Kozol, Jonathan. Savage Inequalities: Children in America’s Schools. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc. 1991

**Introduction: Looking Backward-1964—1991:** Began 1964—(Boston) segregated school overcrowded poor classroom 4th, no books, so he taught them a poem by Langston Hughes,-wasn’t approved (BOE)-- fired. After, taught suburban system west of Boston, richer- stayed many years until--decided to write poor districts. Urban schools he visited were 90% minority, were filthy and in disrepair. Restructuring schools meant moving around furniture, they were unhappy places. Garrisons, in a foreign nation, housing projects, bleak and tall, walls lined with barbed wire adjacent to schools. **No white people anywhere.** (7) **Chapter 1: Life on the Mississippi: East St. Louis, Illinois**: 98%black-no trash services caused plague of flies, few jobs, 75% population lived on welfare, and one-third of families lived on less than $7,500 a year. Highest rates of child asthma in U.S.(8) newspaper described the town as America’s Soweto, rats as big as puppies. Railroads chemicals spills on the streets into the water supply. **East St. Louis--the heart of the American Bottoms**—**the floodplain on the east side of the Mississippi River opposite of St. Louis, was all black.** **To the east of East St. Louis is the Illinois Bluffs which was White.** Bluffs-people want the segregation to continue. Down the road of Sugar Ditch is also black which have **shacks with open sewers—caused liver tumors in children,** exposure to raw sewage on the playgrounds of housing projects & tainted water caused hair loss of children. (It is a well-known face that sewage systems separate the U.S. from the third world). Arsenic, mercury and lead are in the soil. (10) Steroids dumped in the stockyards got in the water, Lead poisoning from the paint in housing. Factories are gone- children play there now. (14) **Jefferson school is a decrepit hulk.** (15) Four of five births are to single mothers. Men go prison, military, early death. (16) **Chemical plants do NOT pay taxes**. **Lottery is advertised to blacks.** **The city itself is full of bars and liquor stores** ***(16) Assemble all the worst things in America—gambling, liquor, cigarettes, and toxic fumes, sewage, waste disposal prostitution—put it all together then dump it on black people—17that is east St. Louis.***  **Nobody has clout to protest, (**18). Jesse Jackson arrived to make a speech and all he could do was cry. ***Biggest business is public education, then Pfizer plant, then the drug trade.The one pedestrian bridge to St.Louis was blocked off to the townspeople. It has the sickest kids in America*.** **(20)Ranks first in fetal death, first in premature death and third in infant death**.**(23) Problems of the streets in urban areas spill into public schools**. The school has to be shut down because of fumes and backed up toilets. Sewage flowed into the basement., students’ bathrooms and into the kitchen. (24) It was the same week the district laid off 280 teachers. **The governor said that “There is money in the community, it is just not being spent for what is should be spent for”** (25) **The chairman of the state board said “East St. Louis is simply the worst possible place I can imagine to have a child brought up** Texts are scarce. **(29)A diploma from a ghetto school doesn’t count for much in the U.S.”** **31. Two things, race and money go so close together.**  **“if the government would put a huge amount of money into East St. Louis, so that this could be a modern well-equipped and top-rate school**, **Mr. Sam Morgan is the Principal of East St. Louis High School—office was ruined by fire,** heating system failures, no talk of theories, he says he needs money. His focus Is on the bare necessities. His house was robbed (33) Many unsupervised classes. Dr. Lillian Parks, superintendent of East St. Louis schools, **“Gifted children are everywhere in East St. Louis, but their gifts are lost to poverty.** **There is no sense of belonging.** Gangs provide the boys with something to look forward to. (37) **“the crumbling infrastructure uses up a great deal more of the per-pupil budget**, **critics ignore the health conditions, and the psychological disarray of children growing upon burn-out housing, playing on contaminated land, and walking past acres of smoldering garbage on their way to school. 38 dramatic cuts in personnel the basic evil is racial isolation. With more efficient local governance, East St. Louis might become a better managed ghetto, a less ravaged racial settlement but the soil would remain contaminated, schools still resemble relics of the old south. 39. The children would still be poisoned in their bodies and disfigured in their spirits.** **No one proposes busing these impoverished and isolated children to nearby Bellevue,** Fairview Heights, and **no one intends to force these towns to open up their neighborhoods to racially desegregated and low-income housing**. ***So there is no exit for these children. East St. Louis a scar-an ugly metaphor of filth and overspill and chemical effusions, a place for blacks to live and die within, a place for other people to avoid when they are heading for St.Louis.***  **Chapter 2: Other People’s Children: North Lawndale and the South Side of Chicago:** ***What do Americans believe about Equality?*** Before your eyes are block after block of old abandoned factories. (41)Overwhelming sensation of emptiness. This industrial slum without the industry is **North Lawndale**, Martin Luther King lived here. (42) 58% unemployment. As the factories moved out the street gangs moved in. A broken truck occupies where Dr. King used to live and next door is a liquor store. 43 **Mary McCleod principal Bethune School in North Lawndale**. The school, poorest, neighborhoods has death rate is 1,000 infants each year. 3,000 more infants with brain damage or other neurological impairment. Learning environment is (technical school) (45) the children recite baa baa black sheep where the master is white and the sheep are black. **Manley High school enormous** ugly building a few blocks away 38% graduation rate. “The parents know what’s going on. “They’re satisfied.” “money is not the problem, the parents are the problem.” **(47) the city runs a parallel system of selective schools, Magnet** **schools --**47”these schools, no staffing problems; administration can pick their teachers and their pupil. (48)Ms. Hawkins’ classroom is teaching 3 things; self motivation, self-esteem, and “you help your brother and sister.” 51**. The rationale behind much of this writing is that pedagogic problems in our cities are not chiefly matters of injustice, inequality, or segregation, but of insufficient information about teaching strategies.** If we could simply learn “what works” in Corla Hawkins’ room, we’d then be in a position to repeat this all over Chicago and in every other system. But what is unique in Mrs. Hawkins’s classroom is not what she does, but who she is. Warmth and humor and contagious energy cannot be replicated and cannot be written into any standardized curriculum**. *“The problems are systemic.”*  Many classrooms come to school to find they have no teacher. The number of children who have no teacher. The shortage of teachers is parallel to shortage of supplies.** **(52)Many of these schools make little effort to instruct their failing students.”“this degree of equanimity in failure, critics note, has led most affluent parents in Chicago to avoid the public system altogether.””nobody in his right mind, says one of the city’s aldermen, would send his kids to public school.” Many suburban legislators representing affluent school districts use terms such as “sinkhole” when opposing funding for Chicago’s children. “We can’t keep throwing money into a black hole,” says Governor Thompson in 1988.” The Chicago Tribune notes that when this phrase is used, people hasten to explain that it is not intended as a slur against the race of many of Chicago’s children. “But race, is never far from the surface.” (54) In 1989, Chicago spent some 5,500 dollars for each student in its secondary schools. Compared to 8,500-9,000dollars in each high school in the highest-spending suburbs to the north. (in simple terms, HS class of 30 children in Chicago received 90,000 dollars LESS each year than would have been spent on them if they were pupils of a school such as New Trier High School. (54) “When relative student needs, however, have been factored into the discussion, the disparities in funding are enormous.\**Equity does not mean equal funding. “Equal funding for unequal needs is not equality.”*The need is greater in Chicago, and its children, if they are the have approximately equal opportunities, need more than the children who attend New Trier. Seen in this light, the 90,000 dollars annual difference is quite startling. “Lack Of Money is Not The Only Problem, but the gulf of funding is so remarkable and blatantly unfair that it strikes many thoughtful citizens as inexplicable**. ***How can it be that inequalities as great as these exist?”* (54) the answer is in the arcane machinery by which we finance public education**. **public schools depend for initial funding on tax-- local property, “which advances inequality.** (***There are also state and federal funding sources). The property tax depends upon the taxable value of one’s home and that of local industries.” Wealthy home 400,000 (55) dollars, draws upon a larger tax base in proportion to its student population than a city occupied by thousands of poor people. Poor communities place high priority on education, and tax themselves at higher rates than do the very affluent communities. But, even if they tax themselves higher rate than rich districts, they end up with less money for each child. The property tax is counted as a tax deduction by the federal government, home-owners rich area get back a substantial portion of the money that they spend to fund their children schools-effectively, “a federal subsidy for an unequal education.”Home-owners in poor districts get this subsidy as well, but, because their total tax is less, the subsidy is less. The mortgage interest that home-owners pay is-- tax deduction, a second federal subsidy. (1). 1984-propety tax deductions 9 billion. 23billion more mortgage-interest deductions were provided (2).Federal grants to local schools totaled only 7 billion in contrast, and only a part of this were earmarked for poor districts. (3)Federal policy, increased the existing gulf between the richest and the poorest schools, public health expenditures, sanitation, etc***. (56) one parent said, “Life isn’t fair.” Wealthy children also go to summer camp, go to Europe, and have the access to good libraries, encyclopedias, computers, better doctors, nicer homes, some of my neighbors Is government suppose to equalize these things as *-- All these disparities are heightened in larger cities like Chicago, New York, by the disproportionate number of entirely tax-free institutions—colleges, hospitals, art museums that are sited in larger cities. In cities 30% of these institutions are tax-exempt compared to 3% in adjacent suburbs. Cities like Chicago face the added problem of overly large portion of their limited tax revenues must be diverted to meet nonschool costs that wealthy suburbs do not face. Fire department,* well? **“Thus the state, by requiring attendance but refusing to require equity, effectively requires inequality.” Compulsory inequity, perpetuated by state law, too frequently condemns our children to unequal lives.”State contributions represented approximately half of local school expenditures in the U.S. although intended to make up for local wealth disparities,** (57) **(Total yearly spending-local funds combined with state assistance and the small amount that comes from federal government or Washington—ranges today in Illinois from $2,100 dollars on a child in the poorest district to about 10,000 dollars in the richest.”). “the system, writes John Coons, a professor at law at Berkeley University, “bears the appearance of calculated unfairness**.” (**57)There is a belief that poor children and particularly black children should not hear too much about these matters. If they learn how much less they are getting than rich children, we are told, this knowledge may induce them to regard themselves as “victims,” and such “victim-thinking,” it is argued, may then undermine their capability to profit from whatever opportunities may actually exist.** **But this is a matter of psychology-or strategy—and adolescents in the poorest neighborhoods learn very soon that they are getting less than children in the wealthier school districts.**  **They see suburb and schools on television and they see them when they travel for athletic competitions.** ***(58) reading levels are the lowest in the poorest schools.60 “This is the case because the system rests on the initiative of parents. The poorest parents often the products of inferior education, lack the information access and the skills of navigation in an often hostile and intimidating situation to channel their children to the better schools, obtain the applications, and help them to get ready for the necessary tests and then persuade their elementary schools to recommend them.*** “So, even in poor black neighborhoods, it tends to be children of the less poor and the better educated ho are likely to break through the obstacles and win admission.” **The system has the surface aspects of a meritocracy, but merit in this case “is predetermined by conditions to class and race**. **“the survival of the fittest. is more accurate to call it the survival of children of the fittest or of the most favored.”** Similar systems exist in every major city. They are defended stoutly by those who succeed in getting into selective schools. The parallel system extends to elementary schools as well. A recent conflict in one such school illustrates the way the system pits the middle class against the poor. **Dearborn Park** attracted a number of young professionals, whom were fairly affluent what people, who asked the school board to erect a new school for their children. This request was honored and the South Loop Elementary School was soon constructed. **Who would go to the new school? 61-there was an effort to keep out kids who live in the neighborhood points up the class and racial factors, children in the neighborhood finding them excluded from the new school?” The Dearborn parents have the political power to obtain agreement from the Board of Education to enter their children but to keep the Hilliard out until the 3rd grade—but large numbers of these poorer children will be at a disadvantage and will find it hard to keep up with the children who were there since kindergarten. “These Dearborn parents saw the Hilliard children as a tide of mediocrity that threatened to engulf them.” They are prepared to see the poorer children get their schooling in a junkyard rather than admit them to the beautiful new school erected for their own kids. This illustrates the problem of choice (Bush) if the children of the Hilliard project are successful the poor, black children are not wanted.** **School boards think that if they offer the same printed information to all parents, they have made choice equally accessible. That is not true** because the **printed information won’t be read, or will NOT be scrutinized aggressively, by parents who cannot read or who read very poorly.” People can only choose among the things they’ve heard of.” That is one problem that a “choice plan must confront. But it is no less true that they can only choose the things they think they have a right to and the things they reason to believe they will receive. People who have forever been turned down by neighborhoods where they have looked for housing and by hospitals where they have looked for care when they were ill are not likely hopeful expectations when it comes to public schools. 6(2) the White House, in advancing the agenda for a “choice” plan rests its faith on market mechanisms. What reason have the black and very poor to lend their credence to a market system that has proved so obdurate? Placing the burden on the individual to break down doors in finding better education for a child is attractive to conservatives because it reaffirms their faith in individual ambition and autonomy.** Poor people are at a disadvantage in that most do not impose upon the system to give them their due. **(63)Choice plans White House has proposed threaten to compound the present fact of racial segregation with the added injury of caste discrimination,** further isolating them putting them into places that nobody would choose if they had any choice at all.”(63) **Goudy elementary school**—**slow readers, 15 yr. old textbooks**, 64 have to ration crayons, pencils, writing paper, 39 overage, unmotivated 6th and 7th grade students it is a class of “academically deficient children.” “teacher does not know how to teach no custodians, no music, are, drama(65) **New Trier school-rich 27 acres of land,** superior chemistry labs, new up-to-date technology, 3 separate gyms, well equipped building, which is immaculately maintained by 48 custodians. **“this is a school with a lot of choices of New Trier, in music, art, and drams are so varied and abundant that students can major (66) in different courses of study. Many elective courses. Low class size. Du Sable school has a guidance counselor for every 420 students. the ambience at New Trier is wholesome and refreshing. “it is a preppy kind of place, in a cheerful photo of the faculty and students; one cannot discern a single nonwhite face. 1.3% black only in the wealth of geographical district provides 340,000 worth of taxable property for each child, “family’s move here “seeking the best,” and their children “make good use of what they’re given.”(67) the parents of New Trier high schools vote consistently against redistribution of school funding. 9-to-1 suburban residents resist all efforts to provide more money for schools. (72)”It took an extraordinary combination of greed, racism, political cowardice and public apathy,” writes James D. Squires, former editor of the Chicago tribune, “to let the public schools as a costly result of the “political orphaning of the urban poor…daytime warehouses for inferior students a bottomless pit.” (72)”we are creating an entire generation of incompetents,” a black sociologist observes, “her kids will fail.” 74 the focus in this book is describing classrooms in which almost all the children are black or Latino. But there are also poor and mainly white suburban districts, and, of course, some desperately poor and very isolated rural districts. Though the nature of the poverty in rural schools is often somewhat different. The most important difference in the urban systems, I (Kozol) believe, is that they are often just adjacent to the nations;;s richest dist4icts, and this ever-present contrast adds a heightened bitterness to the experience of children. The ugliness of racial segregation adds its special injuries as well. It is the killing rendering life within these urban schools not merely grim but also desperate and often pathological. The fact of destitution is compounded by the sense of being viewed as somehow, morally infected.** **The poorest rural schools feel simply bleak. The segregated urban schools feel more like lazarettos.”** 74 Investment strategies, using this logic where emphasis of certain business-minded authors urges us to settle for “realistic” goals, by which they mean limited career objectives that seem logical or fitting for low-income children. Urban schools should dispense with “frills” and focus on the basics needed for employment.” Investment strategies should be matched to the economic value of each person. Future service workers need a lower order of investment than the to be corporate executives, lawyers, engineers, future plumbers and future scientists require different schooling and different schools segregated education is not so unattractive. **(75) sheer efficiency and cost-benefit considerations, it is a sensible approach to education.** “one cannot dispute the fact that giving poor blacks job skills, if it’s self-evident that they do not posses academic skills to go to college.” First, “let’s be pragmatic and do with them what we can.” **What does money buy for children in Chicago’s suburbs? Wealthiest districts buys scholarly instruction from good teachers, thoughtful counseling, extra-curricular activities, 60,000 volumes in good libraries (13,000poor districts).(77)Even accepting that you get less for your money’ with poorer children, this doesn’t mean money Is the main difference? poor districts can absorb only the most rudimentary and “inexpensive “instruction**. **True, equal opportunity across the board” will not…“produce equality” in school performance, still, it doesn’t force a losing baseball team to play with seven men.”** When complaints of poor children or their advocates raise their voices to protest the rigging of the game, **they ask initially for things that seem like fairly obvious improvements: larger library collections, reduction in class sizes, (78) but 1988 Chicago’s more responsive leaders told the press 100 million to begin to this. Efforts to improve a school by lowering its class size, Chester Finn, would be a “costly waste of money.” Reducing class size is “not a very prudent investment strategy, who sent his daughter to Exeter, (class size is 13) If money and class size did not matter, then what other changes might be helpful to the city’s poorest children?** (it is also fair to ask what rule it is that says poor children has to choose between a glass of milk at 3 or at 7 what choice is that. There should be enough resources for children to drink milk at every age. One would not have to choose between a teacher or a playground or sufficient toilet paper. Like grain in a time of famine, the immense resources which the nation does in go not the other child in the greatest need but to the child of highest bid. (80) a caste society violates the style of American democracy…the nation if effect does not have a truly public system in a large part of it communities; it had permitted what is in effect a private school system to develop under public auspices. Equality of educational opportunity throughout the nation continued today for many to b more of a myth than a reality.” “you don’t dump a lot of money in to guys who haven’t done well with the money they’ve got in the past, **you don’t rearrange deck chairs on the Titanic** (people on the bus)(81) certain realities-like race and class and caste-are there and they remain. Notion that such private-sector boosterism offers a solution to the miseries of education for poor children not readily accepted by some parents in Chicago who have seen what private-sector forces have done in housing, employment, medical provision for the children. (82) **Poor black people have had no real choice. Successful blacks** frame their language carefully to win the backing other business partners. Therefore, a new generation of black urban school officials has been groomed to settle for a better version of unequal segregated education.

***Chapter 3 The Savage Inequalities of Public Education in New York. 83-132: 83****,*  Denial of “the means of competition” is perhaps the single most consistent outcome of the education offered to poor children in the schools of our large cities” Average expenditures per pupil in NYC in 1987 were 5500 –highest spending suburbs of NY (Great Neck or Manhasset –11,000 –highest in the state, 15000. “Why asks the city’s BOE, “should our students receive less than do similar students who live elsewhere?” (84) **THE INEQUITY IS CLEAR. BUT the SAME BOE which perceives so clearly the inequities of funding between separate towns and cities “is perpetuating similar inequities right in NY.”** District 10 encompasses a large part of the Bronx but is effectively, two separate districts. In Riverdale**, PS 24 (wealthy-- ) principal is enthusiastic about his teaching staff, the other, ps. 79 is poor and heavily nonwhite. Principal says he is forced to take the “tenth-best teachers. BOE in District 10 gave equal number of computers to each school, even thought 24 had fewer classes and double the computers. But BOE said. “what is fair is what is determined…to be fair.”** District 10 superintendent, Fred Golberg commented, **“Every effort is made to distribute (85) resources equally some poorer schools need to use funds earmarked for computers to buy basic supplies like pens and paper. When questions about differences in physical appearances between the richer and the poorer schools, he says, “I think it’ demographics.” These are kids most in need, and they get the worst teachers. PS261 in District 10**: the school is a former roller-skating rink. No sign identifies the building as a school, no flag, heavy traffic fills the street, and existence of the school is concealed by the crowded city block. Beyond the inner door a guard is seated. **Lobby is long and narrow, ceiling is low, no windows, teachers are middle-aged and white**, Overcrowding. High teacher-student ratio. (86)textbooks are scarce, facilities are decrepit. (87)library is tiny, windowless Only 700 books, few computers. No air ducts, lack of air. (88) another elementary school **ps. 79:** no librarian, no gym classes, 29%black and 70% Hispanic. **So space in distinct.** **(89)The SCHOOL TRACKS KJIDS BY ABILITY**. (90) James Carter, Principal, says, **“Many parents do care and they do try, but there’s a feeling of despair. The parents of these children want the same things for their children that the parents in the suburbs want. Drugs are not the cause of this. They are the symptom. Nonetheless, they’re used by people in the suburbs and rich people in Manhattan another reason to keep children of poor people at a distance.”** **I simply do not see white folks in Riverdale agreeing to cross-bus with kids like these.”** Kozol asks if race is the decisive factor. I observe, believe that *wealth is more important than inequalities.”* One of the teachers says, ***“We are handicapped by scarcity.”*** (92) ***In PS 24 (elementary school)great landscape. There is a playground with innovative jungle gym. Grass is neatly trimmed. Neighborhood around the school is expensive and quite beautiful. (93)The excellence of PS24 according to the principal, David Rothstein, adds to the value of these homes. PS24 had half of students than in ps79. Library has 7,000 books. Integration in the school, but segregation in the classrooms,* blacks and Hispanics go to different classes. Majority are assigned to “special” classes on basis of evaluations.** The **school is really two separate schools.** instruction of higher-order thinking skills— one class-9 white and 1 Asian no blacks. Library has 8,000 books. **Unlike poorer district 10 PS24 can draw on educated parents** volunteers **A parent organization also raises independent funds to buy materials, including books.**(95)–back in school-window shades are clean, sink and computer in each class, children have in-class research areas that holds up-to-date resources. **Special education classes are mostly blacks and learn woodworking and to puck in time cards, because they are being prepared for employment.**” **Regular education classes are mostly whites**. P**roblems,--more than one good answer, We need to learn not simply to be logical in our own thinking but to show respect for someone else’s logic.”** (97) one teacher said **these kids are part of an upwardly mobile group, “they have exposure to whatever New York City has available. Their parents may take them to the theater, to museums,…” (98) Principal is asked what makes a good school. The building and teachers are part of it, “But is just them. “Our kids come from good families and the neighborhood is good.(98)“Some of the most stunning inequality, (by community service society) derives from allocations from state legislators to schools districts who get 90 cents per pupil while the riches districts have been given 14 dollars for each pupil.”** The report cites a **New York city BOE who remarks that there (99) is “no point” in putting further money “into some poor districts” because new teachers would not stay there**.” **But the report observes that, in instances where beginning teacher salaries were raised by nearly half, “that problem largely disappeared.” (another way where money makes a difference). The report said that “a perception that the poorest districts are beyond help still remains,…the worst result of such beliefs is the** *message that resources would be “wasted on poor children.” Their message “trickles down to districts schools, and classrooms.”* **Children hear and understand that they are poor investments—and behave accordingly.** The report concluded that ***“those who allocate resources make decisions over and over again which penalize the poorest districts***.” **Analysis of City policy, “speaks to systemic bias which constitutes a conspiracy of effect.** **Morris High School in the Bronx**—blackboards are cracked, paint covers classrooms like snow,(100)“ **landscape of hopelessness.” Burnt-out apartment boarded windows, vacant lot upon garbage-strewn vacant lot-surrounds the school.” “School looks like a medieval castle**. **(101)Too many schools are striping down curriculum to meet the pressure for success on tests that measure only minimal skills.” (107) Schools like Morris High, in contrast, tend to be “most overcrowded, and have “the highest dropout rates” and lowest scores.”** The Times writes that these better-funded schools should not be “the preserve unfairly chosen elite**.” Yet, they are intended to be enclaves of superior education, private schools essentially, within the public system. The gerrymandered zoning and the high school selection processes,. (Jackson-poor, nonwhite, non-elect H.S), creates a citywide skimming policy that we compare to orange juice—our black youngsters are being treated like the sediment. The city is “not shaking the juice right.”**  **Some are simply “oblivious” to the situation**. (***109)Nathan Glazer (sociologist) is a defender of selective school*** **system- “While recognizing the potential for inequity, he says, “I would argue that nowhere do we get so much for so little….than where we bring together the gifted and competent. They teach each other. They create an institutions which provides them with an advantageous ….label” (111)A class and racial war is being acted out, the better schools function, effectively, as siphons which draw off not only the most high-achieving and the best-connected students but their parents too; and this, in turn, leads to a rather cruel, if easily predictable, scenario. A private school makes possible; but public schools in a democracy should not be allowed to fill this role. (112) As many as 3 out of 4 blacks and 4 out of 5 Latinos fail to complete high school within the traditional four-year period.” Sara Rimer of Times pegged the rate of those who do not graduate at 46% in 1990—a figure that seems credible because it is consistent with the numbers for most other cities with large nonwhite student populations. (115)** look at the medical provision that we make for them: the usual indices of school investment and performance-class size, teacher salaries and test results-are at best imperfect tools of measurement; for infant survival rates are absolute. In **central Harlem the infant death rate is the same as in Malaysia, 42 per thousand which would be considered high in many Third World nations.”** (116)In Bronx, out of racism which is in our city and our society is institutionalized.” **But racial explanation is aggressively rejected by the medical establishment, citing differences to care provided to the white and nonwhite. “cultural differences’ in patients’ attitudes toward modern care may be involved. White people may prefer a more technological approach, (117) (**118) One consequence of medical and early educational denial is the virtual destruction of the learning skills of many children by the time they get to secondary school. Knowing one is ruined is a powerful incentive to destroy the learning opportunities for other children, and the consequence in many schools in nearly uncontrollable disruption.” There was a movement for more handcuffs, which the New York observer editorialized that it no doubt, improved discipline, but the paper questions whether such a regimen is ideal preparations for life in a democratic nation. 90% of inmates in jails are former dropouts in New York City’s public schools, which costs 60,000 dollars a year for each inmate. **Handcuffs are a graphic symbol of so many other problems. (119) but far more damaging is the more subtle manacles of racial patterns in assignment and school tracking. Few things can injure a child more, or do more damage to the child’s self-esteem, than to be locked into a bottom-level track as early as the first or second grade. Add to this the squalor of the setting and the ever-present message of a child’s racial isolation, and we have in place an almost perfect instrument to guarantee that we will need more handcuffs, and more prisons. Slotting of blacks in lower tracks is a familiar practice in NYC. Classes for the emotionally handicapped, neurologically impaired, learning disabled and educable mentally retarded are disproportionately black… classes for the speech, language, and hearing impaired is disproportionately Hispanic. Citywide, fewer than 10% will graduate from school, Most shameful is the fact that no such outrage can be stirred in New York City. There is no sense of moral urgency; and nothing changes. (121) In other areas of NY the same racial and wealthy segregation exists.** More revenue in rich districts, ***revenue, derived from taxing land and homes, to fund their public schools. The reputations of the schools, in turn, adds to the value of their homes, and this, in turn, expands the tax base for their public schools, The fact that they can levy lower taxes than in poorer districts, but exact more money, raises values even more; and this, again, means further funds for smaller classes and for higher teacher salaries within their public schools.*** The New York state commissioner of education cautions parents not to make “the judgment that a district is good because the scores are good, or bad because the scores are bad.” As a recurrent theme in public statements on this issue, and the commissioner is correct, of course, that overemphasis on test scores, when the differences are slight, can be deceptive. But it may be somewhat disingenuous to act as if the larger differences do not effectively predict success or failure for large numbers of school children. (122***) Officials broadcast a dual message. To their friends they say in private, “this is the best place to buy a home. These are the best schools. These are the hospitals. These are the physicians. Tor the record, however, they assure the public that these numbers must not e regarded as implying any drastic differentials.”*** The commissioner says the question is not how good the test scores look, but how well is the district doing by the children it enrolls? This brings to mind the statement of New Trier High school’s former head of student services (“this school is right,” he said, “for this community,” it wouldn’t be right for everyone.”) It does not require much political sophistication to decode these statements—no more that it requires to discern what is at stake when scholars at conservative foundations tell us that black children and white children may have “different learning styles” and require “different strategies” and maybe different schools” (123) even with genuine equality of schooling for poor children, other forces still would militate against their school performance. **Cultural and economic factors and the flight of middle-income blacks from inner cities still would have their consequences in the heightened concentration so the poorest children in the poorest neighborhoods; teen-age pregnancy, drug use and other problems still would render many families in their neighborhoods all but dysfunctional.** *A polarization of this issue, whereby some insist upon the primacy of school, other upon the primacy of family and neighborhood obscures the fact that both are elemental forces in the lives of children****; but government is not responsible for inequalities of families, it is for public schools.*** *No one expects dramatic improvements in solving inequalities of families, but schools, on the other hand, could make dramatic changes almost overnight if fiscal equity were a reality. (solution: for example: if NYC schools were funded like long-island high spending suburb****s Ad*ministrative chaos**. (126) **There are three positions of students that Kozol writes as he looks at another wealthy district in New England just outside NYC. 1. Fiscal inequalities do matter very much. 2. Racial integration by busing of black children from the city or a nonwhite suburb to that school would be met with strong resistance, and 3. Equity is basically a goal to be desired and should be pursued for moral reasons, but will probably make no major difference’ since poor children still would lack the motivation and would probably fail in any case because of other problems**. These kids do not seem to be dealing with reality, children are, in fact, far more desegregated now than public schools in New York City—but the schools are very poor. ***Chapter 4: Children of the City Invincible: Camden New Jersey 133-174 (134-135)*** Money, teachers with advanced degrees, don’t boost achievement,” It’s parental influence that counts. **Money is getting a bad name, writes the Wall Street Journal. (135) Indeed, our fixation on spending per pupil, money, teacher salaries, class size may only be distracting us from more fundamental issue. Cash alone can’t do the trick.. The U.S. has already tried that, but it has failed.” Then how do we explain those affluent districts where high spending coincides with high achievement.** **Wall Street Journal responded not money, but parents--value system., which is the decisive cause of high achievement in their schools.(135)“as a universal principle, the idea that smaller classes automatically mean more learning doesn’t hold water.”** **Kozol says that small cuts won’t help, deep cuts will. The usual reduction in class size, from 30 to 24 isn’t enough to make a difference, but perhaps to 17 will make a huge difference. (136) Kozol explains that several changes must take place simultaneously. The wall street journal is advocating “The search for the one change that will cost the least and bring the best return.” “Changing parent values” is the ideal answer. Isolating one thing and then telling us that this alone won’t do much good, for this reason, ought not to be tried, is a way of saying that the children of the poor will have to choose one out of seven things rich children take for granted. Kozol asks why we cannot offer poor children all of the seven choices for a better opportunity.** (137) Camden, New Jersey is the fourth-poorest city of more the 50,000 people in America. 1985-one-quarter of families made less than $5,000 a year. 60% receive public assistance, little industry. Most 35,000 jobs do not go to Camden residents. entire property wealth is less than one casino of Atlantic City. 200 liquor stores and bars, 180 gambling establishments, no movie theater, one supermarket, no new car dealership, few restaurants, and city-blocks are filled with burnt-out buildings, many boarded homes, city’s sewers are crumbling, and streets are caving in. **Life for children in the city is miserable**. **Camden and Cherry Hill are like two different worlds.** **Pyne Point Junior High is close to (138) many abandoned homes, paper plant, factory, illegal dumpsite--smell of burning trash, strong smell of ether or glue from the paper factory. Pyne is two-story building, yellow brick, windows covered with metal grates, 650 kids, 98% black or Latino. Many kids have chronic and untreated illnesses. No books, but parents make any demands.** 40)Vernon Dover is principal of Pyne point junior high. (141) trouble is keeping good teachers., space is a big problem, 20% of kids will not make it to the High School. Camden High School cannot afford facilities for lunch, kids leave school to eat, many don’t return for classes. Lack of funds creates a shortage of supplies and materials. . One teacher said, “What impresses me is that kids get up at all and come to school. (142)” You don’t even dare to speak about desegregation now. It doesn’t come up.” President Bush,” says Ruthie Green-Brown, principal of Camden High, speaks of his goals and these sound very fines. He mentions preschool education—early childhood. **Where is the money?** We have children coming to kindergarten who are starting out three years delayed**. “This is the most significant thing you can do to help an urban child if your goal is to include that urban child in America.” Do we want that child to be included?”**  (143) Green-Brown speaks of the insistence of the state on curriculum designed around a battery of tests. The test-driven curriculum established at the prodding of the former governor, **Tom Kean, is a product of the back-to-basics pressures of the 1980’s.” the results are anything but reassuring.” “In the education catch-up game. The state requires test results. It mandates higher scores. But it provides us no resources in the areas that count to make this possible. Separate and unequal, underfunded, with large classes, and with virtually no Head Start, and they think that they can test our children into a mechanical proficiency.” What are the results? We are preparing a generation of robots. Kids are learning exclusively through rote. We have children who are given no conceptual framework. The do not learn to think because their teachers are straight jacketed by tests that measure only isolated skills. “N**othing that touches the spirit or the soul. Is this what the country wants for its black children?” kids (under standards reform) are divided up according to their previous test results, as “homogeneous grouping.” In an urban school, the term is a misnomer. **What does it do to character?** **The children in the highest groups become elitist selfish, and they separate themselves from other children**. (**144)From September to May, instructions exclusively test preparation. The results of this regime is that children who survive do slightly better on their tests, because that’s all they study, while the failing kids give up and leave the school before they even make it to the eleventh grade. Teachers say, “(kids) have learned that education is a brittle, abstract ritual to get them ready for an examination.”** We teach them failure.” Another says.”(148)message to grow up surrounded by trash burner, dumpsites and enormous prisons? **(149)Woodrow Wilson High School: dropout rate is 58%, principal is Herbert Factor. 4,000 for each students cherry hill has 7000. Lack of health care and the ugly poverty on every side of the city. Cherry Hill and Woodrow Wilson have to take the same exams. (151)Kozol- that they are reluctant to describe their school as segregated, but in rich districts, they don’t care about how they look because they know they have a** great place. Kozol says that it is **poor schools do not make equality a realistic part of their ambition.** (153) **Books, facilities, class size, overcrowding, teaching strategies, adult supervision, and technology are all things that Cherry Hill has and Woodrow Wilson doesn’t.** **(157) What does money buy for children in New Jersey?** (159) The crowding of the school reflects the crowding of the streets. Overcrowding in neighborhoods fill our folklore ad our music and the anthems that our children sing. (160) It is a betrayal of the best things that we value when poor children are obliged to sing these songs in storerooms and coat closets. “How little choice poor children really have is seen at East Side High School in Paterson. The regimen within the school is much like that which we have seen within the schools of Camden. **Scarcity and squalor are again compounded by the consequences of a test-curriculum that strips the child’s school day down to meaningless small particles of unrelated rote instruction.”** (161) **The pressure for testing starts in elementary school,> and then intensifies in JHS. By the time they get to high school, preparation for the state exams control curriculum.”** **Literature gets lost. The driving notion here (Paterson) is that skills learned in isolation are more useful than skills learned in context. We need more money, but one of the dangers is that state funds will be restricted to another stripped-down program of this nature, I mean they’ll give us funds if we will give them scores.”** (Alfred Weiss, chair of dpt. English of East Side high school)(162) Secretary of Education William Bennett created Joe Clark (principal after the movie of Lean on Me) as a hero for white people. In certain respects, this set a pattern for the national agenda. Find black principals who don’t identify with civil rights but are prepared to whip black children into line. (163) **it’s an easy way to raise the average scores. Where do you put these kids once they’re expelled? You build more prisons. Two thirds of the kids that Clark threw out are in Passaic County jail. This is a very popular approach in the United States today. Don’t provide the kids with a new building, or more teachers or more books or more computers, or desegregation, or frills of art or poetry.**  Carry a bat, yell at students, And Then, when they are ruined, throw them into prison. (165)The press determines whether it is race or class that is the major factor in denial of these children, but the poor kids it can hardly matter very much. There was a court case (166) in finding in favor of the plaintiffs, in a ruling handed down in **August 1988, Judge Stephen L. Lefelt New Jersey operates two separate and unequal public education systems, then make: The state “did not dispute the existence of disparities” but argued that different types of programs are the result of local choice and needs.” According to the state, “each district…is free to address the educational needs of its children in any manner it sees fit… To the extent that program choices exercised by local districts are deemed inappropriate…defendants claim that they are caused by local mismanagement(1**67**) judge says that “students with similar abilities and needs should be treated substantially equally.” Court notes that there is a disparity in libraries, teachers, facilities, electives. The wealthy districts downgrade the importance of these inequalities, but when one of the wealthier suburbs asked the state permission to back out of a cross-busing plan with a poor district.** (168) **NJ Constitution says that court requires that all students be provided with “an opportunity to compete fairly for a place in our society. The court goes on, in our contemporary society, money purchases almost everything… Children in high-wealth communities receive low levels of school expenditures and inputs. (169)If money is inadequate to improve education, the residents of poor districts should at least have an equal opportunity to be disappointed by its failure.”** \****Equal protection, in any case, the court observes, does not require efficiency but substantial comparability*. (170) more money will not help, we will give them less; that, because their needs cannot be fully met, they will not be met at all. It does not tell them they will get the minimum, because that is all they can benefit from.” There would, be little short of a revolution in the suburban districts.** Court’s decision led to Governor Jim Florio to favor a substantial transformation of the funding scheme, but opposition and a rumor a tax revolt. Newspapers wrote that people said taking state money from the towns that have high property values to prop up the urban schools, will “bring mediocrity to every classroom in the state, **putting more money into the poor districts won’t change anything, money is not the answer it has to begin in the home**. Everything in a free society in not supposed to be equal (editorials) (171) the New York Times wrote that the fulfillment of the dream of equity for the poor districts is seen by the richer districts as a nightmare. Money will not help these children but predict the imminent demise of education in the richer districts if their funding is cut back. (172) Much of the resistance it appears, derives from a conservative anxiety that equity equates to “leveling.” The fear that comes across in letters of editorials is that democratizing opportunity will undermine diversity and even elegance in our society and that the best schools will be dragged down to a sullen norm, a mediocre middle ground of uniformity. (173) Equity means shortages of toilet tissue for all students. America, they say, is wealthy, wise. We can give terrific schools to all our children. The nation is vast. There is sufficient air for all our kids to draw into their lungs. There is plenty of space. There is enough money. If adversaries against equity speak of some view “equity for all and see it spelling excellence for none. The fear of equity is seen as dispossession. Local autonomy is seen as liberty. ***Chapter 5: The equality of Innocence, Washington, D.C.*** pages 175-205How can we achieve more equity? Or How can we achieve more equity and excellence? We cannot get to equity, we can get something that resembles it, and it must always favor the privileged. 176 Maryland, fiscal inequalities led to a lawsuit in 1978 (it was unsuccessful, but it led to interesting ideas). Maryland reexamined the funding system, task force gave a report after a 5 year investigation. Report said 100% equality is simply too expensive, goal should be 75% equality. Meaning that the poor schools, should get no less than three quarters of the funds of average school. But the MISSING 25% is critical and is what causes these impoverish conditions because it has to do with teacher shortages, no books, no facilities improvements, etcetera, 75% of funding is for salaries and benefits anyway. This 25% formalizes the differences in the destinies of the rich and poor. One educator said, the75% equalized funding “keeps all districts afloat,… but it causes the rich and poor to sail in opposite directions.” So “school” really means two different worlds, depending on which school you attend. School is required for our nation’s governance, but either you are rich and you govern, or you are poor and you are “governed.” 177 some individuals say that “there’s no real evidence that spending money makes much difference in the outcome of a child’s education.” We Have it, we spend it. But it’s probably a secondary matter, Other factors—family and background—seem to be a great deal more important.” This is an excuse and a justification to “fend off dangers of disturbing introspection.” These children are taught to shut their minds to the inequities. A Great Neck father said that what is unfair is what affects my child, not somebody else’s child in New York.” Some children suffer from too much, said another parent. The poor know the other world exists, and when you tell them that the government can’t find the money to provide them with a decent place to go to school, they don’t believe it and they know that it’s a choice that has been made—a choice about how much they matter to society. “it is a message that you don’t much matter. You are ugly to us so we crowd you into ugly places. “You are dirty so it will not hurt much to pack you into dirty places. It teaches you how much you are hated.” 180. In seeking to find a metaphor for the unequal contest that takes place in public schools, educators use the image of “sports” and claim that it is not making for a “leveling playing field.” However, Kozol says that this metaphor may not be the best because it implies that we can play the game again until we are equal, BUT THESE CHILDREN WHO ARE VICTIMS of inequality do not get a second chance. “A childhood can be played again. We are children only once… the consequences of unequal education have a terrible finality. 181 There are two worlds in Washington—either Government office buildings or Anacostia (poor black decrepit school). 183 These children start out in elementary school with hope and innocence, BUT then “by the time they are 14, a certain rawness and vulgarity may have set in.” 185 Many will be hostile and embittered by that time, Others will coarsen, by diet, self-neglect, or dislike.” An individual claims,” If you’re black you have to understand—white people would destroy their schools before they’d let our children sit beside their children. They would leave their homes and sell their houses for a song in order not to live with us.” 186“it’s a loser strategy: “ Favor the most fortunate among us or they’ll leave us too. Then we will have even fewer neighbors who can win political attention for our children.” There is always an example like Paterson or East St. Louis, where almost all residents are poor. These pitiful trade-offs would not be required if we did not have a dual system in the first place. But one dual system (city versus suburbs) almost inevitably creates a second dual system (city-poor versus city-less-than-poor). So it is that inequality, once it is accepted, grows contagious. 186—187 increasing numbers of children in the nation’s capital are beginning to show “battle fatigue.” One physician said these poor children, “live surrounded by the vivid symbols of their undesirable status: drugs and death, decay and destitution. A Virginia congressman was concerned about all the garbage, prisons, sludge, and prostitution that Washington is exported to his congressional district from Washington, D.C. 190. Night after night, on television, Americans can watch police or federal agents rounding up black men and black teen-agers. The sight of white policemen breaking down the doors of houses, black people emerging with their heads bent low in order to avoid the television cameras, has become a form of prime-time television entertainment in America. 191 the story that is not told is the lifelong deformation of poor children by their own society and government, or purchasable mediocrity that is easily inflamed, and market forces are available to push them into further degradation. Gambling and prostitution have been centered now in black neighborhoods. A journalist wrote, “You couldn’t permit this sort of thing unless you saw these children and parents as less than human.” One psychiatrist claimed, “violence is viewed and understood by (my) neighbors:”when they hear   
all these murders, all these men in prison, all these women pregnant with no husbands, they don’t buy the explanation that it’s poverty, or public schools, or racial segregation.” They say, “We didn’t have much money when we started out, but we led clean and decent lives. We did it. Why can’t they?” When I ask why, I hear something that sounds genetic. “They don’t have it.” What they mean is lack of brains, or lack of drive, or lack of willingness to work. Something like that. Whatever it is, it sounds almost inherent.” “Some of them are less direct, they don’t say genetics; what they talk about is history.” This is what they have become, for lots of complicated reasons, Slavery, injustice or whatever.” But they really do believe it when they say that this is what they have become, that this is what they are. And They don’t believe that better schools or social changes will affect it very much. So it comes down to an explanation that is so intrinsic, so immutable, that it might as well be called genetic. They see a slipshod deviant nature—violence, lassitude, a reckless sexuality, a feverish need to over-reproduce—as it were a character imprinted on black people. It is a high degree of racial explanation, that would surprise you.” 193 A black South African social scientist claimed, “if you degrade people’s self-respect on a daily basis, over centuries, you are bound to produce monsters…”people ruled by the needs of the flesh, she says, are systematically separated fromtheir spirit. Political anger is turned in against one’s wife or children. It is the best way that animals behave.” Press discussion of these matters rarely makes much reference to the segregated, poorly funded, overcrowded schools in which these children see their early dreams destroyed. The indignation of the press is concentrated on the poor behavior of the ghetto residents; the ghetto itself, the fact that it is still there as a permanent disfigurement on the horizon of our nation, is no longer questioned. Research experts want to know what can be done about the values of poor segregated children; and this is a question that needs asking. But they do not ask what can be done about the values of the people who have segregated these communities. There is no academic study of the pathological detachment (194) of the very rich.” (195) How much does a person have a right to ask? Kozol tells of an eight year old boy in 1965 that turned into a dysfunctional person as a result of unfortunate lack of opportunities, and bad treatment in schools that led him to be bitter, and later jailed. Kozol further asks, “We did not leave this child in the street to die. We put him in a foster home. We did not deny him education. We assigned him to a school that was segregated, dirty, poorly funded, and the books were torn, and the teachers unprepared. He got something. How much does a person have a right to ask? Now many jobs are open to blacks but Kozol says that does 3 things: it offers symbolism to protect the whites against charge of racism; it offers enforcement since a black official is expected to be even more severe; and it offers scapegoats when the situation is unchanged. This is especially true in education where the leaders are in an unenviable position where they “pay an awful price for their symbolic role.” (197) “Black leaders are working to overcome 400 years of stereotyping, are the most poignant victims. They are the tightrope walkers, holding their breath as they perform in midair with only a slender strand of support, ever fearful that even the smallest mistake will prove cataclysmic.” (198)Detroit Michigan, city is poor and mainly black and it school system, which is 89% black, is so poorly funded that three classes have to share a single set of books in elementary schools. “The financial pressures have reached the point of desperation” (199) Despite a lot of pious rhetoric about equality of opportunity, most parents want their children to have a more than equal chance of success—which means that they want others not all children have less than equal chances. (200) In Texas the court refused to intervene to grant low-income school districts fiscal equity. “means that there is not violation of the fourteenth amendment even though “the schools are segregated” and the “black schools are not only “separate but inferior.” (202) We are now in a dramatic retreat from Plessey v. Ferguson. The Texas case had approved unequal schools. The case accepted segregated schools. Of those two decisions, blacks were worse off than under Plessey.” 202 Justice Thurgood Marshall said”after 20 years of small, often difficult steps toward equal justice, the court today takes a giant step backwards. Our nation, will be ill-served by the Court’s refusal to remedy separate and unequal education..” The majority’s decision was a reflection of a perceived public mood that we have gone far enough in enforcing the constitution’s guarantee of equal justice.” These decisions locked Detroit’s black students as well as Michigan, which pegged the minimum so low as to perpetuate the inequalities.” 203 the state minimum, which was expected to be assured by legislators was dependent on the whim of legislators and on shifts in economic trends. The fate of the poorer districts wavered with the state revenues, while the rich districts, well endowed with locally raised funds, had little stake in fighting to sustain state revenues. 204”the poorer districts—waiting up to the last minute to receive part of their budget from the states—find themselves held hostage to decisions of suburban legislators who have no direct stake in the interests oflow-i9ncome children. 205 the need is not ”to make things equal. Funding and resources should be equal to the needs that children face. The children of Detroit have greater needsthaninAnnArbor.   
 ***Chapter 6:The Dream Deferred Again, In San Antonio, Texas—206—233.*** Natural fear of the conservative is that the levelers are at work here sapping the foundations of free enterprise. But one educator said, “there is something incongruous about a differential of any magnitude between the education of two children, the sole justification for which is an imaginary school district line between the children.” 207 the reliance or our public schools on property taxes and localizations of the uses of those taxes “have combined to make the public school into an educator for the educated rich and a keeper of the uneducated poor. There exists no more powerful force for rigidity of social class and the frustration of natural potential.” 207 the basic formula in place today for education finance is described as a ***foundation program***.” First introduced in 1920’s was to reconcile the right of local districts to support and govern their own schools with the obligation of the state to lessen the extreme of educational provision between districts. (208)The former concern derives from respect for liberty defined as freedom of district to provide for its own youth. And from the belief that more efficiency is possible when the control of local schools is held by those who have the greatest stake in their success. The latter concern derives from respect for equal opportunity. The foundation program 1. Local tax upon the value of homes and businesses within a district raises the initial funds required. 2. Wealthiest districts this is frequently enough to operate an adequate school system. Less affluent districts levy a tax at the same rate as rich district. (this is equal but property is worth less in poor districts so they get less money)3. So the state has to then provide sufficient funds to lift the poorer districts to a “level (foundations) equal to that of the richest district. If the state followed through we would have close equality (still have special ed. Bilingual and handicapped) of district funding. The STICKING POINT is3. Instead of setting the foundations at a level of richest district, the states adopt a low foundation, sometimes so low it is barely about subsistence level, which state legislatures say is a “minimum” not a “full” foundation, which says about equality, every child gets “an equal minimum” but not that every child gets the same. (209)The term sufficient is determined by legislators, who are elected by rich and educated, not poor. 211 the nation-at-risk that launched the recent “excellence” agenda did not speak of East St. Louis, New York City or Winnetka. Testing of pupils is, in a sense, already national. Reading scores are measured “at,” “above,” or else “below” a national norm. children, whether in Little Rock, Great Neck, or the Bronx, compete with all American children when they take the college-entrance tastes,. Teacher preparation is already standardized across the nation. Textbooks even before the states began adoptions, were homogenized 212for national consumption. With the advent of TV instruction via satellite, national education will be even more consistent and, in large part, uncontested. There are , at least, two nations, quite methodically divided, with a fair amount of liberty for some, no liberty that justifies the word for many others, and justice-in the sense of playing on a nearly even field-only for the kids whose parent can afford to purchase it. We may ask again, therefore, what local governance implies in public education. Local board does not control manufacture of textbooks, teacher preparation or certification, it does not govern political allegiance, or exams that measure math and reading, or exams that will determine or prohibit university admissions. Or not even really govern architecture. With few exceptions, elementary schools constructed prior to ten years ago are uniform boxes parted by a corridor with six rooms to whtleft. Six to het rights, and maybe 24 in same configuration on other floors. What the local board DOES CONTROL is how clean the floors will be, how well the principal and teachers will be paid, whether the facilities work, how many children are in the classroom, how well the library is stocked, whether the rooms are well equipped, whether the gym, is usable,. 213 if the school board has sufficient money, it can have some control over these matters. If there is no or little money then it has virtually no control. **Its freedom is to choose which of the children needs should be denied.** This negative authority is all that local governance in fact implies in places such as Camden, and Detroit. It may be masked by the apparent power to advance one kind of “teaching style,” one approach,” or one “philosophy” over another But, where the long-standing problems are more basic (adequate space, sufficient teachers, heating, repairs) none of the pretended power over tone and style has much meaning. Style, is determined by the caliber and character of teachers, and this is an area in which the poorest schools have no real choice at all. 213 in surveying the continuing tensions that exist between claims of local liberty and those of equity in public education, historians have noted 3 distinguishable trends within this century. 1. Until 1950’s, equity concerns were muted and courts did not intrude much upon local governance. 2. 1954 to 1970’s equity concerns were more pronounced, although the emphasis were less on economic than on racial factors. 3. 1970’s to present, local control 214 and efficiency agenda have once again prevailed. ON March 21, 1973, Texas high court overruled judgment of district court; they found the local funding scheme unconstitutional—in this way halted in its tracks the drive to equalize public education system through the federal courts. 215 late in 1971, Texas ct/ said that it was in violation of equal protection clause of us constitution. “Any mild equalizing effects” from state aid do not benefit het poorest districts.” Majority opinion of high court reversed the lower ct. decision, say8ing that in order to bring to bear “strict scrutiny” upon the case, it must first establish that there has been “absolute deprivation” of a fundamental interest” of Edgewood children. Judge (Lewis Powell) said that public education is not a fundamental interest. (it is not among the rights afforded explicitly protection under fed. Const)judge said “issue is not that the children in poor districts have low assessable property values are receiving no public education: rather, it is that they are receiving a poorer quality education than that available in wealthy district. But “the equal protection clause does not require absolute equality..”the crucial questiln centered on the two words, “minimal” and “necessary.” As O.Z. whit of Trinity, “We always want to know by what criteria these terms had been defined.” 216 judge Powell is judged by his peers by the definition that he is a human being and his decision here is bound to be subjective. (it’s only natural for him to interpret the funding system from his own bias. He also said the ”To a real degree what is considered “adequate” or Necessary or sufficient for the poor in Texas is determined by opinions of the rich. The role has always been equated with their usefulness to the rich, and this consideration seems to be at stake in all reflections on the matter of the minimal foundation offered to schoolchildren, which is only a metaphor for “minimal existence. 217”judge Powell argued similar to the debate now that is “experts are divided” on the question of the role of money in determining the quality of education” is there ea correlation between educational expenditures and quality of education.” Powell also said that there had been no proof that poor district is inhabited by poor people.” Justice Marshall dissented: he said that although right to procreate, the right to vote, the right to criminal appeal are not guaranteed,” these interests have nonetheless been afforded special judicial consideration, because they are, to some extent, interrelated with constitutional guarantees.” Education, Marshall said, was also such a “related interest” because 218 “it directly affects the ability of a child to exercise his First Amendment interests both as a source and as a receiver of information and ideas of particular importance in the relationship between education and the political process.” Marshall also said that it is a fact that one district has more funds available per pupil than another district,’ it “will have greater choice” in what it offers to its children. Marshall challenged the districit, made by Powell, between “absolute” and relative” degrees of deprivation.” “The equal protection clause is not addressed to ..”minimal sufficiency,:” but to “equity” **saying that Brown made education a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.** there are other issues said Legislators also offer rich an incentive: which is to offer the rich district a grant of some state aid to all schools districts regardless of their poverty or wealth. 219 on the matter of local control, Marshall said this: I need not now decide how I might ultimately strike the balance where the state’s concern for local control inevitably produced educational inequality. The state’s concern with local control is an excuse rather than a justification for interdistrict inequality. Marshall said that local districts cannot “choose to have the best education in the state because the education offered by a district is determined by its wealth. A factor over which local voters have no control.” Despite Marshall the Texas case reversed the trend attempts for equity and set the tone for the subsequent two decades of present day reality of separate and unequal public schools. 220 In the absence of a national imperative, local victories have local victories have tended to deliver little satisfaction to poor districts. Even ct. victories have led to obstruction of the legislative process eventuating in a rearrangement of the old state “formula” that merely reconst5ructs to the old inequalities. Another way states have devalued court ruling and prevailing gin inequality of funding has been congressional laws that put a cap on taxing “California’s proposition 13 that put a tax cap on districts and was a revenge of wealth agaist the poor. 221—plaintiffs got the equity they sought, but ht state ranks 8th in income but 46 in terms of how much they spend for public education.”if excellence must be distributed in equitable ways, Americans are disposed to vote for mediocrity.” Meanwhile, children of rich in California are beneficiaries of tax-exempt foundation to channel extra money into local schools. The range of district funding in California is still large, poorest district spend less than 3,000 while the wealthiest spend more than 7,000 per student. 221 the lesson of California is that equity in education represent s formidable threat to other values held by many affluent Americans. It will be resisted as bitterly as school desegregation. 223. No matter how you try to solve the problem of equity, the issue of transfer of resources. No matter what devices are contrived to bring about equality, it is clear that they require money-transfer, and largest source of money is portion of population that possess the most money. While on a lofty level wealthy district bay be fighting for liberty, local control, or such, they are also fighting for right to guarantee their children the inheritance o f an ascendant role in our society. In general there is a sense of distaste for “loaded dice,” for gaining an advantage, except in the issues of education, health care or inheritance of wealth. 223-231.Return to San Antonio-the kids representing the class-action suit will never reap the benefits of equity or local control. 232 Cincinnati, like Chicago, has a two-tier system . Among the city’s magnet and selective schools are some remarkable institutions—such as Walnut Hills a famous has that my hosts compared to “a de facto private school” within a public school system. Most of their admissions procedures 233.and academic options are foreclosed to the poor. Kozol ends the book with “surely there is enough for everyone within the country. It is a tragedy that these goods things (empty space, richness of the land and people, free political process, etc.) are not more widely shared. All our children ought to be allowed a stake in the enormous richness of America. Whether they were born to poor white Appalachians or to wealthy Texans, to poor black people in the Bronx or to rich people in Manhasset or Winnetka, they are all quite wonderful and innocent when they are small. We Soil them needlessly.”