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REFORMING AND RESTRUCTURING AMERICAN EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

- o Awash in misspent money and misguided ideas, American schools sank into decay during the 1960s and 1970s.
- o Republican Administrations have fought that decay. They have met some success. But it is not enough to halt our educational decline. We must rise to educational excellence. That is President Bush's goal.
- o Progress depends more on new thinking than new spending.
- o As part of his commitment to reform American education, President Bush convened the nation's governors in an "education summit" -- only the third gubernatorial summit in history. Democratic Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas said of the summit: "This is the first time in the history of this country that we have ever thought enough of education to commit ourselves to national performance goals. It has never happened in almost 200 years."
- o At the summit, President Bush said: "Education is our most enduring legacy, vital to everything we are and can become. And come the next century -- just 10 years away -- what will we be? Will we be children of the Enlightenment or its orphans?"

PROGRESS UNDER REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

- o Average SAT scores are now higher than in 1980:

	1980	1988
Verbal	424	427
Math	466	476

- o In 1988, only 4.4 percent of students in grades 10 through 12 dropped out of high school, compared with 6.6 percent in 1978.
- o According to polls sponsored by Phi Delta Kappa, only 35 percent of Americans gave their local public schools a grade of A or B in 1980. By 1989, that figure had risen to 43 percent.

AMERICAN EDUCATION STILL NEEDS IMPROVEMENT

- o The American people will spend a record \$353 billion on schools and colleges this year.
- o The average salary today for a public school teacher is \$31,200 -- a real (inflation-adjusted) increase of 23 percent since 1981.

- o Spending per pupil in public elementary and secondary schools is at a record high of \$5,246 -- \$308 more than last year.
- o The problem isn't money, but motivation. With an attentive class, a good teacher can move the world with a piece of chalk.
- o Despite progress under GOP leadership, we have not fully recovered from the mistakes of the 1960s and 1970s. Between 1963 and 1980, the average verbal SAT score dropped from 478 to 424, while the average math score dropped from 498 to 466.
- o Such a trend disproves the myth that spending alone can solve our problems. While SATs were plunging, real federal spending for elementary and secondary education was soaring -- an inflation-adjusted 328 percent increase between 1963 and 1980.
- o Americans believe that we are falling behind other nations. The executive director of the National Association of Secondary School Principals examined learning conditions in the United States and compared them with those in South Korea and West Germany. He gave South Korea an A-minus, West Germany a B-plus and the United States a C-plus.
- o Again, comparative statistics show that money is not the problem. The United States spends a greater percentage of its gross national product on education than Japan, West Germany or South Korea.

US	6.7
Japan	5.1
W. Germany	4.6
S. Korea	4.5

- o Education Secretary Lauro Cavazos has said that there is "overwhelming support" for "a major restructuring of our education system, with school choice as the cornerstone."
- o Factories for failure. Some high schools have become factories for failure: noisy, dangerous places where the switchblade has replaced the pencil as the implement of choice.
- o In bad school systems, hard-working students see little immediate reward. In fact, other students confront them with criticism, isolation and even physical assault.

PRESIDENT BUSH'S PRINCIPLES FOR REFORM

- o President Bush has proposed adding more than \$400 million to the previous request of \$21.9 billion in budget authority for education programs. His ideas for reforming American education rest on these principles:

* Recognition of excellence - Rewarding good performance will

encourage schools, teachers and students to do better. Public recognition and financial rewards will provide new spurs to achievement.

- * Addressing need -- Federal funds should target those most in need -- where support can make a difference.
- * Flexibility and choice -- All parents, not only the affluent, should have greater choice in what, where and how their children learn. And local school systems must have greater flexibility in choosing teachers and principals.
- * Accountability -- The Administration backs objective measurement and reward of progress toward good education. Federal, state and local authorities must assure that the funds they spend and the programs they run accomplish their goals -- as measured by student learning and achievement.

REWARDING SUCCESS: PRESIDENT BUSH'S REFORM PROPOSALS

- o While proposing to increase federal support for education, President Bush knows that the measure of leadership is inspiration, not appropriation. His program, the Educational Excellence Act of 1988, has a simple premise: if we reward success, we will get more of it.
- * Presidential merit schools. This program would provide cash awards to public and private elementary and secondary schools that have made strides in improving student achievement, creating a safe and drug-free setting, and cutting the dropout rate.
- * Magnet Schools of Excellence. The Education Department now makes Magnet Schools Assistance grants to school systems undergoing desegregation. President Bush would help create and support magnet schools not only in currently-participating systems, but in others as well.
- * Alternative Certification of Teachers and Principals. The President would help states that want to expand the pool of talent from which to draw teachers and principals.
- * President's Awards for Excellence in Education. This plan would reward excellent public and private school teachers. Each award would amount to \$5,000.
- * National Science Scholars. President Bush would encourage achievement in the sciences by providing scholarships to graduating high school students who have excelled in science, math and engineering.
- * Drug-Free Schools Urban Emergency Grants. The bill would authorize special, competitive grants to urban districts

that have the worst drug problems, so that these districts can carry out comprehensive solutions.

- * Historically Black Colleges and Universities. These institutions, which have given many black Americans their only key to the college door, now enroll about 220,000 students. President Bush would provide an additional \$40 million in aid over the next three fiscal years.

GOALS SET AT THE SUMMIT

- o The education summit agreed on a process for setting national goals in seven areas:
 - * Ensure the readiness of all children to start school.
 - * Improve student performance on international achievement tests, especially in math and science.
 - * Cut the dropout rate and raise academic performance.
 - * Advance the functional literacy of adults.
 - * Foster the level of training necessary to guarantee a competitive work force.
 - * Increase the supply of qualified teachers and up-to-date technology.
 - * Restore safe, disciplined and drug-free schools.
- o The President and the governors also agreed to work for greater flexibility and accountability and for a major restructuring effort in each state.
- o Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, said that President Bush "defined a vision of education that was not public relations" and that the summit results "will drive what happens in the schools."
- o The President concluded the summit by saying: "From this day forward, let us be an America of tougher standards, an America of higher goals, and a land of bigger dreams."

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! IT leaves 50%
of per-pupil funding w/ the public schools

Friday, March 23, 1990 / MILWAUKEE SENTINEL

School choice plan to affect 1,000 in city

By GRETCHEN SCHULD
Sentinel staff writer

About 1,000 poor Milwaukee children will be able to attend non-sectarian private schools in the city next year at state expense, under a bill approved by the Legislature Thursday.

Gov. Tommy G. Thompson, who supports the measure, said he was elated.

"Wisconsin has crossed a threshold and will be the first state to include private schools in its parental choice program," Thompson said.

"This is an extremely significant piece of legislation... This legislation will give low-income children an equal starting line of opportunity."

The program would cost about \$2,500 per pupil, or \$2.3 million, next year and would be offset by reduced state aid to the school district.

Students previously enrolled in a Milwaukee public school or not enrolled in any district would be eligible to participate.

State Rep. Annette P. Williams (D-Milwaukee), who developed the plan, said she was "very pleased and our parents, our families are very, very happy. They've been praying."

"I think this is a very historical moment for our people," she said.

"It's not the version of choice that MPS has proposed or would sup-

port," said Douglas Haselow, MPS director of intergovernmental relations.

"It essentially bypasses the public school structure, but requires the public schools to pay the cost of this program by reducing the aids."

Haselow also said he thought Thompson would sign the provision.

Under the bill, the state would pay for the cost of pupils in kindergarten

SEE PAGE 13 / SCHOOLS

School choice program to affect 1,000 in city

SCHOOLS / FROM PAGE 1

through 12th grade to attend any non-sectarian private school in the city.

Eligibility for the program would be limited to pupils whose family income does not exceed 175% of the federal poverty level, and no more than 1% of MPS pupils could participate in any given year.

There are 97,085 pupils in the district this year.

In addition, no more than 49% of a private school's enrollment could be pupils participating in the program.

Williams said the program would not cost the district any money because it would lose state aid only for children no longer attending MPS.

Haselow disagreed.

"We would be diverting money that is coming to MPS to serve kids who have been in the system and are in the system to private schools to serve kids who have never been enrolled in MPS," Haselow said.

MPS lawyers will review the matter, Haselow said.

Another question warranting legal review, Haselow said, is whether the program will give white MPS pupils a greater chance to participate than black students.

Minority pupils who want to attend school outside of the district may have left under the Chapter 220 city-suburban integration program, he said.

That may reduce the number of low-income minorities who do not want to attend MPS and who are eligible to participate in the choice program, he said.

Haselow said there are "a number of kids who aren't doing very well academically in the school system." A choice proposal advocated by the district would have provided assurances that state educational standards would be met.

"There is no assurance of a quality program under this proposal," he said.

Williams puts liberals on trial

When push comes to shove

You needed a shoehorn to make your way through the dense crowd that filled the Main Event to help State Representative Polly Williams celebrate her birthday last week.

Packed like sardines in the northside lounge, it literally took 15 minutes to make one's way from the buffet table (which took on the appearance of old Mother Hubbard's cabinet one hour after the event began), to the few empty tables which were scattered but a few yards away.

Impressively, Williams' fete drew a virtual 'who's who' of local 'names,' including social activists, elected officials (and politicians), bupies, dupies, groupies and even—unless someone was pulling my leg—an Indian chief.

There were even a couple of Republicans in attendance, which is not as surprising as some would think given Polly's innate ability to bridge party lines to advance issues of concern to our community. Polly, for all intents and purposes, is the state's lone independent, and an individual who strikes fear in the hearts of opponents (though she apparently demands the respect of friend and foe alike as she walks a clearly drawn path which crosses party affiliation).

Noticeable by their absence at the reception were the twisted smiles and oft sweaty palms of area Democratic liberals, which was not surprising.

Particularly in the last year, Polly has taken our so-called liberal 'friends' to task for undermining proposals of keen importance to African Americans.

The 'trial of support' reached a boiling point during the past month as her vaulted parental choice initiative has been bantered about in the various halls, closets, and finally, last week, the floor of the Assembly.

If nothing else, the debate, deception and dogma

which highlighted the parental choice scenario, should leave every African American in the state with a new definition of 'Democratic liberal.'

As the late Jim Baker used to say, 'the average liberal is nothing more than a missionary without a collar. And we should never forget that right before soldiers unboarded the ship in Africa, they first sent in missionaries to soften us up.'

'Missionary,' indeed, is a term which carries a negative connotation in the African American community. And for good reason. From the shores of Senegal, to the litter ridden streets of Harlem, Africans



SIGNIFYIN'

With Mikel Holt
MCJ EDITOR

have suffered at their hands.

Some say most missionaries/liberals became Democrats when Franklin D. Roosevelt won the presidency in part because of the African American vote five decades ago, which may explain a lot about the party's so-called liberal agenda and the old adage about 'taking African Americans for granted.'

The faces have changed, but apparently the ideology is the same: 'Control people of color with a smile, keep them impoverished, enslaved by welfare programs (which are run by other missionaries) and unwilling or

(continued on page 12)



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George asks governor for special session **Board director, senator endorse choice bill**

by Mikel Holt

State Senator Gary George and School Board Director Jared Johnson have added their names to the growing chorus of political leaders endorsing a proposed parental choice bill.

The joint endorsement is seen as particularly significant because George is co-chair of the powerful Joint Finance Committee while Johnson's support will be seen as a severe blow to efforts by the public school administration to push an alternative measure through the State Assembly.

A hearing on the parental choice bill will be held, ironically, at the

School Administration Building Friday, at 9:30 a.m.

Introduced by State Rep. Annette Polly Williams in October, the bill would allow 3,000 low income Milwaukee students to attend a non-sectarian private school.

State Representative Barbara Notestein has come under fire from the African American community for holding the bill in the Urban Education Committee since its introduction.

George, who expressed support for the bill last week, said in an interview Tuesday that he has met with Governor Tommy Thompson to discuss the possibility of a

special legislative session in the event that the bill does not make it to the floor during the current spring session.

"There is the possibility that some people will try to frustrate the bill, even though there's so much support for it," George said.

"Just to be on the safe side, I'm planning a meeting at my house which will include the governor, educators and local elected officials to discuss a special session."

Johnson said in a separate interview that rumors that MPS had developed an alternative proposal were just that, 'rumors.'

"As far as I'm concerned MPS

doesn't have a proposal," Johnson said, "and if the administration does, nobody has informed us about it. People can say I'm opposed to the administration bill, but that's not the case. No administration bill has come before the Board."

Johnson said he views the parental choice option as another "option for our children. If we are serious about offering our children alternative educational choices, I think we must support Williams' bill."

The freshman director said his only concern would be to insure the bill doesn't discriminate in the

(continued on page 6)

George, Johnson endorse bill

(continued from page 1)

selection process, and that an accountability system be put in place to ensure funding is used properly. "I just want to make sure there are guidelines for handling the funding. I don't want to see a time when choice is destroyed because of mismanagement."

(OVER)

Committee backs plan to help needy pay for private school

By DAVE DALEY
Journal Madison bureau

Madison, Wis. — State payments for low-income Milwaukee families enrolling children in private, non-sectarian schools were approved Thursday in a close vote by the Assembly Committee on Urban Education.

The 7-6 vote moved the bill (A-601) to the full Assembly, but whether both houses of the Legislature can act before the scheduled March 23 adjournment is unclear.

Nevertheless, State Rep. Annette (Polly) Williams, a Milwaukee

Democrat and sponsor of the bill, called committee approval "a victory for our parents and our low-income families."

"It gives them an opportunity, a choice," Williams said, predicting that both the Assembly and the Senate would vote on the bill before adjournment.

"This is our bill — it's targeted for low-income families, all low-income families," said Williams, who represents a predominantly black district in the central city.

"Middle income families won't be able to take over this program like they have others."

"This is our bill — it's targeted for low-income families, all low-income families. Middle income families won't be able to take over this program like they have others."

State Rep. Annette (Polly) Williams

The bill limits the number of students eligible for the program to 1% of the school district's enroll-

ment. The payment formula is pegged to 53% of the public school system's cost of educating students enrolled in the district.

The bill authorizes \$1.45 million in state money to pay for the program in 1990-'91 — money to be paid to the private school by the State Department of Private Instruction.

Only families with a total family income "that does not exceed an amount equal to 1.75 times the poverty level" as set by the federal government are eligible.

Urban Education Chairwoman Barbara Notestein, another Milwau-

kee Democrat, voted against the bill.

"We're talking about a very small number of students here — 1%," Notestein said.

"This proposal will do nothing for the 90,000-plus students enrolled in the Milwaukee Public Schools. We need to be directing our energies at them. We need to be working to improve the MPS."

Under amendments to the bill added Thursday, private schools must select eligible students at random.

"They will not be able to pick

and choose," Notestein said. "This is a choice for MPS kids."

The amended bill also requires the private school to meet academic standards used in public schools and authorizes the Department of Private Instruction to review the program for compliance.

Under a "sunset" provision, the bill expires automatically after five years unless re-enacted, a provision added at the insistence of both Notestein and State Rep. Peter Barca (D-Kenosha).

"This is an experiment — I think there should be an opportunity to evaluate it," Notestein said.

(OVER)

Assembly OKs school 'choice' plan

Sentinel Madison Bureau

Madison — The Assembly Tuesday approved a pilot school "choice" program for 1% of Milwaukee's public school children.

The measure was sent to the Senate by a vote of 62-35.

The bill would have the state pay the private school cost of educating up to 1,000 pupils from certain poor Milwaukee families.

It contains an appropriation of \$1.5 million for 1990-'91, prompting Assembly Speaker Thomas A. Loftus (D-Sun Prairie) to suggest that failure to delete the money would let Gov. Tommy G. Thompson shape the bill into a statewide "choice" program.

Loftus said Thompson's record of extensive use of his partial veto power on appropriation bills should give pause to its proponents.

"Could he make this into the original choice proposal? Loftus asked. "Yes, absolutely. Would he? Probably not," he said.

Rep. Robert T. Welch (R-Redgranite) said Thompson told him Tuesday he would not use his veto to expand the scope of the bill.

The Assembly voted, 49-48, against removing the appropriation. If it should get to Thompson's desk, he could rewrite the bill with a partial veto.

Rep. Annette Williams (D-Milwaukee) urged that the Assembly keep the money in the bill.

"The governor is not going to mess with this bill," she said. "He's not going to put students in jeopardy. There's too much riding on this."

In other legislative action Tuesday:

School tax: The sweeping school property tax reform amendment cleared the Assembly Tuesday, 63-33, but seemed doomed in the Senate.

Sen. Robert Jauch (D-Poplar), whose Senate Education Committee would get the measure to phase out the school property tax over 10

Wednesday, March 14, 1990 / MILWAUKEE SENTINEL

(OVER)



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A victory for African American parents *Assembly passes choice bill!*

by Mikel Holt

The Wisconsin Assembly, in what surely must be a historic action, Tuesday passed a parental choice initiative which will enable up to 1,000 low income children to attend private schools in Milwaukee.

To the applause of nearly 50 African American parents and children, the Assembly approved the parental choice initiative after nine separate votes to either amend or limit funding for the measure.

The bill will now go to the State Senate, where Senator Gary George is expected to lead the battle for approval. Governor Tommy Thompson has repeatedly indicated his support for the measure which will empower African American parents to choose alternatives to public education.

"This is truly an historic occasion," said State Rep. Annette Polly Williams, author of the bill. "For the first time in history, African American parents will have a true educational choice for their children."

"What makes this occasion even more significant is the fact that we had to go up against the labor union, MPS and even the Department of Public Instruction. But our parents fought all the way and now there is light at the end of the tunnel."

Ironically, staunch opposition to the bill came from so-called liberal Democrats, including gubernatorial candidate State Rep. Tom Loftus.



Give the People Light and they will find their own way.



The Wisconsin Light

February 22, 1990—March 7, 1990—WISCONSIN LIGHT—

Williams Pushes Parental Choice School Bill

[Milwaukee]- Wisconsin State Representative Annette Polly Williams (D-Mil.), spoke on her parental choice program to a meeting of the Milwaukee Chapter of Black and White Men Together (BWMT) on Saturday, February 17.

Williams', a long-time crusader for civil rights and the rights of the poor and minorities is the primary sponsor of AB 601, a bill which would allow up to 1,000 low-income, inner city parents to send their children to non-sectarian, private schools. There are, according to Williams, six such schools in Milwaukee. The money would be provided by the state and would be limited to the public school district's cost of educating a student. The program, if enacted, would be unique to Wisconsin. The program which, Williams said, would give parents a choice, "is the difference between empowerment and enslavement."

Williams told BWMT members that she did not have a high opinion of the Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS). "It is a bankrupt system," she said. She said also that there were some good teachers in MPS, but "they are hampered by bureaucracy."

Williams came out strongly against removing the residency requirement for MPS teachers. "They should live where they earn their money," she said.

Williams told BWMT that "since 1960, Milwaukee has lost 200,000 whites; white-flight which she called "de-facto segregation. She said there are currently 17 schools in Milwaukee that are one hundred percent Black. By 1995, Milwaukee, she said, "will be a Black city."

Finally she told the group, "We gotta fight." and added, "I'll be the one leading the revolt to destroy the system."

(OVER)

Parental choice hearing both good, and bad news

State Representative Barbara Notestein's decision to 'finally' schedule a hearing on the proposed 'parental choice' bill, is both good and bad news for low income families.

Responding to pressure from parents, activists and political leaders who felt she was holding the bill 'hostage' in her Urban Education Committee since October, Notestein, the 'liberal democrat', finally assigned a hearing for the measure, which is of course good news. The bill in question, introduced by State Representative Annette Polly Williams, is considered a landmark provision, and would allow up to 3,000 low income Milwaukee students to partake of the excellent educational opportunities available through private, nonsectarian schools.

Now for the bad news. Notestein--whether consciously or not--has scheduled the hearing for Friday, February 24, at 9:30 a.m., at the school administration building of all places.

What is ironic about that, you ask? First, scheduling such an important hearing on a weekday morning is tantamount to insuring a small audience (unless Notestein is assuming most low income people don't work and thus should be available). Adding insult to injury, Notestein decides to hold the hearing at the MPS administration building, which in addition to being outside the community, is in the lion's den of sorts, because MPS has already stated its objections to Williams' bill.

Something, of course, is errie here, and it's not just in the timing and location of the hearing. Notestein previously said she held up Williams' bill because it was 'rumored' MPS was developing an alternative. As far as we know, MPS has drafted a proposal, but still does not have a sponsor for it. In a nutshell, MPS has no problems with a parental choice initiative, but wants to not only control the money, but dictate curriculum and teaching methods to the private schools. That, in essence would kill any hopes for a successful program.

As best we can figure, Notestein is playing some kind of strange card game with us. And not only are the cards hers, but she's the dealer as well.

(OVER)

So-called Demo liberals follow missionary path

(continued from page 2)

unable to make a decision without our approval.'

That, in a nutshell, is what transpired during the parental choice debates.

Without going through a long drawn out scenario, when push came to shove, it wasn't the Republicans or conservative Democrats who tried to block the parental choice initiative. It was the so-called Democratic liberals, led, interestingly enough, by former Hunger Taskforce director Barbara Notestein and House Speaker Tom Loftis.

To understand the mindset of these self-proclaimed liberals, one need only understand that the parental choice initiative would empower African American parents to make educational choices for their children just as White middle class families (and Democratic liberals) do. Equally important, it removes from the process the MPS bureaucracy, and thus, takes power and control out of the hands of other 'missionaries.'

Apparently, Loftis and Notestein--joined by several others--could not stand the thought of people of color entering the mainstream and crashing through previously locked doors.

From their previous votes and comments on related proposals introduced by MPS and another so-called liberal, Rep. Tom Seery, it was obvious as long as power remained in the hands of bureaucrats and missionaries, parental choice was acceptable.

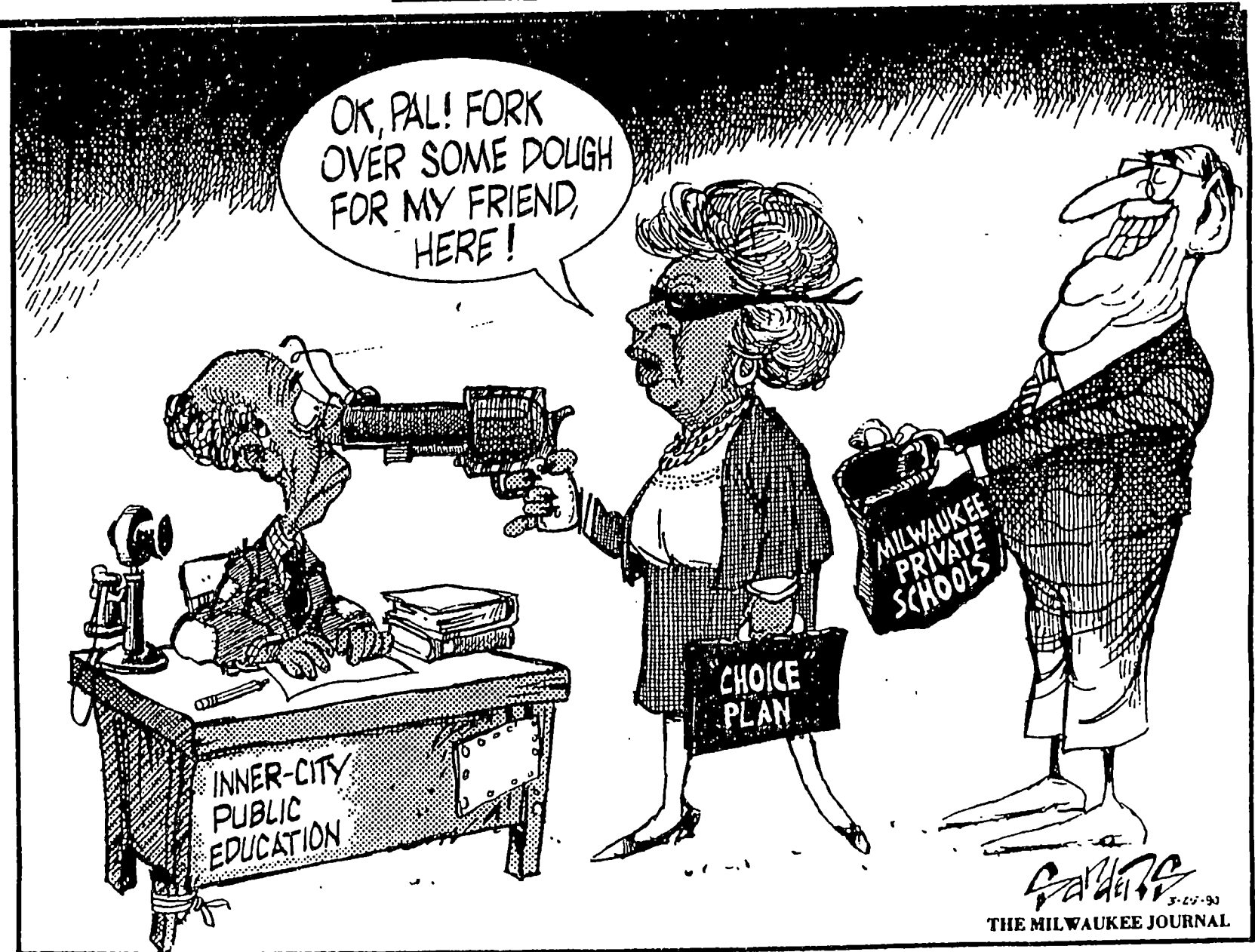
But then again, those early proposals were never intended to truly free African American parents; but instead only to provide the illusion of freedom.

Some may imply from my comments here that I'm either politically conservative or anti-Democrat. That's not the case. Like the overwhelming majority of African Americans, I don't hold membership in any political party. My agenda is monolithic and universal; I support issues and policies which advance our cause, whether they come from a Republican, Democrat or KKK member.

Increasingly over the years, I have added to that agenda the standard that policies and programs must come with no strings attached, and we, African Americans must be free to control our own institutions and programs.

Generally, that is not the case when most liberals are involved. They not only want to tell us how to play the game, but demand that we play it with their deck. As I said, it all boils down to empowerment.

It would be self-defeating for us not to take note of who our true friends are, and the hidden agenda of those who pander our votes under the guise of liberalism. Today's friends could be tomorrow's enemies; a point that has been proven time and time again.



Effort fails to expand private school aid bill

By DAVE DALEY
Journal Madison bureau

Madison, Wis. — Low-income Milwaukee families could qualify for state aid for children they enroll in private schools under a bill passed by the Assembly, but legislators are refusing to expand the proposal to include middle-income families.

Backers of a broader-based bill, however, are hoping for help when the Senate begins debate on the parental choice measure.

"We had an opportunity to give some hope to those who want to stay in Milwaukee," Rep. Shirley Krug (D-Milwaukee) said after the Assembly on Tuesday rejected her amendment to strip income limits from the bill (A-601).

Krug, whose northwest Milwaukee district is predominantly middle class, said a broader-based bill would have given many middle-income families, both white and black, a choice on schools.

"I feel it's a mistake, if this policy is a good idea, to only limit it to low-income families," Krug said.

"There are a couple of different agendas on this bill," Krug said. "One is the generalized dissatisfaction with the quality of education in Milwaukee. Some hoped this bill would put pressure on the Milwaukee schools to make changes because currently they've got a captive audience."

Rep. Annette (Polly) Williams (D-Milwaukee), sponsor of the bill, has argued that the program should be limited to low-income families since middle-income families already have the means to put their children in private schools.

Under the bill, which was approved and sent to the Senate Tuesday, Milwaukee families whose income is no more than 175% of the poverty level are eligible for state aid for children they put in private, non-sectarian schools.

The bill does not outline specific dollar amounts but says eligible families can receive "an amount equal to 53% of the average per pupil cost" for pupils in the Milwaukee Public Schools.

The bill also limits the program to no more than 1% of the Milwaukee Public Schools' enrollment in any one school year.

The Assembly-passed bill includes \$1.4 million to finance the

program for five years. Assembly Speaker Tom Loftus (D-Sun Prairie) asked colleagues to remove the appropriation, but lost on a 49-48 vote.

Any bill that includes financing is subject to the governor's partial veto, and Loftus said there was no assurance that Republican Gov. Tommy G. Thompson would keep the bill intact once it was sent to him.

But Williams urged colleagues to keep the \$1.4 million in the bill.

"You say take the money out, and we're supposed to trust that somebody's going to find some money somewhere?" Williams said.

"The governor is not going to mess with this bill. He's not going to put these children in jeopardy. There's too much riding on this."

The bill now has the qualified support of Sen. Gary George (D-Milwaukee), a key senator who previously opposed it, according to Rep. Thomas Seery (D-Milwaukee).

"I think the Senate is going to pass some version of this bill," Krug predicted.

In other action Tuesday, the Assembly:

■ Gave final approval and sent to the Senate a moratorium on synthetic bovine growth hormone (BGH) until July 1, 1991 or six months after the Federal Food and Drug Administration approves BGH for commercial use.

■ Gave preliminary approval to a bill creating a "horse-track development zone" in southeastern Wisconsin.

The bill would prevent any more dog-racing tracks from opening in the zone for three years. The zone is bounded by Highway 151 on the north, Highway 11 on the south, I-90 on the west and Lake Michigan on the east.

Supporters say the bill will encourage horse racing interests to consider opening a track in that zone. "You're not going to get investors to build if they know a dog track is going to be built next door," Rep. Barbara Gronemus (D-Whitehall) said.

Five dog tracks are under construction in Wisconsin, at Lake Delton, Delavan, Hudson, Kaukauna and Kenosha.

Voucher System For 1,000 Pupils Adopted in Wis.

Low-Income Students In Milwaukee Targeted

By William Snider

Proponents of private-school choice plans won a major victory late last week when the Wisconsin legislature approved a bill that will give almost 1,000 Milwaukee public-school students the option of attending nonsectarian private schools at state expense.

The measure differs from other voucher-type proposals in that it is specifically aimed at low-income children who are currently enrolled in public schools or have dropped out.

"The state is directly helping families who have drive, who have high expectations, but who don't have money, to vote with their feet," said state Representative Annette Williams, the chief sponsor of the bill.

"We're now going to show that our children can be educated successfully for less than half the money that the Milwaukee schools use to miseducate our students," added Ms. Williams, who also has sponsored legislation, thus far unsuccessful, to create a new district in Milwaukee's inner city that would be mostly black.

Gov. Tommy Thompson has indicated that he will sign the private-school choice measure, according to his aides.

"This is a very historic day for the poor and for civil rights," said John E. Coons, professor of law at the University of California Berkeley and a proponent of vouchers.

"People who have been pretty much entombed in segregated public schools will have a chance to get their civil rights vindicated in the private sector," he said.

The measure passed despite stiff opposition from the state's teacher organizations and Milwaukee public-school officials, who

have succeeded in blocking similar bills in recent years.

"The parents and the private schools make the decisions about who is going where, and we end up paying for it," said Douglas Haselow, a lobbyist for the Milwaukee schools. The district would lose state per-pupil aid for each student who opted to enroll in a private school.

The district, which faces a severe overcrowding problem, had proposed a bill last year that would have allowed it to contract with private schools to provide services for certain students.

Senator's Support Crucial

A key factor in the passage of the private-school-option bill was the support it received from state Senator Gary R. George, who was instrumental in defeating similar bills in the last two sessions proposed by Gov. Tommy Thompson.

Mr. George, the co-chairman of the legislature's joint committee on finance, attached the measure as a rider to a budget bill that the legislature was forced to act on before it adjourned last week.

"The critical state of the Milwaukee public schools has forced the legislature and the Governor to take this emergency step," said Walter C. Farrell, senior policy adviser to Senator George.

"This may serve to stimulate more results-oriented change than what we have witnessed for the African-American students in the Milwaukee schools, who are woefully underserved," he added.

Representative Williams said she pulled together a coalition of conservative Democrats and Republicans to support the bill. "Only the white liberals fought it," she said.

Governor Thompson has said he will sign the bill, and will not use his amendatory veto powers to make major changes to it, according to his education aide, Thomas J. Fonfara.

"He gave assurances," Mr. Fon-

fara said, "that he was not going to use his veto to make it a statewide program, that he was not going to open it to others who are not low-income, that he wasn't going to lift the limit on the number of students, and that he wasn't going to broaden it to include parochial schools."

Bill's Provisions

Under the new program, which will last five years, no more than 1 percent of Milwaukee's 93,000 students will be permitted to enroll in nonsectarian schools that agree to accept the state's per-pupil aid allotment—approximately \$2,500—as full reimbursement for tuition costs.

The measure limits eligibility to children from families whose annual incomes are no greater than 175 percent of the federal poverty level.

Participating schools must be accredited under the state's existing private-school standards, but will not face additional state requirements under the program, Ms. Williams said.

"We wanted to make sure these schools will continue to be the kinds of schools they were in the beginning," Ms. Williams explained. "They have a track record that you can't question with children that the public schools say can't make it."

At least six schools were active in the drafting of the bill and are eager to participate, she said, and several others expressed interest when the measure moved closer to passage.

A survey of the schools found that they have just enough space available for the expected influx of students, Ms. Williams added.

Mayor John O. Norquist of Milwaukee identified 13 eligible schools in a letter announcing his veto of a resolution passed by the Milwaukee City Council opposing the measure.

"I feel that such alternative programs provide healthy competition for the Milwaukee public schools and will add to the overall effort toward quality education for all chil-

More.....

Voucher Plan

Continued.....

dren in the city of Milwaukee," the Mayor wrote.

Other States' Programs

Most of the handful of programs in other states that allow students to attend private schools at public expense give school districts a role in approving and monitoring the participation of the private schools.

Washington State's private educational clinics, which are not required to operate under contract with a district, were specifically designed as a short-term alternative for students who have not succeeded in the public schools.

The Wisconsin measure most closely resembles the voucher-type plan proposed for **Kansas City students** in a court case filed last year.

Supporters of that plan are preparing to file an appeal of a federal judge's recent dismissal of the case, said Mr. Coons, who helped fashion the Kansas City plan and who first propounded the idea of vouchers for disadvantaged students in the 1970's.

^School Choice

^By JODIE DeJONGE=

^Associated Press Writer=

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MILWAUKEE (AP) - A plan to give state money to poor parents so their children can attend private schools could be a national model, supporters say. Critics say the idea suggests that people have "given up" on city schools.

The Legislature last week passed a bill that would give as much as \$2,500 to each of nearly 1,000 low-income Milwaukee students to help them leave the public schools and enroll in non-sectarian private schools. The average yearly tuition at the academies is \$3,200.

The experiment would affect about 1 percent of the city's estimated 97,000 students. The state funds used would be deducted from the city's school budget.

Gov. Tommy G. Thompson said he will sign the bill into law by April 27 but will wait to see the results of the Milwaukee program before deciding whether the school choice plan should be expanded statewide.

U.S. Education Undersecretary Ted Sanders, who praised the experiment, said the plan could provide a form for restructuring U.S. schools and give options to parents whose choices have been curtailed by their income.

But a spokesman for the nation's largest teachers' union denounced the plan. "It could lead to racial, educational and economic isolation of students. Those children left behind will feel the impact," said Howard Carroll of the National Education Association.

Milwaukee's school superintendent, Robert Peterkin, also opposes the plan, saying it would drain resources from depleted inner-city schools and reverse two decades of city and suburban school desegregation achieved through voluntary busing.

"The concept that the competitive market place will magically make the public school system improve is simplistic," said Peterkin, who gained national attention in integrating Cambridge, Mass., schools.

Peterkin nevertheless has said he won't challenge the program in court.

Plans that allow parents more choice on where to send their children to school have gained momentum in the last five years.

Minnesota and Iowa were among the first to offer tax credits to parents sending their children to private schools. Wisconsin's voucher plan would be first in the nation to directly provide government funds for the purpose.

Parents not more than 75 percent above the federal poverty level - an income of \$12,000 for a family of four - will be eligible. Those who already send their children to private schools are not.

The bill would take effect for the next school year. Eight Milwaukee-area private schools have agreed to accept students.

State Rep. Annette Williams, a Democrat who represents an inner-city Milwaukee district, sponsored the plan. At the invitation of the Bush administration, she has traveled around the nation in recent months touting the idea as a model for future school-choice plans.

MORE...

"For the first time, poor people will get respect because they can take their \$2,500 to a school of their choice and say, 'I want my children educated,'" Ms. Williams said.

A spokesman for the state's largest teachers union disagreed, saying the program only ships inner-city school problems to the suburbs.

"What it's really saying is Milwaukee has some major problems. We think the problems should be addressed, not sent to the suburbs," said Michael Brennan, legislative director for the Wisconsin Education Association Council.

"We think they've given up on the public schools in Milwaukee. We think that's a mistake. We don't think the answer is to shove those kids out of the system and hope the problem goes away."

The Wisconsin chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union said it will watch the program to assure children are chosen fairly.

"Not all children, black children, will be candidates for those schools," said ACLU director Eunice Edgar. "Those private schools will choose which students they accept. If it's publically funded, all children should have the option."

^

Thompson says Wisconsin will be first with Choices
By JOANNE M. HAAS

MADISON, Wis. (UPI) — Gov. Tommy Thompson says Wisconsin will be the first state to give some low-income parents the option of sending their children to private schools at the state's expense under a scaled-down version of the Choices program.

The Legislature this week passed and sent to the governor a parental choice initiative for students in Milwaukee. Under the proposal, the state will pay for up to 930 low-income, students from kindergarten through the 12th grade to attend any private non-sectarian school in the city.

"We have acknowledged that private schools play an important role and provide an effective option in the education of our children," Thompson said.

The Choices program has a \$2.3 million price tag — or \$2,500 per pupil — and would be limited to less than 1 percent of the 97,085 pupils of the Milwaukee Public Schools System. Only students whose family income is under 175 percent of the federal poverty level can participate.

The Republican governor originally had proposed that the Democrat-controlled Legislature support a Choices program that would have allowed parents statewide to send their children to the schools of their choice.

Democrats, along with some education officials, balked at that idea. They said it would mean little in rural areas where people would not have the financial means to transport their children to other districts where the program may not be significantly different.

"In reality, educational choice is practiced by parents who have the financial resources to send their children to a private school or move to an area with better schools," Thompson said. "This legislation will give low-income children an equal starting line of opportunity."

Thompson said Minnesota and Iowa have established similar choices programs, but have limited them to public schools.

The program was included in the budget adjustment bill adopted Thursday by the Assembly and Senate.

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**5. MILWAUKEE PARENTAL CHOICE PROGRAM [1989-91 Change to Current Law:
\$2,900,000 GPR and \$2,300,000 GPR-Lapse]**

Create a parental choice program in which the state would pay for the cost of pupils in grades kindergarten through twelve who reside in the City of Milwaukee to attend, at no charge, any nonsectarian, private school located in the City, beginning in the 1990-91 school year. Provide that the program would sunset after the 1994-95 school year.

Limit eligibility to any pupil whose total family income does not exceed 175% of the federal poverty level. In addition, establish three limitations on the program's participants: (1) no more than 1% of the Milwaukee Public

Schools membership (pupil count) could attend a private school under the program in any school year; (2) no more than 49% of a private school's enrollment could consist of pupils attending under the parental choice program; and (3) participants would have to be pupils who, in the school year prior to their initial enrollment in private schools under this program, were either enrolled in MPS schools or not enrolled in school at all.

For each pupil, the State Superintendent would pay to the private school an amount equal to 53% of the average cost per pupil for pupils enrolled in the MPS system, provided proof of enrollment in the private school is received from the pupil's parent or guardian. A sum sufficient GPR appropriation would fund the payments to the private schools. However, these payments would be partially offset by a reduction in state equalization aid to MPS. The reduction in aid would be determined by multiplying the district's equalization and supplemental (TIF) aid per member by the number of pupils attending private schools under the parental choice program. Pupils participating in the program would be counted in the school district's membership for equalization aid purposes even though they attend private schools. The aid reduction would lapse to the general fund.

It is estimated that if the maximum number of pupils participate in the program (approximately 930), state payments from the sum sufficient appropriation would be approximately \$2.9 million GPR in 1990-91. However, the pupils would generate an equalization aid offset of approximately \$2.3 million resulting in a net cost of \$0.6 million GPR in 1990-91. The fiscal effect could be lower if participation is less than the maximum number of pupils allowed under the proposal.

*Amended in final passage.
Now revenue-neutral*

Up From Mediocrity

Polly Williams represents an inner-city Milwaukee district in the Wisconsin Legislature. For years, her constituents have begged her to find a way to let their children go some place other than the local public schools they consider beyond reform. This month, Mrs. Williams persuaded her fellow legislators to pass the nation's first experiment in school vouchers for low-income children. Her efforts may kick-start a new wave of education reform that adds parental choice and competition to the recent flood of tax dollars that have been poured into education.

Polls show a solid majority of Americans favor allowing parents a choice of where to send their children to school. But support varies greatly among income groups. Educational choice has only tepid support among upper-income voters: Their local schools still more or less work. Choice is most popular among minority and lower-income parents, whose children suffer the most from failing public schools.

Under the Williams proposal, which Republican Governor Tommy Thompson will soon sign into law, some 1,000 low-income Milwaukee students will be allowed to attend private nonsectarian schools next year (to qualify a family of four can earn no more than \$12,000 a year). The state will pay up to \$2,500 in tuition for each student, and subtract the money from the public-school system's budget.

Mrs. Williams says parents and their children will finally have the leverage of competition to force change in the ossified Milwaukee public schools. "They waste \$5,000 a year per student, and all they do is treat low-income people like pawns in some game," she told us. "Parents deserve a better choice on where they can spend their tax money."

She points to Urban Day, a private school in her district, as an example of why local parents want choice. Urban Day successfully prepares students for college or vocational school and, at about \$3,000 a year, at much less cost per pupil than the public schools. Donations allow tuition to be set at \$650 a year, and parents also agree to perform 20 hours of volunteer work or pay an extra \$300 a year. Active parental commitment to a school is now widely recognized as a significant reason for the success of a school—public or private.

Mrs. Williams says her support for school vouchers stems from her own experience. A former welfare recipient who raised four children on her

own, she went back to college and was elected to the state Assembly in 1980. A lifelong Democrat and state chair of Jesse Jackson's 1984 and 1988 campaigns, she says many of her fellow liberals put the interests of the educa-

tion lobby above the welfare of inner-city children. Her first attempt to pass an educational-choice bill failed 54 to 44 last year when white, liberal Democrats refused to join black Democrats and Republicans in support of her bill. "They say they're liberal, but whenever it comes to empowering black people, they stab us in the back," she says. "We want self-determination, not handouts and dependency." She came back to win this year after 200 black parents filled a legislative hearing in Milwaukee to clamor for a voucher plan.

While Mrs. Williams says that competition between public and private schools is an essential element of educational choice, she also supports a program pioneered in Minnesota in 1987 that allows parents to send their high-schoolers to schools in other districts and earn credits in college or vocational programs. Teachers were initially suspicious of the idea, but now 61% of them favor the concept. Elements of the program have been adopted in Utah, Iowa, Arkansas, Nebraska and Ohio. Choice proposals are now being debated in 20 states.

More....

UP FROM MEDIOCRITY, continued....

The response of the entrenched education lobby to this groundswell of support for choice is illuminating. Far from questioning the public-school monopoly, school boards, administrators and teacher unions are digging in for trench warfare to protect their rice bowls. The Wisconsin ACLU is already making threatening noises. Michael Brennan of the Wisconsin Education Association Council says advocates of choice want to "shove kids out of the system and hope the problem goes away."

The Educrats also have their own answer to the collapse of public education in the inner cities. They propose that courts mandate that wealthy school districts ship truckloads of money to poorer districts under the guise of "social justice." But at this juncture, one might ask who today are the real forces of reaction?

Parents in Mrs. Williams's district aren't buying any of this. They have painfully learned that more money spent on a failed system does not necessarily produce a better education. They want nothing less than a chance to make their own decisions about the future of their children.

New York Times
3/28/90

Milwaukee Parents Get More Choice on Schools

By AMY STUART

In a move that for the first time extends parental choice in private as well as public schools, Wisconsin State Legislature passed a bill allowing 97,000 students from the Milwaukee Schools to use state funds to attend private, nonsectarian schools.

The bill, which passed last week, was originally proposed by Governor Tommy G. Thompson, who he plans to sign it. The Governor and other advocates of the legislation say the program will provide an educational choice to poor students, many of whom are not currently attending the city's public schools.

"Choice gives poor students the ability to select the best schools they possibly can," Governor Thompson, a Republican, said in an interview. "The plan allows choice and competition, and competition will make both public and private schools that much better."

But Robert Peterkin, the Superintendent of Schools in Milwaukee, said the bill would threaten public schools by leaving the city with the hardest-to-educate students and with fewer resources.

Aimed at 1 Percent

The program, which is scheduled to be in place by fall, is a pilot program for 1 percent of the Milwaukee public school system's 97,000 students. Students from kindergarten through eighth grade whose families' incomes are no more than 75 percent above the federal poverty level (which is about \$12,000 for a family of four) may transfer to participating private nonsectarian schools within the city. Transportation is to be provided by the city school system.

So far, eight private schools have agreed to accept the students. Each student who transfers to a private school takes along \$2,500 in state aid that would have gone to the Milwaukee public schools.

While this is not the first time public education funds have been spent in private institutions in Milwaukee,

past arrangements have been made through the school system, which has contracted with private schools to operate day-care and alternative education programs. In such arrangements, the district oversees the operation and can set certain standards. With the new legislation, parents, not the school district, can choose where to spend some of the state aid.

In its final amended form, the bill provides that if the demand for a given private school is greater than the available space, applicants will be selected randomly in a process overseen by the State Superintendent of Instruction. Participating private schools may not discriminate against applicants on the basis of race or academic or disciplinary records. Earlier versions of the bill did not contain all these provisions. In fact, the original legislation proposed by Governor Thompson in 1987 included parochial schools.

Critics Give Their Reasons

Critics of the bill are concerned about state dollars' going to schools that are not required to comply with all the state regulations imposed on public schools. Steven Dold, assistant state superintendent for management and budget of the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, cited teacher certification requirements and state expenditure guidelines as two such regulations.

Mr. Dold also said the state's expenditure for the Milwaukee public schools, \$2,500 per pupil, is higher than that of most school districts in the state.

In addition, he said, few private schools have the staff or resources to educate physically or mentally handicapped students or children with learning disabilities or severe behavioral problems. Those children would be left in the public schools.

But State Representative Annette (Polly) Williams, a Milwaukee Democrat who is the bill's chief sponsor, argued that the public would get a bargain for its educational tax dollars in the private schools. "These schools are already on the record for educating low-income students, and



Paul Conklin

Gov. Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin proposed a bill that allows some low-income Milwaukee public school students to use state funds to attend private schools.

they have demonstrated they can do it at one-third of the cost," she said.

The cost of educating students in the Milwaukee public schools is about \$5,000 per pupil. The surrounding suburban school districts, which enroll some black students from the city as part of a desegregation plan, charge the state between \$5,000 and \$8,000 to educate each student.

It costs about \$2,000 a year per student at the Bruce Guadalupe Community School, a private school for kindergarten through eighth grade in Milwaukee that is 75 percent Hispanic, according to the principal, Antonio Pacilli.

This winter, the school's board of directors voted to close the school down because of a financial crisis, but with the passage of the new state legislation, the decision could be reversed.

"The bill does give us new hope for the future, which otherwise had been snuffed out a few months ago," said Mr. Pacilli.

Of the program's future, Governor Thompson said, "I want to go slowly and see if it works, and put some real good guidelines on it, and if it works, we will expand it."

Wisconsin to Allow Some Students to Use Education 'Vouchers' at Private Schools

By GARY PUTKA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Wisconsin lawmakers voted to allow a limited number of Milwaukee students to switch their per-capita state education allotment to private schools, creating the first system of school "vouchers."

The plan is the most radical application yet of the school-choice philosophy in education reform. Similar plans in several states allow students a choice of public schools, with extra funds for the school chosen. But the extension of the idea to private schools has been opposed vehemently by school boards, teachers' unions and public school administrators.

Under the Wisconsin plan, about 1,000 low-income Milwaukee students will be able to leave the public school system next fall and attend private nonsectarian schools in the city. For each student who elects the option, the state will pay full tuition of up to \$2,500 at the private schools, and subtract the amount spent from the budget of the Milwaukee public schools.

Wisconsin Gov. Tommy Thompson, a Republican who has unsuccessfully advocated other state-subsidy proposals for private schooling, said he was "elated" with the state legislature's action and plans to sign the measure into law.

"This takes choice one step further than anywhere else in the country," Mr. Thompson said. "I believe very much in challenges and the free enterprise model. Any time you have a monopoly, you have a potential for stagnation, and a number of public schools have become stagnant."

Robert Peterkin, superintendent of Milwaukee's 97,000-student public system, has supported some forms of school choice in the past, but called the new law "a threat to education." He said the law doesn't take into account racial-balance objectives of the system's desegregation plan, will drain resources from inner-city schools, and contains no mechanism to improve the schools

that lose students.

"The concept that the competitive marketplace will magically make the public school system improve is simplistic," Mr. Peterkin said. "What will cause the system to improve is insistence on achievement and a plan to bring it about. Otherwise, five years from now, we'll be looking for something else."

Mr. Peterkin said the school district "would probably take legal advice" on the ramifications of the plan, but had no immediate plans for a legal challenge.

Wisconsin debates over school choice have been closely watched by political conservatives, including those in the White House. Many conservatives in the past have advocated a wide-open voucher system that would also allow state funding for religious schools. Although the U.S. Supreme Court has in the past looked down on the notion as a violation of the constitutional separation of church and state, many on the right now believe that the conservative majority in the court would allow such a plan.

"I think this is a fabulous first step for Wisconsin," said Ted Sanders, U.S. undersecretary of education. "I assume after some experience Wisconsin might even look at some other possibilities."

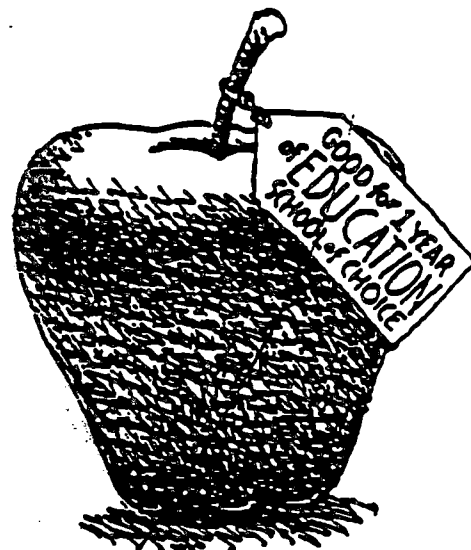
Part of the political impetus for the voucher pilot comes from widespread inner-city dissatisfaction with the performance of the public schools. Over the opposition of the Milwaukee school board, the state has allowed funding for about 450 students to attend private kindergartens. Another 450 attend special private schools for "at risk" students at public taxpayers' expense. Most of these students are members of minority groups.

State Rep. Polly Williams, a Democrat with an inner-city Milwaukee district, sponsored the new voucher plan and was Mr. Thompson's main political ally in passing it. Ms. Williams, who is black, said that under the Milwaukee metropolitan desegregation plan, inner-city schools were fixed up and given more resources to attract white students and have wound up excluding many blacks who live nearby.

"The Milwaukee schools constantly ask for more money each year, blame the students and say they can't learn," said Ms. Williams. "But the problem is the schools can't teach. These schools have to change."

Ms. Williams and the governor said they believed demand will exceed the 1,000 slots next fall, leading to possible additional slots in future years.

**Presidential Candidates
Take Note:**



VOTERS LIKE VOUCHERS.

An idea that has sparked controversy for two decades now has bipartisan support.

When asked if they'd be more likely to vote for a presidential candidate who favors giving parents vouchers they can use to pay for their kids' education at public or private schools, most voters say yes.

A Times Mirror survey of 2,109 people nationwide conducted by The Gallup Organization finds that all GOP-oriented voter groups and five of six Democrat-oriented voter groups like this idea.

Support for vouchers is strongest among groups at opposite ends of the political spectrum. Socially conservative "Moralist" Republicans and the militantly Democratic, pro-social spending "Partisan Poor" both support the idea by large margins.

Politics does create strange bedfellows.

Times Mirror sponsors periodic surveys of the electorate to help voters, politicians and journalists to better understand and communicate about political issues.

If you'd like a paper that describes the "real electorate" defined by these surveys, call (213) 237-3946.

If you'd care to comment on their findings, write our chairman, Robert F. Erbrun, Times Mirror, Suite 100, Times Mirror Square, Los Angeles, CA 90053.

The People, the Press & Politics 1988

Percentages More/Less Likely To Vote For A Candidate Who Supports Giving Parents Vouchers To Pay For Their Kids' Education

GOP-oriented groups/ % registered voters	% More Likely	% Less Likely
Enterprisers/10%	44	35
Moralists/13%	54	28
Upbeats/10%	54	29
Disaffecteds/10%	41	32

Democrat-oriented groups

Followers/6%	39	24
Seculars/7%	33	41
'60s Democrats/9%	44	35
New Dealers/14%	46	27
Partisan Poor/12%	62	17
God and Country Democrats/9%	53	25
Total Sample	49	27

Don't know and No Effect omitted throughout.



Times Mirror
We're interested in what you think.

Times Mirror, an information company with interests in broadcast and cable television, publishes books, magazines and the Los Angeles Times, Newsday and New York Newsday, the Baltimore Sun newspapers, The Hartford Courant, The Morning Call (Allentown, PA), The Advocate and Greenman Time (Connecticut).

Gallup Poll on Vouchers

A Gallup Poll survey found that "voters like vouchers." Voters were asked how their likelihood of voting for a presidential candidate would be affected if he "supports giving parents more choice in the schools their children via payment vouchers used in private/public schools." The survey was conducted by Gallup for Times Mirror in January 1988. Times Mirror publishes books, magazines and the Los Angeles Times, Newsday and New York Newsday, the Baltimore Sun newspapers, The Hartford Courant, The Morning Call (Allentown, PA), The Advocate and Greenwich Time (Connecticut).

	<u>More Likely</u>	<u>Less Likely</u>	<u>No Effect</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
<u>Total</u>	48.9%	27.4%	16.4%	7.3%
<u>Sex</u>				
Male	46.5	30.2	17.8	5.5
Female	51.2	24.8	15.2	8.9
<u>Race</u>				
White 2:1	48.3	28.0	16.3	7.3
Non-White >2:1	52.5	23.5	17.1	6.9
Black >2:1	51.7	23.2	17.6	7.5
Hispanic >3:1	59.9	19.0	10.2	10.9
<u>Religion</u>				
Protestant (Total)	47.0	29.4	15.2	8.4
White Protestant	46.3	30.4	14.8	8.5
Evangelical	52.7	24.3	13.5	9.5
Not Evangelical	41.2	35.4	15.8	7.6
Black Protestant	51.7	23.5	16.4	8.4
Catholic	55.0	23.7	15.6	5.8
Jewish	25.5	41.5	25.9	7.2
None	50.5	20.7	24.7	4.0
<u>Age by Sex</u>				
Under 30 (Total)	58.6	21.3	15.1	5.0
Male	50.8	28.1	17.2	4.0
Female	67.4	13.6	12.8	6.2
30-39 (Total)	49.8	28.4	15.7	6.2
Male	46.9	30.1	18.4	4.5
Female	52.4	26.7	13.1	7.7
50+ (Total)	40.7	31.1	18.2	10.0
Male	42.0	32.6	17.4	8.0
Female	39.7	29.8	18.8	11.7

	<u>More Likely</u>	<u>Less Likely</u>	<u>No Effect</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
<u>Education</u>				
College Graduate	41.7	37.9	16.5	3.9
Other College	50.0	28.2	18.1	3.7
HS Graduate	52.9	25.3	15.7	6.1
Less than HS	47.2	22.0	16.4	14.4
<u>Age</u>				
18-24	62.5%	19.0%	14.8%	3.7%
25-29	54.4	23.7	15.4	6.4
30-39	51.1	26.4	16.0	6.6
40-49	47.9	31.2	15.2	5.6
50-59	41.8	35.3	16.2	6.7
60-69	41.4	27.8	18.8	12.0
70+	38.6	30.0	19.8	11.6
<u>Stages of Life</u>				
Young singles w/o kids	47.3	27.3	18.3	7.2
w/kids	64.5	21.4	8.6	5.4
Young marrieds w/o kids	46.1	35.3	13.5	5.1
w/kids	59.1	19.6	16.1	5.2
Older marrieds w/o kids	39.1	35.6	17.2	8.1
w/kids	52.4	25.5	16.3	5.8
Older unmarrieds	41.8	28.3	18.3	11.5
<u>Household Income</u>				
Under \$10,000	45.0	22.6	21.3	11.0
\$10-19,900	46.6	26.8	16.5	10.0
\$20-29,900	51.9	27.5	16.1	4.5
\$30-39,900	47.3	30.5	15.2	7.0
\$40-49,900	57.8	28.3	12.0	2.0
\$50,000+	49.3	32.1	15.1	3.5
<u>Employment of CWE</u>				
Full Time	50.6	27.4	15.7	6.4
Part Time	54.7	23.9	12.1	9.2
Not Employed	43.2	28.9	19.8	8.1
<u>Region</u>				
East	54.1	24.7	16.5	4.7
Midwest	48.3	27.7	17.9	6.1
South	46.6	28.5	15.8	9.1
West	46.8	28.8	15.5	8.9
<u>City Size</u>				
Central City 1 million plus	53.1	24.4	18.0	4.5
Central City under 1 million	50.0	33.9	13.1	3.0
Suburb	49.3	25.9	16.1	8.7
Non-SMSA	45.2	28.6	17.6	8.6

	<u>More Likely</u>	<u>Less Likely</u>	<u>No Effect</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
<u>Labor Union Member</u>				
Self	45.2%	28.8%	19.6%	6.3%
Union Household	48.2	26.4	17.9	7.4
Non-Union Household	48.7	27.8	16.1	7.3
<u>Marital Status</u>				
Married	49.2	28.1	16.4	6.4
Single	53.0	24.9	15.4	6.7
Divorced/Separated/Widow	43.0	28.4	17.3	11.2
<u>Reagan Approval</u>				
Approve	53.1	25.3	15.2	6.4
Disapprove	45.0	30.5	16.7	7.8
<u>Party Identification</u>				
Republican	49.4	29.6	16.0	5.0
Independent	50.5	26.0	16.1	7.5
Democrat	47.1	27.2	17.0	8.7
Republican & leaner	52.7	27.6	14.6	5.0
Democrat & leaner	46.4	28.0	17.3	8.3
Strong Republican	52.4	30.7	13.7	3.2
Not strong Republican	47.1	28.7	17.9	6.3
Lean Republican	60.6	22.9	11.3	5.3
Refuse to lean	47.4	23.8	18.8	10.0
Lean Democrat	44.3	30.4	18.0	7.3
Not strong Democrat	45.9	25.7	18.4	10.0
Strong Democrat	48.5	28.7	15.6	7.3

POLL

America's Attitudes Toward School Choice

Some people say that instead of assigning students to a particular school, parents should be able to send their children to any public school within their school district. Do you favor or oppose this idea?

	Favor	Oppose
Total	60 60%	28 28%
■ Race		
White	59 58%	30 30%
Black	69 69%	20 20%
■ Region		
Northeast	58 58%	28 28%
North-Central	64 64%	29 29%
South	62 62%	27 27%
West	57 57%	29 29%
■ Have children in school		
Yes	67 67%	27 27%
No	58 58%	28 28%

Percentages do not add up to 100% due to the exclusion from the chart of those answering "don't know."

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Parents Want Right to Pick Kids' Schools

By Betsy White
Staff Writer

By a 2-to-1 ratio, Americans say parents should be allowed to choose which public schools their children attend. And although critics have argued that "school choice" could resegregate public schools, blacks appear to be more enthusiastic about such programs than whites, according to the latest Atlanta Journal-Constitution poll.

Even more so than whites, blacks and other minorities said that letting students leave their neighborhoods and attend whatever public schools they choose would bring about higher-quality education for those youngsters, according to the poll of 1,611 adults nationwide.

"I'm not surprised at all," said Jack Klenk, the Bush administration's special adviser on school choice programs. "This choice movement has broad appeal. Parents, especially minority parents who are

more likely than whites to feel trapped in neighborhoods with bad schools, are interested in choosing another school when they know there are some first-rate schools nearby, schools that might be able to do a better job with their child."

But advocates for minority and low-income children, who aggressively have opposed school choice plans, said the high degree of support among those groups merely reflects their urgent desire to find better schools for their children and is not an endorsement of school choice as the solution.

"These poll results are an indication of the crying need that poor and minority people have for quality education," said Robert Kronley, senior consultant at the Southern

Education Foundation. "The sad part about it is that poor people see choice as something that other people have that they don't — and they're right."

"Even with so-called choice, these people will not have a full choice because there just aren't enough good schools to go around, particularly ones that are geared to succeeding with poor and minority kids."

Blacks may tell pollsters they support school choice, but the NAACP will remain steadfast in opposing the idea, said Althea T.L. Simmons, director and chief lobbyist in the NAACP's national office. "Choice is a buzzword, but it's a cruel hoax on parents when they think they're going to get an equal, high-quality education when they use choice," she said.

Although choice plans such as those in schools of East Harlem, N.Y., and Minnesota have yet to hit the Southeast, the poll found that Southerners were at least as supportive of school choice as were others, perhaps because Southerners are less satisfied than other Americans with the quality of their public schools.

As has been the case in most education surveys, the Journal-Constitution poll conducted the last week of September found the vast majority of parents quite pleased with their children's schools, even though they and other Americans easily could name a host of problems plaguing other schools in their community.

Among parents with children in public schools, 30 percent called the schools their children attend "excellent," while another 49 percent called them "good." Only 17 percent graded their children's public schools as "fair," while 3 percent said the schools are "poor."

But in the Southeast, more parents rated their children's public schools as fair or poor than said they were excellent. Only 22 percent labeled the schools excellent, compared with 34 percent outside the Southeast, while 26 percent of Southerners said their children's public schools were fair or poor, compared with 17 percent in other regions.

"The South has really moved forward in many, many areas ... but we haven't done that in the academic area as we should," said state Sen. John C. Foster (D-Cornelia), head of the Georgia Senate Education Committee and co-chairman of a legislative study committee looking into school choice plans for Georgia.

Most other states also are seriously weighing some type of choice plan. Although state policy-makers differ on what they mean by "choice" — some plans allow students to cross school district lines, while others resemble the more familiar magnet school approach by allowing students to pick between distinctive schools within their district — most are talking about choice. Governors who gathered at an "education summit" with President Bush last month generally endorsed the idea.

More....

Blacks, More Than Whites, Say Choice of Schools Will Lead to Better Education

Continued....

Mr. Foster said the disappointing performance of many Southern schools probably helped spark residents' enthusiasm for "school choice."

"Southerners are bright, capable people, and they want their children to have just as much opportunity as other children of this nation," Mr. Foster said. Choice will not single-handedly solve the South's education deficit, he cautioned, saying legislatures must provide more resources and higher teacher salaries if schools are to achieve excellence.

But choice plans can play an important role in sparking improvement, especially for low- and moderate-income families that traditionally have had little say over where their children go to school because finances keep them out of private schools and pricey neighborhoods with well-regarded public

schools, he said.

"Our aim is to improve the overall quality of education by getting a child into an environment that is pleasing to that child and to the parent, with the bottom line being a better academic experience," Mr. Foster said. "Certainly the last thing we have on our mind is resegregating the schools, and we would put provisions in any plan to prevent that."

In addition to uncovering support for school choice, the survey found that many Americans — and most parents — think schools in their communities need to provide more after-school child care programs. Among all Americans, 43 percent said they wanted more after-school care, while 30 percent said no more was needed, and 27 percent said they did not know. Among parents, 51 percent called for more after-school child care, while 36 percent said their local schools were doing enough in that area.

By nearly 2-to-1, Americans oppose lengthening the school year to make U.S. schools more competitive with their international counterparts, the poll found.

Georgia School Superintendent Werner Rogers was the first state school executive to propose that his state's 180-day school year be lengthened to 200 days — something he still says he'd like to accomplish by the year 2000.

But 59 percent of Americans said they oppose lengthening the school year, compared with just 33

percent who favor such a plan, the Journal-Constitution poll showed. The younger the respondent — and presumably the more vivid his or her own memories of school — the greater the opposition to extending the school calendar.

As had been the case in the past four Gallup polls on education, Americans named drugs as by far the greatest problem facing public

schools, with 40 percent saying drugs are the biggest problem in their local schools.

But compared with earlier polls, Americans appeared more willing to blame government officials and teachers — not students — for imperfect schools.

In this spring's Gallup poll of 1,584 adults, students' "lack of discipline" ranked as the second-great-

est problem affecting schools, drawing comment from 19 percent of respondents. But in this fall's Journal-Constitution survey, other concerns took precedence, and discipline problems ranked No. 4 — behind the shortage of needed education funds, which was named by 24 percent of those surveyed, and poor teacher performance, cited by 17 percent of respondents.

The South has really moved forward in many, many areas ... but we haven't done that in the academic area as we should.'

— State Sen. John C. Foster

Although "school choice" is a cornerstone of the Bush administration's efforts to upgrade the public schools, support for such policies was virtually as high among those who consider themselves Democrats or liberals as among those who call themselves Republicans or conservatives.

What's more, the approach was most popular with minorities and Americans from low- and moderate-income families and least popular among those reporting family incomes above \$50,000 — hardly typical reaction to a Republican initiative.

"Choice is not a Republican idea. It's not a Democrat idea. It's a reform idea," said Mr. Klenk, the federal Department of Education specialist on choice plans, who frequently refers to students as "customers" and compares schools to grocery stores as he expounds on the free-market concepts that lie behind school choice.

More....

Liberal policy analysts such as the Southern Education Foundation's Mr. Kronley balk when conservatives such as Mr. Klenk talk about using choice to spur competition and improvement among schools — without necessarily giving them more money. That just won't work, Mr. Kronley insists.

But among ordinary citizens, the poll found, those who call themselves liberals are as likely as conservatives to back school choice — and to say it would boost the quality of education.

Mrs. Simmons of the national NAACP said that is because most adults react from their gut, rather than think deeply, when they are polled. "They hear the word 'choice,' and of course it sounds good. Most of this stuff is done on the basis of emotionalism."

Reasons For and Against School Choice

What do you think is the biggest advantage of letting parents choose their children's schools?

Students get better quality education	35%
Freedom of choice/satisfaction	13%
Student matched with schools according to talents	9%
Greater parental involvement/knowledge about schools	9%
Convenience of location	7%
School improvement because of competition	4%
Move students from bad influences	2%
Other	3%

What do you think is the biggest problem with letting parents choose their children's schools?

Overcrowding in best schools	36%
Create race/class divisions between schools	25%
Transportation	5%
Parents don't have enough information about schools	5%
Increase funding in some while draining others	3%
Quality decrease in some schools due to competition	2%
School changes too often	1%
Other	5%

Percentages do not add up to 100% due to rounding and exclusion of those answering "don't know" or giving no answer.

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Americans' Report Card on Schools

How would you rate the quality of education provided by the school(s) your (child/children) attend(s) — would you say it is excellent, good, fair or poor?

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Total	35%	47%	15%	2%
■ Race				
White	37%	45%	13%	3%
Black	21%	53%	26%	0%
■ Region				
Northeast	32%	54%	12%	1%
North-Central	41%	43%	14%	2%
South	28%	47%	20%	3%
West	40%	45%	9%	3%
■ Education				
Less than high school	40%	30%	25%	6%
Completed high school	24%	56%	17%	2%
Some college (or trade/business school)	40%	44%	13%	2%
College graduate and beyond ..	44%	42%	10%	1%

Percentages may not add up to 100% due to the exclusion from the chart of those answering "don't know."

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More....

How the Poll Was Conducted

Results of the latest poll conducted by The Atlanta Journal-Constitution and Cox Newspapers are based on phone interviews conducted Sept. 24-Oct. 1 with 1,611 adults 18 or older.

The sample of phone exchanges called was selected by computer from a complete list of working exchanges in the United States. The last four digits in each number were selected at random by computer and screened to limit calls to residences.

Initially, a random sample of 1,094 Americans was interviewed to ensure a sufficient number of interviews to allow for detailed analysis of national sentiment on a wide variety of issues.

To further ensure enough Southerners to allow for a separate analysis of their views on those issues, interviews were conducted with an additional random sample of 517 Southerners.

This brought the number of Southerners interviewed to 863 and the number of Americans interviewed to 1,611.

The results were weighted so each region, including the South, is correctly represented in proportion to its population in the total findings.

In addition, the results have been weighted to adjust for minor variations in the sample relating to race, sex, age and education.

In theory, one can say with 95 percent certainty that the total national results represent the views of all Americans within plus or minus 3 percentage points.

Results based on the Southern interviews have a margin of error of plus or minus 4 percentage points.

The survey was designed and analyzed by Dwight L. Morris, assistant managing editor for special projects of The Atlanta Journal-Constitution. Interviewing was supervised by Carmen Lampkins and Lenn Sisson.

THE AJC-COR JEAST POLL
SEPTEMBER 1989

Q27A. SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT INSTEAD OF ASSIGNING STUDENTS TO A PARTICULAR PUBLIC SCHOOL, PARENTS SHOULD BE ABLE TO SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO ANY PUBLIC SCHOOL WITHIN THEIR SCHOOL DISTRICT. DO YOU FAVOR OR OPPOSE THIS IDEA?

	TOTAL	FAVOR 60%	OPPOSE 28%
RACE			
White	59	59	30
Black/other	69	69	20
PARTY			
Democrat	60	60	28
Republican	63	63	27
IDEOLOGY			
Liberal	60	60	29
Conservative	62	62	30

	SEX			RACE		AGE				REGISTERED		PARTY ID			EDUCATION			
	TOTAL	MALE	FE- MALE	WHITE	BLACK OTHER	18-29	30-44	45-64	65+	YES	NO	REP.	DEM.	IND.	LESS THAN H.S.	H.S. GRAD	SOME COLL.	COLL. GRAD.
BASE	1607	774	833	1375	224	407	523	408	269	1263	334	501	489	529	177	545	430	441
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
FAVOR	968	451	515	806	154	264	319	254	127	742	219	314	293	307	112	349	254	247
	60.1%	58.3%	61.8%	58.6%	68.7%	64.8%	61.0%	62.2%	48.2%	58.6%	65.6%	62.7%	60.0%	58.1%	62.2%	64.0%	58.1%	56.1%
	100%	48.7%	63.3%	64.0%	18.0%	27.4%	33.1%	26.4%	13.2%	77.2%	22.8%	34.4%	32.0%	38.8%	11.6%	36.2%	26.4%	25.7%
OPPOSE	452	235	217	408	44	187	160	110	74	372	79	136	136	182	26	147	136	142
	28.1%	30.3%	28.1%	29.7%	19.5%	28.4%	30.5%	26.9%	28.1%	29.5%	23.8%	27.2%	27.9%	30.8%	14.4%	27.0%	31.6%	32.2%
	100%	61.9%	48.1%	60.4%	8.0%	23.8%	35.4%	24.3%	16.4%	82.5%	17.5%	31.4%	31.4%	37.2%	5.7%	32.8%	30.2%	31.5%
DK/NA	189	89	101	181	26	36	45	45	62	149	38	50	58	60	40	49	40	52
	11.8%	11.5%	12.1%	11.7%	11.8%	8.7%	8.6%	10.9%	23.7%	11.8%	10.8%	10.1%	12.1%	11.3%	22.4%	9.0%	9.2%	11.8%
	100%	48.9%	63.1%	65.9%	14.1%	19.0%	23.9%	23.8%	33.3%	80.5%	19.5%	29.8%	34.9%	35.3%	22.0%	27.2%	22.0%	29.8%

	POL. PHIL.					REGION				BUSH FOREIGN POLICY	FOLLOW MIDEAST			ABORTION		CHILDREN IN SCHOOL		
	TOTAL	LIB.	MOD.	CONS.	N.E.	N.C.	SOUTH	WEST	AP- PROVE	DISAP PROVE	VERY CLOSE	FAIR CLOSE	NOT CLOSE	LEGAL ALL	LEGAL CERT	IL- LEGAL ALL	YES	NO
BASE	1807	322	706	415	331	380	581	335	915	331	202	772	593	531	802	222	445	1130
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
FAVOR	968	192	478	258	190	241	345	189	548	203	120	482	359	334	468	138	299	656
	69.1%	59.7%	58.8%	51.8%	57.5%	63.5%	61.8%	58.5%	59.9%	61.2%	59.3%	59.9%	62.3%	63.0%	58.3%	62.3%	67.1%	58.1%
	100%	22.2%	48.1%	29.7%	18.7%	25.0%	35.8%	19.6%	73.0%	27.0%	12.6%	48.6%	38.8%	35.5%	49.7%	14.7%	31.3%	68.7%
OPPOSE	452	94	210	125	82	109	154	96	277	95	65	237	151	149	249	45	132	321
	26.1%	29.1%	29.8%	29.7%	27.8%	28.7%	27.4%	28.8%	30.2%	28.7%	27.3%	30.7%	28.5%	28.1%	30.3%	20.4%	27.4%	28.4%
	100%	21.9%	49.2%	28.9%	20.4%	24.2%	34.1%	21.4%	74.4%	25.6%	12.6%	53.4%	34.2%	34.1%	55.5%	10.4%	27.5%	72.5%
DK/NA	189	38	81	35	49	30	82	49	91	34	27	73	72	47	92	38	24	163
	11.8%	11.2%	11.4%	8.6%	14.7%	7.8%	13.0%	14.7%	9.9%	10.2%	13.5%	9.4%	12.2%	8.9%	11.4%	17.2%	5.5%	13.5%
	100%	23.8%	63.1%	23.1%	25.8%	15.0%	32.7%	25.9%	72.0%	27.1%	15.8%	42.3%	41.0%	26.7%	51.7%	21.6%	13.8%	86.2%

U.S. CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

DOMESTIC POLICY DEPARTMENT
Washington, D.C.

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**Center for Workforce Preparation
and Quality Education**

Prospectus

January 1990

**CENTER FOR WORKFORCE PREPARATION
AND QUALITY EDUCATION**

STATUS REPORT ON EDUCATION

The education reforms of the 1980s have done little to improve the reading, writing, and computational skills of American schoolchildren. Per pupil spending rose from about \$3,500 in 1980 to \$4,200 in 1987 (adjusted to 1987 dollars), while student achievement barely budged. For example, the top five percent of American math students score at the Japanese average. The National Assessment of Educational Progress reports that nearly 60 percent of today's 17 year-olds lack the reading skills needed to comprehend materials that are prevalent in business and higher education -- a figure that has remained virtually unchanged since 1984.

For employers, a deficient education system means an ill-prepared workforce, a decline in product quality, and an inability to compete. Many businesses pay for training and remedial education -- at a cost that exceeds in the aggregate \$30 billion per year. Now, more than ever, is the time for American businesses to mobilize and help propel our education system forward.

CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE: THE UNTAPPED RESOURCE

Since A Nation At Risk was released six years ago, more than 300 studies have examined our educational woes. These studies have provided leadership in analyzing and developing new national education policy proposals, but in and of themselves they have not solved our problems. One of the lessons history has taught us is that it is very hard to sustain and implement a national, master plan for education reform, because needed solutions must meet the unique dynamics of America's 16,000 separate school districts and 102,000 schools.

The most successful and lasting solutions to education reform must emanate from the local level -- by business, education, and community leaders. Those solutions can only be found by employing a strong intermediary organization. State and local chambers of commerce hold the key. Most of them already have ongoing education committees and are working within their states or communities to upgrade public schools.

But state and local chambers remain an untapped resource for a national strategy. No comprehensive attempt has been made for them to exchange education reform ideas with each other or with their member employers. Providing chamber executives and business leaders with the tools they need to bring about education reform is the challenge that now confronts us.

The United States Chamber of Commerce is uniquely suited to undertake this effort. It's 2,700 member chambers, strategically placed in cities, suburbs, and rural

451-7000

**CENTER FOR WORKFORCE PREPARATION AND QUALITY EDUCATION
VIDEO SCRIPT ON
IMPROVING PUBLIC EDUCATION -- WHY IS IT MY PROBLEM?**

Much has been said and written about "Workforce 2000" -- about the men and women who will keep America working less than 10 years from now. Much is known, because most of tomorrow's workforce is already in place.

Specifically, 70 percent of today's workers will still be in the workforce ten years from now, but their jobs will change dramatically. This is true whether you are describing skilled or unskilled workers. Blue collar jobs will change because workers will need to keep pace with the skill-demands of employers. And high technology workers will need training too, because technology moves forward at a dizzying pace.

There's an expensive price tag here. The cost of retraining existing workers exceeds \$30 billion each year. And after spending all of this money, we still will not have enough workers to meet technological and workplace demands in the year 2000.

That's a snapshot of the existing workplace, and what we're going to have to do with it. It's not the kind of picture we'd like to have in our minds. But wait -- what about tomorrow's workers?

Well, the remainder of workforce 2000 is still in school. Kids currently in the second grade will enter the workforce in the year 2000. And it's a certainty that once on the job, they too, will need the kind of special attention our current workers will receive.

Hello, I'm Jeff Joseph, Vice President for Domestic Policy at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and I'm pleased to spend a few minutes with you to tell you about the new Center for Workforce Preparation and Quality Education. An outgrowth of the U.S. Chamber, it's committed, for as long as the fight takes, to assist chambers of commerce

lending their time, expertise, and resources to this national effort. Without committed business leaders everywhere, this job cannot be done.

This presentation is the first in a series of action oriented resources being developed for use by local business leaders. Upcoming materials will focus on positioning the business community as a leader in this effort, as well as provide a constant stream of workforce and educational demographics for your use.

But we want and need your feedback - let us hear from you. We hope this action kit with its print materials and this video will begin a long and fruitful relationship between your organization and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce - through the Center for Workforce Preparation and Quality Education.

Thank you for your time, and good luck in the challenge.

school graduation rates. Goal three addresses student performance in major subject areas. Goal four calls for math and science achievement. Goal five focuses on adult illiteracy. Goal six calls for drug free schools.

Your governor will soon issue a call for action on how to implement these goals within your state. But to meet them nationally, somewhat uniform and consistent changes will have to take place in 16,000 school districts, 83,000 schools, and millions of classrooms.

By themselves, the governors can't do that. Even President Bush can't do that. But local communities can. Specifically, local chambers of commerce, like you, hold the key.

Some people may say -- how can that be? Aren't other groups, schools, teachers or parent groups more logical leaders? Well, depending on one's perspective, maybe so. But if the problem is really going to be addressed in a way that promises economic opportunity for our students and our communities, the business community and chambers of commerce must play a major role.

The business employers of any community are in fact, the major stake holders in that community's education system. After all, local businesses create most of the jobs, pay most local taxes, and depend on local education systems for the employees to enable them to compete. So chambers of commerce serve their members by playing a major role in this effort.

But local chambers will need all the help they can get. That's why the U.S. Chamber created the Center for Workforce Preparation and Quality Education. The Center was established for the sole purpose of helping local business groups mobilize community action for education reform. Senior business leaders, from all around the United States, who are working on local reform efforts in their parts of the country, are

everywhere, as they work in their communities to improve the quality of education, so tomorrow's workforce is better prepared.

Clearly, education performance in the U.S. is disturbing, and comparisons with other countries are frightening.

Compare U.S. math and science performance with our major international competitors. Countries like Japan and Germany now set the standard for competition. We rank dead last.

Our kids are failing in other subjects. Despite intensive efforts, national reading and writing test scores have hardly-budged over the last six years. We know that 60 percent of today's 17 year olds can't read materials commonly used in the workplace. Many cannot read their own diplomas.

And these are the kids that are graduating. Imagine what the class of 2000 might be like if we don't improve the system now.

This effort does not attempt to place blame for this at the feet of educators, or any one sector of society. Rather, a host of societal changes, not the least of which is a lack of parental involvement and standards, have contributed to the problem. Which is why the program before you focuses on your community.

Yours and 16,000 other communities with public school districts. It's about your kids now in school, your employees who came out of your schools, your consumers who are served by graduates of your schools, improvements in your education system to insure that your people, and your economy, have a bright future.

What can be done? Actually much is being done. But much more needs to be done.

President Bush and the nation's Governors have adopted six ambitious national goals for education. Goal one focuses on preschool needs. Goal two relates to high



INSIDE A NEW YORK CITY HIGH SCHOOL

SNAPSHOTS OF HOPE

By Samuel G. Freedman

WHEN NEW YORK City Schools Chancellor Richard Green died abruptly of a heart attack last May, more than 5,000 mourners thronged the memorial service and lined the streets leading to the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. Clearly they were grieving not only for the man, who had only been in office 14 months and was not a native New Yorker, but for the city's public school system. It was as if the problems Green had faced were so massive, so overwhelming that they had literally killed him.

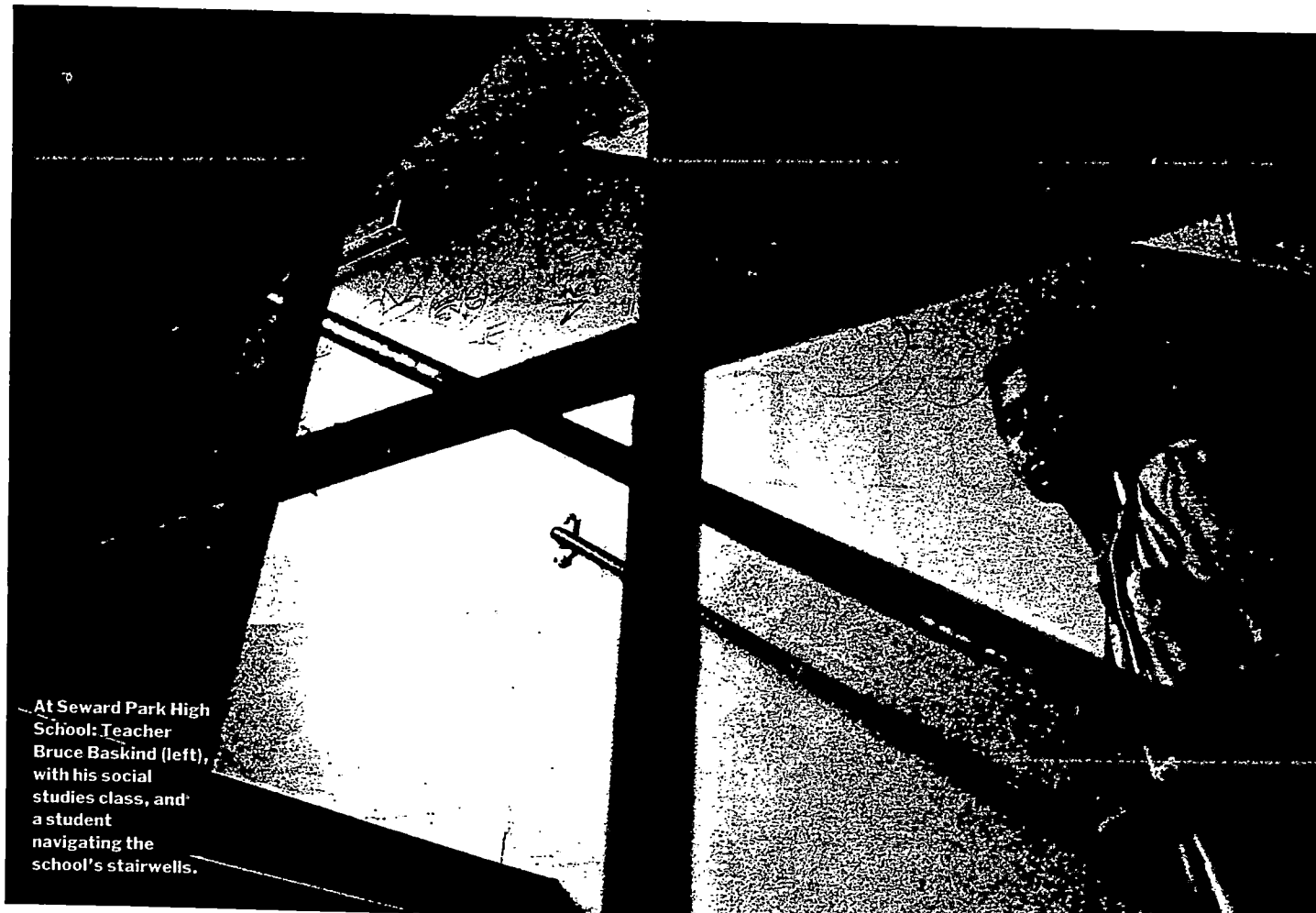
Over the last decade, the New York City public schools, which serve nearly a million students,

have been afflicted with racial and ethnic politicking, union strong-arming, managerial incompetence, fiscal chicanery, drug abuse, gang violence, a high dropout rate and an epidemic of other woes. In the last year alone, nearly one-third of the city's 32 community school boards have come under criminal investigation and a principal has been arrested for possession of the drug crack. The entire system of decentralized control, installed as an answer to the bitter conflict between parents and teachers in Ocean Hill-Brownsville 20 years ago, is now likely to be jettisoned by the same State Legislature that created it.

Confronted almost daily by reports of academic and institutional chaos, most people imagine they have at least a general idea of life within an urban school, though few have set foot inside one since their own student days. Nowhere is this more true than in New York City, where the public school system is still romanticized in our collective memory as the great uplifter of the immigrant masses.

But what actually happens inside a public school in New York? What is one like? With such questions in mind, I set out in September 1987 to spend an entire year in Seward Park High School on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. I did not intend to teach or to disguise myself as a student, but simply to function as a kind of reporter in residence, absorbing and recording what happened around me, trying to understand public education from the bottom up rather than from the top down, as it seemed so many of its critics did.

What I discovered during my tenure at Seward Park made me both more hopeful and more hopeless — hopeful because the number of committed teachers, administrators and students can hardly be imagined, hopeless because the obstacles placed before them are so immense and so intractable. Having returned to Seward Park dozens of times in the 15 months since my year there came to an end, I found that not much had changed. The lessons I learned, and their larger consequences, re-



At Seward Park High School: Teacher Bruce Baskind (left), with his social studies class, and a student navigating the school's stairwells.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ANGEL FRANCO/THE NEW YORK TIMES

AND HOPELESSNESS

main applicable to the school system as a whole. The incidents that follow, snapshots of a sort, illustrate the kind of contradictions that plague public education in New York to this day.

SEPT. 14. On the first day of classes, Seward Park is already operating with 900 pupils more than its capacity of 2,600. If recent years provide any indication, then as many as 700 more will register before the year is out, most of them new immigrants from Asia and Latin America. Several hundred current pupils, meanwhile, will transfer, drop out or vanish. Simply updating the register is no small accomplishment.

The freshmen and sophomores report to an 80-year-old annex, a converted elementary school with dim and narrow classrooms, a gymnasium interrupted by structural columns and a battered metal fence that the Board of Education has not managed to repair in a decade. The juniors and seniors, meanwhile, populate a 60-year-old main



Seward Park's fence, unrepaired for 10 years

building with shortages of desks and lockers, classes being held in an auxiliary gym; there is a gaping hole in the roof, left by a contractor who stalked off the job in a payment dispute with the board. Given such surroundings, it is not surprising to hear that one boy ran for president of the student government the previous spring with the slogan, "Are you ashamed to go to Seward?"

As a neighborhood school without special programs to recruit superior pupils or an admissions test to weed out lesser ones, Seward Park must contend with a student body skewed toward failure from the moment of enrollment. When the current juniors started at Seward Park, for instance, only 7.5 percent were reading at (Continued on Page 67)

Samuel G. Freedman is a former reporter for *The New York Times*. His book about one year in New York City's Seward Park High School, "Small Victories," will be published by Harper & Row in the spring of 1986.

HIGH SCHOOL

Continued from Page 59

grade level; for the seniors, the figure was 13.8 percent. Approximately 85 percent come from households where English is not the dominant language, 60 percent from families eligible for some form of public assistance, 50 percent from single-parent homes and perhaps 5 percent from homes without any parents.

It is one thing, of course, to recite statistics, another to see what they mean in terms of aptitude. I find one 16-year-old freshman who was promoted into Seward Park after having failed every class and missed 145 days of school as an eighth-grader, although he was commended on his report card for "good conduct." I visit an English class for seniors in which the teacher asks each pupil to write one paragraph about why he or she took the course. The answers range from the sensitive and humorous to the barely literate: "I did of wrong thought. To me it was just another class for me to pass even if you was hard or not. I didn't her nothing about you this the first time I heard about you, so I thought you was a old lady that can't teach."

SEPT. 17. As an introduction to the Board of Education, I accompany Bruce P. Baskind, an innovative and popu-

lar social studies teacher, and Kathryn Sidner, his volunteer aide, to the hiring hall at 65 Court Street in Brooklyn.

While Baskind has taught full-time at Seward Park since 1983, he has yet to be fully licensed or permanently assigned to the school. As a result, he has lost a \$500 pay raise this semester and four years of credit toward pension and sabbatical benefits. His dilemma is that the Board of Examiners, the agency entrusted with the testing and recommendations for licensing of prospective teachers, went nearly five years without offering an examination for high school social studies instructors. When it finally did so in February 1987, reportedly under pressure from the State Legislature, Baskind passed easily with a mark of 85. But he learns today that he still cannot be appointed to Seward Park — despite his experience at the school, despite a written request from the principal — because as a civil service protection against patronage the dozen teachers citywide who had higher marks than he must be placed first. Any one of them, in fact, could conceivably be awarded his job.

"Is there any way of telling

when I'll be called?" Baskind begs the presiding bureaucrat.

"No one could tell you that," she answers.

Five floors beneath Baskind, Sidner is trying to initiate the process of becoming a teacher, and finding it equally Byzantine. Having earned an acting degree from Carnegie-Mellon University and taught in the summer theater program at Northwestern University, she planned to apply for a temporary license in drama. The man who reviews her college transcript says she can only become accredited in speech improvement; an acting degree, he insists, does not prepare her for teaching drama. That Sidner tells him she has no experience, teaching speech is irrelevant.

Sidner thinks about it overnight, then calls the board to register for the speech test. She is told her transcript has been lost. Several days later it is found, and she takes the examination, and predictably enough she fails. Thus deemed unfit for New York's public schools, she finds other employment, assisting on a critically acclaimed film about the Lodz ghetto and teaching art appreciation courses at a Brooklyn gallery to visiting groups of public school children.

OCT. 7. In the middle of an English class, an administrator arrives, bearing the names of two pupils. Al-

though the semester is already three weeks old, they must now attend a different class taught by a different teacher. They march out the door, books under their arms, one muttering as he goes, "But I really liked this class."

This disruption is part of a process called "equalization," a perfect example of how good intentions without adequate resources become self-defeating. Under an agreement between the Board of Education and the United Federation of Teachers, no high school class may contain more than 34 students. It is an undeniably laudable goal. The problem in practice is that as long as a school like Seward Park must operate at 150 percent or more of capacity and must enroll hundreds of newcomers during the academic year, certain required courses are bound to exceed the enrollment limit. Yet the board had not provided extra money for the additional classes made necessary by the limit.

The school that does not "equalize" expeditiously may become the subject of a formal union grievance. The school that prunes its class sizes will inevitably treat a number of its students like pieces in a board game. But at least it will "stay out of trouble," as the disconcertingly common refrain has it.

OCT. 14. Jessica Siegel, an English and journalism teacher, brings me to a meeting of high school newspaper advisers from throughout the city. Two years earlier, a computer had turned up the statistic that several printers were earning more than \$15,000 annually in Board of Education funds by producing school newspapers. Thus, under state law, the contract had to be competitively bid. So the board drew up specifications and solicited competing shops and selected one for all 116 high schools, from Co-op City's Harry S. Truman in the Bronx to Totenville on Staten Island. The advisers howled in protest and the board retreated, but only for a few months. This afternoon it is announcing a "compromise" rule — five approved printers, one for each borough.

The 45 advisers at the meeting appear less than grateful. The edict is not exactly Draconian, but it is rigid and intrusive enough to remind these teachers why they reflexively distrust the Board of Education. It is

Siegel, are prepared to go to press with their fall issue, they must change printers, despite widely varying funds and needs.

Some advisers, for instance, receive as little as \$800 annually for their newspapers, others as much as \$4,000. One has a principal who insists the paper be printed on glossy stock. Another has for years used a printer who hires students for part-time jobs. When one asks the board representative responsible for implementing the new policy if the approved printers can set type from computer diskettes, he replies, "I want you to understand something: I know nothing about printing."

Siegel sits next to Laura Miller, the adviser for A. Philip Randolph High School, newly returned to New York City after 20 years of teaching in London. "I have never seen anything like this in my professional life," Miller whispers. "The only thing I've ever seen to compare to this is the Mexican postal system."

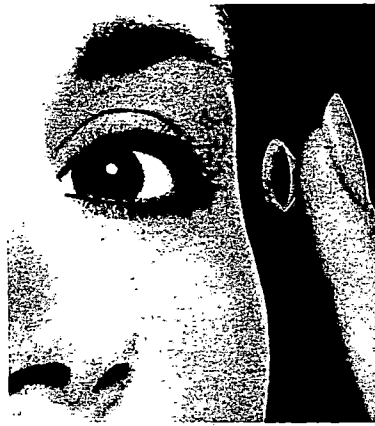
OCT. 17. The annual High School Fair is held in the auditorium of Martin Luther King Jr. High School on the Upper West Side. The event is meant, almost literally, to be a marketplace of ideas, as dozens of schools set up booths and exhibits to recruit potential students and their parents. Looking around the room, I see bolts of fabric (Fashion Industries), silk-screens (Graphic Communication Arts), petit-fours (Park West) and even dental plates (Mabel Dean Bacon Vocational). You can hardly get to the Stuyvesant display, so thick is the throng around its station. Seward Park, meanwhile, dispenses only explanatory brochures, back issues of the school newspaper, bumper stickers and pins. It cannot afford the embossed pencils it had the previous year.

The fair illustrates the Board of Education's system of favoring certain high schools at the expense of others, all but guaranteeing some success and all but condemning others to failure. The 81 academic high schools in the city fall into three distinct strata. At the very top, Stuyvesant, Bronx Science and Brooklyn Tech screen prospective students by admissions tests, and Music and Art winnows by audition. Fifty-six of the remaining 77 high schools are permitted by the board to offer various



HIGH SCHOOL

Continued from Page 67



how to
handle
the touchy
problem
of wrinkles
even if
you wear
contact
lenses.

If you're concerned about wrinkles and crow's feet around your eyes, you know it makes good sense to moisturize that delicate area with an eye cream. But there's a catch. If you wear contact lenses, you can't take chances with anything that might cause redness, puffiness, bumps, or tears.

Ophthalmologists and dermatologists agree: don't trade wrinkles for risks. Find a fragrance-free eye cream that's balanced to the natural pH of tears, and is non-comedogenic (won't clog pores). Of course, it should also be hypo-allergenic, so it won't aggravate that especially vulnerable tissue around your eyes.

One Eye Cream puts it all together in the right proportions: Neutrogena® Eye Cream. It was even formulated with the same moisturizing and cushioning ingredient used by doctors in delicate eye surgery.

Neutrogena Eye Cream has a hydrophilic (water-loving) formula that attracts and holds all the moisture the eye area needs... to cushion the pressure every time you squint. So your skin resists creasing, and lines appear to fade more quickly and completely.

Now you don't have to trade safety for results. Every day—under makeup and at night—Neutrogena Eye Cream lets you hold the line against time. And irritation.

The Last Word on Safety:

Ophthalmologists urge you to avoid contaminating the products you use around your eyes. Neutrogena Eye

Cream is packaged in a tube with a special ophthalmic tip, so the unused portion is never touched by fingers or applicators.

tional options" programs in such specialized fields as communications and finance. These programs are generally accompanied by selective admissions criteria and impressive new facilities.

At the bottom of the system languish 21 neighborhood, or "zoned" schools, including Seward Park, which are required to answer the door for whomever knocks. Not surprisingly, these schools tend to be the most overcrowded and the most violent in the city. They generally record the highest dropout rates and the lowest scores on standardized tests. They contend with a disproportionate number of bilingual, remedial, special education and chronically truant pupils. And they receive less money per student than the selective schools — on average, \$1,631 versus \$1,795 as of 1985, the most recent year for which I could find precise statistics — although the board has been narrowing the funding gap in response to criticism from such watchdog groups as the Education Priorities Panel.

The folly of the system, and of the High School Fair that typifies it, is that such schools are then expected to compete for promising pupils as if the playing field were level. "We take kids who are way below grade level in their skills and bring them up to where they aren't so far behind," a Seward Park guidance counselor puts it. "How are you supposed to sell that?"

NOV. 18. Lights burn in Seward Park for Open School Night, but the halls and classrooms are unsettlingly silent. Ostensibly the occasion for parents to meet teachers and form an educational partnership, Open School Night in this public high school reveals how few families even attempt to get involved. To put it numerically, teachers who see 160 different children in classes each day are fortunate to have 20 or 25 adults appear.

Many parents work nights, it is true, but Seward Park had set aside the previous afternoon for conferences with teachers. Many parents do not speak English, but the notice for Open School Night was sent to every household in both Spanish and Chinese translation. Even the climate has cooperated, with temperatures in the 60's for the past two days. The most charitable interpretation of the low turnout, then, is that parents assume that if their child is not being suspended or held back, all is well and there is no reason to put in an appearance.

But clearly the students themselves care to know about their academic progress: Dozens of them have found substitutes for their missing mothers and fathers. One senior brings his girlfriend to consult with his teachers. Another boy's surro-

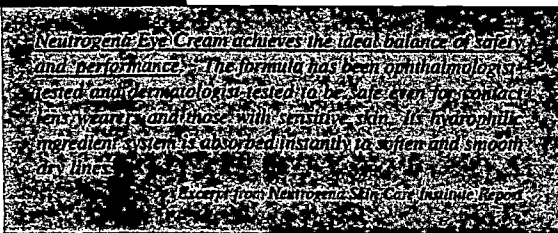
slap his head when informed that he sometimes dozes in class. A girl, having fled an abusive home for a group shelter, is represented by a nun.

DEC. 8. A tall, bespectacled girl named Elena registers to begin classes. A year earlier, she had defected to West Germany while on a school trip from her native Bulgaria, and only one day ago she arrived to live with an aunt in Chelsea. She is, in Seward Park parlance, an "over-the-counter" student, and she is hardly alone. They come to Seward Park most commonly from the Dominican Republic and the People's Republic of China, but also from India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Jamaica, Haiti, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Yemen, among other countries. The scene outside the guidance office, where the enrollment procedure begins, often resembles a frontier border crossing.

In one sense, this influx assists Seward Park, for the school is buoyed by immigrant energy, immigrant dreams. In another sense, the task of educating so many foreign-born pupils forms Seward Park's heaviest burden. Every single newcomer is screened personally by Helen Cohen, the assistant principal for guidance, then given a test for English aptitude, and finally evaluated individually in a half-dozen subject areas by department chairmen. During the 1987-88 academic year, 1,112 new arrivals and holdovers are found to be eligible for bilingual classes, based on scoring in the lowest 20th percentile on the language test.

What cannot be quantified is the role Seward Park must play in bridging the social and cultural chasms between Old World and New. A girl falls behind in her studies because, an administrator finds, her parents are threatening to send her abroad for an arranged marriage. A boy defaces a bulletin board decorated with photographs of Leningrad with the lone word "Infidels!" A boy writes in a journal for his bilingual English class: "Right now I am listening to the radio and thinking what am I going to do in Christmas Eve. I guess I'll be sleeping because I have no Friends to give presents or cousins, uncles or aunts to give presents. They are all in my native country Guatemala. I guess this Christmas I'll be very sad."

DEC. 23. On the day before Christmas vacation begins, when a school ought to be at its most genial, a trail of blood runs across the third-floor hallway. In the middle of fifth period, one student slashed another across the forehead with a box cutter, and it took paramedics an hour to control the bleeding enough to move the victim to a hospital. The incident leads me to a surprising discovery: that violence is rare at Seward Park.



Neutrogena Eye Cream achieves the ideal balance of safety and performance. The formula has been ophthalmologically tested and dermatologically tested to be safe even for contact lens wearers, and those with sensitive skin. Its hydrophilic ingredient system is absorbed instantly to soften and smooth dry lines.

Excerpt from Neutrogena Skin Care Institute Report

Small, high-magnification image of a single eye, showing eyelashes and iris.

Seward Park files 28 "incident reports" with the Board of Education, or one for every 128 pupils. The most troubled high schools submit the reports at rates of one to every 30 or 50 pupils. The vast majority of Seward Park's incidents involve trespassing, small thefts and false alarms. As for today's slashing, it was the product of a convoluted feud between two extended families, which began in a housing project and evolved through insults and threats to various cousins, nephews and brothers-in-law. Seward Park simply had the misfortune of being the convenient crossroads for these Montagues and Capulets.

That is a distinction worth remembering. "School violence" is a misnomer, at least at Seward Park, because the school stands as a comparative refuge from the incessant violence and drug trafficking in the surrounding neighborhoods. The number of serious incidents in schools citywide, for that matter, was actually declining until the crack epidemic struck in the late 1980's. Should it surprise anyone, or reflect any sudden breakdown in school security, that the same drug that caused an abrupt upsurge in violent crime across New York has made its presence felt in the city's schools?

The method of discipline popularized by Joe Clark — the New Jersey principal who

patrolled his high school with a baseball bat and a bullhorn — may appeal to our visceral sense of outrage. But it cannot stop rival gangs from brawling at a weekend dance or teen-age drug dealers from circling a school in their BMW's. Yet such events constantly threaten to infiltrate a school. Without arming its security guards, without searching lockers and bookbags for weapons, Seward Park administrators rely on subtle means — maintaining good relations with the precinct police, encouraging tips from neighborhood merchants, disciplining the most minor infractions inside school to establish a sense of order, insuring that no parking space outside the building is left vacant to be filled by some young criminal's car.

"You can't bar the 'mean streets' at the schoolhouse door," says Dr. Noel N. Kriftcher, who was the principal of Seward Park until September 1988, when he was appointed superintendent of high schools for Staten Island and a portion of Brooklyn. "But you want to get across the idea that this is not 'Out There.' This is 'In Here.'"

FEB. 14. Fulbright scholar in Korea and doctoral candidate at Columbia University, originator and instructor of Seward Park's advanced placement history course, John McNamara drives to his weekend job at a catering

hall. As his own wife and infant son wait at home, Valentine's Day notwithstanding, John will serve as maitre d' for the wedding of two strangers. He will earn \$100 for a 10-hour day. Multiplied by 52 weekends, this income is all that keeps his family out of debt and allows him to remain a teacher.

After 19 years in the public schools, John takes home \$24,855 a year (not including his annuity contribution). Once he pays mortgage installments of nearly \$9,000, commuting costs of \$1,500, his wife's college loan of \$1,560 and his own tuition and books, he is left with slightly more than \$10,000 for a year's worth of food, clothing, utilities and other routine expenses. While many suburbs give tuition grants to their faculties, neither the Board of Education nor the United Federation of Teachers has underwritten a dollar of the nearly \$20,000 John has spent in pursuing advanced degrees in history and education to make himself a better teacher.

"If I wasn't educated," John likes to joke, "I'd be a rich man." As it is, during his teaching career he has moonlighted as a mail sorter, truck driver, cabbie, waiter, men's clothing salesman, restaurant counter-man, camp counselor and private tutor. Various colleagues at Seward Park chaperone bicycle trips,

School officials estimate that 35 to 40 percent of the youngsters who entered Seward Park as freshmen in 1984 did not graduate with their class.

write record reviews, sell tennis shorts, design jewelry and wait on tables.

Despite recent advances, the median teacher's salary in New York City remains, at \$37,756 annually, anywhere from \$3,000 to \$12,000 behind the level in most surrounding communities. The city of Rochester in upstate New York pays veteran teachers up to \$70,000 annually if they work for part of the summer, serve as mentors to younger colleagues, and counsel a small group of students. John McNamara, among many other New York City teachers, already does those things for free.

MAY 10. The biennial election for Seward Park's United Federation of Teachers chapter chairman is held. By itself, the event might not seem significant outside school, except that it crystallizes what I suspect is a widely felt estrangement between the union and its membership. All year long, I have heard and seen indications that teachers find the union, both inside the school and at the citywide level, a remote and insensitive bureaucracy rather than an advocate for "teacher empowerment" to use the U.F.T.'s own battle cry.

A great many of Seward Park's younger teachers, it develops, have never even been invited to join the union, although their dues are automatically deducted. Those who are members complain that little news of the chapter's activities is ever disseminated. In a program called Teacher's Choice, which allows instructors to purchase up to \$200 in supplies, the union chapter has been accused by some teachers of pressuring them to adopt its own shopping list.

agenda, at least in Seward Park, consists largely of maintaining power.

The longtime incumbent chairperson handpicks the members of the committee charged with overseeing an impartial election. These members, in turn, refuse to provide Bruce Baskind, the opposition candidate, with a list of eligible voters (i.e., union members) on the faculty. When Baskind distributes his platform, including creating a grievance committee and establishing a chapter newsletter, the incumbent denounces him as "a phony and a dissembler" without offering alternatives of her own. At the same time, rumors spread through the school that Baskind favors the creation of a Palestinian state in the Middle East, which happens to be correct but has no evident bearing on the campaign except as a smear against him with Seward Park's sizeable number of Jewish teachers.

After enduring such tactics for two weeks, a delegation of teachers who support Baskind deliver a letter to the U.F.T.'s Manhattan headquarters, asking for it to monitor the election. The union does not respond until after the balloting is over. By then, the point is moot: Baskind has defeated the incumbent, 160 votes to 68.

JUNE 24. Three hundred fourteen seniors are graduated from Seward Park High School.

By one interpretation, this proves the school is a failure. After all, 83 pupils who began the year as seniors are not wearing cap and gown, having transferred, dropped out or been held back in the intervening months. And although an exact figure is impossible to reckon in a school whose population is as transient as Seward Park's, school administrators estimate that 35 to 40 percent of the youngsters who entered as freshmen in September 1984 did not graduate with their class.

But after spending a year inside Seward Park, after witnessing close up all the forces that conspire against the school, the bureaucracy and domestic friction and social engineering, I consider it something of a miracle that so many did survive to graduate. The only thing more miraculous, I think, is that almost all of the teachers who worked so hard against such odds to salvage those students returned to Seward



ANGEL FRANCO, THE NEW YORK TIMES

Education Address/National Teacher Awards

I. Introductory remarks: recognizing central role of teachers.

Excellence in education comes down to great teachers, willing students.

Our aim: to allow this learning experience to take place for as many students as possible.

II. Education and its impact:

Need for a flexible and skilled workforce. Adaptable, innovative.

Danger of 21st Century "education gap:" workers without skills and without jobs, jobs waiting to be filled by qualified workers.

We must: Make the best better still;

Raise the overall level of education for all students.

III. Education primarily state and local responsibility. Federal government's role: catalyst for positive change.

Seven-point program outlined in brief: Merit Schools, Magnet Schools, etc.

IV. There is work for all of us to do:

Challenges:

To state and local school systems: experiment for excellence.
Use diversity to advantage.

To Teachers: Be accountable -- don't pass under-achieving students through the system, into society.

Corporations: Costs of remedial education for entry-level workers rising sharply. Expand partnerships with schools to improve education.

Parents: create a climate conducive to learning. Be your child's best teacher, school's strongest supporter.

V. Fundamental fact: education imperative -- not optional -- in a democratic system.

For a long-range project, need to set some long-range goals:

ACTION

→ (A step at a time.)

to 50 to
1 in 5.

Reduce drop-out rate to 1 in 10 or less, down from 1 in 4 today.

no time

Reduce functional illiteracy rate, presently as high as 30%, to 10% or less.

frame

Return U.S. to the front-rank of industrial democracies in literacy level, educational skills.

1st graders today will
graduate in the ~~Not~~ a cure all -
year 2000.

challenges.

at a point in edno:
more questions than
answers

IF we ~~don't~~ want children w/ jobs.

answers at federal level.

prepare us for
21st C.

don't overpromise -

but this is an important

1st step - want Congress
to act.

I get the q. -
What are you going to
do about it. That's a fair question.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY FOR PLANNING, BUDGET AND EVALUATION

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
PUBLIC AFFAIRS

JAN 15 1990

TO EDUCATION EDITORS:

Following is embargoed response by U.S. Education Department to Economic Policy Institute (EPI) briefing report on international comparisons in education spending. Embargo, set by EPI, is 6 p.m. Jan. 16 (for a.m. papers Jan. 17).

EPI's report on international comparisons of education spending shows why economics can indeed be a dismal science. This "nonpartisan economic think tank" has mixed apples, oranges and moonbeams to produce an indigestible concoction.

The EPI report confuses the share of national spending with actual spending -- a false comparison to support a spurious conclusion. It's fun to play with numbers, but it can be a dangerous delusion if used as the basis for public policy.

EPI claims that by eliminating higher education spending from the comparison, they have discovered a lack of commitment to our nation's students. Not true. When K-12 spending is accurately compared to other nations -- as average per pupil expenditures and not as "share of national income" -- the U.S. ranks 2nd only to Switzerland. (If the nebulous "other" category is included, the U.S. is 5th.)

Americans are generous supporters of education, but we are not getting what we pay for. Until we admit that it is time to restructure -- to rethink an education system created more than a century ago to serve a largely agrarian nation -- we will continue to be disappointed in the academic performance of our children.

NOTE: Attached is a discussion of methodology. A more technical analysis will be available from the Department shortly.

Contact: Tom Lyon (202) 732-4320, U.S. Education Department
(703) 941-7254 (home)

DISCUSSION OF METHODOLOGY

EPI uses seriously flawed methodology to arrive at dubious conclusions:

- in stating that meaningful international comparisons of education spending must be related to shares of national income.

The more appropriate comparative measure is actual funds spent, but EPI rejects this traditional approach and irrelevantly substitutes "percentage of national income (Gross Domestic Product)." A simple example makes this point: in 1986, Mississippi spent 3.9 percent of its state domestic product on K-12 education, a greater percentage than Minnesota's 3.7 percent. But -- much more significantly -- Minnesota spent \$4180 per pupil; Mississippi, \$2350. EPI's "share of national income" comparison is an inappropriate, unaccepted measure of spending on education.

By analogy EPI would presumably argue that U.S. food expenditure as a percentage of total private consumption expenditures is extremely low when compared to other OECD nations such as France (17.9%), Norway (20%), the UK (14.5%) and Switzerland (20.2%). The average for all OECD nations approaches 20%. In the U.S. the percentage is 11%. Does this mean that the U.S. is a seriously undernourished nation -- and not the breadbasket of the world? Or that we should spend additional resources on food so that we can reach a figure closer to the OECD average?

- in arguing that exchange rate instability undermines the ability to use per pupil expenditures as a reliable measure of international education spending.

Most of the countries surveyed in the EPI report belong to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) which makes such comparisons on the basis of equivalent purchasing power, i.e. "the purchasing power parities" index, an index not influenced by exchange rate fluctuations. Using OECD's commonly accepted measure, the U.S. spends more per student on K-12 education than all countries cited in the EPI report, except Switzerland (if the category "other" is included, the U.S. ranks 5th).

- by including UNESCO categories "other" and "not distributed."

These categories are not clearly defined and are reported by the U.S. as \$0.

-- by defining K-12 to include pre-primary spending, while excluding private pre-primary expenditures in the U.S.

In the U.S. much of pre-primary education is supported privately by families, not reported by the U.S. in K-12 tabulations. Thus, EPI has significantly underreported U.S. spending in this imprecise category.

Finally, spending does not equate with academic achievement. In a comprehensive review of 187 studies, Eric Hanushek of the University of Rochester found no significant correlation between the two, though U.S. K-12 spending has increased about 27% in 1988-89 dollars since the 1980-81 school year (from \$157 billion to \$199 billion).

The Department will shortly issue a more detailed technical analysis which will address additional flaws in methodology.



TREASURER
OF THE
UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

CHKI SS
FYI

April 2, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVID F. DEMAREST, JR.
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR COMMUNICATIONS

FROM: CATALINA V. VILLALPANDO *C. Villalpando*
SUBJECT: Information on the Education
Savings Bonds Program

Attached are a few paragraphs of information about the Education Savings Bonds program. We have taken the liberty of developing this material to assist you in drafting commencement speeches for the President. I hope it is helpful.

Attachment

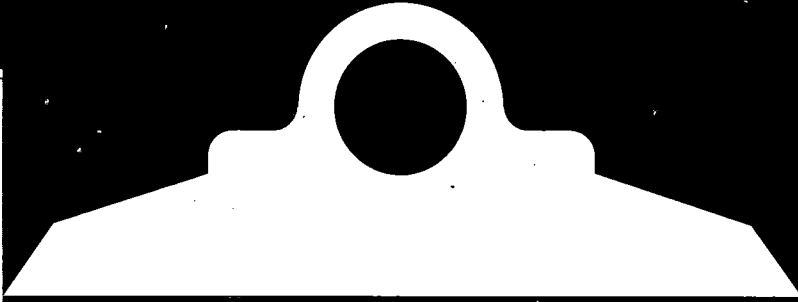
WESTON BOND
FLUORESCENT
25% COTTON FIBER

While political challenges to America appear to be receding throughout the world, our friends around the globe are providing unprecedented economic challenges and competition. To meet those challenges, your generation and future generations will have to work smarter, and maintain the sharp competitive edge that Americans are used to.

The key for you, and the key to the future, is education. America has the best educational system in the world. But, more and more, the price of a quality education is leaving many families behind. One of the reasons for this is the decline in the savings ethic among many segments of our society. We need to restore that ethic, not only to provide an education for your children, but to provide capital to help American business and industry grow and strengthen.

Although it may seem premature, it is not too early to start planning for tomorrow's family, tomorrow's needs. Such planning must include regular savings. The financial marketplace provides many options, not the least of them United States Savings Bonds, which have long been offered by many employers through the payroll savings plan. Bonds, the most easily accessible of all Treasury securities, offer flexibility and now can earn interest tax-free if they are used toward education.

But whether or not Savings Bonds are the vehicle, it is vital to recognize that future success means savings and planning today. The last four years have been an investment in your future. It is time for you to take over, to start making your own investments in your future and the future of America.



CLIPBOARD



WHAT'S AT STAKE WITH MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION?

Diane Ravitch, Adjunct Professor of History and Education at Teachers College at Columbia University, is one of America's foremost experts on multicultural education. Her many books on education include: What Do Our 17 Year Olds Know? (with Chester E. Finn, Jr.), The Troubled Crusade, and The Great School Wars, a definitive account of the history of public education in New York City. She is also one of the principal authors of California's new multicultural curriculum, which was revised in 1987.

The following article is excerpted from her remarks at a recent CEI roundtable on multicultural education:

Everyone agrees with the goals of multicultural education: Citizens of a democratic society must learn to respect differences and appreciate that the diversity of our culture is our national strength. But there is an inherent danger in what many proponents of multiculturalism seek today.

The central problem is how can we redefine E Pluribus Unum so that we retain the values of pluralism and still remain one society, one people. Pluralism is a very important value, but if there is no sense of community, America dissolves into a collection of racial and ethnic cultures, and we have no means to mobilize public opinion on behalf of people outside our own ethnic group. We have, for example, no reason to support public education. If there is no larger community, then each group will want to teach its own children, and public education will cease to exist.

I am critical of the New York State Education Department's Task Force on Minorities' report, A Curriculum of Inclusion, precisely because I don't think it attempts to balance the pluribus and the unum — the one and the many. It calls not for inclusion, but for a radical reconstruction of the teaching of American history which, in effect, denies any common elements in our history, in our society, or in our culture. It asserts that "African/Americans, Asian/Americans, Latino/Americans, and Native Americans have all been victims of an intellectual and educational oppression that has characterized the culture and institutions of the United States...for centuries."

The Task Force consultants say that they viewed the curriculum through the eyes of the following cultures: African/American, Asian/American, Latino/American, and Native American. However, as pointed out in the report, each of these labels covers a multitude of very different cultures. For example, according to the report, there are twelve different Native American tribes in New York State, and all schoolchildren should be aware not just of each of these twelve, but also of the 300 other tribes across the United States.

But even after acknowledging this enormous cultural diversity, the Task Force treats each of these labels as though they truly define a single culture, which, of course, they do not. All people with a white skin color, for instance, are

referred to as either Europeans or Anglo-Saxons. Jews and Germans, Russians and Irish, French and Italian, Bulgarians and Spanish, are all apparently members of the same group: Anglo-Saxons.

Another risk posed by multicultural education is the potential for politicizing the curriculum. Do we want the history taught to our children determined by political pressures brought to bear on state education departments? When California revised its curriculum recently, pressure was repeatedly applied by different ethnic group leaders who wanted textbooks to reflect their view of their own history. It was only because of the courage of Bill Honig, the State Superintendent of Instruction, that these tremendous pressures were resisted.

New York State's leadership has not been so vigilant. Take, for example, the state's eleventh grade history syllabus which tells teachers that the two major influences on the U. S. Constitution were (1) the Enlightenment of the 17th and 18th centuries and (2) the political system of the Haudenosaunee. Now, in case you're wondering what the Haudenosaunee are, you should know that they're the longhouse Indians of New York State who, in the authoritative opinion of the New York teachers' guides, were as important an influence on the Constitution of the United States as the European Enlightenment. (It turns out that a delegation from the Haudenosaunee met with the staff of the Department of Education while they were preparing the syllabus.) Whether the influence of the Haudenosaunee Indians on the Constitution was real, I cannot say. This is not my area of expertise, but I can say that New York is the only state that teaches that it was.

Now it is perfectly appropriate, and necessary, for schools to find in history examples of people of all races who have achieved great things. This enables all children to see that skin color is not a barrier to success. On the other hand, history should not be used to teach any kind of racial chauvinism. Once you start teaching racial pride in public schools, all children become interested in asserting their racial pride, and that leads to skinheads, Klu Kluxers, and other ugly tendencies.

Multicultural education is problematical from another perspective, as well. American children, regardless of race or ethnicity, have a very poor grasp of American history, and their understanding of world history is almost nonexistent. At one point I proposed to the National Assessment of Education Progress that we launch an assessment of what American kids know about the world, and they laughed. All we would discover, they said, is that American kids know next to nothing, and what would be the point of that? How can we hope to teach multiculturalism to kids who don't know any history at all?

No race has a corner on virtue, and certainly there are many terrible chapters in Western history, just as there are in the history of all races and cultures, but Western Europe was also responsible for the democratic political tradition. The very concept, "eurocentrism," is the product of Western anthropology. Multicultural education cannot be built around a curriculum that demeans the culture of which it is a part and disparages the value of everyone who happens to have a white skin.

What we should be teaching our children is that racial prejudice is always evil. Racism is always wrong. People are people. Cut us and we bleed; if we lose a child, we cry. The human heart is the same in all of us, regardless of our skin color, or our language, or our ancestry.

Racism and prejudice have no place in our schools. But neither should we use multicultural education to rip apart our common political tradition. For it is the American political tradition that requires us to respect human rights, to pursue political equality, free elections, free speech, free trade unions, and freedom of religion. If we don't teach these American values and practices to our children, there will be no common political culture, and we'll have no way to appeal to the majority to support basic rights for those who are different.

We must not allow multicultural education to become a code word for racial chauvinism, or for the destruction of that remarkable political tradition which is the birthright of every American child, whatever his race or language.

Do's and Don'ts for Black Graduates

People may not get all they pay for, but they must pay for all they get.

This article is adapted from a commencement address on Saturday to the Howard University class of 1990.

It is the responsibility of every black adult—parent, teacher, preacher and professional—to make sure that black children hear what we have learned from the lessons of life and to hear over and over that we love them and that they are not alone. Too many of us have been so busy today making sure our children had all the things we didn't have that we have not given them the things we did have that enabled us to survive and succeed. So I want to share a few lessons with you today to take along as you leave this place. At Howard, you got your lessons from your teachers first and then got examined on how well you had learned them. In life the test and consequences come before the lessons.

Lesson 1
Remember that black folk can never take anything for granted in America, and we had better not start now as racial intolerance resurges all over our land.

It may be wrapped up in new euphemisms and better etiquette, but as Frederick Douglass warned us earlier, it's the same old snake. He also reminded us that "men may not get all they pay for in the world, but they must certainly pay for all they get."

Don't think for a moment that you've got it made with your Howard degree and can jive your way up the career ladder. You've got to work your way up—hard and continuously. Don't be lazy. Do your homework. Pay attention to detail. Take care and pride in your work. People who are sloppy in little things tend to be sloppy in big things. Be reliable. Stick with something until you finish and resist jumping from pillar to post. Take the initiative in creating your own opportunity, and don't wait around for other people to discover you or do you a favor. Don't think you are entitled to anything you don't sweat and struggle for, even if white folk act as if they are entitled—and too many of them do. Don't assume a door is closed; push on it. Don't assume if it was closed yesterday it's closed today. And don't ever stop learning and improving your mind. If you do, you're going to be left behind.

Lesson 2
Remember that forming families is serious business and requires a measure of thoughtful planning and economic stability.

In 1989, one in every seven black families with children under 18 had someone unemployed. Almost half (43 percent) of the black families hit by unemployment were single parents with no one at work. Among black married couples with children who were hit by unemployment, only 16 percent had no one else working. Among all black married couples with children under 18, over 96 percent had at least one person working full-time despite the much higher unemployment rates among black adults. Education alone, although of great intrinsic value, cannot guarantee a single young black adult the income needed to raise children in economic safety today. But two black adults, both working, have the safety net of the second income if unemployment strikes.

Lesson 3
Set goals and work quietly and systematically toward them.

Too many of us talk big and act small. So often we get bogged down in our ego needs and lose sight of our broader community goals. It's all right to want to feel important as long as it is not at the expense of doing important deeds—even if we don't get the credit. You can get a lot achieved in life if you do not mind doing the work and letting other people get the credit. You know what you do, and the Lord knows what you do, and that's all that matters.

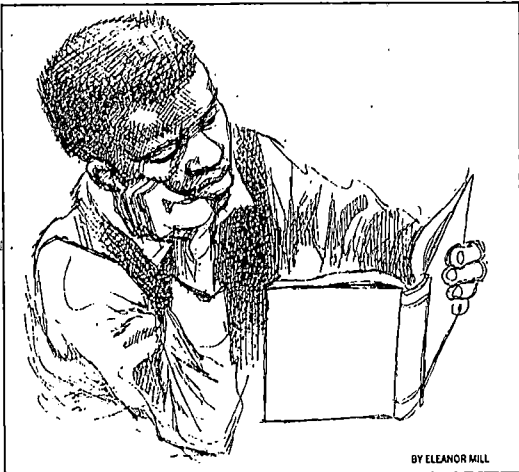
Lesson 4
Sell the shadow for the substance.

There's nothing wrong with owning a Mercedes or designer clothes or partying as long as you do not consider them life goals or spend every dime and all the time you have on them. I was watching President Johnson's inaugural

ball on television in the 1960s with a black college president's wife, when Fannie Lou Hamer, that great unschooled but very wise lady of the Mississippi civil rights movement, came onto the screen. The college president's wife moaned: "Oh my goodness, there's Miz Hamer at the president's ball, and she doesn't even have on a long dress." My response was: "That's all right. Mrs. Hamer with no long gown is there, and you and I with our long gowns are not."

Get your priorities straight. Martin Luther King Jr. once chided a fraternity audience, which boastfully announced that its membership spent \$500,000 for liquor. He said, "A handful of Negroes . . . spent more money in one week for whiskey than all of the 16 million Negroes spent that whole year for the United Negro College Fund and for the NAACP. Now that was a tragedy." If any black social organization still is spending more on alcohol and entertainment than on supporting black institutions and black children, it is an even greater tragedy. And let's be clear: tobacco and alcohol are killing more black people than cocaine.

Lesson 5
Worry more about your attitude than your aptitude or lineage.
It is not what is done to us that matters, but



how we take what is done to us, Archbishop Tutu reminds us. Booker T. Washington did not know his father's name, but it did not keep him from becoming a great man. Stay out of the fast lane, and watch your company. You didn't have a choice about the parents you inherited, but you do have a choice about the kind of parent you will be. Don't let anything keep you from finding the genuine within yourself and seeking to be a decent human being.

Lesson 6
Assign yourself.
My daddy used to ask us whether the teacher gave us any homework. If we said no, he'd say, well, assign yourself. Don't wait around for your professor or your boss or your friend to direct you to do what you are able to figure out and do for yourself. Don't do just as little as you can to get by, as so many Americans are doing today in our political and economic life. If you see a need, don't ask why somebody doesn't do something, ask why don't I do something. Don't wait around to be told what to do. There is nothing more wearing than people who have to be asked or reminded to do things all the time. Hard work, initiative and persistence are the non-magic carpets to success. Let's teach the rest of the country how to achieve again by our example.

Lesson 7
Use your political and economic power for the community.

Vote. We are wasting about half our voting strength. Run for political office. And don't think that you or your reelections are the only point once you win: building strong families and communities is the point of gaining power. Don't let any political candidate have your vote or dollar who is not committed to supporting the child care and health care and education and housing and jobs our children need. Don't confuse social and political charm with real support. It's wonderful to go to the White House or to Congress for a chat or a

meal, but words alone will not meet black children's needs. Political leadership and different budget priorities will. Speak truth to power and do not take style for substance. And practice what you preach to others. Put your own money behind your own rhetoric about concern for children. And don't spend every dollar you earn. Save a dime and share a dime. Don't just be job seekers. Be job creators.

Lesson 8
Never work just for money.

Money alone won't save your soul or build a decent family or help you sleep at night. We are the richest nation on Earth, but we have one of the highest incarceration, drug addiction and child poverty rates in the world. Don't confuse wealth or fame with character. Don't boast to your children about the Rayful Edmonds, who destroy children. Boast to them about the Henry Gregorys, whose Shiloh Family Life Center at 9th and P. builds the children we need to carry on the best black traditions.

And don't tolerate or condone moral corruption whether it's found in high office or low places or is white, brown or black. It is not okay to push or use drugs even if every white person in America is doing it. It is not okay to cheat or lie even if every Milken, Boesky, North, Secord or public official does. Be honest. We were not created by white folk or rich folk or powerful folk—we were created by God and told by the prophet Micah to be just and merciful and to walk humbly with our God.

Lesson 9
Don't be afraid of taking risks or of being criticized.

If you don't want to be criticized, then do not say anything, do anything or be anything. Don't be afraid of failing. It's the way you learn to do things right. It doesn't matter how many times you fall down. All that matters is how many times you keep getting up. "It's not failure," Dr. Benjamin Mays called a sin, "it's low aim." And don't wait for everybody to come along to get something done. It's always a few people who get things done and keep things going.

Lesson 10
Remember your roots, your history and the forebears' shoulders on which you stand.

And pass these roots on to your children and to other black children whose parents may not be able to. Young people who do not know where they come from and the struggle it took to get them where they are now will not know where they are going or what to do for anyone besides themselves if and when they finally get somewhere. Our black children need the rightful pride of a great people that produced Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass from slavery, Benjamin Mays and Dr. King and Mrs. Hamer from segregation—people second to none in helping transform America from a theoretical to a more living democracy.

We must build on the strong black tradition of family and teach our children to delay family formation until they are economically and emotionally stable and ready to raise the new generation of black children and leaders. We must strengthen family rituals: prayers if we are religious and, if not, regular family meals and gatherings. We must take an interest in our children's schoolwork and non-school activities and give them constructive alternatives to the street. We must fight together for to meet their needs in the halls of power. We must do things with and listen to them. Be moral examples for them. If we cut corners, they will too. If we lie, they will too. If we spend all our money on our backs and wheels and tithe no portion of it for our colleges, churches and civic causes, they won't either. We must join together as an entire community to establish an ethic of achievement and self-esteem in poor and middle-class black children. We must encourage science and math achievement as well as basketball, football; calculus as well as cotillions. Our children must hear from us over and over again what is true: that they can achieve if we expect it of them and if we fight for the support they need to achieve.

The writer is president of the Children's Defense Fund.

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The Washington Times

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Parental choice called a must for education goals

By Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The tough new education goals adopted by U.S. governors cannot be achieved without major structural reforms in the schools, including school choice for parents, according to a panel of educators and lawmakers.

Surprisingly, the bipartisan panel, which met over the weekend at The Washington Times Forum, was virtually unanimous in its support of proposals that will allow parents to choose their children's elementary and secondary schools.

"You can't keep sending your money to the [public school] institutions that have already failed, and that's what we're doing," said Democratic State Rep. Polly Williams of Wisconsin. Mrs. Williams succeeded in persuading her state legislature recently to pass a school-choice voucher program designed specifically for low-income children in her Milwaukee inner-city district.

Under her proposal, which parents of about 1,000 low-income students will be allowed to send their children to private, non-sectarian schools in their community. The state will pay up to \$2,500 per student for tuition, with the funds coming out of the public school system's

budget.

"Instead of putting money in the hands of agencies, we're saying put it in the hands of the parents," she said of the voucher idea, which appears to be gaining broad political support around the country. Some 20 states are debating choice proposals.

Another proposal endorsed by almost all of the panel's 10 participants was the idea of alternative certification for teachers, as adopted by New Jersey. It would allow schools to hire people with special skills even though they do not have required teaching degrees.

"It's an idea whose time has come," said Undersecretary of Education Ted Sanders.

Robert Spillane, Fairfax County's superintendent of schools, said the quality of teachers is at the core of problems that afflict many schools.

"We have to develop a better quality of teachers in our public school system," said Mr. Spillane. "There's a mythology that once you get a bachelor's degree from college, that you have all the capabilities to teach children."

He noted, for example, that despite their recognized skills, tennis champions Arthur Ashe and Billy Jean King couldn't teach tennis in our public schools because they're not certified.

Mr. Sanders, the Education Department's No. 2 official, said the

new goals are achievable but not without "restructuring the nation's school system."

But American University President Richard Berendzen said that some of the governors' goals will "definitely not" be met by the year 2000. "There's not a chance in the world that the United States will produce students by the turn of the century who will be No. 1 in math and science," he said.

Saying "we need radical reforms" to meet the goals, he called for better teacher preparation programs, better pre-school preparation and a longer school day and school year.

Pennsylvania Rep. William Goodling, the House Education and Labor Committee's ranking Republican, agreed that "deep structural changes" are needed, but criticized Congress for only wanting to "throw money at the problem."

Holding up a 177-page draft of the pending education bill, Mr. Goodling said it contained "no particular goals," and predicted that advocates will be "cheering for more money, more, more, and nothing about excellence."

John Chubb, senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, said that the liberal think tank was fully behind the drive to implement "a system of competition and choice in the schools."

"The worst schools in this country are the schools that are the most regulated," he said. "If you want to have good schools, you have to cut through the bureaucracies and hold the schools accountable for their performance. And choice is a system for doing that."

But Timothy Dyer, executive secretary of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, sharply attacked the choice concept, saying it represented "nothing more than tinkering around the edges" of the problem.

Liberal embraces vouchers

THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Polly Williams, a certified liberal who has adopted one of conservative education critics' favorite proposals — vouchers that let parents choose their children's schools — is a 53-year-old former welfare recipient who has raised four children on her own.

"Low-income families are not dumb," she says. "They're just poor. You give them money and you can't tell the difference."

Mrs. Williams was the chief sponsor of a school-choice voucher program recently passed by the Wisconsin legislature. A Democratic state representative, she was the Rev. Jesse Jackson's Wisconsin chairman in his 1984 and 1988 presidential campaigns.

"Choice is the best thing that has come around for my people since I've been born," she said at The Washington Times Forum. "It allows poor people to have those choices that all those other people who are fearing it already have."

Aimed solely at the largely black, poor, inner-city residents of her Milwaukee district, the Wisconsin program is the first of its kind in the nation.

"We're constantly funding failure," she said. "We need to begin funding success and excellence."

— Donald Lambro

Longtime Foe of Religious Right
Urges Schools to Teach the Sacred

By PETER STEINFELS
Special to The New York Times

ANAHEIM, Calif., Nov. 20 — The television producer Norman Lear, long seen as a firm believer in the separation of church and state, urged public schools today to nurture the sense of the sacred that he says underlies all religions. It was the first time he had spoken out so strongly on the subject.

In a speech to religion scholars, Mr. Lear identified himself "as a civil libertarian," but said he parted company with those who are "so fastidious" that they "would purge any reference to God or religion from the public schools."

"While we civil libertarians have been triumphant in most of our legal and constitutional battles, I am troubled that so many of us remain blocked or blind to the spiritual emptiness in our culture which the televangelists exploited so successfully," Mr. Lear said.

In 1980, Mr. Lear helped found People for the American Way, an educational group aimed at countering the influence of conservative religious leaders like the Rev. Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson.

Been Called 'an Atheist'

"Over the past 10 years, the leaders of the religious right have called me an atheist, a secular humanist, a Christian later and, this was Jerry Falwell's line, 'the No. 1 enemy of the American family in our generation,'" he said.

Mr. Lear did not retract his criticism of the leaders of the religious right, but he gave credit to "the rank and file of the religious right for helping to focus a spotlight on the spiritual yearnings of our people."

About 5,000 members of the American Academy of Religion, all scholars from fields like comparative religion, religious archaeology and sociology of religion as well as theology, have been meeting here since Saturday. The meeting is held jointly with the Society of Biblical Literature, a group of researchers on scriptural texts. Mr. Lear spoke to a session of several hundred people.

Apart from suggesting that schools teach about the role of religion in history, Mr. Lear did not offer specific suggestions for how the schools could "nurture spiritual imagination."

He said he had come to doubt that human beings could address major environmental problems facing the planet without "a fresh examination of what we regard as sacred in the universe."

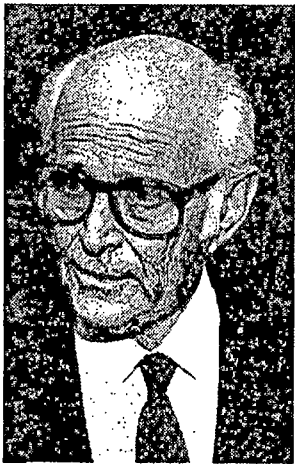
He described American culture, both at the popular and intellectual levels, as "skittish" about any discussion of the sacred. This reluctance, he said, was due to "the skeptical, empirical, quantifiable norms" of a society that he called "obsessed with material well-being" and dominated by the "short-term ethic" of business.

Criticism of Television

Television, he acknowledged, had made those values pervasive. Mr. Lear has produced several television series, including "All in the Family" and "Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman."

"Among secularists," he said, "the version toward discussing moral values, let alone religion, can reach absurd extremes."

He cited a high school guidance counselor who refused to tell students whether they would be morally obliged to return a wallet with \$1,000. The counselor "reportedly said he didn't want to impose his values on his students," Mr. Lear said. The same story was cited by President Bush in the presidential campaign last year as an example of the need for a return to teaching values.



The New York Times

The television producer Norman Lear, who called on public schools to nurture a sense of the sacred in their students.

Mr. Lear also criticized textbooks that had removed references to religion to avoid offending anyone. But he restated his opposition to prayers in public schools and to making texts conform to "creationist theology."

A number of scholars were clearly uneasy with his remarks, although he was warmly applauded by the audience at the session, which was devoted to how students could be taught about religion in public schools.

Questions Raised

Anything suggesting that all religions are fundamentally alike or could be reduced to a common denominator, these scholars warned, would raise as much opposition from parents as the complete absence of religious references from the classroom.

Charles C. Haynes, who heads a nonprofit group that helps promote the teaching of religion in the public schools, the National Council on Religion and Public Education, told Mr. Lear that the "cautionary note" he was hearing stemmed from experience with teachers who dismissed differences between religions, thereby undermining the position of families who held strongly to distinctive faiths.

"Some on the religious right have charged that teaching about religion in the schools is a way of relativizing all religions," Mr. Haynes said.

Like others responding to Mr. Lear, Mr. Haynes stressed the need to teach about religious differences and how society could live with them rather than the need to find the common ground that Mr. Lear said he preferred to call "spiritual" rather than "religious."

In replying, Mr. Lear repeatedly appealed to the response stirred in him by the beauty and vulnerability of nature. "These are feelings that I think schoolchildren have to talk about," he said.

Margaret Chase Smith Ailing

CHICAGO, Nov. 20 (Reuters) — Former Senator Margaret Chase Smith, the first woman to serve in both houses of Congress, was listed in good condition today in a Chicago hospital's intensive care unit after undergoing treatment for chest pains. The 91-year-old Maine Republican, who left the Senate in 1972, was taken to Resurrection Medical Center last week from O'Hare Airport after she became ill on a flight.

WASHINGTON POST

William Raspberry

9/15/89

All-Boy Classes?
The Feds Say No

I don't know whether this is a tale of triumph or tragedy, whether the officials involved should be praised for upholding the law or condemned for shortsightedness. I don't even know whether Spencer Holland, with whom this story begins, should be blessed for his patient perseverance or pitied for pigheadedness. Let me just tell the story.

Holland, an educational psychologist now working for the D.C. schools, called a couple of years ago to talk to me about an idea of his: assigning kindergarten and primary boys to all-male classes headed by male teachers. It was Holland's notion that, particularly for children of the inner cities, where mother-only households and male academic failure are endemic, the arrangement might make a profound difference. "Let's try it," he urged in the column I wrote following that conversation. "We've got to try something."

Willie Wright, then principal of Miami's Pine Villa Elementary School, saw the column and thought it made all the sense in the world. He tracked down Holland and begged him for additional information and help. And in the fall of 1987, he got permission from the Dade County School Board to institute the program on an experimental basis. He already had a male first-grade teacher at the 98 percent black, overwhelmingly low-income Pine Villa. He recruited a second male kindergarten teacher, and launched his experiment. (He left it to parents to decide whether their sons would be assigned to the special classes or left in the traditional boy-girl arrangement.)

The result: "It was a total success, academically and socially," said Wright, who has since been transferred across town to the middle-class South Glade School. "There were no fights, no kids sent out for discipline. They not only improved academically, they became their brothers' keepers, something not generally found in low socioeconomic schools. Not a single parent complained. In fact, virtually all of the parents of boys wanted their sons in the classes."

Wright's successor at Pine Villa, Clarence Jones, sought leave to continue the experiment. But the Dade County equal employment opportunity officer had misgivings. "I wasn't opposed to the idea," Lucille Montequin told me the other day. "In fact, I thought it was a good idea. There had been no complaint, no formal charge. But it seemed to run contrary to Title IX [of the federal Civil Rights Act], so I contacted the regional office of the [Department of Education's] Office for Civil Rights."

"They said, why don't you put the request in writing as a proposal, with an experimental group and a control group. We did. The word came back that OCR did not accept the proposal."

So three months into its second year, the eminently successful plan was unceremoniously dumped. In an article he wrote for the premier issue of Teacher magazine, Holland explained the reasoning behind his idea. "Most boys do not have male teachers until the later elementary grades or junior high school, and for inner-city boys this is much, much too late. It is well documented in educational research that many students—especially boys—who fail to complete high school drop out psychologically and emotionally by 3d or 4th grade. . . . Creating all-male kindergarten-through-3d-grade classes taught by male teachers would provide young black boys with consistent, positive, and literate black role models in the classroom. It also would help overcome many of the negative attitudes toward education that currently hamper black boys' academic achievement."

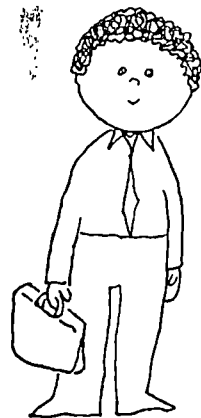
The tragically short-lived experiment at Pine Villa bears him out. Was it discriminatory against the girls? Not at all, says Holland. "Generally [girls] enter school more prepared than boys for the activities that characterize early schooling. In addition, inner-city black girls are exposed very early in their academic careers to consistent and literate black females who offer positive role models. Equally important, many of the instructional strategies used in early childhood and primary education require children to copy the behavior of the teacher."

Holland is disappointed but undaunted. He has been working with the Washington chapter of Concerned Black Men, other male volunteers, and Howard University's Undergraduate Student Assembly to recruit and train men as teaching assistants to four first-grade teachers at a local elementary school.

"The response of the students, faculty, staff and volunteers to this pilot-year effort has been excellent," he reports. Boys who were having severe academic and behavioral difficulties have made "an incredible turnaround," he says.

Male volunteer teaching assistantships are a wonderful idea—one that ought to be copied across this nation, where male elementary teachers are in perpetual short supply. But where these rare male teachers do exist, wouldn't it make sense to use them for all-male classes? Does anyone really believe that such an arrangement is a denial of rights to girls?

Think about it, OCR.



BY KATY KELLY

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New Era Beginning For Boston's Schools

Parental-Choice Plan to Replace Forced Busing

By Barbara Vobejda
Washington Post Staff Writer

BOSTON—Reflecting on the changes facing the Boston school system, Superintendent Laval S. Wilson pulls out a collection of photographs taken 15 years ago when the city became a symbol of violent school desegregation. In glossy black and white, they show schools surrounded by police, frightened black children peering through broken windows, "WHITE POWER" spray-painted in giant letters on the street pavement.

Then Wilson brings out another group of photos, these meant to show Boston public schools today: smiling children in integrated classrooms, engrossed in their lessons and working intently over beakers in chemistry lab.

No one familiar with Boston schools would completely accept the premise that the system has risen from the ashes to a state of racial harmony and academic excellence. And yet, with the schools poised on the verge of a historic change, Wilson's comparison is not far-fetched.

While many big cities across the country are still struggling either to fulfill or escape from court-imposed desegregation plans, Boston is among a handful that have been released from court orders. The city that was emblematic of all that could go wrong with desegregation is becoming known instead for its attempts at school reform.

The controversial court-imposed busing plan that sent Boston into crisis in 1974 is being replaced by a plan that allows parents to choose the schools their children will attend. In part, the change is a response to demographics: In the years since the busing plan went into effect, the school system has lost most of its white students, making it virtually impossible to maintain a racially balanced system.

But the new plan is also an attempt to force schools to improve and give parents more voice in their children's education.

"In 1975, it was the only way to solve the problem," Wilson said of the busing plan. Now, he said, "We're busing kids all over the city

we can't get the racial mix, so why do it?"

"The time has come" for a new plan, Wilson said. "It is the right thing to do."

This fall, Boston will institute a "controlled-choice" plan, which divides the city into three zones and allows families to choose a school in their zone, as long as their choice would not upset the school's racial balance. The plan will be phased in, beginning with kindergarten, first-grade and sixth-grade students this fall and extending to all other grades the following year.

If a school fails to attract adequate numbers of students, teams of specialists will be assigned to help upgrade programs. Principals and teachers can be removed, and eventually, if applicants do not increase, the school could be closed.

Some proponents of the plan argue it could improve desegregation by forcing schools to compete for students and, as a result, improve the quality of education they offer. These improvements, according to supporters, will keep in the public school system white families who may otherwise choose private schools.

The prevailing hope, however, is that the plan will simply maintain the current level of desegregation.

Boston's is among many "choice" plans being introduced across the country in the latest wave of school reform, but few other cities are going through such sweeping change. A new teachers' contract, which is likely to be ratified this month, is expected to usher in another, equally dramatic restructuring in the school system, shifting management decisions from a central administration to individual school councils made up of parents, teachers and a principal.

At the same time, the Boston School Committee is considering a proposal to shift one-third of the central office administration to school zone offices, and a city commission has recommended that the elected school board be replaced by an appointed one.

Such far-reaching changes come at a time when many in the city accept that the 15-year-old busing plan had run its course.



Christopher Morin, left, and Stacy Allen attend computer class at Lewenberg Middle School, a popular magnet school that has more applicants than it can handle.

W. Arthur Garrity Jr. was imposed in an intensely hostile racial climate. The busing order was resisted by some of the most powerful school committee members. White parents pulled their children from the system by the tens of thousands, and black students assigned to white South Boston High School required daily police escorts in and out of the neighborhood.

While Boston remains a predominantly white city, its school system has an overwhelmingly minority population; it is about 48 percent black, 20 percent Hispanic and 9 percent Asian-American. In the years following the federal court order, white enrollment fell from nearly 45,000 to 13,800.

The difficulty in spreading among the city's schools the remaining white students has left many schools largely minority. Enrollment at one-third of the elementary and middle schools is over 85 percent minority.

In 1987, the U.S. Circuit Court of

tem had done all it could to desegregate, releasing it from Garrity's jurisdiction.

In hindsight, many view the years of desegregation as, at most, a mixed success. But others argue that the schools have changed, in part because of the changes brought in with the court order.

"There's a lot more non-whites teaching and running the schools than there would have been without the lawsuit," said Thomas Atkins, the attorney for the plaintiffs in the desegregation case. "Programs have been put into place that wouldn't be there but for the court order."

And Kathleen Rowlings, a white parent who sends her children to a predominantly black school in Mattapan, said she believes attitudes also have changed.

"If it's a good school, parents are willing to go into any neighborhood," she said. "There's always some prejudice, but people have gone beyond that. They want to get

But there remains some racial contention in Boston school politics, and Wilson, the city's first black superintendent, holds his job by the narrowest of margins. When Wilson's contract came up this spring, he was retained on a 7 to 6 vote, with all four black members of the 13-member school committee supporting him. The four blacks on the committee were the only members to vote against the choice plan, arguing for a delay.

Others cite different reasons for their skepticism on whether Boston's plan will succeed.

Atkins argued that the plan was introduced in a "slapdash manner" that did not give parents sufficient time to make an educated choice among schools.

"It's not going to take desegregation beyond where it was," said Atkins, who filed a recent, unsuccessful court challenge before Garrity asking that the plan be delayed. "We hope it goes well. We will help. But we've seen a lot of Septembers.

Nevertheless, school officials were encouraged by the first round of enrollment applications submitted this spring by parents of sixth-graders. Charles L. Glenn, executive director of the state's Office of Educational Equity, said the city could grant more than 77 percent of parents' first choices without upsetting the current racial balance at schools.

About 90 percent of students could get either their first or second choice of schools, Glenn said.

Those application numbers carry great importance to individual schools, indicating even now that some will be extremely popular, while others will have a difficult time drawing sufficient numbers of students.

Lewenberg Middle School in Mattapan, for example, a magnet school that has specialized in reading and writing, was chosen first by 218 students, while its current

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