Still Separate, Still Unequal

JONATHAN KOZOL

In Brown v. Board of Education (1954), the U.S. Supreme Court overturned its ruling in Plessy v. Ferguson (1896), which had sanctioned "separate but equal" facilities for blacks and whites throughout the South for more than half a century. The Court's decision in Brown ended the deliberate segregation of U.S. schools and promised to usher in a new era of equality in American education. But according to longtime educational critic Jonathan Kozol, American schools today may be more segregated than at any time since 1954. And the "educational apartheid" that Kozol sees in U.S. schools isn't just about color. Kozol associates the "resegregation" of public education with a deterioration of classroom conditions and teaching practices that threatens an entire generation of Americans.

After graduating from Harvard with a degree in literature and studying as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University, Kozol (b. 1936) took his first job teaching in an inner-city elementary school near Boston. His account of that experience, Death at an Early Age: The Destruction of the Hearts and Minds of Negro Children in the Boston Public Schools (1967) won national acclaim and established him as one of the country's foremost educational activists and social reformers. Since then, his work with poor children and their families has resulted in a dozen books, including Free Schools (1972), Illiterate America (1980), On Being a Teacher (1981), Rachael and Her Children: Homeless Families in America (1988), Savage Inequalities (1991), and The Shame of the Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America (2005), the source of this selection.

Many Americans who live far from our major cities and who have no firsthand knowledge of the realities to be found in urban public schools seem to have the rather vague and general impression that the great extremes of racial isolation that were matters of grave national significance some thirty-five or forty years ago have gradually but steadily diminished in more recent years. The truth, unhappily, is that the trend, far well over a decade now, has been precisely the reverse. Schools that were already deeply segregated twenty-five or thirty years ago are no less segregated now, while thousands of other schools around the country that had been integrated either voluntarily or by the force of law have since been rapidly resegregating.

In Chicago, by the academic year 2002–2003, 87 percent of public-school enrollment was black or Hispanic; less than 10 percent of children in the schools were white. In Washington, D.C., 94 percent of children were black or Hispanic; less than 5 percent were white. In St. Louis, 82 percent
of the student population were black or Hispanic; in Philadelphia and Cleveland, 79 percent; in Los Angeles, 84 percent; in Detroit, 96 percent; in Baltimore, 89 percent. In New York City, nearly three quarters of the students were black or Hispanic.

Even these statistics, as stark as they are, cannot begin to convey how deeply isolated children in the poorest and most segregated sections of these cities have become. In the typically colossal high schools of the Bronx, for instance, more than 96 percent of students (in most cases, more than 95 percent) are black or Hispanic. At John F. Kennedy High School in 2003, 93 percent of the enrollment of more than 4,000 students were black and Hispanic; only 3.5 percent of students at the school were white. At Harry S. Truman High School, black and Hispanic students represented 96 percent of the enrollment of 2,700 students; 2 percent were white. At Adlai Stevenson High School, which enrolls 3,400 students, blacks and Hispanics made up 97 percent of the student population, a mere eight-tenths of one percent were white.

A teacher at P.S. 55 in the South Bronx once pointed out to me one of the two white children I had ever seen there. His presence in her class was something of a wonderment to the teacher and to the other pupils. I asked how many white kids she had taught in the South Bronx in her career. "I've been at this school for eighteen years," she said. "This is the first white student I have ever taught."

One of the most disheartening experiences for those who grew up in the years when Martin Luther King Jr. and Thurgood Marshall were alive is to visit public schools today that bear their names, or names of other honored leaders of the integration struggles that produced the temporary progress that took place in the three decades after Brown v. Board of Education, and to find out how many of these schools are bastions of contemporary segregation. It is even more disheartening when schools like these are not in deeply segregated inner-city neighborhoods but in racially mixed areas where the integration of a public school would seem to be most natural, and where, indeed, it takes a conscious effort on the part of parents or school officials in these districts to avoid the integration option that is often right at their front door.

In a Seattle neighborhood that I visited in 2002, for instance, where approximately half the families were Caucasian, 95 percent of students at the Thurgood Marshall Elementary School were black, Hispanic, Native American, or of Asian origin. An African-American teacher at the school told me — not with bitterness but wistfully — of seeing clusters of white parents and their children each morning on the corner of a street close to the school, waiting for a bus that took the children to a predominantly white school.

2Brown v. Board of Education: 1954 Supreme Court case outlawing public school segregation. The court ruled, "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."
“At Thurgood Marshall,” according to a big wall poster in the school’s lobby, “the dream is alive.” But school-assignment practices and federal court decisions that have countermanded long-established policies that previously fostered integration in Seattle’s schools make the realization of the dream identified with Justice Marshall all but unattainable today. In San Diego there is a school that bears the name of Rosa Parks in which 86 percent of students are black and Hispanic and only some 2 percent are white. In Los Angeles there is a school that bears the name of Dr. King that is 99 percent black and Hispanic, and another in Milwaukee in which black and Hispanic children also make up 99 percent of the enrollment. There is a high school in Cleveland that is named for Dr. King in which black students make up 97 percent of the student body, and the graduation rate is only 35 percent. In Philadelphia, 98 percent of children at a high school named for Dr. King are black. At a middle school named for Dr. King in Boston, black and Hispanic children make up 98 percent of the enrollment.

There is a well-known high school named for Martin Luther King Jr. in New York City too. This school, which I’ve visited repeatedly in recent years, is located in an upper-middle-class white neighborhood, where it was built in the belief—or hope—that it would draw large numbers of white students by permitting them to walk to school, while only their black and Hispanic classmates would be asked to ride the bus or come by train. When the school was opened in 1975, less than a block from Lincoln Center in Manhattan, “it was seen,” according to the New York Times, “as a promising effort to integrate white, black and Hispanic students in a thriving neighborhood that held one of the city’s cultural gems.” Even from the start, however, parents in the neighborhood showed great reluctance to permit their children to enroll at Martin Luther King, and, despite “its prime location and its name, which itself creates the highest of expectations,” notes the Times, the school before long came to be a destination for black and Hispanic students who could not obtain admission into more successful schools. It stands today as one of the nation’s most visible and problematic symbols of an expectation rapidly receding and a legacy substantially betrayed.

Perhaps most damaging to any serious effort to address racial segregation openly is the refusal of most of the major arbiters of culture in our northern cities to confront or even clearly name an obvious reality they would have castigated with a passionate determination in another section of the nation fifty years before—and which, moreover, they still castigate today in retrospective writings that assign it to a comfortably distant and allegedly concluded era of the past. There is, indeed, a seemingly agreed-upon convention in much of the media today not even to use an accurate descriptor like “racial segregation” in a narrative description of a segregated school. Linguistic sweeteners, semantic somersaults, and surrogate vocabularies are repeatedly employed. Schools in which as few as 3 or 4 percent of students may be white or Southeast Asian or of Middle Eastern origin, for
instance—and where every other child in the building is black or Hispanic—are referred to as “diverse.” Visitors to schools like these discover quickly the eviscerated meaning of the word, which is no longer a proper adjective but a euphemism for a plainer word that has apparently become unspeakable.

School systems themselves repeatedly employ this euphemism in describing the composition of their student populations. In a school I visited in the fall of 2004 in Kansas City, Missouri, for example, a document distributed to visitors reports that the school’s curriculum “addresses the needs of children from diverse backgrounds.” But as I went from class to class, I did not encounter any children who were white or Asian—or Hispanic, for that matter—and when I was later provided with precise statistics for the demographics of the school, I learned that 99.6 percent of students there were African American. In a similar document, the school board of another district, this one in New York State, referred to “the diversity” of its student population and “the rich variations of ethnic backgrounds.” But when I looked at the racial numbers that the district had reported to the state, I learned that there were 2,800 black and Hispanic children in the system, 1 Asian child, and 3 whites. Words, in these cases, cease to have real meaning; or, rather, they mean the opposite of what they say.

High school students whom I talk with in deeply segregated neighborhoods and public schools seem far less circumspect than their elders and far more open in their willingness to confront these issues. “It’s more like being hidden,” said a fifteen-year-old girl named Isabel³ I met some years ago in Harlem, in attempting to explain to me the ways in which she and her classmates understood the racial segregation of their neighborhoods and schools. “It’s as if you have been put in a garage where, if they don’t have room for something but aren’t sure if they should throw it out, they put it there where they don’t need to think of it again.”

I asked her if she thought America truly did not “have room” for her or other children of her race. “Think of it this way,” said a sixteen-year-old girl sitting beside her. “If people in New York woke up one day and learned that we were gone, that we had simply died or left for somewhere else, how would they feel?”

“How do you think they’d feel?” I asked.

“I think they’d be relieved,” this very solemn girl replied.

Many educators make the argument today that given the demographics of large cities like New York and their suburban areas, our only realistic goal should be the nurturing of strong, empowered, and well-funded schools in segregated neighborhoods. Black school officials in these situations have sometimes conveyed to me a bitter and clear-sighted recognition that they’re

³The names of children mentioned in this article have been changed to protect their privacy. [Notes 3, 6, and 8 are Konzo’s.]
being asked, essentially, to mediate and render functional an uncontested separation between children of their race and children of white people living sometimes in a distant section of their town and sometimes in almost their own immediate communities. Implicit in this mediation is a willingness to set aside the promises of Brown and — though never stating this or even thinking of it clearly in these terms — to settle for the promise made more than a century ago in Plessy v. Ferguson, the 1896 Supreme Court ruling in which “separate but equal” was accepted as a tolerable rationale for the perpetuation of a dual system in American society.

Equality itself — equality alone — is now, it seems, the article of faith to which most of the principals of inner-city public schools subscribe. And some who are perhaps most realistic do not even dare to ask for, or expect, complete equality, which seems beyond the realm of probability for many years to come, but look instead for only a sufficiency of means — “adequacy” is the legal term most often used today — by which to win those practical and finite victories that appear to be within their reach. Higher standards, higher expectations, are repeatedly demanded by these urban principals, and of the teachers and students in their schools, but far lower standards — certainly in ethical respects — appear to be expected of the dominant society that isolates these children in unequal institutions.

“Dear Mr. Kozol,” wrote the eight-year-old, “we do not have the things you have. You have clean things. We do not have. You have a clean bathroom. We do not have that. You have Parks and we do not have Parks. You have all the thing and we do not have all the thing. Can you help us?”

The letter, from a child named Aliyah, came in a fat envelope of twenty-seven letters from a class of third-grade children in the Bronx. Other letters that the students in Aliyah’s classroom sent me registered some of the same complaints: “We don’t have no gardens,” “no Music or Art,” and “no fun places to play,” one child said. “Is there a way to fix this Problem?”

Another noted a concern one hears from many children in such overcrowded schools: “We have a gym but it is for lining up. I think it is not fair.” Yet another of Aliyah’s classmates asked me, with a sweet misspelling, “If I knew the way to make her school into a “good” school — “like the other kings have” — and ended with the hope that I would do my best to make it possible for “all the kings” to have good schools.

The letter that affected me the most, however, had been written by a child named Elizabeth. “It is not fair that other kids have a garden and new things. But we don’t have that,” said Elizabeth. “I wish that this school was the most beautiful school in the whole why world.”

“The whole why world” stayed in my thoughts for days. When I later met Elizabeth, I brought her letter with me, thinking I might see whether, in reading it aloud, she’d change the “why” to “wide” or leave it as it was. My visit to her class, however, proved to be so pleasant, and the children seemed so eager to bombard me with their questions about where I lived, and why I lived there rather than in New York, and who I lived with, and
how many dogs I had, and other interesting questions of that sort, that I
decided not to interrupt the nice reception they had given me with ques-
tions about usages and spelling. I left “the whole why world” to float around
unmeditated and unreviewed in my mind. The letter itself soon found a resting
place on the wall above my desk.

In the years before I met Elizabeth, I had visited many other schools in
the South Bronx and in one northern district of the Bronx as well. I had
made repeated visits to a high school where a stream of water flowed down
one of the main stairwells on a rainy afternoon and where green fungus
molds were growing in the office where the students went for counseling. A
large blue barrel was positioned to collect rainwater coming through the
ceiling. In one makeshift elementary school housed in a former skating
ing, next to a funeral establishment in yet another nearly all-black-and-Hispanic
section of the Bronx, class size rose to thirty-four and more; four kinder-
garten classes and a sixth-grade class were packed into a single room
that had no windows. The air was stifling in many rooms, and the children
had no place for recess because there was no outdoor playground and no
indoor gym.

In another elementary school, which had been built to hold 1,000 children
but was packed to bursting with some 1,500, the principal poured out
his feelings to me in a room in which a plastic garbage bag had been
attached somehow to cover part of the collapsing ceiling. “This,” he told me,
pointing to the garbage bag, then gesturing around him at the other indica-
tions of decay and disrepair one sees in ghetto schools much like it else-
where, “would not happen to white children.”

Libraries, once one of the glories of the New York City school system,
were either nonexistent or, at best, vestigial in large numbers of the elemen-
tary schools. Art and music programs had also for the most part dis-
appeared. “When I began to teach in 1969,” the principal of an elementary
school in the South Bronx reported to me, “every school had a full-time
licensed art and music teacher and librarian.” During the subsequent
decades, he recalled, “I saw all of that destroyed.”

School physicians also were removed from elementary schools during
these years. In 1970, when substantial numbers of white children still
attended New York City’s public schools, 400 doctors had been present to
address the health needs of the children. By 1983 the number of doctors
had been cut to 23, most of them part-time — a cutback that affected most
severely children in the city’s poorest neighborhoods, where medical facili-
ties were most deficient and health problems faced by children most
acute. Teachers told me of asthmatic children who came into class with
chronic wheezing and who at any moment of the day might undergo more
serious attacks, but in the schools I visited there were no doctors to attend
to them.

In explaining these steep declines in services, political leaders in New
York tended to point to shifting economic factors, like a serious budget
crisis in the middle 1970s, rather than to the changing racial demographics of the student population. But the fact of economic ups and downs from year to year, or from one decade to the next, could not convincingly explain the permanent shortchanging of the city’s students, which took place routinely in good economic times and bad. The bad times were seized upon politically to justify the cuts, and the money was never restored once the crisis years were past.

“If you close your eyes to the changing racial composition of the schools and look only at budget actions and political events,” says Noreen Connell, the director of the nonprofit Educational Priorities Panel in New York, “you’re missing the assumptions that are underlying these decisions.” When minority parents ask for something better for their kids, she says, “the assumption is that these are parents who can be discounted. These are kids who just don’t count—children we don’t value.”

This, then, is the accusation that Aliyah and her classmates send our way: “You have... We do not have.” Are they right or are they wrong? Is this a case of naive and simplistic juvenile exaggeration? What does a third-grader know about these big-time questions of fairness and justice? Physical appearances apart, how in any case do you begin to measure something so diffuse and vast and seemingly abstract as having more, or having less, or not having at all?

Around the time I met Aliyah in the school year 1997–1998, New York’s Board of Education spent about $8,000 yearly on the education of a third-grade child in a New York City public school. If you could have scooped Aliyah up out of the neighborhood where she was born and plunked her down in a fairly typical white suburb of New York, she would have received a public education worth about $12,000 a year. If you were to lift her up one more and set her down in one of the wealthiest white suburbs of New York, she would have received as much as $18,000 worth of public education every year and would likely have had a third-grade teacher paid approximately $30,000 more than her teacher in the Bronx was paid.

The dollars on both sides of the equation have increased since then, but the discrepancies between them have remained. The present per-pupil spending level in the New York City schools is $11,700, which may be compared with a per-pupil spending level in excess of $22,000 in the well-to-do suburban district of Manhasset, Long Island. The present New York City level is, indeed, almost exactly what Manhasset spent per pupil eighteen years ago, in 1977, when that sum of money bought a great deal more in services and salaries than it can buy today. In dollars adjusted for inflation, New York City has not yet caught up to where its wealthiest suburbs were a quarter-century ago....

As racial isolation deepens and the inequalities of education finance remain unabated and take on new and more innovative forms, the principals of many inner-city schools are making choices that few principals in public schools that serve white children in the mainstream of the nation ever need
to contemplate. Many have been dedicating vast amounts of time and effort to create an architecture of adaptive strategies that promise incremental gains within the limits inequality allows.

New vocabularies of stentorian determination, new systems of incentive, and new modes of castigation, which are termed "rewards and sanctions," have emerged. Curriculum materials that are alleged to be aligned with governmentally established goals and standards and particularly suited to what are regarded as "the special needs and learning styles" of low-income urban children have been introduced. Relentless emphasis on raising test scores, rigid policies of nonpromotion and nongraduation, a new empiricism and the imposition of unusually detailed lists of named and numbered "outcomes" for each isolated parcel of instruction, an oftentimes fanatical insistence upon uniformity of teachers in their management of time, an openly conceded emulation of the rigorous approaches of the military and a frequent use of terminology that comes out of the world of industry and commerce—these are just a few of the familiar aspects of these new adaptive strategies.

Although generically described as "school reform," most of these practices and policies are targeted primarily at poor children of color, and although most educators speak of these agendas in broad language that sounds applicable to all, it is understood that they are valued chiefly as responses to perceived catastrophe in deeply segregated and unequal schools.

"If you do what I tell you to do, how I tell you to do it, when I tell you to do it, you'll get it right," said a determined South Bronx principal observed by a reporter for the New York Times. She was laying out a memorizing rule for math to an assembly of her students. "If you don't, you'll get it wrong." This is the voice, this is the tone, this is the rhythm and didactic certitude one hears today in inner-city schools that have embraced a pedagogy of direct command and absolute control. "Taking their inspiration from the ideas of B. F. Skinner..." says the Times, proponents of scripted rote-and-drill curricula articulate their aim as the establishment of "faultless communication" between "the teacher, who is the stimulus," and "the students, who respond."

The introduction of Skinnerian approaches (which are commonly employed in penal institutions and drug-rehabilitation programs), as a way of altering the attitudes and learning styles of black and Hispanic children, is provocative, and it has stirred some outcries from respected scholars. To actually go into a school where you know some of the children very, very well and see the way that these approaches can affect their daily lives and thinking processes is even more provocative.

On a chilly November day four years ago in the South Bronx, I entered P.S. 65, a school I had been visiting since 1993. There had been major

changes since I'd been there last. Silent lunches had been instituted in the cafeteria, and on days when children misbehaved, silent recess had been introduced as well. On those days the students were obliged to sit in rows and maintain perfect silence on the floor of a small indoor room instead of going out to play. The words success for all, the brand name of a scripted curriculum — better known by its acronym, SFA — were prominently posted at the top of the main stairway and, as I would later find, in almost every room. Also frequently displayed within the halls and classrooms were a number of administrative memos that were worded with unusual didactic absoluteness. "Authentic Writing," read a document called "Principles of Learning" that was posted in the corridor close to the principal's office, "is driven by curriculum and instruction." I didn't know what this expression meant. Like many other undefined and arbitrary phrases posted in the school, it seemed to be a dictum that invited no interrogation.

I entered the fourth grade of a teacher I will call Mr. Endicott, a man in his mid-thirties who had arrived here without training as a teacher, one of about a dozen teachers in the building who were sent into this school after a single summer of short-order preparation. Now in his second year, he had developed a considerable sense of confidence and held the class under a tight control.

As I found a place to sit in a far corner of the room, the teacher and his young assistant, who was in her first year as a teacher, were beginning a math lesson about building airport runways, a lesson that provided children with an opportunity for measuring perimeters. On the wall behind the teacher, in large letters, was written: "Portfolio Protocols: 1. You are responsible for the selection of [your] work that enters your portfolio. 2. As your skills become more sophisticated this year, you will want to revise, amend, supplement, and possibly replace items in your portfolio to reflect your intellectual growth." On the left side of the room: "Performance Standards Mathematics Curriculum: M-5 Problem Solving and Reasoning, M-6 Mathematical Skills and Tools..."

My attention was distracted by some whispering among the children sitting to the right of me. The teacher's response to this distraction was immediate: his arm shot out and up in a diagonal in front of him, his hand straight up, his fingers flat. The young co-teacher did this, too. When they saw their teachers do this, all the children in the classroom did it, too.

"Zero noise," the teacher said, but this instruction proved to be unneeded. The strange salute the class and teachers gave each other, which turned out to be one of a number of such silent signals teachers in the school were trained to use, and children to obey, had done the job of silencing the class.

"Active listening!" said Mr. Endicott. "Heads up! Tractor beams!" which meant, "Every eye on me."

On the front wall of the classroom, in handwritten words that must have taken Mr. Endicott long hours to transcribe, was a list of terms that could be used to praise or criticize a student's work in mathematics. At
Level Four, the highest of four levels of success, a child’s “problem-solving strategies” could be described, according to this list, as “systematic, complete, efficient, and possibly elegant,” while the student’s capability to draw conclusions from the work she had completed could be termed “insightful” or “comprehensive.” At Level Two, the child’s capability to draw conclusions was to be described as “logically unsound”; at Level One, “not present.” Approximately 50 separate categories of proficiency, or lack of such, were detailed in this wall-sized tabulation.

A well-educated man, Mr. Endicott later spoke to me about the form of classroom management that he was using as an adaptation from a model of industrial efficiency. “It’s a kind of Taylorism"5 in the classroom,” he explained, referring to a set of theories about the management of factory employees introduced by Frederick Taylor in the early 1900s. “Primitive utilitarianism” is another term he used when we met some months later to discuss these management techniques with other teachers from the school. His reservations were, however, not apparent in the classroom. Within the terms of what he had been asked to do, he had, indeed, become a master of control. It is one of the few classrooms I had visited up to that time in which almost nothing even hinting at spontaneous emotion in the children or the teacher surfaced while I was there.

The teacher gave the “zero noise” salute again when someone whispered to another child at his table. “In two minutes you will have a chance to talk and share this with your partner.” Communication between children in the class was not prohibited but was afforded time slots and, remarkably enough, was formalized in an expression that I found included in a memo that was posted on the wall beside the door. “An opportunity . . . to engage in Accountable Talk.”

Even the teacher’s words of praise were framed in terms consistent with the lists that had been posted on the wall. “That’s a Level Four suggestion,” said the teacher when a child made an observation other teachers might have praised as simply “pretty good” or “interesting” or “mature.”

There was, it seemed, a formal name for every cognitive event within this school: “Authentic Writing,” “Active Listening,” “Accountable Talk.” The ardor to assign all items of instruction or behavior a specific name was unsettling me. The adjectives had the odd effect of hying every item of endeavor. “Authentic Writing” was, it seemed, a more important act than what the children in a writing class in any ordinary school might try to do. “Accountable Talk” was something more self-conscious and significant than merely useful conversation.

Since that day at P.S. 65, I have visited nine other schools in six different cities where the same Skinnerian curriculum is used. The signs on the

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5Taylorism: Approach to management named after American engineer and business school professor Frederick Taylor. His Principles of Scientific Management (1911) sought to increase efficiency and productivity.
walls, the silent signals, the curious salute, the same insistent naming of all
cognitive particulars, became familiar as I went from one school to the next.
"Meaningful Sentences," began one of the many listings of proficiencies
expected of the children in the fourth grade of an inner-city elementary
school in Hartford (90 percent black, 10 percent Hispanic) that I visited a
short time later. "Noteworthy Questions," "Active Listening," and other
designations like these had been posted elsewhere in the room. Here, too,
the teacher gave the kids her outstretched arm, with hand held up, to
reestablish order when they grew a little noisy, but I noticed that she tried
to soften the effect of this by opening her fingers and bending her elbow
slightly so it did not look quite as forbidding as the gesture Mr. Endicott
had used. A warm and interesting woman, she later told me she disliked the
regimen intensely.

Over her desk, I read a "Mission Statement," which established the
priorities and values for the school. Among the missions of the school,
according to the printed statement, which was posted also in some other
classrooms of the school, was "to develop productive citizens" who have the
skills that will be needed "for successful global competition," a message that
was reinforced by other posters in the room. Over the heads of a group of
children at their desks, a sign anointed them BEST WORKERS OF 2002.

Another signal now was given by the teacher, this one not for silence
but in order to achieve some other form of class behavior, which I could not
quite identify. The students gave exactly the same signal in response. Whatev-
ner the function of this signal, it was done as I had seen it done in the
South Bronx and would see it done in other schools in months to come.
Suddenly, with a seeming surge of restlessness and irritation — with herself,
as it appeared, and with her own effective use of all the tricks that she had
learned — she turned to me and said, "I can do this with my dog."

In some inner-city districts, even the most pleasant and old-fashioned
class activities of elementary schools have now been overtaken by these
ordering requirements. A student teacher in California, for example,
wanted to bring a pumpkin to her class on Halloween but knew it had no
ascendable connection to the California standards. She therefore had
developed what she called "The Multi-Modal Pumpkin Unit" to teach sci-
ence (seeds), arithmetic (the size and shape of pumpkins, I believe — this
detail wasn’t clear), and certain items she adapted out of language arts, in
order to position "pumpkins" in a frame of state proficiencies. Even with
her multi-modal pumpkin, as her faculty adviser told me, she was still afraid
she would be criticized because she knew the pumpkin would not really
help her children to achieve expected goals on state exams.

Why, I asked a group of educators at a seminar in Sacramento, was a
teacher being placed in a position where she’d need to do preposterous cur-
ricular gesticules to enjoy a bit of seasonal amusement with her kids on
Halloween? How much injury to state-determined "purpose" would it do to
let the children of poor people have a pumpkin party once a year for no
other reason than because it's something fun that other children get to do on autumn days in public schools across most of America.

"Forcing an absurdity on teachers does teach something," said an African-American professor. "It teaches acquiescence. It breaks down the will to thumb your nose at pointless protocols — to call absurdity 'absurd.' Writing out the standards with the proper numbers on the chalkboard has a similar effect, he said; and doing this is "terribly important" to the principals in many of these schools. "You have to post the standards, and the way you know the children know the standards is by asking them to state the standards. And they do it — and you want to be quite certain that they do it if you want to keep on working at that school."

In speaking of the drill-based program in effect at P.S. 65, Mr. Endicott told me he tended to be sympathetic to the school administrators, more so at least than the other teachers I had talked with seemed to be. He said he believed his principal had little choice about the implementation of this program, which had been mandated for all elementary schools in New York City that had had rock-bottom academic records over a long period of time. "This puts me into a dilemma," he went on, "because I love the kids at P.S. 65." And even while, he said, "I know that my teaching SFA is a charade . . . if I don't do it I won't be permitted to teach these children."

Mr. Endicott, like all but two of the new recruits at P.S. 65 — there were about fifteen in all — was a white person, as were the principal and most of the administrators at the school. As a result, most of these neophyte instructors had had little or no prior contact with the children of an inner-city neighborhood; but, like the others I met, and despite the distancing between the children and their teachers that resulted from the scripted method of instruction, he had developed close attachments to his students and did not want to abandon them. At the same time, the class- and race-specific implementation of this program obviously troubled him. "There's an expression now," he said. "The rich get richer, and the poor get SFA."

He said he was still trying to figure out his "professional ethics" on the problem that this posed for him.

White children made up "only about one percent" of students in the New York City schools in which this scripted teaching system was imposed, according to the New York Times, which also said that "the prepackaged lessons" were intended "to ensure that all teachers — even novices or the most inept" — would be able to teach reading. As seemingly pragmatic and hardheaded as such arguments may be, they are desperation strategies that come out of the acceptance of inequity. If we did not have a deeply segregated system in which more experienced instructors teach the children of the privileged and the least experienced are sent to teach the children of minorities, these practices would not be needed and could not be so

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6SFA has since been discontinued in the New York City public schools, though it is still being used in 1,300 U.S. schools, serving as many as 650,000 children. Similar scripted systems are used in schools (overwhelmingly minority in population) serving several million children.
convincingly defended. They are confections of apartheid,7 and no matter by what arguments of urgency or practicality they have been justified, they cannot fail to further deepen the divisions of society.

There is no misery index for the children of apartheid education. There ought to be; we measure almost everything else that happens to them in their schools. Do kids who go to schools like these enjoy the days they spend in them? Is school, for most of them, a happy place to be? You do not find the answers to these questions in reports about achievement levels, scientific methods of accountability, or structural revisions in the modes of governance. Documents like these don’t speak of happiness. You have to go back to the schools themselves to find an answer to these questions. You have to sit down in the little chairs in first and second grade, or on the reading rug with kindergarten kids, and listen to the things they actually say to one another and the dialogue between them and their teachers. You have to go down to the basement with the children when it’s time for lunch and to the playground with them, if they have a playground, when it’s time for recess, if they still have recess at their school. You have to walk into the children’s bathrooms in these buildings. You have to do what children do and breathe the air the children breathe. I don’t think that there is any other way to find out what the lives that children lead in school are really like.

High school students, when I first meet them, are often more reluctant than the younger children to open up and express their personal concerns; but hesitation on the part of students did not prove to be a problem when I visited a tenth-grade class at Fremont High School in Los Angeles. The students were told that I was a writer, and they took no time in getting down to matters that were on their minds.

“What do you want to talk about?” asked a soft-spoken student named Mireya.

In almost any classroom there are certain students who, by the force of their directness or the unusual sophistication of their way of speaking, tend to capture your attention from the start. Mireya later spoke insightfully about some of the serious academic problems that were common in the school, but her observations on the physical and personal embarrassments she and her schoolmates had to undergo cut to the heart of questions of essential dignity that kids in squalid schools like this one have to deal with all over the nation.

Fremont High School, as court papers filed in a lawsuit against the state of California document, has fifteen fewer bathrooms than the law requires. Of the limited number of bathrooms that are working in the school, “only one or two . . . are open and unlocked for girls to use.” Long lines of girls are “waiting to use the bathrooms,” which are generally “unclean” and “lack basic supplies,” including toilet paper. Some of the classrooms, as court

7Apartheid. Literally “apartness,” the policy of racial segregation and discrimination in South Africa, restricting the rights of nonwhites, which ended in 1990.
papers also document, "do not have air conditioning," so that students, who attend school on a three-track schedule that runs year-round, "become red-faced and unable to concentrate" during "the extreme heat of summer." The school's maintenance records report that rats were found in eleven classrooms. Rat droppings were found "in the bins and drawers" of the high school's kitchen, and school records note that "hamburger buns" were being "eaten off [the] bread-delivery rack."

No matter how many tawdry details like these I've read in legal briefs or depositions through the years, I'm always shocked again to learn how often these unsanitary physical conditions are permitted to continue in the schools that serve our poorest students—even after they have been vividly described in the media. But hearing of these conditions in Mireya's words was even more unsettling, in part because this student seemed so fragile and because the need even to speak of these indignities in front of me and all the other students was an additional indignity.

"The problem is this," she carefully explained. "You're not allowed to use the bathroom during lunch, which is a thirty-minute period. The only time that you're allowed to use it is between your classes." But "this is a huge building," she went on. "It has long corridors. If you have one class at one end of the building and your next class happens to be way down at the other end, you don't have time to use the bathroom and still get to class before it starts. So you go to your class and then you ask permission from your teacher to go to the bathroom and the teacher tells you, 'No. You had your chance between the periods ...."

"I feel embarrassed when I have to stand there and explain it to a teacher."

"This is the question," said a wiry-looking boy named Edward, leaning forward in his chair. "Students are not animals, but even animals need to relieve themselves sometimes. We're here for eight hours. What do they think we're supposed to do?"

"It humiliates you," said Mireya, who went on to make the interesting statement that "the school provides solutions that don't actually work," and this idea was taken up by several other students in describing course requirements within the school. A tall black student, for example, told me that she hoped to be a social worker or a doctor but was programmed into "Sewing Class" this year. She also had to take another course, called "Life Skills," which she told me was a very basic course—"a retarded class," to use her words—that "teaches things like the six continents," which she said she'd learned in elementary school.

When I asked her why she had to take these courses, she replied that she'd been told they were required, which as I later learned was not exactly so. What was required was that high school students take two courses in an area of study called "The Technical Arts," and which the Los Angeles Board of Education terms "Applied Technology." At schools that served the middle class or upper-middle class, this requirement was likely to be met by courses that had academic substance and, perhaps, some relevance to college prepar-
At Beverly Hills High School, for example, the technical-arts requirement could be fulfilled by taking subjects like residential architecture, the designing of commercial structures, broadcast journalism, advanced computer graphics, a sophisticated course in furniture design, carving and sculpture, or an honors course in engineering research and design. At Fremont High, in contrast, this requirement was far more often met by courses that were basically vocational and also obviously keyed to low-paying levels of employment.

Mireya, for example, who had plans to go to college, told me that she had to take a sewing class last year and now was told she'd been assigned to take a class in hairdressing as well. When I asked her teacher why Mireya could not skip these subjects and enroll in classes that would help her to pursue her college aspirations, she replied, "It isn't a question of what students want. It's what the school may have available. If all the other elective classes that a student wants to take are full, she has to take one of these classes if she wants to graduate."

A very small girl named Obie, who had big blue-tinted glasses tilted up across her hair, interrupted then to tell me with a kind of wild gusto that she'd taken hairdressing twice! When I expressed surprise that this was possible, she said there were two levels of hairdressing offered here at Fremont High. "One is in hairstyling," she said. "The other is in braiding."

Mireya stared hard at this student for a moment and then suddenly began to cry. "I don't want to take hairdressing. I did not need sewing either. I knew how to sew. My mother is a seamstress in a factory. I'm trying to go to college. I don't need to sew to go to college. My mother sews. I hoped for something else."

"What would you rather take?" I asked.

"I wanted to take an AP class," she answered.

Mireya's sudden tears elicited a strong reaction from one of the boys who had been silent up till now: a thin, dark-eyed student named Fortino, who had long hair down to his shoulders. He suddenly turned directly to Mireya and spoke into the silence that followed her last words.

"Listen to me," he said. "The owners of the sewing factories need laborers. Correct?"

"I guess they do," Mireya said.

"It's not going to be their own kids. Right?"

"Why not?" another student said.

"So they can grow beyond themselves," Mireya answered quietly. "But we remain the same."

"You're ghettos," said Fortino, "so we send you to the factory." He sat low in his desk chair, leaning on one elbow, his voice and dark eyes loaded with a cynical intelligence. "You're ghettos — so you sew!"

"There are higher positions than these," said a student named Samantha.

"You're ghettos," said Fortino relentlessly, "So sew!"

Admittedly, the economic needs of a society are bound to be reflected to some rational degree within the policies and purposes of public schools.
But, even so, there must be something more to life as it is lived by six-year-olds or ten-year-olds, or by teenagers, for that matter, than concerns about "successful global competition." Childhood is not merely basic training for utilitarian adulthood. It should have some claims upon our mercy, not for its future value to the economic interests of competitive societies but for its present value as a perishable piece of life itself.

Very few people who are not involved with inner-city schools have any real idea of the extremes to which the mercantile distortion of the purposes and character of education have been taken or how unabashedly proponents of these practices are willing to defend them. The head of a Chicago school, for instance, who was criticized by some for emphasizing rote instruction that, his critics said, was turning children into "robots," found no reason to dispute the charge. "Did you ever stop to think that these robots will never burglarize your home?" he asked, and "will never snatch your pocketbooks... These robots are going to be producing taxes."

Corporate leaders, when they speak of education, sometimes pay lip-service to the notion of "good critical and analytic skills," but it is reasonable to ask whether they have in mind the critical analysis of their priorities. In principle, perhaps some do; but, if so, this is not a principle that seems to have been honored widely in the schools I have been visiting. In all the various business-driven inner-city classrooms I have observed in the past five
years, plastered as they are with corporation brand names and managerial vocabularies. I have yet to see the two words ‘labor unions.’ Is this an oversight? How is that possible? Teachers and principals themselves, who are almost always members of a union, seem to be so beaten down that they rarely even question this omission.

It is not at all unusual these days to come into an urban school in which the principal prefers to call himself or herself ‘building CEO’ or ‘building manager.’ In some of the same schools teachers are described as ‘classroom managers.’ I have never been in a suburban district in which principals were asked to view themselves or teachers in this way. These terminologies remind us how far the distance has become between two very separate worlds of education.

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**ENGAGING THE TEXT**

1. Compare notes in class on your own elementary and secondary school experiences. How do the schools you attended compare with the public schools Kozol describes, both in terms of physical condition and teaching approach?

2. What evidence have you seen of reluctance on the part of politicians, educators, and the media to talk about the segregated state of America's public schools? Would you agree that the current state of public education in the United States amounts to “re segregation” and is, in fact, evidence of “apartheid” in American society?

3. Who is to blame for the current resegregation of American public schools, according to Kozol? Whom— or what— would you blame? To what extent would you agree that the state of inner-city schools represents a “moral failure” in America? Why might it be so important to Kozol to see this issue in moral— and not simply in political or social— terms?

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\[1\] A school I visited three years ago in Columbus, Ohio, was littered with “Help Wanted” signs. Students in kindergarten, children in the school were being asked to think about the jobs that they might choose when they grow up. In one classroom there was a poster that displayed the names of several retail stores: J. C. Penney, Wal-Mart, Kmart, Sears, and a few others. “It’s like working in a store,” a classroom aide explained. “The children are learning to pretend they’re clerks.” At another school in the same district, children were encouraged to apply for jobs in their classrooms. Among the job positions open to the children, in this school, there was an “Attendance Manager,” a “Behavior Chart Manager,” a “Form Collector Manager,” a “Paper Filler Opter Manager,” a “Paper Collecting Manager,” a “Paper Return Manager,” an “In Ticket Manager,” even a “Learning Manager,” a “Reading Corner Manager,” and a “Store Keeper Manager.” I asked the principal if there was a special reason why those two words— “management” and “manager” —kept popping up throughout the school. “We want every child to be working as a manager while he or she is in this school,” the principal explained. “We want to make them understand that, in this country, companies will give you opportunities to work to prove yourself, no matter what you’ve done.” I wasn’t sure what she meant by “no matter what you’ve done,” and asked her if she could explain it. “Even if you have a felony record,” she said, “we want you to understand that you can be a manager someday.”
EXPLORING CONNECTIONS

4. Compare Mike Rose’s account of his own school experience during the 1950s and 1960s (p. 161) with the contemporary urban classrooms described by Kozol in this selection. How might Rose assess the teaching methods that dominate the school reforms Kozol describes? Do you think a Jack McFarland would succeed in today’s inner-city schools? Why or why not?

5. Compare what Kozol, Michael Moore (p. 139), and John Taylor Gatto (p. 152) have to say about the impact of corporate America on U.S. schools. To what extent does your own prior educational experience suggest that corporate influence is undermining American education?

6. How well do the schools that Kozol describes fit any of the four categories of schools presented by Jean Anyon (p. 173)? To what extent do you think it would be possible to adapt the approaches and methods used in Anyon’s professional or elite schools more broadly?

EXTENDING THE CRITICAL CONTEXT

7. Working in groups, sample news and magazine stories published in the last year to determine if Kozol is correct when he says that the media are reluctant to discuss the “segregation” of American public education. How many of the articles you identify address the idea of segregation? Of the inequalities of public education?

8. Learn more about the “No Child Left Behind Act” and other aspects of the accountability reform movement in education. What kinds of accountability reforms have been implemented in your area? What evidence do you find that these measures have worked? To what extent would you agree that accountability reforms have turned children into robots and reduced teaching to mechanical drill?

9. Over the past few years, a number of states have begun requiring high school students to take standardized “exit” exams to guarantee that they meet minimum academic standards before graduation. Research this educational reform to find out more about its impact on students, and then debate its merits in class. Would you support recent proposals that would require a similar nationwide test for college students before they receive their degrees? Why or why not?