65 Teacher Education & Social Justice II $6

RADICAL TEACHER

THREE PROGRAMS

Developing Teachers for Social Justice
Herbert Kohl reports from the University of San Francisco

Hope and History
Kathleen Weiler reports from Tufts

Interdisciplinary Connections
Eliza Fabillar & Cynthia Jones report from CUNY and Hostos Community College

also:

LET THEM EAT TESTS
Stanley Karp

TEACHING SHANGE AT OLE MISS
Ethel Young-Minor

reviews:

"School" & "Only a Teacher"
FILM REVIEW BY KATE ROUSMANIERE

Lawrence Blum's "I'm Not a Racist-But..."
REVIEWED BY PHIL COX

Burbules & Torrés (eds.), Globalization & Education
REVIEWED BY ROBERT J.S. ROSS

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Radical Teacher, founded in 1975, is a socialist, feminist, and anti-racist journal dedicated to the theory and practice of teaching. It serves the community of educators who are working for democratic process, peace, and justice. The magazine examines the root causes of inequality and promotes progressive social change.

Radical Teacher publishes articles on classroom practices and curriculum, as well as on teaching issues related to gender and sexuality, disability, culture, globalization, privatization, race, and class, other similar topics.

We welcome inquiries and ideas for articles, issues, or conferences from people actively engaged in progressive education.

Radical Teacher's Process for Considering Manuscripts

When we get an unsolicited article, unless it is clearly outside our boundaries, the manuscript coordinator sends it to four readers from the editorial group. The coordinator also evaluates the article. So most manuscripts get five readings.

Usually a couple of the readers will be fairly expert in the subject of the article, and the others will be in different areas or from different levels of educational work. The attempt is to critique articles both for sound and current knowledge and for general interest and readability.

When all the readings are in, the coordinator weighs the readers' opinions and makes a decision based on them. That decision may be a plain "accept" or "reject." Or it may be one of the three other possibilities. (1) We tell some authors that if they make specific revisions, we will accept the revised article. (2) With others, we encourage revision and give suggestions (often detailed) for making revisions. We indicate that we hope to work with the author toward publication, but cannot guarantee it. (3) We tell other authors that we would be glad to read a drastic revision, or a different kind of article about the same subject. In every case except that of immediate acceptance or that of a totally unacceptable article, we try to give helpful criticism. And, though we don't always manage it, we try to get the article and critique back to the author in two or three months.

When authors do submit revisions, the original readers may read the new version or we may bring in new readers from the editorial group.

Articles written for a "cluster" focused on a particular topic go directly to the "cluster" editors. Generally these articles have been solicited in response to proposals from the authors whose proposals have been encouraged. The "cluster" editors work with the authors toward publication. Prospectuses for non-cluster articles get the same treatment as unsolicited manuscripts.

LIZ POWELL

RADICAL TEACHER

a socialist, feminist and anti-racist journal on the theory and practice of teaching

TEACHER EDUCATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE: PART II

Cluster Editors: Frinde Maher, Kathleen Weiler, Sophie Bell and Elisabeth Fieldstone Kanner

BOOK REVIEWS

Cover: Ethel Young-Minor with students at the University of Mississippi.

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INTRODUCTION

Teacher Education and Social Justice, Part II

FRINDE MAHER AND KATHLEEN WEILER

The articles in this cluster represent the second half of a double issue on teacher education. Here we reprint the introduction to RT#64, adding descriptions of the essays in that first issue and this one. When progressive people today think about teacher education, they often focus on the discrepancy between the ideals of radical teaching and the realities of contemporary public schools. Our articles on teacher education in these issues confront these contradictions in various ways, both by examining aspects of the current situation and offering approaches to dealing with these issues in our classrooms. Examples of transformative pedagogy, the need to respect and encourage the voices of students, curriculum critiquing popular culture and analyzing social inequality are invaluable to prospective teachers. Moreover, progressive programs educating prospective teachers need to include both models of progressive pedagogy and curriculum and courses exploring the historical and contemporary politics of education, to give prospective teachers tools of analysis and action. On the other hand, calls for liberatory teaching can appear to ring hollow notes in underfunded and inequitable public schools, where knowledge and teaching practices are increasingly standardized and monitored through high stakes testing.

As numerous educational researchers have documented, existing schools are profoundly unequal, stratified by race and class, and increasingly driven by the standardized testing of students and teachers and the deskilling of teachers through the introduction of packaged curricula geared to standardized tests. The "marketization" of education is dominant at both the federal and state levels, with free market educators calling for the privatization of schooling through a variety of means: vouchers, for-profit charter schools, the commercialization of school spaces and forced dependence on advertising. (Examples of the latter include the widespread presence of Pepsi or Coke machines in school buildings, with a cut of the profits used to pay for otherwise unfunded student programs, or Channel One, which provides schools with free TV sets but in return requires students to watch commercials during school time).

The changes that are taking place at both the state and the national level reflect the interests of groups like the Business Roundtable, that see public education as both the source of "trained" (as opposed to educated) workers and a potential opportunity for private entrepreneurs. In one version of the free market vision, education would be restructured along the lines of national defense, with private business gaining access to public funds through a system of government contracts. Despite what it usually feels like to public school teachers, there is a great deal of money in public education, in the form of funds currently controlled by local communities and public officials. However, if education is restructured along the lines of the defense industry, private companies could make enormous profits.

Needless to say, the lives of children are of very little interest in this scheme. Knowledge, however, may be even more dangerous than missiles. Conservative school reformers are not only interested in the possibilities of profit in restructuring schools; they are also concerned with control over what is learned in the schools. Encouraging students to think critically about the structure of their society and its values is not a priority for those who are now benefiting from the current arrangement. Thus, controlling knowledge through standardized tests is yet one more way of making sure that public education serves to reproduce the status quo.

In such a climate, progressive teachers and teacher educators quite naturally wonder what can be done to counter what seem like inexorable

IMAGES FROM *THE NEW ENGLAND PRIMER*

forces of reaction. How can a new generation of activist teachers be encouraged? How might teacher education programs be constructed to give student teachers the knowledge and skills that can help them teach critically and progressively in the public schools?

Despite the momentum of the marketization and standardization of education, talented and dedicated teachers continue to work with students in original and critical ways. Their own continual questioning of their own and their students' difficult positions in the beleaguered contexts of today's schools helps them teach their students about real struggles and real possibilities for intellectual growth and political change. Yet in order to serve their students in these ways, radical teachers need to do more than simply apply progressive and student-centered pedagogical techniques. They need to be able to study past educational struggles, to become acquainted with progressive critiques of public education, and to reflect on the underlying political meanings of so-called "education reform." They need to be able to help their students grow as people with race, gender, class and cultural identities that position them unequally within and beyond their classrooms and schools, and equip them with the language and histories of struggle and possibility. Their students need to learn about both the promise of the American Dream through education, and the political forces, both today and in the past, that seek to minimize and restrict that promise in the name of economic efficiency and social control.

Groups like the Business Roundtable see public education as both the source of "trained" (as opposed to educated) workers and a potential opportunity for private entrepreneurs.

Most teachers on the university level, like most citizens, hear about the "crises" and "reforms" in public education either from the sidelines or as parents. However, unlike most university professors, teacher educators are on the front line of the campaign by the state and corporations to control the content of knowledge and the process of teaching. Teacher testing and the standards movement, as attested to by several articles below, are attempting to control the content of teacher education courses and programs. At the same time, radical teacher educators can challenge prospective teachers to learn about and reflect on the broader context of schooling in this country, namely the persistent and continuing struggles over educational access and equality. In these two issues of *Radical Teacher* we therefore present articles that describe and analyze the current conditions facing teachers and teacher educators. But we also include articles describing innovative programs seeking to challenge prospective teachers to reflect on the issues we face, to think about their own practices, and to become radical teachers.

In issue #64, Frinde Maher situated high-stakes teacher tests in the context of other schemes to create a two-tiered system of public education in her article "The Attack on Teacher Education and Teachers." In "Weighing in From California," Ann Berlak provided an account of what school reform means on the ground for teachers and teacher educators by showing the effects of California's obsession with standardized testing. At both state and national levels, the extent of state surveillance and control of public schools continues to expand. The other two articles in issue #64 described specific programs and approaches. In Polly Atwood and Jimmy Collazo's article, "The Toolbox and the Mirror: Reflection and Practice in 'Progressive' Teacher Education," two advisors of student teachers reflected on being caught between the "arrogance of theory" that can characterize university teacher education programs and the "arrogance of practice" with which public school teachers can view the ineffectiveness of theory in "real" classrooms.

Finally, in "Re(in)forming the Conversation: Student Position, Power, and Voice in Teacher Education," Alison Cook-Sather described a pro-

gram designed to bring students and student teachers together from across the hierarchical divisions of public schools. High school students and student teachers write letters to each other and meet together over the course of a semester.

The articles gathered here in issue #65 continue to reflect this balance between critique and possibility. In "Developing Teachers for Social Justice," Herb Kohl describes an innovative teacher education program he has founded within the private, Jesuit University of San Francisco, where practicing teachers are brought together to explore dimensions of teaching for social justice. The students in the program are all teachers in local urban classrooms where they have been frustrated by the demands of the system and their own isolation: in this program, they create a learning community to explore how to bring their concerns for children's development and social change into their schools and classrooms. They read a variety of materials on history, philosophy and classroom pedagogies, by authors ranging from Lisa Delpit to Miles Horton to Bill Ayers and Paulo Freire, and use the readings, discussions and projects to critique and reenvision their own practices. The community they build with each other to support their experiments in challenging and changing their own specific situations is a key part of the program.

In "Hope and History: What do Future Teachers Need to Know?" Kathleen Weiler argues for the importance of providing courses in history as a part of teacher education programs. Too often, teacher education is seen as the mastery of the content of specific disciplines and teaching techniques to be used in isolated classrooms. The rich tradition of historical struggles over education and the collective work of teachers is lost. She describes a course on the history of education she and others have taught at Tufts University over the past decade. This course, Class, Race, and Gender in the History of U.S. Education, views the history of education in the United States as a story of struggle over knowledge and power. The course addresses the meaning of education, both informal education and state-controlled schooling, for different groups, including Native Americans, African Americans, women of different classes and ethnicities, and immigrants from a variety of cultures. It explores the growth of the state as well as the actions of subjugated groups, who have seen education as central in their fight for civil and political rights. It is founded on the belief that teachers need to understand their own work in the context of a broader historical and political enterprise.

In "Interdisciplinary Connections: Teacher and Student Empowerment through Social and Cultural History, Critical Pedagogy, and Collaboration," Eliza Fabillar and Cynthia Jones describe their work at the American Social History Project/Center for Media and Learning's Making Connections professional development program. This program offers a model for teacher education which continues past teacher preparation. High school teachers team up with CUNY faculty members of ASHP/CML scholars to study, plan and teach interdisciplinary English and Social Studies classes. The deep collaboration, rich resources, and progressive curriculum of this program strengthen and challenge teachers' classroom practices and support and stimulate teachers at all levels of experience. The article describes the program and looks in depth at a unit of study developed by one high school teaching team.

The notion of an irreconcilable "theory-practice" divide has often been used to attack radical and progressive educational approaches. Long before the current trends towards further standardization and privatization, critics have decried as "nice in theory but impossible in practice" the ideas of listening to children's desires and needs, of using classrooms as settings to explore societal diversities and inequalities, and of making schools laboratories for creating models of more democratic communities. Such practices, we are always told, would not "work" in the real world of overcrowded classrooms and a curriculum to be "covered." The current attacks on schoolchildren, particularly working class children, and their teachers are indeed designed to make such democratic classrooms less possible. But these current policies underscore the importance of the real lessons that we can draw from the articles above and those we included in the first issue. While they articulate these themes in different ways, all our authors stress the importance of teachers confronting politically the complex contexts that they inhabit. Teachers and teacher educators cannot just close their classroom doors and teach "progressively"; they need to be aware of the historical and political bases of the current struggles over the schools. They need to talk to their students and their colleagues in new ways, and see their schools and communities as well as their classrooms as places for these dialogues. In some ways the current discussion of our educational "crisis" and "reform" provide excellent opportunities for this; everyone is talking about education these days. We hope these articles will help promote these necessary conversations. RT

Developing Teachers for Social Justice

HERBERT KOHL

Over one quarter of the public school teachers in the United States will be retiring in the next decade. This can provide a great opportunity for the development of energized young teachers who, as future leaders, might revitalize public education and redefine progressive education according to current needs and struggles. However, it can also be an opportunity to mold a new teaching profession that only knows increasingly parsed standards, high stakes testing, a rigidly structured Euro-centric curriculum, English-only learning, and a highly controlled punitive banking system education.

In California, the State Board of Education is aware of this condition and has consciously chosen to follow the latter option. Through directives, legislation, and the redefinition of teacher credential programs, the very words "bilingual education" will be formally eliminated from the vocabulary of schooling in California, replaced by "English language learning." Bilingual classes will abandon the use of first language teaching and students will be taught and tested in English only. Phonics is already the religion of the early grades, and multiculturalism is back in its place as holiday celebration time. There will be no more bilingual education credentials (called BCLAD credentials) and teacher education students will be subject to high stakes tests on phonics, English Language Learning, lists of standards, and even rigid forms of classroom management. The legislation of life in the classroom is being shaped by the makeover of teachers. The border between teaching students and testing is becoming increasingly unclear and the performance gap is increasing. Many people already teaching are demoralized. In addition, there is an assault on the very enterprise of public education emanating from the Far Right. The "Small Schools" movement, a ray of hope in a slough of despond, is struggling along.

Any radical teacher education program in the State of California at this time has to consider the tension between developing critical, perceptive, skilled, and motivated new activist teachers and the grim realities and struggles they will likely face working in poor urban public schools. When I was asked by the Dean of Education at the University of San Francisco to develop and direct a new teacher education program, these realities were clear to me. It made sense to develop a program that was focused explicitly on issues of social justice as they relate to life in the school. This implied at the least developing anti-racist curriculum, working through what can be called the problem of "teaching other people's children," and confronting the damaging aspects of high stakes testing. It also meant helping student teachers develop the concrete skills that would enable them to teach to very high standards while they developed material that respected the knowledge and experiences of the students and the school's community. And finally it implied preparing, as much as possible, for them to be working against the grain and be willing to see themselves as agents of change and organizers.

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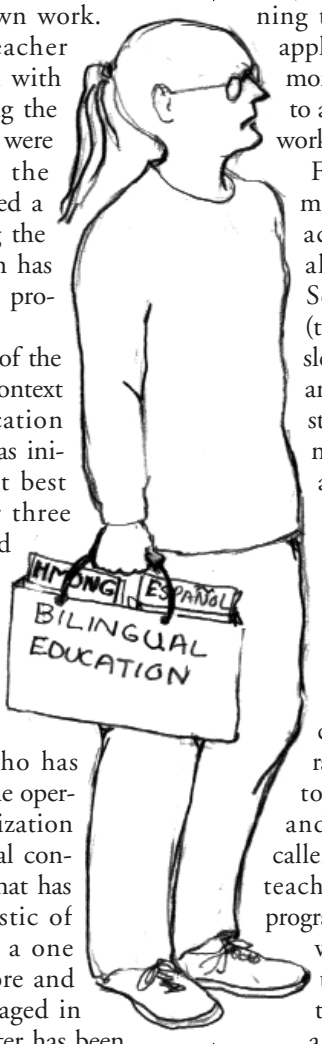
Fortunately the University of San Francisco, which is a Jesuit university, has an institutional-wide commitment to infusing issues of social justice into all of its programs, and so the orientation I chose for the program was welcomed by the administration. Since I chose to be explicit about the goals of the program, it is very unlikely that any state supported institution of higher education in California would have touched it.

The Center for Teaching Excellence and Social Justice at USF is now going into its third year. We had a cohort of twenty credential and Masters' students the first year, twenty-three the second year, and hope to have twenty-five, the program's limit for now, in the coming year. One of the goals was to develop each cohort as a learning community and a peer support group. I hoped that the students would see each other as comrades fighting similar battles, though likely in different schools. I hoped this sense of common struggle would extend beyond the students' time in the program and become a mutual support and organizing group through their teaching careers. As it

turns out, this has succeeded beyond my expectations. The reason, I believe, is that it turned out unexpectedly that 90% of the students who entered the program already had from one to five years of teaching experience in Bay Area urban schools and were looking for a community of learner/teachers to support their own work. Coming into a teacher education program with other students facing the same struggles they were already having in the classroom has created a strong bond among the students, one which has energized the whole program.

The development of the Center within the context of a Teacher Education Department that was initially indifferent at best (we are now, after three years, more fully and comfortably integrated) was a major challenge. I was very fortunate in being allowed to have an assistant, Mike Sahakian, who has become central to the operation of the organization and to the continual contact with students that has become characteristic of our work. It's not a one person job and more and more everyone engaged in working at the Center has been freed to do what they do best.

Initially, recruiting students was a problem, as it was agreed that the Center would not dip into the pool of students whom the University of San Francisco School of Education normally recruited into its teacher education program. In addition to that restriction, I decided to recruit students who had already manifested a commitment to social justice and provide a place for them to hone their ideas and develop practical skills that would enhance that commitment. The criteria used was not rigid, and our first group of students' involvement in issues of social justice ranged from environmental activism to youth media, community arts, and anti-racist work. Others, who were already teaching, manifested their concern for social justice in the work they did in the classroom. A few of the students had studied critical theory in college with an eye towards acting for social justice. The common theme running through all of the students' applications was the desire for a more just world and a willingness to act to make it a reality through work with children.

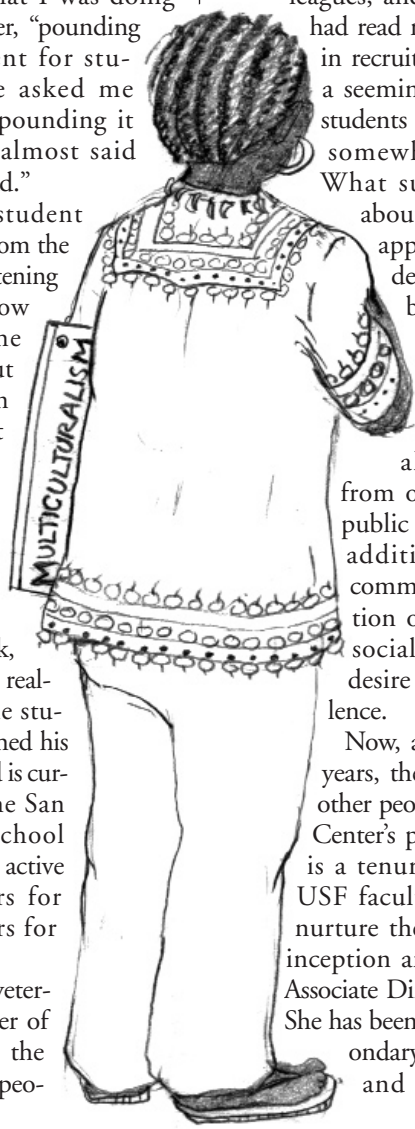


Finding students was my first major problem since I had no access to students who had already chosen to enter the School of Education at USF (this is no longer the case). I lost sleep and visited many schools and programs in the quest for students. In the course of one of my school visits, a third grader asked me what I was doing and I told her, "pounding the pavement for students." She asked me what I was pounding it with and I almost said "with my head."

My first student came to me from the radio. I was listening to a call-in show and one of the callers asked about teacher education programs that dealt with social justice. I called the station and left my name and the name of our program. Within a day I got a call back, held an interview and realized I had at least one student. He has just finished his credential program and is currently teaching in the San Francisco Unified School District. He is also an active member of Teachers for Change and Teachers for Social Justice.

Teach for America veterans provided a number of the other students in the programs. They were people initially recruited to teaching through Teach for America who decided to stay in teaching and struggle to reform public education after their original commitment was over. I have major reservations about Teach for America and its emphasis on teaching as social service rather than as professional commitment. However the students who entered teaching through Teach for America and applied to the Center's program had survived teaching in underserved urban schools for several years and remained committed to making public education work. I continue to recruit from this pool of people and don't worry about how they entered teaching.

Friends held house parties throughout the Bay Area for young people they knew wanted or needed teaching credentials. People who entered the program recruited their friends and colleagues, and some people who had read my work also joined in recruiting. What began as a seemingly futile quest for students became organic and somewhat self-directing. What surprised me most about the first group of approximately 25 students was that with all but a few exceptions everyone was currently teaching on an emergency credential and had already completed from one to five years of public school teaching. In addition every one was committed to an integration of their concern for social justice with their desire for teaching excellence.



Now, after two and a half years, there are a number of other people who teach in the Center's program. Susan Katz is a tenured member of the USF faculty who has helped nurture the program from its inception and has become the Associate Director of the Center. She has been supervising our secondary credential students and our students have

DRAWINGS BY LIZ POWELL

taken a number of classes with her, including Participatory Research and Bilingual Education.

Student teaching placements and supervision are done from within the Center, though our students take some of the same classes as students from the other teacher education options at the School of Education. One class in particular is the Early Literacy class, which is well taught and focuses on phonics and other early reading methods mandated by the State of California.

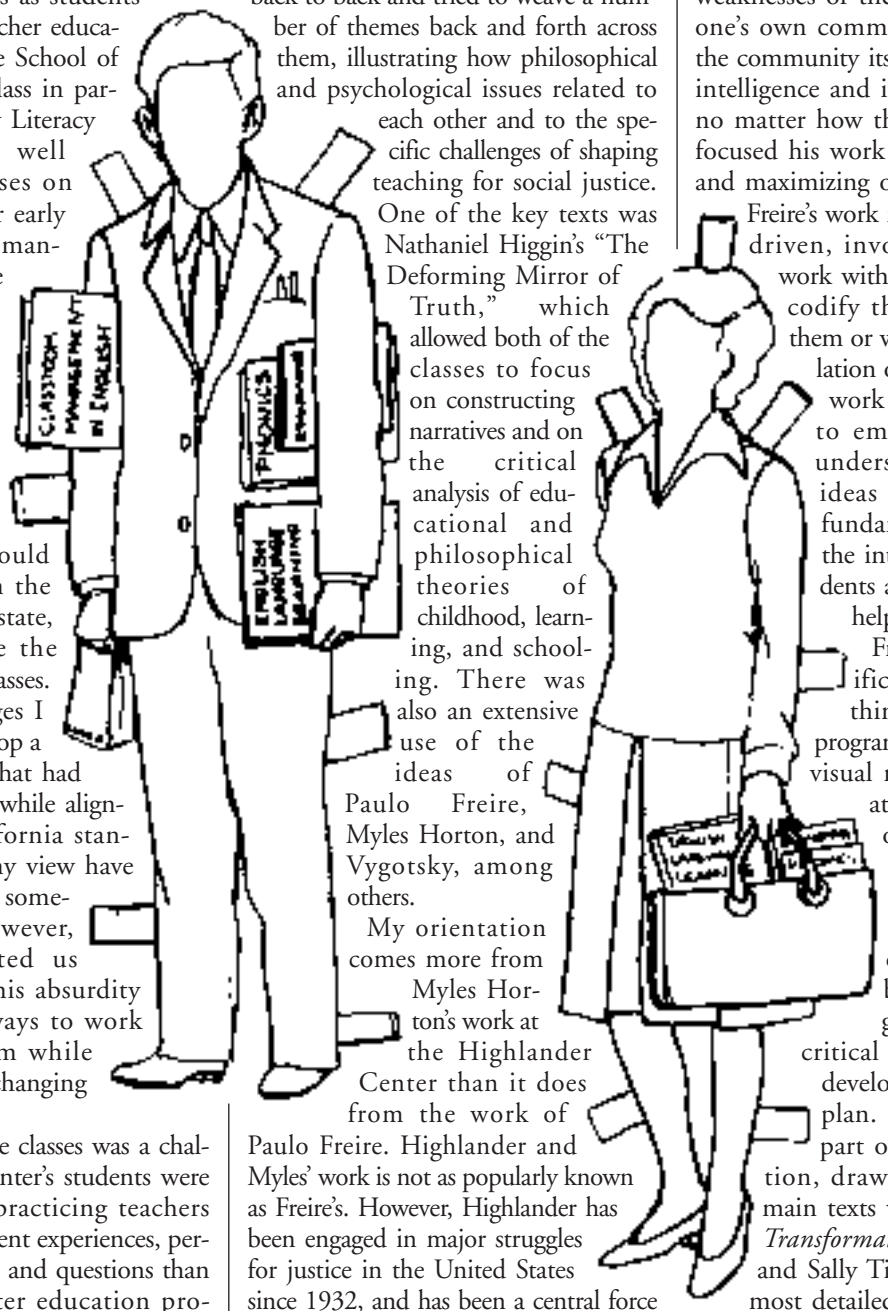
However, my desire to shape the program implied that at least for the first few years I would teach as much as the University would allow and, within the guidelines of the state, be able to shape the content of these classes. The first challenges I faced were to develop a creative program that had a distinct identity while aligning itself to California standards, which in my view have become rigid and somewhat absurd. However, nothing prevented us from analyzing this absurdity and looking at ways to work within the system while working towards changing it.

The design of the classes was a challenge since the Center's students were overwhelmingly practicing teachers and had very different experiences, perceptions, concerns, and questions than students who enter education programs straight from college. In a way, they were young colleagues of mine having embarked on the same educational journey that I have been on all of my adult life. Therefore, the most important things were to marry theory and practice in all of the classes, to allow for their questions and concerns, and to build the cohort.

For the first two years the program was built around two required classes that met for two and a half hours each on consecutive days. One was formally titled "Philosophical Foundations of Education," the other "Psychology of Education." I taught these two classes back to back and tried to weave a number of themes back and forth across them, illustrating how philosophical and psychological issues related to each other and to the specific challenges of shaping teaching for social justice. One of the key texts was Nathaniel Higgin's "The Deforming Mirror of Truth," which allowed both of the classes to focus on constructing narratives and on the critical analysis of educational and philosophical theories of childhood, learning, and schooling. There was also an extensive use of the ideas of Paulo Freire, Myles Horton, and Vygotsky, among others.

My orientation comes more from Myles Horton's work at the Highlander Center than it does from the work of Paulo Freire. Highlander and Myles' work is not as popularly known as Freire's. However, Highlander has been engaged in major struggles for justice in the United States since 1932, and has been a central force in the early CIO workers' democracy movement, the Civil Rights Movement, the environmental justice movement in Appalachia, and the struggle for poor people's and workers' rights.

Myles, one of the founders of Highlander, was a mentor of mine from 1977 until he died in 1990, and my wife Judy and I had the privilege of working with Myles on his autobiography *The Long Haul*. Central to Myles' thinking is the idea that people who have a problem own the solution to the problem. What I believe he meant by that is the knowledge of the specific nature of a problem, the strengths and weaknesses of the opposition and of one's own community reside within the community itself. His belief in the intelligence and ingenuity of people, no matter how they were oppressed, focused his work on the articulation and maximizing of people's strengths.



DRAWING BY LIZ POWELL

Freire's work is much more expert driven, involving people who work within communities and codify their experience for them or with them. My translation of Myles' thinking of work within schools was to emphasize listening, understanding children's ideas and thinking, and fundamentally respecting the intelligence of the students and their capacity to help you teach them.

Freire's notion of codification is also something we utilize in the program as it lends itself to visual representation, theater, and other forms of group expression. A codification is a representation of a problem within a community that can be presented to a group as a basis for critical discussion and the development of an action plan. For example, here's part of a simple codification, drawn from one of the main texts we use, *Training for Transformation*, by Ann Hope and Sally Timmel, which is the most detailed and useful exposition of the application of Paulo Freire's work that I have encountered:

Two people perform this playlet. One comes on with a great big grin and an open heart and mind. This actor wears traditional dress and has a false right hand hidden in the sleeve of his or her shirt. He (or she) opens her hand out to shake the hand of a second actor who comes on stage wearing

European clothes. The European welcomes the handshake and then rips the hand out of the others actor's shirt and goes off smiling. A discussion of the effects of welcoming the Europeans ensues.

During the first year, in addition to Freire, Horton, and *Training for Transformation*, we used the work of Lisa Delpit and approached Piaget through Louise Derman-Sparks and Carol Brunson Phillips' *Teaching / Learning Anti-Racism*, which provides a developmental approach to the development of anti-racist programs in the classroom. In addition, we also explored Gareth Matthews's philosophy of children. The idea of centering the class this way was to introduce ideas of democratic education, critical and cultural analysis in ways that lent themselves to the transformation of the students' current classroom practice. My idea was that students would provide each other with the critical tools and the techniques of transforming ideas into teaching materials and strategies. Many of the assignments involved actually developing and testing what we were discussing in class within the students' own classrooms. Sharing the results of such work was very effective in developing ties among students in each cohort as they saw each other as creative workers working towards common goals.

To give a more specific idea of how the classes worked, the following are excerpts from the syllabus with some explanations and some of the assignments. The syllabi themselves are formatted in a traditional way as is the class schedule of the whole program. We are aligned to the California state mandated curriculum in order to achieve one of the major goals of the program: to provide students with California teaching credentials. However, within the context of a rather benign looking structure there is an enormous amount of freedom to shape the content and the structure of the program in a way that manifests its commitment to democratic education and creative pedagogy. The pedagogy is creative in that it evolves each year, but it does not adhere rigidly to any standard version of critical pedagogy, Freirean based learning, or progressive education. We utilize all of them, but are situational. That is, the program is formed with the intention of helping students understand their own creative role in drawing from many radical democratic traditions, their own experiences, and the voices from within the communities they serve to make an effective and excellent education for their own pupils.

INTRODUCTION TO THE IDEA OF PHILOSOPHY AS NARRATIVE

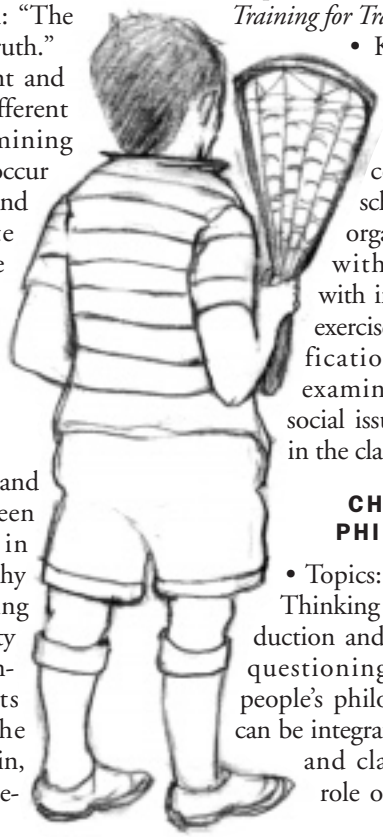
- Discussion of narrative and of alternative perceptions of events and ideas, such as the diverse views and understandings students are likely to encounter in their classrooms.
- Analyze Plato's *Allegory of the Cave* as an example of an attempt to create a master philosophical narrative. Read Huggins, Nathan: "The Deforming Mirror of Truth."
- Paper: Choose an event and describe it through different narrative frames examining the deformations that occur when stories are told and identified as absolute truth. Also discuss the power of narrative to confirm or deny social justice.

THE HIGHLANDER IDEA

- Topics: Myles Horton and the relationship between theory and practice in education, the philosophy of listening and learning from others, community resource mapping, learning from the students you work with and the community you work in, explicating the phenomenological and existential approach to understanding and social justice, Maxine Greene and the ontological role of authenticity and choice, the role of the teacher as philosopher and creator of educational theories, aesthetic philosophy and the role of the social imagination in learning.
- Texts: Horton, Myles with Kohl, Judith and Kohl, Herbert: *The Long Haul*. Greene, Maxine: *Teacher as Stranger*, p. 3-25, 267-302.
- Video: Bill Moyers Interview with Myles Horton and *You Gotta Move: A History of the Highlander Center*
- Paper: Develop a community map of a place you work in or know. Also project that map into alternative visions of organizing this community based on discussions of the social imagination.

PAULO FREIRE AND PROBLEM POSING EDUCATION

- Introduction to Freire and class discussion. Participatory activity in the development of codifications.
- Texts: Brown, Cynthia: *Literacy in 30 Hours: Paulo Freire's Process in North East Brazil*
- hooks, bell: *Teaching to Transgress*, p. 45-58.
- Hope, Anne and Timmel, Sally: *Training for Transformation*.
- Kohl, Herbert: *Paulo Freire: Towards the Splendid City*.
- Paper: Develop a codification for the school or child related organization you work with or have worked with in the past. Develop exercises to use that codification in practice to examine and act upon a social issue in the school or in the classroom.



CHILDREN AS PHILOSOPHERS

- Topics: The Philosophical Thinking of Children, introduction and class discussion of questioning and how young people's philosophical questions can be integrated into curriculum and class discussion, the role of powerful ideas in

DRAWINGS BY LIZ POWELL

understanding the philosophic foundations of education.

- Texts: Matthews, Gareth: *Philosophy and The Young Child*.
- Lippman, Matthew: *Pixie*.
- Wesker, Arnold: *Words as Definitions of Experience*.
- Paper: Describe some of the philosophical questions you raised as a child, have heard children raise or have pondered about yourself and create a dialogue about one of them. Also, develop a lesson on a philosophical issue that you can teach using significant ideas according to Wesker's model.

SOCIAL JUSTICE EDUCATION

- Topics: An overview of the history and philosophy of education from the perspective of social justice. Discussions of the applications of philosophical ideas to the transformation of educational practice. Creation of social justice focused lessons in small groups in the class.
- Text: William Ayers, Jean Ann Hunt, Therese Quinn, eds: *Teaching for Social Justice*

OBSERVING CHILDREN

- Topics: Overview of the theories of growth, development, and learning we will be considering. Class discussion of Center students' current views about how children learn.
- Lecture with examples about ways of observing children when they are engaged in learning.
- Texts: Hawkins, Frances Pockman: "The Eye of the Beholder"
- Korczak, Janos: "Why Do I Clear Tables?"
- Paper: Write some reflections about how you learned to read. Try to do an imaginative recreation of the times and places and make them come alive for the reader.

SHAM, VULNERABILITY, SOCIAL ASPECTS OF LEARNING

- Topics: Examination of the way in which sociological concepts like sham, social performance, humiliation, and vulnerability can enrich classroom observation and transform classroom practice. Consider refusals to learn and resistance to learning as well as ways of overcoming them. Focus on how to write about children and learning.
- Texts: Henry, Jules: *On Sham, Vulnerability and other forms of Self-Destruction*.
- Kohl, Herbert: *I Won't Learn from You*.
- Redl, Fritz: *When We Deal With Children*.
- Paper: Describe how you see humiliation or conscious refusals to learn working in your classrooms or school. Be specific—do a case history.

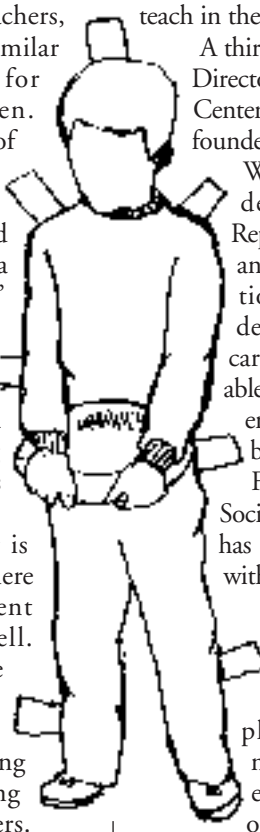
OTHER TEACHERS

- Topics: Examine the role of culture, class, and race in human development. Consider ways teachers can observe themselves or other teachers, using strategies similar to those used for observing children. Discuss the issue of how teachers learn.
- Texts: Delpit, Lisa "Skills and Other Dilemmas of a Progressive Black Educator" and "The Silenced Dialogue" from *Other People's Children*.
- Paper: Describe racial and cultural relations among teachers and administrators at your school.

This is a sampler of what is central to our programs. There are other classes and student teaching seminars as well. (Fortunately our students are able to do most of their student teaching in their own classrooms, meanwhile visiting other classrooms and getting support from master teachers. These are chosen because of their teaching excellence and experience working for social justice.

One of the goals of the program is to expose students to experienced people whose work in education and social justice has been effective. We have had a number of people work with the students. Among them are Arnold Perkins, currently Director of Health and Human Services for Alameda County and formerly Director of the Koshland Program of the San Francisco Foundation. Perkins talked to the students about issues of race, health, and the interface of the school with social services and communities. He also consulted on the question of developing alliances among schools, health professionals, community based organizations, and foundations.

Another guest of the Center was Betty Halpern, formerly Director of the Early Childhood Program at Sonoma State College and current Professor Emeritus at Sonoma State. She discussed the history and philosophy of progressive education and consulted with the students on how to develop curriculum that had a significant social justice component. We have been able to persuade Dr. Halpern to teach in the program as an Adjunct.



A third guest was Gary Delgardo, Director of the Applied Research Center in Berkeley and one of the founders of the Center for Third World Organizing. He demonstrated the School Report Card, which is used as an assessment of racial relationships at a school. The development of this report card, which was made available to the students in computer disk form, was sponsored by grants from the Ford Foundation and the Open Society Institute. Mr. Delgardo has agreed to continue to work with the Center as we develop a curriculum that has as a central focus issues of social justice.

We have a few more visits planned for this and the next academic year. At the end of the spring semester of 2002 we had a series of conversations with Joseph Featherstone on the future of progressive education, and a day long workshop with Dolores Huerta on education and activism. The latter was held jointly with TEAMS,

the School of Education's Americorps program.

There were several student initiatives that will contribute to the further development of the Center. One of the students, a former Silicon Valley computer specialist and currently the computer specialist at Thurgood Marshall High School, set up a listserv for the entire class. Throughout the semester students have been communicating with each other on class readings and on the educational problems they face in their own classrooms. They have also shared ideas for class projects and papers and have become continual collaborators.

In addition several students set up a Sunday study group to discuss the class readings and reflect on class discussions. Participation is totally voluntary but has been continual and according to the students quite rewarding. The students have also made arrangements to visit each other's classes. This is neither for credit nor required but comes out of their passion for teaching and learning from each other. Our students are also involved in setting up discussion and organizing groups with their peers in the public schools, and a group of students are discussing setting up a small school within the Oakland Unified School District.

Each semester has culminated with the students' development and presentation of educational games, theatrical performances, CD's, murals, quilts, and other artistic representations of their individual and collective journeys taken in our learning community. We also have a residential weekend in Point Arena, California where I have developed an education library, learning center, and mini-Highlander at my home. The retreat has no and every educational agenda imaginable.

The central aim of all of this is to have teachers work with their hearts, their minds, their eyes, hands and ears as they shape an education adequate to the brilliance and promise of their students. This is particularly important in the schools the students work in — in Richmond, Oakland, East Palo Alto, and San Francisco where the need for energetic, caring, moralized students is a desperate matter. It is particularly troubling in California, where state mandates have had the effect of suppressing bilingualism, teacher initiative, and multiculturalism. We have even faced a state mandate to eliminate the words "bilingual" and "culture" from directives issued to the schools.

Teaching under this kind of stress, and acting to create situations that are free of teacher proof programs, cynical and racist prohibitions that suppress students' home languages and culture, and institutional resentment of students who are considered failures, is difficult for the experienced teacher. Without peer support, a strong will, and clear convictions, as well as a large bag of tricks, thoughtful pedagogy, and an abiding love for children, a young teacher can hardly survive. This is just a preliminary report on a work in progress, but I personally find energy and renewal in the presence, commitment, and work of my students — a welcome antidote to the despair over the future of public education that overcomes me at moments. I sometimes feel uneasy supporting my students embarking on a life of struggle, but they tell me not to worry. They remind me of myself and other friends who after forty years of activism in education continue to confront the beast in the service of the children and their communities. Their intelligence, passion, and energy, and their new way of defining problems and developing solutions, continues the struggle for justice in education in ways that inspire us older folk. There's nothing wrong with being a trouble-maker in a troubled world.

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Hope and History

What do Future Teachers Need to Know?

KATHLEEN WEILER

Despite the hostile climate of punitive testing, budget cuts, and top-down control facing public education in this country, a number of programs and courses seeking to encourage progressive teaching practices have been developed and are continuing to be created at colleges and universities around the country, some of them described in this issue. In this article I describe a single course embedded within a teacher education program that I believe contributes to this broad political project. This course, which is (somewhat awkwardly) titled Class, Race, Gender in the History of U.S. Education, reflects my strong belief in the need for a historical perspective for prospective teachers. It introduces prospective teachers to the powerful history of students and teachers who have claimed a broad and challenging education as a right for all people. While this course is obviously not perfect and is not the only example of how such material can be introduced to prospective teachers, I believe it has many strengths and suggests approaches that may be useful to others. I created this course more than a decade ago. A number of other instructors have taught it over the years, and it is now being taught by Linda Mizzell.* All of the instructors of this course have contributed to its development, and my description of the course includes resources and assignments used in different versions of the course.

It may be useful at the outset to set out what this course is not. It is not intended to be simply a chronological survey of institutional changes in state policies and educational practice. Instead, it considers the history of education in the United States as a struggle over access and control, focusing on the ways different groups have defined and organized education, considering the different experiences of Native American Indians, African Americans, women from different classes and ethnicities, and immigrant groups of a variety of cultures. Policies and attitudes toward education are examined in relation to changes in the U.S. economy, the growth of organized state structures, and racial and gender ideologies. Throughout the course, the emphasis is on the struggles of subjugated groups to gain access to and define a meaningful education.

PHOTO OF 1965 FREEDOM SCHOOL BY ROBERT FLETCHER

This course introduces prospective teachers to the powerful history of students and teachers who have claimed a broad and challenging education as a right for all people.

Central to the design of this course is a belief that one of the most disempowering aspects of teaching is the isolation of the individual classroom teacher. Of course, this sense that each teacher is a unique individual mirrors the individualism and weak historical memory of U.S. culture as a whole. The emphasis in many teacher education programs on preparing lesson plans or on relationships within isolated classrooms encourages (often unwittingly) this individualism. Focusing on what goes on behind the closed classroom door leaves teachers with no sense of belonging to a larger collectivity and little understanding that their work is part of a larger historical process. Throughout this course, then, we have not only emphasized the way schools are located within larger social, political, and economic structures, but we have also introduced

* Sara Freedman, Christine Woyshner, and Victoria MacDonald have taught versions of this course.

individual teachers as members of larger groups who were engaged in collective struggles. The story of Septima Clark and the citizenship schools in the Civil Rights movement, for example, is not just a narrative of a heroic woman, but is an example of a person who participated in a collective struggle. Clark was a teacher activist, but she did not work alone. This idea—that we all are shaped by our personal and collective social locations and histories and that our actions can make a difference—is fundamental to the course.

In many ways, the linchpin of this course is the assignment asking students to explore their own families' educational histories. This paper is assigned early in the course with the intent that students begin to see that their own educational location is not just the result of their own individual hard work, but is shaped by larger social forces. The educational history assignment has two parts. The first part is to produce a genealogy indicating the educational attainment of members of the student's family. Gathering this information often involves interviewing family members about their own education and the education of their parents and grandparents. Students also can use any written documents that are available. Families differ enormously in the kind of knowledge they have about the past, so the sources of information available to students vary. The genealogy is presented in graphic form—as a chart or diagram. Students frequently create large poster board diagrams of their families for this exercise, which they then present to the class. The second part of the assignment is an analytic paper, addressing some pattern in their family's educational history. This can be focused on the effect of class location, the role of religion, gender, race, ethnicity, or another factor seen as significant. They then discuss their papers with others in small groups. A number of powerful themes emerge from this assignment. By sharing their family's stories in small groups, students hear from one another that different families have access to different kinds of resources; they hear stories of privilege and of oppression not from the instructor or from assigned readings, but from their peers. This can be a powerful learning experience. On the other hand, as Linda Mizzell has commented, white students very frequently tell stories of their families' "coming to this country with nothing." She asks these students to consider whether the privilege associated with whiteness in the United States is "nothing." Moreover, these immigrants often had the support of other members of their families already in this country, of an expanding economy, and the benefits of US imperial expansion at the turn of the twentieth century.

Over the life of this course, this assignment has been extremely powerful and meaningful to students. Nonetheless, I believe that it is important to recognize that it does ask students to make public their own private histories. Therefore, we have always offered students other options; they can choose to do the assignment, but not share their family's story with the other students; or as an alternative to examining their own families, they have the possibility of writing an analysis of the importance of education in an autobiography or biography chosen in consultation with the instructor. Paule Murray's *Proud Shoes* is a good choice for this kind of paper. In my years of teaching, no student has chosen this last option. All of us who have taught this course are convinced that this is a key assignment, but of course, as teachers we cannot control how the students understand this or ultimately what they learn from it. But raising the broader historical and social questions, challenging the accepted narratives within their families, creating a space in which they speak and listen to one another, at least suggests the possibility of other realities.

White students very frequently tell stories of their families' "coming to this country with nothing." She asks these students to consider whether the privilege associated with whiteness in the United States is "nothing."

As well as a paper on their family's educational history, students are required to read one additional book on educational history and to work in groups to present this topic to the class as a whole. There are usually five or six of these topics, arranged chronologically, so when these topics appear on the syllabus, the student groups take responsibility for teaching the class. An example of the kind of books we used for this assignment is Thomas James' *Exiles Within*, a study of the education of children in the Japanese internment camps in World War II. Student presentations of this book are used in the context of examining patterns of racism toward Asian Americans, the role of the state in relation to wartime hysteria, and the meaning of democracy under such circumstances (the curriculum of the camp schools was in part set up by progressive educators). Other books and topics we used for this assignment include Stephen Jay Gould's *The Mismeasure of Man* on the development of the IQ test, as background to the discussion of the introduction of standardized testing in the schools; Ken Teitelbaum's *Schooling for "Good Rebels"* to discuss radical alternatives to public schooling that developed at the turn of the twentieth century among socialist and anarchist groups; John Holt's *How Children Fail* and *How Children Learn* or Herbert Kohl's *Thirty Six Children* to examine the free school movement of the 1960s. We have also had students read and present on contemporary topics such as feminist pedagogy, anti-racist

THE NEW ENGLAND PRIMER

education, the debate over bilingual education, the recent immigrants to public schools, and gay and lesbian issues in schools. Of course we do not have time in any one course to do justice to all of these issues, but by providing students with choices of topics, we hope to allow students with a particular interest in one of these areas the chance to read in more depth and to present a topic to the class as a whole.

TOPICS AND TEXTS

The readings for this course have varied with the teacher, but the general outline of topics have remained roughly the same and followed a chronological sequence. The course is organized around the different ways education has been conceived and enacted in this country. We took as central the tension between, on one hand, a desire for social order—a vision of schools as maintaining a hierarchical society, of teaching children their proper place, of producing obedient workers or citizens, and on the other hand, a desire for freedom—a vision of education as a means of individual development or progressive social change. Questions the course raises include: who gets access to what resources? who controls knowledge (curriculum, tests)? who controls the work of teachers? what underlying interests guide educational policy? Throughout, we have emphasized that education is always deeply political and contested.

ORDER, DEMOCRACY, AND THE RISE OF THE COMMON SCHOOLS

The course begins with a discussion of ideas of education among indigenous peoples in North America, as best this can be recovered. We found J. R. Miller's chapter, "The Three L's: The Traditional Education of the Indigenous Peoples" from his book on Canadian native education, *Shingwauk's Vision*, to be useful here in raising the question of the cultural values underlying education. The film *Hopi: Songs of the Fourth World* can also raise issues about the cultural values underlying Native American education, although it is important to discuss the particular location of this film in the 1980s Southwest. The beliefs of Native American education can be compared to descriptions of education among the Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Here, we examine the catechism and alphabet from *The New England Primer*, with its emphasis on the innate sinfulness of children, their obligation to be obedient to their elders, and their need for salvation through faith. The catechism from *The New England Primer*, for example, includes the refrain:

> I will fear God and honor the King
> I will honor my mother and father
> I will obey my superiors
> I will submit to my ELDERS

We examine the catechism and alphabet from The New England Primer, with its emphasis on the innate sinfulness of children, their obligation to be obedient to their elders, and their need for salvation through faith.

In this early section of the course, we also considered the early development of class differences as well as the central importance of gender and race in defining who had access to schooling.

In the early Republic, we contrasted the ideas of Benjamin Rush, who argued for state supported schooling as means of producing what he called "Republican machines" and Thomas Jefferson, who envisioned a kind of meritocracy available to all white boys, arguing that that free, state-supported schooling was vital to the development of intelligent citizens for the new Republic. In some versions of the course, we read excerpts from Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography* to discuss the meanings and uses of literacy among white male artisans. Linda Kerber's *Women of the Republic* introduced the idea of Republican motherhood, the defense of literacy for girls so they could be good mothers who would raise responsible Republican sons. And we looked at Noah Webster, who attempted to create a national identity through the codification of a national language and whose spelling book became the standard textbook for generations of children.

A key moment in the history of education in the United States is the common school movement, a loosely organized social reform movement that was centered in New England in the thirty years before the Civil War. Carl Kaestle's *Pillars of the Republic*, Michael Katz's *Ironies of Early School Reform*, and David Nassaw's *Schooled to Order* were useful in conceptualizing this section of the course. The common school reformers argued for state supported and controlled compulsory schooling, open to all children in *common* school rooms, reading the same textbooks. In other words, this reform movement established the ideological claims of public schooling that dominated public discourse in the United States until the last decade (however much the schools may have failed to meet these goals). The contradictions of the common school movement are perhaps best explored by looking at the writings of Horace Mann, Massachusetts Secretary of Education in the 1840s and probably the best-known of the common school reformers. One assignment that proved useful here was to have the students work in groups to explicate specific passages from Mann's *Twelfth Annual School Report* from 1848. We reminded students of the significance of this date, not only the European Revolutions of that year, but that this was the date of the publication of *The Communist Manifesto*. In doing a close reading of passages from the *Twelfth*

Annual School Report, students are introduced to Mann's fears of working class violence, his desire for a patriotic and Protestant curriculum that would create a common national identity, the belief that schooling could domesticate and transform the possibly revolutionary masses into a population that would accept cooperation between owners and workers. The opposition of Catholics, some workers, farmers who controlled local one-room schools, as well as those who didn't want to pay taxes to support the common schools are all explored. Most students in the course have only heard of Horace Mann if his was the name of their Junior High School. But the arguments Mann and the common school reformers put forward represent a powerful founding vision for state supported education, and it is important for students to engage those ideas and to try to formulate their own stance toward public schooling.

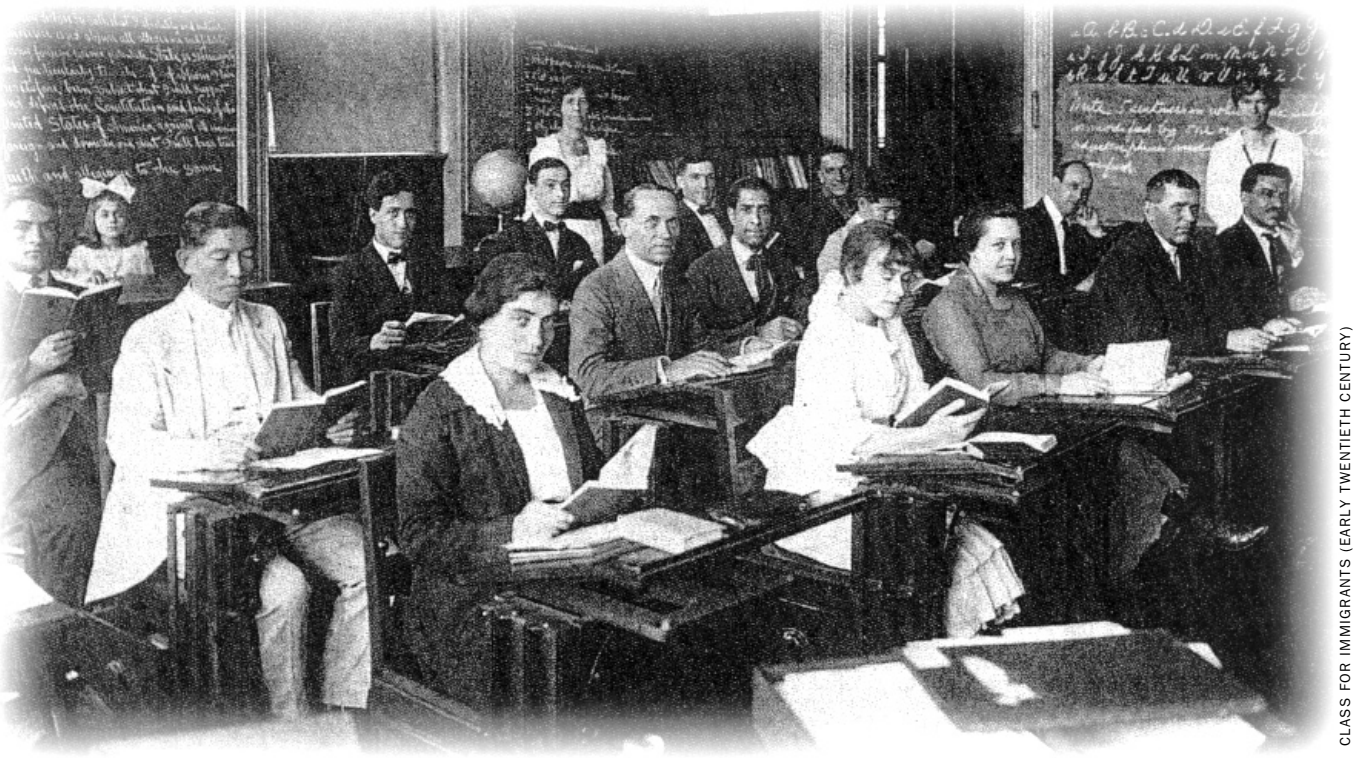
RACE AND RACISM IN US EDUCATION

As is true of every other aspect of U.S. society, education in this country has been profoundly shaped by conceptions of race. White English speakers continue to be imagined as the norm with others envisioned as "different" or "lacking." The history of African American education is particularly important in illuminating this dynamic, because as many have noted, the distinction between white and black is the model for subsequent varieties of U.S. racism. As is well known, Africans and Europeans arrived in the Americas at roughly the same time; racist theories justified the slavery of the Africans, the destruction of native peoples, and the privileges of the white Europeans which shaped all aspects of the emerging American cultures, including education. In the ante-bellum United States, over 90% of the African American population lived in the South in slavery. There it was a crime to teach slaves how to read and write. Historians have examined educational practices under slavery to highlight the way whites "educated" slaves to accept their slavery, while in the slave community, the passing on of African traditions and beliefs can be seen as a form of resistance. Thomas Webber's *Deep Like the Rivers* and Wilma King's *Stolen Childhood* are both useful in discussing the nature of education in the slave society of the South. Passages from Frederick Douglass's *Autobiography* on his struggles to learn how to read are also powerful in raising these issues, as are the early chapters in Booker T. Washington's *Up From Slavery*. The story of the freedmen's schools and the importance of education during Reconstruction has been told in a number of studies. James Anderson's *The Education of Blacks in the South* is perhaps the best account of this period and the effect of Jim Crow. Willie Lee Rose's *Rehearsal for Reconstruction* is a wonderful account of what was called "the Port Royal experiment," the first schools set up to teach newly-freed slaves in the early years of the Civil War. This book can be used as the basis for a group presentation. The section on the Northern teachers who taught in the freedmen's schools in Nancy Hoffman's *Woman's "True" Profession* is accessible and powerful, although it tends to overemphasize the work of white women teachers.

What is central here is to introduce students to the way concepts of management and control taken from business and industry have been applied to public education for almost a century.

In many versions of the course, W. E. B. DuBois's *The Souls of Black Folks* has been used as a central text to discuss issues of nineteenth and early twentieth century African American education. Few students in my experience teaching this course have previously read this book, one of the most important works of U.S. cultural criticism of the twentieth century. Learning about DuBois's own life as well as the issues he raises is a way of engaging students with issues of racism and questions of educational policy—not least whether integration is always beneficial to the African American community, an issue that is addressed again later in the course. The film *W.E.B. DuBois, A Biography in Four Voices* provides a multifaceted view of DuBois's complex life. It is also useful to read the sections on the talented tenth in *The Souls of Black Folk* against his later writings about race and class in *The Education of Black People: Ten Critiques*. Questions of the content of education, the role of an educated elite, the nature of community control, the relationship of education and work are all raised by DuBois in the context of his analysis of U.S. racism.

We have addressed Native American education in different ways in different versions of the course. The course almost always begins with a class on the educational beliefs of the indigenous peoples in North America at the time of European settlement. We tended to pick up the question of Native American education in the nineteenth century with the establishment of the boarding school system. We have used a number of different texts in the course around this topic. Jon Reyhner's *A History of American Indian Education* provides a brief overview. Much more extensive is David Adams's moving and comprehensive history of the boarding schools, *Education for Extinction*. Adams describes the kind of cultural genocide implicit in these schools, particularly in his discussion of the Carlisle School in Pennsylvania. Selections from Luther Standing Bear's autobiography *My People the Sioux* provides a moving account of his experiences at Carlisle. Zitkala-Sa's account of growing up on a reservation in the late nineteenth century and then attending boarding school in her *American Indian Stories* gives a girl's and woman's perspective. K. Tsianina Lomawaima's *They Called it Prairie Light* and Devon Minesuah's *Cultivating the Rosebuds* are studies of specific boarding schools. Lomawaima uses oral history to reconstruct the experience of American Indian students at the Chiloco Indian School, while Minesuah tells the history of the Cherokee Female Seminary in the late nineteenth century. Lomawaima and



CLASS FOR IMMIGRANTS (EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY)

Minesuah present a more mixed picture of the boarding school experience than does Adams. Whichever text we used, we would show the video *In the White Man's Image* about the Carlisle school at this point in the course. And we discussed the present day movement for self-determination and the creation of more recent schools under Indian community control in the West. The theme that we kept coming back to in this discussion was the question of culture and schooling and what the purpose of schools for indigenous students ought to be.

THE GROWTH OF THE "ONE BEST SYSTEM"

We addressed the key period between 1865 and 1924 in different ways. There is really no way to do justice to the richness of this period in a few weeks. These are the years when public education became compulsory, when large bureaucratic urban school systems and the familiar architecture of graded public schools were established, when teaching became firmly established as women's work, when urban schools were faced with large numbers of immigrant children who did not speak English, when Deweyan and progressive educational ideas were formulated, and when ideas of testing, "scientific management," and social efficiency were put forward and came to dominate the schools. We addressed these complex issues from different perspectives and used different texts in various versions of the course. Raymond Callahan's classic study of the rise of scientific management, *Education and the Cult of Efficiency*, and Herbert Kliebard's *The Struggle for the American Curriculum* both were useful in discussing the growth of large urban school systems in this period, as was Kate Rousmaniere's study of New York, *City Teachers*. It was at this point in the course that a student group would give a class on Gould's *Mismeasure of Man*. What is central here is to introduce students to the way concepts of management and control taken from business and industry have been applied to public education for almost a century. But this period also saw the development of alternative conceptions of public schooling, most powerfully in the work of John Dewey. We frequently asked students to read selections from Dewey, either "My Pedagogic Creed" or parts of *School and Society* or *The Child and the Curriculum*.

The issues raised in this part of the course (1865–1924) about the bureaucratic nature of public schooling, bilingualism and the teaching of immigrant children, and use of standardized testing to classify and monitor students and teachers all of course are issues facing teachers in schools today.

The first great wave of immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe and from Asia took place in this same period. There are numerous accounts of the immigrant experience, but one of the most vivid and moving we have used is Mary Antin's *The Promised Land*. First published in 1912, *The Promised Land* is Antin's account of her education, first in a Jewish ghetto in

Poland, and then in the public schools of Boston. Ron Takaki's work on the Asian American experience was also useful here. The issues raised in this part of the course about the bureaucratic nature of public schooling, bilingualism and the teaching of immigrant children, and use of standardized testing to classify and monitor students and teachers all of course are issues facing teachers in schools today.

The question of gender and, in particular, ideas about the education of girls and the role of women in education appeared throughout the course. After introducing the idea of Republican motherhood, the argument in the early Republic that women should be literate so they could raise Republican sons, we looked at the transformation of teaching from male to female work. One of the most useful texts we found for this topic is Nancy Hoffman's *Woman's "True" Profession*, a collection of primary sources about women teachers. Other texts useful for discussing women in public education were Jackie Blount's *Destined to Rule the Schools*, a study of women school superintendents and my own *Country Schoolwomen*, a study of rural women teachers in California. We also looked at the history of higher education for women and the debates around women's ability to be educated. Dr. Edward Clarke's infamous 1871 tract *Sex in Education* works well to show students the nineteenth century argument against women's education because of their "female apparatus." The examples of Margaret Haley in Chicago and Grace Strahan in New York in organizing urban women teachers are also a powerful and usually unknown history for students. There are a number of studies of the early women's colleges, among them Barbara Solomon's *In the Company of Educated Women*, Lynn Gordon's *Gender and Education in the Progressive Era*, and Patricia Palmieri's wonderful study of Wellesley, *In Adamless Eden*. One of these books was often the focus for a group presentation. We have often used the moving film *Women of Summer* about the Bryn Mawr summer school for women workers in the 1920s and 1930s to bring together class and gender in this period. The education of Black women has been examined by a number of scholars. We found Linda Perkins's *Fanny Coppin and the School for Colored Youth* and the recent collection of the writings of Anna Julia Cooper, *The Voice of Anna Julia Cooper*, valuable in introducing students to this history.

MID-CENTURY THEMES

One of the most dramatic periods in twentieth century educational history in the United States was the Civil Rights movement. From the Supreme Court's decision on Brown vs. Board of Education through the battle over desegregation at Central High School in Little Rock to the student Black power movement and demands to transform the college curriculum, education was central to the Black freedom struggle. Central to our study of this key period in all the versions of the course has been the invaluable resource of the video series *Eyes on the Prize*. Different instructors have used different segments of this series, but the segment on Little Rock and the depiction of the Boston busing crisis in particular have proven extremely useful in documenting racism in both the South and the North. We have used different texts to present the Civil Rights movement. Vanessa Siddle Walker's *Their Highest Potential* depicts the efforts of one African American community to provide high quality education for its children in a segregated society, while David Cecelski's *Along Freedom's Road* describes the successful struggle of a community to maintain a high quality high school for African American students during the period of desegregation. Autobiographical accounts of the young activists in the Civil Rights movement provide students with examples of young people taking responsibility for social change. Collections like Hampton and Fayer's *Voices of Freedom*, Jay David's *Growing Up Black*, or the *Eyes on the Prize Civil Rights Reader* provide vivid accounts of racism and the experience of growing under segregation, but also the courage and strength of activists in the Civil Rights movement. Dan Perlstein's article, "Teaching Freedom: SNCC and the Creation of the Mississippi Freedom Schools" uses the experiences of the teachers in the Mississippi summer project of 1964 as an example of a curriculum for social justice. And Vincent Harding's *Hope and History* ties the lessons of the Civil Rights struggle to contemporary social and educational questions.

It was at this point in the course that we have addressed patterns of racism against other groups in U.S. society. The treatment of Asian children in the Western states, which included formally segregated schools and the imprisonment of Japanese American children in camps during the Second World War is addressed for its own importance but also as a way of talking about how patterns of racism have structured the education of children of different ethnicities throughout the United States. Ron Takaki's work is very useful here, particularly *Strangers from a Different Shore*, a history of Asian America. In more recent versions of this course taught by Linda Mizzell, more attention has been paid to Chicano/a and Latino/a educational history. Ruben Donato's *The Other Struggle for Equal Schools* about a Mexican-American community's fight to gain equal education in California provides an excellent case study of this

From the Supreme Court's decision on Brown vs. Board of Education through the battle over desegregation at Central High School in Little Rock to the student Black power movement and demands to transform the college curriculum, education was central to the Black freedom struggle.

history. Bilingual education policy and community control of schools in the West and Southwest are also addressed here.

In several versions of the course, we looked at the impact of the Cold War on education. In my experience teaching the course, few students have been aware of this history or of the activist teachers and theorists of the 1930s such as the left-wing educational philosophers from Teachers College, Columbia, who edited and wrote for the journal *Social Frontier*. Nor did they know about the work of members of the Communist Party in anti-racist education or in teacher unions in the large cities. And they were shocked at McCarthyism and the witch hunt against progressive teachers in the late 1940s and 1950s. One very effective text to address this history is Martha Kransdorf's brief *A Matter of Loyalty*, the story of Frances Eisenberg, a progressive Los Angeles teacher who lost her job because of accusations that she was a subversive and her own refusal to testify before an investigating committee of the California legislature. Ellen Shrecker's *No Ivory Tower* is another very effective text about the impact of McCarthyism on the university. This text was often assigned to a small group for a class presentation. Parts of the film *Point of Order* on the McCarthy committee were also very useful to show the climate of these times. The impact of the social movements of the 1960s on education also were addressed in some versions of the course. The film *Berkeley in the 60s* gives students a flavor of a time very different from their own. This was also the point in the course when student groups would present a class on the open and free school movements of the 1960s. And in some years, we used Ira Shor's *Culture Wars* to discuss the conservative reaction to the sixties and the foundations of the conservative, free market ideas that now dominate educational policies. What has been called the "marketization" of education is a topic that is of increasing importance and it seems essential that students consider both how ideas of competition and efficiency taken from business had a powerful influence on education throughout the twentieth century. A close examination of the 1983 document "A Nation at Risk" is very useful in examining the origin of these ideas.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

In the last section of the course, we addressed a number of contemporary issues. Obviously there was not enough time to do justice to all of these complex issues and we tended to address what seemed most pertinent at the time. In most versions of the course, we addressed contemporary issues of gender and sexuality. We looked at studies of girls and boys in schools, sometimes using Peggy Orenstein's popular study of junior high school girls, *Schoolgirls*. We also looked at the development of ideas of feminist pedagogy at the university level. Both bell hooks's *Teaching to Transgress* and Francis Maher's and Mary Kay Tetrault's *The Feminist Classroom* were valuable in introducing students to these ideas. We also addressed the question of gay and lesbian students and teachers. There is a growing literature in this field. Over the years at different times we used the collection *The Gay Teen*, edited by Gerald Unks, Arthur Lipkin's *Understanding Homosexuality/Changing Schools*, and the special issue of the *Harvard Educational Review* (Summer 1996) on gay and lesbian education. These topics were frequently used as group assignments, with students organizing and running these classes.

No adequate examination of contemporary issues in education in the United States can ignore the politics of race and language. In the last section of the course we have used a variety of different texts and films to address these issues. First person accounts such as Gloria Anzaldúa's *Borderlands* or Luis Rodriguez's *Always Running* provide vivid descriptions of Latino/a experiences growing up in the United States. Sandra Cisneros's *The House on Mango Street* uses fiction to address similar issues. At times we have used collections of essays such as Teresa Perry's and Jim Fraser's *Freedom's Plow*. Articles by such authors as Enid Lee, Christine Sleeter, Lisa Delpit and Gloria Ladson-Billings have also been used to discuss ideas of multicultural education and anti-racist education. Class differences and the class division of American schools are raised by Mike Rose's powerful autobiography, *Lives on the Boundary*, which also explores the meaning of literacy and the concept of voice from the perspective of a white, working class man.

The course concludes with the idea of moving from history and theory to practice. The students in the course usually include both undergraduates who have a broad interest in education or U.S. history and graduate students in the MAT program who are about to begin their student teaching term in the public schools. While undergraduates may see this course in the context of other courses in history or American Studies, the MAT students are preparing to move into the classroom as student teachers. This course is grounded in a belief that despite the discriminatory and oppressive practices often shaping public education in the United States in the past, teachers can teach for progressive social change. The contrast between this stance and the reliance on packaged curricula, standardized testing, and belief in the unquestioned wisdom of the market now shaping the classrooms in which these students will teach is profound. Here in Massachusetts, the schools are driven by the demands of the MCAS, a high stakes set of tests established in 1994 that is now used to judge teachers, schools, and students and which students must pass in order to graduate from high school. State educational policy here as elsewhere is dominated by ideas of business efficiency and human capital theory. Underlying these policies is a belief that the schools should provide a basic education for future workers to meet the needs of business. Alternative conceptions of how society might be organized, of the values of community, of basic common human rights, of social justice and the need to acknowledge and address past injustices in the United States are completely ignored by educational policy makers. It will be up to a new generation of teachers to join the embattled teachers who presently teach in public school classrooms and work through teachers' unions to fight for a more just educational system for all children. We hope the readings and resources of this course and the questions we raise in the study of educational history can be useful to this new generation of teachers as they move from the university to the schools. RT

Interdisciplinary Connections

Teacher and Student Empowerment through Social and Cultural History, Critical Pedagogy, and Collaboration

ELIZA FABILLAR WITH CYNTHIA JONES

[ASHP/CML] is just what we need in terms of content and methods. It is great having the planning time and the intellectual stimulation of adults and colleagues. Participation in their program has opened up new ways of thinking on how to teach.

—High School Social Studies Teacher

Several years ago, I began working for the American Social History Project/Center for Media and Learning (ASHP/CML) as a teacher mentor/program coordinator. One of my earliest experiences involved working with a teacher who initially believed that ASHP/CML engendered an anti-American stance, always focusing on the negative aspects of U.S. history and that our intensive teacher training program demanded too much time away from state exam preparations. During the course of two years, this teacher took part in our New York City Making Connections Program and collaborated with other educators by examining up-to-date scholarship on social history, multicultural literature, and innovative pedagogy in intensive citywide summer institutes and monthly seminars. Within that period, I had the opportunity to witness a transformative process in her professional growth—she gradually introduced new content and student-centered approaches in her classroom and engaged students in more meaningful ways. She later commented that our materials and approach strengthened her students' academic skills.

Today, as education co-director of ASHP/CML, it is still evident to me that instructional change is difficult, demanding, and sometimes unfamiliar work for teachers. It requires one to reflect on, rethink, and reenvision one's practice. It is also apparent to me that teachers should have to play a key role in the development and refinement of their curriculum. That process requires that teachers deepen their content knowledge and understand how to translate course content in ways that deepen student understanding.

Teachers need to have a voice in decision making, to have opportunities to examine new scholarship, and to be given more time to plan and interact with colleagues—in summary, teachers should feel empowered. The process of engaging in self-aware inquiry in a collegial setting fosters intellectual growth for each of us. And having the time and space to gain new knowledge by exploring new scholarship and effective teaching methods is a necessary and ongoing process for all educators.

I write this essay today as an educator involved in directing, designing and implementing professional development programs and interdisciplinary curriculum resources for secondary school humanities, Social Studies, and English faculty. My work is highly collaborative, so in that spirit, I write this piece with my close colleague Cynthia Jones of the Eugenio Maria de Hostos Community College English Department of the City University of New York (CUNY). Cynthia has served as an ASHP/CML faculty partner and a member of an interdisciplinary team in our Making Connections Program. For two years, she partnered with John Blodgett, English teacher, and Pat Peacock, Social Studies teacher, both from Hostos High School.

The purpose of this essay is twofold: 1. to discuss the importance of sustained professional development and collaboration in achieving reflective practice and teacher change and 2. to describe how social and cultural history and literature and innovative critical pedagogy work together to enrich curricula, advance teacher practice, and engage students in rigorous ways. Of course, good models of professional development or innovative classrooms do not exist in a vacuum; no exemplary program or course can represent a panacea in education. We will describe Making Connections as one successful model of in-service professional development, exploring the Hostos team as a case study, and we will discuss the ongoing challenges the program faces in public schools. The focus will be on three specific components of the Making Connections Program: the integration of social and cultural history and student-centered, inquiry-based methodology; the interdisciplinary approach to humanities teaching; and cross-institutional collaborations.

ASHP/CML BACKGROUND

The American Social History Project was founded in 1981 by the late Herbert Gutman, a pioneer of "the new social his-

tory" and Distinguished Professor of History at the CUNY Graduate Center, and Steven Brier, social historian and currently Associate Provost of Instructional Technology and External Programs at the CUNY Graduate Center. Their aim was to revitalize interest in history by challenging the traditional ways that people learn about the past. The project was an outgrowth of a four-year seminar on labor history for trade union leaders led by Gutman and Brier. In its first decade, ASHP/CML produced the *Who Built America*? (*WBA?)* textbook and video documentaries on the history of American working people. In 1989, ASHP began its teacher training program in New York City. And in 1990, the creation of a larger and more formal research entity at the City University of New York to extend the organization's work was approved and the Center for Media and Learning was established.

The *Who Built America?* print and multimedia curriculum resources are in many ways the foundation of ASHP/CML's work. The curriculum was designed to reinterpret American history from "the bottom up." Three decades ago, American historians such as Gutman redefined the nature of historical study and placed an emphasis on the experiences of ordinary people. *Who Built America? Working People and the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture and Society* offers a unique synthesis of U.S. history that draws upon the best recent scholarship on "ordinary" Americans—artisans, slaves, farmers, women, factory and white-collar workers—and integrates their stories into a full picture of the nation's historical development. The *Who Built America?* documentary series complements and enhances the *WBA*? textbooks. Produced in collaboration with teams of historians and classroom teachers, the ten videos provide educators and students with an accessible overview of America's past. Video programs address a number of themes and topics including: slave life and everyday forms of resistance in the South; immigrant experiences in the garment industry in the early twentieth century; U.S. expansionism, the Philippine-American War and its connection to American domestic culture; and African-American migration during the era of the Great War. Each of the videos is accompanied by viewers' guides and handbooks of classroom activities that include a rich collection of primary documents (text and images), literature, and classroom lessons.

PHOTO OF SLAVE FAMILY FROM THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

We help students realize that American society was shaped by people like themselves—people who struggled over the meaning of American ideals of liberty and equality.

The project's basic message is that the experiences of ordinary people and the roles they play in the making of modern America is important to understanding the nation's past. By examining the actions and beliefs of ordinary people—women, African Americans, Native Americans, factory workers, immigrant groups—we can develop different interpretations of American history. Our resources place an emphasis on the social and economic conflicts among Americans of different classes, races, national origins, and genders, as well as collective movements that helped shape our nation. By doing so, we help students realize that American society was shaped by people like themselves—people who struggled over the meaning of American ideals of liberty and equality.

One of the unique characteristics of the project is that our content and methodology work together to encourage both teachers and students to see themselves as active agents in a democratic society. Just as ordinary Americans shaped history, so too can teachers and students. By examining evidence from various sources including oral histories, diaries and letters, exploring multiple perspectives by different groups neglected in traditional texts, and engaging in inquiry about historical interpretation and meaning, teachers feel empowered to enrich their curricula and students make meaningful connections between the past and present, between history and their own lives.

MAKING CONNECTIONS PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

The *Who Built America?* materials provide the intellectual foundation for Making Connections, our flagship education program, which was established in 1989. For over twelve years, ASHP/CML has worked with secondary school humanities teachers in an effort to transform the teaching of America's past in New York City public schools and nationwide. Our Making

Connections Program (formerly High School Collaboration) provides opportunities for Social Studies and English Language Arts (or humanities) teacher teams to collaborate with CUNY faculty partners or ASHP/CML scholars during the course of a school year. ASHP/CML provides sustained professional development through intensive summer institutes and monthly seminars where faculty teams explore ways of integrating inclusive history, literature, inquiry-based pedagogy, and new technology into their classrooms. Making Connections requires a long-term commitment: schools must program Social Studies and English teachers in back-to-back classes with a common register of students and common prep time. Teacher teams receive a full set of our curriculum resources (textbooks, CD-ROMs, handbooks, videos, selected literature). They are required to attend seminars of our year-long program and teach interdisciplinary ASHP/CML courses. Participants do not implement a prescribed course per se, but they explore ways of integrating our materials and methods into their existing curriculum or adapting our lessons to meet the needs of their students.

The Making Connections program enables teachers to explore up-to-date scholarship and innovative pedagogy with other faculty from across the city. Ongoing monthly all-day seminars offer teachers the opportunity to examine the topics and themes addressed in our resources—industrialization, slavery, U.S. Imperialism, race, resistance, Reconstruction era, and immigration from multiple perspectives. In-depth discussion of new content and ways of integrating it into the humanities curricula and ongoing conversations about ways of implementing effective teaching strategies into their classrooms encourage teachers to see themselves as lifelong learners and reflective practitioners.

INTERDISCIPLINARY TEACHING

ASHP/CML courses focus on incorporating activities that connect two disciplines without sacrificing the demands of either. The double block class period and common planning time is largely responsible for making the approach feasible. Teams plan interdisciplinary lessons and units, develop essential questions that can bridge topics in U.S. history and English Language Arts or American literature. Themes as well as skills are reinforced in each class. In addition, the block programming gives teachers the option of team teaching. Teacher teams determine whether they will assign a collaborative student project, connect their classes through chronological and parallel teaching, develop a literature-based activity based on a novel, or create a thematic unit together. An interdisciplinary model fosters a meaningful collaboration between teachers who traditionally would have had little interaction. It moves teachers away from working in isolation into a valuable relationship where they learn from each other and advance their own understandings.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY AND INQUIRY-BASED METHODOLOGY

The essence of understanding history lies in the ability to synthesize information, grasp larger concepts, make inquiries, evaluate evidence, and develop interpretations. ASHP/CML emphasizes a student-centered, inquiry-based approach to history that enables students to think more critically about the subject, question events, and problem solve. We encourage students to address controversy and sometimes to take a critical view of celebrated figures or dominant beliefs. The analysis of evidence and multiple viewpoints, characteristic of social history methods, enables students to see themselves not only as historians, but history makers as well. Our content and methods give students the space to engage in discourse and creative activities, exchange ideas, and develop new meaning.

Teacher participants in Making Connections are given the tools and resources to facilitate collaborative classrooms where students engage in role-play, debate, poetry writing, close reading of text and images, and other creative yet rigorous group work. This pedagogy is played out in our teacher training seminars where participants take part in experiential classroom activities that they can then implement in their own classrooms. As teachers critically think about new content and effective pedagogy and examine their experiences from a student's perspective, their professional growth often translates to improved practice and deepened student learning.

"ASHP/CML respects teachers at their profession. While the content of the program is exceptional, the strategies it gives to help teachers engage students in powerful ways is the true strength of the program."

—Pat Peacock

CROSS INSTITUTIONAL COLLABORATIONS

ASHP/CML has been at the forefront of school/college collaborations, leading efforts in education reform and building sustained learning communities. Secondary school Social Studies, and English teachers and college faculty are partnered to teach interdisciplinary courses using ASHP/CML curriculum materials and methodology. As faculty teams work together, planning periods and seminars become sites for professional growth. Teams explore ASHP/CML materials, adapt classroom lessons, and develop new units of study. As teams test teaching strategies, it enables ASHP/CML to apply theory to practice, and to see how new approaches to history and literature and to teaching play out in the classroom. High school teachers have reported on the development of more academically challenging lessons for all students and college faculty have expressed gained knowledge about skill building exercises relevant to their college students. Such an exchange is an example of the successful forms of collaboration necessary to effect meaningful change in high schools and colleges.

"ASHP/CML has encouraged me to examine my own teaching practice. The program has also improved my understanding of the needs of NYC high school students, many of whom will be attending CUNY colleges."

—Cynthia Jones

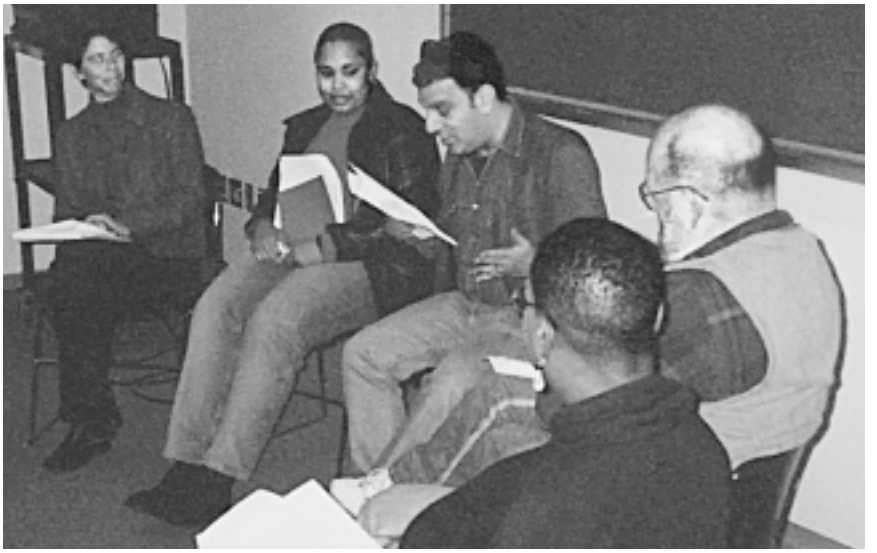
CASE STUDY: ASHP/CML TEAM JOHN BLODGETT, PAT PEACOCK, CYNTHIA JONES

Between 1998-2000, I, Cynthia Jones, was released part time from my teaching duties at Hostos Community College in order to work with an

ASHP/CML interdisciplinary high school team. I collaborated with the Hostos Team by meeting regularly with Pat Peacock and John Blodgett in school to plan interdisciplinary lessons and units using ASHP/CML materials and other primary sources and literature. I worked directly in classrooms, either observing students, taking part in group work, or team teaching. I also worked with school administrators to ensure the effective implementation of the ASHP/CML program. John began the program as a new English teacher; Pat had participated in Making Connections previously and had become a Social Studies teacher after having taught English for several years. At the time, I was relatively new to the Making Connections Program. While I served as an ASHP/CML mentor, I saw my primary role as collaborator and team partner. Over the course of two years, a deeply meaningful collaboration grew. Each of us admits experiencing challenges as each brought our own working style to the partnership. But our commitment to the program and to teaching and learning led us to develop and hone questions that would guide our practice. We generated the following questions to help us reflect on our work and determine what we are doing well and what we need to improve upon in our teaching and curricula:

- Did students develop a more critical interpretation of the past?
- Did we help them forge connections between the past, future and the present?
- Did we provide guidance and a learning environment to help students examine evidence, deepen their understandings, and improve higher order thinking skills?
- In what ways did we help students make connections between their English and U.S. History courses?
- Did our lessons allow opportunities for a transformation of consciousness? for student empowerment?

While the program demands a great deal of time for teachers, it helped us grow as professionals. We faced challenges about the presentation of certain content and the pedagogical strategies to employ with a diverse student population. But in the end, the process was a useful negotiation. Below is a brief description of some our thinking about essential questions that helped bridge disciplines:



Teacher training seminar at CUNY graduate center. Photo by Eliza Fabillar.

How do we teach students the value of democracy while illustrating how conflict ridden it can be? How do we teach students to think critically, to see the importance of dissent and resistance in understanding American history? We all felt that students need to be exposed to competing viewpoints. Lessons should always be based on multiple sources of evidence. It was important for us to be able to engage students in a learning process where they could actively experience and shape history. And so we modeled the democratic process—analyzing evidence, discussing larger ideas and concepts, developing questions, exploring different perspectives, generating interpretations, reaching consensus or debating. We found that this process helped nurture students' intellectual capacities.

The following unit on slavery addresses our essential questions. Using ASHP/CML's video *Doing as They Can: Slave Life in the American South*, students in the Hostos-ASHP/CML course explored day to day resistance strategies employed by slaves. Students generated the following questions before viewing the documentary:

- How did slavery develop in the U.S.?
- What did it mean to be enslaved?
- How did slavery affect the way people lived and worked?
- What were the African American religions during slave time?
- Why didn't the Founding Fathers outlaw slavery?

After viewing the video, students engaged in a free writing exercise. After a whole class discussion about how day to day resistance was woven into the fabric of everyday life for slaves, students were asked to create a "found poem" by using some of the words in the viewers' guide. A few students had an opportunity to share their writing.

Small groups later examined different documents focusing on the years before the Civil War. Each group was to complete a document analysis worksheet and present their findings to the entire class. The worksheet included questions that helped students think critically about the author or artist, the audience and purpose of the document. Students looked at the following documents: an advertisement for a slave sale, an 1851 poster for the capture of escaped slaves in the north, an image of abolitionists, an illustration of slave life on a plantation, and the African American folktale Brer Rabbit: "Tar Baby." The culminating activity for this unit was a final writing assignment.

By engaging in stimulating activities that involve reading and interpreting challenging documents, writing, and questioning, and debating, students were definitely exposed to rigorous, highly academic work. I noticed that while some students had difficulty analyzing the documents, the guiding questions on the worksheet were helpful and in the end I think that the

"critical reading" of the text and images was a thought provoking exercise and the writing activity helped students synthesize the complexity of the past.

ASHP's emphasis on primary document analysis and literacy building helps students actively question and imagine historical events.

–John Blodgett

While the case at Hostos High School illustrates the benefits of the program for teachers and students, ASHP/CML faces a number of challenges in implementing the program in schools. We find this an opportune time to write this piece as high stakes testing currently looms large over schools, teachers, and students. New York State is now requiring that students pass Regents examinations in American History and English Language Arts in order to graduate. Assessment issues—standards and accountability—are the main concern of policy makers. Test scores from standardized exams are seen as providing accurate evidence of student learning. It is also a time when the larger public is deeply engaged in questions of teaching history to the young. Of course, these issues have always remained a controversial and crucial topic in education and have evolved in different ways over the past few decades.

The work day of most teachers allows them virtually no time to engage in any sustained learning about how to do their work differently. Their time is fully scheduled during the day, with the exception of a few brief and scattered preparation periods. Like other professionals, teachers learn by working with other colleagues and by having the time to be reflective practitioners. While we require schools to implement effective programming, as described earlier, in order for teachers to teach an ASHP/CML interdisciplinary course, the reality is often that it's difficult to veer away from the norm of 40 minute periods. "What do I teach on Monday morning for a 40-minute period?" is still the persistent question confronting teachers. External pressures such as standardized exams, while well intentioned, can operate with an emphasis on coverage rather than depth, with diffuse and hard to understand expectations for student learning, and little convergence between hard day-to-day decisions about what and how to teach and how to prepare students for state exams. Most standards coming from policymakers take no account of such facts such as the amount of time teachers and students have in which to cover content.

Some teachers face the problem that they are expected to override their experiences in teaching with a collection of external prescriptions about how they ought to teach. Many participants of Making Connections make the point that external pressures from new exams and added responsibilities in schools make it doubly difficult for them to be creative in the classroom, to plan effectively together as an interdisciplinary team, to fully commit to a year-long intensive program, or explore new scholarship. But we feel that organized professional development should take place through the school year and not in isolation from actual practice. Schools should invest time in creating or developing learning communities and collaborations.

Organized professional development should take place through the school year and not in isolation from actual practice.

While ASHP/CML faces increasing challenges in implementing an interdisciplinary teaming approach in schools, we continue to receive positive feedback from high school and college faculty. With initial support from the Aaron Diamond Foundation, later Dewitt-Wallace Reader's Digest Fund, and currently CUNY and the NYC Board of Education, the Making Connections program has grown steadily over the past decade. Since 1989, the program has directly impacted approximately 600 teachers and over 80,000 students. Over the years, we have assessed our work, refined our resources and strategies with the goal of meeting the needs of all teachers and students. *What are we doing well? What can we do better?* These are the questions that guide our practice. As participants give us insight into how our program has changed their teaching, to what extent our materials are being used in their schools, and which activities work well with groups, we gain insight into ways of strengthening our program.

ASHP/CML historians, educators, and media producers also continue to develop educational materials for humanities faculty. Our latest textbook, *Freedom's Unfinished Revolution: An Inquiry into the Civil War and Reconstruction*, published in 1996, includes a rich collection of primary documents and teaching strategies. Our longstanding emphasis on the importance of visual materials in social history recently led to the completion of the resource guide, *Picturing A Nation: Teaching with American Art and Material Culture* (produced in collaboration with the Brooklyn Museum of Art). And our *History Matters* web site, which includes a wealth of primary documents, syllabi, interdisciplinary classroom activities, and links to useful sites, is now used by many educators and schools nationwide. With the use of these resources in creative and rigorous ways, our education programs have enabled us to provide life-long learning communities that foster intellectual collegiality for college, university, and secondary school faculty in NYC and nationwide.

Our curriculum and approach is particularly important at this time in American history. In the aftermath of 9/11, Americans are grappling with questions of civil liberties and citizenship. What happens in the classroom will better equip students to critically and thoughtfully examine what's happening in the larger society. Social and multicultural history can give us insight into current events. For example, how do the events of Japanese Internment and the Red Scare relate to recent events? What can we learn from the voices of immigrant groups in the past to help us address issues in times of national crisis today? What have we learned from the past? How has American democracy changed over time? How do we honor dissent if the cause is toward justice and equality? We need to encourage students to question the language and images that help frame how we understand the past and the present. RT

Let Them Eat Tests

Bush Bill Opens a New Era in Federal Education Policy

STANLEY KARP

[The following article was first published in the Summer 2002 issue of Rethinking Schools, *an urban education journal. Subscriptions are: four issues/1 yr., $15; 2 yrs., $25. Rethinking Schools, 1001 E. Keefe Avenue, Milwaukee, WI 53212, 1-800-669-4192,* ***www.rethinkingschools.org****]*

Stock up on number 2 pencils. That may be the only sure advice to follow in the wake of new federal education legislation signed by President Bush earlier this year. More standardized tests are on the way, and they carry "high stakes"—and high hurdles—with them.

Perhaps even more significant is how the legislation could reshape the federal government's historic role as a promoter of access and equity in public education in the service of a conservative agenda that comes wrapped in rhetorical concern for the poor and people of color, but which may ultimately hurt poor schools most.

Essentially, the legislation codifies at the national level policies that have already wreaked havoc at the state level: punitive high stakes testing, the use of bureaucratic monitoring as the engine of school reform, and "accountability" schemes that set up schools to fail and then use that failure to justify disinvestment and privatization. It's George W. Bush's dubious "Texas miracle" gone national. (For a detailed discussion of Bush's Texas education record, see *Rethinking Schools* Fall 2001 and Summer 2000.)

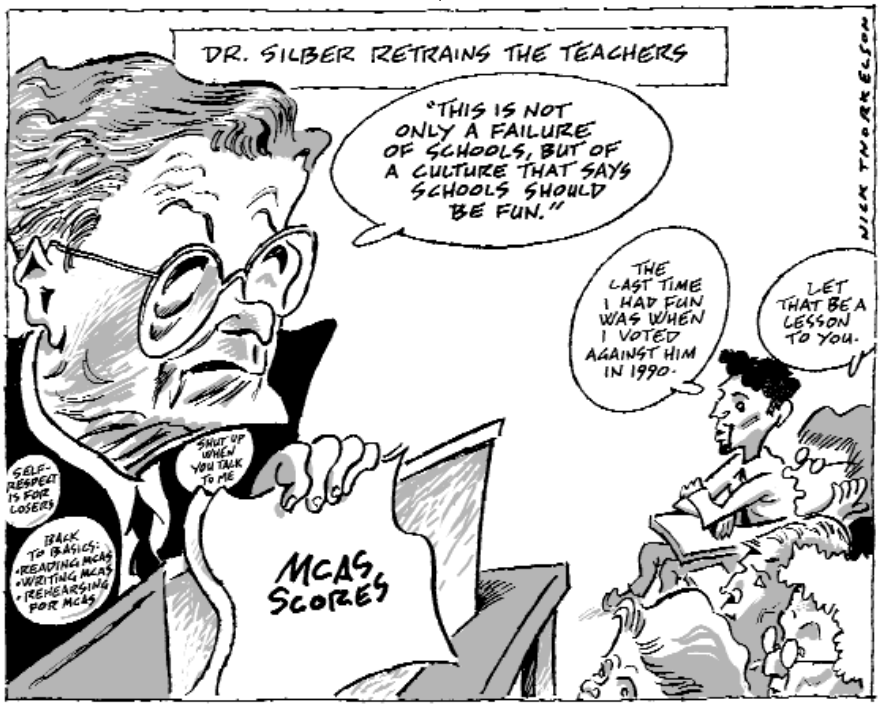
MANDATED TESTS

Federally mandated annual testing is the cornerstone of the comprehensive, bipartisan bill that reauthorized the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), a consolidation of the major K-12 federal education programs including the Title I program that reaches 47,000 high-poverty schools. The tests are central to a greatly expanded and revised role for the federal government in local schools and districts.

The bill's far-reaching implications are just now coming into focus, despite the high-profile attention Bush gave to education issues during his campaign. The euphemistically named "No Child Left Behind Act" passed with overwhelming Republican and Democratic support, 381-41 in the House, 87-10 in the Senate. Two Senators, Kennedy (D-MA) and Gregg (R-NH) and two Representatives, Boehner (R-OH) and Miller (D-CA) were largely responsible for crafting the legislation, bypassing in significant ways some of the usual advocacy input, deal-making and compromise that normally raise alarms about dramatic shifts in federal policy.

Among the major features in the law, which runs over 1,000 pages:

- Mandated annual tests in reading and math from grades 3-8 and at least once in grades 10-12.
- Additional annual tests in science beginning in 2007, given once between grades 3-5, 6-9 and 10-12.
- Use of these tests to determine whether schools are making "adequate yearly progress" towards 100 percent proficiency for all students within 12 years (2013- 2014).
- Sanctions for schools receiving federal



Boston University President John Silber chaired the Massachusetts Department of Education when MCAS testing began, and used poor scores to support his argument that schools and teachers needed a strong dose of regimentation. Cartoon by Nick Thorkelson, reprinted from the Boston Globe, January 1999.

Title I funds that don't reach their "adequate yearly progress" goals, which most likely will be impossible to meet (see below). The sanctions include now-familiar "corrective measures" like outside intervention by consultants, replacement of staff, or state takeover. Additional sanctions reflect the administration's privatization agenda that lurks just below the surface of the legislation. This includes use of federal funds to provide "supplemental services" to students from outside agencies, imposing school choice or charter plans, or transferring management of schools to private contractors. Tenure reform, merit pay, and teacher testing are also potentially in the mix, though they are not mandated by the new law.

What's significant about these policies is not so much their content—they are neither new nor promising as school improvement strategies—but their federal endorsement and political packaging. This rightward turn in federal education policy comes dressed in Bush's trademark "compassionate conservatism." As in Texas, it includes a rhetorical attack on the "soft bigotry of low expectations" and purports to focus attention on the real crisis of school failure in many poor communities. The law targets more federal money to the poorest schools, and mandates dramatic changes in testing and reporting requirements that will focus attention on the racial dimensions of the achievement gap, the learning needs of new English language students and students with special needs, and the widespread use of under qualified and uncertified teachers.

But while the legislation turns up the spotlight, and the heat, on low-performing schools, the remedies it offers have proven ineffective, even harmful. Furthermore, the extra dollars, an additional 18 percent or about $3.5 billion more for ESEA programs, are already threatened by the administration's "war budget," which calls for eliminating 26 of the federal programs just reauthorized in the new ESEA. The legislation still doesn't provide full funding for Title I, which currently reaches less than half of all eligible low-income students. In fact, the gap between the bill's lofty goals and its low-rent resources suggest its proper title would have been, "The Unfunded Federal Mandates Bill."

SIMPLE-MINDED APPROACHES

Educationally, the bipartisan approach behind the new federal legislation is both simple and simpleminded. Thanks to two decades of Governors' education summits and the persistent urging of the Clinton Administration, virtually all states have adopted new curriculum standards. They are now being directed to enforce these standards through annual tests or face losing federal funds. Public reporting of scores is designed to identify schools and students who are not "proficient," while highlighting gaps between genders, races, and other subcategories (special education, new language learners, poor students, etc.)

DRAWING BY LIZ POWELL

All districts and states are required to plot a path from current levels of achievement to 100 percent proficiency within 12 years (theoretically, in steady, equal steps forward). "Annual yearly progress" goals will be set for districts, schools and individual subgroups. Any school or district that doesn't meet *all* its goals for two consecutive years will be put in the "needs improvement" category, and if they are receiving Title I money, will face an escalating scale of "corrective action." (The "corrective" steps are mandated only for high poverty schools receiving federal Title I funds, though states are directed to develop their own sanctions for other schools).

PREDICTABLE EFFECTS

It's fairly safe to predict the effects of this scheme as it mirrors the standardized testing plague that swept states in the 1980s and 1990s. Test preparation will dominate classrooms, especially in struggling schools, and curriculum focus will narrow. Already, for example, some states are de-emphasizing social studies because history is not one of the federally mandated measures. Statistical "accountability" to bureaucratic monitors from above will take precedence over real accountability to students and their communities, and the huge resources poured into testing programs will do nothing to increase the capacity of schools or districts to improve their educational services.

The culture of testing in schools will be strengthened in many ways. The legislation requires that 95 percent of all students participate in the mandated assessments. While this will challenge the common practice of boosting scores by excluding large numbers of students from the testing pool, it will also increase the pressure that has led to cheating scandals and to grade retention policies that push students out of school.

The "adequate yearly progress" formulas mandated by the new legislation are so convoluted and unrealistic they seemed designed to create chaos and new categories of failure. An April 3 survey in *Education Week* suggested that as many as 75 percent of all schools — not just high-poverty Title I schools—could be placed in the "needs improvement" category.

"It's going to really be a nightmare for states," Cecil J. Picard, the superintendent of education in Louisiana, told *Education Week*. He estimated that as many as 80 percent of Louisiana schools would fail to meet the targets. Wyoming officials predicted over half would fail. In North Carolina, a state

that is frequently cited as an example of the progress that standards and testing can bring, one researcher calculated that only about 25 percent of all elementary schools would have met the new standard if it had been in place over the past three years. The Rhode Island Department of Education concluded that there was "virtually no school in the state over the past four years that would actually meet that kind of criteria." Had these standards been in effect while Bush was running for President as an education leader, Texas would have been high on the list of failing states. Making the new system operational at all will be a bureaucratic horror show. State curriculum standards are barely in place and vary widely from state to state. While the new federal law directs states to use the 2001-02 school year to set baseline levels and begin imposing sanctions in the fall of 2002, many states have not yet even created tests for their new standards. The new law appropriates about $400 million each year for the next six years to develop new tests. But, according to estimates reported in *Time* magazine, "Full implementation of the Bush plan, with high quality tests in all 50 states, could cost up to $7 billion." No wonder an executive of one of the major testing firms responded to Bush's proposals last year by declaring, "This almost reads like our business plan." The law explicitly mandates tests that attempt to measure progress in meeting state curriculum standards, as opposed to the more commonly used general knowledge exams. Only nine states currently give annual tests tied to their standards. One testing expert, Matthew Gandal, writing in a discussion paper for the conservative Thomas B. Fordham Foundation, estimated that the new law would require the creation of "well over 200 new state level tests" and force most states "to more than double the number of tests they are now giving."

Such an explosion of testing will severely tax the capacity of the $700-million-a-year testing industry currently dominated by four major testing firms including McGraw-Hill, with close Bush family ties. (See the January 28, 2002 *Nation* article by Stephen Metcalf, "Reading Between the Lines.") As Gandal noted, "The normal cycle for creating a new assessment *in just one* state is 2-3 years. This now needs to happen in two subject areas *in at least 34 states*." Inevitably this will lead to poor quality tests, even by the industry's dubious "scientific" standards. Some states are already seeking to add a few "standards-based" questions to the off-the-shelf products they now use as a relatively cheap and easy, if unreliable, way to meet the new mandate.

The legislation provides for a "negotiated rule-making process" to encourage states to get the new system up and running despite the host of quality and implementation issues that have been raised. But as far as the basic framework of the plan is concerned, "There's not much to negotiate," said Susan B. Neuman, the assistant secretary for elementary and secondary education. The Boston-based advocacy group Fair Test (www.fairtest.org) has pointed out that the language of the law does allow room for better, classroom-based assessment processes, but the Department of Education's implementation regulations specifically emphasize standards-based testing. Fair Test concludes, "States which seek to use high-quality, largely local assessments, particularly if they will use classroom-based assessments and portfolios, will have to struggle to use these assessments."

When this new federal testing scheme begins to document, as it inevitably will, an inability to reach its unrealistic and under funded goals, it will provide new ammunition for a push to fundamentally "overhaul" and reshape public schooling.

"The bottom line," says Scott Marion, the director of assessment and accountability for the Wyoming education department, "is that we're going to end up identifying, by any stretch of the imagination, incredibly more schools than we believe the resources are there to serve."

NEW CATEGORIES OF FAILURE

An obvious question is why would the federal government adopt narrowly prescriptive strategies that will label huge numbers of schools as failures on the basis of test scores? This is a far cry from the historic tradition of federal intervention on behalf of racial equity, inclusion for students with disabilities, or equitable distribution of resources. It is also a major reversal of traditional rhetoric about "local control" of schools and reflects the larger political agendas that are in play.

Conservatives are not blind to the likelihood that this test and label strategy will lead to a large number of Fs on the new school report cards. For example, conservative critic Abigail Thernstrom, who sits on the Massachusetts State Board of Education, declared "Getting all of our students to anything close to [proficient] is just not possible. It's not possible in Massachusetts or in any other state. ... Neither the state nor the districts really know how to turn schools —no less whole districts—around…. I don't know how we're going to have effective intervention within the public school system as it's currently structured."

"As it's currently structured" may be the key phrase. The new federal law is a compromise between rightwing and centrist political forces in Washington that links an increase in federal funding to a narrow vision of school improvement based almost exclusively on state standards and tests. The funding increases are not enough to make dramatic improvements in conditions of teaching and learning in poor schools, especially with economic recession feeding a new round of state and local cutbacks and federal dollars still providing only about 7 percent of all school spending.

When this new federal testing scheme begins to document, as it inevitably will, an inability to reach its unrealistic and under funded goals, it will provide new ammunition for a push to fundamentally "overhaul" and reshape public

schooling. Conservatives will press their critique of public education as a "failed monopoly" that must be "reformed" through market measures and steps towards privatization. The recent Supreme Court decision on vouchers, which endorsed the transfer of state and federal dollars to private and religious schools, will further feed this trend and give greater momentum to the rightward turn in federal education policy.

THE NEW LAW'S MANDATES

The ideological bent of the new law is evident even in its relatively benign programs, like those promoting teacher quality and increased reading instruction. While attention to these two areas has generally drawn broad support, the specific provisions of the legislation echo problems in other areas.

The new law mandates that all teachers be fully certified and licensed in their teaching areas by June 2006. It also requires all paraprofessionals to have at least two years of college beyond high school or pass a "rigorous" local/state exam. New hires must meet these provisions immediately, while existing staff have several years to comply. As with the "adequate yearly progress" goals, however, there is near universal acknowledgement that these goals cannot be met, particularly given current levels of under funding.

Most states already have similar teacher licensing requirements on the books, but can't find enough qualified candidates due to low pay scales, rising enrollments, and other aspects of the well-documented teacher shortage. Finding fully qualified teachers is especially difficult in rural and poor schools, and in some subject areas, like math and science. But while Bush has been barnstorming the country in front of signs proclaiming "A high quality teacher in every classroom," his latest budget proposes a freeze on new spending for teacher-quality programs, despite the new federal mandate. He's also proposing the elimination of related programs such as the National Board of Professional Teaching Standards and technology training funds. Similarly, the Eisenhower Professional Development funds, which helped prepare math and science classroom teachers, have disappeared into a block grant program where they will compete with class size reduction and other priorities. The changes "virtually eliminate dedicated federal funding for K-12 math and science education," *Education Week* reported.

Currently employed paraprofessionals, who in many Title I schools represent a significant presence of community members working for the lowest pay, face the prospect of having to complete two years of college without new support. The law requires that a portion of Title I funds be set aside to help teachers meet the new certification requirements, but a similar set-aside for paraprofessionals was made optional.

The new federal law is a compromise between rightwing and centrist political forces in Washington that links an increase in federal funding to a narrow vision of school improvement based almost exclusively on state standards and tests.

Even reading instruction is ideologically framed. The new law puts over $1 billion into expanded reading, literacy, and library programs designed to help every student read proficiently by 3rd grade. These programs will support needed professional development for teachers and provide materials to promote essential literacy skills. But the effort is linked to dubious language restricting funding to "scientifically based reading programs," which may be narrowly interpreted to endorse only certain phonics-based approaches or commercial reading packages. More damaging is the legislation's wholesale attack on federal bilingual education programs, which the new law recasts in the spirit, if not the name, of "English Only" intolerance. The new bill transforms the Bilingual Education Act into the "English Language Acquisition Act." It will assess schools on the basis of the number of students reclassified as fluent in English each year and severely discourages native language instruction.

RIGHT WING NUGGETS

The bill is also littered with assorted rightwing nuggets, such as a provision preventing districts from banning the Boy Scouts from using school facilities because of their anti-gay policies, and a requirement that districts accepting federal dollars open their doors to military recruiters.

Education advocates looking for hopeful signs will, for the most part, have to look elsewhere. There may be some solace in the fact that state compliance with the new federal regulations is likely to be uneven and enforcement efforts by the Department of Education difficult. The 1994 ESEA legislation had similar, if less stringent, requirements regarding standards and testing that went largely unheeded. Historically, the Department of Education has been reluctant to impose significant penalties or withhold funds from states and districts.

On the brighter side, the burgeoning grassroots movement against standardized testing will almost certainly grow in response to this onslaught. Some schools may benefit from the increased professional development and reading programs, and, in some places, increased attention may translate into more support for effective school-based reform.

But most of the political and educational fallout from the Bush Administration's first major initiative in federal school policy will be heavy and harmful. Nor will it be the last round. Next up for renewal is the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, itself a longstanding source of unfounded mandates and another battleground between federal promises and performance on issues of equity. If the ESEA renewal is any guide, education advocates will need to keep their noses firmly to the grindstone. In the Bush era, there is sure to be another test coming your way.

Performance Pedagogies for African American Literature

Teaching Shange at Ole Miss

ETHEL YOUNG-MINOR

Whether I am attending a conference or relaxing in an informal setting, people who discover that I teach at the University of Mississippi inevitably ask: "How do you feel about teaching at Ole Miss?" "It's a great place to teach," I customarily reply. Depending on the audience, I may add comments such as, "We have great research support, a diverse student body, and there is a great working relationship between the university and the town." While a few people walk away content with this answer, most stare blankly then ask in a hushed tone, "No, I mean what does it REALLY feel like to teach there?" The interjected "REALLY" and its tone of delivery usually implies that the interrogator is searching for an in-depth discussion of how it feels to be a Black woman teaching in a historically white environment. Even more specifically, how can an African-American woman teach African-American literature to a historically-white body of students: students who are known for plastering rebel-flags atop car bumpers; students whose ancestry is inextricably tied to slavery, sharecropping, and defensive stands against civil rights; students who, each time the basketball or football team scores, collectively languish in song: "I wish I was in the land of cotton, old times there are not forgotten, look away, look away, look away, Dixieland."

Because the University of Mississippi (Ole Miss) fought a very public battle against integration in the 1960s, many people expect our students to have deep racial and cultural allegiances that negatively impact their ability to receive racially-informed material. They believe that racism is so deeply rooted in this environment that it would be impossible to touch the hearts and minds of non-Black students. While these beliefs are untrue, the school's own location as a place with dual identities (one for white students and one for cultural others), encourages people to view it in relationship to this cultural positioning, rather than in connection to its educational offerings. For example, one of the most popular slogans of the school proclaims: "one graduates and regretfully ends tenure at The University of Mississippi, but one never graduates from Ole Miss." The first name implies the school's role as a state institution with a curriculum to be completed for graduation, but the second name situates the school in a history of white privilege and black oppression. The assertion that one never graduates from Ole Miss seems to confirm that cultural beliefs and practices established on the campus continue long after the educational curriculum is completed.

Even though the current Chancellor funded a study to consider the implications of the school's symbols and led a drive to eliminate symbols that offended large groups of people, the identity of the University of Mississippi continues to rest within dualities. A more concrete example of the university's display of dual heritages is visible in the structure of the Lyceum — the first state building erected for the purposes of higher education. The Lyceum signifies the university's cornerstone position in state education and thus appears in much of our official public relations material. When the Lyceum was built, education here was for white males only, and so the building has come to represent the legacy of racially segregated education. At the same time, however, its stately white columns were permanently altered by bullets fired as James Meredith and the National Guard fought to integrate Ole Miss. Thus, the building also symbolizes the establishment and dissolution of segregated education in Mississippi. In classrooms situated in such a marked environment, it seems reasonable for people to expect hostile contests — rather than sensible dialogue — about race and identity.

I arrived on campus as a new teacher with many of the same assumptions, imagining students would have an intimate awareness of the history informing texts in the African American tradition; I assumed that they would be eager to discuss the intersections of race and gender in literature and lived reality because they were housed within historic walls. Every day, they literally walk through and around monuments of the history of American racial and political conflicts. How could they enter the classroom without knowing of the fire of Richard Wright, the creativeness of William Faulkner, and the determination of Fannie Lou Hamer? To prepare for these students, I created a survey class in African American Literature that could have easily been subtitled, "Mississippi in Black Literature." The course readings included: Bebe Moore Campbell's *Your Blues Aint Like Mine*, because it recreates the history of Mississippi's infamous Emmit Till case; Richard Wright's *Black Boy*, because Wright shares autobiographical information about growing up in Jim Crow Mississippi; and Alice Walker's *Meridian*, because of its examination of Civil Rights activity in Mississippi.

I was correct in assuming that many students at the University of Mississippi would have a special connection to the history informing the material presented. I taught students with fascinating connections to history, including descendants of Blacks who worked for William Faulkner and claimed him as an ancestor, the great-

granddaughter of the sheriff in the Emmit Till case, the niece of Fannie Lou Hamer, and numerous white students whose parents and grandparents told them they had witnessed the lynching of Black men. To my surprise, however, the descendants of this history were often as emotionally removed from the discussion of Black history and literature as students I had met in other parts of the country. In other words, their clear physical connections to history did not translate into clear emotional and physical connections.

As I tried to convey the emotional, spiritual, and social sentiments impacting Black writing from previous generations, it became apparent that I alone looked at people and places in our immediate environment as representations of the transformation of history. Most students looked at these people as unremarkable. The historical landmarks were to them simply places to meet, greet and handle daily business. In spite of our unique geographic location, I soon discovered that students here often speak of racial affiliations as choices that do not necessarily shape reality, and many just do not get what the "big deal" is (or was) with race.

While their lack of awareness may signify progress in American race relations, these gaps in knowledge make it difficult for those of us who teach racially-grounded materials to share the full impact of how socio-historical contexts impact African-American writings. My lectures and our collective discussions on this literature were often received as information to memorize, package, and present back to me on tests and in response papers. Frustrated with classroom dialogues and student papers, I often thought of Johnny Paul's declaration in Earnest Gaines's *Gathering Of Old Men*: "But you still don't see…. You don't even know what I don't see" (89). In order to break through walls of emotional resistance, my teaching style and method has now been wrapped around my need to help students get formal considerations of the text, while at the same time calling attention to the emotional and spiritual weight of the writing.

THE MODEL: USING PERFORMANCE FOR TRANSGRESSION

The tool I find most successful in moving students to "getting" how African American texts speak from and to racialized identities is performance. I believe that all cultures contain organic models for educating that can be used to transmit the value of that culture's artistic and material productions. In African-American cultural history, we find repeated use of performance to educate, uplift, and challenge audiences.

The use of performance to teach African-American cultural history builds on the culture's subversive use of performance to transgress in Black communal spaces — including church preaching moments, hip-hop musical lyrics, and stand-up comedy routines. For example, in traditionally Black church settings, the preacher and choir members are responsible for embodying and performing for a congregation the excitement one receives from submitting to the will of God. In hip-hop music, lyricists educate young audiences by performing songs that challenge oppressive ideas. And, in contemporary comedy, the performance is a vehicle for acting out and ultimately challenging accepted knowledge. In each of these three cultural environments, performances are designed to educate, uplift, and expand the views of an audience.

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When the use of performance is transferred from the stage to the classroom, ideologies professed by students and instructors alike can be challenged.

While some may find the comparison of teaching to performing troubling, teaching any subject often requires the teacher to stand before a class and embody or perform the meaning of that subject. All of us perform our own excitement and knowledge in our respective fields, and we also perform the need for our students to take our subject matter seriously. bell hooks further addresses the "performative" in good teaching, explaining that "… it is that aspect of our work that offers the space for change, invention, [and] spontaneous shifts" (11). When we yield to the performative in our classrooms, we generate excitement and energy. We also give students a model of how a person can perform multiple knowledges. In doing so, we map a way for students to explore their own connections to ideas, bodies and the larger world.

Performance of opposing ideas by a teacher helps relax and intellectually charge the classroom atmosphere. Seeing "authority figures" move between commitments exposes our vulnerabilities and demonstrates that we are willing to risk/relinquish control of the classroom for the advancement of knowledge. This helps students feel safe suspending their own assumptions and acting out competing ideologies. Also, when classroom moments are clearly labeled performative, students can feel at ease giving voice to diverse ideas that activate critical thinking, challenge readings of the text, and — when most successful — impact how they view life beyond classroom boundaries.

TEACHING NTOZAKE SHANGE

To show how performance can be used to transgress in the classroom, I will share personal struggles with teaching Ntozake Shange's choreopoem *for colored girls who have considered suicide when the rainbow is enuf* (*FCG*, 1979). I will discuss how performance of the voices in her text helped me challenge established knowledge patterns of students. Shange's poem is comprised of testimonials about different coming of

Ethel Young-Minor talks to students at Ole Miss.

age experiences for Black women. Patricia Hill Collins describes it as a text that "captures [the Black female's] journey toward self-definition, self-valuation, and an empowered self" (112). It begins with a woman's request that "somebody/anybody sing a black girl's song/bring her out/to know herself/to know god/but sing her rhythms…let her be born" (4,5). It then progresses by sharing personal experiences that gradually let Black women "be born" on stage: the characters share girlhood experiences, adolescent challenges, and womanhood realities. They lose their virginity, sneak off to dances, experience date rape, abortion, physical abuse, and other traumas, but they are all ultimately healed at the play's conclusion through "a layin' on of hands," where they touch one another to heal their community.

My connection to the play has been personal from the time I witnessed a partial performance at a high-school drama tournament. A competitor performed a selection from *FCG* entitled "Sorry," exclaiming (in part),

> One thing i don't need is any more apologies
> I got sorry greetin' me at my front door
> you can keep yrs/ i don't know what to do wit em
> they don't open doors/ or bring the sun back
> they dont make me happy
> or get a mornin paper
> didnt nobody stop usin my tears to wash cars
> because of sorry…. (56)

I purchased a copy of the text on the way home from the tournament and Shange became my personal guide to growing up Black and female. Since then, I have seen three professional performances of the piece. I have also taught *FCG* to both high-school and college students.

I understood the cultural relevance of this piece intimately because of how it affected my personal development, but as my studies advanced I was pushed to interrogate how the text spoke, rather than simply contemplating its topic. In the process of trying to work through the text critically, my language for explicating *FCG* became more abstract. While no one advised me to avoid discussions of emotions or change my language, I thought that any other approach to the text would be questioned by my peers and advisors. I saw no model for critical discussion informed by personal experience in my immediate environment.

Topics such as the role of the master narrative, the function of drama in dismantling narratives, and critiques of syntax, spelling and punctuation began to control classroom discussions. While I am aware that certain critical theories —such as reader-response—encourage interaction between readers and texts, many of us still work in environments that show (rather than tell) us that true academic discourse is "serious" in tone and conduct. I didn't want students to know how much I loved, and even needed, *FCG* during different phases of my life, and so I used the languages of theory and criticism to dissipate class energy and encourage proper academic tone.

My approach to teaching *FCG* remained emotionally distant until I moved to Mississippi and was confronted by a group of angry white males who attacked the text as: "male-bashing propaganda," "work that lacked cohesion and craft," and "worthless literature." They even challenged my "right" to teach this text to them. As I tried to give logical, emotionally-detached responses to their objections, I became increasingly angry. Their criticisms sounded both sexist and racist.

Furthermore, because no student had challenged my right to teach this text before now, I began to link their comments to our location in the "heart of Dixie." The graduate student most vocal in his opposition owned a confederate soldier's uniform that he donned on football game weekends to display his pride in his southern heritage. While I was expected to acknowledge his performance as cultural pride, he seemed intent on annihilating my performance as a teacher of *FCG*. Inside I screamed back at him, but knew that giving voice to my scream would reduce my ability to reach other students. I stopped defending and retreated to silence, while they took turns assaulting the text.

As I listened to them complain, their concerns began to sound familiar. They echoed the critics of *FCG* in 1979, when the text was first published. I came to understand that their responses were not as influenced by rebel-flag country as they were by the dynamics of our country as a whole. Sydne Mahone observes that, "*for colored girls* set off a heated national debate, polarizing black men and women. Shange introduced black feminist thought-in-action to theatre and brought a new level of intensity and engagement to the national discourse on race and gender. This theatrical event reclaimed black theatre's role as catalyst for social change" (xxv). So, while the students' attack on "black feminist thought-in-action" left me feeling vulnerable and ready to counter-attack, I knew that they were not solely motivated by southern racial dynamics. They were reacting to the charged language of the poem itself.

It was time to switch teaching strategies. This was a moment for me to reclaim the role of Black performance "as a catalyst for social change." I called for a break, divided the class into small groups of four and instructed each group to collectively interpret and perform one segment of the text before the class. Because *FCG* presents only Black female characters and I was teaching a class of 30 students with only five Black women, their performances demanded that most students give up their own race and gender locales and momentarily travel inside a place marked by different perceptions of reality. To help them overcome some of the problems presented by our diverse backgrounds, I encouraged them to add additional gestures and words to the text.

One of the most memorable groups performed "Toussaint," a segment of *FCG* relating the narrative of a young girl who wins a reading contest but loses her award after library officials discover that one of her books, a biography of Toussaint L'Ouverture (the Haitian revolutionary), was taken from the adult reading room. The young girl runs away from home in disgust and meets a young boy who shares the name Toussaint. Young Toussaint Jones convinces her to talk to him by asserting, "i am toussaint jones /& i'm right heah looking at ya/ & i dont take no stuff from no white folks/ya dont see none round heah do ya?" (31). The two become fast friends and the young girl is able to better realize the importance of maintaining relationships with the past and present.

The group of students responsible for acting out this section included a Black male from the Caribbean named Roosevelt. Roosevelt convinced his group to insert a portion of a speech credited to Toussaint that he had memorized (in French) while in high school. Before their collective interpretation of Shange's text, Roosevelt gave a passionate rendering of Toussaint's speech to motivate the Haitians to fight. His performance challenged the anti-male readings of Shange's text on several levels. First, his performance of a character who has no voice in the piece called attention to Shange's inclusion of a positive Black man in *FCG*. Second, it connected L'Ouverture's role in the development of Black intellectual activity in Haiti to the development of intellectualism in the mind of the young Black girl speaking in the piece. Finally, better than any theoretical article I could present to the class, his reading effectively displayed how different cultural backgrounds change what we hear when listening to a text.

As each group took the floor, I suspended my role as teacher/performer and became an audience member, eager to see how they would direct and perform the pieces. Would they try to counteract Shange's Black feminism in action? Would they mock or degrade her commentary? Surprisingly, none of the groups attempted to change the politics of the piece; instead, their performances opened class dialogue and helped us better discuss authorial intent, the elasticity of reading experiences and knowledge claims. We also contemplated ways that culture impacts our perceptions of writing and the world. To close the class meeting, I met the challenge of performance I issued to students by reclaiming my role as actress and performing "Sorry" and discussing my personal experiences with the text.

They finally seemed able to understand (or get) what I had unsuccessfully attempted to convey in the language of theory and criticism all semester: that African American texts carry emotional weight often designed to work towards better self-definition and cultural pronouncement, and that the texts are not usually focused on negating other cultures.

Many of the students who were initially angry with me for choosing the text reread it before returning to class. They reported that they were able to gain new meaning and appreciation for Shange's project. They finally seemed able to understand (or get) what I had unsuccessfully attempted to convey in the language of theory and criticism all semester: that African American texts carry emotional weight often designed to work towards better self-definition and cultural pronouncement, and that the texts are not usually focused on negating other cultures. Students seemed encouraged by our collective risk-taking and were more willing to share diverse opinions in subsequent classes that semester. I was especially surprised by positive reactions from graduate students, whom I expected to feel imposed upon and insulted by my request for them to perform in an academic setting. Several wrote about the experience as one that challenged their perceptions of graduate education.

Because of the significant positive impact of performance on my ability to reach students that semester, and because I continue to use it to break through classroom silences, I have few regrets about my decision to use drama. In fact, only two drawbacks are significant enough to share with teachers considering integrating performance moments into their classes. The first challenge is the amount of time students have to spend preparing for a few moments of in-class performance. We use large amounts of time to brainstorm as a class about identity politics. Groups then meet together during class time to prepare their performances, and we spend class time generating performance moments, interjecting ourselves and our realities into the text.

Performance also takes away from my introductions to the unique influences of each writer. To counteract my own insecurities about not providing enough critical information during class time, I provide students with handouts containing specifics about the text: performance/publication dates, the artists' thoughts about writing and the text being read, excerpts from various interviews, and selected reviews.

Because I was teaching a class of 30 students with only five Black women, their performances demanded that most students give up their own race and gender locales and momentarily travel inside a place marked by different perceptions of reality.

The second concern I face using this model is wondering what my colleagues must think when they hear that I am staging performances in advanced literature courses. As an untenured professor, it is important that my colleagues know that I take my work inside and outside of the classroom seriously. Therefore, I am somewhat unnerved by student conversations with other professors about my pedagogical style. These worries are somewhat allayed when I take the focus away from colleague responses and concentrate on the power of student responses. In this first group of students who performed Shange, the response papers, which blend personal reflection and critical analysis, were more personal than those submitted for any other text. Robert, one of the white males who was especially difficult to deal with in the initial class discussion, shared:

> given our volatile class discussion on this work, one would think that I have a great deal of reaction for this work. In reality, while I hold on to some of my initial and admittedly defensive reactions, I find that a more comprehensive reading of this work and additional time for reflection has tempered my initial response. It is this very ability to add meaning to my reading of a work through class discussion, involving the sharing of others' perspectives, and re-reading of the work itself that both encourages me to continue the study of literature and discourages blindly clinging to any belief….

A Black female student expressed: "Reading* For Colored Girls *made me want to purchase several books and hand them out at the Union like the group of men with free Bibles do once a semester."

In that same group of papers, Valerie, a Black female student working in student affairs at the University expressed:

> Reading the poems could give … answers and provide … some relief to the situations which I know students deal with often. More than a few of our African American females are living destructive lives. Reading *For Colored Girls* made me want to purchase several books and hand them out at the Union like the group of men with free Bibles do once a semester. Reading this book made me want to grab my children and read them the poems from the book in hopes that the words might prevent them from encountering certain situations.

While these students speak from two distinct places, both show how performance added depth to textual perceptions. Students were challenged and ultimately changed by walking into—and watching others walk into—alternate identities.

Since this experience, I have used performance to break through the ideological walls that come between my students and myself in different ways each semester. Performing identities from different pieces can help students gain new under-

standing of the emotional weight of those texts. For example, when teaching Harriet Wilson's antebellum novel, *Our Nig*, students are required to stage a talk show featuring the protagonist Frado, and members of the Belmont family (the family Frado serves as an indentured servant). Students who perform the major characters of the text must study the novel's specific characterizations of their assigned roles.

Many students have diverse thoughts, but are afraid to speak in front of others while they are still formulating ideas.

Moreover, students who sit in the audience must study sociohistorical characterizations, because they are called upon to represent perspectives contemporary to the text. They perform, for example, opinions and views they believe would be espoused by people with different ideological ties, such as: a white male slave-holder, a white female who employs indentured servants, a young student attending school with the Belmont family, a legally freed black slave, or a former slave who works with abolitionists. We spend one class period discussing the historical beliefs and concerns of each group and major character. At the end of the class, students are randomly assigned identities.

At the next meeting, we perform our talk show. I serve as the show's host as a way of expressing collaborative learning between teacher and students. I guide them with questions such as: "Frado, what do you expect to accomplish by sharing this story with the general public?" "Mrs. Belmont can you explain the connections between your religious beliefs and your treatment of Frado?" I ask the audience of historical characters, "Are there members of the community that this family lives in that can tell me how you feel about what is going on in the Belmont home?" Each student must foreground his/her responses with an announcement of the identity that he/she is speaking from for the day.

I have found that demanding students to speak from different places is useful in two distinct ways. First, it encourages students to walk outside of their own identities when formulating opinions. The first is an essential part of pedagogy for the twenty-first century. Kulynych argues that "while students are locked in student identities, they cannot learn what is unimaginable from that identity; that is taking responsibility for knowledge itself" (146). Performance responds to this dilemma by unlocking the restraints of self identity and freeing students to explore a variety of knowledge claims.

Second, performance opens a space for students who are shy to share. Many of our more popular student athletes are wary of speaking in class because they are afraid of how negative comments may hinder them professionally. They do not want their comments about race or racism to appear in school newspapers or to circulate within the student body. While this fear may seem unfounded, athletes are not alone in their concerns. Many other students have diverse thoughts, but are afraid to speak in front of others while they are still formulating ideas. They are afraid of being labeled racist, naive, or uninformed by peers. Allowing these cautious students to speak in performance and assume another's position helps them become comfortable participating in class conversations. When students know that audiences cannot ascribe the ideas they express to them as individuals, the cost of speech is not as high and they speak with more ease.

CONCLUSIONS

What began as an exercise to overcome a specific problem in a specific context turned into a pedagogical tool that I believe can be useful in interdisciplinary courses and in multiple contexts. As student demographics and curricula become more diverse, many teachers will wrestle with new teaching strategies to meet student needs. Regardless of our areas of expertise, all educators are responsible for taking control of classroom environments. We all attempt to teach students how they can use the knowledge claims of our fields beyond the walls of our classrooms. Laura Bates captures our interdisciplinary similarities in her assertion that, "a good teacher…is by turns a playwright, actor, director, and audience—continually shifting 31roles in response to a continuously shifting class dynamic" (122). When we as teachers begin sharing our own performances, we prepare a way for more effective student performances in our areas of expertise.

Performing alternate ideas helps students to develop clearer understandings of how ideology operates; they learn to suspend their own ideas long enough to speak to—and listen to—diverse knowledge claims. When students are able to speak from both real and imaginary identities they are better prepared to put opposing thoughts into conversation with one another. I strongly believe that educators in the twenty-first century must confront increasingly diverse classrooms not only by shifting what we discuss in the classroom, but by also shifting how we approach teaching and classroom practices. By consciously performing our own knowledges, and encouraging student performances of their knowledges, teachers equip students to get the cultural narratives at work in classroom texts and in communal contexts. RT

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r e v i e w s

"SCHOOL" AND "*ONLY* A TEACHER"

(2 made-for-TV movies)

KATE ROUSMANIERE

During the first week of school this past fall, my local public television station broadcast three documentary specials about schools. The films ran literally back to back, and by the time I finished watching the first two (each about historical and contemporary issues in schools), I was too tired of the business to watch the third film (a documentary of the experiences of first year teachers in a city school system). I teach courses about the history and politics of schooling, so if it was hard for *me* to watch all those hours of documentaries about education, I wonder how much attention the films received from parents, students, or teachers during that busy first week of school. In the months since, there has been no re-broadcast of these documentaries, even though educational issues have been in the news constantly. In Ohio, where I live, the past eight months have seen the signing of one federal education bill in a local high school building, two state court decisions about a nine-year-old school funding case, and on-going debates about vouchers and charter schools in our major cities, not to mention continual public debates over proficiency testing, multicultural relations, teacher quality, and school safety. Yet none of these documentaries has appeared again to help Ohioans contextualize these major policy issues.

My reflections about T.V. programming leads me to wonder how educational politics might change if media coverage about schools went beyond back-to-school interest stories, sports, test results, and school violence. What would happen to citizens' understanding of their rights and responsibilities in educational policy making if they were more familiar with the complexity of issues raised in a policy like vouchers? How might a deeper understanding of the historical origins of the public school system help the public understand school finance issues? Could familiarity with the drama of educational battles of the past inspire new activism for school reform? What if the "History Channel" replaced some of its coverage of the Battle of the Bulge in 1945 with the battle over desegregation at Little Rock in 1957?

This is not to say that historical documentaries in and of themselves can enlighten us to the ultimate truth about American education. Indeed, one of the dangers of documentary films is that they can give the *illusion* of truth even as they shape history in particular ways by the inclusion and exclusion of stories, arguments, and perspectives. More dangerous than no history may be the presentation of one version of history as "the truth." In my mind, a good documentary, like a good written history, suggests that there are multiple versions of a historical story, and it encourages its audience to reflect, debate, and develop a more complex way of thinking about history. So, then, a good documentary about education would do more than present a simple chronological unfolding of events in a video format, and instead would link the past with the present, raise questions as much as answers, and inspire the viewer to turn off her television and go make history in contemporary schools.

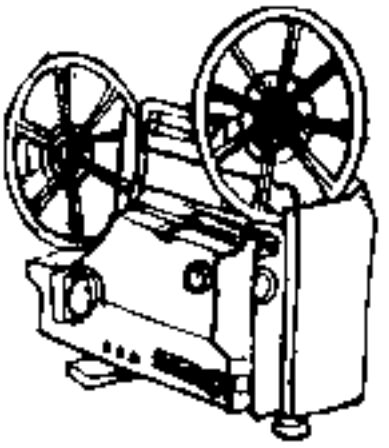
How might a deeper understanding of the historical origins of the public school system help the public understand school finance issues?

Two of the films that were shown on my local station last Fall—"School" and "*Only* a Teacher"—present the full range of possibilities for documentary film about education. "School" presents historical narrative as a sequential series of unfolding events. "*Only* a Teacher" offers a more complicated, and interesting view of history that is intersected with contemporary lives and educational debates. "School" focuses on political themes in educational history, methodically tracking major events in the legal and institutional development of the country's public school system. "*Only* a Teacher" approaches education "from the bottom up," centering on historical and contemporary experiences of classroom teachers. "School" delivers a good survey of major figures and concepts in American educational history; "*Only* a Teacher" provides the gritty experiences of the unknown schoolteacher. If "School" provides us with important facts and figures, "*Only* a Teacher" provides us with quandaries to engage with, reflect upon, and debate. If "School" tells us one version of what educational policy intended, "*Only* a Teacher" shows us how teachers have struggled to interpret and enact those policies.

Of the two films, "School" is most like a traditional textbook transferred to film. In four discrete one-hour segments, the series covers major historical and contemporary issues in American education, focusing (for good reason, I believe) on the twentieth century. Like most history textbooks, the series follows a standard chronological approach, which, although not particularly creative, is effective in introducing the broad sequence of events. Episode 1 (1770-1890) is a serious, scholarly study of the class and religious based education of early America, the nationalistic

impetus of the early republic, and Thomas Jefferson and Horace Mann's efforts to inspire a citizenry to support a public education system. Episode 2 (1900-1950) covers the Americanization of immigrants, new models of standardizing the curriculum and school management, the development of the IQ and other tests, vocational education and life adjustment education of the 1950s, and the effect of Sputnik in 1957. Episode 3 (1950-1980) focuses on the issues of equality raised in the 1950s and 60s, centering on the major civil rights cases, including Brown v. Board of Education, the Chicano takeover of Crystal City, Texas schools in 1968, and gender inequities addressed by Title IX. To a lesser extent, the episode discusses the topics of bilingual education and the education of children with disabilities. Episode 4 (1980-2001) covers the recent issues of "free market reform"—the notion that adopting competitive delivery systems into the public school "monopoly" will force schools to improve. School choice, vouchers, charters, private for-profit school management corporations, and home schooling are covered in detail with commentary by major policy analysts and scholars who present what appears to be a balanced discussion of all the conflicting views.

"School" tells a narrative of political history, and in so doing, it presents a specific message about American education, even as it claims to present a neutral truth. One way in which this illusion of objectivity happens is that each hour-long episode is essentially a self-contained package. While this makes the film a useful one for educators who can use chunks of the film in class, it also continues the unfortunate effects of a poor textbook: historical events are not connected to one another. Indeed, all of Episode 4 exists as if it were made in a vacuum from the ideas presented in earlier episodes, and this leads to the kind of analysis that cripples most current debates about educational reform. Most notably, a recurring theme of the entire series is that American education has become more equitable as the result of government initiative or collective democratic organization. The film argues that it was such democratic struggles, and not competitive private interests, that furthered both excellence and equity in American public schools. But in Episode 4, the filmmakers drop this theme and try to present free market school reforms as simply an honest debate between people with different opinions. How much more provocative the filmmakers would have been had



DRAWING BY LIZ POWELL

they turned back to history and asked what Horace Mann or the Chicano student organizers at Crystal City High School would have thought about school vouchers—a concept which goes against all principles of common schooling for all children. How interesting it would have been to apply the originating motives for religious freedom in early America to current debates about the use of vouchers for religious schools. Instead, the filmmakers present these contemporary debates as if they were irrelevant to the historical context of American public schooling. The filmmakers thus abandon the history project that they set out to do: history has apparently taught us nothing, except that Thomas Jefferson thought one way and Ronald Reagan thought another. This is history at its most textbook-like: a litany of events following the time-line, with little connection between each period, and little acknowledgement of the stories and perspectives that were excluded.

Nonetheless, other parts of the film work much more successfully as discrete historical case studies. In episode 1, for example, we learn about an otherwise obscure African American family in early 19th century Boston who successfully sued the city to stop racially segregating public schools. The Roberts case led to the first law abolishing racial segregation in the nation. In a dramatic segment on the effects of IQ testing on Mexican American students, we hear two brothers recall their experiences at school in Los Angeles in the late 1930s. When the elder brother enlisted in World War II, he observed the way that poorly educated soldiers were more likely to be sent to the battlefront. He returned home to pressure the school counselor to move his younger brother out of the vocational track (to which most Mexican American students were automatically relegated) into the college preparatory track. This happened, and the younger brother grew up to earn a Ph.D. in history at Harvard, a position on the Los Angeles board of education where he fought to ban IQ testing, and in 1979, was appointed as United States Ambassador to Mexico. This is a powerful story about how testing has historically limited the possibilities of students of color, except for those who stood up to fight. In a similar story about Title IX, we learn about the high school student who in 1974 sued to have a girls' basketball team at her school. She won, and also won one of the first college athletic scholarships for women, and later went on to success as an economics professor, thereby leaving the viewer with the inspiring message that citizens *can* challenge inequities in schools—either as an individual or through the courts—and that change *can* happen. What makes these sections so appealing is that they draw on the lives and experiences of actual people, and they describe not educational prescriptions but actual change.

"*Only* a Teacher" follows a more thematic approach to its subject of teachers. This three part series intentionally interweaves the history of the occupation of teaching with contemporary teachers' experiences, and it extends beyond the study of political and institutional issues to the cultural representation of teachers in the media, students' experiences of teachers, and teachers' own lives. Drawing on a unique mixture of personal testimony, oral history, and images from popular culture, the series examines society's complex and contradictory attitude toward the occupation of teaching; the difficult and stressful work of teachers; the missionary zeal that is required of good teaching; and the meaning that

teaching has held for women and men over time. This is a film about the social history of teaching and about the nature of teaching as work.

The three episodes are organized around general themes: Episode 1, "A Teacher Affects Eternity," centers on the ways in which teaching has developed historically as a social service occupation. Historical segments tell the story of the early feminization and missionary aspect of teaching in segments on the northern teachers who went South after the Civil War to teach freed slaves, African American teachers' community work under Jim Crow, and teachers' merging of academic and cultural instruction when teaching immigrant children. Bracketing these historical stories are the voices of contemporary teachers and students in a working class school in Massachusetts who tell the modern version of education's relationship to community and social change. These are stories of inspiration, but also of struggle, as teachers across time experience both independence in the classroom and oppression in the school system. Teachers tell their tales of both pride and doubt about the extent to which they should or can leave the standard curriculum to care about children's fuller lives. Teachers may affect eternity, we learn, but it is not always an easy or natural process. Episode 2, "Those Who Can… Teach," focuses on the broad issue of whether teaching is an occupation or a profession. The episode revolves around the professional and personal experiences of four intern teachers in a Cincinnati public school during one year. Interspersed with their stories are historical vignettes about the development of teacher education, and the origins of the teacher union movement as a way to lobby for improved working conditions and schooling. Implicit in this episode is the question of whether teaching is a series of singular skills for classroom work, or a professional position with responsibilities that extend outside the classroom to educational reform, professional improvement, and social justice. Episode 3, "Educating to End Inequality," highlights the work of teachers at three schools: a Native American school in Santa Fe, an elementary school in North Carolina in the 1970s in the process of integration, and an alternative high school in New York City. Each vignette continues the exploration of what it means to be a teacher in these particularly vibrant and progressive situations. These are studies of teachers who redefine education by responding to society's expectations and challenges.

The lively style and eclectic organization of "*Only* a Teacher" reflects the nature of teacher's work. This is an invigorating, visually appealing, and exciting film to watch. It can be exhausting to watch, too, because, like the work of the teacher, the film races us through the intensity of the classroom, to the contradictory cultural expectations of the job, to the stress of difficult working conditions, to the emotional power of working with children. The filmmakers further enliven the presentation by interspersing clips from old newsreels, movies, television episodes of "The Little Rascals" and "Our Miss Brooks," and other media representations of teachers that are both comical and powerful in their stereotyping. Students and teachers are filmed in their own settings —a group of teachers are filmed in their weekly after-school gathering at the local pub, for example—and interviews with Robin Williams, Lily Tomlin and Frank McCourt reveal the way that teaching can be described with both humor and pain. The requisite "talking heads" in this film are a diverse array of retired teachers, union leaders, principals, and scholars, and they are allowed to betray passion, personality, and wit in their presentations. And significantly, as the credits roll at the end of each episode, students talk about what they like to see in their teachers. Ultimately, the title of the series becomes ironic: this series is not *only* about teachers—it is also about students and schools, and about society's image and expectations of public education.

When considering these two films, it's interesting to note other significant ways in which they differ. The "talking head" experts who dominate "School" include a mostly male line-up of some of the most famous and senior academics, policy analysts, and representatives of Reagan and Bush's educational cabinet; "*Only* a Teacher" tends to rely on less prominent younger female scholars, and on dozens of current and retired teachers. The production of "School" was accompanied by a beautiful, glossy coffee-table book; the producers of "*Only* a Teacher" created a clip reel and study guide for K-12 teachers. The release of the "School" book and film brought waves of discussion on education listserves and in academic conferences; "*Only* a Teacher" has led a less celebrated life. In effect, each film represents in its production and reception much about the way that our country views education: the film about teachers, students, and day-to-day experiences in the classroom has been largely overshadowed by a film about policy and national politics. On the other hand, neither film has received even one-tenth of the attention garnered by recent documentary series about baseball, jazz, and the Hudson River. All of those films speak elegantly to the significance of their subjects in American history and culture. But clearly, in both past and present, baseball players hold more popular appeal, and media draw, than do classroom teachers.

One final irony that may or may not be significant: the narrators of both films are women actresses — Meryl Streep for "School," and Stockard Channing for "*Only* a Teacher"—and both films were produced and directed by women. I don't know if it's good news or bad news that the feminization of education continues in its film representation.

"I'M NOT A RACIST—BUT…": THE MORAL QUANDRY OF RACE

Lawrence Blum. (Cornell University Press, 2001.)

PHIL COX

What does "race" mean? Or what does it mean to be, or to be called, "racist?" On the one hand, there's an easy — and essentially true but terribly unredeeming — answer to this question. "Race," so this answer would go, is an inherently muddled concept, which arose out of colonial and imperial nations' need to invent a subhuman or differently human category for subjected peoples. In the later nineteenth and then twentieth century, this already confused concept took

on an equally faulty "scientific" patina, as biology, genetics, anthropology, and so on were enlisted in the attempt to lend some scientific credibility to the "discovery" of race. But we all know better now: the concept that was incoherent in its inception and which bad science couldn't improve should simply be dispensed with by all modern and right-thinking persons. This explanation often comes with the proviso that those in the past who employed the concept in good faith—say, W.E.B. DuBois—can be forgiven their error inasmuch as they were simply confusing "race" with *ethnicity*, our much preferred term now (though the concept of "ethnicity" no doubt has some pretty frayed edges too.)

On the other hand, the cold hard political facts are that, shamefully nearly 150 years after the Fourteenth Amendment and nearly forty years after Martin Luther King Jr.'s death, there is arguably nothing that divides many Americans more than the "issue of race"—from the higher national profile stories of Los Angeles police beatings, torture, and shootings, to urban politics, to O.J. Simpson, to continuing economic and social disparities, to multiculturalism and identity politics debates in the academy, to the ever virulent political and judicial argument over Affirmative Action, to say nothing of what happens down below face to face between individuals. Hence the conundrum we're in: while it would be easy to dismiss the concept of race as antique and confused nonsense (a maneuver some even in left or progressive circles are wont to do), doing so would prevent our attending to a set of ideas, or dispositions, which powerfully animate the way so many of us think and behave. The concept of "nationalism" might offer a rough analogy here—as befuddled, or self-contradictory, as based on bad, imagined history or equally bad science, as "invented," etc., as a variety of nationalist ideologies may be, it would be a rather serious mistake to pretend its intellectual failings render it politically and culturally inert.

In this context, then, Lawrence Blum's "*I'm Not a Racist, But…": The Moral Quandry of Race* is a breath of courageous fresh air. Blum is fully aware of the conceptual inconsistencies, fraudulent "science," etc., surrounding the concept of race, as his chapters five, six, and seven covering its history attest. In spite of these incoherencies, and also because of them, the task Blum sets himself is to identify and interrogate the many dimensions (however inconsistent, faulty, ephemeral) of our use and notion of "racism" (and here he sets off the "inferiorizing" and "antipathy" features of racism as a working, legitimate core meaning.) While a number of other critics have attempted to so examine the concept of "race" or "racism" (among them Anthony Appiah, Paul Gilroy, Lani Guinier, Amy Gutmann, Randall Kennedy, Martha Minow, Lucius Outlaw, all well consulted and evaluated here), few have done so strictly from the point of view of philosophy. Furthermore, however valuable he finds these accounts from other disciplines, Blum's volume is singular in its assessment of the landscape of "racism" from a distinctly *moral* point of view. This moral methodology allows Blum to dissect the concept in a variety of ways which taken together, I believe, significantly exceed the critical directions mentioned above.

One such central target in the author's moral critique of the way we (mis)use "racism," which figures prominently throughout the book, has to do with what Blum calls "categorical drift." By this "categorical drift" he means to refer to an "all or nothing" racial viewpoint—that which inclines us to view a particular act, or person, as either above racialist reproach or, then if not, as an utterly "racist" act or person. Blum wants to insist, against this Manichean view, that "genuine racism" must be usefully distinguished "from lesser racial ills and infractions" (28). And Blum's campaign against categorical drift which falsely collapses all phenomenon into good and evil is advanced in no small part by employing a vocabulary of *moral degree*—which would allow us to distinguish between "genuine racism" and phenomena better described as acts arising from racial discomfort, racial ignorance, racial insensitivity, or racial injustice. (Another virtue of the book is the many in-the-trenches examples Blum offers. Here's one relevant to this context: Consider a school teacher who ends up developing less rapport with and hence treating differently, students of one particular ethnicity out of unfamiliarity with that ethnic culture. Compare the moral difference between that teacher and one who treats students of that ethnicity differently because she *hates* members of that group.) To the extent that the highly charged terms "racism" or "racist" elide these differences, "honest interracial exchange" is made that much less possible. I must say, Blum is most certainly not insisting on recognition of these moral differences as a kind of apologia for these other kinds of acts, much less that we ought somehow to treat them less seriously than we now do. Rather, Blum is simply pointing out that a modicum of moral subtlety would alert us to the significant differences along the spectrum of "racial phenomena," and would thus allow us better to understand causes, entertain remedies, or simply just to communicate what we think is going on or wrong, without the mere mention of such acts making things worse.

Blum's campaign against categorical drift would allow us to distinguish between "genuine racism" and phenomena better described as acts arising from racial discomfort, racial ignorance, racial insensitivity, or racial injustice.

Another set of issues illuminated by Blum's moral critique is brought out in his ostensibly straightforward question, "Can Blacks Be Racist?" (ch. 2). It's a measure of the subtlety of his moral based approach that he begins this discussion by presenting then arguing as insufficient four reasons for answering "no" to such a question (viz., that "true" racism must be an ideology and white Europeans have more or less cornered the market on formal racialist ideologies; that Black racial antipathy isn't

fully "racist" since it's by definition "reactive"—reactive that is to the monstrous institution of slavery and its tailings; and so on.) Yet lest one imagine that one should draw from these rebuttals the conclusion that Black racism is *just the same as* white racism, Blum again employs a set of moral arguments to build a case for the different moral valences between white-on-Black racism versus Black-on-white racism (such as, say, a claim that whites' lack of melanin implies a moral and spiritual deficiency.) Blum lays claim to four central arguments in behalf of there being a moral asymmetry among "forms of racism differentiated by perpetrator and target groups;" chief among them is the point that racism carried out against already "inferiorized" or subordinately positioned groups carries different social and individual *consequences* for such groups than for groups not so positioned. As Blum puts it, "…(everything else being equal) white prejudice is laden with weightier, morally more significant meanings than are black prejudices. These meanings, as expressed in the four forms of moral asymmetry, should become part of a taken-for-granted discourse about racial issues. Their existence implies that whites should recognize that their prejudices carry these meanings, and, for that reason, can do greater psychic damage. Failure to acknowledge these asymmetrical moral meanings can constitute a kind of moral negligence" (50). But let's be careful here. Blum is *not* saying that a perpetrator of racism is less morally blameworthy if the racist act is directed at a less historically victimized or currently inferiorized group (say, Norwegian Americans). I'd hate for him to be misunderstood here. Rather, he's simply arguing that we come to recognize the differing social consequences of acts, and those *consequences* aren't sufficiently calculable apart from an assessment of perpetrator/target group differences: "The asymmetry of moral concern does not translate neatly into race-based asymmetries of moral responsibility. It does not follow, for example, that a white racist is more morally evil than a black racist, nor that a Puerto Rican's prejudice against white people is morally worse than the reverse, nor that a white individual is any more blameworthy or morally responsible for her racist attitudes or behavior than is a black individual)….Though a white individual is not more racist or more morally evil in harboring racial prejudice than is a black individual, the moral asymmetry makes the *consequences* of her prejudices, and of the acts expressing them, worse than those of the black individual. In this sense they are worthy of greater concern" (50-51).

Though Blum doesn't directly advance this argument, it strikes me his insistence on attending to the differing moral standings of racism via an assessment of their consequences, interestingly dovetails with a related area of law. States which have hate-compounded sentencing guidelines may more greatly punish, for instance, someone who singles out store clerks for murder because they're female, or Black, or gay, than someone who randomly murders store attendants. In more greatly punishing the former, I take it society is *not* saying the life of a female clerk is worth more than the life of a male clerk, but that we wish to further condemn the special kind of hate which generates such acts otherwise equally wrong in themselves.

"Race neutrality" has become a kind of national mantra, particularly when invoked in dismissal of Affirmative Action-type public policy initiatives.

An at least equally compelling employment of moral critique is to be found in Blum's analysis of Affirmative Action/preferential initiatives (ch. 4.) This is a bit of a "stealth" argument, as Blum doesn't announce that he's about to take up and wrestle with this most contentious aspect of race in the legal arena. Rather, he asks us to ponder the various meanings which might be given to "color blindness," an innocent enough conceptual inquiry. Two of those meanings in particular catch the eye as possibly in tension—"race egalitarianism" and "race neutrality." The latter has become a kind of national mantra, particularly when invoked in dismissal of Affirmative Action-type public policy initiatives. By this account "color blindness" is equated with "race neutrality," meaning both blind to race privilege and race stigma/inferiorizing. This understanding is given the status of holy writ when Martin Luther King Jr.'s oft-quoted remark is enlisted in its support: "I have a dream my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character."

But compare the ascendant support for "race neutrality" with the concept of "race egalitarianism"—"a social order in which racial identity does not affect basic life chances, and racial discrimination and its legacy are opposed" (93). One could seek to work toward a racially egalitarian policy, however, by employing policies other than the strictly race neutral. Consider so-called "percentage plans" by which some states (which face recent federal court rulings antagonistic to Affirmative Action, such as Texas) admit the top ten percent of all high school graduates to their public university system. Given the legacy of geographic and urban segregation or demographics, such plans will have the effect of ensuring a certain percentage of minority students will gain admission. Such percentage plans have greater political and public support than traditional Affirmative Action plans, presumably because they achieve an ethnically diverse student body by means of a formally neutral instrument. But as Blum points out, there is a "differential acceptability" here which amounts to an astonishing moral inconsistency: if *both* Affirmative Action-type plans and percentage plans aim to further the same race-egalitarian and diversity purposes, why favor the one simply because it employs a neutral-looking means but to achieve the very same distinctly non-neutral ends?

Now that we've been slyly invited to consider how a look at the moral implications of these different legal initiatives reveals a symmetry of ends and an arguably not morally significant difference in mere form, perhaps other legal

aspects deserve similar moral scrutiny. Consider for instance other "non-merit" rewards, in the form of "legacy" admissions (preference given to offspring or descendants of alumni), athletic scholarships, or admission policies which take geographic diversity into account. Presumably each of these policies has some tie to a university's goals or educational mission, in the suggestion that the university community is enriched if made diverse in these ways. Is there anything problematic, for instance, in the University of Michigan tailoring its admission policies to foster a student body made up of somewhat less than one hundred percent Michigan residents? Or to aim to include a few more older than average or non-traditional students? If these other community characteristics are a legitimate public purpose, why wouldn't a strategy to train leaders and participants for a democratic and culturally pluralist society be also (given voice in at least Justice Powell's plea in 1978's *Bakke* decision that fostering a racially diverse student population could serve important educational purposes)? A marker of how far we've moved away from that logic can be seen in the Supreme Court's 1996 *Hopwood* decision, which established that, at least in the Fifth Circuit, "the use of race, in and of itself, to choose students simply achieves a student body that looks different. Such a criterion is no more rational on its own terms than would be choices based upon the physical size or blood type of applicants." But, again, a moral reading of this argument suggests its failings inasmuch as the court appears to conflate skin color, or merely "looking different," with race/ethnicity. However skin color, or tone, is not the morally salient factor here—race is:

> Mere skin color, or skin tone, considered entirely apart from its racial significance in our society, is indeed an arbitrary feature….An admissions policy based on skin color would be irrational and unfair, and discriminatory for that reason. But race is not skin tone, and it is not arbitrary in relation to university admission in the way skin tone is. Race, like gender, is a deeply significant social identity arguably pertinent to legitimate goals of institutions of higher education. College admissions offices do not ask applicants to describe their precise skin tone but to state their racial identity. (83-4)

It's important to recollect what Blum accomplishes in this chapter. In keeping with the larger purpose of the book, to explore the *moral* dimensions of the notion of "racism," Blum deftly picks up pieces of the law and measures them against the larger background of moral consideration; it's always worth remembering, after all, that one way of looking at the law is as an instrument with which we *enact* public policy, not necessarily as public policy entirely in its own right. And I'd like to nominate Blum for the Fairest Footnote of the Year award (see note 20, p. 199). There he makes clear he doesn't intend his *moral* evaluation of court arguments as necessarily bearing on their *constitutional* legitimacy, though a number of constitutional scholars, such as Ronald Dworkin, would argue the two are rightly inseparable. He then goes on to say he's only (morally) criticizing a portion of the reasoning in the *Hopwood* case. Though that reasoning (conflating skin pigment with race) might well be considered by others as a fundamental flaw, he states that he's not in a position to evaluate these arguments on strictly constitutional grounds, then cites relevant literature which does. Would that we all adhered to such standards of scholarly precision and humility.

In sum, Lawrence Blum's volume provides a much needed, and fresh, voice in the daunting project of understanding "race" or "racism," a project that commentators from other fields have begun in earnest but which hasn't been given the *morally* resonant treatment found here. I can easily imagine the book being valuably employed in a Critical Race Theory course, or any variety of public policy and ethics courses, within an African-American studies course, or as an extended case study in a regular ethics course, especially as the volume is an enriching illustration of the application of moral reasoning to a central political and social issue. I can also imagine a course built around this book by means of extracting the many illuminating examples provided and having students discuss them first, text unseen. Then, after students take a crack on their own at some of the dimensions in the examples, they could then be directed to the relevant chapters to examine how the cases play out in the author's extended analysis. In any event, Blum's volume deserves serious attention for its courageous, forthright, and scholarly moral exploration of a vexed and vexing concept, "racism," whose hold on our minds and cultures continues as such a burden.

GLOBALIZATION AND EDUCATION: CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES

Nicholas C. Burbules and Carlos Alberto Torrés, eds. (Routledge, 2000)

ROBERT J.S. ROSS

Globalization and Education is "primarily a work of theory" (2) by a group composed primarily of Anglophone authors "critical" of globalized capital and what they repeatedly refer to as neoliberalism. Despite these oft-repeated value and political sentiments, the editors set the intellectual tone of the volume in their introduction, when they say that simple dichotomies, e.g., between the cultural and economics components of globalization, must give way to ambiguities and complexities (13-14). Then ensues a list of the components of globalization — economic, political, cultural. Not for these writers and editors a theory of priority or causality; instead, they do analysis by list. In some circles, one may write a list, say things are related dialectically (yes the editors do that too: 14) and then mail in the essay.

Besides being a bit short on theoretical clarity, these theorists, as a group, use language in ways that have become characteristic among people who call themselves theorists in social science and literature for about 20 years — poorly, densely, and vaguely.

The chapters are essays. Only a few use empirical material in their theoretical reflections, and those merely refer to them: in this corner of the world, apparently, theory means quoting other

peoples' ideas, rather than discerning empirical relationships and explaining them. The authors refer to Post-modernism often, while one essay goes so far as to identify the idea of globalization with post-modernism (Luke and Luke —287, 288) — an operation about as imperialist as those so scorned by the students of "post-colonialism." This perspective (appropriating the global to the post-modern) leads to a repetitive insistence on the parity of the cultural with the political economic, and an approach to causes and effects that are not unlike laundry lists: culture, race, gender, political economy, politics, and from Aisle A, some fresh green peppers. Here is the first sentence of a paragraph from Allan and Carmen Luke's essay:

> The most widely accepted definition of globalization is that it is a feature of late capitalism, or *the* condition of post-modernity. And, more important, that it is characterized by the emergence of a world system driven in large part by a global capitalist economy. (287)

Apart from the absurd joining of the political economy of global capitalism with the discourse of post-modernism, this is a sensible quick summary. Alas, this volume has not yet got the news that less is more. It continues:

> This "capitalocentric" epistemology, this focus on the economic as the principal force driving cultural social, and educational change on a global scale, fails to recognize that "economic activity always takes place and is embedded in a culturally constructed context." Such economic determinism drags culture along as a causal outcome, not as a context or broader social field of cultural circuits of signification, identities, and power relations. (287)

The idea of an "embedded" economic order, put most forcefully and classically by Karl Polanyi (1944) is not a logical or theoretical alternative to understanding the process of globalization as one driven by capitalist expansion. It was and is a way of tacitly understanding the economic norms held in all societies, and thus the absurdity of claiming that markets do not embody values or that they can exist without some form of normative regulation.

This book of essays on globalization — surely the most dramatic process of capital expansion and class struggle in this era, contains no discussion of class relations and globalization.

In common with much post-modernist discourse, no concepts are "privileged" here—except one, which is ***negatively*** privileged, i.e., one that is ***excluded***. This book of essays on globalization — surely the most dramatic process of capital expansion and class struggle in this era, contains no discussion of class relations and globalization. So, the politics of the essays are studiously and canonically Left, but not of a stunted Red type.

While there are some exceptions, and I will discuss them below, the main problem with this collection is not my or anyone else's preference for different brands of theory or writing. Rather, there is little to learn here. The references are lengthy and include material from a broad range of English language sources, including New Zealand, Australia, and Canada besides the US and UK. The footnotes are a valuable resource for specialist researchers and graduate students. Otherwise, if a reader comes to this collection critical of globalization, he or she will not find many new insights about that. Whatever one's acquaintance with the literature on globalization, readers will find almost no empirical material on how globalization has effected education or educational policy. Instead, readers of this volume will learn something about some of the categories contemporary social science thinkers use when they begin to analyze globalization.

The impact of globalization on education appears here in broad generalizing sentences: a trend to market solutions is the common theme describing the high-income countries. The ways this is actually accomplished finds no detailed specification. There is a chapter on "managerialism" that seems to mean running a school like a business enterprise, but don't look here for that potentially interesting international comparison of vouchers, school-building level incentive systems, etc. In these writers' milieu the logical set comprised of "theory" apparently excludes any set that includes numbers. The editors note that with neoliberal policies the state withdraws "from its responsibility to administer public resources to promote social justice" (8). The book contains no quantitative measurement of support for public education. There is some ambiguity among the authors about quantity and quality in state support for education. The editors write as quoted above, while other authors note reliance on the market rather than specific claims about resource withdrawal. Is the withdrawal proposition true?

From 1980 to 1995 total spending on education in the United States increased 47%; from 1990 to 1995 spending increased 17% (U.S. Statistical Abstract 2000: 378). From School Year 1991-92 through 1996-97, Per Pupil spending in public school districts was level (in inflation adjusted dollars) in central city districts that are both more expensive per pupil and include poorer pupils on average; was modestly increasing in surrounding metro area districts and increasing sharply in lower salaried non-metropolitan districts (U.S. Department of Education 2001: 95). Other work shows that much of the increases in per pupil spending in U.S. school districts (about 60% in purchasing power adjusted for education since 1970) is due to spending on special education, i.e., for students whose handicaps, mental or physical, require more resources (Rothstein, B-9).

Another of the contentions of the authors is that neo-liberalism produces more slavish vocationalism in education, especially post secondary educa-

tion. Colleges are becoming, in this model, more nearly vocational, less liberal or enlightenment oriented. Strange to discover, then, that Business and Management degrees conferred were fewer in 1997-98 than in 1987-88 (They were the largest of any group at both times — probably not recent.) Social science and history degrees came in second and were higher in the late 1990's than the late 1980's. (U.S. Department of Education 2000: Figure 17).

These essays also mention the urgently important topic of the impact of the International Monetary Fund's structural adjustment programs that generally impose cutbacks in developing country public sector budgets, often targeting public education and other social spending (Morrow and Torrés: 44; Blackmore: 156). Yet the volume has no case studies, no numbers, no examples of the ways these changed local education. This is a disaster, given the title and the goal of the volume: there is nothing to learn about globalization and education insofar as the International Financial Institutions' impact is concerned. Oh well, that would be so, so, *positivist*, so modernist, so…informative!

These authors have learned two or three phrases in political economy: neoliberal (ism), Keynesian, and (post) Fordist. Having got the spelling right, all is then permitted if only one can string these words together in ways that sound critical but (big picture) scholarly. Yet, it is passing strange that the class conflicts that produced the globalized forms of capitalism and the class war declared by the leading diplomats of the capitalist class, should appear as a disembodied ideology, "neoliberalism."

The writers do not agree as to whether neoliberalism is merely an apology for what conservatives (disembodied from a class base) want to do, or whether it is a reflection of the necessities of globalization. The lack of agreement that appears as mere differential emphasis is caused by the lack of a theory, or even an orienting set of concepts. Replacing such a means of understanding is a means of complaining. The means of complaining is to mention women or people of color when uttering phrases about the negative consequences of globalization. Yet, a topic as laden with portent for working people (taken as an entire class) as choice between hard-skill training and the reality and illusion of upward mobility through liberal arts education is left with the assumption that it is obvious. So the American general high school attendee who does not finish high school or go to college, or does not finish college, and who then falls into the lower half of the increasingly unequal income distribution is a mere footnote. Do we think German workers are all automata when they take the other, the vocational, track and become the highest paid working class in the world? I do not say the German way of vocationalism is right: only that these authors are apparently unable to comprehend the alternative in international perspective.

There are some bright spots here. The irritating essay by the New Zealanders Luke and Luke includes a portrayal of education issues in provincial Thailand. Rare in this volume, it provides some real texture for the authors' reflections. The editors' introduction lays out a more or less neat set of issues and conclusions about globalization and education. Blackmore's essay on globalization and feminism includes some surprising and fresh propositions, albeit too quickly mentioned. One example: "Privatization of education may improve class and race relations in the new South Africa, where privileged white populations enjoyed state support under apartheid, but it may work to the detriment of girls due to long-held cultural attitudes towards women" (136).

One wants to encourage people in applied fields (education; social work; labor studies) to be theoretical and to think about Big Picture issues (globalization, history of capitalism, etc.). However, taken as a whole, this work does not reward the effort to find or read it. Send students to photocopy the footnotes perhaps, but do not buy or steal this book.

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Teaching Notes

WHITE CHRISTMAS

Delta Records

OTIS!: THE DEFINITIVE OTIS REDDING

Rhino Records

How, then, to be the kind of teacher who uses popular culture as a classroom teaching tool and yet not seem to be exactly that cartoon hippie instructor who tries, lamely, to be hip with his reluctant students, as on "Beavis and Butthead"? I am a UC Lecturer teaching lower-division composition classes to talented, bright, and bored undergraduates there mostly against their will, who locate "composition" and writing somewhere near dental work.

Lucky them (!) when they encounter a middle-aged pony-tailed socialist with a goatee wearing his "No Nukes" t-shirt and exercising a predilection for writing on the board such phrases as "the social construction of reality"—exactly as the Sociology teacher in the famous back-to-school episode of "Buffy the Vampire Slayer." (I am not making either of us up.)

Yes, pop culture pedagogy is, indeed, one way to funnily distract students from the mandatory, often punitive-seeming (to both students *and* teachers) experience of comp class. But using film, television, and recorded music to get students to see the value of analysis, interpretation, and essay writing as skills which might empower them beyond the classroom is also potentially risky. I failed with the Sex Pistols, for instance, and Loudon Wainwright III, two of my own favorites. Go figure.

Johnny Cash's "Boy Named Sue" worked well enough. Students "got it": the rhetorical flourish, the cornball humor, the necessarily instructive bit of redemption at the end. But they really hated the music.

Yet listening to songs and even reading their lyrics at the same time helps students to trust their instincts, to build confidence by thinking things out loud — and, importantly, writing them down. Listening to music also lets them imagine that exercising a cultural critique—even about pop culture — is one way of becoming a literate, active, engaged citizen intellectual.

While instructors at the University of California are given lots of leeway to teach creatively, up against not only a strict and impossibly ambitious syllabus, but a ten-week schedule, they may need—especially new teachers—"tried and true" thirty-minute exercises in, say, models of inter-textual interpretation. With a finite number of shopping days till Christmas, I share this "application analysis" exercise because it consistently works, helping to teach students to go beyond only comparison and contrast and see how understanding one "text" helps us see another. And, yes, it's fun.

Bing Crosby's "White Christmas" is, you'll recall, a heartwarming, even cloying nostalgia bouquet, though not without its melodic appeal and, yes, that beautiful voice. Of course, many students do not recognize this 1940s era holiday classic. Otis Redding's version is even less familiar. Perfect.

I first play the Der Bingle version, using as questions for discussion the four topics in Jack Rawlin's chapter in *The Writer's Way*: "Thesis, purpose, audience and tone." We go through this short list in reverse order, ending with the thesis—"intellectual or emotional argument" as I call it — of the song. With its opening of Christmassy bells, strings, and background chorus (tone), students of course recognize the nostalgia theme, guessing that the likely audience is their — or somebody's — grandparents, a student or two further speculating that this might involve World War II and being far away from home. "Purpose" is easy, as is "thesis": the idealization of a particular kind of snowy old-time Christmas, despite perhaps never having seen it, makes people love family, hearth, and home.

Not surprisingly, nobody mentions race, class, ethnicity, or sex.

Then I play the Otis version, with its obviously joyful, sexual but also slyly ironic response to the old fogey standard in which, as the liner notes indicate, "[Otis] can't quite bring himself to say 'May all your Christmases be white' the first time through, so he gently stammers and ad-libs his way around it in a clever, horn-spurred turnaround until he can make his hidden agenda perfectly clear."

And, yes, here some clever student guesses at "audience," which leads to a short digression on "genre," in which their teacher discusses briefly rhythm and blues, soul, and Motown.

And when we try to answer, together, the question of how our "reading" (or "listening") to Otis says something about how we now hear and understand Bing, things really get rockin'.

Johnny Cash's "Boy Named Sue" worked well enough. Students "got it": the rhetorical flourish, the cornball humor, the necessarily instructive bit of redemption at the end. But they really hated the music.

What, exactly, is Der Bingle saying? To whom? What is Otis saying, especially when he seems now to be talking to Bing and those folks from twenty-five years earlier? And why does he seem to have turned a benign carol into either a sexy song or a political song or a Black song or...?

And, my favorite question: How might those old 1940s folks respond to the Redding version? And, yes, well, how do you suppose they did, *class*, when the Otis version appeared at the height of the Civil Rights and rock and roll and anti-war movements?

That's when I turn down the music and let them write for twenty minutes, responding to the above.

May your teaching be merry and bright. And may all your Christmases be, well, not *exactly* white.

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THE SILENT DUCHESS

By Dacia Maraini. Translated by Dick Kitto and Elspeth Spottiswood. New York: The Feminist Press, $14.95.

The Silent Duchess by Dacia Maraini is an excellent novel for an exploration of patriarchy and the female voice. It can be read in Women's Studies and literature courses. Students in my Women's Studies capstone course at the William Paterson University of New Jersey read this 1990 Italian novel in translation. Since the focus of the Women's Studies Department is diversity, this international selection about a woman with disabilities was ideal.

When the novel opens, Marianna Ucria, the main character, is a seven-year-old deaf and mute aristocratic child living in Palermo in Sicily in the 1700s. As a child with disabilities, Marianna lives her life in the margins in her family and in society.

Her father, Duke Signoretto Ucria, takes her to the public hanging of a twelve-year-old boy, thinking that the trauma might shock her into speech and hearing. His plan doesn't work, and at the age of thirteen she is married off to her mother's brother, Duke Pietro Ucria, whom she refers to as "uncle husband." When she returns to her family after being raped by Pietro, her mother and the church remind her that

it is her duty to stay with her husband. Her family is ashamed of her "undignified behavior." Her father returns her to Pietro, only asking that he not be too severe with her because of her age and disability. In other words, some abuse is expected! Marianna's father represents patriarchy. He is unemotional, authoritarian, and cruel.

Marianna uses a writing pad affixed to her waist to communicate. Ironically, Marianna's handicap frees her from the stifling everyday life of noble women. Each of her sexual encounters with uncle husband is a rape. Marianna gives birth to five children. Sadly, she replicates her own fate when she doesn't fight hard enough to put off the arranged marriage of her oldest daughter at age twelve. After Pietro's death, Marianna learns the secret behind her deaf and mute condition when she questions her brother Carlo, a monk. He doesn't answer her questions, but Marianna has the ability to read people's minds, and while in her brother's presence she becomes knowledgeable about the horrendous truth about her rape. Carlo thinks about the rape and its cover-up as an "affair between men." Marianna violates the social order when she refuses to mourn her husband and decides to do as she pleases. Freed by the death of her husband and her knowledge, she chooses to travel with her servant Fila, who had been given to her as a gift from her father. Marianna, who questions the right of anyone to gift another with a human being, supports Fila's desire to leave her and marry.

Students write journals while reading *The Silent Duchess*. The novel is rich in issues pertinent to Women's Studies courses. Some of these issues include infanticide, child abuse, incest, forced marriage, marital rape, classism, ableism, and sexism. In a journal, one student pondered, "How could her parents love Marianna and be so willing to marry her off at the age of 13 to a man three times her age. Her parents really married her off to her uncle because it was economically beneficial for them to do so."

I also assign a student the task of facilitating the class discussion about the novel. Students are angered by the blatant preference for male children in *The Silent Duchess*. Marianna gives birth to three girls before birthing a boy. When her son Mariano is born, family members pass the newborn from hand to hand "as if he were the Infant Jesus." Students are impressed by Marianna when she starts to assert herself. Following the death of her fifth child, her much beloved Signoretto, Marianna rebuffs her husband's sexual advances. One student remarked, "I feel that this occurrence was actually a turning point in Marianna's life, and actually came to empower her."

Ironically, as a "Silent Duchess," Marianna learns much. As a woman with a disability, she is viewed as inferior by others in her social class. Her disability has given her insights that others do not seem to have. She is aware of the foibles of the aristocracy and how sons are initiated into sex by using servant girls. She is marginalized, and she cultivates a rich interior life, a life nourished by her avid reading and her observing eyes.

Hélène Cixous says that women need to write themselves into existence.

In conjunction with reading this novel and exploring the issue of a woman's voice, I show *The Piano*, a film about a nineteenth-century English woman, living in Australia, who is mute. Students compare Marianna with this mute woman. We also read "The Laugh of the Medusa" by the French feminist Hélène Cixous, an essay that discusses the importance of the female "voice." Cixous says that women need to write themselves into existence. I also show the film *A Room of One's Own*, a dramatic monologue based on Virginia Woolf's essay by the same name. Responding to the film, one student wrote, "It inspired me the same way that Cixous' work and *The Silent Duchess* did, encouraging me to write for me, for myself." Another student connected a line from the film about not being able to lock up one's mind with *The Silent Duchess*: "It reminded me about how Marianna's mind refused to be locked up."

In the Afterword to *The Silent Duchess*, Anna Camaiti Hostert writes that Marianna's dumbness represents women's insurmountable difficulties trying to express themselves. Marianna's journey becomes a metaphor for the act of writing for women — a coming to voice. The novel "describes a transition from a patriarchal world where women are silenced and silent to a female symbolic order in which women are finally able to speak with their own language."

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ON THE REZ

By Ian Frazier. New York: Picador, $14.

My second-semester honors Freshman English class was multiethnic, multireligious, multicultural — about half of them American-born. Several of them were proud of their historical knowledge, but only Wanda, whose Native American grandmother regularly took her to pow-wows on Long Island, knew anything beyond stereotypes about our native peoples.

Angelo, a student my age (in his early forties), and a disabled veteran, was the most vocal. "To tell you how ignorant I was: I served in this country's armed forces for most of my adult life, and I didn't know there was any Indians in there with me. Reading this book, reading that book of Native American speeches, reading *Last of the Mohicans*, it makes me think it was wrong not to know! My own father, I was telling him about this book, and he told me, 'Hey, you're Indian too. You didn't know that?' 'Pops,' I said, 'how could I know if you didn't tell me?' 'You're Puerto Rican!' he says. 'Where'd you get that color in your skin? You never heard of the Taino?' And so, when I'm not reading for this class or my other classes or working, I'm reading about my people, Professor. I was ignorant, and now I'm not, and it just makes me wonder at how we can be so ignorant of things so close to us."

I swear, at least once a week, Angelo would address us at this length, and I always enjoyed it and felt grateful. His classmates, most of them teenagers, sometimes rolled their eyes. Good students though they were, they weren't interested in revelations from an older classmate. Even so, I think his candid

remarks helped them strive to be candid as well.

On the Rez focuses on the history and present-day life of the Oglala Sioux of the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, but what became for us the center of the book and our discussions is Frazier's friendship with Le War Lance, who figured so memorably in Frazier's *Great Plains*.

> He calls me every few weeks, it seems, to ask for money. It's good that he does, I suppose, to keep me from getting sentimental when I think of him. Even now I can feel my words want to pull him in a wrong direction, toward a portrait that is rose-tinted and larger than life, while he is pulling the other way, toward reality... Once when I said I had no money to send, Le became angry and told me he would not be seeing me again, that he expected soon to die. Then he told me to "suck on a banana and make it real," and hung up. I didn't hear from him for a year or more after that, and I began to worry that maybe he actually had died...

"Are they really friends?" asks earnest Joseph.

"Why not?"

"Because Frazier's always buying. They go get beer, and Frazier doesn't even want Le to have beer, and he buys it.

"I don't got a problem with that, Professor," says Angelo, "because I know friendships are just like any other relationship. They're unequal. I don't have equal relationships with my children. I learned you got to take each relationship on an individual basis."

Joseph protests, "Shouldn't friends be friends on an equal basis? Isn't that what friendship is?"

"Should be or is?"

For the first time in a writing class, I found essays on friendship interesting.

"But if friends aren't equal, there's always a struggle!"

"That's what he's saying," says Angelo. "The writer, Frazier, he's showing it like it is, not like you want it."

This unequal friendship troubled us because we didn't see our ideals of friendship illustrated, but how *all* of our relationships strain with imbalance. For the first time in a writing class, I found essays on friendship interesting.

Frazier's sense of humor leavens his troubling reflections on the roles evil and envy play in the terribly sad history of the Sioux, in particular, and Native Americans in general. The evil is the political and social history, the poverty, the drug abuse, and the envy is just envy.

The other important relationship for Frazier in the book is with someone he never met, but only discovered through his research on the reservation: SuAnne Big Crow. She was a wonderful high school basketball star who brought Pine Ridge a glorious state championship. She died in 1992 in a car crash at the age of seventeen.

> When SuAnne talked about the reservation, people recall, she sometimes used the metaphor of the basket of crabs. It's a common metaphor on Pine Ridge. She said that the reservation is like a bunch of crabs reaching and struggling to get out of the bottom of a basket, and whenever one of them manages to get a hold and pull himself up the side, the other crabs in their reaching and struggling grab him and pull him back down. The metaphor could apply, no doubt, to many places nearly as poor and lacking in opportunity as Pine Ridge.

Some of my students attested to the truth of this metaphor back where they came from, but what makes this image resonate so powerfully in *On the Rez* is that Le is one of those who tries to pull SuAnne back down. "My interest in SuAnne, when I mentioned it to him," writes Frazier, "seemed to make him morose and sour." And then, one day, Le badmouths her, scrawling across the portrait Frazier had mentally painted of her, leaving Frazier "depressed." Frazier soon runs into Le's "source" for the slander and discovers that Le, apparently out of jealousy and envy, made it up.

And there we had another big pothole on the road of friendship to discuss.

Bob Blaisdell
Kingsborough Community College
City University of New York

News for Educational Workers

EDUCATION AND PRISONS

A new report shows that during the 1980s and 1990s, state spending on corrections grew at six times the rate of state spending on higher education, and by the close of the millennium, there were nearly a third more African American men in prison and jail than in universities or colleges. To read the full report, go to **www.justicepolicy.org**. (U.S. Newswire, August 22, 2002)

Another study for the Education Department found that "22 percent of inmates in three states who took vocational, high school or college classes in prison were back behind bars three years after their release, compared to 31 percent of those who did not." An Open Society Institute study said that classes have even greater benefits for women prisoners. (*The New York Times*, November 18, 2001)

RACE AND EDUCATION

According to a new report in the *Washington Post*, 50 years after state-sponsored segregation was outlawed, public schools are increasingly divided

by race, even as minority populations increase nationwide. To view the entire article, go to **www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A62702-2002Aug9.html**.

In a Symposium on Racism, Manning Marable states, "The great challenge of the twenty-first century... is the challenge of abolishing American apartheid, root and branch, and creating a genuinely non-racial, pluralistic democracy, a free and fair society with opportunity and justice for all." Marable goes on to trace the results of this apartheid to a monstrous prison system that drains the finances necessary for true equity in our society. (**portside@yahoogroups.com**, August 5, 2002)

In *The Black World Today* (July 25, 2002), Manning Marable writes about diversity as a central theme in American higher education over the past twenty years and praises the efforts made by most universities and colleges to diversify their courses, administrative personnel and faculty. Marable wishes that the positive statistics about greater access for women also applied to African Americans.

VOUCHERS AND CHARTER SCHOOLS

The Supreme Court finished its 2001 term with the most important ruling in many years on religion in the schools, upholding the constitutionality of taxpayer-financed vouchers for parochial school tuition. The ACLU says for the first time in history the Court has approved the transfer of millions of dollars in taxpayer money for religious education. In addition, the Court struck another blow against public education by ruling that public school students who participate in extracurricular activities can be subject to random drug testing. Since extracurricular activities help prevent drug use among students, the Court's decision has set up barriers to these positive activities. (ACLU Online, July 3, 2002)

For responses to the Supreme Court decision on vouchers, read "Vouchers: a Shift, but Just How Big?" and "Win the Debate, Not Just the Case" (*The New York Times*, June 30, 2002 and July 14, 2002). Congressman Jesse L. Jackson Jr. has called this 5-4 ruling declaring school vouchers constitutional "the worst decision in the last 50 years involving church/state issues. It's a sad day for America." Jackson has proposed an amendment (H.J. Res. 31) that guarantees every student a public education of equal high quality. (Statement made by Jackson on June 27, 2002)

The first independent study of charter school performance across the nation found that charter school students are scoring significantly below public school pupils in basic reading and math skills. Fifty-nine percent of students at traditional public schools scored better than charter school students during the period studied. (Associated Press, September 3, 2002)

CUBA

Cuba hosted 21 American students from July 15 to August 14, 2002. Sponsored by the Interlocken International Camp, the exchange had students meet with their Cuban hosts, practice language skills, learn Latin dances, discuss differences between capitalistic and socialist economies, do community service projects, and visit cultural sites like a tobacco factory and the famous Bay of Pigs. A documentary film of the interaction between Cubans and American students was made during the visit, with students involved in all aspects of film production. For more information, contact **mail@interlocken.org**.

Cuban Social Work education is on the rise in response to the major socioeconomic problems developed in Cuba in the 1990s that require new and comprehensive solutions. The collapse of the former Soviet Union and its subsequent withdrawal of economic assistance to Cuba, the tightening of the U.S. embargo and Cuba's increased participation in the global economy have created disparities for Cubans. Those Cubans most affected by the worsening economic conditions, such as the disabled, prisoners, pregnant teenagers and single mothers, senior citizens, children, and an increasing number of out-of-school and unemployed youth, have become the priority for outreach and development in the new social work projects. (*Social Work Today*, September, 2002, **www.socialworktoday.com/socialworktoday.asp**)

The Disarm Education Fund, in a special report from Edward Asner, states that the end of the Cuban embargo may be near and funds are needed to push toward that end. To contribute or for more information, call 212-979-1583, or go to **www.disarm.org**.

STUDENT ACTIVISM AND PROTEST

Students from both high schools and universities are joining faculty to walk off campus to protest proposed budget cuts. On April 30, 2002 thousands of students from New York City high schools walked out to join The City of New York (CUNY) college students to stop the proposed budget cuts at their institutions. On September 5, 2002, thousands of professors and other employees at University of Massachusetts at Amherst walked off their jobs for a half hour break to protest state cuts to higher education and freezes on their salaries. (The Associated Press, September 6, 2002)

Americans for Victory Over Terrorism, a conservative group led by William Bennett, sponsored a poll of 634 students from 96 four-year colleges. The responses revealed that 37 percent of U.S. college students would try to evade a draft if one were enacted. An impressive 60 percent of students "agreed that developing an understanding of the values of history of other cultures and nations is a better way to prevent terrorism than investing in strong military and defense capabilities." (*The Miami Herald*, June 21, 2002, **www.miami.com**)

In his review of Liza Featherstone's *Students Against Sweatshops* (London and New York: Verso, 2002), Michael Yates reviews several factors helping to explain the origins and development of the anti-sweatshop movement: the exposure of working conditions in the subcontracted plants of high profile companies like Nike; the organization of sweatshop workers themselves; significant changes in U.S. labor; and as Featherstone stresses, the colleges and universities of future activists had become thoroughly corporatized. The first four chapters focus on the back-

ground of the formation of the United Students Against Sweatshops, its initial successes, its growing understanding of and struggle against the corporate university, and the backlash as soon as the groups began to have a real impact on the way corporate America does business. The book also discusses important problems of race and gender in USAS. While racial tensions have existed, gender has been a less divisive issue. (**www.monthlyreview.org/0902yates.htm**)

United Students Against Sweatshops consciously encourages women leaders and challenges gender issues as part of its work. Women leaders are actively recruited and trained and make up a majority of the group's leadership. (*In These Times*, July 22, 2002)

President Bush spoke at Ohio State University's commencement ceremony on June 14, 2002. The graduates planned a protest where they would turn their backs on Bush while he was speaking. At the start of the ceremony, potential protesters were warned that they would be denied their diploma and would be arrested if they turned their backs. Everybody was encouraged to applaud Bush and give him a standing ovation.

In scores of interviews at 10 universities around the country during the week of September 29, 2002, anti-war sentiment made up the plurality of student opinions. The largest number of students interviewed "were skeptical, overtly cynical or downright hostile to the administration's determination to oust Hussein." (*Washington Post*, September 29, 2002, **www.washingtonpost.com**). Stay tuned to News for Educational Workers as the student protests build.

Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR), a Cambridge, Massachusetts group whose mission is to help young people "develop the convictions and skills to shape a safe, sustainable, democratic and just world," continues to spread its idea that social and emotional learning is as important as subject mastery. ESR's peacemaking lesson plans and readings have proven popular. Within weeks after 9/11, ESR's website (**www.esrnational.org**) posted numerous progressive teaching aids for teachers and a discussion guide for parents. ESR's hallmark is its day-to-day presence in schools, focusing on conflict resolution, violence in the schools, and discussions of race, class, and sexual orientation. (*In These Times*, June 24, 2000)

CORPORATE EDUCATION

With the growth of testing and standardized high school curricula, foundations and corporations will offer an even greater "free-market" bias to students. High school economics courses were first introduced into the schools in the 1970s and 1980s, and corporations and non-profit organizations often worked together to provide supplementary readings, classroom activities, and most recently, websites. Organizations like Junior Achievement claim to reach four million students every year with its "free enterprise message of hope and opportunity." The Foundation for Teaching Economics (FTE) joined Junior Achievement in 1975 offering one-sided, pro-market messages to students and teachers. The National Council on Economic Education (NCEE) has become the largest provider of economics curriculum materials for K-12. In 1994, after Congress mandated economics as one of the nine core subjects for which national standards should be developed, the U.S. Department of Education designated NCEE, with the assistance of FTE, to produce the Voluntary Content Standards, a list of 20 standards and accompanying teaching strategies guaranteed to provide an increasingly one-sided indoctrination in a "free market" ideology. (*Dollars and Sense*, May/June 2002)

For a critique of Christopher Whittle's Channel One, and its metamorphosis into the Edison Schools, see the *Boston Globe*, June 14, 2002. For a history of Edison and its recent plunge in the stock market (from $38 a share to $1 a share), see *CorpWatch*, June 20, 2002. "Edison's economic troubles raise renewed questions about the wisdom of turning public schools over to for-profit corporations — and could pose a major setback for the school privatization movement." (**www.corpwatch.org**)

A federal advisory board recently reported that a shortfall in federal and state grants, along with rising tuition charges, would keep more than 400,000 qualified high school students from attending and 170,000 college students from returning to college in the fall of 2002. (*Boston Globe*, June 27, 2002)

LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, TRANSGENDER STUDENTS

The Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network (GLSEN) envisions a future in which every child learns to respect and accept all people, regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity/expression. GLSEN's Teaching Respect for All 2002 conference was held in Los Angeles from October 4-6. The Fall 2002 issue of *Respect*, GLSEN's news magazine, starts the school year off with a new, three-year strategic plan to 1. make anti-LGBT bullying, harassment, and name-calling unacceptable in America's schools; 2. engage and empower educators as partners in creating schools where every student can fully participate in school life regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity/expression; and 3. ensure that the national education agenda to create effective schools includes LGBT issues. The GLSEN BookLink 2002 offers the highest quality resources for students, educators, families and community allies working to end anti-LGBT bias in K-12 schools. To join GLSEN, call 212-727-0135 or visit **www.glsen.org**.

Gay seminary students joined forces in "Called Out," the 11th national conference for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and allied seminarians, held from March 15-17 at McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago.

CLAGSnews (Summer 2002), from The Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies, The Graduate Center, The City University of New York, offers information about fellowships in Queer Studies, suggestions for pedagogy, a calendar of CLAGS events, and reports on CLAGS colloquia. For more information about CLAGS, call 212-817-1955 or visit **www.clags.org**.

SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS

SOA Watch Update (Summer 2002) provides information about the November 15-17 mobilization for the closing of the SOA in Fort Benning, Georgia. The Update features an article on the coup against President Chavez of

Venezuela, saying that two SOA graduates were key players in the arrest of Chavez by the armed forces. The legacy of the "School of Coups" continues.

A "FREE" INTERNET

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology has taken a "free for all" approach to the Internet. While many other colleges and universities have launched online degree courses that cost money, MIT has taken a completely different direction with a project called OpenCourseWare (OCW). There will be no online degrees for sale, but thousands of pages of information available to anyone on the Internet. OCW hopes to start nothing short of a revolution in education. (**http://news.bbc.co.uk/technology/2270648.stm**)

RESOURCES

Occupation, a film about the Harvard Living Wage Campaign's Sit-in, makes use of student footage shot before and during the sit-in as well as news coverage, archival footage, and worker portraits. *Occupation* follows the story of the longest sit-in in Harvard history. To find out more about the film, visit **www.enmassefilms.org**.

Rethinking Schools: An Urban Education Resource announces a special reprint of its anthology, "War, Terrorism and Our Classrooms: Teaching in the Aftermath of the September 11 Tragedy" for the one-year anniversary of the September 11 attacks. This 28-page report, including new pieces on "Images of War," "Teaching about September 11," "Poetry in a Time of Crisis," and "Terrorism and Globalization" is free online at **www.rethinkingschools.org/sept11**. For printed copies, call 414-964-9646.

Brian Burch's revised 4th edition of *Resources for Radicals* is an annotated bibliography of print resources for those involved in movements for social transformation. Many of the new resources focus on globalization, pacifism, co-operatives, masculinity and violence, the roots of the Middle East conflict, and consensus decision-making. The price, including postage and handling, is $12 Canadian, $13 U.S., and $15 for the rest of the world (U.S. funds) and can be ordered from Toronto Action for Social Change, P.O. Box 73620, 509 St. Clair Ave. West, Toronto, Canada, M6C 1C0, 416-651-5800.

The Ecumenical Program on Central America and the Caribbean (EPICA) has a Summer and Fall 2002 Sale catalog of Central American and Caribbean political history and literature in both Spanish and English. To receive the catalog, call 202-332-0999 or visit **www.epica.org**.

Teaching for Change: Best K-College Resources on Equity and Social Justice is an online catalog offering alternative perspectives on current events in the news through links to articles and other sites. **www.teachingforchange.org**.

CONTRIBUTORS' NOTES

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Professors of education speak out for quality schools, peace, and global justice

We teach and research education in U.S. colleges and universities. Our commitment to improve schools compels us to speak out for a dramatically different governmental response to terrorism.

All citizens, parents, and children deserve well-maintained, safe, nurturing schools, staffed by caring, conscientious teachers. Events of the past year leave no doubt that money spent on the war on terrorism is reducing government intervention to improve schools to a rhetorical flourish that we will "leave no child behind." Children who have long been ill-served by public education are enduring the most brutal effects of cutbacks to their schools, most especially in our nation's cities. Children who need psychological and social services are turned away by overburdened agencies; school facilities are unsafe; classes are often staffed by new teachers with no preparation and little support.

Some politicians say that we all have to make sacrifices to be sure we are safe, but the cost is falling disproportionately on poor and working people. We are told that defense of our freedom calls for suspension of many civil liberties and acceptance of frightening breaches of democratic rights, like torture and secret tribunals. Other politicians maintain that we can fund school improvement at the same time that we conduct expensive military operations and buy a new missile system. However, the struggles over school funding being waged in almost every state show that as long as our national politics stays riveted on combating terrorism through war and military muscle, rather than through fundamental change of our foreign policy, our schools and children will pay a steep price. What is unforgivable is that money being spent on new arms and defense will not produce the safety and security we want for ourselves and our children. Our present national policies starve our schools of resources but also fail to arrest the growing poverty and despair internationally that encourage violent acts of desperation, like terrorism.

There IS an alternative to the war on terrorism that deserts our children: Foreign and domestic policies that support peace and global justice. The best way to "leave no child behind" is to halt our government's military and political support for regimes that lock their people in poverty and deny the right of self-determination to others. We need to end our government's support for the unbridled exercise of power by multinational corporations that impoverishes much of the globe. The international movement for global justice points the way to a more effective solution to our security worries: domestic investment in social services to rebuild communities and an end to the "race to the bottom" in wages and benefits that exploits working people in this country, pitting them against workers in under-developed nations.

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