-determine or represent, charged only with the role of mediator.

Representations of the State in the discourse of the FMPR also focus on the DE and are unequivocally negative in their portrayal. The DE is represented as the "dominant classes" who are victimizing learners and educators, who are inefficient and dishonest. This portrayal is also problematic because it leaves unexamined the relationships between the Department and its components and it leaves unaddressed the policy itself or its origins.

In *El Nuevo Día* the State is represented as an entity mainly concerned with obeying Federal mandates in order to secure funding. The emphasis on funding, to the exclusion of any discussions of classrooms, curriculum, or pedagogy, reinforces the role of the agency as a fiscal agent. The DE is cast as the colonial go-between that redistributes federal funding and is devoid of initiative or power to act without the explicit permission of the US.

Voices authorized to speak on NCLB

The voices that are being authorized to speak on NCLB are, unsurprisingly, those that represent institutional power. This is the case in the discourse of *El Nuevo Día*, where the Secretaries of Education and the Teachers' Organizations are the main voices that are enacting and reacting to the policy. The newspaper also includes the voices of some teachers who present resistance and of some students who are presented as examples of success.

In the case of the FMPR, institutional authority is privileged by allowing the president of the Union and the Director of the Complaints Department to be the two named voices. Teachers' voices, i.e. constituents, are silent in the FMPR.

The DE does not include any instances of local subjects coming to voice. Aside from the minor intervention of the Secretary of Education, voice and authority to pronounce are deferred to the United States authorities by providing abundant links to outside information.

Given the methodology proposed by Fairclough which I have followed in this research project as described in Chapter II, the institutional and societal domains "enable and constrain the local domain" (Rogers, 2004a, p.7), with the local domain being the specific texts where subjects are allowed to have a voice. It is clear that counterhegemonic discourse about NCLB is not given any authority in the representations of the institutions of Puerto Rican education.

Voices of Resistance to NCLB

Instances of resistance are visible in all three of the discourses examined. The DE website shows resistance by distancing the agency from the policies it is charged with enforcing and displacing authority back onto the federal government. The FMPPR, on the other hand, is openly resistant of the policies and everything they signify. The representations in *El Nuevo Día* offer many instances of support for NCLB but also incorporate the voices of resisters. The area of military recruitment is the main source of discourses of resistance in the newspaper.

Additional Findings

A. Military recruitment

One area that had not been anticipated in my research question was the subject of military involvement in schools, which proved to be an issue under discussion in the texts of the FMPR and *El Nuevo Día*, being the theme most written about in the latter. The provision in the law that requires the disclosure of High School students' personal information was a subject of much contention on the island. Coalitions were formed to resist the implementation of this policy and major campaigns to inform students of their legal rights were launched.

B. Naming

One intriguing finding was the lack of consistency in references to the law. The law is not translated into Spanish in the materials of the FMPR which helps to provide distance from its policies and implementation.

In the case of *El Nuevo Día* the law was not consistently rendered in its Spanish translation. Of a total of 78 references to the law by name, 62 of them (79%) were in English. Only 16 references were in Spanish, constituting 21% of all mentions. Of these 16 references to NCLB only two of them were in Spanish only and not as a translation of the English. The 16 references were spread across 6 different translations¹⁸¹:

- Acta de ningún niño atrás¹⁸² (1)
- Ningún niño se queda atrás (1)
- Ley Que Ningún Niño Se Quede Atrás (1)

¹⁸¹ All of the following are translated as No Child Left Behind

- Que ningún niño se quede atrás o rezagado (1)
- Ningún niño quede rezagado (3)
- Que ningún niño quede rezagado (9)

This lack of consistency in naming and the low priority given to the consistent rendition in Spanish is discursively problematic and it accentuates the foreign nature of the policy. A lack of lexical cohesion undermines the use of the policy name as a brand and detracts from its perceived legitimacy: "one discourse practice often present during times of change in educational policy is the use of new specific terms to name what is important or of value in the given policy" (Fairclough, as cited in Woodside-Jiron, 2004).

To complicate matters even further, the law is also called "*Que ningún niño se quede atrás*," which brings the total of possible names up to seven. This inconsistency can be attributed to resistance: a distancing mechanism that takes away legitimacy from the law by calling it names. It can also be attributed to the huge number of reporters covering articles on NCLB. 23 reporters are represented in the total number of 53 articles. The lack of specialization in the journalists may have influenced the inconsistency.

While this inconsistency can be read on the local level as a form of resistance it is also an impediment to concerted resistance. If resistance is to be collective and effective, it must be clear what is being resisted: the fact that NCLB is not clear as a policy is painfully aware, from its very name down to the policies it has engendered.

C. Fragmentation

One of my discoveries in the analysis of the representations of NCLB was the fragmentation of the discourse about the law. It is unclear from the articles and websites visited what the law entails and how it affects Puerto Rican education. Policies engendered by NCLB are mentioned without making the clear connection to the Federal policy. This is particularly the case with the PPAA, which are represented as standardized tests but not directly connected to NCLB.

In a discussion of PPAA results in *El Nuevo Día*, NCLB is never mentioned: “*Las Pruebas Puertorriqueñas de Aprovechamiento Académico correspondientes a los años 2005 y 2006 revelan que el desenvolvimiento de las niñas de tercero, cuarto, quinto, sexto, séptimo, octavo y undécimo grados es superior al de los varones en las asignaturas de español e inglés*”¹⁸³ (2006, Sept 15). While the discussion moves on to comparisons of scores, the cause for the testing is never specified.

The policies that direct teacher evaluation are also only vaguely linked to NCLB. In an article cited in Chapter V, a symposium on the arts and NCLB is discussed and the qualifications of teachers are set forth as follows: “[. . .] se enfatizó la importancia de que los maestros de bellas artes tengan una preparación de excelencia y una formación respaldada por estudios no tan solo a nivel de bachillerato sino hasta de maestría y de doctorado”¹⁸⁴ (Ríos

¹⁸³ “The PPAA for the years 2005 and 2006 show that the performance of girls in third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and eleventh grades is superior to that of boys in the subject areas of Spanish and English”

¹⁸⁴ “[. . .] the emphasis was on the need for arts teachers to have an excellent preparation and formation supported by education not only at the bachelor’s level, but even Master’s or Doctoral levels.”

Maldonado, 2005, June 11). This article, one of the few representing the policy on “*maestros altamente cualificados*”¹⁸⁵ fails to mention the specific policy, or to clarify its universal application to teachers.

The issue of military recruitment was more closely aligned with NCLB, with the emphasis being on the law as a Federal policy, rather than as educational law. The law's other educational implications were not linked to the issue of military recruitment. The FMPR provides a description of the policy: “*amparándose en una ley Federal de educación, la gerencia educativa puertorriqueña sirve de apoyo a los que de forma sistemática asechan a los jóvenes por graduarse*”¹⁸⁶ (Santiago Torres, 2005). The Federal law is not consistently tied to the military recruitment, leaving the emphasis on the imposition of the Federal government and the colonial structure that implements it.

In an article in *El Nuevo Día* the connection to NCLB is explicitly made but the link to the other educational policies are not: “*según dispone un apartado de la ley ‘No Child Left Behind,’ firmada en enero pasado por el presidente George W. Bush, el ejército tendrá acceso al nombre, dirección y teléfono de todo estudiante de nivel secundario, con fines de reclutamiento a menos que el padre se niegue a dar su consentimiento*”¹⁸⁷ (Colón, 2003, Jan 12). The lack of information about the law is glaringly evident in this statement, where it could be

¹⁸⁵ Highly Qualified Teachers

¹⁸⁶ “Based on a federal educational policy, the Puerto Rican educational administration supports those who systematically stalk young people who are about to graduate.”

¹⁸⁷ “According to a disposition of the law No Child Left Behind which was signed last January by president George W. Bush, the army will have access to the name, address, and phone of every High School student, for recruitment purposes, unless the parents refuse to give their consent.”

easily assumed that the policy only affected the practice of military recruitment in schools.

The one article where NCLB is spelled out in accessible terms does not name the policies specific to Puerto Rico:

*La NCLB (por sus siglas en ingles) incorpora, asimismo, cuatro disposiciones esenciales para garantizar que todos los niños—en especial los más necesitados—reciban educación de calidad. Tiene como objetivo fundamental que todos los estudiantes alcancen niveles competencia en las dos areas academicas fundamentals, lectura y matemáticas, para el año 2014. Segun NCLB todos los estados tendrán que implantar sistemas internos de evaluación y asignación de responsabilidad en todas las escuelas públicas y para todos los estudiantes, con el fin de determinar en qué media cada escuela logra enseñar de acuerdo con sus niveles establecidos, entre muchas otras exigencias.*¹⁸⁸ (Luciano, 2003, Aug 6)

This discussion makes only vague references to the concrete policies and practices resulting from NCLB and fails to mention the name of the law in Spanish. The goals of the law, as stated, do not provide information on the key concepts, such as “*niveles de competencia*,”¹⁸⁹ or “*muchas otras exigencias*.”¹⁹⁰

The date of the article is 2003, a full year after the law was implemented. No

¹⁸⁸ “NCLB (from the acronym in English) incorporates four special dispositions to ensure that all children—especially the most needy ones—receive a quality education. It has as its main objective for students to reach competency levels in the two fundamental academic areas, reading and mathematics, by the year 2014. According to NCLB, all schools must implement internal systems of evaluation and assign responsibilities in order to determine to what extent schools managed to teach according to the established levels, along with many other requirements.”

¹⁸⁹ “Competency levels”

¹⁹⁰ “Many other requirements”

factual overview of NCLB was found, in *El Nuevo Día* or elsewhere, other than the website of the US Department of Education. This scarcity of information and the fragmentation observed are both problematic as representations.

The discursive fragmentation is a troubling finding in the representations of NCLB in Puerto Rico. Information is key to understanding educational policy and its consequences. Resistance is not likely to be effected without a clear understanding of what is being resisted. By persistently representing NCLB as a fragmented collection of random policies, the larger effects on the educational landscape are not effectively captured or portrayed and will be difficult to effectively resist.

Implications

Methodological

CDA is a valuable tool for the examination of educational policies and their impact on educational policies. By examining the power relationships embedded in discourses, a more complex representation of their applications can be discerned and applied to the discussion of their relevance and appropriateness to the context of Puerto Rican education. This research project provides valuable information to understanding the way in which policies are being represented, which lends itself to further research using this methodological approach.

Epistemological

By examining educational policy within the colonial context that has engendered them, the dynamics of representation, implementation, and resistance can be fully examined and better understood. This is essential in order to ensure that the educational needs of Puerto Rican students are being met and that the educational philosophy of the DE is consistent with the practices that result from Federal policies. Without the framework of the colonial context of education in Puerto Rico any discussion of policies is incomplete. This project does the work of integrating the colonial context of Puerto Rican education with the current policies being implemented. This contribution should foster further research and debate on the ways in which colonialism influences educational policy both in general, and specifically in the Puerto Rican context.

Practical

Given the limited representations, particularly those of learners and educators, this study suggests that these institutions are not adequately serving the needs of the educational community of Puerto Rico. In order to facilitate the dissemination of information on educational policies of the Federal government information should be made available to the public. In the case of the DE and the FMPPR, which have formal institutional ties to education, the members of the educational system should be given opportunities for representation. The DE in

particular should, as per its own mission, be including educators in efforts to inform, implement, and importantly discuss the policies of NCLB.

Teacher education programs can, and should, utilize the information obtained through this research project to help to promote change and active participation in the implementation of educational policies.

Limitations of the study

Methodology enables while also obstructing. While CDA allows a critical and ideologically grounded examination it also focused my research on certain power structures that necessarily limit other readings of texts.

The corpus included in this study was limited to only one newspaper and one teacher organization. An examination of other representations in the Puerto Rican press and the other teacher organization could have yielded different results. My inability to acquire the publications of the FMPR was a serious limitation in the study. Given more time and resources a more comprehensive sample could have been obtained. The examination of a broader corpus may have yielded a different set of representations. The use of materials produced by the AMPR would have broadened the representation of teacher organizations by presenting perspectives that are often historically at odds with the FMPR. The use of local newspapers such as *La Estrella* would have yielded information on what the representations are at a local/regional levels and possibly shed some light on how much of the information had trickled down into the smaller publications.

Suggestions for future research

The complex representations of the actors in NCLB suggest numerous other possible venues for research. Three main areas are open to questioning: CDA methodology, NCLB, and the representations.

Having uncovered the representations in texts, it is almost imperative to move further to explore the reception of these, particularly by those agents whose representations were uncovered by this study. Applying CDA with a study of the reception of the texts by administrators, teachers, parents, and students, including students in teacher education programs would yield important information. It seems necessary to inquire further to see what influence these discourses have had on classroom realities or knowledge of the law, if any.

Another possibility that is suggested is the use of CDA methodology to examine other issues in Puerto Rican education, such as the long standing debate over language teaching and curriculum design. Because the role of political status has been so central to education, a CDA methodology would help to uncover and make explicit some of the sociopolitical dynamics being played out in education.

Given the lack of scholarly research on NCLB, it would be valuable to broaden the texts examined to include other areas of the Puerto Rican media, such as local newspapers, representations on television or radio. Other teacher organizations should also be examined including the AMPR as well as further

examination of the FMPR. This would broaden the range of representations and add other structures of power for discussion.

A comparison between the representations of NCLB in Puerto Rico and the United States is a project that would certainly yield further insight into the specific role of the island to the Federal policies. Because the law has been widely contested in the United States, including lawsuits brought against it, the ways in which policies were being discussed in the nation would be a fascinating study of the discourses of resistance.

Another important direction for future research would be to incorporate and validate the voices of students, which are underrepresented by the texts examined. The voices of parents and their role in resistance to educational policy should also be explored.

References

- Alegría, R. (1999). *Historia y cultura de Puerto Rico: Desde la época pre-colombina hasta nuestros días* [History and culture of Puerto Rico: from the precolombine period to our times]. Introduction. San Juan, PR: Ediciones Puerto Rico.
- Algren de Guitierrez, E. (1987). *The movement against teaching English in the schools of Puerto Rico*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Associated Press. (2006, Aug 30). Asociación de maestros va a tribunales contra las escuelas "Charter"[Asociación de maestros goes to court against "Charter" schools]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 17, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. & Tiffin, H. (1996). *The postcolonial studies reader*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Baralt, G. A. (2002). *La Historia de El Nuevo Día 1909-2000: "Al servicio de mi tierra"* [The history of El Nuevo Día: At the service of my homeland]. San Juan, PR: Publicaciones Puertorriqueñas.
- Bell, A. & Garret, P. Eds.(1998). *Approaches to media discourse*. Introduction. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Colón, H. (2001). Tiempos difíciles: la sociedad rural y el sistema escolar público después de la ocupación norteamericana [Hard times: rural society and the public school system after the North American invasion]. In R. Maldonado (Ed.), *Historia y Educación: antología sobre la historia*

- de la educación en Puerto Rico* (pp. 163-206). San Juan, PR: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico.
- Colón, W. (2002, Nov 14). A punto de 'colgarse' 48 planteles escolares [About to flunk 48 schools]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 16, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.
- Colón, W. (2003, April 30). Aprovechamiento académico a prueba en las escuelas [Academic achievement tested in schools]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 20, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.
- Departamento de Educación. (2005). Carta Circular. Retrieved Jan 12, 2007 <<http://www.de.gobierno.pr>>.
- Departamento de Educación. (2007). Filosofía educativa. Retrieved Jan 12, 2007.<<http://www.de.gobierno.pr/dePortal/Nuestro%20Departamento/Sobre%20el%20Departamento/Trasfondo/FilosofiaEducativa.aspx>>.
- Departamento de Educación. Maestros altamente cualificados ley publica 107-110 (NCLB). Retrieved Jan 12,2007. <<http://www.de.gobierno.pr/dePortal/Docentes/Capacitacion/PRHOUSSSE.aspx>>
- Federación de Maestros de Puerto Rico (2005a). "La Ley Federal de educación NCLB y su efecto sobre los estudiantes de la Escuela superior pública" [Federal education law NCLB and its effects on High School students] Retrieved March 15, 2007. <<http://www.fmprlucha.org>>.
- Federación de Maestros de Puerto Rico. (2006a). Las evaluaciones alternas [Alternate evaluations].

<<http://www.fmprlucha.org/vocesdelsalon/evaluaciones.pdf>>.

Federación de Maestros de Puerto Rico. (2006b). FMPR rechaza 'Charter Schools' [FMPR rejects Charter Schools].

<<http://www.fmprlucha.org/vocesdelsalon/evaluaciones.pdf>>.

Federación de Maestros de Puerto Rico. (2005b). Con la boca es un mamey [Talk is cheap]. Retrieved March 15, 2007. <<http://www.fmprlucha.org>>.

Federación de Maestros de Puerto Rico (2005c). Voces del salon [Classroom voices]. Retrieved March 15, 2007. <<http://www.fmprlucha.org>>.

Federación de Maestros de Puerto Rico (2007) "La Ley Federal de Educación N.C.L.B.: Distanciamiento en la necesaria transformación educativa puertorriqueña" Ponencia 4-marzo en el Recinto de Rio Piedras de la Universidad de Puerto Rico; Octavo congreso puertorriqueño de investigación en educación. <<http://www.fmprlucha.org>>.

Feliciano Hernández, R. (2005). Proyectos del senado 529 y 530 alusivos a la creación de escuelas municipales son nefastos para la educación de nuestros niños. Retrieved March 15, 2007. <<http://www.fmprlucha.org>>.

Feliciano Hernández, R. (2007a). Perspectivas del segundo semestre del año escolar. Retrieved March 15, 2007. <<http://www.fmprlucha.org>>.

Feliciano Hernández, R. (2007b). El departamento de educación no ha hecho nada para implantar el plan de mejoramiento. Retrieved March 15, 2007. <<http://www.fmprlucha.org>>.

Fernández Savala, M. (2003). Las artes puertorriqueñas como expresión socio-cultural [Puerto Rican arts as a socio-cultural expresión]. In C. Di Núbila,

- & C. Rodríguez (Eds.), *Puerto Rico: sociedad, cultura, y educación*, San Juan, PR: Editorial Isla Negra.
- Gants, D. (1999). Peer review for cyberspace: evaluating scholarly Web sites. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 45. Retrieved March 12, 2007 from *Academic Search Premier*.
- Giroux, H. & McLaren, P.(Eds.). (1989) *Critical Pedagogy, the state, and cultural struggle*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Giroux, H. (2003). *The abandoned generation-democracy beyond the culture of fear*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Kirkwood, H.P. Jr. (1998). Beyond evaluation: a model for cooperative evaluation of Internet resources. *Online*, 22. Retrieved February 23 2007 from *Academic Search Premier*.
- Kohn, A. (2004). *What does it mean to be well educated? And more essays on standards, grading, and other follies*. Boston: Beacon.
- Ley de relaciones del trabajo para el servicio público de Puerto Rico. (1998)
- López Cabán, C. (2005, Oct 30). Estudiantes decidirán si divulgarán sus datos [Students will decide if they want to disclose their information]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 14, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.
- López Yustos, A. (1997). Historia documental de la educación en Puerto Rico [Documentary history of education in Puerto Rico]. Hato Rey, PR: Publicaciones Puertorriqueñas.
- Luciano, L. (2003, Aug 6). El bisturí de papel [The paper scalpel]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 14, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.

- Maldonado Jiménez, R. (2001). La persecución política a los maestros: 1868-1901[The political persecution of teachers: 1869-1901]. In R. Maldonado (Ed.), *Historia y Educación: antología sobre la historia de la educación en Puerto Rico* (pp. 163-206). San Juan, PR: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico.
- Marciniak, K. (2006). Kimberly Marciniak Web Log.
<<http://www.kimmariniak.com>>
- Matthews, J. (2005). Visual culture and critical pedagogy in "Terrorist Times." *Discourse: studies in the cultural politics of education*, 26, 203-224.
- Mayers, C. (2006). Public law 107-110 No Child Left Behind Act of 2001: support or threat to education as a fundamental? *Education*, Spring 2006. 449-461.
- McKenzie, J. (2003). Children are not hamburgers. *No Child Left* 1(9):2.
- Memmi, A.(1967). *The colonizer and the colonized*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Méndez Martí, M. (2004, June 19). Afán en pro de la educación [Effort on behalf of education]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 20, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.
- Millán Pabón, C. (2002, Aug 5). Urge medir mejor el conocimiento [Urgency of measuring knowledge]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 14, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.
- Millán Pabón, C. (2004, Jun 5). Falta de coordinación en el programa Título I [Lack of coordination in Title I program]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 14, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.

- Mulero, L. (2003, Jan 25). Los estudiantes pueden oponerse a divulgar sus datos [Students can oppose the sharing of their information]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 14, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.
- Oficina de Asuntos Federales. (2006). No Child Left Behind. Retrieved Feb 12, 2007 <<http://de.gobierno.pr/oaf/nclb.aspx>>.
- Osuna, J. J. (1949). *A history of education in Puerto Rico*. Rio Piedras, PR: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico.
- Parés Arroyo, M. (2004, Nov 12). Rinde frutos un programa con metas educativas [A program with educational goals bears fruit]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 14, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.
- Perinbanayagam, R. S. (1991). *Discursive acts*. New York: Aldine Transaction.
- Public Law 107-110—Jan 8 2002, 115 Stat. 1425. No Child Left Behind Act. 107th Congress of the United States.
- Ríos Maldonado, H. (2005, Jun 11). Vital las bellas artes [Arts are vital]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 14, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.
- Rivera Marrero, M. (2003, May 31). Liberados los fondos de Educación [Liberated Education funding]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 23, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.
- Rivera Vargas, D. (2004, Aug 16). Pero al reclutamiento military [Protests of military recruitment]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 14, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.
- Rodríguez Bou, I. (1966). Significant factors in the development of education in Puerto Rico. In *Selected background studies prepared for the United*

- States-Puerto Rico Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico* (pp. 147-310).
- Rodríguez Bou, I. (1999). La educación en Puerto Rico [Education in Puerto Rico]. In R. Alegría (Ed.) *Historia y cultura de Puerto Rico: desde la época pre-colombina hasta nuestros días* (pp.157-196), San Juan, PR: Ediciones Puerto Rico.
- Rodríguez Cotto, S (2003, April 25). A medir el provecho [Measuring learning]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 14, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.
- Rodríguez Cotto, S. (2003, May 1). Generan nerviosismo las pruebas [Tests lead to nerves]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 14, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.
- Rodríguez, Cotto, S. (2003, Sept 11). Saca buena nota el inglés en escuelas públicas [English gets a good grade in schools]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 14, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.
- Rodríguez Sánchez, I. (2003, May 3). Molesto Dailiot con dos jefes de agencia [Dailot annoyed with two heads of agencies]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 14, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.
- Rogers, R. (2004a). An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis. In R. Rogers (Ed.) *An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis in Education*. Mahwah, NJ: LEA.
- Rogers, R. (2004b). A critical discourse analysis of literate identities across contexts: alignment and conflict. In R. Rogers (Ed.). *An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis in Education*. Mahwah, NJ: LEA.

- Roldán Soto, C. (2003, Oct 28). Lluven críticas sobre la Federación de Maestros [Criticism rains on the Federación de Maestros]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 14, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.
- Roldán Soto, C. (2005, Dec 6). Defensa a la calidad de los maestros [Defense of the quality of teachers]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 16, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.
- Santana, M. (2002, Dec 9). Defensa a una ley federal [In defense of a federal law]. *El Nuevo Día*. Retrieved October 14, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.
- Santiago Torres, L. M. (n.d.). Estándares versus excelencia educative [Standards versus educational excellence]. Retrieved March 15, 2007. <<http://www.fmprlucha.org>>.
- Santiago Torres, L. M. (n.d.). Todos quieren bailar al son de la danza de los millones [Everyone wants to dance to the tune of millions]. Retrieved March 15, 2007. <<http://www.fmprlucha.org>>.
- Sedlack, M. W., Wheeler, C. W., Pullin, D. C., & Cusick, P. A. (1986). *Selling students short: classroom bargains and academic reform in the American high school*. New York and London: Teachers College Press.
- Schemo, D. (2003, Feb 13). Pasa Head Start a manos estatales [Head Start moves to the hands of states]. *El Nuevo Día*, p. 140. Retrieved October 14, 2006, from <http://www.adendi.com>.
- Spurr, D. (1993). *The rhetoric of empire: colonial discourse in journalism, travel writing, and imperial administration*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

- Stevenson, C. (2004). Theoretical and methodological approaches in discourse analysis. *Nurse Researcher*, 12(2), 17-29.
- Sweetland, J. (2000). Reviewing the World Wide Web—theory versus reality. *Library trends*, 48(4), 748-768).
- Tendencias Puerto Rico. (2006.) Resultados Pruebas puertorriqueñas por región. <<http://www.tendenciaspr.com/Educacion/Educacion.html>> Retrieved Oct 16 2006.
- Tirado, R. C. (2003). *Cien años de educación y de administración educativa en Puerto Rico* [One hundred years of education and educational administration in Puerto Rico]. Hato Rey, PR: Publicaciones Puertorriqueñas.
- Torres-Navarro, P. (1999). *Interrelación política-educación en Puerto Rico* [Interrelation between politics and education in Puerto Rico]. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico.
- Van Dijk, T. (1985). *Handbook of discourse analysis: Disciplines of discourse*. London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Van Dijk, T. (1988). *News as discourse*. London:LEA.
- Walker, T. U. (2006). Mounting the soapbox: poetics, rhetoric, and labor lore at the scene of speaking. *Western Folklore*, 65: 65-98.
- Whalen, C. T. (2005). Colonialism, citizenship, and the making of the Puerto Rican diaspora: an introduction. In, C.T. Whalen & V. Vázquez-Hernández (Eds.) *The Puerto Rican diaspora: historal perspectives*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Willis, G., Shubert, W. H., Bullough, R. V., Kridel, C., & Holton, J. (1994). *The American curriculum: a documentary history*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Winerip, M. (2006, March 22). Standardized tests face a crisis over standards. *The New York Times*. Retrieved May 5, 2006 from *Academic Search Premier*.

Woodside-Jiron, H. (2004). Language, power, and participation: Using critical discourse analysis to make sense of public policy. In R. Rogers, *An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis in Education*, Mahwah, New Jersey: LEA.

Zehr, M. A. (2005). State testing of English-learners scrutinized. *Education Week*, 24(40), 1-12.

Appendix A



Illustration #1 Logo representing NCLB, featured on DE page as a link