Emily: Good afternoon, I'm Emily Robertson, the associate dean of the School of Education and it's my pleasure to welcome you to the eighteenth annual Harry S and Alva K Ganders lecture series. This lecture is also the second in our centennial lecture series which obviously celebrates the hundredth anniversary of our School of Education. The Ganders lecture is named for dean Harry S Ganders, who was the fourth dean of our school of education. He was hired in 1929 with the directive that he should make the then existing teacher's college, a more vital division of the university. And in carrying out his mission, he devised the concept of the all university school of education which remains with us today. Unfortunately, no member of the Ganders family could attend the lecture this year. Nevertheless, I want to thank them for their generosity in sustaining this lecture series which is an important intellectual event in the life of our school. Now I'd like to introduce Professor Mara Zaponshevin, professor of teaching and leadership, who will introduce our speaker.

Mara: Thank you Emily. I am delighted to have the opportunity to introduce Ken Zeichner, for a series of reasons I will share with you. You can read some of the formal stuff. Ken is currently the Huffs Baskum professor of teacher education and the associate dean for undergraduate international and teacher education at University of Wisconsin Madison. Ken has a really rich history with Syracuse so this was really kind of exciting for him I think also, to come back. I don't hear a microphone. Can you hear me? I couldn't hear you either. We're not miked at all?

OK, Ken has his doctorate from here in 1976, thirty years ago. Ken was a graduate student and a grad assistant at Syracuse University, lunch with a lot of our students and some of our graduate students. He was I think excited to sort of say he continuity and having been a here now, back Ganders lecture two years later. He was the acting coordinator of the Syracuse Urban Teacher Complex which is a teacher core program and what was wonderful today was to hear how his experiences doing work that were vital, vital to his work now, occurred here, making connections between the university and the community and understanding that you cannot do a good job of teacher education unless we're closely involved with the communities in which we work. Where we teach and help our students because teacher since leaving Syracuse. So he has a
rich connection to Syracuse. He also has a rich connection to me. Now that's also why it's thrilling to reconnect with him. It was thirty years ago in the spring of 1976, I had just finished, almost finished my doctorate at the University of Rochester, Ken was finishing his doctorate at Syracuse and I was being interviewed at the University of Wisconsin Madison for my very first assistant professor job and I came for my interview and I was sitting there in one of the corridors waiting to talk with someone and there was this other young guy sitting there and he was also being interviewed for something and there was this little moment of are we interviewing for the same job kind of moment. Did they do that, did they really bring in two people competing for the same job at the same moment. And we talked and there was a little tension between us, because we really liked each other, immediately found out we had so much in common and it was sort of like oh, is one of us going to get the job? Luckily found out that there were two different positions and he was being interviewed for a different position and we both got the jobs. So the path was clear to developing a really close friendship because we both got, we both got to be there at the same time. So I have known Ken for thirty years now. When you mention the field of teacher education, Zeichner is the name that you hear a lot. It's almost become synonymous. Teacher education you hear and Zeichner is one of them. And it's always interesting when you're trying to Google somebody, you've all Googled people right and you see certain key words come up again and again and the topics that show up or where it shows up on the screen or in their articles or their publications, you sort of begin to get a sense of who is this person. So if you'll look up Ken you'll see, reflective teaching, teacher education, field base experience, teacher education, teacher reflection, teacher stress, teacher renewal, teacher education reform, the future of teacher education, teacher perspectives, multi cultural education, action research, student teachers, you know you get the idea.

You keep hearing these same things over and over again and you hear about exciting projects, likes, development of teacher perspectives and the relationship among teachers, perspectives, classroom and school properties and student university. So the keyword preparation of teachers to work effectively with diverse students in multi cultural settings. You hear a lot of those keywords and you'll find about eleven books I think currently and hundreds and chapters and articles, but what will be interesting is that they won't just have the words I just recited, you will also hear from Brazil, from Spain. So you will begin to get a sense that Ken is not just interested in teacher education in this country, but also internationally. You'll see articles published in Thailand, in the Netherlands. Some of those titles I didn't even attempt to pronounce for you. So his scope is broad, his reputation is broad but the thing that I have to say that's most important to me is there is sometimes in academia you hear almost a bias that if someone writes an incomprehensible language where somebody says oh my god, I read an entire page, it took me three hours and I didn't understand anything, this guy must be really smart.
How many of you have heard that kind of assumption that that's, that's what makes somebody smart is you can't understand a word they say? Ken doesn't buy that. I don't either. Because one of the things that marks Ken's writing and his research is that he makes sense to people who read it, that uses real words, real language, real examples, real stories and real history of people and teachers. And to me that is the ultimate value of being an academic. Is to be able to convey to lots of people what you do and why it matters, not to be able to write only for four other people who can understand what you wrote. So the fact that Ken writes intelligently, incomprehensibly, is actually part of his [inaudible]. Because to change the world what you really have to do is communicate with lots of people. I mean you have to write in a way that people can understand so they can make sense of it. [Inaudible] he is not smart, it just means that he's understandable and it allows a lot of people to have access. The other thing about Ken is that he cares deeply about kids and teachers and education and he's still deeply connected. He's somebody who's constantly in the field, talking to teachers, talking to students. We shared at lunch that if you're not in the field and if you're not having connections with the contingencies that you're writing about and talking about, you lose touch. You lose touch with who those people are or their stories and it's possible to become detached in some ways that don't help anyone. It's been said and it's a cliche, but it's very true of Ken. The line is, people won't care how much you know until they know how much you care. So I could go on and on about this research grant and this article and this publication and but I think that what will emerge today is not just that but also how deeply Ken cares about education and children. All children, not just certain children but really the belief about education for all kids of all sizes, shapes, colors, languages, backgrounds and how much that matters. And he really believes that teaching matters and that teachers make a difference and that public education is specifically linked to the future of our society. And I think that when your last name is Zeichner, and you're in elementary school remember, sort of lining up alphabetically right, Zeichner is [inaudible] end you know, that puts you with a Z name. But Ken is really somebody who's moved to the front of the line but didn't get there by pushing and shoving everybody aside. He got there because he's one of the most equally collaborative people I know and because he's going to bring the whole line forward with him as we make a difference in the world and in schools and education. So thirty years later, I am still very delighted to introduce Ken as my friend and my colleague.
I have very fond memories of the seven years that I spent here as a graduate student, an intern in the urban teacher preparation program, as a doctoral student, working in the national teacher corps project at Syracuse as a team leader and teaching in a city school district at Murrick [assumed spelling] and during the summers, Martin Luther King elementary schools. This afternoon I wanted to part from my area of expertise over the last thirty years which is teacher education, to look more broadly at the current situation of public schooling in the United States in this time of unprecedented federal involvement in local school systems. I will talk about the failure of our public schools to provide a high quality education to everyone's children and about the failure of our society to provide the social preconditions for this education to take place. I'll look at various dimensions of the crisis and talk about what I think can be done about them and I'll also try to assess the role of No Child Left Behind in relationship to them. Next slide. The current administration's solution to the crisis in public education involves an open and deliberate attempt to dismantle public education in the United States as we have known it. Through the current test and punish regime of No Child Left Behind and the attempt to privatize public schooling. The privatization of public schooling, which stems from a broader set of neo liberal policies that operate in a number of spheres of society, would be a grave err in my view that would pose a fundamental threat to the realization of a democratic society based in social justice. In terms of both the distribution of the society's resources and in terms of the quality of human relationships in our country. I will begin by looking briefly at the purposes of public education in a democracy, offer an assessment of the condition of public education and my view of what's responsible for this condition and what we can do about it. From the beginning of our republic, the founding fathers understood the connection between education and democracy and the importance of public schools to building a democracy. Thomas Jefferson argued that without citizens there could be no republic and without a public and without public schools there could be no citizens. He felt that the people could be prepared to govern responsibly through a system of public education that would develop an intelligent populous and support a popular intelligence. In 1816 he warned, if you expect a nation to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, you expect what never was and will never be. Of course the public at that time referred only to white men and excluded those such as women, native Americans, African Americans and so on. Next slide. Over the years at our rhetoric at least, our definition of the public has broadened to include all citizens and we have proclaimed at least, the ambitious goal that is unique throughout the world of wanting to provide a high quality education to everyone's children. There are various motivations that stand behind this goal for those who truly believe in it, including a desire to prepare individuals to be able to actively participate as citizens in a democracy. To build harmony among different groups within the society. That is to actually help construct a public and to strengthen our economy. Another justification behind the effort to build a system of public schooling was to avoid the negative social costs to the society that would result from an uneducated populous. My colleague at Wisconsin, historian Bill Reese, quotes a recent immigrant to the United States in 1839 who's comments on the importance of education captured his rationale and this immigrant says, give to education a clear
field and fair play and your poor houses and hospitals will stand empty, your prisons and penitentiaries will lack inmates and the whole country will be filled with wise, industrious and happy inhabitants. Immorality, vice and crime, disease, misery and poverty will vanish from our regions. And morality, virtue and fidelity with health, prosperity and abundance will make their permanent home among us. Despite the obvious exaggeration here, there's some truth to this statement about the societal consequences associated with under educating significant numbers of our citizens and I'm going to refer later on to a project at TC Columbia that's collecting a lot of information about the social and economic costs of under educating students in our schools. Regardless of the motivation behind one's desire to provide everyone's children with a high quality education, there is clearly a crisis of inequality in our public schools that has persisted through wave after wave of reform efforts, despite the good work of many dedicated teachers and administrators that they done and continue to do.

And I want to take a few minutes now to lay out some of this inequality before looking at the role of No Child Left Behind. By almost every measure that exists, there's a crisis of inequality in our schools that continues to deny many poor children and children of color, a high quality education. In most urban districts throughout the United States, it is these children who make up the majority of the population of our public elementary and secondary schools. By laying out these dimensions of inequality, I'm not implying that these problems are the fault of teachers or administrators or that good things are not happening in some places or that the good work that is going on does not matter. Because it does matter. But what I will present though is a general picture of public education which clearly shows that the resources allocated to a child's education and the nature and quality of that education, are largely determined by one's social class background, race and ethnicity. The common sense perception is that these inequalities are the result of failing schools, a position that I will argue is misleading and dangerous because it fails to take into account the lack in the broader society of social preconditions for educational reform. First in recent years there's been a lot of discussion of gaps, achievement gaps between the standardized test scores of students of different groups. Rather than bombard you with fifty slides as they do in education trust presentations, I'm just going to show you three slides that illustrate the pattern that appears over and over again. These slides are from the 2005 MEAP results at the fourth and eighth grade level. First in reading, show how many were at or above proficient percentages. Then in math. And I also want to show you some data from New York state which follows the same pattern. Next slide. In report after report, using both state assessments and these national assessments, African American, Latino and Native American students achieve less well than most Asian and white students. While it is true that Katie Hacock [assumed spelling], from the Education Trust, goes around the country showing that in every state there are a few schools that do not fit this problem. This ranking groups is consistently the dominate pattern, even in Minnesota where all the women are pretty and all the children are above average. Another dimension of the crisis of inequality in the United States is the gap in
graduation rates of students from different backgrounds. Overall across the nation, only about one half of African American and Latino students graduate from high school in four years. The situation however is worse for students of color and students living in poverty in some of our largest urban districts. For example, Jean Anion [assumed spelling] concluded an analysis of data from fourteen comprehensive high schools in New York city, that only ten to twenty percent of ninth graders graduated in four years. Next slide. Another aspect of the crisis of inequality in our public schools is the re segregation of schooling along racial and social class lines, which [inaudible] refers to as a par tide schooling. A recent report by the Harvard Civil Rights Project found that only twelve percent of white children go to schools where the majority of students are not white, eighty five percent of white children attend schools that are majority white. In contrast, almost all African American, Latino students usual poorer than their white age mates, are in schools where there are students very much like them, racially and socioeconomically. Latinos and African Americans are as a segregated by poverty as they are by race and ethnicity. Next slide. According to recent children defense fund reports, one of every three black children attends a school that has ninety percent more minority enrollment, fifty seven percent black and fifty one percent Latino students compared to five percent white students are in schools that are seventy five percent more where students are living in poverty. Consequently, in many of our large urban school districts, there are almost entirely composed of students of color, many of whom live in poverty. Here are a few examples of some of the data from our large, urban districts. Those are percentages of students of color in urban schools. And there's more segregation now than there was back in the 1960s.

A recent report, next one, by the education trust using 2001 and 2002 data on local and state funds allocated to school districts, adjusted for the number of special ed students, students living in poverty and the local cost of living concluded that the majority of states provide fewer dollars. It's not just that schools are segregated, but the majority of states provide fewer dollars per student to their highest poverty districts than to their lowest poverty districts. Most states also have a funding gap between the schools with the most minority students and those with the fewest. In terms of poverty, thirty six states have a funding gap with a nationwide disparity between high poverty, low poverty districts of about thirteen hundred dollars, thirty five states had a funding gap for minority students of about a thousand, about eleven hundred dollars per student. Next slide. The per student funding gap between poor and non poor schools broadened from 1997 to 2002 and this difference comes to a difference for a classroom of 25 students in a high poverty district versus low poverty and just a difference per classroom of around thirty four thousand dollars per classroom. So these numbers add up. There is much variation of course among the different states. Given the 2001-2002 cost adjusted per student funding in the state of New York, next one, one of the states with the largest gaps between the twenty five percent high poverty and low poverty districts, the per student funding difference between two classrooms, one at a high poverty, low poverty district in New York, comes out to about sixty five thousand
dollars and to a difference of over a million dollars for an elementary school in a high poverty versus low poverty district. John Kossel [assumed spelling], first in his book, Savage Inequalities, in 1991 and in his recent book, The Shame of American Education; vividly documents the different conditions existing, next one, in schools of the wealthier and nearby suburban districts. His recent book includes some 2002-2003 data in urban and suburban districts, next one, in several parts of the country. Now these gaps that he shows are much larger than the average spending gaps across the country but they're very real and depressing. I did all my public schooling for instance, in Philadelphia, nine thousand two hundred per student. Lower Marion which is a suburban district, right across City Line Avenue, seventeen thousand two hundred and sixty one per district. Next slide. There are also inequalities in access to fully prepared and experienced teachers who are qualified to teach the subjects they're teaching. A recent study sponsored by the Education Trust, found that there are large differences between the qualifications of teachers in the highest poverty and highest minority schools and teachers serving schools with few minority and low income students. This study concluded that the very children who most need strong teachers, are assigned on average the teachers with the less experience, less education and less skill than those who teach other children. For example, children in the highest poverty schools are assigned to novice teachers almost twice as often as children in low poverty schools. Similarly, students in high minority schools are assigned novice teachers at twice the rate as students without many, at schools without many minority students. Next one. Additionally, classes in high poverty and high minority schools are more likely to be taught by out of field teachers without a major or minor in the subjects they're teaching. For example, nearly one half of the mathematics classes, nearly one half of the mathematics classes involve high poverty and high minority high schools in the United States or taught by teachers who don't have a college major or minor in mathematics or a math related field. Next one. The education trust study found that classes in high poverty schools are seventy seven percent more likely to be assigned teachers who did not major in the field where they were teaching than classes in low poverty schools. Additionally, classes in majority non white schools, were over forty percent more likely to be assigned out of field teachers than those in other schools. Not surprisingly, next slide, there's a difference in teacher retention rates in schools mainly attended by students living in poverty in other schools. According to 2003 data from the national commission of for teaching in America's future, the report no dream denied, the turnover rate for teachers in high poverty schools is almost one third higher than the rate in all schools. In some of our large urban districts, almost one half the teachers are gone by the end of five years. It has been argued on the basis of research that students who study advanced math beyond algebra two, double their chances of earning a bachelor's degree. According to US department of education data in 2003, forty five percent, you see the same pattern here of who graduates high school, having taken these advanced mathematics courses. Same pattern as I've been showing the whole time. Rather than going on laying out more statistics, documenting inequalities for students in our public schools that are highly related to ethnicity and race and social class background, I now want to examine what No Child Left Behind or what Sharon Robinson of teacher ed organization has referred to as the test
publishers full employment act, has contributed to ameliorating the situation.

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Next slide. In some respects, No Child Left Behind, appears that has been designed to promote the realization of public schooling that will provide high quality education to all students. For example, it discusses the importance of providing a high qualified teacher to every child and holding schools accountable for raising the achievement of every students by disaggregating achievement data. It also has reinforced the importance in our understanding children's learning needs and object to academic assessment. Using academic performance data about each child to inform instruction, is on the face of it a very good idea. There are other aspects of the law though which raise serious questions about whose interests are really being served in this unprecedented federal intrusion into local public schools. For example, under this act schools are now mandated to turn over student contact information to the military for recruiting purposes. Districts must also certify that no policy prevents participation in constitutionally protected prayer in public schools. Next slide. Additionally the federal government must certify title one reading programs as quote unquote, scientifically based using a process that the government's own auditors determined was characterized by favoritism and mismanagement. The Washington Post ran a story on this audit in its October 1 edition on the findings of the inspector general's investigation of the reading first program. A program that was to ensure that reading programs supported by title one funds, are based on solid research. And I want to quote a little just from this Washington Post article. The centerpiece of the new research base that [inaudible] referred to in No Child Left Behind, was reading first a one billion dollar effort to help low income schools adopt strategies that have been proven to prevent or remediate reading failure through rigorous peer reviewed studies. Five years later an accumulating mound of evidence from reports, interviews, program documents, suggests that reading first has had little to do with science or rigor. Instead the billions have gone to what effectively is a pilot project for untested programs with friends in high places. Department officials and a small number of influential contractors have strong arm states and local districts into adopting a small group of unproved textbooks and reading programs with almost no peer reviewed research behind them. The commercial interest behind those textbooks and programs have paid royalties and consulting fees to key reading first contractors who have also served as consultants for states seeking grants and chaired the panels approving the grants. Both the architect of the reading first program and former secretary of education, Rod Paige [assumed spelling], have gone to work for the owner of one of those programs who was also a top Bush fund raiser. This is the Washington Post. Find the same thing in Education Week, every mainstream paper that exists. In addition to this scathing indictment of the department of education's mismanagement of reading first, which has spent 5.5 billion dollars through the 2006 fiscal year, another aspect of No Child Left Behind that raises questions about whose interests are being served is the mandated massive testing in reading and math and soon to be in science. Besides for the negative effects that this testing is having on distorting teaching and learning
and undermining the ability of schools to educate students, the enormous financial benefits that are accruing to private companies have come under criticism. It has been clearly documented by a number of sources, that large sums of money pass through states and districts into the coffers of relatively few private companies that are totally unregulated, accountable to no one and which have sometimes shown to be political close to the current administration. It has been estimated by Ed Ventures, which is a consortium of educational curriculum developers, that over 2 billion dollars a year is spent for test development scoring and reporting and other have documented that the money has flowed to five or so multinational companies that dominate the K-12 testing market. One of these companies, McGraw Hill, has had close ties to the Bush family for many years. For example, Bush's and the McGraw's started vacationing together in the 1930s. Harold McGraw Junior sits on the board of the Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy. Harold McGraw the third was a member of Bush's transition team and visited the white house on the first day that Bush was in office.

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Sandy Kress, one of the main architects of No Child Left Behind, an advisor to the president, became a paid lobbyist four months after the signing of No Child Left Behind into law. His lobbying efforts provided him with 4 million dollars from NSC Pierson, which is one of the top five companies in the K-12 testing market that had just won a 57 million dollar contract from the state of Texas. Next slide. The most glaring aspect of No Child Left Behind that raises questions about the seriousness of the intent to improve public schooling, is the persistent underfunding of the act, which together with the recent problems in the economies of most states and spending caps in some states like my own, has caused major budget cuts in school districts across the nation. In April 2006, the national education association, that notorious terrorist organization according to our former secretary of education and nine school districts, file suit against the department of education alleging that the federal government has provided 27 billion dollars less than was necessary to implement the requirements of No Child Left Behind since 2002. Bush's education budget request for 2007 calls for another 3.1 billion dollar cut or 5.5% from 2006, on top of a 1.9 billion dollar cut in 2006. The 2007 budget request included 100 million dollar item offered to expand testing and to provide vouchers to attend private schools including religious schools for so called failing schools. This voucher, money for vouchers, was in the original No Child Left Behind act in 2001, but it was rejected by congress. It's back in there again. Next. In addition to the underfunding of No Child Left Behind, there have been also serious underfunding problems in special education as every school district administrator in the country knows. In 1975, the individuals with disabilities act, IDEA was passed to raise the quality of education for students with disabilities. When the act was passed, the federal government agreed to pay states 40% of the average per student cost of educating students with disabilities which in 2004 when the act was reauthorized, was about 9300 dollars more per student than the average per student cost. IDEA in 2006, was funded at almost 4 billion dollars below the authorized level or at about 18.6% of the total cost. This lack of federal funds has caused enormous problems for school
districts around the country, that have had to come up with the money sources. Additionally, only 12.7 billion dollars out of the 22 billion dollars authorized for title one, was funded in 2006, leaving 3 million qualified students who could not be fully served by title one. In addition to the underfunding of this bill throughout its existence, the target that has been set for schools, the achievement of 100% proficiency in reading and math by 2014, is just not possible to meet and when one steps back and thinks about it, next slide, it's almost as if someone were deliberately setting up schools for failure. Bob Lynn and Eva Baker, two the current and former president of the American Educational Research Association and experts both of them in assessment, concluded that because of the wide variation among state standards and the rigor of the state test, the goal of 100% proficiency in reading and math in 2014 is unrealistic and will not be met. Most schools, if you talk to superintendents, they keep saying that most of their schools are going to be considered failing by 2014 because of the way the system is set up. Alfie [assumed spelling] Kohn [assumed spelling] has linked likened NCLB to a Trojan horse not designed to strengthen our public schools, but to a ticking time bomb set to destroy them as the increasingly punitive sanctions kick in each year. The system is set up so that states with the highest standards, Minnesota, Connecticut as examples, will be penalized. Large schools with a lot of different groups, a lot of cultural diversity, are also penalized in the way that the system is set up. Now while failing to fully fund what was authorized for No Child Left Behind in IDEA, officials in the department of education have been funneling discretionary funds without peer review to groups that have advocated privatization agenda for public schools. Next slide. For example, between 2001 and 2003, over 77 million dollars was given to organizations such as the Black Alliance for Education Options, started by Howard Fuller who was the initiator of the Milwaukee Choice Program.

The Center for Educational Reform founded by Bill Bennett, former Reagan secretary of education and the national council on teacher equality. The secretary also gave 37 million dollars in discretionary funds to the American Board for Certification of Teaching Excellence which in five states qualifies teachers for teaching license based solely on the passing of two paper and pencil tests. This shifting of tax payer dollars from public schools to private schools, has existed in Wisconsin since 1990 when the state legislature authorized the Milwaukee Choice Program, first in the nation, which currently involves more than 15,000 students. Since 1990, this program has siphoned about a half a million dollars out of the Milwaukee public schools into private schools including religious schools. The national school board association estimates that this program will cost 93 million dollars this year that will not be going to MPS, will be going to these private schools. The important point here is that there is no evidence that students do any better in these choice schools than they do in the Milwaukee public schools. In fact, there was a study that just came out the end of the summer, released on a Friday afternoon at 2:30, that showed that students actually do better in public schools than in charter schools. The mean spirit and punitive nature of No Child Left Behind is particularly troubling. One example of this mean spiritedness is the recent decision
by the secretary of education not to allow states to use classroom based alternative assessments for English learners after they have been in the country for one year, regardless of their level of English proficiency. They have to take the regular state math test no matter how long they've been in the country, even if they arrive the next day, they have to take the math test. Until a few weeks ago, many states including my own, were using or planning to use alternative assessments to conduct the required assessments in reading and math. Ours were portfolio based. But for students who had not achieved the level proficiency in English to warrant giving a standardized exam. Art Rainwater, the superintendent of the Madison Schools, captured the idiocy of forcing students who have limited English abilities to take a standardized test in English when he said, to place an English language high stakes test in front of a child who does not speak English, sends a message of no hope and failure to the child.

Margaret Spelling, secretary of education, attempted to show her flexibility in a recent interview by pointing out that the math scores for students who have not been in the country for at least a year, will not count in their school's assessment that year. She totally, this is our secretary of education, misses the point made by Art Rainwater, about the negative educational and personal impact on children of forcing them to take tests they have absolutely no chance of passing. Stan Park, a New Jersey teacher, has pointed out there is no other case than No Child Left Behind where the federal government has mandated equality of outcomes in twelve years with serious sanctions if they're not achieved. For example, with regard to school spending, access to health care, child poverty rates, he asks us to imagine a law, that a law was passed that 100% of our citizens must have adequate health care in twelve years or sanctions will be opposed on doctors and hospitals. Or imagine that a law was passed that all crime must be eliminated in twelve years or local police departments will face privatization. Imagine that a law was passed that required companies like Wal-Mart that pay their workers substandard wages and provide minimal benefits, would be punished if they did not pay their workers a living wage in twelve years. Of course we have not seen and will probably never see laws like this. Our public schools and now schools of education, have been singled out for these sanctions. Linda Darling Hammond, succinctly summarizes the negative impact of No Child Left Behind when she argues, the underfunded layers onto a grossly unequal and in many communities, inadequately funded school system, a set of unmeetable score targets that disproportionately penalize schools serving the neediest schools while creating strong incentives for schools to keep out or push out those students who are low achieving in order to raise the school average. Currently because of the requirements that districts might meet, the underfunding of No Child Left Behind and cuts in public spending generally at the state and local levels, many districts are in dire financial state and continue to cut staff and programs.

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These budget deficits vary of course around the country. In Philadelphia where I went to school, it's a 21 million dollar deficit right now. In Madison, it's 3 million dollars. But even like 3 million dollars may not seem like a lot, I watch year after year, things get cut and we're down to a point in Madison even, where you just can't cut anymore without
really, seriously damaging core academic programs. Superintendent announced last week, it's now October, that because of the current budget deficit, there'll be no more subs provided to teachers for professional development for the rest of the year. They're going to try to do it online to save money. Next slide. One of the most tragic consequences of all in this punitive test and punish oriented No Child Left Behind is that by limiting the definition of school success to a single high stakes test score, the quality of teaching and learning will actually decline. There is clear evidence that the punitive and mean spirited nature of No Child Left Behind, has lead to greater prescription in teaching methods and curriculum in schools attended by students living in poverty. Jonathon Kozle [assumed spelling] in his most recent book, The Shame of American Education, comments on this scripting of instruction and the extreme focus on order and control in many schools attended by children living in poverty. And he says, the argument is sometimes made that scripted lessons and other elements of order and control, are essential strategies in schools in which teachers are frequently inexperienced and where there's a high turnover. If our urban districts cannot give these schools the continuity of staffing by experienced instructors found in other schools that serve more middle class communities, they can at least provide the artificial continuity afforded by a set of scripted lessons that leave little to the competence of teachers and can be delivered by a person who has never studied education and has no familiarity with the developmental needs of teaching. And then he goes on to argue how these very policies designed to provide continuity end up driving teachers out of these schools because they can't tolerate the scripted instruction and even those that accept it, accept it reluctantly and then you just look at the retention rates in urban schools that I showed you earlier. Next one. Another aspect of the distortion of teaching and learning under high stakes testing is the narrowing of the curriculum in schools where there's the greatest danger of receiving sanctions associated with low test scores. The schools attended by children living in poverty. Bob Linnen [assume spelling] is presidential address at the American Educational Association, research association in 2003, says it's no surprise that attaching high stakes tests results in an accountability system leads to a narrowing of the instructional focus of teachers and principals. There's considerable evidence he argues, that teachers place greater emphasis on material covered in high stake tests than they do on other material. And then he says that, narrowing the focus within a content area to material tested, can result in impoverished definition of reading, writing or mathematics and the concentration on tested areas often comes at the expense of content domains not tested such as science, history, geography and the arts. This is exactly what has happened. A study by the counsel of basic education in 2004 concluded that in high minority schools they experienced a 36% decrease in instructional time for the arts, 23% decrease in time, instructional time for world languages. Another study released last summer by the Center on Educational Policy, Jack Jennings Organization, concluded that 71% of school districts are reducing time spent on subjects other than reading and math and that this results in a narrowing of the curriculum, trimming courses like social studies, science and art and these are mainly being experienced by certain groups of students. A New York Times article last March on this very report discussed the junior high school in Sacramento California, where about 185 of the 800 or so students spend five of their
six periods on reading, math and gym leaving only one 55 minute period for all other subjects. About 125 of these students are barred from taking anything except math, reading and gym. In another district in this article, in New Jersey, low performing ninth graders are barred from taking Spanish, music or any other elective this fall so they can take extra periods of math and reading. An assistant superintendent in this district is quoted as saying, we're using this as motivation. We're hoping that they'll concentrate on their math or reading so then they can participate in some courses that they love. If the people who are designing all this for other people's children, were willing to send their own children to these schools with scripted instruction and a test prep curriculum, I might feel better about their motivations. Of course for the most part, the children of those who advocate these practices either attend private schools or more advantaged public schools. In a meeting a few years ago I attended with Russ Whitehurst [assumed spelling], the director of the Institute for Educational Sciences in the department of ed, he argued that he referred to the need for what he called good enough teachers.

Just good enough to follow the scripted curriculum. He argued that the so called Texas miracle had shown us that investing money in ways to script the curriculum will raise standardized test scores. There has been clear documentation of the push out and drop outs that occurred in Texas under George W. Bush's administration as governor. The so called Texas miracle which formed the basis for No Child Left Behind, was not a miracle for the thousands of students who left the system as a result of punitive sanctions and they continue to drop out. Despite these and other concerns about the negative effects of No Child Left Behind on our public schools, Margaret Spellings a few weeks ago, when asked in an interview about the extent to which she felt the law will need to be changed when it comes up for reauthorization, when it comes up next year. She says, I think about No Child Left Behind like Ivory soap. It's 99% pure. The tragedy is that even if it were possible for every school to achieve 100% proficiency by 2014, this would not mean that students would have learned the things that they need to learn to be active citizens in a democracy. To think, to get along with one another and understand each other's cultural backgrounds. To develop their aesthetic and creative abilities, to learn how to be citizens, to participate in the process. So even if there is success according to the law, there's not education in my view. Now if No Child Left Behind is not a solution for this crisis in inequality as most educators and state education officials, across the country now believe, what is? The federal government and pundits and many conservative think tanks across the nation have argued that public education itself is the problem and that the solution lies in privatizing our public schools by letting private entities like Edison come in and run the schools while providing money like they do in Milwaukee from tax payers to send kinds to private schools including religious schools. Advocates for privatization have even gone so far as to redefine public education as including private ownership and management. For example, Fred Hess of the American Enterprise Institute in his recent book, Tough Love for Schools, argues that there's a growing recognition that it may be possible to serve public purposes and
cultivate civic virtues in places other than conventional state run schools. Consider that public schools might be those that serve public ends regardless of how they're funded, operated or monitored. Any school that helps children master reading, writing and mathematics and other essential content is already advancing significant public purpose. This neo-liberal logic transforms education from a public good into a private consumer item. And as my colleague at Wisconsin, Mike Apple has argued, it begins to transform the very notion of democracy, of the common good making it an economic concept not a political one. Apple argues that one of the effects of this thinking is the destruction of what might best be seen as thick democracy and substituting a much thinner version of possessive individualism. Bob McChesney of the University of Illinois and a leading critic of the concentration of control of the media in this country describes the disruptive consequences of this transformation of democracy into individual consumer choice and he says, to be a effective democracy requires that people feel a connection to their fellow citizens and that this connection manifests itself through a variety of non market organizations and institutions. A vibrant political culture needs community groups, libraries, public schools, neighborhood organizations, cooperatives, public meeting places, voluntary associations and trade unions, to provide ways for citizens to meet, to communicate and interact with their fellow citizens. Neo liberal democracy with its notion of the market, takes dead aim at this concept. Instead of communities it produces shopping malls. The net result is an atomized society of disengaged individuals who feel demoralized and socially powerless. Now, if testing and punishing schools and privatization are not the solutions, I think we need to think about another approach. First, there's no question in my mind that the educational inequalities in public schools that I was talking about and I've only talked about some of them, are deeply rooted in social and economic inequalities in the communities that are supposed to be served by the schools. While it is important to straighten out the mess created by the punitive and disingenuous No Child Left Behind and put schools back in the control of the educators who work in them and the parents who send their children to them, the educational inequalities that I've been delineating are so deeply embedded in social and economic pathologies beyond the schools that they cannot be overcome by school reform alone.

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We need to vigorously pursue a course of school renewal vastly different from what we see today, but we also need to do more than place our hopes on educational reform. The crisis of inequality in public education that I have been describing today is less the result of failing schools than it is of a society that has failed to provide schools with the resources they need to educate all students and to provide the social preconditions to enable this education to take place. First with regard the educational aspect of what I think we need to do. It's clear that we should turn away from the current obsession in this law with making decisions about kids' lives in schools, based on single high stakes standardized tests and to employ multiple forms of both quantitative and qualitative assessment about a broader range of areas beyond reading and math and to evaluate what goes on in schools. If you ask parents what do they want from the public schools for their kids, it's not just higher
standardized test scores and I'll be glad to discuss that later. But they want a lot more. These should be classroom based assessments controlled by educators in the schools and linked to the curriculum. Most importantly we need to ensure that all schools have adequate resources to do the job well and that teachers have been prepared to teach everyone's children and to exercise their judgment in the classroom about meeting their constantly changing needs of their students. We also need to ensure that teachers, power educators and administrators have access to high quality professional development, which is disappearing as we speak, to improve their practice. And we know some things about how to attract teachers to high poverty schools and how to help them succeed through incentive programs, mentoring and induction programs and we need to support these programs. There's no excuse for not providing public schools with the needed resources and to make sure that all schools, not just the schools for the advantaged, have what they need. Accountability for public schools to see that they carry out their mission into democracy is a reasonable expectation. I'm not arguing that we should get rid of accountability but it can be carried out in a much more sensible way than we see in No Child Left Behind. But even if we educators had our way, being able to teach and assess in ways that we know are more effective in promoting learning than the current testing paranoia, public schools alone cannot overcome the educational consequences of poverty and racism. Accountability is a two way street and we should not talk about school accountability without talking about the accountability of our society to provide all of our citizens with an opportunity for a life with dignity that includes such things as the ability to make a living wage. To obtain affordable housing, transportation and food and so on. To have health care. What I'm talking about here is exactly the kind of commitments that are in the UN charter on the rights of children, that only two countries among 194 in the United Nations have refused to sign. The United States and Somalia. This document calls for governments to act in ways that recognize the rights of every child to a standard of living, adequate for the child's physical, mental, spiritual and moral development. I mean really radical stuff. You know, we didn't sign it. David Berliner [assumed spelling] in his recent and wonderful paper, Our Impoverished View of Educational Reform, points out that the United States currently has the highest childhood poverty rate among rich nations of the world. In 2004, almost 37 million Americans were poor including 13 million children. The children's defense fund has recently concluded, poverty in the United States is more prevalent now than in the 1960s and early 1970s, having escalated rapidly since 2000. For every 5 children that have fallen into poverty since 2000, more than 3 fall into extreme poverty, a term describing a family living at one half of the poverty level, which in itself is inadequate. More than 7 out of 10 poor children lived in a family with at least one employed relative. Working hard and playing by the rules is not enough to lift families out of poverty. In addition to the inability of many families to earn a living wage, numerous other quote unquote rotten outcomes are associated with people being poor such as the lack of affordable housing, access to nutritious food, the lack of health insurance and health care, increased risk of lead poisoning, increased risk of incarceration and experiencing violence. In addition to the fact that these outcomes have undermined or expressed claim of being a democratic society based in social justice, for everyone's
children and there are also very pragmatic concerns about the cost to our pocketbooks and the quality of our communities are failing to live up to the ideals of a democratic society based on social justice. The economic and social consequences of not investing as a society and the elimination of the educational inequalities, poverty and racism are enormous.

According to recent data compiled by the campaign on educational equity at teacher's college Columbia. The social consequences of under education include a greater likelihood of being arrested, becoming pregnant at an early age using drugs, experiencing violence. The economic consequences of under education include lost tax revenues, increased expenditures for health care, public assistance and criminal justice. We have been caught in a pattern where we spend enormous amounts of money as a society dealing with the consequences of poverty, racism and under education. It would cost us far less and save a lot of people a lot of pain and suffering to invest in providing the entitlements of citizens in our society in the first place. Take the criminal justice system as one example. Where the school to prison pipeline is carrying an increasing number of undereducated youth into the criminal justice system. According to the justice policy institute, prison enrollments have tripled since the 1980s and costs of criminal justice have increased more than 600% while spending on publication, on public education grew only 25% in real dollars. A growing body of research has show that while teachers and schools can make a difference for individual students, the fabric of children's lives outside of school can either nurture or choke what progress poor children can make academically. The only way in which we're going to achieve a high quality education for all students is by coupling massive social and economic reform to our efforts in educational reform. Next slide. Until we are able to guarantee every family in America the opportunity to earn a living wage with access to affordable housing, quality health care and so on, our efforts to provide a high quality education will continue to be undermined. The major focus of this movement in my view is for us making better decisions as a society on how we spend our limited resources, paying for health care, early childhood education which we know is important, instead of on tax relief for the wealthy, multimillion dollar sport stadiums and prisons. A strong and well supported system of public education is essential to the realization of a society where everyone has the possibility to lead a life with dignity. Benjamin Barber, a prominent scholar on democracy has argued in response to recent attacks on public education. In attacking public education, critics are attacking the very foundation of our democratic civic culture. Public schools are not merely schools for the public, but schools of publicness. Institutions where we learn what it means to be a public and start down the road toward a common, national and civic identity. They are the forges of our citizenship and the bedrock of our democracy. Vilifying public school teachers and administrators and cutting public school budgets even as we subsidize private educational opportunity, puts us in double jeopardy for as we put our children at risk, we undermine our common future, at the same moment in constraining the conditions of liberty for some, we undermine the future of democracy for all. Just good enough teachers and schooling should not be good enough, one before,
for anyone's children and no child in this rich nation should have to go
to bed at night hungry and poor without hope for a better future.
There's no important work that one can do for their society than being a
public school educator. The rest of us need to do all we can to ensure
that our public school educators are able to carry out their essential
role in a democracy. Next one. I want to leave you with a statement by
Debra Meyer, a long time principal, New York City, Boston, activist and
critic of No Child Left Behind. When asked the question, why save public
education she responds. Because it is in the public schools that we
learn the art of living together as citizens. That is in the public
schools that we are obliged to defend the idea of a public, not only
private interest. Thank you very much.

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[ Applause ]

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>> So I guess it's time for questions, comments. Yeah?

>> More often than not, as students coming up through the education
system or through education programs you hear about numbers. You hear
about numbers that affect us in the classroom greatly and affect society
as a whole and the students that we want to teach. And we're looking for
coming out and being part of this profession, sometimes that can be very,
I can't think of the word right now, just hard and we talk about change,
we talk about dreams, we talk about change, where does that change come
from? How do we help promote that change? Because in the situation at
hand, from what I've seen and heard and observed, has been severely
decreasing in the last 10 years and where do we go from here?

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>> The thing I would say is that there are [inaudible] this stuff going
on, that there is good work going on. As Katie Hacock points out, there
are schools, despite all this stuff coming down, where people are doing
good work. I think one of the most important things immediately is to do
what's going on is the collective lobbying of educators across the
country to change this law. To take this high stakes testing off the
backs of schools, to deal with the accountability in a more sensible way.
But I think teacher preparation, that's a whole other talk, needs to be
changed. I think it needs fundamental changes in preparing teachers to
actually work with the students who are in the public schools and there
are a number of ideas I have related to that, that actually has a role
for the communities who send their children to the schools in their
preparation of teachers. I think that the center at the university isn't
the problem. I think there are ways to more tightly couple it with
schools and teachers and community members. And so teacher preparation
is a part and I think seeing yourself going into teaching as just not as
individual but you're part of a collective and there are number of, there
are a lot of groups and when I prepared this talk I was amazed. I went
around, I've been following this stuff on an ongoing basis, but I was
amazed at how many groups have popped up. One that is closest to me is
Rethinking Schools in Milwaukee, where here are teachers out there working every day in Milwaukee public schools where they're you know, taking billions out and they're challenging all this. They have this newspaper, Rethinking Schools. You should go on the web and look at it. These are classroom teachers. There are a number of them in Madison who are friends of mine and these are people out there doing it and they're challenging it and they're presenting alternative curriculum approaches, alternative instructional strategies and that's just one of a number of organizations that are focusing on the kinds of things I'm proposing. Really working for social change as well as educational change and being embedded in the public schools. And so Rethinking Schools is an amazing story. It hasn't stopped the Milwaukee Choice Program but it really has I think had an effect in a lot of ways. Particularly with providing other teachers with ideas for how to go about things. Because it's not coming, these ideas aren't coming from people like me who sit in universities and write, but these are a lot of classroom teachers writing about the work they're doing in schools. And some of the leaders of Rethinking Schools, are actually in the Central Office in Milwaukee public schools now. So they've risen up the ranks and so I think there are a lot of good things going on, which I really didn't focus on and the last thing I want to do is to discourage you from getting in there. For me when I go through and look at this stuff, it fires me up and I want to go out there and you know, keep working on this. I've been working on it, I've worked on this, these same issues, back in 1969 when I started teaching here and I'm going to still work on them until probably the day I die and I don't know in my lifetime or your lifetime, whether we'll ever see you know, things. But you have to keep working at it. But the big thing is connecting with these people who are in schools working against the grain and doing very good work. And my oldest son is one of them. He teaches high school in Seattle. Just have an enormous amount of respect for the people who are out in these public schools, really committing their lives for very little money, especially if you live in a place like Seattle [inaudible] society really undervalues the contribution that teachers make. But really there's a lot of personal satisfaction and it's really important work. Did that?

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[ No speaking ]

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Let me just.

>> [Inaudible] talk a little bit about some of the teachers sharing at the brown bag about the relationship between schools and community [inaudible]. Because I thought that was very rich.

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>> I think one of the big problems in public education and part of it's based on my experience here. When I taught in Syracuse at MERC, it had gone through a lot of tension and strife with the community and when I went in as an urban teacher intern, it was a community controlled school. It was largely an African American population, so on Hudson Street and
South Syracuse. It's no longer open as a school. But parents were embedded in the school. Part of the governments. When we went to hire teachers, I was on the committee and I would go with parents to hire new teachers. Parents would participate in decisions about the allocation of resources. There were all kinds of programs running at night in the school and we allocated a teaching position to somebody to work on building these community programs. And a lot of school systems right now, there's not that kind of connection between the communities and the schools and a number of the successful reform programs around the country, James Comer's program, accelerated schools and so on, have really focused on that connection between the school and the community and to me it's just ridiculous to think you're going to prepare teachers to teach in urban schools by sitting in a room at the university reading articles. Even interesting and provocative ones like people like Lisa Delpid [assumed spelling] and Gloria Lotts [assumed spelling] and Billings and others who write about really important issues in very engaging ways. You're not learning what it takes to be to go and teach in urban schools. You need to be in those schools and there are a lot of places including my own program that are trying to embed the methods, instruction and the context of schools to draw on the knowledge that expert teachers have in schools in addition to what universities can offer and that brings parents in and a lot of my focus over the last few years, our students in Madison have to do community field experiences where they position themselves as learners trying to learn about the communities, where their students come from, trying to learn about the funds and knowledge in those communities and then they're required as part of their program to show what they've done to make use of that learning translating it back into the classroom to become more culturally responsive teachers. And so it's really a different model for teacher education. It's not center in the university and it actually gives people who send their kids to school, an important role in the education of their kids and who's teaching their kids. And that, that was my whole career here, was in that kind of a setting and so I didn't know anything else and so I went out to Madison, tried to get my students to do home visits and to start to interact with parents. Well, nobody does this here. You know, it's, we have to get paid. The union was against it because you know, people weren't getting paid for it and so it's been a struggle but I think we've finally established that, that this is something that's really important and we've and the community has an interest in the quality of teacher preparation because these are the teachers that are going to be teaching their children in the schools. And I've studied over the years programs in Alaska and New Mexico and Chicago, that have done a very good job of bringing the community into teacher education. We have one of the places where a lot of my students go is called the African American Ethnic Academy which is a school run on Saturday mornings by Andrel [assumed spelling] Davis who's a teacher in one of our professional development schools for our students in addition to working during the week spend every Saturday learning from and dwelling from the parents who are working in the program. And then they bring that knowledge back into the classroom to teach in more culturally relevant ways. And it's that kind of thing, that doesn't exist in a lot of places, but I think the field needs to change if we're going to do a better job of preparing teachers to go in. Yeah?
How do you feel about bringing professionals in from businesses to come into the schools to talk about what they've done for a living, their experiences, tell their story to young people. So they have some idea of what's going on outside the walls of the school.

Yeah, I'm real advocate of the idea of discovering funds of knowledge in the communities. Louise Mou [assumed spelling] and Norma Gonzales in Arizona and their whole project where they went out with teachers into schools and studied what people know in communities and that could include the jobs that they have or it could include skills that they have, like using herbs for healing purposes or carpentry or whatever and then you sort of modify the school to make use of those funds of knowledge and studying the way in which people live and interact in the communities and you change the school to. And there have been a number of studies over the years that have shown the power of that kind of approach. So I would, I see what you're saying in the broader context that in every community people know things and teachers bringing that knowledge into the curriculum I think is real important. It helps bridge that connection so that the kids see, I've heard James Comer talk about this over and over again, that kids see that the teachers and the parents are on the same side and that their interest is what is primary and we don't see that in a lot of urban schools now. It's like a fortress in the community. The school is often times. I want to just say a word because it's bothering me about the choice issue. Because it's real complicated. I mean, you talk to people and Milwaukee is sort of a classic example.

And if you talk to people at the Ed Trust they'll say you know, kids are wasting away in these public schools like Milwaukee and they need better options. So you take this money and you give parents and they can take their kids to these unregulated private schools. And obviously something needs to be done. The status quo is not acceptable. But it's I think real problematic, especially what we're beginning to see about some of these schools that are unregulated and accountable to no one with taxpayer money. That there's no oversight. They're not held to the same standards are public schools are and there's no evidence that kids are actually getting a better education in these schools. Now there are charter schools, there was one written up in the New York Times two days ago, there was one in Stanford Connecticut, primarily African American students. It was a charter you know, school, alternative school and the kids were doing really well. You can go everywhere and find those examples but there are a whole lot of other schools that are disasters. And so I don't necessarily see that as a solution. The debate about resegregation is a debate. There are a lot of African Americans in Milwaukee who are advocates of the choice program who say that you know, we don't want to, if the whites don't want to be here in this school you know, they want to go to the suburbs, let them be there and let us have our schools, but let's have good schools here. We don't need segregated schools. I think we've given up in a sense in the whole idea, one, Brown versus Board of Education in 1954. I think it's important for the
reasons I talked about that we begin to interact with one another across social class, ethnic and racial divides in places like schools and other places like Barbara talked about or we're going to lose the sense of a common good that we're in a society together. And everything going to become special interest and individual interests. So the idea I think of public education is real fundamental and just because there's one or two or you know, exceptionable a few numbers of charter schools where you can say look at these African American, Latino students and they're getting a better education than they would have in this Milwaukee elementary school. It's not the solution for everyone and that is but you know, they're, people are fed up with the public schools. Yeah?

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>> What's going to happen to the traditional private school if and when public schools a privatized? How do, this is really your own opinion of what will [inaudible]?

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>> Well, there'll still be expensive private schools where people with money will send their kids. They won't be sending them to the charter schools in Milwaukee Wisconsin and they'll still be a divide. People will not, there'll be one less place, education where people can come together and learn how to get along with one another and learn about one another in this society. Part of the disintegration of the democracy. That true, did not include everyone when it was initiated as I showed those four white guys sitting there and didn't include women or African Americans or native Americans and but you know, we proclaim this goal of really wanting to have a democratic society. Only about one third of eligible voters actually vote consistently over time. We're not being very successful in that one. Obviously something needs to be done different than the status quo. But this privatization of public education, I don't think is the way to go. We have to address the issues raised by these African American parents in Milwaukee about what's going, but part it's being compounded by funneling money out of the system to the private schools so that the schools that are there have less money to educate these students and you go into some place like Milwaukee, which I do fairly frequently and it's pretty depressing in terms of, it's Madison with a you know, no subs, magnified ten times in terms of how much they've had taken away from there. The tax base, you know, people have moved out of the city and taken their tax money with them and it's a real desperate situation and there are a lot, I don't think there's probably any school district in the United States with the exception of a few. I can think of one in Mequan [assumed spelling] Wisconsin and north suburbs of Chicago that are probably fiscally stable at this point. A lot of them are just in real serious trouble, particularly any large urban district and in Wisconsin, we even had districts that are thinking of closing down because they don't have and in Oregon we had the situation a few years ago of schools closing before the end of the year because they didn't have enough money to finish the year.

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>> [Inaudible] that the public schools are being provided funding differentially according to the socioeconomic status.
Right.

Of the populations of the area. So what you haven't addressed in the discussion, is changing the financial structures of the funding of public education. And in fact when you look at what you've shown us, it seems almost impossible to change the direction that we're going in unless we make the drastic and radical change in the funding of public education.

I think everyone who actually wants to save public education agrees on that point. And there are a number of different proposals including this guy Alan Od [assumed spelling] who's at my university. He's one of the major people nationally in terms of alternative funding. He chairs a commission in the state of Wisconsin that's been working on this for eight or ten years. I haven't seen anything change. It's still in local property taxes, more and more the public in a lot of places, don't have kids themselves in school, their income is going down in real dollars, people are struggling more. This lack of opportunity to get health care costs and so there are, there's a reluctance to have it, it's not going to come out unless we change that funding formula. People are reluctant to have the state put more in because this image we have of local control. People don't want to give up the you know, the local control that they supposedly have. They don't really have it anymore. But you're absolutely right. There has to be a different schema for funding public education in the United States, other than property taxes of individual people. But when you look at the money we are spending on a lot of things and I think this idea of redirection is fundamental to it also. Particularly with prisons. I mean, there have been a number of reports and children's defense fund is coming out with one in the next few weeks called the prison, school to prison pipeline that's going to be, just an enormous amount of money, it would be so much more efficient financially to lay out the money for things like early childhood education than what it costs to keep people in prison. And these are the same kids largely who are at the lower end of the very outcome that I laid up there. They're the ones going into prison. Yeah?

No Child Left Behind, when it went into when it was real bipartisan support, can people who really deserve with learning problems that individually advances [inaudible] problems and coming up with an easily understandable, simple solution.

[ inaudible ]

Is there anybody who's kind of ready now with a dynamic, easily understood, accessible package [inaudible]?

Yeah, first of all you're right. This is, in fact this trajectory started under Bill Clinton. It's not you know, it's particularly bad right now but this is not all about George Bush. Bill Clinton with goals 2000, started you know, the education [inaudible] 1984 and then we moved
into this pattern which now is No Child Left Behind, which is particularly corrupt and punitive. But the pattern started under democratic administrations and so if the government changes, we're not moving away, we'll move away from some of the more punitive and dishonest aspects of it, but we're not necessarily going to make fundamental change that I think is needed. So I don't think, I think it's important the election coming up and the election in 2008, but that's not going to solve this. I think there are plenty of proposals for every aspect that you can name. Funding, curriculum. There are lots of good ideas out there that have surfaced from, some of them from people working in schools. A lot of these organizations that exist like Rethinking Schools and Education Trust and there's just all of these groups that have arisen and that's one good thing that has happened under this law is that it's mobilized all these people around the country to begin developing plans. So I think there are a lot of good ideas out there that will, if the space is there, including the teaching profession itself. I mean NEA suing the Department of Education. So I think, I'm optimistic that we can turn this around, but we're going to have to look at the funding. As Joan said, that's absolutely essential. And then there are all these various pieces. We have to have accountability but it needs to be reasonable, tied to curriculum. And but I think the reauthorization of No Child Left Behind next year will be the first critical step in moving out of this mess that we're in.