Schools: The New Frontier in Capitalist America

Sally J. Offrink

Presented to the American Culture Faculty at the University of Michigan-Flint in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Masters of Liberal Studies

> in American Culture July 14, 2000

First Reader: Lundar County

Second Reader: Jeguline Zeff

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgments	iii
List of Charts and Tables	iv
List of Appendices	v
Introduction	1
 1. Chapter 1: Education: A Socializing Agent for Economic Values Exploration Settlement and Schools Founding Purpose – Thomas Jefferson Functionalism and Conflict Theory The Industrial Revolution and Immigration The Rise of Unions Civil Rights and Education Equality of education a Misnomer The Inroads into America's Schools 	5 9 19 21 26 28 30 35
 2. Chapter 2: U.S. Corporate Capitalism and Public Education The rise of Corporate Capitalism with Industrialization Corporations and Workers Justice Issues and Corporate Costs Public Schools the "Accursed Group" The Move to Privatize Public Schools 	43 45 49 50 53
 3. Chapter 3: The Edison Schools: A Case Study Building a Case for Privatization The Misinterpretation of Data A Background on Edison Schools Test Results – They're Back! Expansion Efforts – New Areas Where are the Profits Going? Special Education and Waivers 	58 60 68 73 77 85 90

Table of Contents Continued

4. Chapter 4: Education for a Critical Democracy: A Different Approach	
Democracy, What is It?	94
 Without a Voice – Politics of Disillusionment 	97
A Language of Possibilities	101
 Education: Reflector or Transformer of Culture 	104
What Does It Look Like and How Do We Get There?	105
Conclusion	
Appendix	
Works Cited	

Abstract

I became interested in researching democracy in education as the result of a class I took, Sociology of Education, with Dr. Linda Carty at the University of Michigan-Flint. Through dialogue and reading, I began to understand the complex weavings of economics, politics and education. Previously, I had reacted to events within public education with uneasiness, and struggled to make sense out of what I observed and what was being presented as fact to the public concerning public schools. As I was given a framework to hang my observations, I began to see the fabric woven from the economics of capitalism, the support from government, and the, often imperceptible, thread of democracy. Democracy seemed to be so fine and sparse in the weave that it added little strength and seemed more of a decoration than of substance.

As I struggled with the attack on public education, I began to ask questions. Is the public believing what business and government are telling them about our public schools? Are schools responsible for the problems facing Americans? Why is there so much inequality between schools, for example in funding, in a democratic country? And finally, who benefits from the attacks on public education? These questions created more dialogue, and I was able to adjust my view of the economic-political weave with new clarity. Without the dialogue of acceptance exhibited in Dr. Carty's class, it would have been impossible to see what is and to envision a possible future for public education.

Going against the grain to strengthen democracy will be a hazardous undertaking, and one requiring a pedagogy of possibility. Teaching for an effective democracy will be

attacked by corporate directives, by government's establishment, and even by those disenfranchised who feel the new wave of privatization in education is their children's only chance at success. Teaching for democracy will be costly, but it is necessary for supporting all citizens, for establishing justice, and for renewing life on the planet.

Can we create a system where democracy can flourish so all of America's people can receive the tools to build their dreams without either enslaving or alienating their brothers and sisters? It is my contention we can change the direction current reformative efforts are moving in education through active participation in the political process, as visionaries in colleges and universities, teachers and activists in the local community. We need to continually ask, "Who stands to gain from the current focus in education?" It is my hope that as democracy becomes the driving force in education, all students will become empowered, and that they will actively support diversity, justice, and renewal of life as a responsibility they welcome.

Acknowledgements

A debt of gratitude is extended to my Committee, Dr. Linda Carty and Dr. Jackie Zeff for their patience and guidance as they led me through the process of thesis preparation. Their classes in the American Culture program were illuminating and challenging, and made this paper possible. A special thanks goes to Dr. Carty, a mentor and friend, who made me believe I had something of value to share.

I would like to acknowledge the assistance given me by Grace Tucker and Janis Beach for their encouragement and assistance in research, as well as Laura and Jeremy Kelsey who's knowledge of the Internet resources made my research easier. I am also indebted to my husband, Jim Offrink who was my courier, critic and friend, who dialogued with me over idea and process, and who was a constant support.

Finally, thanks to my children for their belief in me and in my effort: Laura and Jeremy Kelsey, Andrew Offrink, and Benjamin Offrink. Each added a part to this thesis by sharing their world-view as we discussed together the ideas presented, and to Nancy Gregory and Tom Faussett, my sister and brother, as always, for their encouragement, support and love.

List of Charts and Tables

1.	Expenditures of Major State Universities— Main Campuses (in Millions)	40
2.	Five Most Important Attributes for Employment And the Five Least Important Attributes for Employment.	55
3.	Aggregate SAT Scores By Year	59
4.	Percentage of Students Taking SAT by School Rank	60
5.	Average SAT Subpopulation Scores	61
6.	Japanese and American Achievement Scores For Students Age 13	63

List of Appendices

Appendix A	
MEAP Scores-Edison and their Public	
Counterpart	12
Appendix B	
Edison Schools in Flint, Michigan-AFT	
Research Update	23
Appendix C	
Genesee Co. MEAP Results vs. Poverty	
Index	25
Appendix D	
American Federation of Teachers Scorecard	
Academic Success in Edison Project	
Schools	26
Appendix E	
Edison Schools IEP Waiver (Special Ed.) 12	29

Introduction

Education in the United States has been lauded as the great leveler of class, race and gender inequality. However, because education is linked to the economic structure of the country, in this case capitalism, it changes to support the economic climate. In this thesis, I examine how education supports and perpetuates the agents of capitalism and facilitates corporate profit. Furthermore, it will reflect on educating for democracy, and look at education as an agent for social change.

The institution of education interacts with the institutions of family, religion, politics, and the economy (in this case capitalism). Common to all societies, these institutions flex their muscles, attempting to manipulate and/or intimidate the others seeking power and control. Chapter 1, will address education as a socializing agent for economic values. It will briefly trace the history of public education in the United States and issues that developed due to the dualistic, often oppositional focuses of capitalism and democracy.

At one time in the United States, family and religion had a more powerful role. Education was used as the transmitter of a social belief system that was in agreement with existent family and religious norms. As the power shifted towards the economy (capitalism) in the late 20th and the early 21st century, political parties recognized the need for supporting corporations, and together they focused on education as a transmitter of corporate ideology.

One of the purposes of education in capitalism is to support business. This was true of Thomas Jefferson's plan for public education at the end of the 1700's

and remains true today. Schools are needed to educate workers who are timely, obedient, and hardworking and who believe they will succeed in a system that is meritocratic. Individualism and meritocracy, classism, racism, and gender discrimination are some of the ingredients that can fragment communities and prevent a unified social conscience.

Chapter 2 looks at undemocratic corporate capitalism and how public education is manipulated to sustain or increase profit. As corporate America perpetuates the notion that American schools are not producing graduates able to handle the new technology, it searches abroad for candidates who will accept a lower wage. Well-trained American employees are available, but at a cost that would reduce the profits of stockholders. In fact, David C. Berliner and Bruce J. Biddle would argue, schools produce an excessive number of qualified applicants for technical jobs, driving the wage level down to the benefit of employers. However, technical workers from abroad, in search of the "American Dream," are willing to work for less than U.S. workers. The myth then works for the benefit of capitalist profit.

The attack on public education has resulted in a movement to change the formula for funding schools. Not only have corporations received property tax breaks for locating in an area, usually urban and poor but, because of that tax break the area public schools receive less money. School choice and vouchers are the watchwords for the new capitalist frontier called education, and the opponent to be defeated is the public school system.

In the process of using public education as an excuse for society's problems, and by manipulating the information Americans receive, capitalists create an atmosphere where they continue to maintain a cheap workforce and funnel off public money into capitalism's newest industry – in this case – corporate run public schools.

Chapter 3 will examine the issues above by way of a specific case study of one such education for profit school, The Edison Project now called Edison Schools. I explore its successes and failures. Toward this end I seek and work to the following questions. Are Edison Schools placed in particular demographic/geographic areas? How do they make a profit? Who really wins and who loses? What programs have they developed to improve learning? Ultimately what kind of difference are they going to make for children?

Finally, Chapter 4 looks at educating for democracy as opposed to educating for capitalism. What is the difference and who would benefit? What kind of citizen is required for democracy to succeed? Who will develop the curriculum? In a democracy, what are the roles of teachers as professionals? Lastly, what are the results of teaching for democracy, and how will we know when we have achieved our goal?

The struggle for equality in education is not new but remains unfulfilled. I certainly do not have all of the answers. In fact, as one question is addressed others rise to the surface. Educating for democracy will have to evolve as it develops. Participants will find a common goal of helping those without a voice

to express their dreams, fears, successes, and disappointments. It is my hope that this thesis expresses one person's attempt to honestly address the issues of public education as we head into a new century and that it will be seen as an affirmation to others who are struggling to empower 'each and every' citizen to make possibility become reality.

Chapter 1 -- Education: A Socializing Agent for Economic Values

To understand how education has been used to socialize the inhabitants of North America, and specifically those in the United States, we must begin with America's discovery by Europeans and the way Native Americans were treated by the newcomers. It is not a pleasant tale, but it is told to give a foundation for the beginning efforts in public education.

Europeans have traveled to America since the 1400's in search of wealth, possessions and freedom. However, what they found here was a vastness in scenic beauty, culture, and resource unlike anything they knew. Christopher Columbus writes in 1493:

This island and all the others are very fertile to a limitless degree, and this island is extremely so. In it there are many harbors on the coast of the sea, beyond comparison with others which I know in Christendom, and many rivers, good and large, which is marvelous. Its lands are high, and there are in it very many sierras and very lofty mountains, beyond comparison with the island of Tenerife. All are most beautiful, of a thousand shapes, and all are accessible and filled with trees of a thousand kinds and tall, and they seem to touch the sky (qtd. in Franklin 11).

Native Americans were often portrayed as demons who worshipped heathen gods. Lured to Southwestern America by tales of golden cities, Spanish conquistadors often accompanied by priests invaded the area to exploit the resources and convert Native Americans found there. Death and persecution

followed. About 1535, Alvar Nunez Cabeza De Vaca wrote to Emperor Charles V of Spain of his feelings for Native Americans and how other Spanish Christians treated them unfairly.

We hastened through a vast territory, which we found vacant, the inhabitants having fled to the mountains in fear of Christians. With heavy hearts we looked over the lavishly watered, fertile, and beautiful land, now abandoned and burned and the people thin and weak, scattering or hiding in fright. Not having planted, they were reduced to eating roots and bark; and we shared their famine the whole way... They brought us blankets they had concealed from the other Christians and told us how the latter had come through razing the towns and carrying off half the men and all the women and boys... Clearly, to bring all these people to Christianity and subjection to Your Imperial Majesty, they must be won by kindness (qtd in Franklin 23).

Eventually schools were set up to teach reading and writing in hopes of displacing native religion with Christianity. Educating to socialize in America began early in America's Southwest during the Spanish Colonial Period. Evelyn C. Adams writes in American Indian Education: Government Schools and Economic Progress:

The agitation of the intrepid missionaries for the protection of native labor against what they regarded as injustices existing in civil settlements resulted in the organization of the Reform Party, and the enactment in 1512

of a remarkable piece of social legislation known as the Laws of Burgos. When the Laws were weakened the friars became critical. Resenting the restriction of their supervision to education... they increased the number of their missions and their influence grew rapidly. The missionaries were not only scholars; they were able organizers as well. The purpose of the mission was the religious conversion and humane treatment of the natives while they were being taught to earn their living in new ways (7).

The French policy regarding Native Americans grew directly out of economic interest in the fur trade, and political interest in winning Indian allies against England. "The educational efforts of various religious orders for more than a century reflected perseverance but accomplished little. The government prohibited segregation; hence, the French missions were only loosely organized teaching centers for voluntary Indian visitors, and bore slight resemblance to the closely knit Spanish missions" (13).

English settlements appeared in what is now the Northeastern United States. Some groups did arrive to find religious freedom and a place where their families could live without the influence of other strong religions that would dilute their own belief system.

All the colonists wanted land on which to establish homes, and the encroachment of settlement frequently provoked Indian resentment and armed protest that ended local programs in education. In Virginia in 1606 and 1609 two charters of the Virginia Company stressed the conversion of

the Indians... But the colonists complained that they could not obtain many Indian children in a peaceable manner because the parents were so deeply attached to them (15).

Believing they came from a superior culture and armed with religious fervor, Puritans domination and submission of the people and land they found here seemed, to them, justifiable. Puritan William Bradford, in 1620 wrote of an encounter with Native Americans:

Thus it pleased God to vanquish their enemies and give them deliverance; and by His special providence so to dispose that not any one of them were either hurt or hit, though their arrows came close by them and on every side of them; and sundry of their coats, which were hung up in a barricado, were shot through and through. Afterward they gave God solemn thanks and praise for their deliverance, and gathered up a bundle of their arrows and sent them into England afterward by the master of the ship and called the place the First Encounter (qtd. in Franklin 98).

But the Puritans, according to Robert Hughes in American Visions: The Epic History of Art in America, who started their "Great Migration" in 1630 with the backing of the Massachusetts Bay Company, had a different end in mind.

They were going to create what their leader John Winthrop....called 'a city on a hill,' a beacon whose light would shine back across the Atlantic and show its societies....how to reform themselves" (21). This 'radical newness' became a sign of integrity (22) and became part of the fabric of American beliefs. Hughes

continues: "New England, and all its place names prefaced by 'New' – New Canaan, New Bedford, New Salem, New London—represented not mimicry but transfiguration. The Indian names were erased: Agawam became Ipswich, Acushena become Dartmouth. To rename was to take, and Moses' words in Deuteronomy provided abundant texts to justify wiping out the Indian names, along with the Indians themselves" (23). They believed God had sent them into the "Promised Land" and because they flourished in their new surroundings, they had received God's approval.

As the American Revolution ended, the new republic struggled for direction. Colonies developed with varying economic and religious beliefs. 'New' was Puritanically defined, like its furniture and architecture, as "substantially good and majestically plain, made to endure" (70).

Thomas Jefferson, second President of the United States, writer, statesman, philosopher, citizen and visionary made significant contributions to his native land. Although a man of his time, public education owes its existence to his view of democracy and the need to maintain its strength through an educated citizenry. Jefferson writes:

And whereas it is generally true that people will be happiest whose laws are best, and re best administered, and that laws will be wisely formed, and honestly administered, in proportion as those who form and administer them are wise and that those persons, whom nature hath endowed with genius and virtue, should be rendered by liberal education worthy to

receive, and able to guard the sacred deposit of the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens, and that they should be called to that charge without reared to wealth, birth or other accidental condition or circumstance; but the indigence of the greater number disabling them from so educating, at their own expence, those of their children whom nature hath fitly formed and disposed to become useful instruments for the public, it is better that such should be sought for and educated at the common expence of all, than that the happiness of all should be confined to the weak or wicked (qtd. in Padover 1048).

His views on universal education were not well received in the late 1700's by his fellow Virginians, but his philosophy raised the fledgling nation's awareness that America can exist in greatness only in relationship to the well-being of its citizens. Born on his father's plantation, he became part of the landed aristocracy. Jefferson's education and aristocratic background helped mold his own educational philosophy. Robert D. Heslep, past president of the Philosophy of Education Society and Professor of Educational Leadership at the University of Georgia in Thomas Jefferson and Education, writes that Jefferson "proposed that moral education could be effectively provided without a religious framework" (37).

During this historical period, the lower chamber of the General Assembly, composed of the members of the House of Burgesses, were elected by popular vote. Voters consisted of landed, white males and the majority of the

representatives elected came from well-known families such as Adams, Franklin, and Monroe. The elected officials remained somewhat "loyal" to their constituents and reflected the needs of their respective districts. There was, in Virginia, a tension between the larger plantations including the tidewater colonist who owned slaves, and the interior planters many of whom were Baptist and Presbyterians who opposed slavery on moral grounds. Often the interior planters had been forced to sell their land to the larger plantation owners. They then moved farther inland to start again. These inland farmers "distrusted the large tidewater and piedmont planters, especially the governor's advisory council, and objected to being compelled to help support the Anglican Church"(19). They also opposed slavery on economic grounds saying they could not successfully compete against slave labor.

The class structure of pre-Revolutionary Virginia was an important social factor and reflected the amount of education available to each class. Heslep contends the highest class was the planter aristocracy of which Jefferson was a part. The landed aristocracy was well educated. Sons attended college and daughters received a young lady's finishing education. Other social classes received varying degrees of education. Anglican ministers, merchants, smaller planters, and shopkeepers' sons received a secondary education and their daughters a primary education. The artisans and poor shopkeepers' sons received a primary education. Western planters with small holdings and non-Anglicans followed were often illiterate. The lowest class consisted of the bond servants,

free blacks, Native Americans, and slaves. People of color, were segregated and received little or no education with the exception of some religious training (21-23).

Jefferson knew how philosophy, science and his continual love of learning had opened his life to new thought and vision. The Enlightenment, begun in Europe, focused on reason to find answers to life's questions rather than a complete reliance on religion. Likewise, deism's common sense approach to God based on nature and reason made an impact on his life. Gordon C. Lee, in Crusade Against Ignorance: Thomas Jefferson on Education contends that: "In nearly all of his discussions of education, whether in public pronouncements or in private correspondence, Jefferson showed himself thoroughly attuned to the characteristic "new" outlook of the Enlightenment. Indeed in certain respects, intellectual development was, for Jefferson, a chief means to still higher ends: those of moral and civic excellence" (139). In 1816 Jefferson wrote: "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be. The state's first and foremost responsibility is to supply and maintain a system of general instruction, which shall reach every description of our citizens, from the richest to the poorest—a system of education dedicated to the cultivation of intelligent citizenship and to the identification and training of responsible leadership" (qtd. in Lee 19).

In 1818 Jefferson wrote regarding the aim of primary education:

To give to every citizen the information he needs for the transaction of his own business;

To enable him to calculate for himself, and to express and preserve his ideas, his contracts and accounts, in writing;

To improve, by reading, his morals and faculties;

To understand his duties to his neighbors and country, and to discharge with competence the functions confided to him by either;

To know his rights;

To observe with intelligence and faithfulness all the social relations under which he shall be placed.

(And higher education:)

To form the statesmen, legislators and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend;

To expound the principles and structure of government, the laws which regulate the intercourse of nations, those formed municipally for our own government, and a sound spirit of legislation, which, banishing all arbitrary and unnecessary restraint on individual action, shall leave us free to do whatever does not violate the equal rights of another;

To harmonize and promote the interests of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, and by well informed view of political economy to give a free scope to the public industry;

To develop the reasoning faculties of our youth, enlarge their minds, cultivate their morals, and instill into them the precepts of virtue and order;

To enlighten them with mathematical and physical sciences, which advance the arts, and administer to the health, the subsistence, and comforts of human life;

And, generally, to form them to habits of reflection and correct action, rendering them examples of virtue to others, and of happiness within themselves (qtd. in Padover 1097).

Jefferson thought that man was most free when he is most nearly or completely self-sufficient, hence his education must be concerned with developing such inner resourcefulness... "Man is freest, hence most man-like, when he is engaged in truly useful pursuits, working in ways which demonstrably contribute to human betterment" (Lee 20). Benjamin Franklin also would agree, writing in 1749: "The good Education of Youth has been esteemed by wise Men in all Ages, as the surest Foundation of the Happiness both of private Families and of Commonwealths" (Best 128).

Jefferson proposed legislation several times in the Virginia legislature to fund public education. His outline included three years of free primary education for every citizen, male and female. His belief systems rested on "the inherent and unalienable rights of man" as taken from Jefferson's letter to Major John Cartwright, June 5, 1824, and such rights could not be conceived "except as equally the possession of all. Thus a fundamental corollary and one with vast

significance for the conduct of education was the commitment to the provision of equal opportunity" (Lee 12). Jefferson believed in equal opportunity for the "natural aristocracy based not on wealth and inherited title but on talent. The state, through education and guaranteed freedom of speech, would enable such people to rise from humble birth to power" (Hughes 108).

There was opposition to Jefferson's view and his legislative proposals were voted down in the Virginia legislature in 1779 and 1817. Heslep recounts: "During and after the American Revolution, efforts were made to provide a general system of publicly financed education in Virginia; but these were defeated. Most of the state's wealthy citizens were still opposed to paying the taxes needed to support the schooling of the poor" (29).

Throughout his life, Jefferson believed in the necessity of academic freedom. "In the intellectual sphere, we express this principle in terms of academic freedom and for Jefferson, as free government depends upon education, so is academic freedom the indispensable condition of genuine education. His uncompromising hostility to any restrictions upon freedom of expression and publication, his fundamental insistence to the principle of local responsibility for public general education—stemmed directly from his anxieties for human freedom and his determination to guard it from violation" (Lee 27).

It is important to mention Jefferson's view of education for females and blacks. Apparently he felt girls would benefit from primary education, where they would learn to read and do basic math, that only the rich females would desire

further education and then it would be in a finishing school which "involved belles-letters, music, drawing, and one or two modern languages. Apparently he believed that even the talented impoverished female students would seek to acquire nothing more than domestic arts" (Heslep 102). Jefferson wrote:

A plan of female education has never been a subject of systematic contemplation with me. It has occupied my attention so far only as the education of my own daughters occasionally required. I thought it essential to give them a solid education, which might enable them, when become mothers, to educate their own daughters, and eve to direct the course for sons, should their fathers be lost, or incapable, or inattentive (qtd. in Padover 1818).

Although he strongly argued that slavery was wrong, because it violated the natural rights belonging to all human beings, Jefferson was a slave owner. He observed that slavery brought out the tyrannical disposition of the slave owners, and although the majority of Virginians did not at that time favor emancipation, the sentiment was growing. He believed that when freedom did come, after slaves had been prepared for self-government through education, they should be deported to a land (perhaps the frontier) where they could establish a society of their own.

After emancipation, freed slaves...

....should continue with their parents to a certain age, then to be brought up, at the public expense, to tillage, arts, or sciences, according to their geniuses, till the females should be eighteen, and the males twenty-one

years of age, when they should be colonized to such place as the circumstances of the time should render most proper (qtd. in Padover 661).

Religion, indeed, has produced a Phyllis Whately; but it could not produce a poet. The compositions published under her name are below the dignity of criticism... The improvement of the blacks in body and mind, in the first instance of their mixture with the whites, has been observed by everyone, and proves that their inferiority is not the effect merely of their condition of life (qtd. in Padover 663).

Jefferson's premise of racial superiority of Caucasians over Negroes extended to other people of color including the Native Americans. In fact, if they could not adopt 'our' ways, Native Americans should be driven from the land or killed. Thus, Jefferson's view of education was prejudicial both sexually and racially. However, as a man from the era of Revolutionary America, his ideas on politics and education were in many ways visionary.

Meanwhile, 18th century's Adam Smith, in defense of America's emerging capitalist system, believed "an invisible hand ironically transforms selfish motives and actions into results that promote the public good" (Brosio 93). Richard A. Brosio in <u>A Radical Democratic Critique of Capitalist Education</u>, compares the theories of Rousseau and Marx with Adams.

Rousseau, Marx and other radical democrats have maintained that collectively constructed social, political, economic, cultural and educational contexts must first be enlightened by sound theory and a commitment to the common good. These contexts must be of a kind that permit the improvable nature of man-woman to be developed and educated into the possibility for altruistic behavior. The privileging of personal rights, community and the moral economy over property rights and the 'free' market is characteristic of theorists who have championed democracy over capitalism (93).

Likewise, in the United States, the belief in meritocracy was promoted since the country's conception. Meritocracy implied that within the basic structure of an institution, with all variables equal, those with the greatest demonstrable talent will rise to the top to assume their "rightful" place in the power structure. Functional theorists and conflict theorists present differing views of how meritocracy works within American education. Issues of race, class, language spoken, or gender have shown this "common sense" method called meritocracy in education, to be flawed.

Introduction to the Sociology of Education, discussed the differences between the functional and conflict theories as applicable to education. The functionalist theory saw schools as creators of a meritocratic society, where wealth and privilege of class race and gender were overlooked. Hard work and ability, instead of inherited privilege, were to yield upward mobility for disadvantaged groups. This rising of the talented best would be good not only for the individuals but for society. Therefore, schools were seen by functionalists as the vehicle to

identify and develop future leadership and to develop "the kind of cognitive skills and norms essential for the performance of most adult roles in a society increasingly dependent on **knowledge** for economic growth" (43).

Problems arise when what we observe clashes with the functionalist theory of hard work and ability equal success. Conflict theory sees this struggle between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' as an innate and fundamental premise of capitalism. Those in power, in control of the economic forces, want to keep the balance as it is. Classes reproduce themselves through a process of differential socialization: "The children of managers and professionals are taught self-reliance and innerdirected motivation, a decided asset in a materialistic, achievement-oriented society. On the other hand, the children of manual laborers are more likely to be taught the value of obedience and conformity, and to be prodded by a motivational system that is dependent on external rather than internal influences—values that tend not to be rewarded by success in capitalist society" (Bowles 325-326). Equal access to quality education, and the prestige and influence it can produce can elude many, especially those who are poor or of color. Conflict theorists therefore view the present educational system's purpose to be to "perpetuate inequality and to convince lower-class groups of their inferiority (Hurn 44).

This debate between functionalism and conflict theory is evident between black educators Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Boise. Washington's pragmatic approach to education was criticized by Du Boise writing in 1902 in The Souls of Black Folk:

Mr. Washington distinctly asks that black people give up, at least for the present, three things--

First, political power,

Second, insistence on civil rights,

Third, higher education of Negro youth—

And concentrate all their energies on industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, and the conciliation of the South. This policy has been courageously and insistently advocated for over fifteen years, and has been triumphant for perhaps ten years. As a result of this tender of the palmbranch, what has been the return? In these years there have occurred:

- 1. The disenfranchisement of the Negro
- 2. The legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro.
- 3. The steady withdrawal of aid from institutions for the higher training of the Negro" (qtd. in Franklin 1603).

Racism, classism, and gender bias challenge the equitableness of American education, making functionalist theory simplistic. While further entrenching the power-elite, functionalism puts blame for lack of achievement back on the individual. In *The Manufactured Crisis: Myths, Fraud*, and the Attack on America's Public Schools, David C. Berliner and Bruce J. Biddle explored the interaction between "individual efficacy and the powers of education."

Americans tend to assume that most social outcomes are generated by characteristics of individuals—rather than, say, by unfair laws, structural forces in the society, industrial greed, accidents, or divine intervention...... that individuals in this country are largely responsible for their own outcomes, their own successes or failures (152).

Upon closer look, Berliner and Biddle equated belief in the American value of individualism to be stronger among the power elite's "older, white, male, Westerner with a relatively high income" (155). Hurn would add:

.... Therefore, schools continue to do what they have always done: convince the poor and disadvantaged that they do not have the skills to obtain high-status positions and to reinforce the dominant position of privileged groups... to convince the poor and disadvantaged that they have only themselves to blame for their failure (34).

As agrarian America of the 1800's transformed with the industrial revolution, education evolved to meet the needs of the population surging into urban centers. Families moved from farms to industrial areas seeking a better life. According to H. Dewey Anderson and Percy E. Davidson in Occupational Trends in the United States, the percentage of farm workers dropped significantly from 1870 when farm workers stood at 47.3% of the work force to 35.3% in 1900. By 1940, the percentage of American workers that remained employed in agriculture reached 17.5%. There was also a great migration from the south to the industrial north following the Civil War. As industries grew, immigrants poured into the

United States. Education socialized these newcomers from the farms, the South and Europe into the workforce needed for the new capitalist adventures.

By the mid 1850's and the Western movement, the Exodus of the Puritans to the promised land of America was revisited. "Daniel Boone," writes Hughes, "became Moses, leading his people to the Promised Land"(191). This image allowed expansionists to take Native American land and kill any that might oppose them. Artists commissioned by businessmen began to paint a marketable West. Native Americans were portrayed as sneaking, murdering, heathens; devils put in the way of America's progress. The citizenry was thus taught, through art and literature, what Western business ventures needed them to believe. They were not told of the hardships awaiting their move west or of the destruction and ill will caused by those in power. Destroying the wilderness through logging, mining and railroads along with the people who occupied the land, became the by-product of expansion. Government, in support of these business ventures, sent the military to insure their progress went forward.

Meanwhile, the surge of immigrants brought with it fears among those who benefited most from their coming and from the working poor. Middle and upper class Americans, proud of their accomplishments in creating the growth in industry and in large corporations created to maximize profits, enjoyed their gains. As Peter Levine, in Ellis Island to Ebbets Field, described: "Americans applauded their own contributions to national progress... and especially the increase in their

material comfort, opulently displayed in their homes and new urban surroundings that made consumption and accumulation appear as basic American rights" (11).

And 'meritocracy' was embraced and encouraged.

In Christopher J. Hurn's book, <u>The Limits and Possibilities of Schooling:</u>

An Introduction to the Sociology of Education, differences between the functional and conflict theories as applicable to education were noted. The functionalist theory saw schools as creators of a meritocratic society, where wealth and privilege of class, race and gender were overlooked. Hard work and ability, instead of inherited privilege, were to yield upward mobility for disadvantaged groups. This rising of the talented best would be good not only for the individuals but for society. Therefore, schools were seen by functionalists as the vehicle to identify and develop future leadership and to develop "the kind of cognitive skills and norms essential for the performance of most adult roles in a society increasingly dependent on *knowledge* for economic growth" (43).

Thus, self-reliance, the work ethic and aggressive individualism (as espoused in Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac*, Norton's Anthology of American Literature 213), seemed to have created this flourishing America and yet the sudden growth in urban areas caused concern. Although the immigrants, as laborers, were needed to continue the industrial growth, their presence in crowded ethnic centers became a potential threat to the affluent American's newfound wealth. With the western frontier closed, further expansion was no longer an option. Therefore, the new-comers needed to own the American Dream (and

many already did). Otherwise, protests, for better living and working conditions were likely.

Responding to the arrival of millions of East European Jews and other immigrants to the United States, a wide range of groups and individuals attempted to make them into new Americans, complete with the character and values required for success in the 'American Century' (Lavine 11).

Americans' belief in individualism, enhanced by these newcomers to urban centers, became central to educational theory. Immigrants from Europe embraced their new homeland expecting success through individual hard work and education. Many, believed fluency in English being essential to success, refused to allow their children to speak the language of their homeland. Schools taught patriotism and loyalty to the United States as well as English, reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Located in New York's Lower East Side at East Broadway and

Jefferson Streets, the Educational Alliance, organized in Manhattan in 1891
by prominent members of New York's German-Jewish community, clearly
had such purpose in mind. As Isidore Straus, one of its founders put it, its
goal was 'to help immigrants understand American ideas... the dignity of
American citizenship,' and 'to appreciate an American atmosphere of
obedience to law.' In 1905, a special committee concerned with
reorganizing the institution emphatically reaffirmed that its 'first aim and

object... is to Americanize the recently arrived immigrant and to socialize him in the sense of making him better able to do his share in the work of society" (120).

Socialization, a major function of education, instilled individualism, and meritocracy. Success would come, schools taught, if a young person would only work hard and receive an education. One therefore assumed failure was the result of the individual's resolve and not the fault of the system.

While further entrenching the power-elite, functionalism put the blame for lack of achievement back on the individual. Berliner and Biddle wrote, "Americans tend to assume that most social outcomes are generated by characteristics of individuals—rather than, say, by unfair laws, structural forces in the society, industrial greed, accidents, or divine intervention... that individuals in this country are largely responsible for their own outcomes, their own successes or failures" (152). Hurn would add: "....therefore schools continue to do what they have always done: convince the poor and disadvantaged that they do not have the skills to obtain high-status positions and to reinforce the dominant position of privileged groups... to convince the poor and disadvantaged that they have only themselves to blame for their failure" (34).

At the same time, although immigrants often stayed in ethnic neighborhoods separated from other ethnicities and from the American middle and upper class, many attended night school to work toward becoming citizens and to learn needed skills. Because immigrant groups focused on the American Dream,

they did not initially unite for better living conditions, fairer wages and increased opportunity.

The initial work at unionizing the auto industry came during the Depression in the late 1920's. Ronald Edsforth writes in Class Conflict and Cultural Consensus: The Making of a Mass Consumer Society in Flint, Michigan:

"Detroit's Communist-led Auto Workers Union attempting to speak for workers being exploited by low wages, lack of job security, the speed-up, and dangerous working conditions emerged"(115). By the late 1920's, there were a small dedicated group of union men and Marxists, however, amid the large number of immigrants, who felt their lives had been improved by their move to the industrial cities, the unions found little support. Workers felt that the conditions were part of the job and the economic improvement offset the dangers.

As part of the public education curriculum, capitalism and democracy were enmeshed. By the mid 1930's, with intimidation from burgeoning corporations, workers began to feel a unified effort was needed to improve their conditions.

Unions began to challenge corporate power and uncontrolled capitalism. They succeeded in uniting many workers across race and ethnic groups as a worker issue against the management, while from within, unions remained extensively racist, sexist and anti-Semitic. Outside the factories the separation remained.

During the post World War II era, American patriotism remained high.

Communism, seen as a threat before the war, continued to be a fear as the super powers, the United States and Russia, vied for influence on the struggling nations

of Europe. The Korean War, with communist North Korea, fueled that fear.

Joseph McCarthy, Republican Senator, rose to power during this Cold War period.

Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht, in <u>Joe McCarthy and McCarthyism: The Hate That</u>

Haunts America, tells about a nation's apparent need to have 'an accursed group.'

Not just America but virtually all nations and all peoples seem to need an accursed group to blame for the ills and evils that torment them. The accursed group serves many functions. It provides a simple, immediate explanation for whatever is wrong. It relieves the community of guilt because there is always someone else to blame. It protects the community's leaders, who might otherwise be held accountable. It spares everyone the need to face and solve their real problems. It also permits the majority to give vent to their fear and anger by persecuting the accursed group (30).

(This tactic of 'accursed group' would be seen a few decades later as public schools were targeted as the downfall of America.)

During McCarthy's powerful control of the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities, many individuals were arrested, put on trial, and jailed for
speaking out against the American government. Innuendos and hearsay were
enough to raise suspicion, and suspicion become censure or prison. McCarthyism
had a profound affect on America. Slogans such as "Better dead than Red" created
and instilled hatred and fear. Children in elementary and secondary schools were
expected to show patriotism through pledging allegiance to the flag, through song,

and by accepting government stance of superiority among nations. Anyone who dared to question aloud the policies of the United States or working conditions within the country, came under scrutiny, were frequently condemned as a communist, and their voice silenced. Others who questioned were persecuted and jailed. Citizens were encouraged to be watchful of neighbors and community leaders with Communistic tendencies. In American Chronicle: Year by Year Through the Twentieth Century, Lois Gordon and Alan Gordon reported that in 1954 "Seventy-eight percent of Americans polled think it important to report to the FBI relatives or acquaintances suspected as Communists" (520). In this respect, the 1950's was a dark decade of distrust and innuendos.

The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's and the Viet Nam War focused on opposite ends of the economic spectrum and, came during a period of relative affluence. Significant steps were gained in the 60's and early 70's in the area of minority and women's rights. The politics of education were about expanding the rights of the powerless. Education gave voice to diversity, changing the leadership role of women, expanding the number of minorities attending institutions of higher learning, creating a new history of America to include the contributions of non-whites.

The growth in 'people rights' came at a cost, and soon corporate America felt the increase in budget and decrease in profits correlating with higher wages and benefits for workers. Pressure was put on politicians to pull up the reins as stockholders saw profits decrease as costs rose. Suddenly it was a "back to

basics" move in education. Reports were released criticizing public education as failing, while in actuality an attempt had been made at creating a "more equal" society. Public education was bombarded with criticism until the American people began to believe the reports. Growth in equality came to a screeching halt. Since the late 1970's, rights and economic growth for minorities and women have reversed. Public education, as a socializing agent for equality, had succeeded to the extent that it made a problem for those in power, and consequently for itself.

IQ and achievement tests have been used for tracking. Differential funding between public school districts have created wide disparity in quality of schools available to students. In 1998, 11.8% of students aged 16-24 dropped out before high school graduation and in 1996-97, 10% of public schools reported at least one serious violent crime (The National Center for Education Statistics, U. S. Department of Education). Many who leave school are not prepared for jobs that offer opportunity for advancement. Schools are far from perfect and they deserve criticism where appropriate. That criticism should be to encourage and insist on the improvement of the educational setting for all students. Public education serves a historic purpose where all races, classes, genders and interest can come together to learn and grow towards actualization and understanding.

Research has shown that IQ changes over time, as a students is exposed to enriching experiences, thus the quality of education impacts his/her measured IQ. Berliner and Biddle discussed the findings of Sorel Cahen and Nora Cohen, two Israeli psychologists who studied the question, as you grow from year to year,

does your measured intelligence determine your achievement at school, or does what you achieve in school determine your measured intelligence? "Although Cahen and Cohen used complex statistical methods, their findings were straightforward. They found that school achievement was a major factor in the prediction of intelligence-test performance. In contrast, measured intelligence was only a weak predictor of school achievement. Thus, measured intelligence is strongly influenced by opportunity to learn in school" (Berliner and Biddle 48).

Therefore, the richer experiences of children from affluent homes, may well 'afford' them higher measured IQ s at the onset of school. If tracking or special classes (remedial or gifted) are begun at this point the education histories of two similar children, from different economic backgrounds will be vastly different. If a high IQ is a requirement for gifted programs, "then those programs are systematically biased against poor children. Such programs are inherently unfair" (51). In this way, poor children have been detoured around functionalist meritocracy and they have been excluded from the power structure by the time they enter school. Not only do poor children come with fewer life experiences and opportunities and therefore have a distance to go to catch up, but this difference increases over time. All 'Life Chances' are purchased at a price. Health care, education, transportation, travel, and the like are expensive. Unless a way can be found to improve the opportunities of children from poverty, it will be difficult, if not impossible for them to find success in the present school setting.

Inequality in funding public schools further cripples the ability of meritocracy to work in the United States:

The basic reason for unequal support in our country is that a good deal for funding for our public schools comes from local taxes. Affluent communities in America are able to tax themselves to support wonderful public schools, but impoverished communities have few resources for schools beyond what is provided by the state and federal government.... Local school districts simply don't exist in most other countries, public education abroad is largely supported by general tax revenues; and those funds are normally assigned to schools on a per-student basis. (265)

Equality of education then is sorely lacking due to a wide variation of funding between districts. Research confirms that the higher the levels of school funding, the greater the student's achievement regardless of background (78).

David Card and A. Abigail Payne in their paper "School Finance Reform, the Distribution of School Spending, and the Distribution of SAT Scores" wrote:

In this paper we study the effects of school finance reforms on the distribution of school spending across richer and poorer districts, and the effects of spending equalization on the distribution of student outcomes across children from different family backgrounds... We find some evidence that the equalization of spending across districts leads to a

narrowing of test score outcomes across family background groups (online abstract 1).

Therefore, until corrections can be made to equalize funding between school districts, education will continue to perpetuate the present power structure and meritocracy.

Functionalism claimed that educational expansion of the last fifty years has "increased meritocratic selection... that underprivileged youth have increased chances to gain access to high-status jobs" (Hurn 53). This has not proved to be the case. Not only do wealthier public schools tend to ready a higher percentage of students for university and prestigious schools, but due to higher achievement scores and networking, many graduates from elite private schools and wealthy public districts find an easier access to those institutions that feed into the high-status jobs and careers.

Conflict theorists would say that the class difference for many impoverished students would make equitable competition impossible. "Parent social status remains about as good a predictor of a child's future status today as it was in the 1920's, despite enormous educational expansion and great efforts to ensure fairness and universality in selection procedures" (54).

Finally, conflict theorists see the struggle for control of education as an unequal task between the power elite and the rest of society. By controlling the resources and the media, "the rhetoric of equality of opportunity conceals the fact that schools are organized in such a way as to make it inevitable that children of

privileged groups will have great advantages over children of disadvantaged groups" (58). In fact, corporate capitalism requires a large and cheap workforce to remain profitable and the inequality of education becomes a major partner in the creation of those workers.

Lower economic placement, lower social status, immigrant ethnicity, minority race and racial awareness, the political and economic division of cities, and lack of opportunity for equal, effective, well financed education, all blend into a provincialized urbanite. This person will be available to follow orders, work at low pay, and continue to turn a profit for his or her company. When his or her wages increase, usually through gains in education and from unionization, the corporation will want to find a new cheap labor pool. In our current economic climate that opportunity exists by opening the doors to new immigrants willing to work for less, (the push to increase more workers with certain skills), or moving the business out of the country to take advantage of lower worker pay in other parts of the world. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) is a good example of government making such arrangements.

Michael W. Apple, a John Bascom Professor of Curriculum and Instruction and Educational Policy Studies at the University of Wisconsin, Madison described the fissuring of public schools by select groups in "Is Social Transformation Always Progressive? Rightist Reconstructions of Schooling Today." He wrote:

The urge to connect schools to a larger social vision, to use them to help reconstruct society, has a long and valuable history in the United

States and elsewhere. Although sometimes a bit naïve in their assumptions about the power of our educational institutions in effecting the social transformation that were called for, the more radical elements of movements such as social reconstructionism provided us with a way of envisioning the relationship between schooling and social justice, between schooling, 'the people,' and a set of norms and values based in equality (1).

Apple sees the present struggles of public education are due to the redefinition of these nationally honored ideals of democracy, equality and justice. An understanding of the recent past of right-wing social movements is essential because an education that helps reconstruct society so that it is "closer to the people" need not look like that envisioned by many social reconstructionists (2). He recalls these fears coming usually from right-wing groups, but also from official statements by federal and state governments that we are losing control of our children and the rapid pace of social and cultural change and results in a belief that:

We have gone too far in tilting our educational and social policies toward minority groups and women. This is not equality, but reverse discrimination; it goes beyond the bounds of what is acceptable. Not only is the search for a more egalitarian set of policies misplaced but, it fails the test of cost-benefit analysis. It is simply too expensive in practice to work and, it also gives things to people that they have not really earned (3).

This seems to be the current U.S. Court position here in Michigan Court District 65, as in the past two years (1998 – 1999) the City of Flint has lost three multi-million dollar law-suits claiming 'reverse discrimination.' In one case, eleven white police officers were awarded 1.1 million dollars, after claiming they had been unfairly passed over for promotion in deference to lower scoring, less qualified minority individuals. They received their court costs and attorney fees paid for by the city, and damages amounting to \$100,000 for each of the eleven officers. The two other cases involved female officers' complaints.

This redefining of terms is "nothing more than the recurrent conflict between **property rights and person rights** that has been a central tension in our economy" (5). It appears to be the same argument espoused by the inland planters of the late 1700's and early 1800's who claimed they could not compete against the coastal slave-holder plantations because of labor costs.

In another article "Privatization and the Common Good," Apple suggests the move toward privatization, charter schools, and vouchers is purported by three politically diverse groups under one umbrella. The first he calls 'neo-liberals' who really do believe...

privatization is important, and want education to work. The role of school, as far as they are concerned, is to produce human capital. They see children as future workers. In order to be workers, this group wants them flexible, competitive, changeable, creative at the same time, manipulable in some ways, and moveable.... The *real* labor market, not the fictitious labor

market that the neo-liberals are telling us about, is a labor market geared for fast food work, health care orderlies, and other service jobs. Unfortunately, the huge number of jobs that will require high-tech skills just don't exist. They have taken the old liberal ideas about individual rights and liberties and applied them to corporations. They are conservative, by and large, but they want to set loose the free market, either to control schools so that everything is done with the intent of producing workers or so that schools themselves have no control whatsoever (188,189).

This "neo-liberal" group has been influential in the Flint area due to the proximity of General Motors factories and other attendant heavy industry. Over the years, there have been several school-to-work programs. In these programs, students could do classes at school part of the day and work in a 'partner' shop or business benefiting both the student and the factory.

At the higher education level General Motors Institute, now known as Kettering University, every semester, requires the student to spend a certain amount of time in classes, and then an equal amount of time working with an approved employer. Often, the employer expects to 'pick-up' the student as a lower level worker upon his or her graduation.

The second group in the uneasy coalition is the 'neo-conservatives' who favor the free market system with controls. They believe the reason we are no longer competitive is, because we have lost "a sense of the Western tradition – not that people lack work skills and discipline" (189). However, we have always been

a diverse culture. Both the neo-liberals and the neo-conservatives want the market free, but they first want a very weak state, and secondly government control of morals and values (189).

The third segment of the political coalition is what Apple terms the "authoritarian populists."

These are the religious fundamentalists who have to be convinced that privatization is good. These folks are very worried about their economic future. They realize that the gap between the rich and the poor in the United States is growing at a massively rapid rate. Authoritarian populists are often middle-class folks or working-class people who see their lives genuinely falling apart (189).

Apple sees them as having genuine concern for community, and a natural mistrust of big business. They must therefore, be convinced that privatization will help them. "The way they have been convinced has been through the message that women are taking their jobs, that African-Americans, Latinos/Latinas are taking their jobs, that feminism is destroying the family – all because government is intervening" (190). Apple insisted that competing social movements had to vie for a limited share of resources and power. Rather than creating an economy where all could play a part, the emerging social activists groups, unable to join forces, were pitted against each other.

Again, the nationally honored ideal of 'common good' was altered to mean "regulation exclusively by the laws of the market, free competition, private ownership, and profitability. In essence, the definition of freedom and equality are no longer democratic, but commercial" ("Is Social Transformation Always Progressive?" 21).

As it became necessary to find a cheap labor pool for profits to grow, corporations have created inroads into the public schools in a variety of lucrative ways. (Privatizing the cleaning staff, such as done by ServiceMaster in some Chicago area schools, and in Flint Michigan, to the Consortium deal that Coke and Pepsi have made with a group of schools in mid-Eastern Michigan that guarantees their product space in the school for seven years, at \$6.68 per student a year and 58% and 57% commission from Coca Cola and Pepsi respectively (Bailey A1+). Further, threats, by corporations, of moving their plants out of unionized areas of our country and then more recently to Asia, Mexico, and South America, began to further shake the foundations of equality in education.

Globalization not only brought new markets but made it possible to explain away the lack of loyalty to American workers and their families. Times became "mean and lean" and democracy as well as equality strained under the hand of capitalism. Many middle and lower class citizens refused to be involved in the political process, and a throng of young citizens avoided registering to vote. Feeling disenfranchised, if not in fact, without connectedness to other disenfranchised, the poor and young believed their vote lacked strength to change the established power structure.

Universities are used more and more by corporations as research institutions. The seat of liberal and creative thinking and teaching gradually became dependent on research grants paid for by corporations interested in cutting-edge developments. Leonard Minsky wrote in the preface to Leasing the Ivory Tower: The Corporate Takeover of Academia:

The corporate assault on universities has been part of a deliberate corporate campaign to reintroduce power onto campuses, after the activism of the 1960's had largely discredited corporate sponsorship. With science and technology-oriented industries perceived as the wave of the future, corporations were eager to exploit the heavy federal investment in university-based research. Corporations could sponsor and direct taxpayer-funded university research, without making the terms of the university-corporate contracts public. They could avoid the sting of risky investments in new research, because the public was paying the real costs of research and development through federal grants to universities. They could reduce their taxes with their small, tax-free investments in university research" (Soley i).

While corporations were paying for a portion of the cost of research, the rest of the expense was through public money. At the same time, students were denied the benefit of professors, whose time was spent on grant work. (i.e. television or interactive long-distance lectures)

Lawrence C. Soley, Colnik Professor of Communication at Marquette
University in Milwaukee, writes in his book <u>Leasing the Ivory Tower: the</u>

<u>Corporate Takeover of Academia...</u>

The primary beneficiaries of these increases in university R&D (Research and Development) spending have been corporations, which receive the benefits of the research at a subsidized cost. But it is students and taxpayers who pick up the bill for most of it. At the University of Michigan, for example, corporate grants and contracts during fiscal year 1993 funded about a tenth of the university research, from which corporate interests benefited most. Tuition, federal agencies, state allocations, and university investments paid for the rest. Overall, the university contributed more money to research than did industry (148). See chart below.

Expenditures of Major State Universities—Main Compuses (in Millions)

	1980			1991		
	Total	Instruction	Research	Total	Instruction	Research
University of Colorado (Boulder)	\$141.9	#39.8	\$24.2	\$352.5	\$111.3	\$82.5
University of Florida	\$318.3	\$106.1	\$64.2	\$772.7	\$229.0	\$220.0
University of Georgia	\$200.0	\$62.1	\$39.0	\$497.5	\$106.6	\$130.6
University of Maryland	\$183.0	\$63,3	\$24.4	\$524.0	\$182.1	\$85.6
University of Michigan	\$598.4	\$153.2	\$83.B	\$1,759.2	\$304.7	\$244.4
University of Minnesota	\$542.4	\$156.3	\$85.7	\$1,418.9	\$329.4	\$276.9
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill	\$292.3	\$117.4	\$14.2	\$686.4	\$241.1	\$103.1
Penn State University	\$285.3	\$84.3	\$40.0	\$685.2	\$166.1	\$179.2
University of Wisconsin (Madison)	\$457.4	\$111.6	\$127.9	\$1,188.0	\$227.8	\$303.1

Source: American Universities and Colleges, 12th and 14th editions.

Expenditures of Major State Universities—Main Campuses (in Millions) Source Leasing the Ivory Tower: The Corporate Takeover of Academia Lawrence C. Soley p. 149—American Universities and Colleges

"Think tanks, particularly those with pro-corporate or politically conservative agendas, have been taking root on college campuses, just as they have been in cities around the United States" (122). It was no accident that corporations became involved in academia. Those who control economic and political institutions "have cut federal and state education budgets, shifted budget priorities as dictated by business, and attempted to flatten cultural criticism under the head of so-called 'traditional values' (156).

As the literal take-over of public elementary and secondary schools, by private corporations begins in earnest, we must decide what is the reason we educate our citizens, and what kind of citizen will benefit society the most over time? Does everyone have the right to reach one's potential and to have meaningful employment? Does the purpose of education reach beyond economics, and in fact is essential for personal fulfillment? Is it possible that if we encourage students to become more than skilled workers, human freedom and equality issues will again rise in importance? These questions need to be seriously addressed as we begin our journey into the 21st century.

Educators' responsibility then is to give students the tools to understand their world and express what they see, to evaluate their circumstances and the circumstances of those around them, and to give them voice. To do that, requires educators to be in dialogue with students. Paulo Freire writes in <u>Pedagogy of the Oppressed</u>:

Dialogue cannot exist, however, in the absence of a profound love for the world and for people. The naming of the world, which is an act of creation and re-creation, is not possible if it is not infused with love. Love is at the same time the foundation of dialogue and dialogue itself. It is thus necessarily the task of responsible subject and cannot exist in a relation of domination.... Because love is an act of courage, not of fear, love is commitment to others. No matter where the oppressed are found, the act of love is commitment to their cause—the cause of liberation... as an act of freedom, it must not serve as a pretext for manipulation. It must generate other acts of freedom; otherwise, it is not love. Only by abolishing the situation of oppression is it possible to restore the love which that situation made impossible (70).

Chapter 2 – U.S. Corporate Capitalism and Public Education

Capitalism and democracy, in the United States, have battled over the direction public education should move. Democratic principles are allowed to gain strength when the U.S. economy was strong, but because it was costly to implement fair employment practices into the workplace, when the economy weakened as it did in the 1970's, so did the investment in justice issues. Equality and freedom, two core democratic values became slogans of a system, which was neither equal nor free. It is important to look at the development of corporate capitalism in the United States and to trace public education's role in supporting and maintaining that system

The First Industrial Revolution began in the 18th century in Great Britain and moved to the United States in the middle 19th Century. With it came a migration of workers to the cities from rural areas in hopes of finding increased incomes for struggling families. While wages increased, compared to farm workers, the working conditions remained poor, and housing was crowded and inadequate for the laborers. Erich Goode in <u>Sociology</u> writes: "The Industrial Revolution seemed to create more problems than it solved, including child labor" (15).

The use of power sources such as coal, oil or gasoline combined with machinery, which used interchangeable parts, replaced many skilled workers. The new workforce was trained to complete one small piece of the production process rather than to see the project through from beginning to end. The satisfaction of

skilled workers with their product became the monotony of doing one specific and technical task over and over. "The type of work that factory laborers performed alienated them from their jobs, because they could not derive satisfaction from being 'just another cog in a machine.' Workers' movements began to organize unions, strikes, and revolutions. In short, class conflict was born" (456). Farm families found it harder to remain in business. Large corporations bought out more and more individuals, who could no longer make a profit when expected to compete with agribusiness.

Education was designed to support the economy. Michigan Agriculture College, later to be known as Michigan State University, began as a land grant college in 1835, to teach farmers how to increase profit through improved land use such as crop rotation, and terrace farming and through improved seed, both in livestock and vegetation. As the focus of the economy moved away from farming and into industry, the university moved into areas designed to meet the emerging economic frontiers including engineering and business administration.

The Michigan College of Mining and Technology in Houghton, early on trained individuals for the technical side of copper mining and then branched into iron mining. When the mining companies refused to make working conditions safe and cut corners, the educated mining staff refused to enter the mines. A strike ensued and the mining companies hired Finns and Norwegians with no mining experience to work the mines at lower wages. Capital gains for the company over shadowed the safety of the workers.

The concept of the Second Industrial Revolution as suggested in Ronald Edsforth's, Class Conflict and Cultural Consensus: The Making of a Mass Consumer Society in Flint, Michigan, began at the close of the 19th century with the merger of science and technology with business. Edsforth describes this event as the "transformation of science into capital" (2). The scientific management of the manufacturing process had far-reaching implications. Suddenly efficiency experts were in offices, business, schools and factories looking for ways to complete tasks in a shorter amount of time. Frederick Taylor, America's efficiency expert, spoke of his methods. "(My system) prevents arbitrary and tyrannical actions on the part of foremen and superintendents quite as much as it prevents 'soldiering' or loafing or inefficiency on the part of the workmen" (qtd. in Kanigel 510).

. j. p

Taylor's methods, were applied to industry creating mass production with implications both economic and social:

They attained the kind of productivity increases and economies of scale that made the true mass production of complex durable goods possible. Though usually celebrated as unqualified progress because it led to significant improvements in material living standards, mass production also had its negative side. Mechanization and the minute subdivisions of work process involved in mass production greatly intensified the alienation of factory labor by reducing skill requirements and the need to think on the job. This result was not unintended. Frederick Taylor himself stressed the

idea that 'all possible brainwork should be removed from the shop' as one of the cornerstones of scientific management (Edsforth 3).

Edsforth wrote that the second industrial revolution also displayed increase in size of the firms while showing a decrease in the number of competitors. Monopolies grew and were protected, by government, from a backlash composed of workers and small competitors (4). Dramatic changes in society followed. With the first industrial revolution, tension developed between management and workers, breaking at times into revolution. With the second industrial revolution, capitalism did not create such response by satisfying some of the material wants of workers. By creating a desire for material goods and giving workers a means, although illusive, to attain these goods, they could continue to increase profits. These same strategies were later applied to education. The destructive criticism of public education in the late 1900's created a desire for alternatives in education, and a new market was created for corporate run schools. These for-profit schools implied that their methods would create better learning for children and thus, a better chance for students to be successful as adults. With government's blessing. laws were proposed that would funnel off money from public education into the corporate pocket...

The automobile industry was a prime example of how the second industrial revolution created a market from workers. The desire to own the product they produced caused the workers to go into debt to purchase the automobile.

To get a car, families all across the country turned their back on the traditional wisdom to work hard and save for that inevitable rainy day.

The desire to own a car had legitimized a new consumer-spending ethic that cut across class and ethnic lines. In 1929, nearly half the nation's total outstanding consumer installment debt of 2.9 billion dollars had been incurred to buy automobiles (15).

The jobs in the industrialized cities required little education or English. Many workers in the auto plants were without a high school diploma and performed their piece of mass production efficiently. Education was not valued as a necessity for material success and families of shop workers wanted to follow their parents into the shop. A basic, non-technical education was sufficient until technology in industry made the use and development of new tools imperative.

As the economy slowed during the Great Depression, many automobile workers lost their jobs, wages were cut and yet autoworkers still employed were ordered to increase production in order to maintain their current wage earnings:

The steep decline in sales and the resulting pressure on the automobile companies to cut their labor costs and speed up production, brought on the change in management attitude towards their employees. During the 1930's, all vestiges of the old paternalism disappeared in General Motors' Flint plants. In its place, supervisors and foremen learned to use fear and intimidation to discipline and drive their workers. W. A. Snider, a Buick foreman, related his experience at the NRA hearings held in

December of 1934. He told incredulous government investigators that his superiors had pounded foremen on the back telling them to 'get the work out.' ... (who in turn pounded workers) This was known as getting work out with a sledge hammer (161).

In Flint, Michigan workers organized into a political force. A Democratic voting working class challenged the business class over their political decisions. Government, in turn, took a bigger economic role, to shore up capitalism. United Auto Workers Union members' famous Sit-Down Strike in Flint, brought ill feelings of workers to light. Law enforcement workers joined General Motors' deputized security staff to control the strike. Most workers refused to acknowledge their ties with the union as charges by corporate and political bosses were levied against union members. Although frightened by threats of job loss, workers refused to publicly condemn the strikers. "It was no uncommon occurrence for a foreman to go down to the man and tell him that he was not getting enough production from his job, and if he could not get it, there was lots of men waiting at the employment office for his job" (161). Eventually the U.A.W. was recognized as the sole bargaining unit with GM.

As World War II approached, U.S. Government contracts to the megacorporations assured profits would continue. "In Flint, conversion from automotive production to war materials production was a long process that began in late 1940 when the first machine guns came down the assembly line at the A. C. Sparkplug factory" (197). Flint eventually made aircraft engines, tanks and other armaments. Consumerism grew through the war years, in desire and in fact. Postwar citizens chased the American dream with new fervor, wanting for themselves and their children all the "things" they never owned. This era of consumerism and patriotism continued into the 1960's when questioning, the ethical and moral injustices of a corporate-capitalist system, forced its way into the political arena.

The increased social awareness of the 1960's and 70's, highlighted by the Civil Rights movement, illuminated the disadvantaged status of Black Americans. Women, Native Americans, Gay and Lesbians spoke of other injustices. Public education had a starring role as in the civil rights movement. Equal but separate schools for minority children were evaluated and were found to be "anything but equal." The movement towards bussing to create equality in schools was met with strong opposition, however the Federal Government enforced the integration policies which legally ended segregation.

For a brief time, equality issues joined to produce momentum against the status quo. Wages and hiring practices improved for many Americans. Environmental issues were addressed and unions called the business community to responsible entrepreneurship. Working conditions and wages for all workers improved. Schools began to address social issues and democracy's blessings began a short-lived emergence.

However, as justice issues rose, cost became detrimental to profits.

Corporations could not satisfy stockholders and workers. Health care emerged as

a major expense due to rising insurance costs, and along with other non-wage worker benefits, corporate expenses rose dramatically. The gain workers had seen in working conditions and job security regressed. Business took steps to stop the expansion of worker rights. How could this best be achieved? Something had to be blamed other than the economy and public education was, by intent or default, the chosen 'accursed group.' (See Feuerlicht, Chapter 1)

The attack on public education began in earnest. One of the major vehicles for the conservative voice began with the release of a document in 1983 by the Reagan White House entitled *A Nation at Risk* written by the National Commission on Excellence in Education.(1983) David C. Berliner and Bruce J. Biddle in The Manufactured Crisis; Myths, Fraud, and the Attack on America's Public Schools, revealed not only were many of the charges against America's public schools arrived at by misinterpretation of data, or not reporting the facts in their entirety. For the next decade, Americans witnessed...

... a veritable explosion of documents and pronouncements from government leaders—two American presidents, Ronald Reagan and George Bush, secretaries of education, assistant secretaries, and chiefs and staff members in federal agencies—telling Americans about the many 'problems' of their public schools. As in *A Nation at Risk*, most of these claims were said to reflect 'evidence,' although the 'evidence' in question either was not presented or appeared in the form of simplistic, misleading generalizations (3).

Americans however accepted the commission's report as fact. The authorities seemed very convincing and with more than a decade of damaging criticism of public schools by government and industry, the information was picked up and repeated by the media. Morale of teachers and administrators plummeted, and schools were in crisis.

The Manufactured Crisis was not an accidental event. Rather, it appeared within a specific historical context and was led by identifiable critics whose political goals could be furthered by "scapegoating" educators. It was also supported from its inception by an assortment of questionable techniques—including misleading methods for analyzing data, distorting reports of findings, and suppressing contradictory evidence.

Moreover, it was tied to misguided schemes for reforming' education—schemes that would, if adopted, seriously damage American schools (4).

Thus, the progress in recent years for democratic voice was slowly silenced. Civil rights for minorities, women and the poor had become too costly. Paying females a salary somewhat closer to what was paid males, improved equality in benefits for black, Hispanic and other minority workers, and giving everyone, not just management, good insurance added to industry's expense Education that raised and promoted equality issues frightened and threatened business and corporate owners. Equality issues were promoted as un-American. Reverse discrimination suits began in earnest. (See Chapter 1) Meanwhile, attention was sidetracked from the real issues facing the economy and education.

In order to increase profit, costs had to be reduced and/or more products sold. Richard A. Brosio, in <u>A Radical Democratic Critique of Capitalist</u>

<u>Education</u>, defines hegemony as the attempt to persuade and organize consent.

Democracy, domination, nationalism, God and morality were entwined with capitalism, and expressed through the media. Brosio continues, "television constitutes the first curriculum of hegemonic manipulation" (xii). By creating a desire for goods and equating acquisition as an answer to our material and psychological needs, capitalism created a market for its products and services. "Well being" therefore was designed, packaged, and made desirable to the consumer as a necessity for being a patriotic, moral, successful part of God's United States. Consequently, consumerism and materialism blossomed.

Public education was caught between the capitalist demand that schools create "competent, willing producers and active consumers" and the democratic-egalitarian expectation that public education develop well-rounded critical citizens who may use their critical skills to analyze capitalist work relations and command of the economy (1). Funding for education challenged school officials to reduce spending and accept the dictates of industry. The symbiotic partnering between industry and school districts evolved, schools received funding and industry dictated what "should" be taught (technology, for example). Meanwhile, industry was blackmailing cities with threats to leave, unless the cities granted tax-breaks to the corporations. Not wanting jobs to leave the community, city and state governments granted many such requests. Since much of public schools funding

came from corporate tax, the money available to public schools was depleted even further.

With those who believed the *Nation at Risk* report and other attacks on public education, momentum began to build in support for vouchers and for private schools to receive public funds. Elizabeth A. Kelly writes <u>in Education</u>, <u>Democracy</u>, and <u>Public Knowledge</u>:

Movements aimed at privatizing public schools or promoting private education through the adoption of state-funded voucher systems of subsidies provided one set of responses. Simply opting out of public schooling is another path taken by those who can afford to do so. Such responses, however, are disturbing demonstrations of the power of private capitalist relations to co-opt democracy and public process (4).

Capitalism created inroads to academia, offered fellowships and grants and encouraged professors to do research that benefited industry. Universities' curricula was influenced by corporate endowments. If research presented views critical of the corporate sponsor, would university funding be jeopardized? What students were learning at elementary, middle and high schools, as well as at university, began to be influenced by private industry.

The manipulation of schools by the strong voice of corporate economics affected education in several ways. The American people were convinced that schools needed technology to develop skilled graduates for the job market.

Technology companies now had a huge market in the public schools and profits

increase. Public schools began, at public expense, providing training that would otherwise be acquired from the industry's budget. This did in fact make graduates more experienced but it also decreased the time otherwise needed by the business to train the employee. This job training focus was not new, but had increased strength and the liberal and fine arts were less emphasized. (In the Flint, Michigan elementary schools by the late 1990's, physical education, art and music were no longer financed and supported with specialized teachers, while financing for technology and computers in every classroom were received from grant money.) Wealthier districts were able to keep some of these special programs. A more liberal education remained accessible to some but not to others, namely the urban poor.

Disguised in the myth of being unable to find laborers to handle the work assignments of industry, due to the inadequacy of public education, corporate America called for the business practice of competition to be applied to our nation's schools. "Although CEO's from major industries may make this charge, personnel directors from those same industries do not back them up. Two recent surveys of personnel directors asked them to rate the five most important skills and the five least important skills currently needed by employers, and their responses were summarized in the *Sandia Report* (prepared by the officials of the Sandia National Laboratories, a branch of the Department of Energy)" (Berliner and Biddle 88). See insert.

Michidan Survev 🗁 Doesn't abuse substances Honesty, Integrity 自然多点。 Fóllows directions Hespeols others Punctual, tegular attendance

Rochester, N.Y. Burvey · Doesn't abuse substances : Follows Ulrections? Aeads Instructions Follows salety rules 288 Hespecis others

the five Least Important Attributes for Employment

Michigan Survey Mathematics ଝ Sobial sciences 🔑 Natural sciences: Dompuler Brogramming 👸 Foreign language with the

Rochester, N.Y. Survey Natural sciences Calculus The State of the Control of Computers Foreign language

busines: The Sanda Report Carson at al., 1881 p. 1311.

Statistical Scurces: The Michigan Department of Education; The Rochester, N.Y. School District

It would appear personnel directors are looking for employees very differently than industry had suggested. In business, the strongest survived and products poorly marketed failed. Business then reasoned if schools were to privatize, education's product would improve and costs would be cut. Of course, what was not said was that advertisement would be used to attract students, a regimented curriculum would remove creativity, and the chain-store school would focus on cost saving measures such as cookie-cutter lessons, an under-certified non-union staff with poor benefits, and services such as bussing and special education cut or minimized (See Chapter 3: Edison Schools)

Public education would be further hurt by the voucher system. Vouchers would allow students to take their state funded public education dollars to any school, public or private, secular or religious. By saying vouchers give choice to parents, it assumes a family has additional dollars to add to their child's school operations. A family that already is able to afford a private school will take

dollars from the limited money set aside for public education, leaving the poor with less money for their community school. The already fully funded private school will then have a huge bonus to invest in educational opportunities. The poor and students with difficulties in learning will be left with under-funded and under-staffed programs. Unequal and separate schools will have been reestablished with government's blessing,

Meanwhile, corporate adventures like Channel 1 and Coca Cola have inserted themselves into public schools. Students have limited access to products, such as soft drinks, which are controlled by contract between school administration and corporations. Channel 1 agreed to wire and provide technology for schools, while school officials agreed to show Channel 1 programming containing sponsor's commercial products of interest to student viewers. Schools, short on funds, welcomed financial support even under ethically questionable circumstances.

Corporate America has made significant inroads into its newest frontier, public education. Defaming established programs, attempting to replace schools with Taylor-style management similar to mass production brought to the auto industry, thrusting profit making advertising into school curriculum and creating a closed market for corporate goods had a significant impact. Private-for-profit and charter school systems successfully control and mass-produce an educational product that is cheaper. Some educators welcomed the rigid "everyone on the same page on the same day" curriculum for it relieved them of time needed for

lesson planning. However, the cookie-cutter approach to education had significant flaws as outlined in The Edison Schools Chapter 3.

Lawrence Cremin, in **Popular Education and Its Discontents**, writes:

If there is a crisis in American schooling, it is not the crisis of putative mediocrity and decline charged by the recent reports but rather a crisis inherent in balancing (the) tremendous variety of demands Americans have made on their schools and colleges—of crafting curricula that take account of the needs of a modern society at the same time that they make provision for the extraordinary diversity of America's young people; of designing institutions where well-prepared teachers can teach under supportive conditions, and where *all* students can be motivated and assisted to develop their talents to the fullest; and of providing the necessary resources for creating and sustaining such institutions" (43).

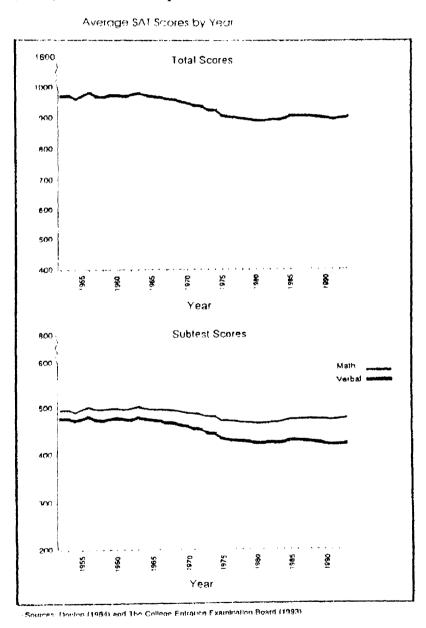
Chapter 3—The Edison Schools: A Case Study

The Edison Project, the corporate child of Chris Whittle, created a merger between big business and public education. Events preceding the emergence of private-for-profit education began in the 1970's with the discomfort of the power elite and conservative, corporate capitalism over race, class and gender issues. During this time of growing conservatism begun with the Reagan and Bush administrations, public schools were targeted as the source of society's problems. Tension over the nation's economy grew and a plan began to emerge to create a new corporate frontier, the corporate or privately run school. One of these efforts was the Edison Project (name recently changed to Edison Schools), a network of public schools run by a private for-profit corporation. David C. Berliner and Bruce J. Biddle in *The Manufactured Crisis* write,

In 1983 the Reagan White House began to make sweeping claims attacking the conduct and achievements of America's public schools—claims that were contradicted by evidence we know. We thought at first this might have been a mistake, but these and related hostile and untrue claims were soon to be repeated by many leaders of the Reagan and Bush administrations. The claims were also embraced in many documents issued by industrialists and business leaders and were endlessly repeated and embroidered on by the press. And, as time passed even leading members of the education community... began to state these lies as facts" (xiii).

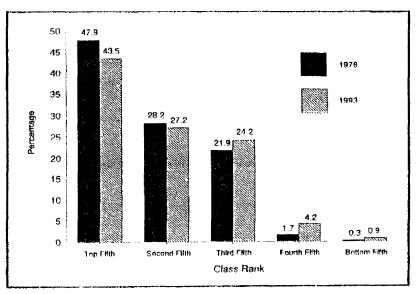
One such statement repeated and promoted was: Student achievement has recently fallen across the nation. In *A Nation at Risk* it was stated the "average achievement of high school students on most standardized tests is now lower that 26 years ago when Sputnik was launched" (8). In fact, aggregate total Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores did drop between 1963 and 1975. See chart below.

3. +



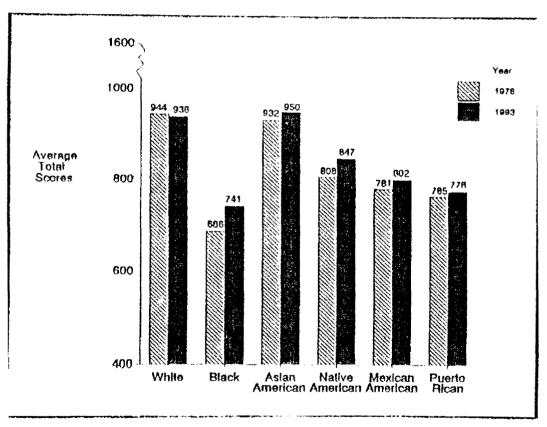
Aggregate SAT Scores By Year
Source: <u>The Manufactured Crisis</u>, Berliner and Biddle p. 15
The College Entrance Examination Board 1993

There are some problems however using SAT scores in this way. SAT are voluntary. According to Berliner and Biddle using data from the College Entrance Examination Board, the number of students taking the test varies widely from state to state. For instance, "In 1993 the percentage of students taking the SAT varied from less than 10% in Alabama, Arkansas, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, North /Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and Utah to more than 70% in Connecticut, the District of Columbia, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island" (17). This variance in population would reflect the type of student taking the test. Where only a few take the SAT, it could be extrapolated that they are higher ranking students looking for academically challenging colleges and universities. Likewise, when up to 70% take the SAT a significant number would have lower achievement. See chart below.



Source: College Pound Seniors (The College Entrance Examination Board, various dates).

Percentage of Students Taking the SAT by School Rank Source: <u>The Manufactured Crisis</u> by Berliner and Biddle p.19 College Entrance Examination Board Another instance of SAT scores being improperly used again comes from Berliner and Biddle as they suggest disaggregate scores be analyzed. When looking at the race and ethnicity of students taking the SAT "average SAT scores were nearly constant for white students, but the scores increased for every minority group during this period (The slight decline for white students merely reflects the larger numbers of those students with weaker academic backgrounds who are now taking the test.)" (20). See chart below.

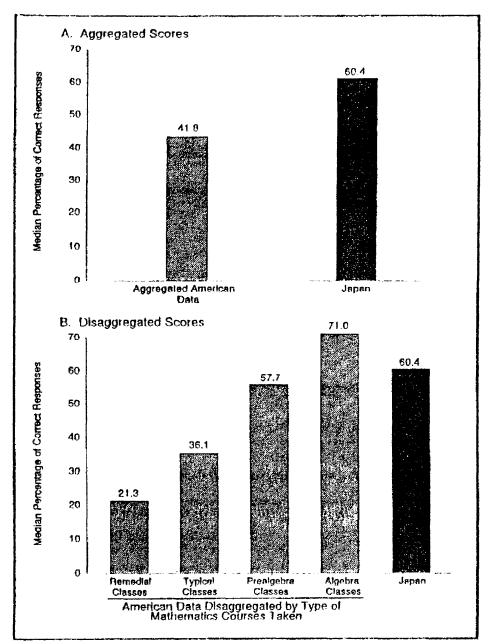


-Source: College Bound Seniors (The College Entrance Examination Board, 1993, p. 10)

Average SAT Subpopulation Scores
Source: <u>The Manufactured Crisis</u> by Berliner and Biddle p. 22
College Entrance Examination Boards

Do American schools lag behind other nations in test scores? Aggregate scores would suggest that they do. Some explanation needs to be offered here as well Many European and Asian countries use a stiff test at the end of primary or junior high too decide who will be allowed to enter specialized high schools. This automatically limits the academic population taking the standardized tests used to compare American students with their counterparts in the rest of the world. Next, the United States chooses to give students a wide variety of experiences and to encourage students to work to gain job experience. When subjects are offered and who takes them varies widely from country to country.

The Second International Mathematics Study from the IEA (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement) was conducted from 1980 to 1982. It looked at the achievement of both thirteen-year-olds (i.e., eighth-graders) and high school seniors. Among other things, the study found that the aggregate achievement of eighth-grade American students lagged behind that of students in many other countries, notably Japan. This fact was immediately pounced on by critics and by a dutiful press, which enthusiastically vilified American schools for fecklessness... Nobody at the time seemed to notice that Japanese schools were then *requiring* eighth-grade students to take mathematics courses that stressed algebra, whereas such courses were typically offered to American students a year or two later" (56). See chart below.



-Source: lan Westhury (1992, 1994).

Japanese and American Achievement Scores for Students Age 13—from the Second International Mathematics Study of the IEA Source: The Manufactured Crisis by Berliner and Biddle p.57
Ian Westbury (1992, 1994)

America was being misled about schools by the government. There are many examples those above. Certainly all schools, public and private, have areas of

weakness and ways to improve. Having quality educators and high standards for all students are important, and ways to improve should always be sought. However, taking into account how standardized tests are required of all students except those with legitimate exemptions, and those taking the SAT have included an increasing percentage of students, Americans have cause to wonder what could be gained by using public schools as a scapegoat for society's problems. What has occurred is the emergence of charter, private for profit schools, and legislation for vouchers, which funnel public school monies into private schools or corporations. In order for this to happen, reports and research were generated stating "facts" by powerful people and foundations, who were "pursuing a political agenda designed to weaken the nation's public schools, redistribute support for those schools so that privileged students are favored over needy students, or even abolished those schools altogether" (xiv).

This movement was not accidental in fact it was calculated and planned. In 1983, a report on the nation's schools was released by the White House. The document, *A Nation at Risk*, taunted America's schools and their failures blaming public schools for both economic and international problems. Claims were presented, backed by "evidence" that showed America's teachers and programs were the cause of the country's ills; that our students could not compete internationally. The Ronald Reagan and George Bush administrations made allegations that were supposedly backed by evidence, but evidence was either missing or was misleading.

The Manufactured Crisis was not an accidental event. Rather, it appeared within a specific historical context and was led by identifiable critics, whose political goals could be furthered by scapegoating educators. It was also supported from its inception by an assortment of questionable techniques—including misleading methods for analyzing data, distorting reports of findings and suppressing contradictory evidence. Moreover, it was tied to misguided schemes for "reforming" education—schemes that would, if adopted, seriously damage American schools" (4).

The educational institution acts to promote the ideology of those in power. During the next decade, public schools continued to be criticized. Social programs supporting race, class and gender issues were severely cut and were considered too costly for American industry and capitalism. Fred L Pincus calls the 1980's the "decade of conservative restoration" (qtd. in Berliner and Biddle 132). Rightwing agenda was promoted by well-funded foundations such as the John M. Olin Foundation, the Adolph Coors Foundation and think tanks including the Heritage Foundation, the American Enterprise Institute, the Hoover Institution, the Manhattan Institute, and the Madison Center for Educational Affairs. Their voices were given credibility in the press (133). "Economists of the Far Right have argued that public-school districts should be replaced by a 'free market' of competing private schools that are supported through tax credits or vouchers" (134).

The Far Right argues that increased federal control has allowed powerful 'vested interests' to have excessive influence in schools and that balance will not be restored until control over schools is 'returned' to the states or local communities (The vested interests include, for example, teachers' unions, educational associations, and federal bureaucrats; racial, religious, and ethnic minorities; women, the disabled, and homosexuals indeed, presumable, anyone who is not WASP, male, and straight.)" (134).

Although The Sandia Report prepared in 1990 by the Sandia National Laboratories looked at public schools and found evidence, contradicting claims made by the Bush administration, the report was suppressed until Bush was out of office (26). Regardless, if the myths perpetuated were accurate or if the truth had been governmentally suppressed, the climate had been established for capitalism to open a new market. Educators, reflecting on their teaching experience, knew the faults of society were not of their making. Educators were aware of the inequalities of racism, classism, and sexism prevalent and perpetuated in both schools and society, but they were unable to recognize these issues that caused the problems facing schools. Michael W. Apple in Teachers and Texts: A Political Economy of Class and Gender Relations in Education writes:

"Educators are often protected from recognizing these relations, and their own position in this crisis, by a number of things. By not seeing education relationally, by not seeing it as created out of the economic, political, and cultural conflicts that have historically emerged in the United

States and elsewhere, they too often place educational questions in a separate compartment, one that does not easily allow for interaction with the relations of class, gender and racial power that give education its social meaning" (5).

Apple continues:

Yet the difficult times educators and others are facing today are not abstract. They are very real. In education, we are witnessing a number of tendencies that are gaining considerable momentum. These include attempts (1) to restructure the work of teachers so that it is linked more directly to specific behavioral outcomes and directed by managerial techniques and ideologies, and (2) to more closely specify and monitor curricular goals and materials to bring them into line with the industrial, military, and ideological 'need' of a relatively small but powerful segment of the American public. When coupled with the conservative restoration, and the continuing financial crisis in education, both of these tendencies are having a profound impact at the level of how teachers have done and are now doing their jobs, on what kinds of knowledge are considered the most important for students to learn, and, finally on who should make decisions concerning these issues" (8).

The public had been indoctrinated with 'corporate' truth, and educators were effectively silenced. It was difficult to respond to the myriad of statistics listing

the failures of their profession. This then, was the setting for Chris Whittle's introduction of the Edison Project (Edison Schools).

Chris Whittle, entrepreneur and businessman, received help from influential friends. Lamar Alexander, Secretary of Education in the Bush administration and a former governor of Tennessee, has close connections with the Whittle Communications Enterprise documented in an article by Jonathan Kozol. His findings indicate that Alexander had previously served on Whittle's Board, worked as a consultant for Whittle, and had profited greatly from transactions of Whittle stock (272-278). Moreover, in March of 1991, the *Wall Street Journal* (Pound and Stout 16) suggested that other leaders in the Department of Education had also benefited from relationships with Whittle" (Berliner and Biddle 149).

In Schooling for Profit: Capitalism's New Frontier, John M. McLaughlin commented on the publicity the Edison Project had received. "It is the largest, most ambitious, best financially backed effort ever launched to privatize schooling. Its originator, Cris Whittle is a master of the media and has used his skills to capture the attention of the business and popular press" (23). This was not Whittle's first attempt to enter, manipulate, and profit from public education. As owner of Channel One, he had already entered many districts. Channel One had given districts struggling to fund technology, televisions installed into every classroom if students would be required, with teacher supervision, to watch their ten minutes of 'entertaining' news with two minutes of commercials. It appeared harmless, however this was not the case. Hugh Rank, Professor of English at

Governors State University, reflected in his article *Channel One: Asking the Wrong Questions*, published in <u>Educational Leadership</u> that even though teachers may claim students disregard the ads...."this attitude simply reveals naivete` or ignorance of the techniques of indirect, non-rational persuasion—such as 'peripheral attention,' repetition, and the 'association' technique" (53).

Similar to the technique used by Whittle to introduce Edison Schools to the educational community, Channel On enticed educators with the illusion of 'something for nothing.' Whittle was a skillful salesman: he came gifts in hand, not only offering thousands of dollars worth of 'free' hardware and packaged programming, but also provided the mental rationalization (the 'good intentions') needed by the teachers to justify their actions: altruism ('doing it to the benefit of the children') and pragmatism (reasonable 'trade-offs'). Further, he flattered his audiences, praising their sophistication ("Teachers know best," "Kids today know all about TV ads") (54).

This vast, basically untouched, resource for corporate profit appealed to Whittle's organization. The question remains: Is it ethical to exploit children?

In the December 1993/January 1994 issue of Educational Leadership,
Bradley S. Greenberg, Professor in the Departments of Communication and
Telecommunication, and Jeffrey E. Brand, a doctoral student at Michigan State
University surveyed Channel One student viewers. They found that "students who watched Channel One regularly were more likely to agree that money is

everything; a nice car is more important than school; designer labels make a difference; I want what I see advertised; and wealthy people are happier than the poor" (57). In other words, the two minutes of advertisements did influence the viewers suggesting that: "regular watching of Channel One reinforces materialistic attitudes" (57). Channel One was sold to Weekly Reader in 1994 for \$240 million. It is not a far stretch to assume that Whittle's purpose for developing his own chain of schools, regardless of his salesmanship attempt to say it is for the "good of the students," is motivated by potential profit (Weekly Reader, by the way, is being used in Edison Schools. Interview #7).

In May of 1991, Whittle announced he would reinvent schooling. What has resulted is a slick sales job with very little invention. The curriculum foundation is based on Chicago Math and Success for All reading program. Both were already available to any school district, public or private, that wished to purchase them. Nor can Edison claim to have developed a second-language program. (I interviewed several teachers from Edison schools around the country and promised them confidentiality due to their fear of reprisals.) One teacher admitted Edison had no Spanish program and that she had to develop it herself. Therefore, their duplication of programs around the country is called to question. Some of the teachers interviewed did like the Success for All reading program and had seen growth in their students, but admitted the program was not limited just to Edison schools (Interview #6). Other statistics suggested that gains made were subject to debate and the incorrect use of statistics. (See Appendix D) Some

teachers felt the program was too rigid and didn't allow for mastery before the lessons moved on to a new skill (Interview #4). One teacher said she had missed the initial training and did not know if she was teaching it correctly even though there was a set progression of lessons teachers were to follow exactly. A lead teacher shared with me that the reading program was very structured and included the number of minutes spent and the particular skill to be worked on that day (Interview #1). Another teacher admitted she was non-degreed and had no formal training to teach reading (Interview #6).

Apple writes about 'intensification' as it applies to education. As intensification occurs, "the work privileges of educational workers are eroded" (41). Teachers rely more on pre-formulated schedules and highly structured curricular systems, bypassing their own expertise. "The process of control, the increasing technology and intensification of the teaching act, the proletarianization of their work... was misrecognized as a symbol of their increased professionalism. As responsibility for designing one's own curricula and for one's own teaching decreased, responsibility over technical and management concerns came to the fore. The longer hours are evidence of their enlarged professional status" (45).

Edison schools have an increased school year and a longer school day.

Children attend school one hour a day longer in K-2 than other schools and 2 hours longer in grades 3-12. Some Saturdays are also required but it differs between schools due to teacher negotiations. The school year has 200 - 205 instructional days. This amounts to approximately 4-5 weeks longer than regular

schools per year. (This has potential for increased learning.) Teachers admit their day does not end at 4 p.m. when the students go home, and a 12-hour day is not unusual (Interview #2 and #3). The planning hours within the day do not seem to be sufficient for the added work the staff is expected to do. Edison is constructed with hierarchy of administration beginning with founder, president and CEO Chris Whittle and including a development team located around the country with the principals of the individual schools. Much of the administrating of Edison Schools is falling on the teachers. Edison places a phone in each classroom so the teachers can immediately be in contact with parents if students are absent or are having difficulty. They are expected to check on children's absences at the beginning of the day to inquire about the student. Under critical analysis, this technology alone becomes an added burden to educators as the gain in school time is eroded by non-instructional duties. Tension does exist, as some staff members dislike contacting parents from the room for disciplinary purposes. "I simply refuse to take away instructional time from the other students" (Interview #4). Likewise, each house or group of about five teachers is given a budget to spend on the five classes. Working with the business manager on staff, they can locate supplies where they can get the best deal, effectively eliminating a districts central supply and saving Edison money. Teachers are responsible for additional non-teaching duties, giving them more ownership in the project and in working hard for its success. Teachers are expected to eat lunch with their students, reducing the need for additional lunchroom aids. One teacher mentioned selling items as fund-raisers and shared they also used fund-raisers to finance field trips and added 'as any other public school does" (Interview #1). With long hours, and increased expectations of Saturday school, evening conferencing, attendance follow-ups, lunchroom duty, purchasing supplies, etc., it is apparent Edison intends to use its teachers to eliminate many jobs and save the school large sums of money. Teachers are overworked and under paid, and their professionalism has been removed. They are expected to use scripted lessons and rigid curriculum and teachers have lost many of the gains in the workplace (i.e. reasonable hours, and classroom support) the profession has fought hard to obtain.

A. 4

Edison Schools are often placed in poor urban districts. Why? Is this deliberate and philanthropic, or deliberate for another reason? Would Edison Schools be welcomed in prosperous districts where students are achieving on state and national tests? Perhaps the profit-motive school is using the plight of the poor to make inroads into the lives of poor children, offering improvement to their neighborhood schools and in reality using these poor neighborhoods to build profit for the corporation. Achievement test scores are most closely correlated with economic level of the students. (See Appendix C) With economic comfort comes increased opportunity for students to learn from their families and neighborhoods, and from their school. The poor, because of their poverty, have little in the way of resources; their children begin school with few skills, few dreams, and little hope. When a corporation offers these parents hope for their children, they embrace it, without seeing the insidious side of the offer. Edison Schools are

developed to make profit, the programs they use are quality programs, but with profit motive driving the school, they under staff and under fund those programs so they fail. (See Appendix A)

Test results are poor regardless of what Edison advertisement claims. On Edison Schools' web pages under Student achievement data, Edison claims "Students in nearly every Edison school are achieving more today than when the school opened; in no Edison School are students achieving less" (Edison Schools Web page, 6/6/2000). However, Michigan Educational Assessment Program 2000 test scores show otherwise. Taken from the Michigan Department of Education web site on MEAP scores Edison Schools (Names of schools are off their own web site) scored lower than the public school district in which they were located, in every district with the exception of Mount Clemens. In Detroit, for example, the Detroit Public Schools scored on their 2000 MEAP 4th grade math with 62.4% passing to Edison's YMCA Service Learning Academy at 30.8%, Edison's Detroit Academy of Arts and Sciences with 52.3 %, and Edison Public School Academy having 27.2% pass the math MEAP for the year 2000. Similar scores existed in reading at both the 4th and 7th grade levels in the Detroit schools, as well as 7th math scores. Similar results were duplicated in Flint, Lansing, Battle Creek, and Pontiac. (See Appendix A)

Edison clearly states in no case did scores go down since Edison began running their schools. This also is not the case. At the Detroit Academy of Arts and Sciences run by Edison, their 1999 4th grade math MEAP scores were 55.9%

and 1999 reading MEAP scores were 42.3%. The 2000 MEAP scores showed a drop in both cases. This was also true of the Edison Public School Academy in both 7th grade categories. 4th grade reading MEAP scores dropped in Pontiac and in Flint, Edison's Garfield dropped significantly in both 4th grade reading and math MEAP (Math 1999 at 30.5 % to 20.7% in 2000; Reading 1999 at 20.7% to 12.2% in 2000). Also in Flint, Williams Edison 4th grade MEAP scores dropped. (Math 1999 at 44.6% to 25.3% in 2000; Reading 1999 28.6% to 16.5% in 2000) For further comparison of MEAP scores for Michigan Edison schools see

Although one might not consider the American Federation of Teachers without bias, information they have collected holds interesting data from state and national tests. AFT's document published in the spring of 1998 cites research on how Edison Schools have scored around the country. In their internet web site article *Student Achievement in Edison Schools: Mixed Results in an Ongoing Enterprise*, (See Appendix B) the AFT wrote about Edison Schools use of the Success for All reading program:

"The effectiveness of Success for All has been threatened by the company's failure to carry out the program as developed by SFA researchers. Through reading tutors are central to SFA's success, Edison has yet to provide the number of tutors that SFA calls for in high-poverty schools, and it spreads reading tutors over all grade levels, from kindergarten through grade five, instead of concentrating them in

kindergarten through grade two where SFA researchers have found, they are most effective. (That may account for the lackluster performance of the Dade County School in 1996-97 in comparison with that of the Edison school in Wichita, where SFA was fully implemented.) Also, except for Dade County, beginning in 1997, Edison does not employ the full-time SFA coordinator in each school, even though the program insists this is necessary in order to ensure quality control (Nelson 2).

It appears that Edison Schools has deliberately misled the public with its web page advertisements. The harm comes when districts believe the myth Edison perpetuates that their program has achieved wonderful results. Inkster, Michigan, (one of the schools targeted by Governor John Engler for state takeover due in part to poor MEAP scores) recently contracted to Edison Schools to take over and run their entire school district. Fear of take-over prompted the move. Chris Whittle, President and Chief Executive Officer of Edison Schools wrote in Company News:

Edison Schools, America's largest private manager of public schools, announced today (June 5, 2000) that it will launch operations in the District of Inkster, Michigan. This agreement represents the first whole-district contract for Edison Schools....Based on this level of enrollment, the contract represents revenues of approximately \$11 million per year for Edison... 'We believe the arena of whole-district partnerships is an important new channel for Edison'" (1).

Governor John Engler of Michigan threatened Detroit Public Schools and followed through with its takeover in the fall of 1999. "Last years take over of the Detroit School system could be reprised in a second district, Benton Harbor. The CEO would be hire by a 3-person panel that includes Gov. John Engler or his designee" (Schulz A3). Engler has threatened several other districts and encouraged vouchers and charter schools in hopes of increasing competition. However, if Edison represents competition in public education, it appears Engler acted before he had the facts, and as a result has created a capitalist monster and the monster is growing.

Besides spreading out into the new venture of running complete districts, such as the Inkster schools, Edison is now beginning to develop plans to create their own Teacher College. In Company News, Edison Web page May 1, 2000 the company made public their newest expansion. (Edison Schools Announces Two Major R&D Initiatives: Teacher Colleges and Whole-District Partnerships") Remember Edison Schools are a for-profit school system; that means they are creating a market from which to gain profit.

Teacher Colleges can be important to Edison in two ways: they drive quality in our 'core business' and they can be an important new business for us in their own right. Whole District Partnerships are potentially an immense new category for the company. There are approximately 13,000 districts with less than 5,000 students. Together, they have an enrollment of about 15,000 students. We believe large

numbers of these districts could find an alliance with Edison an attractive alternative (Whittle 1).

Though it is the beginning stages of this R&D effort on Teacher Colleges, the company is considering the following points:

- Edison will research programs of varying length and will consider offering both undergraduate and graduate degrees.
- Tuition will be charged, commensurate with cost of existing institutions.
- Edison will examine the possibility of guaranteeing employment in Edison schools to graduating students who meet certain standards.
- Edison is considering both campuses and online programs.
 Should "brick and mortar" campuses be part of the plan, they would likely be located near clusters of Edison schools so that students could experience working in a school while pursuing their degrees.
- In the same way that it partners with school districts, Edison will
 investigate the possibility of opening Edison programs in
 collaboration with existing teacher colleges.

 The company would strive to open its first operation no later than Fall 2003, with the possibility of a prototype by Fall 2002 (Whittle 1-2).

Adequate controls are not in place to regulate the evolving enterprise of Edison Schools. It is basically, on uncharted water where regulations have not, as yet, been created. Since the Whittle's initial announcement in 1991, Edison Schools has moved at an incredible pace. American public education is being ambushed and has yet to notice.

'Buyer beware!' Advertisement of partial truths or outright misrepresentation appears to be part of Edison School's philosophy. Edison uses technology as an advertising ploy to attract families and teachers. A promise of a laptop for every educator and a computer in the home of every student beginning in grade one is in itself illusive. Those placed in the home were apparently networked only to the school's system. This was not understood by many parents in the beginning. Now it is apparent that computers will be given only to second year Edison students' families (Edison Schools web page 6/2000). The laptops were given teachers so even when they were not in the classroom they could E-mail their students and staff, adding to the teacher's 'time on duty.' 'Technology as a second language' became an important part of Edison's ideology.

"Technology as text and as transformer of the labor process of both students and teachers cannot be ignored, not only because so many of the national reports make recommendations directly sponsoring 'computer literacy,' but also

because a considerable number of parents and educators believe that the computer will revolutionize the classroom and their children's chances of a better life" (Apple 150). Government and industry are looking to technology to save a declining economy. The need to support industry has become a major emphasis of educational reform. We spend an increased amount on technology, creating workers for industry and in the process, forget to ask 'who are we serving?' "The language of efficiency, production, standards, cost-effectiveness, job skills, work discipline, and so on—all defined by powerful groups and always threatening to become the dominant way we think about schooling has begun to push aside concerns for a democratic curriculum, teacher autonomy, and class, gender, and race equality" (154). We will conscientiously spend vast monies and time in "technology as second language" (Edison Schools' term) for our students to discover a small number of jobs available for their expertise. Then with many applicants for each high-tech job, industry again will benefit from the 'law of supply and demand' and pay little for the expertise we have been duped into creating:

ر 🕳 څور

This transformation... may stimulate economic growth and competition in the world marketplace, but will displace thousands of workers and could sustain high unemployment for many years. It may provide increased job opportunities for engineers, computer operators, and robot technicians, but it also promises to generate an even greater number of low level, service jobs such as those of janitors, cashiers, clericals, and

food service workers. And while many more workers will be using computers, automated office equipment, and other sophisticated technical devices in their jobs, the increased use of technology may actually reduce the skills and discretion required to perform many jobs (Rumberger and Lavin 155).

The selling of 'technology as savior' by industry and government needs to be closely examined for the unspoken yet deeply entrenched ideology, and ultimately to discover 'whose truth are we hearing' and 'who will profit.' Berliner and Biddle reaffirm this view. The growth of conservative views beginning in the 1990's, "revealed an economic crisis thought to be pending for American business, coupled with a belief that this crisis was linked to changes needed in education... the 'de-industrialization of America' suggested that America needed to develop a new industrial policy" (141). in order to transfer labor-intensive, low-skill production to Third World developing countries, at the same time maintaining control over the entire world production process in ways that ensure the future competitive supremacy of the United States" (Shea 5). Thus "Human Capital theorists argued that education should be thought of as 'investing' in human resources and that appropriate investments in education can benefit industry and fuel the national economy" (Apple 141). Business began to put pressure on schools to restructure to help industry meet the changing world market.

The business community began to sponsor reform reports that sought to remold education in 'appropriate' ways. These reports argued:

- --Revise their curricula to give more stress to information-age subjects and to science and mathematics;-
- -- 'Intensify' their programs by lengthening the school day or year, by raising academic standards, and by increasing core curricular requirements;
- -- Assist students with school-to-work transition problems;
- --Stock classrooms with 'the latest' instructional materials and computers;
- -Stress achievement, individual initiative, free enterprise, and other values thought to help students become information-age leaders;
- --Require upgraded levels of technical competency among teachers and provide programs to increase teachers' skills;
- --Identify talented students at an early age and provide them with 'enriched' educational experiences (and thus adopt or strengthen ability-grouping programs)" (142).

Edison uses most of the suggestions listed above in its rationale for the existence of for-profit public schools. This need for reform was based on an "alleged" crisis caused by America's poor schooling. Research indicates otherwise. The real crisis in America instead lies with the widening disparity between rich and poor, the inequalities related to race, class and gender issues and

the control of information by the power elite of government and industry. "The new technology is here. It will not go away. Our task as educators is to make sure that when it enters the classroom it is there for politically, economically, and educationally wise reasons, not because powerful groups may be redefining our major educational goals in their own image. We should be very clear about whether or not the future it promises our students is real, not fictitious. We need to be certain that it is a future all of our students can share in, not just a select few" (174).

Edison states its determination to raise test scores for their students. Because some of their schools are located in poorer neighborhoods with a high mobility rate (which may be why achievement scores were already low) I asked several Edison teachers how they chose the students that replaced children that moved. Everyone told me there was a waiting list from which students were picked, but no one would or could tell me how they were picked off that list. I asked if a student across the street from the school moved in, could he/she attend school at Edison? Everyone said, no they could be put on the waiting list but they would have to wait to be called. Logic told me that if they could entice good students to fill the vacant spots, their scores could be bolstered dramatically. I talked to one parent who gave me some insight. She said Edison had called her to see if her daughter might be interested in coming to an Edison school. She had never put her daughter's name on the waiting list, in fact had shown no interest in having her children attend Edison schools. Her daughter was attending the local

gifted program, though and the family had been pleased with her present program. She had asked how they had picked her daughter's name as a possible enrollee and they refused to tell her (Interview #4). She feels local school records must have been made available to Edison personnel for them to have recruited gifted students. Apparently, only some had to be on the 'waiting list.' A teacher also shared that she had several new students in her classes which seemed to be very strong academically (Interview #4). She did not know how they had been 'picked' to become Edison students. By misinterpreting data or not making all the data available it will be very easy to show a significant increase in achievement at Edison Schools, without having made any real differences at all. One educator described what happened in their district. "The Edison plan was sold to the district as a magic potion that would improve scores. In year one, it did not do this. In year two, some scores went down slightly, some stayed the same and some went up slightly. In year three, I fully expect the scores to go up because I have been told by several people that the principal is now trying to exempt many children from the test who might bring down the scores" (Interview #5). Scores can be scrunched in many ways to say many things. A critical analysis is always in order when looking at achievement scores.

One area of deep concern is the siphoning of public school dollars, set aside for children, into corporate pockets. If Edison Schools can save so much without cutting programs, why don't they put the savings back into expanded school programs for the children's sake. Whittle tells America that the reason he is

starting his network of schools is for service and again we must ask service for whom.

Jeff Mandell wrote in the September 26, 1997 Texas Observer an article entitled "A Private Delusion: The Edison Project" in which he traces the 'financial shell game: of Whittle Communications Corporation and Edison. Every school I researched I heard the same phrase... Edison isn't going to make any money here. Mandell sheds some light, "The deliberate financial opacity of a company whose founding metaphor is that of electric light bulb illuminating the world allows school administrators to perpetuate the myth that 'Edison's not making any money here.' The myth allows Edison to continue expanding. It seems unlikely that taxpayers would allow Edison to take over a school and profit from tax dollars if they knew Edison would pocket a lot of money that was earmarked for education" (10). While Edison is putting out the myth then that in our school they are not making a profit, implying they are spending it on the children, they are in effect making a nice amount for their investors.

... Claims that Edison isn't making a profit on their campuses might come as a surprise to Chris Whittle and Benno Schmidt. Whittle claimed that all twelve Edison schools turned a profit last year, and according to Nancy VanMeter of the American Federation of Teachers, Schmidt recently told a Smith Barney investment conference in New York that Edison achieved its projected 4 to 8 percent profit at each site. Profits on campuses do not cover Edison's administrative payroll and the cost of its New York

office; and if the information gleaned from Whittle and Schmidt is correct, that is why the company is in the red. The only way out of the red is to increase profits on campuses, and Schmidt has identified the four methods the company will use to do just that: --capture the 'whole dollar'; --educate special education students without using the expensive specialists used in public schools; --hire a teacher mix with younger, less-experienced teachers who command lower salaries;--gain control of the 'non-academic' facets of the school and raise efficiency (10).

To capture the 'whole dollar' referred to collecting all the student apportionment provided from tax dollars paid to the local district to run its schools. "According to Van Meter, Schmidt estimates that most districts spend only 60 cents of each tax dollar on actual campuses. Thus, if Edison can 'capture' more than 60 cents, it can spend more on its campus and pocket the difference. For this to happen, either the administrative costs for which districts allocate the other 40 cents per dollar will have to be cut, or students not on Edison campuses will be left with less than 60 cents per dollar so that Edison can make a profit' (10). By giving Edison the total dollar amount to run one school within a larger district, the remaining schools in that district are actually hurt. Mandell further analyzes:

These numbers help explain why most Edison schools are elementary schools, where per-student costs are usually about two-thirds of

the cost of middle and high school students. Many Edison contracts... pay the company the average expenditure per student district wide, multiplied by the number of students enrolled at the Edison campus. So Edison can sustain an elementary school's current budget using only two-thirds of the money it receives from the district – and then divide the remaining one-third among computers, corporate expenses, and dividends to investors. Meanwhile, the district's other schools all operate on lower than usual funding to cover the difference (10).

A. 4

In the Southwest Independent School District with about 585 students @ \$4,277.54 per student, in the1997-98 school year, Mandell estimates Edison can expect to "turn a profit of between \$100,000 and \$200,000." It indeed is not a loss-leader. That calculates to a profit of between \$7,900,000 to \$15,800,000 per year for the 79 schools that it now operates nationwide. Financial disclosure would eliminate much of the guesswork but Edison refused to disclose its financial picture, so we have no real knowledge of how much it spends on schools and how much it considers profit. We do know though that money is leaving the local community due to Edison.

My grandfather, Thomas J. Faussett wrote August, 1934 in *Smiles* magazine about chain stores and the detriment they cause to the community under the guise of 'helping:

Most of us fail to realize how large the field or big the prize that capital sought to conquer with its chain store system. Wall Street chuckled

as trained minds began to exploit this rich harvest field. It was the biggest scheme capital had ever promoted in her years of creating monopolies. 'Corner the retail business of this rich nation,' whispered master minds of finance, 'and you have the grandest prize wealth has ever acquired.' Everyone talked glibly about the new chain stores and how much cheaper one could buy from them for cash. The truth of the matter was they did and could sell cheaper than the independent merchant, for they had moved in a stock of merchandise to be offered for sale without one cent added for municipal upkeep or civic improvements (16-17).

Edison's 'chain store' schools will be taking much of the money set aside for our local communities to its corporate headquarters, smiling as it hands its investors our hard earned dollars. Locally run schools may be a bit more expensive, but the money supports local efforts. Edison has other insidious ways of hurting local people. Most, but not quite all of Edison Schools are settled within poorer school districts, often in the poorest areas of those districts. Why? Jonathan Kozol in Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools, traces the vast difference America allows in funding schools around the country where those districts 'with the adequate funding' tell the districts 'without' that it isn't a money issue:

If Americans had to discriminate directly against other people's children, I believe most citizens could find this morally abhorrent. Denial, in an active sense, of other people's children is however, rarely necessary in

this nation. Inequality is mediated for us by a taxing system that most people do not fully understand and seldom scrutinize... the low foundation is a level of subsistence that will raise a district to a point at which its schools are able to provide a 'minimum' or 'basic' education, but not an education to the level found in the rich districts. The notion of a 'minimum' (rather than a 'full') foundation represents a very special definition of the idea of equality. It guarantees that every child has 'an equal minimum' but not that every child has the same. Stated in a slightly different way, it guarantees that every child has a building called 'a school' but not that what is found within one school will bear much similarity, if any, to that which is found within another (207,208).

The districts Edison chooses are those looking for opportunities for their children that they cannot afford. The 'free' aspects of Channel One like the 'free' technology of computers for students, teachers and schools comes with a heavy price. All parents want opportunities for their children, and technology has been 'sold' as a necessary part of education for obtaining an adequate job. Of course, poorer communities that cannot afford to put technology into the schools would welcome any plan that would give their children a better chance for success.

When Edison offers 'computers' and 'networking' and 'technology as a second language,' they see Edison giving hope to their children. Dr. Linda Carty, Professor at the University of Michigan-Flint, found talking with parents about the possibility of Edison coming into their local Flint, MI elementary school, open

hostility that anyone would be against a 'perceived' chance for their children (Carty, Soc. 452, University of Michigan-Flint, 2/3/98). When poverty is present, every penny counts. People buy where their money can go the furthest because their need is immediate. They cannot afford, emotionally, to see that what they are buying is cheaply made, low in nutrition, or harmful in the long run. They are desperate. Sometimes parents grasp at straws in the hope that what they are doing will help their children, who otherwise have no hope. They cannot afford to have anyone tell them the truth, that Edison will not deliver what they promised.

Once established, Edison will find ways not to deal with the unions.

Already, they have begun to hire non-credentialed permanent subs, promising them employment when they finish their schooling. They receive regular district sub pay designed for a shorter school day, but with the added Edison hours it amounts to an actual wage reduction of several dollars per hour (Interview #6).

Some special education students have had little in the way of individualized learning plans. According to the news article written by Clive McFarlane, "Charter Schools Facing Scrutiny over Special Education" in the *Telegram & Gazette* Worcester, MA (Reported on line by American Federation of Teachers)

Robin Foley, Co-chair of the Worcester Advisory Council was quoted:

"I have asked myself the question many times since September: Is the Charter School here to offer a unique form of education to all Worcester children, or is it a way for a private company to serve the easy-to-educate, less-expensive student, while special needs children's hopes of creativity are dashed?" (qtd. in McFarlane).

Foley further stated that: "While it took approximately 20 minutes for most families to get registered, special education families were left to sit and wait for more than two hours" (McFarlane, *Telegram & Gazette* 3/24/1997).

Although charter schools are required to serve the needs of special education students many are discouraged from attending Edison Schools, especially if the special needs student does not fit the inclusion policy of Edison. Special Education students' parents are asked to sign a waiver opposing an Individual Education Plan so they do not need to provide additional services beyond the inclusion room. (See Appendix E) McFarlane continues by quoting Amy Babin, a former special education coordinator at the Boston Renaissance School as she told legislators about her observances. "Children with behavioral problems are not welcome....Their parents are bullied, and get so worn down and tired that they pull their students out of the school" (1997).

Edison likes to use the term 'total inclusion' when it comes to students with special needs. That saves them the cost of specialists, but adds to the work load of the classroom teacher. Benno Schmidt in a conversation with Dada Schroeder of the Citizens League put it this way:

"There are some things we spend less money on. We don't have as many specialists. We think generalist teachers ought to take responsibility for the whole child and be trained to deal with lots of things that large

public school systems now bring specialists to deal with. New York spends 25 percent of all spending on specialists (reading diagnosticians, speech therapists, guidance counselors, psychologists, special ed. Specialists.

There are various ways you can take the same amount of money and make it work and make a modest profit, but one that if we're able to fulfill a fairly large number of Edison partnerships around the country, will make it a successful business (May 9, 1997).

When parents of students with special needs realize their children aren't receiving services that are important for their development, they, in my opinion, will remove their children from Edison and place them back in regular public schools where they will be regarded. It won't take long for the promise of 'we take all children' to be seen as a distortion. By accepting and yet not meeting their needs, Edison is in effect exclusionary.

Edison's ideas of hiring under-credentialed and younger teachers with less experience for lower pay, not meeting the requirements of special needs children, gaining control of 'non-academic' facets of the school, claiming they pay teachers slightly higher wages (actually less when figured on a per hour scale) and finding other ways to be 'efficient' makes Edison full of hollow promises.

Corporations such as Edison, rather than acknowledging their part in creating the social crisis in America where the disparity between rich and poor is increasing, are looking for new markets at home and abroad. Our schools are one of the new frontiers for exploitation. In November, 1999 Edison completed its

initial public offering of 6,800,000 shares of class A common stock at \$18 per share. Total proceeds were \$122.4 million. The managing underwriters were offered an additional 1,020,000 shares to cover over allotments. (From Edison Schools Web page News item) We are not armed to deal with their manipulation of figures and advertising promises, because we are very much closer to the problems and feel the pain of those who are exploited. Somehow, we must learn to look beyond our day-to-day needs to 'see' what is really happening and make a stand.

Chapter 4—Education for a Critical Democracy: A Different Approach

Democracy, as defined in Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary Unabridged, is government by the people, either directly or through elected representatives; rule by the ruled or the acceptance and practice of the principle of equality of rights, opportunity, and treatment (483). However, democracy is much more than voting for officials. Democracy requires an informed, active citizenry that is involved in all aspects of the decision making process including an understanding the interplay of democracy and the economic system, capitalism. The reality has been, in the United States, that democracy and capitalism have been entwined so the public no longer consciously separates them. This, of course, is to the advantage of corporations that profit from this confusion.

John Dewey, in <u>The Public and Its Problems</u>, makes a distinction between democracy as a form of government and democracy as a social reality and draws a connection between economics, culture and political practice. In American society, democracy deals strictly with the political institution. He writes:

Liberal democracy emancipated the upper and upper-middle classes whose special interest they represented, rather than human beings impartially... The notion that men are equally free to act if only the same legal arrangements apply equally to all—irrespective of differences in education, in command of capital, and the control of the social environment which is furnished by the institution of property—is a pure absurdity, as facts have demonstrated (qtd. in Goodman 4).

We have educated for political democracy as it relates to capitalism but perhaps not for democracy at its fullest. We have created public schools that receive funding in part from corporations, and are thus tied to them. We have allowed corporations to decide our curriculum, invade our school cafeterias, choose what news we will hear on our in-school televisions, decide what information we read in our text books, who cleans our schools, and who runs our transportation system.

Jesse Goodman, Associate Professor of Education at Indiana University, wrote in <u>Elementary Schooling for Critical Democracy</u>, concerning educating for conformity:

As in society, the individualism upon which schools are based often promotes an organizational and curricular structure that ironically results in the establishment of social conformism. Although isolated in their work, all children actually do the same type of work, study the same content, and are expected to learn in a similar fashion (memorization and drill) and at a designated pace. In addition, dress codes often limit what students can wear, and censorship limits students' intellectual ideas in most schools. In this sense, individualistic schools contribute to teachers' and students' alienation from themselves as individuals, from others with whom they work, and from the work in which they are engaged (24).

How is this different then educating for critical democracy? It is important in capitalism to have a workforce that is willing to work and sacrifice for the good

of the corporation. This often entails low wages, poor or unsafe working conditions, and lack of creativity or variance of task. The worker has no control of the means of production, either of real property or capital, and is unable to change the economic system. The recent push in education has been to create more trained workers by and within the public school system.

Educating for critical democracy gives individuals the freedom to understand the economic issues, the means of unlocking the control of production, and ways to create a society that supports all citizens in their quest for personal fulfillment. It creates thinkers, dreamers, creators, nurturers, as well as producers. Critical democracy needs citizens who respect and uphold the rights of a diverse community, who actively share in the running of government, and who involve themselves in their community to create a climate of equality and justice. Educating for critical democracy allows individuals to think divergently, encourages the sharing of ideas and resources, and promotes a willingness to become involved in creating solutions. It gives voice, respect, and empowerment where there has been little.

In order for a critical democracy to thrive, the citizens need to be enlightened, pro-active, and competent in economic, political, and social theory. They must have enough confidence to believe their voice has value and that they can make a difference. They must also willingly band together with others similar, or perhaps different, to create improvements in areas of concern, to keep communities, states and the nation of the people, by the people and for the people.

As long as capitalism controls the economy and the politics of the country, power will remain in the hands of a few. It is only by a grass roots effort, beginning in each neighborhood of each community, where citizens respect each other and demand respect from those in power that a critical democracy can become a reality.

Elizabeth A. Kelly writes in *Education, Democracy, and Public Knowledge,* "Schooling in America today encapsulates the fundamental contradictions of capitalist democracy and expresses them in an ongoing struggle between the conservative socialization demands of a capitalist economy and the emancipatory promise of institutionalized access to knowledge, with all its implied power" (6). As the gap between rich and poor continues to increase, the economic polarization has shown itself in the polling booth.

In 1990, conservative political analyst, Kevin Phillips of CBS noted: "The more politics disillusioned those Americans whose status was in decline (or had never risen), the more they gave up, leaving ballot-box decisions to those profiting from the ongoing rearrangement of American affluence" (qtd. in Kelly 7). This abandonment of universal suffrage by the poor, and working poor, strengthened the power of the economic elite. The gap will continue to widen until the disenfranchised act. Public education must create an environment that encourages and empowers the 'withouts.' Public education needs to show students how the social institutions are fluid and vie for power. That capitalism, as the current overbearing economic presence, can become a gentler, more democratic

institution. It is the job of public education to show that change can occur, and to educate toward developing ways to restore democracy in its fullest to America.

Before this can happen, public education must free itself of its ties to special interests that control the purse strings. How can this occur when corporations have made overpowering inroads into the running of our public schools? Only with economic freedom for the institution of education, can freedom of thought and action occur in curriculum, theory and practice for "each and every" student.

Through reading Paulo Freire, Henri Giroux, Richard Bosio, Michael Apple, bell hooks, and others I have begun to suspect that for a long time many educators have failed to see how they have been manipulated by the economics of capitalism. Educators, by nature have chosen their profession for altruistic reasons, not for economic gain. Our need for a just society is great therefore, it is important to raise the consciousness of educators already in the profession and those in training to understand their role in educating for critical democracy.

Giroux, in Rethinking the Boundaries of Educational Discourse:

Modernism, Postmodernism, and Feminism, writes: "A language of possibility does not have to dissolve into a reified utopianism, instead it can be developed as a precondition for nourishing convictions that summon up the courage to imagine a different and more just world and to struggle for it." This just world, then, must be defined before it can be created, dreamed before it can be achieved.

Having described pedagogy as a moral practice, Roger Simon writes in Teaching Against the Grain: Texts for a Pedagogy of Possibility:

A pedagogy of possibility as a satisfactory moral practice must include the facility to interrogate both social forms and their possible transformations as to their compatibility with three additional basic principles: 1) securing human diversity, 2) securing compassionate justice, and 3) securing the renewal of life (23).

Simon believes we must "transform existing forms of consumer capitalism, whose very disregard for issues of the renewal of life require both critique and challenge"(27). It is possible to change education so that it encourages diversity, "compassionate" justice and an environment where life is renewed, discovered and nurtured.

To say that education merely reflects society insinuates that education takes no part in the trans-formative process that moves society toward or away from democracy. This would make it ineffectual as an agent of change. If education accepts this role and sees no possibility that it can inform and empower its participants, then it relinquishes one of its essential functions. This may be the role, those in power, would prefer education continue to occupy; one of supporting the status quo, but it need not be the only role. Liberation and empowerment, the life-blood of an informed citizenry are characteristics of education at its best.

An informed citizenry is able to make transforming decisions about equality in diversity, justice, and responsible ecology. Understanding the

manipulation of information by the corporate system, allows citizens to evaluate the 'call to consumerism' created by undemocratic capitalism. The "anything goes so long as a corporation posts a profit for the stockholders" attitude has little to do with democratic values; greed replaces equality and justice and the environment suffers the ravages of polluted air, water and soil. Manipulation of the public, once it is recognized by an informed citizenry, becomes intolerable. Educating for democracy will become a challenge to corporate capitalism that has suppressed its moral and social conscience.

In order for a transformative pedagogy to arise and thrive, risk is involved, not only for those who raise awareness in others, but in the student as well. For once the eyes are open it becomes impossible to return to what once was! The freedom given to rethink the present system of education and find alternatives that nourish the soul and mind of the educational community will re-spark the brilliant flame of democracy and the participants will refuse to allow that flame to be quenched. Greed, dominance, exploitation, separation, manipulation, and destruction of the environment will be recognized as the evils that bind the citizenry, keeping it enslaved to the corporate profit motive.

However, we must be careful as we attempt to restructure public education for democracy that we refrain from making our goals dogma. It is important that all participants become the sculptors of their own dreams and goals while remaining responsible to improving community. Public education must, at its foundation build on the diversity of its community to promote, support and when

necessary, clarify the dreams of those served. Giving the community tools to construct meaning, empowers the community for self government.

Roger Simon emphasizes by writing:

For a pedagogy rooted in the recognition of partiality, no assumption of omnipotence will do. We know that when people ignore the intrinsic dignity of particularity, forgetting our own limitations and speaking as if we were the mouthpiece of the universal, we unleash new forces of barbarism destructive of human dignity. While we still mean our pedagogies for others, this desire must find expression in the recognition of the particular dignity of others, not as objects, but as people with whom mutuality is possible (72).

Education must give voice to expression of the thoughts gained from observance and interaction with a person's environment. Literacy which includes both reading and writing allows the person to observe, reflect, read other interpretations of reality, re-reflect, express one's own view of the world for others to critique, and to again rethink one's position allowing for all information to be processed, organized, and evaluated. Education's purpose is to give the student the tools for reflecting and expressing, and a model for creating a more just world. It is essential for dialogue to occur within the classroom so education can become an act of freedom:

Translating (Freire's term conscientization) to critical awareness and engagement, I entered the classrooms with the conviction that it was crucial

for me and every other student to be an active participant, not a passive consumer... Freire's work affirmed that education can only be liberatory when everyone claims knowledge as a field in which we all labor... Thich Nhat Hanh offered a way of thinking about pedagogy which emphasized wholeness, a union of mind, body, and spirit... to regard one another as "whole" human beings, striving not just for knowledge in books, but knowledge about how to live in the world (hooks 14).

The task of the teacher then, is to give tools for transformation and to courageously model democratic principles. Paul Freire, in <u>Teachers as Cultural</u>

<u>Workers: Letters to Those Who Dare to Teach</u>, expresses:

The problems of teaching imply educating and, furthermore, educating involves a 'passion to know' that should engage us in a loving search for knowledge that is--to say the least--not an easy task. It is for this reason that I stress that those wanting to teach must be able to dare, that is, to have the predisposition to fight for justice and to be lucid in defense of the need to create conditions conducive to pedagogy in schools; though this may be a joyful task, it must also be intellectually rigorous. The two should never be seen as mutually exclusive (4).

Teachers, in their active search for knowledge, demonstrate to their students that knowledge is vast and education becomes a life-long process, not merely certification. Educating for capitalism is educating for certification, or educating until a degree is obtained; a license stating the graduate has the skills

required for hiring into a corporate position. Certification does not necessarily address how the graduates think or problem solve, if they are involved in community, know and understand the political and social milieu, or if they are involved in the political process. Certification addresses skill for employment and falls far short of what is needed for democracy to be successful.

Freire continues; "However, even if the ideological fog has not been deliberately constructed and programmed by the dominant class, its power to obfuscate reality undeniably serves the interests of the dominant class. The dominant ideology veils reality; it makes us myopic and prevents us from seeing reality clearly"(6). Teachers are cast under the dominant system as caregivers and nurturers, surrogate parents if you will, which reduces professionalism and increases the pressure to be 'obedient' employees of the board of education. In this role, teachers are pressured into a "no-strike" venue of authoritarian administrations and governments. Parents and administrators would consider strikes as "hurting the children." Freire would suggest at different interpretation could also be reached; striking by teachers would be "teaching their students an important lesson by giving them concrete testimony of the substantive meaning of struggle and other lessons in democracy"(5).

For teachers to become advocates for democracy, they cannot stand alone in their struggle. Uniting with one voice, standing together amid controversy and pressure, speaking out for democratic practices within education and society, gives voice and action to a 'pedagogy of possibility'. It is an honorable and dangerous

profession when teaching is for a critical democracy, for it has the ability to steer the country towards valuing diversity, compassionate justice, and renewal of life.

What does educating for democracy look like at the various levels of schooling? At the earliest level, as young people are beginning to start their journey they must above all be valued. Encouraging young people to reach into their depth of feeling about their world and to attempt to organize and express their observations is a beginning. An educator must encourage self-expression in both verbal and written form as an important way to understand one's environment. At the earliest age, young people need to be listened to and affirmed. Dialogue and civility, a willingness of the listener to be changed by the speaker, creates an openness to real exchange of ideas and growth!

In <u>Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom</u>, bell hooks writes of schooling in the apartheid South, and the love for learning her teachers inspired:

Almost all our teachers at Booker T. Washington were black women. They were committed to nurturing intellect so that we could become scholars, thinkers, and cultural workers—black folks who used our "minds." We learned early that our devotion to learning, to life of the mind, was a counter-hegemonic act, a fundamental way to resist every strategy of white racist colonization. Though they did not define or articulate these practices in theoretical terms, my teachers were enacting a revolutionary pedagogy of resistance that was profoundly anti-colonial. Within these

segregated schools, black children who were deemed exceptional, gifted, were given special care. Teachers worked with and for us to ensure that we would fulfill our intellectual destiny and by so doing uplift the race. My teachers were on a mission... My teachers made sure they knew us.... My effort and ability to learn was always contextualized within the framework of generational family experience (3).

For the emerging reader and writer, removing the mystery of the printed word through decoding and encoding skills is essential. It is equally important to recognize the forms of language and the appropriate places for each, not valuing "formal language" above neighborhood jargon, but recognizing the need to move comfortably and effectively between various language systems allows for increased dialogue.

Educators need to foster a curiosity for questioning and research. To the young student working to make sense of the world, the formulation of questions is essential to learning. To teach the use of tools to find answers to the questions is the freeing agent for self-directed learning. Therefore, teachers must validate students by validating their natural curiosity and assisting in the formulation of questions that encourage research to satisfy their curiosity.

Knowing and caring for the whole student at elementary, junior or senior high school, or at the academy, is important for engaging students in their learning. Often the attempt to know students outside of classroom time is avoided, for it makes all participants vulnerable and it requires time. Whether within or

without the classroom, real dialogue between student and teacher, sharing and learning from each other is essential for learning to be transformational and therefore the practice of freedom. bell hooks continues:

To educate as the practice of freedom is a way of teaching that anyone can learn. That learning process comes easiest to those of us who teach who also believe that there is an aspect of our vocation that is sacred; who believe that our work is not merely to share information but to share in the intellectual and spiritual growth of our students. To teach in a manner that respects and cares for the souls of our students is essential if we are to provide the necessary conditions where learning can most deeply and intimately begin... Such teachers approach students with the will and desire to respond to our unique beings, even if the situation does not allow the full emergence of a relationship based on mutual recognition. Yet the possibility of such recognition is always present (13).

Likewise, students' responsibility for their learning must be their own. That is not to say educators embrace the idea of having no stake in a students' learning. Educators need to develop a connectional relationship between learning and a students life. Goodman suggests:

Most young people in our society come to school with a strong individualist orientation towards life. Bureaucratic, technical, or laissez-faire approaches to the dynamics of power among students and between students and teachers cannot provide our children wit the community values

and guidance needed to promote critical democracy. Rather, it takes teachers and administrators who through the dynamics of power between themselves and their students cultivate children's self-esteem, help children realize that they are not alone in this world and teach children that caring for others is as important as caring about oneself (117).

This means the center of the educational focus is the connectedness between the individual student and the teacher, the other students, the community, their family, and the environment. It is important while fostering individual self-worth to also equally foster the relationships and responsibilities to others.

Regardless of where students are on the educational ladder, an active participation in community that focuses on interrelatedness is critical to the development of equality and justice.

Whether at elementary, or graduate level, critical thinking must be fostered.

Making the connection between learning, living, reflecting, and emerging with

new understanding makes education purposeful and freeing. bell hooks writes:

... to me "critical thinking" was the primary element allowing the possibility of change. Passionately insisting that no matter what one's class, race, gender, or social standing, I shared my beliefs that without the capacity to think critically about our selves and our lives, none of us would be able to move forward, to change, to grow. In our society, which is so fundamentally anti-intellectual, critical thinking is not encouraged.

Engaged pedagogy has been essential to my development as an intellectual.

as a teacher/professor because the heart of this approach to learning is critical thinking. Conditions of radical openness exist in any learning situation where students and teachers celebrate their abilities to think critically, to engage in pedagogical praxis (202).

This approach will be a counterpoint to credentialism presently rampant in our public schools as budget is tied to test scores. To believe that all students can participate in critical thinking is resoundingly systems-changing-- educational systems, social systems, economic and political systems. hooks continues:

The academy is not paradise. But learning is a place where paradise can be created. The classroom, with all its limitations, remains a location of possibility. In that field of possibility we have the opportunity to labor for freedom, to demand of ourselves (and our fellow travelers) an openness of mind and heart that allows us to face reality even as we collectively imagine ways to move beyond boundaries, to transgress. This is education as the practice of freedom (207).

Conclusion

This has been a very personal journey for me. As an elementary teacher in the Flint Public Schools, I am well aware that all schools have short comings, that many students needs are not fully met, that in the name of economics (funding) we feel forced to go the direction the State of Michigan and industry is demanding.

MEAP tests are the driving force. And we forget what is important—the child.

This research has shown me what I don't want to see happen to children. Edison Schools and other private for profit and voucher schools offer suggestions for their education, that often are no better and usually worse. Public schools do need to be restructured (Flint is making systemic changes). Educators, parents, and community need to ask "what can I do to build a support system where children can grow and thrive and become "the best they can be?"

Through the writing of this paper, through the efforts of extraordinary professors increasing my understanding of the system and how it works, and through the words of courageous educators (i.e. bell hooks, Paul Freire, etc.) I am now in a new place to begin again. I have resolved to work to change things within my classroom, to listen harder to the voices of my students, to extend myself to their request to attend their ball games, dance recitals, birthday parties. They will know their ideas are important because I will tell them so, again and again, and I will show them so because they will learn to write, reflect, communicate, reflect grow and change with me in dialogue. They will learn about community and the need it has for them to dialogue with it, to see their

connectedness and to work for its renewal. And when appropriate, we will dialogue about injustice and equality issues they see in their lives seeking resolution.

The journey begun in this paper is 'far from over.' It is exciting, and powerful and full of hope. bell hooks would encourage all of us to 'transgress boundaries' and dare to change education into the 'practice of freedom.'

Appendices

Appendix A

DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL

PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL 5/30/00 ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL

PERFORMANCE

				GRADE 7					
		SAT	MOD	L	OW	#	SAT	MOD	LOW
#									
MATH	2000	62.4	20.1	17.5	14,281	34.5	32.4	33.1	10,100
	1999	58.5	20.7	20.8	13,612	36.0	30.3	33.6	9,911
	1998	64.6	20.0	15.3	12,425	33.7	31.0	35.3	10,403
	1996	48.7	21.9	29.4	12,826	29.1	27.0	44.0	10,762
	1991	16.4	23.3	60.3	12,374	8.6	21.5	69.9	12,202
READ	2000	51.7	21.7	26.6	14,258	33.2	31.5	35.4	10,135
	1999	45.4	29.0	25.6	13,608	34.5	30.9	34.6	9,992
	1998	52.6	26.1	21.4	12,456	32.2	29.8	38.0	10,407
	1996	46.7	27.6	25.7	12,816	30.7	32.7	36.6	10,700
	1989	16.5	31.3	52.2	13,016	13.6	27.3	59.1	11,860

Edison Schools in Detroit

DETROIT ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL 5/30/00 ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL PERFORMANCE

			G:	RADE 4		GRADE 7			
		SAT	MOD	LOW		#	SAT	MOD	LOW
#									
MATH	2000	52.3	28.4	19.3	109		NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE
	1999	55.9	24.3	19.8	111		NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE
	1998	53.7	22.2	24.1	108		NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE
	1996		NO RESU	LTS AVAILA	3LE		ИО	RESULTS	AVAILABLE
	1991		NO RESU	LTS AVAILA	BLE		NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE
READ	2000	36.1	29.6	34.3	108		NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE
	1999	42.3	37.8	19.8	111		NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE
	1998	53.3	29.9	16.8	107		NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE
	1996		NO RESU	LTS AVAILAI	3LE		NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE
	1989		NO RESU	LTS AVAILA	BLE		NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE

YMCA SERVICE LEARNING ACADEMY

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL PERFORMANCE

		GRADI	∃ 4			GR <i>I</i>	GRADE 7		
	SAT	MOD	LOW	#	SAT	MOD	LOW		
#									
MATH 2000	30.8	30.8	38.3	107	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		
1999		NO RESULTS	AVAILABLE		NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		
1998		NO RESULTS	AVAILABLE		NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		
1996		NO RESULTS	AVAILABLE		NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		
1991		NO RESULTS	AVAILABLE		NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		
READ 2000	17.8	26.2	56.1	107	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		
1999		NO RESULTS	AVAILABLE		NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		
1998		NO RESULTS	AVAILABLE		NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		
1996		NO RESULTS	AVAILABLE		NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		
1989		NO RESULTS	AVAILABLE		МО	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		

EDISON PUBLIC SCHOOL ACADEMY

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL
ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL PERFORMANCE

			GRADI	Ξ 4			GRADE 7		
		SAT	MOD	LOW	#	SAT	MOD	LOW #	
MATH	2000	27.2	39.0	33.8	136	17.2	31.3	51.5 9	9
	1999	23.3	27.6	49.1	116	17.6	31.4	51.0 10:	2
	1998		NO RESULTS	AVAILAB	LE		NO RESU	LTS AVAILABL	E
	1996		NO RESULTS	AVAILAB	LE		NO RESU	LTS AVAILABL	E
	1991		NO RESULTS	AVAILAB	LE		NO RESU	LTS AVAILABL	Ε
READ	2000	33.1	30.9	36.0	136	11.0	37.0	52.0 10	0
	1999	25.0	38.8	36.2	116	26.5	29.6	43.9 9	8
	1998		NO RESULTS	AVAILAB	LE		NO RESU	ULTS AVAILABL	E
	1996		NO RESULTS	AVAILAB	LE		NO RESU	ILTS AVAILABL	Ε
	1989		NO RESULTS	AVAILAB	LE		NO RESU	LTS AVAILABL	E

FERNDALE CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL PERFORMANCE

				GRADE 4				GRADE 7	
		SAT	MOD	LOW	#	SAT	MOD	LOW	#
MATH :	2000	58.2	23.5	18.2	285	56.9	23.9	19.3	306
	1999	61.5	20.7	17.8	338	63.1	24.4	12.5	279
	1998	76.2	16.0	7.8	294	50.2	31.6	18.2	313
	1996	59.9	20.9	19.2	344	50.3	25.5	24.2	302
	1991	38.0	27.3	34.7	363	32.1	41.8	26.1	318
READ :	2000	44.5	27.2	28.3	283	40.8	29.8	29.4	309
	1999	46.6	32.7	20.6	339	44.3	27.5	28.2	280
	1998	59.7	24.4	15.9	295	45.8	23.7	30.4	312
	1996	48.3	25.3	26.5	344	34.1	31.1	34.8	302
	1989	29.2	36.9	33.9	336	29.8	30.1	40.1	289

Edison School in Ferndale, Michigan

EDISON-OAKLAND PS ACADEMY

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL
ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL PERFORMANCE

			GRAD	E 4			C	RADE '	7
		SAT	MOD	LOW	#	SAT	MOD	LOW	#
матн :	2000	42.7	28.1	29.2	89	30.7	29.7	39.6	101
	1999		NO RESULTS	AVAILABL	E		NO RESULTS	AVAI	LABLE
	1998		NO RESULTS	AVAILABL	E		NO RESULTS	AVAI	LABLE
	1996		NO RESULTS	AVAILABL	E		NO RESULTS	AVAI	LABLE
	1991		NO RESULTS	AVAILABL	E		NO RESULTS	S AVAI	LABLE
READ :	2000	27.0	34.8	38.2	8 9	28.7	21.8	49.5	101
	1999		NO RESULTS	AVAILABL	E		NO RESULTS	IAVA 3	LABLE
	1998		NO RESULTS	AVAILABL	E		NO RESULTS	3 AVAI	LABLE
	1996		NO RESULTS	AVAILABL	E		NO RESULTS	IAVA 3	LABLE
	1989		NO RESULTS	AVAILABL	E		NO RESULTS	AVAI	LABLE

FLINT COMMUNITY SCHOOL DISTRICT

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL PERFORMANCE

			(GRADE 4				GRADE	7
		SAT	MOD	LOW	#	SAT	MOD	LOW	#
MATH	2000	52.1	22.6	25.3	1,795	23.0	34.7	42.3	429
	1999	52.7	23.9	23.4	1,855	23.4	36.0	40.6	1,477
	1998	52.2	25.6	22.3	1,769	20.1	30.3	49.6	1,569
	1996	35.8	23.9	40.3	1,857	15.5	23.4	61.1	1,629
	1991	19.5	28.3	52.2	1,923	12.1	23.0	64.9	1,999
READ	2000	34.7	24.6	40.7	1,793	18.9	33.9	47.2	1,435
	1999	36.5	31.8	31.7	1,853	26.7	30.4	42.9	1,473
	1998	35.9	32.4	31.7	1,772	21.8	29.2	49.0	1,554
	1996	27.7	31.4	40.9	1,855	12.1	28.9	59.0	1,611
	1989	17.8	36.0	46.2	2,216	16.2	32.6	51.1	1,873

Edison Schools in Flint, Michigan

GARFIELD SCHOOL

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL PERFORMANCE

				GRADE 4			GRADE 7		
		SAT	MOD	LOW	#	SAT	MOD	LOW	#
MATH	2000	20.7	19.5	59.8	82	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1999	30.5	32.9	36.6	82	ИО	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1998	16.7	23.3	60.0	60	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1996	38.3	41.7	20.0	60	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1991	32.2	19.5	48.3	87	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
READ	2000	12.2	22.0	65.9	82	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1999	20.7	37.8	41.5	82	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1998	11.7	28.3	60.0	60	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1996	41.7	30.0	28.3	60	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1989	30.0	27.6	42.5	80	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	

WILLIAMS SCHOOL

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL PERFORMANCE

			GR	ADE 4				GRADE 7	
		SAT	MOD	LOW	#	SA	r MOD	LOW	#
MATH	2000	25.3	30.4	44.3	79	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1999	44.6	32.1	23.2	56	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1998	48.1	25.9	25.9	81	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1996	31.8	34.1	34.1	44	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1991	10.5	29.1	60.5	86	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
READ	2000	16.5	19.0	64.6	79	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1999	28.6	37.5	33.9	56	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1998	24.7	38.3	37.0	81	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1996	18.2	52.3	29.5	44	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1989	15.1	31.2	53.8	93	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	

PONTIAC CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL PERFORMANCE

			(GRADE 4				GRADE 7	
		SAT	MOD	LOW	#	SAT	MOD	LOW	#
MATH	2000	48.1	25.8	26.1	848	25.2	32.0	42.9	679
	1999	37.8	28.0	34.2	929	29.2	34.6	36.2	763
	1998	49.4	27.0	23.6	881	25.7	35.5	38.8	732
	1996	38.4	24.7	36.9	802	19.7	30.2	50.1	711
	1991	21.9	33.4	44.7	904	10.8	28.3	60.9	760
READ	2000	36.4	23.6	40.0	848	27.9	25.5	46.6	682
	1999	32.3	30.3	37.4	930	31.4	28.9	39.8	759
	1998	35.0	34.6	30.4	795	25.1	26.8	48.1	725
	1996	31.0	33.5	35.5	803	39.1	29.5	31.4	704
	1989	20.4	38.6	40.9	934	18.0	29.6	52.4	859

Edison School in Pontiac, Michigan

EDISON ACADEMY

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL PERFORMANCE

			GRADI	E 4		(GRADE 7		
		SAT	MOD	LOW	#	SAT	MOD	LOW	#
MATH	2000	24.8	24.8	50.4	137	6.7	34.7	58.7	75
	1999	10.4	25.0	64.6	96	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	Ξ
	1998		NO RESULTS	AVAILABL	E	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	Ξ
	1996		NO RESULTS	AVAILABL	E	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	Ε
	1991		NO RESULTS	AVAILABL	E	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	E
READ	2000	18.2	21.9	59.9	137	6.7	29.3	64.0	75
	1999	19.8	24.0	56.3	96	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	Ξ
	1998		NO RESULTS	AVAILABL	E	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	Ξ
	1996		NO RESULTS	AVAILABL	E	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	Ξ
	1989		NO RESULTS	AVAILABL	E	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	Ξ

BATTLE CREEK PUBLIC SCHOOLS

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL PERFORMANCE

			(GRADE 4				GRADE 7	
		SAT	MOD	LOW	#	SAT	MOD	LOW	#
MATH	2000	52.8	25.3	21.9	616	42.6	27.7	29.7	481
	1999	54.2	20.6	25.2	559	43.9	31.3	24.8	501
	1998	59.8	23.9	16.3	570	43.1	31.0	25.8	503
	1996	41.3	26.6	32.1	545	32.4	29.2	38.4	518
	1991	20.5	25.0	54.5	657	20.5	27.5	52.1	601
READ	2000	43.3	19.7	37.0	614	31.3	36.5	32.2	485
	1999	45.7	24.1	30.2	560	39.8	26.6	33.6	500
	1998	53.4	22.1	24.5	571	35.7	32.3	31.9	504
	1996	43.1	26.1	30.8	545	28.6	26.9	44.5	517
	1989	31.3	35.6	33.1	662	21.1	31.4	47.5	541

Edison Schools in Battle Creek, Michigan

WASHINGTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL PERFORMANCE

				GRADE 4				GRADE 7	
		SAT	MOD	LOW	#	SAT	MOD	LOW	#
MATH	2000	38.3	27.7	34.0	47	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1999	37.0	13.0	50.0	46	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1998	36.7	30.0	33.3	30	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1996	33.3	33.3	33.3	15	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1991	13.5	16.2	70.3	37	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
READ	2000	19.1	21.3	59.6	47	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1999	19.6	30.4	50.0	46	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1998	33.3	30.0	36.7	30	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1996	46.7	33.3	20.0	15	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1989	53.1	12.5	34.4	32	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	

WILSON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL PERFORMANCE

				GRADE 4				GRADE 7	
		SAT	MOD	LOW	#	SAT	MOD	LOW	#
MATH	2000	26.7	33.3	40.0	30	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1999	11.5	19.2	69.2	26	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1998	44.4	38.9	16.7	18	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1996	30.8	38.5	30.8	26	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1991	2.9	28.6	68.6	35	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
READ	2000	20.0	10.0	70.0	30	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1999	11.5	19.2	69.2	26	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1998	72.2	5.6	22.2	18	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1996	3.8	53.8	42.3	26	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1989	18.2	48.5	33.3	33	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	

SOUTHWESTERN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL
ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL PERFORMANCE

			GRADI	E 4				GRADE 7	
		SAT	MOD	LOW	#	SAT	MOD	LOW	#
матн	2000	NC	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		30.0	33.8	36.3	80
	1999	NC	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		26.7	29.3	44.0	75
	1998	NC	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		48.5	30.9	20.6	68
	1996	NC	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		12.8	29.8	57.4	94
	1991	NC	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		16.7	32.3	51.0	96
READ	2000	NC	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		16.9	38.6	44.6	83
	1999	NC	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		31.6	30.3	38.2	76
	1998	NC	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		40.6	29.0	30.4	69
	1996	NC	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		15.1	26.9	58.1	93
	1989	NC	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		14.9	29.9	55.2	67

LANSING SCHOOL DISTRICT

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL PERFORMANCE

				GRADE 4				GRADE	7
		SAT	MOD	LOW	#	SAT	MOD	LOW	#
MATH	2000	62.9	24.5	12.6	1,251	42.3	33.2	24.5	1,064
	1999	53.2	26.0	20.8	1,266	39.5	31.9	28.6	992
	1998	59.7	28.3	12.0	1,246	41.5	32.2	26.3	1,089
	1996	39.7	28.1	32.2	1,344	31.0	31.2	37.7	1,118
	1991	27.5	26.0	46.5	1,516	25.2	25.0	49.8	1,493
READ	2000	47.0	25.3	27.7	1,247	39.6	27.6	32.8	1,065
	1999	40.6	33.3	26.1	1,268	37.5	30.6	31.9	975
	1998	44.9	33.9	21.2	1,238	33.4	31.3	35.3	1,077
	1996	30.4	33.3	36.3	1,339	23.1	35.8	41.2	1,130
	1989	31.2	35.5	33.2	1,631	28.7	32.6	38.7	1,384

Edison School in Lansing, Michigan

MID MICHIGAN PUBLIC SCHOOL ACADEMY

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL
ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL PERFORMANCE

			GR	ADE 4			GRA	ADE 7	
		SAT	MOD	LOW	#	SAT	MOD	LOW	#
MATH	2000	38.8	26.4	34.7	121	23.1	28.8	48.1	52
	1999	33.3	20.8	45.8	96	21.4	22.6	56.0	84
	1998	40.9	33.3	25.8	93	21.4	29.8	48.8	84
	1996	25.5	20.8	53.8	106	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1991		NO RESUL'	TS AVAIL	ABLE	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
READ	2000	23.3	28.3	48.3	120	25.9	42.6	31.5	54
	1999	24.0	33.3	42.7	96	21.3	31.3	47.5	80
	1998	36.3	33.0	30.8	91	30.2	29.1	40.7	86
	1996	24.3	22.3	53.4	103	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1989	1	O RESULT	S AVAILA	BLE	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	

MOUNT CLEMENS COMMUNITY SCHOOLS

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL PERFORMANCE

			ı	GRADE 4				GRADE	7
		SAT	MOD	LOW	#	SAT	MOD	LOW	#
MATH	2000	65.8	18.1	16.2	260	43.6	26.5	29.9	204
	1999	54.3	24.3	21.4	210	44.8	30.5	24.8	210
	1998	65.4	24.2	10.4	182	57.0	27.4	15.6	186
	1996	51.0	20.1	28.9	204	47.0	24.8	28.2	202
	1991	28.4	32.3	39.3	229	24.1	30.1	45.8	216
READ	2000	42.3	25.8	31.9	260	32.2	31.7	36.1	205
	1999	42.4	33.3	24.3	210	32.6	26.0	41.4	215
	1998	52.7	28.6	18.7	182	35.6	29.9	34.5	194
	1996	41.7	30.4	27.9	204	30.0	29.5	40.5	210
	1989	31.7	28.3	40.0	205	29.3	30.4	40.3	191

Edison Schools in Mount Clemens, Michigan

KING ACADEMY

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL PERFORMANCE

				an = n = 4				CD 7 DD 7	
				GRADE 4				GRADE 7	
		SAT	MOD	LOM	#	SAT	MOD	LOW	#
MATH	2000	76.2	15.6	8.2	122	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1999	52.8	20.8	26.4	106	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1998	60.0	25.7	14.3	70	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1996	55.3	18.4	26.3	76	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1991	16.2	27.9	55.9	68	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
READ	2000	49.2	23.8	27.0	122	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1999	40.6	34.9	24.5	106	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1998	48.6	28.6	22.9	70	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1996	46.1	27.6	26.3	76	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	
	1989	28.9	28.9	42.2	45	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE	

MT CLEMENS JUNIOR ACADEMY

MEAP DISTRICT AND SCHOOL PROPORTIONS REPORT

MICHIGAN EDUCATIONAL ASSESSMENT PROGRAM JAN. 2000

PERCENT OF STUDENTS BY OVERALL PERFORMANCE

			GRADI	E 4			GI	RADE 7	
		SAT	MOD	LOW	#	SAT	MOD	LOW	#
MATH	2000	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		57.6	26.3	16.2	99
	1999	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		50.9	31.0	18.1	116
	1998	No	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		No	O RESULTS	AVAILAB	LE
	1996	No	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		N	O RESULTS	AVAILAB	LE
	1991	NO	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		N	O RESULTS	AVAILAB	LE
READ	2000	No	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		37.4	28.3	34.3	99
	1999	No	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		35.9	26.5	37.6	117
	1998	No	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		No	O RESULTS	AVAILAB	$_{ m LE}$
	1996	No	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		N	O RESULTS	AVAILAB	LE
	1989	N	RESULTS	AVAILABLE		No	O RESULTS	AVAILAB	LE

Appendix B Edison Schools – Flint Michigan American Federation of Teachers Research Updates

First-Year Results from Edison Schools in Flint Michigan

At Garfield school in Flint, first year progress was nothing short of disastrous with huge drops in all of the MEAP scores compared to pre-Edison measures (see Table B3). The percent of students with satisfactory scores fell from 38 percent to 17 percent, and in reading fell from 42 percent to 12 percent. Some of the change reflects a different student body, with 80 percent of its students now qualify from free lunch, and up from 69 percent before Edison took over. The drop was equally huge in writing and the science scores was in single digits.

Table B3
State Assessments (MEAP) In Michigan and Flint
Grade 4 Math and Reading; Grade 5 Science and Writing

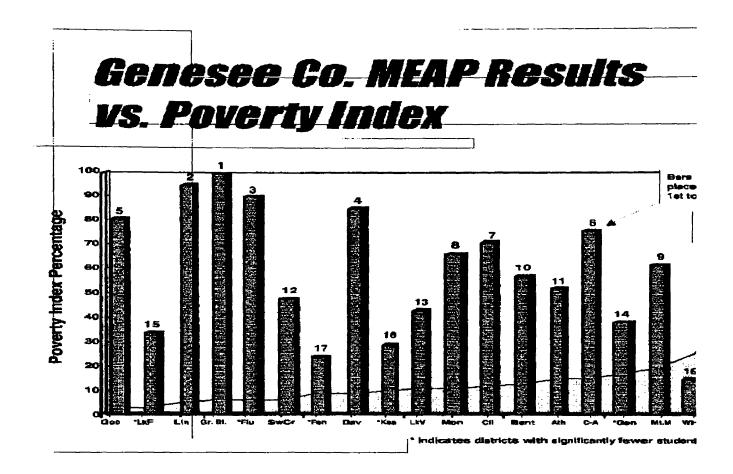
		dison	Edison	
	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97*	1997-98
Enrollment				
Garfield-Edison		515	536	470
Williams-Edison		585	537	541
Percent Free Lunch				
Michigan Average		30%	31 %	32%
City of Flint		6 5 %	64%	63%
Garfield-Edison		75%	69%	80%
Williams-Edison		92%	88%	82%
Grade 4 Math (Fall)-Perc	ent Satisfa	ctory		
Michigan Average		63.1	60.5	74.1
City of Flint		30.3	35.8	52.2
Garfleld-Edison		41.9	38.3	16.7
Williams-Edison		16.1	31.8	48.1
Grade 4 Reading (Fall)-P	ercent Sati	isfactory		
Michigan Average		49.9	49.0	5 8.6
City of Flint		19.3	27.7	35.9
Garfield-Edison		30.6	41.7	11.7
Williams-Edison		6.5	18.2	24.7
Grade 5 Science (Spring)-Percent :	Satisfactory	,	
Michigan Average		24.2	35.0	55.7
City of Flint		6.3	12.9	15.7
Garfield-Edison		11.3	17.9	7.0
Williams-Edison		7.1	5.5	3.8
Grade 5 Writing (Spring)	-Percent S	atisfactory		
Michigan Average		55.6	73.4	64.3
City of Flint		35.1	57.7	39.0
Garfield-Edison		37.7	57.1	22.8
Williams-Edison		46.4	50.0	22.0

Source: Michigan Department of Education, http://www.mde.state.mi.us/reports/msr/

Williams school, on the other hand, showed some progress in math and reading. The math score improved about as much as the sate average and the Flint districts as a whole. The improvement in reading was not quite as good as in the state and city. Some of the improvement at Williams may be do to a small reduction in the percentage of students qualifying for free lunch from 88 percent to 82 percent. But Williams school also had an anemic single-digit satisfactory rate in science and the writing was no better than Garfield's.

^{*} Edison began operation in fall 1997. The MEAP, which is taken in the early spring, describes some achievement progress from the pre-Edison year.

Appendix C
Public Education Response Plan of Genesee County School Community Coalition
Page 48



Appendix D American Federation of Teachers

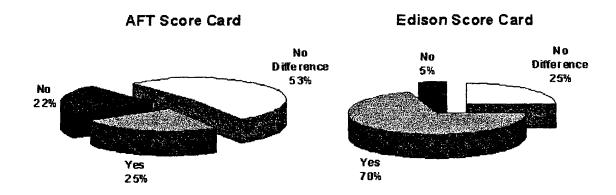


Scorecard of Academic Success of Students in Edison Project Schools

This study "scores" 142 comparisons (by school, grade, subject, test and year) using a protocol similar to the one used by Edison in their scoring of 40 comparisons (<u>Annual Report on School Performance</u>, December 1997). AFT used more comparisons because:

- 1. Findings for math and reading were scored separately, whereas Edison combined both subject matters into a single score,
- 2. Comparisons ignored by Edison, such as the ones in Dade County, are included here, and
- 3. Some new data became available since December 1997 when Edison issued their scorecard.

While Edison labeled 70 percent of its comparisons as "successful" (yes) and only 5 percent as "unsuccessful" (no), the AFT study finds only a 25 percent success rate (yes) compared to a 22 percent no success rate (no). A slim majority of 53 percent showed no difference.



The AFT comparisons essentially use the same criteria Edison used to "declare achievement gains, losses or meaningful differences," except as noted parenthetically:

- Effect sizes of .20 or more (However, we do not consider "differences in effect sizes of .20" to have any statistical meaning). fnl
- Differences in Normal Curve Equivalents (NCE) of more than 4 NCEs (this replaces differences in percentile scores of 5 percentiles or more)
- Differences in percentage proficient scores of 5 percentage points or more.
- Differences in grade equivalents of 2 months or more, or annual gains of 14 months or more.
- Differences in DALT score (Colorado Springs) of 2 points or more.
- Differences that are statistically significant (at the .05 level) when tests of statistical significant are available.

When Edison uses the term "differences" it frequently means, "change" or "differences in the change", usually relative to national norms, rather than differences from a control group or district average and Edison was often inconsistent. In Colorado Springs, for example, the 2-point difference meant "differences in the change" compared to the district average. In Wichita, however, however, benchmarked its progress to national norms rather than the district average (although increasing at a slower rate, district average test scores in Wichita increased consistently during Edison's tenure in the city)

In the AFT analysis, the comparisons are always made relative to a control group or a district average if there is no control. If an Edison school improved 7 NCEs, for example, and the district average improved 5 NCEs, then the AFT analysis scores the Edison performance as "no difference." Edison would only look at the 7 NCE gain and call it a success. Where control groups or district average data are not available, then the AFT score card also uses simple gain or loss compared to national norms is used.

Edison generally required that only one of the above criteria be met, not all of them. For example, Edison declared many SFA comparisons as successes if the effect size was more than .20 even though the differences were not statistically significant and even if the Edison students gained far less than 14 months measured in grade equivalents. In our analysis we require statistical significance for at least 2 of the 4 subsets in the SFA (Edison provides calculations of statistical significance only in its SFA studies). Like Edison, we also ignored the criteria of 14-month gains in grade equivalents in the year-two SFA evaluations (none of the year-two evaluations even yielded average gains of more than one year, let alone 14 months).

Unlike Edison, we believe that there are many "close calls" using these objective criteria. We could not *disagree* more, noting that many of the SFA results had effect sizes of more than .20, that were also statistically insignificant and no SFA comparison showed more than a 12 month gain in scores, let alone a 14 month gain. Furthermore, Edison combined math and reading results as if they always moved in the same direction and were similar in magnitude. There were 17 comparisons in which either math or reading, but not both, met the criteria for success or failure. However, there was only one instance where reading and math scores diverged enough for one of them not to be labeled no difference.

The following table summarizes the results of the AFT analysis and compares the finding to the ones produced by Edison

Effectivness of Edison Project Schools

ĺ		Edison			AFT	
	Yes	No	No Diff.	Yes	No	No Diff.
Boston	5	0	O	14	10	5
Wichia elemntary	9	0	2	9	2	20
Mt. Clemens	. 7	1	1	10	3	17
Sherman Elementary	2	1	3	1	8	9
Colorado Springs	3	0	2	1	4	4
Sherman Middle	2	0	0	0	0	4
Wichita Middle	0	0	2	1	0	12
Dade County			ļ	٥	4	4
Total	28	2	10	36	31	75
Percent of Total	70%	5%	25%	25%	22%	53%

fn1 In Colorado springs Edison treated a decrease in the negative effect size (which favors the control group) from a large negative number to a small negative number as a success for the treatment group because the change "closed the gap". This is equivalent to arguing that losing a game by a small score is really a victory because a previous game was lost by a larger margin.

Appendix E Edison Schools IEP Waiver

Boston Renaissance Charter School "learning Contract"

Page 1 of 1

Boston Renaissance Charter School

250 Staart Street

Boston, MA 02116

RENAISSANCE LEARNING CONTRACT

SCHOOL YEAR: 1996-97

l recognize that I could have a more formal arrangement for the provision of services to my child with special needs. I am agreeing, however, to sign this contract with the school as opposed to an Individual Education Plan (IEP). I have received a copy of the Parent's Rights Brochure.

Child's Name:

Grade:

Parent Signature:

Date:

School Administrator:

Date:

Works Cited

Works Cited

- Adams, Evelyn C. <u>American Indian Education: Government Schools</u>

 And Economic Progress. New York: Arno Press & New York Times, 1971.
- Anderson, H. Dewey and Percy E. Davidson. <u>Occupational Trends in the United States</u>. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1940.
- Apple, Michael W. <u>Cultural Politics and Education</u>. New York: Teachers College Press, 1996.
- Apple, Michael W. "Is Social Transformation Always Progressive?

 RightistReconstructions of Schooling Today." Social Reconstruction Through

 Education. Ed. Michael E. James. Norwood: Ablex, 1995.
- Apple, Michael W. "Privatization and the Common Good." Conservations

 With Educational Leaders: Contemporary Viewpoints on Education in

 America. Ed. Anne Turnbaugh Lockwood. Albany: State U New York
 P., 1997.
- Apple, Michael W. <u>Teachers and Texts: A Political Economy of Class and Gender</u>
 Relations in Education. New York: Routledge, 1986.
- Bailey, Laura. "6 Districts Sign Deal for Pop: Coke, Pepsi Win Bid for Exclusivity." Flint Journal 18 May 2000: A1+.
- Berliner, David C. and Bruce J. Biddle. <u>The Manufactured Crisis: Myths, Fraud, and the Attack on America's Public Schools</u>. New York:

 Longman, 1995.

- Best, John Harden, ed. <u>Benjamin Franklin on Education</u>. New York: Teachers College Press, 1962.
- Bowles, Samuel. "Schooling and the Reproduction of Inequality." In Richard C. Edwards, et al., <u>The Capitalist System.</u> Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1978.
- Brosio, Richard A. <u>A Radical Democratic Critique of Capitalist Education</u>. New York: Peter Lang, Publishers, 1994.
- Carty, Linda. Sociology of Education 452. University of Michigan-Flint, Flint, MI, 3 Feb. 1998.
- Cremin, Lawrence. <u>Popular Education and Its Discontents</u>. New York: Harper Collins, 1990.
- Dewey, John. The Public and Its Problems. New York: Henry Holt, 1927.
- Edsforth, Ronald. <u>Class Conflict and Cultural Consensus: The Making of a Mass</u>

 <u>Consumer Society in Flint, Michigan</u>. New Brunswick and

 London: Rutgers University Press, 1987.
- Faussett, Thomas J. "Little Wall Streets." <u>Smiles Monthly Magazine</u> Aug. 1934: 16-17.
- Feuerlicht, Roberta Strauss. <u>Joe McCarthy and McCarthyism: The Hate That Hunts America</u>. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972.
- "Flint Fire Dispatcher Settles Discrimination Lawsuit." Flint Journal 6 Ap.2000: C1.

- Franklin, Wayne, ed. <u>The Norton Anthology of American Literature</u>. New York: W. W. Norton &Co., 1995.
- Freire, Paulo. <u>Education for Critical Consciousness</u>. New York: Seabury Press, 1973.
- Freire, Paulo. <u>Pedagogy of Freedom: Ethics, Democracy, and Civic Courage</u>. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998.
- Freire, Paulo. <u>Pedagogy of Hope: Reliving Pedagogy of the Oppressed</u>. New York: Continuum Publishing Co., 1994.
- Freire, Paulo. <u>Pedagogy of the Oppressed</u>. New York: Continuum Publishing Co., 1993.
- Freire, Paulo. <u>Teachers as Cultural Workers: Letters to Those Who Dare to Teach.</u>
 Boulder: Westview Press, 1998.
- Gadotti, Moacir. <u>Pedagogy of Praxis: A Dialectical Philosophy of Education</u>.

 Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996.
- Giroux, Henry. Rethinking the Boundaries of Educational Discourse: Modernism,

 Postmodernism and Feminism, College Literature, Double

 Issue 17(213), 1990.
- Goode, Erich. Sociology. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1988.
- Goodman, Jesse. <u>Elementary Schooling for Critical Democracy</u>. New York: State University of New York Press, 1992.
- Gordon, Lois and Alan Gordon. <u>American Chronicle: Year by Year Through the Twentieth Century</u>. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

- Greenberg, Bradley S. and Jeffrey E. Brand. "Channel One: But What About Advertising?" Educational Leadership Dec. 1993/Jan. 1994: 52-58.
- Heslep, Robert D. <u>Thomas Jefferson and Education</u>. New York: Random House, 1969.
- Himley, Margaret. <u>Political Moments in the Classroom</u>. Portsmouth: Boynton/Cook Publishers, 1997.
- hooks, bell. <u>Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom.</u>

 New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Hughes, Robert. American Visions: The Epic History of Art in America. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1997.
- Hurn, Christopher J. <u>The Limits and Possibilities of Schooling: An Introduction to</u> the Sociology of Education. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1992.
- Jefferson, Thomas. <u>The Complete Jefferson: Containing His Major Writings</u>,

 <u>Published and Unpublished, Except His Letters</u>. Ed. Saul K. Padover.

 Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1943.
- Kanigel, Robert. The One Best Way. New York: Viking, 1997.
- Kelly, Elizabeth A. <u>Education, Democracy, and Public Knowledge</u>. Boulder: Westview Press, Inc., 1995.
- Kozol, Jonathan. "Whittle and the Privateers." <u>The Nation</u>.21 Sept. 1992: 272 278. (Cited in Berliner and Biddle. *The Manufactured Crisis*)

- Kozol, Jonathan. <u>Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools</u>. New York: Harper Collins, 1991.
- Lavine, Peter. <u>To Ebbets Field: Sport and the American Jewish Experience.</u>

 New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Lee, Gordon C. <u>Crusade Against Ignorance: Thomas Jefferson on Education</u>.

 New York: Columbia U., 1961.
- Mandell, Jeff. "A Private Delusion: The Edison Project." <u>Texas Observer</u> 26

 Sept. 1997. 10 Apr. 1998

 <texasobserver.org/subjects/corporate/09.26.97.jm.html>.
- McLaren, Peter. <u>Critical Pedagogy and Predatory Culture</u>: <u>Oppositional Politics in a Postmodern Era</u>. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- McLaughlin, John M. "Schooling for Profit: Capitalism's New Frontier." Educational Horizons Fall 1992: 23-30.
- Minsky, Leonard. Preface. <u>Leasing the Ivory Tower: The Corporate Take Over of Academia</u>. Boston: South End Press, 1995.
- Nelson, F. Howard. "Student Achievement in Edison Schools: Mixed

 Results in an Ongoing Enterprise." American Federation of Teachers

 Information Page. Spring 1998

< www.aft.org/research/edisonproject/index.html>.

Personal interview. #1.

Personal interview. #2.

Personal interview. #3

Personal interview. #4

Personal interview. #5.

Personal interview. #6.

Personal interview. #7.

Pound, Edward T. and Hilary Stout. "Bush Nominee Alexander's Investment Successes Have Made Senate Investigators Very Inquisitive." Wall

Street Journal 5 Mar. 1991:16. (Cited in Berliner and Biddle. *The Manufactured Crisis*).

Rank, Hugh. "Channel One: Asking the Wrong Questions." <u>Educational</u>
<u>Leadership</u> Dec. 1993/Jan. 1994: 53-55.

Rumberger, Russell W. and Henry M. Levin. "Forecasting the Impact of New Technologies on the Future Job Market." Project Report #84-A4

Institute Research on Education Finance and Government School of Education, Stanford University 1984: 1. (Cited in Apple. Teachers and Texts).

"The Sandia Report: Perspectives on education in America: An annotated briefing." <u>Journal of Educational Research</u> 86 (1993): 259-310.

Schroeder, Dana. "A Conversation with Benno Schmidt." <u>Citizens League</u> 17

June 1997. 10 Apr.1998

< www.citizensleague.net/transcripts/1997/benno-schmidt-050997.htm>.

- Schulz, Karen. "Another School Takeover Eyed." <u>The Flint Journal</u> 11 Feb. 2000: A3.
- Shea, Christine M. "Pentagon vs. Multinational Capitalism: The Political Economy of the 1980's School Reform Movement." The New Servants of Power: A Critique of the 1980's School Reform Movement Ed. Christine M. Shea, Ernest Kahane, and Peter Sola. New York: Praeger, 1989. (Cited in Berliner and Biddle, *The Manufactured Crisis*).
- Simon, Roger I. <u>Teaching Against the Grain: Texts for a Pedagogy of</u>

 Possibility. Ed. Henry Giroux and Paulo Freire. New York: Bergin &

 Garvey, 1992.
- Soley, Lawrence C. <u>Leasing the Ivory Tower: The Corporate Takeover of Academia</u>. Boston: South End Press, 1995.
- Stanley III, William O. and Kenneth D. Benne. "Social Reconstructionism for 21st-Century Educators." Social Reconstruction Through Education. Ed. Michael E. James. Norwood: Ablex, 1995.
- United States. Department of Education. National Commission on Excellence in Education. A Nation at Risk. Washington: GPO, 1983.
- Whittle, Chris. "Edison Schools and School District of the City of Inkster, MI Announce Agreement" Company News on Call. 5 June 2000. 5 June 2000 http://www.prnewswire.com/cgibin/stories.pl?ACCT=105&STORY=/www/sto.../000123486.

- ---. "Edison Schools Announces Two Major R&D Initiatives: Teacher Colleges and Whole-District Partnerships." Company News on Call. 1

 May 2000. 5 June 2000 May 2000.5 June 2000 .
- United States Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics.

 <u>Digest of Education Statistics</u>, Washington: GPO, 1999.
- United States. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics.

 Principal/School Disciplinarian Survey on School Violence. Washington:
 FRSS 63,1997.