

## Introduction

Born in the 1940s to parents who had been active in the radical social movements of the 1930s, I was a “red-diaper baby.” Both parents had been labor organizers, and continued their activism during my youth. In the mid-1950s, Senator Joseph McCarthy called my father to Washington, D.C., on charges that he had been a member of the Communist Party almost twenty years before. The president of the elite university where my father was by then a tenured faculty member stepped in, and McCarthy desisted, but had my father’s passport revoked.

Early on, I imbibed the family passion for social justice. I believed I should, and could, fight against the racial and class oppression I observed. During my high school and college years, the civil rights movement deeply engaged me, and I became active in a Northern branch of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality)—picketing, marching, and sometimes organizing. I raised money for the movement in Mississippi during “Freedom Summer” of 1964. Three years later, political activist Abbie Hoffman and I opened a store in New York City where we sold leather and cotton goods made by an African American women’s collective in South Carolina; we sent the proceeds South to support the collective and civil rights activity.

During the late 1960s and early ’70s I taught elementary grades in inner-city schools in Washington, D.C., and Bedford Stuyvesant, Brooklyn—ever hopeful for Black civil rights, as victories followed major protests in the South. During those years, I joined

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protests against the Vietnam War, and rejoiced when the 10-year-old movement met with success and U.S. troops were withdrawn from Vietnam in 1973.

After seven years, I left city classrooms for doctoral studies, and then a position in the Teacher Education Department of Rutgers University in Newark, NJ—wanting very much to make a difference in the struggle against what I perceived to be racial and class oppression in urban schools. I wrote *Ghetto Schooling: A Political Economy of Urban Educational Reform*, in part to demonstrate that the failure of city school systems such as Newark was a function of 100 years of urban political and economic history, rather than a result of an influx of Black Southern families in the 1950s and '60s—as many whites assumed.

This book is another attempt to intervene against injustice. In it, I examine ways in which the current political economy maintains the damage that U.S. history inflicted on cities. While historical decisions and policies severely delimited the capacity of cities to support their schools, current public policy maintains this disadvantage.

Specifically, I will argue that macroeconomic policies like those regulating the minimum wage, job availability, tax rates, federal transportation, and affordable housing create conditions in cities that no existing educational policy or urban school reform can transcend.

Thus, in my view, low-achieving urban schools are not primarily a consequence of failed education policy, or urban family dynamics, as mainstream analysts and public policies typically imply. Failing public schools in cities are, rather, a logical consequence of the U.S. macroeconomy—and the federal and regional policies and practices that support it. Teachers, principals, and urban students are not the culprits—as reform policies that target increased testing, educator quality, and the control of youth assume. Rather, an unjust economy and the policies through which it is maintained create barriers to educational success that no teacher or principal practice, no standardized test, and no “zero tolerance” policy can surmount. It is for this reason that I argue that *macroeconomic mandates continually trump urban educational policy and school reform*.

Policies such as minimum wage statutes that yield poverty wages, affordable housing and transportation policies that segregate low-income workers of color in urban areas and industrial and other job development in far-flung suburbs where public

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transit does not reach, all maintain poverty in city neighborhoods and therefore the schools. In order to solve the systemic problems of urban education, then, we need not only school reform but the reform of these public policies. If, as I am suggesting, the macroeconomy deeply affects the quality of urban education, then perhaps we should rethink what “counts” as educational policy. Rules and regulations regarding teaching, curriculum, and assessment certainly count; but, perhaps policies that maintain high levels of urban poverty and segregation should be part of the educational policy panoply as well—for these have consequences for urban education at least as profound as curriculum and pedagogy.

We have been attempting educational reform in U.S. cities for over three decades—and there is little significant districtwide improvement that we can point to. As a nation, we have been counting on education to solve the problems of unemployment, joblessness, and poverty for many years. But education did not cause these problems, and education cannot solve them. An economic system that chases profits and casts people aside (especially people of color) is culpable.

How can a successfully reformed urban school benefit a low-income student of color whose graduation will not lead to a job on which to make a living because there are not enough such jobs, and will not lead to the resources for college completion? New curriculum, standardized tests, or even nurturing, democratic small schools do not create living-wage jobs, and do not provide poor students with the funds and supports for enough further education to make a significant difference in their lives. Only government policy can mandate that jobs provide decent wages; and adequate family income or public provision (such as the 1944 GI Bill that paid for the education of 8 million World War II veterans) are necessary to guarantee funds for college degrees to the millions of urban poor who want, and need, them.

I acknowledge that even though economic justice may be a prerequisite for educational justice, more equitable macroeconomic policies will not by themselves create high-quality urban schools. Macroeconomic policy will need to be augmented by educational reform. Providing economic opportunity and realistic hope in urban neighborhoods will be necessary to create the conditions that allow for and support successful urban schools, but these nurturing conditions will have to be supplemented by reforms that prevent racial tracking, low-level curriculum, and poor teaching (for example).

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My last book, *Ghetto Schooling*, is sometimes construed as advocating social reform to the exclusion of attention to the schools. In talks that I give, and in classes that I teach, I am sometimes called upon to remind folks that *Ghetto Schooling* ends with a plea to join two kinds of struggles, to connect school reform to campaigns for increased social opportunity. Perhaps a personal example will clarify my position further.

On January 1, 2004, I and colleagues at City University of New York, Rutgers University, and the University of Pennsylvania were awarded \$10 million from the National Science Foundation. One purpose of the funding is to research and carry out reform projects in mathematics education in New York, Philadelphia, Newark, and Plainfield, NJ. Another purpose is to organize parents and communities as advocates for college-prep mathematics courses. One strategy under consideration is to engage community organizations active in economic and housing struggles in this educational reform work, thus creating some synergy between the various campaigns. *In this way, educational reform becomes part of the effort to create the conditions that will support it.*

*Ghetto Schooling* also induces serious depression in some sympathetic readers—those who perceive that I am saying that we need a “revolution” before we can have better schools for poor people. I do not believe that, and I did not argue that in the book. Nor do I argue it here. Despite my serious criticism of public policy as legislated by the political and economic coalitions that govern, I have great faith in the American people. U.S. history demonstrates—and my experience in two social movements confirms for me personally—that the most egregious social policies can be replaced by significantly more equitable ones by the power of a people who are united and organized. From the American Revolution (fought in part against economic policies perceived as unjust) to the labor movements of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, to the civil rights, women’s, bilingual, and disability movements, the most unjust policies have been replaced by liberal and sometimes radical legislation. Today, the Radical Right has weakened many of those mandates, and we need a set of public policies that will protect and support—and provide economic and educational justice for—residents of urban America.

The normal strength of governing political and economic elites—and the power of mass movements to challenge them—does not imply that single individuals have no agency. They do; we each can make a difference wherever we “cast down our

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buckets,” as civil rights leader Ella Baker used to say. But to actually change federal policies that amply benefit the groups that govern, individual agency needs to be compounded by the joint efforts of hundreds of thousands of citizens who are “street-marching mad,” and who voice their demands for change together.

Census 2000 revealed that over two-thirds of the poor in large metropolitan areas live in cities and what I will call “urbanized,” segregated suburbs. Only about a quarter (26%) of the poor in large metropolitan areas is rural. The concentration of so many poor people in relatively small urban spaces provides fertile soil for insurgency. It naturally offers a potential base for organizing a new social movement. Therefore, I concentrate my analysis on urban areas.

Indeed, I will argue that the disastrous state of the educational systems in urban areas today could provide impetus to organizing a new social movement. Education already has a strong tradition of critical pedagogy and social justice activism to call upon. In U.S. cities, moreover, several active but largely unreported progressive movements are already flourishing: community and education organizing, the living wage movement, progressive labor and faith-based coalitions, and a new and urgent emergence of organized urban youth. People of color are the vast majority of participants in these campaigns, and most of them live in low-income urban neighborhoods. Their children attend underfunded, distressed urban schools. What needs to be accomplished is a convergence of these various movements around a set of issues that all can agree are crucial. I will argue that educational opportunity is one such issue. Economic justice is another. I will also suggest that parent and other educational organizing in cities may have reached the strength to be able to successfully call groups in the other movements to the table to work toward unity. Concerned public school educators would be key in all this work.

The fruits of a social movement for economic justice would not just benefit urban minorities. The many millions of white families who are poor, working class, or even lower middle class would benefit as well. These families are not well served by the 21<sup>st</sup> century U.S. economy—and would certainly profit from policies (such as a doubling of the minimum wage) that substantially improved the economic milieu in which they—and their black and brown brothers and sisters—struggle to make a living.

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I am aware that the presence of just policies does not guarantee equitable implementation or permanent success. As we have seen, civil rights victories such as affirmative action, and even minority voting rights in states like Florida, are not secure. The end of the Vietnam War did not prevent the federal government from waging other unnecessary or unjust wars. Constant vigilance is necessary. *But it is considerably more likely that equitable practice will follow from good policy than from bad.*

Finally, it may be that some readers will feel that in arguing for a new social movement I am indulging in utopian thinking. To that charge, I reply that *the utopian thinking of yesteryear becomes the common sense of today*. Imagine the late 19<sup>th</sup> century/early 20<sup>th</sup> century dreams of workers and labor organizers, and know that those utopian schemes for an eight-hour workday, a minimum wage, and some sort of financial assistance when fired, became federal policy in the 1930s, and are accepted as common sense by most Americans today. Millions of black American slaves were legally forced to walk across the South in 1805 to populate and cultivate fields in the new Louisiana Purchase. More black people were displaced during this journey than during the passage from Africa to the shores of the Atlantic (Berlin, 2003, pp. 68, 72). Utopian dreams of freedom must have filled the thoughts of those enslaved men and women. Yet 60 years later, slavery was abolished, and black freedom was inscribed in the U.S. Constitution. I conclude from examples such as these that, far from useless, visionary thinking may be a necessary, prescient prelude to social progress.

### PART I

#### *Federal Policy and Urban Education*

Analysts typically do not link federal policies to the maintenance of poverty, to the lack of jobs that bedevils American workers, or to the increasingly large portion of employment that pays poverty and near-poverty wages. Yet federal policy is determinative. Congress, to take a blatant example, set the first minimum wage in 1938 at \$3.05 (in 2000 dollars); it stands in 2005 at \$5.15—a mere two dollars more. (Yearly income at this wage is \$10,712.) This sum ensures that full-time year-round minimum-wage work will not raise people out of poverty. Analysis in 2004 found that minimum wage standards directly affect the wages of 8.9% of the workforce (9.9 million workers); and when we include those

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making one dollar more an hour than the minimum wage, this legislation affects the wages of as much as 18% of the workforce (Economic Policy Institute July, 2004, p. 5).

There are other macroeconomic policies whose consequences concatenate to produce hardship. These especially burden the lives of Blacks and Latinos. Chapters 1, 2, and 3 describe a number of federal policies that have egregious consequences. Among the policies considered (in addition to minimum wage legislation) are job training as a predominant federal anti-poverty policy when there have been too few jobs for graduates; ineffective federal implementation of policies that outlaw racial discrimination in hiring and housing; regressive income taxes that charge wealthy individuals less than half the rate charged during most of the first 60 years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, yet substantially raise the payroll taxes paid by the working poor and middle class; and corporate tax policies in recent years that allow 60 percent of large U.S. corporations to pay no federal taxes at all (and in some cases to obtain millions in rebates). The effects of these policies are compounded by harsh union laws and lack of federal protection for labor organizing; Federal Reserve Bank pronouncements that ignore the portion of its mandate to maintain a high level of employment; free trade agreements that send thousands of corporations—and their job opportunities—to other countries; and more.

Also important are policies that would help, but are conspicuous by their absence: for example, regulation of the minimum wage that kept low-paid workers' income at the median of highly paid, unionized workers in the decades after World War II; federal programs for urban youth that would support college completion; a program of job creation in cities; and policies to enforce laws against discrimination in hiring. These and other alternative policy choices are advanced throughout the chapters of Part I.

Chapter 4 closes Part I with an examination of the results of federally induced poverty and low-wage work on urban children and schools. In 2002, 37% of American children (more than 26 million) lived in families that were poor, or low income (in 2004, \$18,850 and \$37,700 respectively for a family of four). Almost two-thirds (58%) of African-American children lived in poor or low-income families in that year (National Center for Children in Poverty, 2004, 1). Chapter 5 examines empirical research demonstrating ways in which conditions of little or no financial resource can undermine children's educational success. Importantly, however, the chapter also describes hopeful new research

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documenting that when minority urban low-income families are provided with financial resources and/or better living situations, the job prospects of the adults and the educational achievement of the children typically improve significantly.

## PART II

### *Metropolitan Inequities*

While states are defined by geographic and political boundaries, metropolitan areas are shaped by regional markets—for jobs, housing, investment, and production. Metro areas account for over 80% of national output, and drive the economic performance of the nation as a whole. Each metro area is anchored by one or more cities.

Today, metropolitan regions are characterized by population growth, extensive inequality, and segregation. The percentage of racial minorities in large metropolitan areas who live in the suburbs jumped from 19% to 27% during the 1990s. However, a growing share of these families lives in fiscally stressed suburbs, which contain an increasing number of neighborhoods of *concentrated* poverty.

A number of social scientists concerned about poverty have investigated the unequal distributions of public and private investment, production, labor, and housing that characterize U.S. metro areas. They have found the following: Most entry-level jobs for which low-income urban adults are qualified are located in the outlying suburbs; federal and state public transportation systems do not connect these job centers to areas where low-income minorities live, thus preventing poor people from commuting to the jobs there; state-allowed local zoning on the basis of income prevents affordable housing in most suburbs where entry-level jobs are located; failure to enforce antiracial housing discrimination statutes confines most Blacks and Latinos to central cities and segregated suburbs; and federal and state taxes paid by residents throughout metro regions (including inner cities) support development that takes place primarily in the affluent suburbs. These inequitable regional arrangements contribute in important ways to joblessness and poverty in cities and urbanized suburbs, and to the poor quality of services such as public education there.

Chapters 5 and 6 chronicle the new field of metropolitan studies and the consequences it holds for urban education.

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Metro-area inequities also imply an approach to urban problems that considers regional arrangements as in part determinative of local distress—in both neighborhoods and schools. The spread of concentrated poverty outside the central core also suggests that coalitions between inner cities and urbanized, segregated suburbs would produce powerful political constituencies for education and other reform.

The tendency of federal and regional policies and arrangements to maintain urban poverty and metropolitan inequities suggests that local neighborhoods are not isolated from these forces. Chapter 7 argues that, instead, urban neighborhoods—like urban schools—are extremely vulnerable to federal and regional mandates and practices. The local is not only a product of neighborhood and city cultures, and municipal regulations and policies, but is also shaped by federal and regional decisions both current and historical. Federal policies that sustain urban minority poverty, and metropolitan arrangements that spread resources unequally through regions, have been formative of the problems that plague urban neighborhoods and schools today.

Since the mid-1960s, the federal government has placed hundreds of programs in urban neighborhoods, ostensibly to ameliorate problems of poverty, unemployment, and inadequate housing—with little progress to show for it (although commercial downtowns often thrive). Philanthropic foundations and community-based organizations have also devoted time and energy to improving neighborhoods. There are major disappointments in these latter efforts as well, although there are some interesting successes. Chapter 7 closes Part II with an assessment of the efforts of foundations and community organizations in urban neighborhoods over the years, and finds that most of the successful endeavors arise from local groups that join with others in metrowide coalitions to challenge federal or regional policies that maintain inequities. The results of these coalitions affirm the potential of alliances among inner-city and urbanized suburban educational interests.

**PART III***Social Movements, New Public Policy,  
and Urban Educational Reform*

Most books that critique aspects of the social arena end with a list of policy recommendations. I want to go considerably further.

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I want to provide historically and theoretically based suggestions for ways we could obtain the policies I will recommend.

My reading of U.S. history tells me that social movements have been the most efficacious—if not the only—method of obtaining public policies that offer basic civil and economic rights to African Americans, Latinos, the White working class, and women (for example). Over a century of active political struggle has been necessary to obtain the most fundamental civil rights for Black Americans. Five decades of labor battles were necessary before legislation in 1938 finally provided an 8-hour day, a 40-hour week, a minimum wage, and the legal end to child labor. This decades-long, vociferous, advocacy also culminated in the 1930s in the right to overtime pay, unemployment insurance, social security, and the freedom to organize unions. At least 20 years of activism were required before (White) women were permitted to vote in 1920.

And social movements have changed education. The radical tumult of the Progressive Era opened public schools to the community in many cities, and increased educational opportunity for immigrant families in the form of kindergartens, vacation schools, night schools, social settlement programs, and libraries. As a result of the civil rights movement, Head Start, a radical innovation by activists in Jackson, MS, moved to center stage in federal educational policy; segregation of Blacks in public schools became illegal. Despite later setbacks, integration victories have been significant. Gary Orfield has shown, for example, that “despite the re-segregation of many school districts in the U.S., a Southern black student is 32,700 times more likely to be in a white majority school than a black student in 1954 and fourteen times more likely than his counterpart in 1964” (Orfield, 2001, p. 35). Indeed, the South is presently the only region of the country where Whites typically attend schools with significant numbers of Blacks (*ibid.*, p. 1).

In the 1970s and '80s, the women's, disabilities, and bilingual education movements also had significant impacts on schooling—opening up opportunities previously denied great numbers of students. Lastly, in recent years, a movement of an invigorated and federally expressed political Right has pushed both America and its schools in conservative directions: Education, economic opportunity, and civil rights have all been weakened by the rise of an organized, well-funded political Right (see, for example, Apple, 2001; McGirr, 2002; and Phillips, 2002).

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Chapter 8 uses early civil rights activism (between 1900 and 1950) as an example of the historical, but insufficiently acknowledged, relationship between political contention and more equitable public policy. From NAACP Supreme Court victories before 1920, to the outlawing of all-White primaries in 1944, President Truman's Comprehensive Civil Rights Bill in 1946, and the *Brown* decision in 1954, social justice policy followed upon (and indeed, incited increased) public contention and activism by Black Americans.

The South was an extremely dangerous place to publicly protest Jim Crow segregation. What allowed early activists to take on public contestation when it would almost certainly lead to fierce economic and physical reprisals? And later, what allowed Southern sharecroppers, maids, cooks, beauticians, and day laborers—who may have spent entire lives accommodating their resistance—to take part in, no, to build, the massive public rebellions that began in the early 1950s? Chapter 8 attempts to answer these questions by utilizing innovations in social movement theory. This theorizing makes clear that raising people's consciousness about their oppression through reflection and talk is not enough: Physical and emotional support for actual participation in public contention is required.

Chapter 9, *Building a Social Movement*, applies this and other theoretical lessons to the current scene. How can we, in an era as ostensibly conservative as our own, motivate the active involvement of hundreds of thousands of Americans in a movement to change unjust economic and educational policies? How can we make use of the finding that individual and group identities as agents of change develop not primarily because of educators' use of critical pedagogy or other consciousness raising (as crucial as these are), but because of actual participation in situations of political contention? Chapter 9 takes up these questions.

The final chapter puts urban education at the center of attempts to build a politically progressive movement. One theoretically strategic reason for the centrality of urban education is that *inside poverty city schools is the congealed result of economic and other social hardships impinging on urban families*. An enlightened focus on urban education could, therefore, highlight poverty wages, joblessness, and housing injustice as well as the lack of educational opportunities.

Placing education at the center of a unified campaign is also strategic logistically, because concerned city teachers and

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administrators are well positioned for movement building in poor neighborhoods. They are in close proximity to, and able to have continual contact with, community adults and youth. Educators who have built up trust with these community members are in a perfect position to work with them in planning and implementing social activism.

The main task of Chapter 10, then, is to provide concrete activities that educators in various positions can utilize to make classrooms and schools progressive movement-building spaces. An important goal is to offer ways in which equity-seeking school reform groups (those working to create small schools, for example) and community organizers could join forces. Low-income parents are rarely told about school reforms being planned, and the changes typically have had little community support. If mainstream school reform groups listened, and adapted to, projects that education and other community organizers are engaged in, a synergy could be created that would propel reform outward into the community, and deeper into the school.

Among the most important participants in the process of movement building are urban youth. New research on youth organizations nationwide demonstrates an important consequence of young people's engagement in civic activism: Urban students involved in overt political struggle for their educational and other rights not only improve their schools and communities, but typically end up enhancing their own psychological development and educational achievement in the process. Chapter 10 offers extensive protocols for working with students on progressive issue campaigns and direct political action.

Ghetto schools are often distressing places—toilets and sinks overflow, students are angry and sometimes violent, teachers appear worn down and cynical, computer rooms are full of broken machines, and academic achievement is depressingly low. We understandably want to fix the problems we see—so we police and counsel students, provide staff development for the teachers, create smaller classes and schools, and mount court challenges for increased funding to pay for resources, new programs, and school buildings.

Sometimes these reforms work to make urban schools less stressful, disturbing places—and achievement scores may tick

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upwards. But if truth be told, these educational improvements rarely affect the material trajectory of most students' lives. A better K-12 education does not increase a child's life chances when there is no decent job the diploma will attract, and no funding that will stay with the graduate through a college degree.

Thus, public policies that concentrate poverty, delimit wages to bare subsistence, and support economic development in unreachable suburban job centers can make a mockery of safer, cleaner, better financed urban schools. The fact that macroeconomic and other public policies trump educational policy and urban school reform challenges us to attend to the larger social issues. As advocates for students we need to work for equity-seeking school change, but in order to measurably improve their futures we must enlarge the geographic and policy terrain over which we claim dominion. This means that we need to reconsider what counts as educational policy.

Within our purview should be the elimination of macroeconomic mandates that are the building blocks of poverty and that lead to walls of indignation and anger around urban classrooms and schools. These responses to exclusion cannot be remedied by education policy currently conceived. Rather, policies that open up opportunity for urban residents are called for.

This book demonstrates that because of macroeconomic policies (and changes in the U.S. economy they reflect and support) education is no longer the reliable social 'leveler' that it was for individuals and groups who used high school or college to move from urban ghettos to the middle class. Thus, because of the current political economy and public policy strictures, we must venture outside the realm of education as we know it to provide options for the poor.

The new paradigm of educational policy such a move implies would transform the political and economic environment that currently stymies most student and educator effort in low-income neighborhoods. What *should* count as education policy would include strategies to increase the minimum wage, invest in urban job creation and training, provide funds for college completion to those who cannot afford it, and enforce laws that would end racial segregation in housing and hiring. I return to this theme of an expanded education policy paradigm throughout the book.

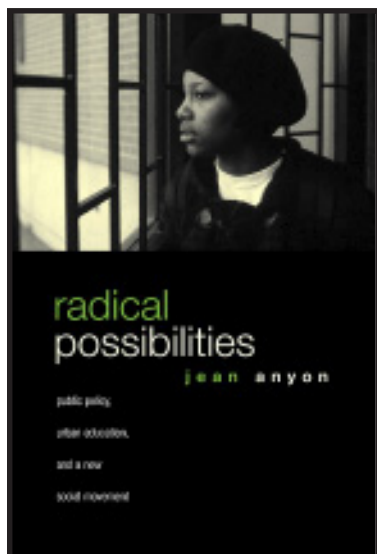
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While schools may not guarantee opportunity for social mobility, they remain sites of serious struggle for these and other social justice issues. The key now is to make sure we do not confine our modes of contention within current education and public policy choices. Contemplating historically the strategic strength required to put relevant and humane policies in place has led me to argue that a concerted social movement will be necessary to instantiate the economic and educational justice we seek in legislative, judicial, and regulatory decisions. I have written this book to assist in understanding the ways egregious public policy overdetermines the urban educational enterprise, and to support activity that works for fundamental change.

# Radical Possibilities

Public Policy, Urban Education, and a New Social Movement

Jean Anyon, City University of New York



*Radical Possibilities is a powerful and important book. Jean Anyon argues forcefully and persuasively for a new and comprehensive vision to understand and confront the problems of urban education. By showing the limitations of urban school reform in dealing with conditions created by macroeconomic and metropolitan policies, she presents a compelling case for a social movement that centers on education but that addresses the broader issues of social inequality. This well written book is must reading for anyone concerned about the state of urban public schools."*

—WILLIAM JULIUS WILSON,  
Lewis P. and Linda L. Geyser University  
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Jean Anyon's groundbreaking new book reveals the influence of federal and metropolitan policies and practices on the poverty that plagues schools and communities in American cities and segregated, low-income suburbs. Public policies – such as those regulating the minimum wage, job availability, tax rates, federal transit, and affordable housing – all create conditions in urban areas that no education policy as currently conceived can transcend. In this first book since her best-selling *Ghetto Schooling*, Jean Anyon argues that we must replace these federal and metro-area policies with more equitable ones, so that urban school reform can have positive life consequences for students.

Anyon provides a much-needed new paradigm for understanding and combating educational injustice. *Radical Possibilities* reminds us that historically, equitable public policies have typically been created as a result of the political pressure brought to bear by social movements. Basing her analysis on new research in civil rights history and social movement theory, Anyon skillfully explains how the current moment offers serious possibilities for the creation of such a force. The book powerfully describes five social movements already under way in U.S. cities, and offers readers interested in building this new social movement a set of practical and theoretical insights into securing economic and educational justice for the many millions of America's poor families and students.

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#### About the Author:

Jean Anyon has published widely on the confluence of social class, race, the political economy, and education. Several of her articles are classics, and have been reprinted in over 40 edited collections. Her last book, *Ghetto Schooling: A Political Economy of Urban School Reform*, was reviewed in *The New York Times*, among many other publications, and is widely used and cited. She teaches social and educational policy in the Doctoral Program in Urban Education at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York.

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