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IDEA [Individuals with Disabilities Education Act] (Continued): IDEA 3/3 [1]

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tory remarks outraged Colombian authorities and mortified American diplomats who rushed to disavow his statements. But questions of protocol and national hurt feelings aside, it's fair to ask if Mr. Toft got it right.

State Department, DEA and U.S. Embassy in Bogota statements on Mr. Toft's parting shots were noteworthy for what they didn't say. While they sought to reassure Colombians that Mr. Toft was speaking only for himself and was no longer on the U.S. payroll, they passed up the opportunity to say he wasn't speaking the truth. Perhaps that is because of the difficulty in viewing the situation in any other light. It strains credulity to believe that Colombia could have become headquarters of the Cali cartel's global, multibillion-dollar drug empire, and one of the

floods American and European streets is processed. Drug producing countries argue, correctly, that the drug problem is a two-way street. U.S. drug addiction does make Colombian drug kingpins possible. Colombia's new president, Ernesto Samper Pizano, went out of his way during a United Nations speech last week to drive that point home. In what some observers regarded as a swipe at former D.C. mayor and Democratic party primary winner Marion Barry, who has a cocaine conviction, the president complained, "We feel alone, very much alone, when we see popularly elected mayors who are avowed chronic drug users." In anger over Mr. Toft's parting shots, Colombian officials have decided to review the DEA's role in their country. They should review more than that.

'Special Needs' and Classrooms

THE GOVERNMENT weighed in Thursday on one of the hottest issues now being fought inside, as opposed to about, public education: Is the generation-old effort to educate physically and mentally disabled children in ordinary classrooms working? The inch-thick, congressionally mandated five-year study of what happens to the children known in the jargon as "special needs students" in regular classrooms isn't comprehensive or definitive, since it looks only at disabled high school students. But its main finding is significant nonetheless: Such students who spend all their time in regular classrooms fail more frequently than those who spend only some. For ninth-graders who spent "most of their time" in regular classes, compared with those who spent half their time there, the increased likelihood of failure was 10 percent.

This isn't a recommendation against the kind of careful, individualized, case-by-case placement and guidance that was envisioned by those who first wrote the laws mandating education of the physically and mentally disabled in the "least restrictive environment" possible—a standard that was eventually ratified by the Supreme Court. It's just a reflection that these kinds of supports and extra services are frequently lacking once a child has been placed in the "least restrictive environment." The dramatic changes wrought by the law that mandated education for the disabled came in two waves—first, the adjustments the public schools had to make when they were advised of their obligation to accommodate disabled children, which meant creating special programs and special classrooms and hiring aides and experts; second, the harsher "mainstream-

ing" that began to take place willy-nilly when some of those same school systems, the District's among them, found budget pressures forcing them to close those extra programs and put those children in regular classrooms whether or not they were ready. Nobody is for such "budget-driven inclusion," but it's what sharpened the problem to the point where the American Federation of Teachers last December called for an end to the practice of automatically seeking all-day inclusion for every child, no matter how medically fragile or emotionally disturbed. If current trends continue, the AFT said then, the number of such children in classrooms will double, and teachers and most students will be overwhelmed.

"Special needs," like "disabled," covers an unmanageably wide range of problems, from impairments like autism that may make students disrupt regular classrooms to very mild retardation. In every child's case, the question facing schools, teachers and parents is into which category that child should be put. In many ways this fight mirrors the endless argument over tracking for the "gifted and talented" at the spectrum's other end: To what extent and in which cases should the needs of a majority of children be allowed to weigh against, impinge upon, those of a particular child? When there is coordination and trust among parents, teachers and the schools, those questions can often be answered, but they can never be answered permanently or unassailably in the abstract. The new information from the Education Department report can advance the discussion if it helps remind schools and parents of that difficult truth.

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Sevetzen

Jimmy Dintzel Judy Heimen
 Lee Vargas Brian McNulty
 Charlene Green Asim H. L. ...
 Nancy Williams Bob Slawson
 you Diane Lipton
 John Farnell

- Performance-based evaluation; stop focusing so much on process-based confidence
- Multiple intelligences
- Assign to special education - real resources in decision make to "labeling"
- #32 better overall on special ed
- want-to-fail: special ed perpetuates prevent early interventions
- perverse incentives: $\langle \#1 \rangle \rightarrow \langle \#1 \rangle$
- segregation $\rightarrow$ lower standards; the problem is not evaluation per se
- for learning-disabled children: what about a mandatory tutor program before assignment?
- waste in the system
 - * administrative
 - * transportation
 - * unnecessary assessment
 - * long-term, non-intensive as opposed to early + intensive
- reading is the key; need teachers who are trained in teaching reading
- Vermont model for funding
- locus of responsibility: schools are responsible for all children
- "golden rules" - star for good teaching
- mildly disabled v. deeply disabled
 - * standards
 - * inclusion issues
- if not addressed, low credibility

- Colorado, KY as models: relatively small % of kids who can't hear up to full 90th 2000 standard
- need access to regular curriculum
- separate units v. separate schools

SECRET

List of experts and invited guests for the August 31 IDEA meeting
with Secretary Riley

Brian McNulty, Ph.D. is Assistant to the Commissioner of Education in Colorado and Executive Director of the Office of Special Services. Prior to this, Dr. McNulty was State Director of the Special Education Services unit for seven years.

Diane Lipton is Staff Attorney with Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund (DREDF), a national law and policy center working for the civil rights of people with disabilities. She is the director of DREDF's State Support Center, which provides technical assistance on disability and special education law to legal services offices throughout California. Ms. Lipton is also the parent of a child with a disability.

Robert Slavin is Director of the Early and Elementary School Program at the Center for Research on Effective Schooling for Disadvantaged Students at Johns Hopkins University. He focuses on early reading intervention programs such as Success for All. He has coined the term "neverstreaming" to describe a focus on keeping all children in the mainstream curriculum and class by intervening early to prevent academic difficulties.

Charlene Green is Associate Superintendent in the Chicago Public Schools. (She replaced Tom Hehir in that position when Tom left Chicago to join the Department.)

Asa Hilliard is a professor of educational psychology in the Department of Educational Psychology and Special Education at Georgia State University. He focuses on the evaluation and assessment tools used to place students into special education. He recommends changing the assessment tools and to provide "dynamic assessments" with meaningful information and full description of how each student functions.

Edward Lee Vargas is Division Superintendent for Support Services, Santa Ana Unified School District, Santa Ana, California. He has a background as a special education teacher. He is concerned about increasing accountability and about providing schools with the flexibility to improve the academic performance of special education students.

John Pannell is principal at Malcolm X Elementary School in the District of Columbia. His school is part of the early childhood inclusion programs in the District.

Nancy Williams is a third grade teacher at Myersville Elementary School in Myersville, Maryland. Myersville is a middle-income school known for its commitment to inclusion. She has experience with both regular and special education students.

JOHN LEO

The blackboard bungle

Jimmy Peters, 6, is described vaguely as "communicatively handicapped." He speaks only in disconnected words. According to teachers, when he's frustrated, he lashes out. In his kindergarten class in Huntington Beach, Calif., teachers say, he threw chairs, toppled desks, repeatedly bit and kicked other children and teachers, and disrupted class by throwing temper tantrums.

The Ocean View School District wanted to transfer Jimmy to a special education class. His father said no and denies his son is violent. The district sued to remove the boy. A country judge temporarily barred Jimmy from class, but a federal judge ruled that Jimmy is not an immediate danger to himself or others and ordered him readmitted.

Jimmy's teacher went on medical leave, saying she couldn't take the stress any longer, and 12 of the 31 children in Jimmy's class were removed by their parents because of the boy's return. "We're not against inclusion," said Karen Croft, one of the parents. "But if a child is going to be included in a class, he has to behave."

The Jimmy problem is a byproduct of humane reform: the mainstreaming of hundreds of thousands of disabled youngsters into ordinary public school classrooms. The downside of the movement is that schools have lost much of their ability to maintain order. The state of Virginia is currently battling the

U.S. Department of Education to preserve school boards' authority to expel disabled students for behavior unrelated to their disability, such as bringing guns, knives or drugs into schools.

In 1988, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that public schools may not expel or remove disruptive, emotionally disturbed children from their classes for more than 10 days,

The problem is becoming worse as the call for "full inclusion" grows.

even to protect others from physical assault, unless they get permission of the parents or a judge. Writing for the majority, Justice William Brennan said that when school officials sue to remove a disturbed child, they have the burden of proving the child is dangerous.

This has had the effect of turning placement decisions — whether a child goes to a regular class or a special ed class — over to lawyers and judges. And the high hurdle of having to prove dangerousness to self or others, the same hurdle that keeps some of the wilder deinstitutionalized mental patients on our streets, means the schools will usually lose such suits in court.

More astonishingly, the right of

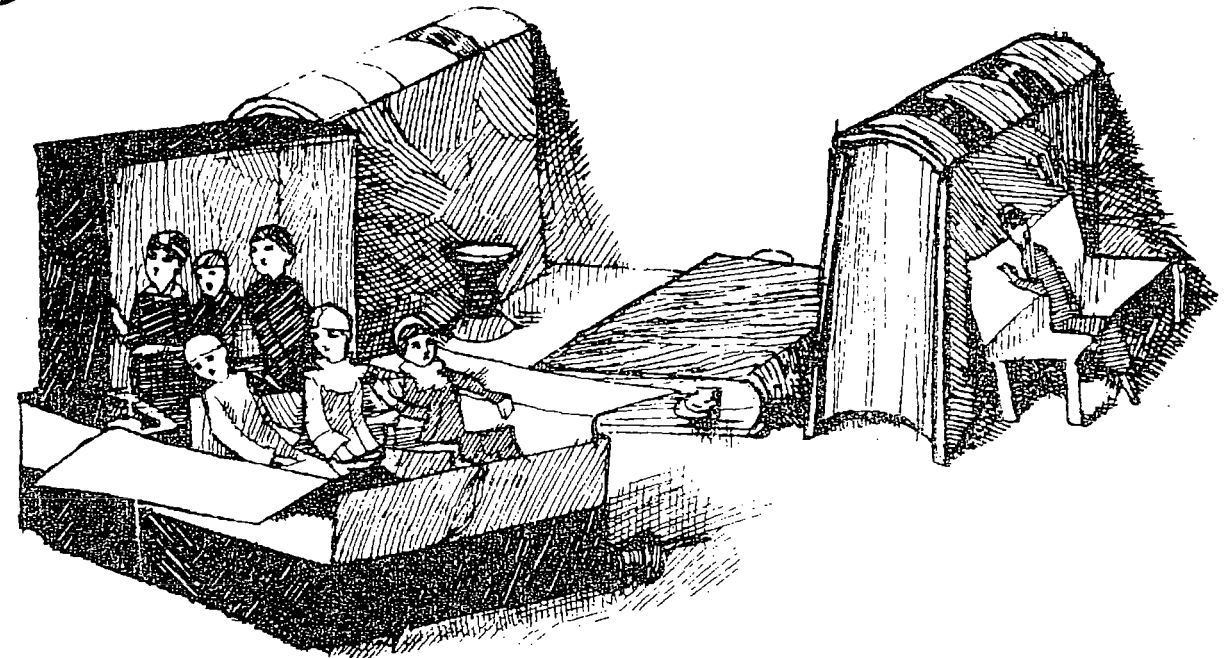
all schoolchildren to a chaos-free classroom is not taken into account. If proving dangerousness to a judge is the only way to remove a disturbed child, then presumably the child could run around class shrieking every day, toppling desks and shredding schoolbooks in a non-dangerous manner without running afoul of the Brennan rule.

"At what point do we raise the question, 'Can the rest of the class function?'" asks Robert Berne, dean of the Wagner School of Public Service at New York University. "If mainstreaming is slightly better for the disturbed child, but much worse for everyone else, we have to deal with that."

The problem is becoming worse as the call for "full inclusion" grows. In the 1980s, many school districts started mainstreaming children with mild disabilities, often without special help. Since then, children with severe mental, physical and behavioral problems have been placed in regular classes. The argument is now made that the "exclusion" of any youngster, no matter how seriously impaired, is simply unjust.

There's a more cynical explanation for the sudden mainstreaming of very serious cases: Since special-education students are heavily funded, school districts can save millions by "dumping" these students into regular classes without providing the support of expensive aides and special teachers.

Albert Shanker, president of the



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

American Federation of Teachers, says a lot of dumping is going on. The AFT believes that many teachers are either afraid or skeptical of the inclusion policies. An AFT poll of West Virginia teachers shows 78 percent of respondents think disabled students won't benefit from the inclusion policy; 87 percent said other students won't benefit either.

The Toledo AFT points out that some severely disturbed children are already in regular public schools, though still segregated in special classes. Among them are

students in diapers, others fed through tubes, suffering from obsessive-compulsive disorders, or extremely violent and destructive. One 9-year-old, whose mother had sued for him to be mainstreamed, had broken the jaw of one staff member and three ribs of another. A high school student urinated on the floor, banged her head against the wall and tore off her clothes and shredded them when she did not get her own way.

The call for "full inclusion" should surely lead to some discus-

sion about when exclusion is justified, what the financial and social costs of the program will be, and what kind of learning will go on in classes where severe disturbance is allowed to set the tone. This movement has rolled along without enough input from the public. If it goes much further, it may turn out to be yet another advertisement for school choice programs.

John Leo is a contributing editor of U.S. News & World Report and a nationally syndicated columnist.

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Where We Stand

By Albert Shanker, President
American Federation of Teachers

Inclusion and Ideology

The movement in American education that is taking hold the fastest and is likely to have the profoundest—and most destructive—effect is not what you might think. It's the rush towards full inclusion of disabled children in regular classrooms.

Advocates demand that all disabled children be put into regular classrooms, regardless of their ability to function or benefit and regardless of the effect on other children in the class. And they are being successful. Full inclusion is happening quickly, all over the country, without substantial debate in state legislatures and school boards, through court orders and federal directives.

As a result, we are seeing medically fragile children and children with severe behavioral disorders placed in regular classrooms where teachers who have had little if any special training—and get little if any extra help—struggle to deal with the youngsters' special needs. This could mean suctioning mucus from a child's lungs or giving him a medicated enema. Or it could mean trying to figure out how to handle a child who bites and kicks others with no apparent provocation and shouts or cries and exposes himself throughout the school day. And all this while the teacher is attempting to give other students the grounding they need in math and reading and science.

Full inclusionists argue that all the supports that disabled children have in special education settings must follow them into regular classrooms. This is no more likely to happen for disabled children than it did for mentally ill people who were de-institutionalized years ago. Their supports were also supposed to follow them when institutions were closed, but the supports never materialized; and now, as we know, many of these people are out on the streets. That's one reason why many parents of disabled children oppose full inclusion. They fear their children will lose the range of services now available and end up, like those who were de-institutionalized, with nothing.

We usually think of schools as performing three functions: imparting knowledge and skills; preparing students for the working world; and helping them become good citizens and develop socially. But those demanding full inclusion are interested in only one thing—socialization. Teaching disabled and nondisabled kids to get along together is worthwhile (as many schools that don't practice full inclusion would agree), but it is only one value. And it's certainly not the only reason taxpayers support the schools.

Full inclusion is often justified by an analogy with the racial segregation practiced during a good portion of our history. Just as "separate but equal" always meant "inferior," inclusionists feel the same is true of any separate classes for any disabled children.

But the analogy is faulty. African-American children have the same range of abilities and needs as white children. They were excluded only because of the color of their skin, which was irrelevant to their ability to function in a regular classroom and benefit from being there. This is quite different from putting a blind youngster into a special class so he can learn Braille or excluding a youngster who is emotionally disturbed because he will disrupt the education of other kids—while deriving little benefit himself.

Recently, I received a letter from Edward Martin, who was the first director of the U.S. Bureau of Education for the Handicapped and now heads an advocacy group for the disabled. He, too, opposes full inclusion, and he is especially troubled by the idea of making sweeping changes without any data or research to support these changes. Where are our figures on how well disabled students in regular classrooms do in comparison with those in special education settings? How many drop out? How many go on to college or vocational programs? Without this kind of information, we have no way of knowing what is working for these youngsters and what is not. "Special education programs," Martin says, "must be judged on their successes, not on our wishes for a more inclusive society."

Many disabled children can be, and are now, included in regular classrooms and, with adequate supports, many more could be. These decisions should be made on an individual basis—depending on the nature and severity of the disability—and remade if a placement turns out to have been wrong. And they should be based on what is good for all the children involved—the children with disabilities and the others. But full inclusion makes no room for individual judgments. It is an ideological position that disabled and nondisabled children must *always* be fully integrated, regardless of the circumstances or consequences.

Some full inclusionists talk as though they are in a battle pitting the forces of morality against the forces of immorality. In reality, the battle pits ideologues who, without any evidence, would force destructive changes on our schools against people who believe that children's interests come first.

Mr. Shanker's comments appear in this section every Sunday, under the auspices of the New York State United Teachers and the American Federation of Teachers. Reader correspondence is invited. Address your letters to Mr. Shanker at the AFT, 555 New Jersey Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. © 1994 by Albert Shanker.

A Great Reason to Hang Out at the Mall

Innovative public school is planned within a Santa Ana shopping area

Southern Californians may not be packed in like sardines yet, despite the region's increasing urbanization, but schools definitely are feeling a squeeze. Many cities are experiencing substantial increases among their populations of young adults, and that means ever-growing numbers of children who need seats in schools.

Typically, children are crowded into existing buildings and portable buildings start popping up on campuses when money for new facilities is tight. Now, with a plan for a first-ever "space-saver" school in Santa Ana, the state is seeking to take an innovative approach to urban public education.

Rather than sprawling for a block or more in a residential neighborhood, the school would occupy a yet-to-be-built three-story structure that would house a parking garage on the ground floor and classrooms for 1,300

intermediate-grade students on the two floors above.

The location, too, is unusual: a shopping mall.

The Legislature, which promised to fund the program from bond measures, recommended that urban school districts build new facilities next to or atop underutilized commercial or industrial buildings to avoid condemning property elsewhere.

Urbanized Santa Ana is an ideal place to launch the project. School board members say they could use 10 new schools right now, and they expect enrollment to rise even more.

Such imaginative approaches to neighborhood schools are needed throughout the region. For example, when damage from the Northridge earthquake forced Los Angeles campuses to close, LEARN (the Los Angeles Educational Alliance for Re-

structuring Now) wisely began an effort to take advantage of vacant commercial spaces nearby and convert empty offices into classrooms.

Facing the Santa Ana effort are questions from some neighbors of the Bristol Market Place mall, where the 98,000-square-foot campus would be built. They worry about traffic, parking and crime problems that might arise from a new school. We hope that the proposal will not be done in by nothing more than "Not In My Back Yard" resistance. Santa Ana ought to have an opportunity to try this promising approach.

The state has earmarked \$23 million to buy the Santa Ana property and has promised \$20 million more to build the school and recreational facilities. At a time when funds are scarce in Sacramento, Santa Ana is in line for a windfall that promises to be a useful model for other districts.

Schools for All, or Separate but Equal?

Next week, the House Subcommittee on Select Education and Civil Rights will begin hearings on re-authorizing the Individuals With Disabilities Education Act. A growing number of experts and parents claim that the act should be rewritten to make inclusion in regular schools mandatory for all disabled children. Here, two writers who have observed disabled students in mainstream classrooms recall their experiences.

An Interpreter Isn't Enough

By Leah Hager Cohen

IT'S A few minutes before the class will start. Everyone's fishing notebooks from knapsacks and sharpening pencils, and it's all "What did you put for the last answer on the algebra?" and "Tomorrow's the last day for yearbook money, right?" and "If we want to stay for the game, Toni says she can give us a ride." All of the eleventh-graders are speaking or listening, directly or indirectly. Except for one student, sitting down front. She is neither speaking nor listening; she is not involved; she is deaf.

I am her sign-language interpreter. I stand at the front of the class, poised to begin signing whenever she looks at me, but she doesn't; she is resting her eyes on the sky outside the window. When at last she does turn her face, it is not to see what her classmates are saying but to chat with me about her weekend, about the book I am reading, about her dog, my sweater, anything. She is hungry for communication and chooses me — an adult satellite paid to follow her through the school day — rather than her peers, who do not speak her language.

Class begins. She pays attention for a while. Sometimes when the teacher asks a question, she signs a response, which I interpret into spoken English — always a little late, just a few seconds after the other students. Sometimes the students all talk at once; their voices overlap and I have to choose one thread to follow, or compress them all in a quick synopsis, inserting who said which thing to whom and in what tone of voice.

Sometimes I make a mistake and have to correct myself and then we both fall behind and I scramble, signing extra-fast to catch up. Sometimes, when I am speaking for her, I don't understand something she has signed. I have to ask her to repeat it, and I can see her flush, both of us sensing the polite and condescending impatience of the teacher and the class.

Sometimes the teacher uses a roll-down map or an overhead projector, and all the students train their eyes on the visual information while listening to the teacher. I move closer to the map or screen, trying to make my hands make sense of all the information. The girl looks at me, then at the visual display. The teacher talks on. By the time the student looks at me again, she has lost three sentences. She looks at her notes and loses more sentences. Frustration flickers across

Leah Hager Cohen is author of "Train Go Sorry: Inside a Deaf World."

her face, her eyes go blank and she gives up, returning her gaze to the sky.

I do not eat lunch with her, but I have seen her in the cafeteria at a long white table with other students. She is able, sort of, to participate in conversation, if someone makes a point of turning and speaking directly to her. Because she has trouble lip reading and they have trouble understanding her speech, she often resorts to pen and paper. The students are patient. But conversation usually ricochets

Schools for the deaf fill a gap.

across the table too rapidly for her even to pretend comprehension, so she takes a bite of her sandwich. She chews carefully, almost surreptitiously; she has been told that deaf people make funny noises when they eat.

More often, she doesn't go to the cafeteria at all. She spends her lunch period at the library, in woodshop, on the basketball court shooting hoops. She's a good athlete. She runs with the cross-country team, but she doesn't participate in student government or school plays or the literary magazine or cheerleading. She prefers activities in which she can excel alone.

Her parents are proud that she attends a regular public school. They do not use sign language. On Mondays, she comes to school ravenous for conversation with me. She signs gregariously before class and even during class, and I smile in a small way and sign back: wait, wait, we'll talk about it later, the teacher's speaking now.

Her teachers ask me how I think she's doing. I tell them that I cannot say; as the interpreter, I'm not permitted to give an opinion. I say, "Maybe you would like to ask her? I'd be glad to interpret if you'd like to ask her yourself." They do not take me up on it.

This girl could go to a federally-financed school for the deaf, where all the students can converse with each other, all the information is presented visually, teachers sign and deaf adults serve as role models, deaf kids lead the student government and star in the school play.

These schools prepare students for jobs and college. They also give the students access to the deaf community, which has its own language, folklore, traditions, social clubs, periodicals, athletic teams and political events. The schools have always served as the cultural center of the deaf community. Yet proponents of inclusion would like to close them, claiming that it would liberate deaf people from the "discrimination" of separate schooling and give them equality. All it would require are some sign-language interpreters to smooth out the differences, they say.

To many deaf people, this is at best maddeningly naïve; at worst, it is chauvinistic. The history of deaf people is one of mandated assimilation: we can make you more like hearing people, we can make you more normal.

Proponents of inclusion should ask themselves why it looks so appealing. Is it the policy that will best serve deaf people? Or is it simply a way to further that great American myth, the one we seem to need like oxygen, that says we're all created equal?

Stepping Into The World

By Russell Martin

IN the fall of 1989, Ian Drummond began first grade. After a year in special-education kindergarten, this nonspeaking autistic boy was deemed ready to take another step into the world.

But before Ian started at Gateway Elementary in Woodland Park, Colo., his mother came to school to describe her son to his future classmates. She showed them a videotape — images of a blond boy, who looked normal, swinging and sliding on their playground. His mother explained that Ian had a sister named Sarah and a dog, that he liked stories about animals and that he loved to watch movies.

Yet, she explained, the kinds of sounds Ian would make wouldn't quite

Russell Martin is author of the forthcoming "Out of Silence," about his autistic nephew, Ian Drummond.

be words. She warned that sometimes he would push them out of his way but only when he really needed to go where he's going. Sometimes he would get upset and cry and scream for no apparent reason. He would spend lots of time alone, she said, even when they wanted him to join them, but it would not be because he didn't like them.

When Ian came to the room, his classmates were excited — some afraid, others eager to meet him — but within an hour or so his presence was taken for granted.

Ian took this step in his own kind of stride. He ate his lunch at a table with other kids in the cafeteria. With the help of a teaching assistant, he was attentive during math and reading time. He still spent half of each day in a room with special-education students, yet his clockwork coming and going between the two classes seemed to suit his innate need for organization.

He initially sat at the edge of the cluster of kids who crowded around the teacher, Barbara Myers, as she read. But after a few weeks he began moving into their midst. Entranced by books, Ian made a point of investigating the new titles Mrs. Myers would display on the chalk tray.

One day in November, on the heels of Halloween festivities that hadn't seemed to interest Ian at all, he sat at his desk looking at an illustrated story called "The Farm Concert." By chance, everyone was quiet at the moment he nonchalantly said "cow" in a throaty whisper. Then he said "cow" again — audibly, distinctly — and the room erupted, his classmates shouting, "Ian said 'cow!' Ian said

'cow!'" Most of them rushed to his desk. Mrs. Myers was beside him as well, tears streaming down her face "Say it again!" the students encouraged him. And he calmly said "cow" another time.

By the beginning of the next school year, Ian was speaking about two dozen words, and flashcard exercises showed that his reading vocabulary was growing. He remained a first-grader, held back because he had been the youngest in his previous class. Now that he was one of the oldest, his parents and teachers hoped that his skills would more closely match that of his classmates and that he might begin to form friendships.

Ian had shared toys successfully in the special-education class, and he soon made friendships with kids in

Ian spoke, and the class cheered.

the larger class. It clearly didn't matter much to them that Ian could say so little, or that the words he could pronounce sounded strange. And with his friend Eddie — a rugged boy who assumed the role of Ian's champion and confidant — a one-way flow of words seemed more than adequate. Eddie developed an uncanny ability to sense what Ian could tolerate and what he could not. Eddie knew when a crisis was looming, and even how to push Ian to try some new things.

It seemed clear to the staff at Gateway that if Ian could prove so capable of inclusion, then virtually any other student could as well. And it didn't seem to benefit only Ian; sometimes inclusion's greatest value seemed to be what it offered the regular kids who had contact with him.

One day the next spring, Ian stood calmly at the front of his classroom, a giant-sized edition of "The Farm Concert" on an easel in front of him and his classmates sitting on the carpet at his feet. In the loudest voice he could muster, his words spoken clumsily but intelligibly, Ian announced the title and began to read, his cadence and inflection surprisingly appropriate:

"Moo, moo," went the cow.
"Wuff, wuff," went the dog.
"Quack, quack," went the duck.
"Oink, oink," went the pig.
"Baa, baa," went the sheep.
"Quiet!" yelled the farmer. "I can't sleep!"

Then, mimicking the way in which Mrs. Myers and his parents had read the story to him a hundred times, his voice just a whisper, he continued:

"Moo, moo," went the cow.
"Wuff, wuff," went the dog.
"Quack, quack," went the duck.
"Oink, oink," went the pig.
"Baa, baa," went the sheep.
"Good," said the farmer. "I can sleep."

Ian's classmates erupted in applause, and a boy near him quickly extended his palm and shouted "give me five!" Then a dozen hands were extended, the kids up on their knees, pressing toward him and hollering "give me five!"

Ian stood calmly, his face expressionless, his eyes turning to survey each of them yet appearing uncertain how to react to this ceremonial stuff of giving five. Then Eddie jumped up to help, guiding Ian's hand into the 20 open palms with a quick and hearty slap, Eddie saying, "yeah, Ian, cool, now you're giving five!"

Japan, Bowing to Pressure, Defers Plutonium Projects

By DAVID E. SANGER
Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, Feb. 20 — Bowing to international pressure, Japan has decided to postpone, for as long as 20 years, a series of multibillion-dollar nuclear power projects that would add tremendously to the world oversupply of plutonium, Japanese and American officials say.

The decision, to be announced in the next few months, came after a year-long reassessment of Japan's ambitious but politically troublesome nuclear energy program and stemmed largely from the international outcry last year over Japan's sea shipment from Europe of more than a ton of plutonium, a highly toxic and radioactive material that is a fuel for nuclear weapons. Several of Japan's Asian neighbors banned the shipment from passing through their waters, fearing an accident or terrorist incident.

The Government's decision affects the schedule for building several breeder reactors — which are nuclear power plants that both consume and produce plutonium — and a second reprocessing plant, which turns ordinary nuclear waste into plutonium. It also seems bound to cut sharply the shipments of plutonium from Europe because Japan will have far less capacity to use the plutonium fuel.

The Government's decision is also motivated partly by fears among Japan's huge utility companies that the country's policy to create a "nuclear fuel cycle" — turning nuclear waste into plutonium fuel — was quickly becoming a financial fiasco, one that could cost them billions of dollars.

Policy Is Retained

Japanese officials say they have no intention of abandoning their fuel-recycling policy. But the delays are clearly an effort to back away, and many of them concede that they were shocked by the scope of international protests generated by the first plutonium shipment. Officially, about two sea shipments of one to two tons are planned annually for the next 18 years, although that plan also seems bound to be drastically changed.

What to do with that plutonium is becoming a major problem: Tokyo clearly fears that the political liabilities will mount in coming years if Japan is unable to burn all the plutonium it plans to produce or import. Plutonium stockpiles would only add to suspicions abroad, denied by Japan, that Tokyo has ulterior motives and is keep-

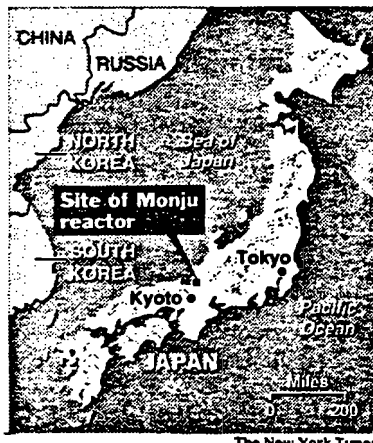
Fears of a dangerous glut of nuclear material.

ing its options open in case it ever needs to develop nuclear weapons.

Looming large against this background is North Korea, which is widely suspected of operating a nuclear weapons program. Even without a weapons project in Japan, many Asian nations say, the mere presence of large amounts of plutonium in the country constitutes a latent nuclear capability.

"Our basic policy is still in place, but now we are looking out at the year 2020, or maybe 2050," a senior Government official involved in the debate said last week. "Politically, it is clear that this is not the time to be producing plutonium, shipping it around the world or storing it."

The Clinton Administration, fearful of adding to its tensions with Washington's biggest ally in the Pacific, has never publicly opposed Japan's plans to build breeder reactors or the reprocessing centers needed to convert nuclear waste. In fact, the non-proliferation policies issued by the White House



Next month Japan will activate a \$5 billion breeder reactor called Monju, named for the Buddhist divinity of wisdom.

last year gave a specific exemption to Japan's project, and to reprocessing centers in England and France that depend heavily on Japan's business.

U.S. Halted Program

But the United States halted its own breeder reactor program 15 years ago, largely to stop the spread of bomb-grade materials. American officials have made little secret of their concern that Japan's program would add tremendously to the glut of plutonium created by the dismantling of nuclear weapons in the former Soviet republics.

While Japan's plutonium is "reactor grade," meaning it is made for energy production instead of weapons, the National Academy of Sciences recently concluded that such material could be used to make a bomb, heightening the concerns that the supplies could fall into the hands of terrorists or aspiring nuclear nations, including Iran, Iraq and North Korea.

"The overall program is now seen as more trouble than it is worth, in terms of the money and the politics," said Paul Leventhal, the president of the Nuclear Control Institute, a group in Washington that has led the lobbying effort against Japan's plutonium plans. It has suggested instead that Tokyo buy and stockpile large amounts of uranium, which is far more difficult to turn into nuclear weapons.

"The increasing international pressure because of the program has created a perception abroad that Japan is interested in preserving the nuclear weapons option," Mr. Leventhal said. Tokyo, he added, "is finding it more difficult to blunt that perception."

Trying to Avoid Debate

While the wisdom of Japan's energy strategy has been widely debated abroad, the Government here has done everything it can to suppress open arguments that could stir a Japanese public when there is growing sentiment against nuclear power, especially as the authorities try to find sites for new plants. But some Japanese scientists are beginning to chafe.

"There are almost no open arguments on the issue," Prof. Kazuo Furukawa of Tokai University wrote recently in Asahi Shimbun. With the Government and some Government-controlled nuclear institutes commanding the research money, he added, "there is no democratic climate, and the debate has created factions and authoritarian tendencies."

Nonetheless, as a study commission has worked in secret on Japan's long-term energy plan, details have gradually been leaking out. Every week now Japanese news organizations are reporting that one element or another of the program will be delayed.

Next month, for instance, Japan will finally activate a \$5 billion breeder reactor called Monju, named for the Buddhist divinity of wisdom, several years behind schedule. The huge com-

plex, on a remote peninsula on the Sea of Japan, was originally supposed to be the first of a series of breeders that would fundamentally change the nuclear power industry here.

But Monju will be so expensive to run that the construction of a second reactor, originally planned to begin immediately, will now apparently not start until the year 2000, at the earliest. In fact, the Government has yet to find a site for the next reactor; so far, none of the country's local prefectural governments wants it to be built in its region.

Another Project Delayed

Several days ago the Asahi Shimbun, one of Japan's largest dailies, reported that the completion of another major project, a second "reprocessing plant," which would convert the fuel to reactor-grade plutonium, would be also delayed — from the year 2010 to the year 2030. Construction of the first reprocessing plant has already begun, but many experts say they have their doubts about when it will open.

By American standards, delaying huge technology projects by a generation, rather than canceling them outright, may seem ludicrous. But in Japan, few big projects are ever killed. Instead, they remain forever in the planning stage, keeping a vast bureaucracy at work. Already the Government-created corporations managing the nuclear fuel cycle have employed thousands. Terminating it would be politically unacceptable.

By slowing the program drastically, however, the Government appears to be betting that it can silence its international critics without visibly cutting back on employment. If the political atmosphere changes, or another energy crisis strikes, the program would be waiting in the wings.

The program that Japan is being forced to delay is already nearly 30 years old. In 1966, encouraged by the United States, Japan adopted a plan to build a series of breeder reactors around the country and become a leader in the technology. It seemed to make tremendous economic sense. By the 1990's, the Government said, uranium would be scarce and expensive, making the high cost of recovering plutonium from spent nuclear fuel a bargain.

Uranium Prices Plunge

But the projections went wildly awry. Uranium prices have plunged, making the breeder reactors 5 to 15 times more expensive to run than conventional nuclear power plants. The United States dropped out of the breeder reactor business. Then the end of the cold war created the glut in plutonium. That heightened fears that the world oversupply was worsening, just as Japan set about producing more.

But once Japan was on the road to recycling, it seemed that there was no turning back. It has already shipped undetermined number of tons of nuclear waste to Europe, reportedly spending as much as \$3 billion in secret agreements to help Britain and France build reprocessing installations that would convert the waste to plutonium.

The shipment that caused the protests in January 1993 was the first load of plutonium to arrive back in Japan from Europe. Along the way, South Africa, Brazil, Argentina and the Philippines asked Japan to keep the ship well away from their waters.

Based largely on Japan's commitments, England recently commissioned its new nuclear reprocessor, after a long political battle. But Japan has scheduled no further shipments, in part because it does not have the installations to burn the plutonium.

Shift IEP Focus From Inputs To Outcomes, Advocates Say

Advocates for disabled children want Congress to make individualized education programs (IEPs) more child-centered.

Required for each child with a disability under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), IEPs overemphasize services at the expense of outcomes, and freeze regular ed teachers and parents out of the planning process, advocates say.

IDEA Reauthorization

"Basically, IEPs are very confusing to parents, and they

shouldn't be," said Kevin Dwyer, assistant executive director of the National Association of School Psychologists. "They should be understandable to parents, regular education teachers and special education teachers."

As Congress rewrites special education law next year, advocates for students will push for more mandates on what schools must do in writing IEPs.

Amie Amiot, director of federal education and regulatory policy at the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association, said Congress should give parents more say in IEP planning.

Too often, people who have not even met the child draw up a program based on reports, Dwyer added. As a result, test scores measuring intelligence or achievement are overused.

"These kinds of data do not come close to measuring how well the child functions," Dwyer said. "We want the IEP to [promote] a child's academic, social emotional and functional performance, not just academic performance."

'Mechanical' Document

Failing to describe a child's regular education and excluding the regular teacher from planning leave gaping holes in IEPs, advocates say.

Amiot said IEPs would improve dramatically if they stopped focusing on special services and took into account how well disabled children perform in regular classes.

Advocates want the IEP to move away from being a laundry list of services--speech therapy three times a week to correct a lisp, for example--toward one that can spur achievement.

"It has become a mechanical document ... looked at on a yearly basis rather than a guide throughout the school year," Dwyer said.

CEC Chimes In

Along the same lines, the Council for Exceptional Children (CEC), testifying before the House Select Education and Civil Rights Subcommittee last month, recommended:

- Making the IEP more family-focused, particularly for elementary school children.
 - Eliminating the mandate that schools notify parents every time officials change the strategies used to carry out a child's IEP. Parents would, however, still be notified of changes in identification, evaluation, IEP or placement.
 - Dropping from 16 to 14 the age by which to develop a transition plan for disabled children.
 - Eliminating the requirement that each annual goal in the IEP include two short-term objectives. Dropping objectives would reduce paperwork and increase teaching time, CEC said.
- "There seems to be consensus that the IEP for too many students is no longer meeting the original intent of the framers of the statute and has become cumbersome, and in many instances, meaningless paperwork," CEC President Pam Gillet told the subcommittee.

Low Expectations?

For Justine Maloney, legislative chair of the Learning Disabilities Association of America, the IEP's biggest shortcoming is its failure to expect the best from a disabled child.

"Very often, it's written to [ensure] the lowest expectations so that the school system won't be held responsible if the kid doesn't make progress," Maloney said. --Xavier Briand

Inclusion Of Mentally Retarded Students Shows Incremental Rise

Despite a slight increase in inclusion, the number of children with mental retardation placed in regular classrooms remains abysmally low, a disability group says.

A new study by the Arc, an advocacy group for people with mental retardation, says 7.4 percent of mentally retarded students attended regular classes in the 1990-91 school year, compared with 6.7 percent the year before.

Sharon Davis, the Arc's director of research and program services, called the figure "appalling."

"It's a matter of dignity," Davis said in a statement releasing the study. "Only when students with or without disabilities are educated side by side can they experience the richness of society that values and includes all citizens."

The report, "1994 Update on Inclusion in Education of Children with Mental Retardation," is an epilogue to the Arc's 1992 study ranking and grading each state's inclusion programs using Education Department data.

In that report, just eight states--Massachusetts, Vermont, Wyoming, Idaho, New Hampshire, Arkansas, Nebraska and Kentucky--received passing grades. No state got an A or B.

The new report, also based on ED's numbers, says Vermont had the highest inclusion rate, followed by Wyoming, New Hampshire, Montana and Idaho.

Iowa got the lowest rating, preceded by Nevada, New York, Illinois and Indiana.

Vermont placed two-thirds of its students with mental retardation in regular classrooms. Iowa is one of nine states that included fewer than 1 percent of its mentally retarded students.

In 1991, about a quarter of all mentally retarded students learned in regular classes supplemented by resource rooms. Nearly 60 percent were placed in separate classes and 11 percent attended separate schools or residential facilities, the study says.

"There are school systems where no change is occurring and others that are fighting to maintain segregation for most students with mental retardation," Davis said.

"1994 Update on Inclusion of Children With Mental Retardation" is \$3 from the Arc, 500 E. Border St., Suite 300, Arlington, Texas 76010, (817)261-6003. --Xavier Briand

Job Training Setaside Misses Coordination Target, ED Says

Federal job training funds set aside for integrating education and training often are used to hide administrative expenses, pad budgets or fund pet projects, a national review found.

Education and training agencies have used the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) education coordination pool for many unrelated activities, the Education Department says in its "National Assessment of Vocational Education" (NAVE), sent to Congress last month.

When used as intended, the funds--roughly \$132 million this year--promoted worthwhile vocational and job training collaboration, NAVE says. But the setaside sometimes amounted to "little more than giving funds to educational institutions to provide whatever services they want."

The setaside equals 8 percent of JTPA's year-round program money which totaled \$1.6 billion in fiscal 1994.

It is channeled to state education agencies (SEAs) to make sure the Labor Department's JTPA programs for disadvantaged youths and adults have a strong education component (ED, Nov. 20, 1992). SEAs determine how the money trickles down to local education and job training agencies.

Distinct Points Of View

Education reformers have lauded the set aside, which Congress fine-tuned in 1992 JTPA amendments for instilling stronger remedial education and vocational components in JTPA.

But to the job training community, the pot represents a needless distribution of training funds to the local education agencies and community colleges, who together get the largest share.

"There's been a lot of criticism that the set-aside is too narrow," said Cynthia Davis, executive director of National Association of Workforce Development Professionals, a Washington, D.C., group of job training professionals.

"The tension ... stems from the issue of whether Congress should create this sort of laundry list" of spending restrictions, she said.

NAVE acknowledged those charges, but said job training groups that received the setaside also were guilty of misspending the funds. It said LEAs, private industry councils and other recipients used the funds to:

- Hide administrative expenses and meet performance standards.
- Fund experimental programs for hard-to-serve populations.
- Fund welfare-to-work programs; and
- Support economic development activities and meet performance standards.

NAVE would not cite specific offenders.

Directive Unclear

The report suggests the improper uses may stem from vague JTPA language.

Yet Congress specified that 80 percent of states' coordination money be spent on incentives for school-to-work programs, literacy programs or training to place women in traditionally male-dominated jobs (ED, April 27, 1992). The remaining 20 percent is to be used for state review council activities.

NAVE urged Congress to reexamine the effectiveness of setasides if it considers a similar provision when reauthorizing the Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Education Act in 1996. —Jennifer Cetta

Michigan Eyes Profound Special Ed Funding Changes

A Michigan task force is recommending that the state overhaul its system of financing special education to improve services and help reduce growing costs.

The panel suggests the state stop reimbursing districts for the "added cost" to schools of educating disabled children and instead use a formula or flat grant based on enrollment and district need.

The latter would allow districts to serve students who need help but don't qualify under rules determining which children are disabled.

"The current system penalizes districts [because] they may only claim added costs for eligible students served in approved programs by certified special education staff," the report says. "Likewise, the current system does not provide for funding of preventive efforts."

If Michigan takes its panel's advice, the move could influence next year's revision of federal

special education law. The task force's recommendations are a major departure from the way the federal system now labels and provides funding for disabled students.

In fact, the task force plan resembles a think tank's model for basing federal special ed funding on Census Bureau estimates of disabled population rather than on the number of special ed students served (ED, Aug. 3).

"We have rules of the 1970s for a delivery system for the 1990s," Richard Baldwin, director of the Michigan's Office of Special Education, said in an interview.

All Special Ed Under Review

Michigan's 65-member special education task force--including parents, teachers, administrators and advocates--submitted its 158-page report to the state superintendent last month.

The panel began meeting a year earlier to guide the state through a special ed review. Besides financial issues, it examined programs and services, links between special ed and other agencies and staff training.

If the state board of education adopts them, the proposals could take up to seven years to enact.

Cost Prodding Discussion

The financial recommendations are partly aimed at helping Michigan contain special ed costs, rising 9 percent a year due to inflation and the growing number of eligible students.

A formula-based or block grant for state revenue would help ensure that student needs--not school districts' desire to increase their budgets--drive program delivery, it says.

The task force stresses that the grant program should be based on socioeconomic need as well as enrollment because poorer districts typically have higher numbers of disabled students.

Michigan would not completely abandon the current added-cost system if the state adopts the task force's approach. School districts still would receive special ed "millages"--regional property tax revenues earmarked for special ed--based on the number of students they identify. In addition, each student enrolled in a public school program would still receive a

state-local "foundation grant" paid to the student's home district.

more...

Michigan Eyes Profound Special Ed Funding Changes (Cont.)

Chairman Lynwood Beekman said the panel excluded cost from its discussion because it lacked the time or expertise to do so.

"Various recommendations in the report will be challenged on the basis of cost," he predicts in the report's introduction.

School Year Extended?

The report also recommends that the state encourage school districts to determine school-year length for special ed students on a case-by-case basis.

The task force is suggesting that "placement should not dictate your school year [length,] but that your needs should," said Ben Herbert, policy supervisor for the department's Office of Special Education Programs.

An extended school year for special ed students should be an option, not an entitlement, the panel cautions, and its need should be spelled out in individualized education programs.

For more information, contact Bob Harris, Michigan State Board of Education, P.O. Box 30008, Lansing, Mich. 48909, (517)373-3900. --Xavier Briand

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Michigan Panel Recommends Capping Special Ed At 21

The only state with a mandate for public schools to educate disabled adults through age 26 may soon draw the line at 21.

A Michigan task force says the state should transfer to other agencies funding for public school programs that now serve about 3,000 adults ages 22 to 26. That funding totaled \$22 million of the state's \$1.3 billion special education budget in fiscal 1993.

During a seven-year phase-in, the money would be moved to state agencies providing mental health and other services.

"The end result ... is to create a system which mirrors traditional life for individuals with disabilities," the task force said in its report last month to the state superintendent.

A top state education official last week concurred with the proposal for disabled adults.

Older disabled students are "in a public education structure that finds it very difficult to meet their needs to get into the workforce, get sheltered employment, and maximize their

ability to get along in the community," said Ben Herbert, policy supervisor for the department's Office of Special Education Programs.

The change would require action by the state legislature.

In 1971, Michigan ordered public schools to serve disabled students through age 26. Four years later, the federal government required special education programs for students only until they are 22. --Xavier Briand

Denver schools ask end of desegregation order

DENVER (AP) — After 25 years of court-supervised desegregation, Denver schools are seeking permission to go it alone. But a 20-year-old amendment to the state constitution forbidding busing could stand in the way.

A hearing is scheduled today in U.S. District Court on the Denver public schools' request to be released from federal court supervision.

In a brief filed in U.S. District Court on Aug. 12, Gordon Greiner, the attorney for the original plaintiffs in 1969, agreed for the first time not to oppose lifting the order.

U.S. District Judge Richard Matsch, who has overseen the case since 1976, has denied many previous requests to lift the order, expressing reluctance to set the district free as long as the state's 1974 anti-busing law was in effect.

At today's hearing, he will decide whether the district has met desegregation guidelines. He also will hear arguments from Colorado Attorney General Gale Norton defending the legality of the anti-busing amendment, which was approved by 60 percent of the voters. Mr. Norton has said the district should be looking beyond busing for integration.

Denver's 62,702-student district is roughly 42 percent Hispanic, 31 percent white and 21 percent black. About 20,000 students take buses to school, 7,000 of them for integration reasons.

This hearing will be the first time the matter has been in court since the mid-1980s, when Judge Matsch gave the district freer rein to operate its desegregation plan within the court order.

The 1969 class action lawsuit, *Keyes vs. School District No. 1*, was filed by Wilfred Keyes and other minority parents who accused the Denver school board of deliberately manipulating boundary lines and new school construction to keep black students in black neighborhoods. The district was ordered to desegregate in 1973.

Tom Jenkins, local president of the Urban League, which helped devise last year's proposed settlement, says the issue isn't busing but quality of education. He contends that even after 20 years of integration efforts, minority students still don't have access to schooling that whites receive.

Rachel Noel, the district's first black school board member, agreed, but added that she didn't think the district was ready to come out from under the federal order. She said desegregation would slide without oversight.

In his brief, Mr. Greiner noted signs that the district is committed to integration, such as magnet schools and reversing a trend toward resegregation in the 1980s at three elementary schools.

District officials say the magnet schools help raise the quality of city education.

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To Bill Holston
Ed Zigler

Chapter 2

The Retarded Child as a Whole Person¹

Edward Zigler²

We are presently witnessing a productive, disputatious, exciting, and perhaps inevitably chaotic period in the history of one of man's oldest and most pressing problems: mental retardation. Given the current plethora of far from consistent research reports, views, and counterviews in this area, it behooves us to anchor this particular presentation on some bedrock view to which all current thinkers could subscribe. I think that we can all agree that the essential defining feature of mental retardation is lower intelligence than that displayed by the modal member of an appropriate reference group. Stated somewhat differently, I do not believe that anyone would argue with the statement that a seven-year-old retarded child is less intelligent than a seven-year-old child of average intellect. Unfortunately, when we venture even a short distance from this statement, we immediately find ourselves adrift on a sea of definitional uncertainty. For, if we ask the rather basic question of what we mean by intelligence, we quickly encounter considerable disagreement.

Many insist that intelligence refers to nothing more than the quality of the behaviors emitted by the individual assessed against some criterion of social competence. Others have argued that a clear distinction must be drawn between intelligence and the sheer manifestation of adaptive or socially competent behaviors which are typically labeled "intelligent." Inherent in this latter position is the view that behaviors indicative of social competence do not inevitably reflect normal intellectual functioning anymore than the relative absence of such behaviors in the emotionally unstable, the criminal, or the social misfit inevitably reflects intellectual subnormality. Thinkers who

¹I would like to dedicate this paper to the memory of Ida Axelrod of the National Association for Retarded Children. As a result of her untimely death, we have lost a wonderful person devoted to the betterment of the lives of the retarded through research.

²The preparation of this paper was facilitated by Research Grant HD-03008 from the United States Public Health Service, and by the Gunnar Dybwad Award of the National Association for Retarded Children. The author is indebted to Susan Harter, David Balla, and Thomas Achenbach for their critical reading of this paper.

have espoused this latter view, including myself, have argued that the concept of social competence is much too vague and that the behaviors, often placed within its rubric, frequently partake of nonintellective influences. As a result, they have concluded that the ultimate referents of intelligence cannot be the sheer manifestation or nonmanifestation of a wide variety of behaviors that are rather arbitrarily designated as socially competent.

However, in seeking some more satisfying definition of intelligence, this group, too, has been rather arbitrary. I am very much afraid that definition making is inevitably arbitrary and that, therefore, it is fruitless to argue whether a definition is true or false. The more appropriate point of contention is whether one definition is more useful than another in respect to organizing our thinking, bringing clarity to areas of confusion, and more usefully giving direction to our empirical efforts. With such criteria in mind, I, along with others, have argued that intelligence is a hypothetical construct having, as its ultimate referents, the cognitive processes of the individual, e.g., thought, memory, concept formation, and reasoning. Approached in this way, the problem of defining intelligence becomes one with the problem of the nature of cognition and its development. On this point, I am in agreement with Tuddenham (1962) who has noted that a theory of intelligence must provide an explanation of the curve of change in cognitive ability throughout the entire life span, must deal with the ontogenesis of the psychological processes which mediate test performance, and must encompass the organization and vicissitudes of these processes from earliest infancy to senescence.

The delineation of cognition and its development as the essential focus of intelligence, and thus of mental retardation, has a certain appeal since it relates so readily to at least one easily observable phenomenon that forever differentiates the retarded individual from one of average intellect. Two individuals of quite disparate IQs, for example, one of 70 and one of 100, may be employed at the same occupation, be members of the same union, participate in the same type of community and recreational activities, and may be both successfully married and raising a family. From the viewpoint of standard social competence indices, these two individuals appear to be quite similar. However, when we shift our attention from such social competence indices to the development and present manifestation of the formal cognitive characteristics of these two individuals, we have no difficulty distinguishing between them. They function quite differently on a wide variety of cognitive tasks, devised by such cognitive theorists as Bartlett, Bruner, Ebbinghaus, Piaget, and Vygotsky, as well as across a wide array of tests employed by such psychometricians as Binet and Wechsler, tests which also assess, albeit far from perfectly, basic cognitive processes. When examined in adulthood, the individual of 100 IQ is superior to the individual of 70 IQ in meeting the cognitive demands posed by these tasks. Thus we do little injustice if we say that, at the peak of their intellectual functioning, the cognitive functioning of

the individual of average intellect is at a higher level than is that of the retarded individual.

If we approach the cognitive differences between these two individuals from a developmental point of view, as Piaget and the Geneva group have done (Inhelder, 1968), we can observe that the retarded individual progresses through the same sequence of early stages of cognitive development as does the individual of average intellect, but the retarded individual does so at a slower rate. It would thus appear that the essential difference between the retarded individual and the individual of average intellect is a difference in the rate of cognitive development as well as in the ultimate or final level of cognition achieved. At any particular stage of development, the individual's cognitive level is comprised of the sum total of cognitive processes. This collection of processes thus constitutes the information processing system which mediates both inputs from the environment and responses that the individual makes in his efforts after adaptation. It is clear that the quality or nature of this information processing system must have profound and pervasive effects on the individual's behavior.

With the exception of my more radically empirical friends in the behavior modification area who would argue against both this cognitive emphasis and the need for a human typology which includes individuals of retarded, normal, and superior intellect, many thinkers would agree that it is only through reference to differences in the development and final level of formal cognitive functioning that the distinction between the intellectually retarded and the nonretarded can be reliably and consistently drawn.

Now that we have constructed a reasonable and, in my opinion, valid frame of reference concerning the essential differences between the intellectually retarded and the nonretarded, it becomes my task to convince you that overemphasizing this basically sound position has resulted, at best, in incomplete and, at worst, totally erroneous explanations as to why, in prescribed situations, the retarded behave as they do. Let me be clear on this matter. As stated above, the cognitive functioning of the retarded, which is poorer in quality than that of the individual of average intellect, has a profound and pervasive influence on his general behavior. The crucial questions here are: just how profound and just how pervasive is this influence, and how does this influence vary across tasks with which the retarded is confronted? What must be grasped is that the behavior of the retarded, as for all human beings, reflects more than the formal cognitive processes that we have been discussing up to this point.

Since there is considerable agreement that a deficiency in cognitive functioning is the essential defining feature of mental retardation, it is easy to see why workers have concentrated on cognitive determinants and have underemphasized, if not almost totally excluded, other factors influencing the behavior of the retarded. There is clearly a tendency to attribute all of the

atypical behavior of the retarded to their cognitive deficiency. We appear to be so awed with the cognitive shortcomings of the retarded that we are led into tautologies in which we assert that retarded individuals behave the way they do because they are retarded. More sophisticated theoretical efforts have attempted to avoid this circularity, attributing behavioral differences between retarded and normal individuals, not to the global phenomenon of mental retardation, but rather to some specific hypothesized defect or behavioral deficiency thought to characterize intellectually retarded functioning. Thus, over the years, we have been informed that the retarded suffer from a relative impermeability of the boundaries between regions in the cognitive structure (Kounin, 1941a,b; Lewin, 1936), primary and secondary rigidity caused by subcortical and cortical malformations, respectively (Goldstein, 1943), inadequate neural satiation related to brain modifiability or cortical conductivity (Spitz, 1963), impaired attention directing mechanisms (Zeaman, 1959), a relative brevity in the persistence of stimulus trace (Siegel & Foshce, 1960), and improper development of the verbal systems resulting in a dissociation between the verbal and motor systems (Luria, 1956; O'Connor & Hermelin, 1959).

Included in this list are concepts which lie at the center of some of the most important programmatic theoretical efforts in the area of mental retardation. The adversarial stance that I have taken over the years toward the need to invoke such concepts when explaining differences in behavior between groups of MA-matched, familial retarded and normals is by now well-known. However, I have also gone on record as believing that these theoretical formulations are viable ones and are unquestionably valuable in that they lead us away from a rather sterile global approach toward a more fine-grained analysis of the cognitive processes of both retarded and normal individuals. In noting the cognitive deficiencies listed above, we need not become bogged down in the developmental versus difference controversy over the nature of mental retardation, about which I have written at some length. A listing of these positions is relevant to this presentation only to the extent that it reflects the fact that the bulk of theoretical and empirical efforts in the area of mental retardation is concerned with the cognitive shortcomings of the retarded individual. As this list of cognitive deficiencies, from which the retarded are thought to suffer, has grown over the years, it has become an increasingly simple matter to explain any and all differences in behavior between normal and retarded individuals with the *post hoc* selection from this list of a factor which appears even remotely relevant to the behavioral differences in question. Having been misinterpreted in the past, I want to be perfectly clear here. My statement is in no way an indictment of the theoretician who is carefully exploring the cognitive variable that interests him. It is an indictment of the after-the-fact "theorizing" which allows the

thinker to evade any real coming to grips with the complexities of his subject matter.

While no exception can be taken to circumscribed cognitive hypotheses concerning mental retardation, I must assert again that any cognitive theory cannot be a complete theory of the behavior of the retarded since the behavior of the retarded, like that of any other group of humans, reflects factors other than cognitive ones. While the analogy is far from perfect, it should be noted that lower-class children, as a group, have lower IQs than middle-class children. However, when differences are found in the behavior of lower-class children and middle-class children, the IQ difference is but one of many factors considered in the interpretation of these differences. Workers look closely at their subjects' social milieu, the child rearing practices to which the children have been subjected, and the attitudes, motives, and goals which these children bring to the experimental situation. In contrast, when we deal with the mentally retarded, we often seem implicitly to assume that the cognitive deficiency from which our subjects suffer is such a pervasive determinant of their total functioning as to make them impervious to the effects of influences known to affect the behavior of the nonretarded. inst

This assumption can clearly be seen in a commonly employed research paradigm in empirical work with the retarded. Many studies, directed at illuminating differences in cognitive functioning between normal and retarded subjects, employ comparisons of institutionalized retarded children whose preinstitutional lives were frequently spent in the very lowest segment of the lowest socioeconomic class, with middle-class children residing at home. Such groups differ, not only in respect to the quality of their cognitive functioning as defined by the IQ, but they also differ greatly in respect to their total life histories and the nature of their current social-psychological interactions. When an individual of normal intellect is subjected to the social deprivation associated with institutionalization or is a member of a particular social class, behavior theorists are extremely sensitive as to how life experiences associated with such factors give rise to particular goals, values, attitudes, motives, and roles, and how such variables, in addition to formal cognitive ones, influence the individual's behavior. However, in the case of the retarded individual, we seem all too ready to believe that a cognitive deficiency makes one impervious to environmental events known to be central in the genesis of the personality of individuals of normal intellect.

In defense of workers who employ the paradigm noted above, it could be argued that one need not be very sensitive to motivational or personality differences between groups compared on tasks thought to be essentially cognitive in nature. In my opinion, such an argument is an erroneous one. Although it is unquestionably true that the effects of particular motivational and emotional factors will vary as a function of the particular task employed,

the performance on no one task can be considered the inexorable product of cognitive functioning, totally uninfluenced by motivational and emotional factors. Evidence in support of this point can be found in numerous studies employing tasks thought to be essentially cognitive in nature, where differences in performance have been found to be associated with social class in IQ-matched individuals of normal intellect, and related to institutionalization in IQ-matched individuals of retarded intellect. All of this leads me to reject the often implicitly held view that the cognitive deficiencies of the retarded individual are so ubiquitous and massive in their effects that we may safely ignore personality variables on which our retarded subjects may also differ from those individuals of normal intellect with whom we compare them. This strikes me as little more than a reaffirmation of the following sound experimental dictum: You cannot safely attribute a difference in performance on a dependent variable to a known difference in subject characteristics (e.g., IQ), if the populations also differ on other factors which could reasonably affect, or have been demonstrated to affect, performance on the dependent measure.

The overly cognitive deterministic approach to the behavior of the retarded would appear to stem from more than the implicit or explicit assumptions criticized above. It is probably also the result of the relative absence of a sound and extensive body of empirical work dealing with personality factors in the behavior of the retarded. The dearth of such work has invariably been noted by scholars faced with the task of reviewing those efforts that have dealt with the personality functioning of the retarded (cf. Gardner, 1968; Heber, 1964). Had such a body of work developed over the years, it would have unquestionably played an important moderating role with respect to the overly cognitive deterministic approach that we have been discussing.

Not only has there been surprisingly little work done in the development and structure of the personality of retarded individuals, but many of the views advanced concerning the personality structure of the retarded have been surprisingly inadequate, in some instances, and patently ridiculous in others. In a recent paper (Zigler & Harter, 1969), Susan Harter and I pointed out how, in the early years of this century, the viewpoint became popular that individuals of retarded intellect were essentially immoral, degenerate, and depraved. As representative of this point of view, we quoted a 1912 statement made by one of our nation's pioneer figures in mental retardation, Walter Fernald:

The social and economic burdens of uncomplicated feeble-mindedness are only too well-known. The feeble-minded are a parasitic, predatory class, never capable of self-support or of managing their own affairs. The great majority ultimately become public charges in some form. They cause unutterable sorrow at home and are a menace and danger to the community. Feeble-minded women are almost invariably immoral and . . .

usually become carriers of venereal disease or give birth to children who are as defective as themselves. . . . Every feeble-minded person, especially the high-grade imbecile, is a potential criminal, needing only the proper environment and opportunity for the development and expression of his criminal tendencies. (Reported in Davies, 1959)

Unfortunately, the intervening half-century has not witnessed a very great abatement in our cliché-ridden and stereotypic thinking on the personality of the retarded. A fairly recent book on mental retardation (Mautner, 1959) emphasized a number of unsavory personality traits from which the retarded appear to suffer inherently, including criminality and the lack of inhibitory controls. The persistence of the view that retarded individuals universally suffer from some particular character deficiency or personality trait was also recently pointed out by Gardner (1968) who quoted a number of current workers guilty of such stereotyped thinking concerning the personality of the retarded. Several thinkers (cf. Wolfensberger & Menolascino, 1968; Zigler, 1966c) have noted how this deficit approach to the retarded has been extended, in certain instances, to the view that the retarded represent some sort of subspecies or homogeneous group of less than human organisms.

One cannot help but wonder what factors in our thinking have perpetuated these overly simplistic and obviously erroneous views about the personality of the retarded. I believe that some of this error can be traced directly to a common, but not necessary, outcome of the taxonomic practice of categorizing and labeling. As mentioned earlier, men can be fairly easily differentiated with respect to the rate of their cognitive development and the ultimate level of cognition achieved. Consistent with the taxonomic activities which permeate much of the scientific endeavor, this ability to differentiate quickly lends itself to the categorizing and labeling of individuals along some dimension of intellectual adequacy. The grossest example of this is our typical textbook presentation of the distribution of intelligence, in which a line is arbitrarily drawn through the distribution so that it intersects the abscissa at the point representing an IQ of 70, with everyone below this point categorized as mentally retarded. If one is not careful, this straightforward and, certainly, defensible practice can subtly and deleteriously influence our general views concerning the essential nature of intellectually retarded individuals. If one fails to appreciate both the arbitrary nature of the 70 IQ cut-off point and the fact that we are dividing people on nothing more than the grossest overall measure of cognitive functioning, it is but a short step to the formulation that all those falling below this point compose a class of subnormals. Since the conceptual distance between "subnormal" and "abnormal," the latter with its age-old connotation of disease and defect, is minimal, the final easy step is to regard the retarded as a homogeneous group of organisms defective in all spheres of functioning and forever separated, by their very nature, from all persons possessing a higher IQ.

Again, clarity is in order. There is no question that retarded individuals differ from normal individuals in cognitive functioning. However, we must be on guard not to generalize from this and create a general difference orientation in our approach to the behavior of retarded and normal individuals. Unfortunately, just such a difference orientation appears to suffuse our thinking concerning the retarded. The bulk of our effort is directed at the discovery of how the retarded are different from the more intelligent members of our society, and very little attention is paid to how the retarded are similar to individuals of normal intellect. While the difference orientation may have a certain viability in the early stages of our investigation of cognitive differences between normal and retarded individuals, its value shrinks drastically when we are confronted with the issue of personality differences between the retarded and individuals of normal intellect. Indeed, the difference orientation in the personality sphere becomes totally indefensible when it generates some stereotyped view of personality functioning applicable to all retarded individuals. The great heterogeneity in personality functioning that we can grossly observe in a random sample of retarded individuals makes it rather unlikely that a particular setting on personality traits, e.g., dependency, hostility, anxiety, aspiration level, negativism, is an invariable or inherent consequence of intellectual retardation. Rather than attribute inherent personality characteristics to the retarded, it would be more parsimonious to view the development of the personality of the retarded as no different in nature than the development of personality in individuals of normal intellect.

Once one accepts such a view, he turns his attention away from personality traits thought to manifest themselves as an invariable consequence of intellectual retardation and toward those particular experiences in the socialization process which give rise to the relatively long-lasting, emotional and motivational factors which constitute the personality structure. Once a worker shifts his orientation in this way, he is quite ready to discover that the personality of a retarded individual will be like that of a normal individual in those instances where the two have had similar socialization histories. He would expect differences to the extent that the socialization of the two individuals' histories differ. Furthermore, he would not expect a personality pattern unique to retarded individuals and shared by everyone whose intellectual features led us to label them as retarded. Rather, he would expect variation in the personality functioning of a group of retarded to the extent that the group members have had different life experiences, just as he would expect such differences among individuals of normal intellect who have had differing experiential histories. Thus differences in personality functioning between groups of retarded and normal individuals, as well as intragroup variation in the personality functioning of both retarded and normal individuals, would be finally attributed to variations in socialization histories.

That some differences in personality functioning would exist between groups of institutionalized retarded children and noninstitutionalized middle-class children of normal intellect would be expected, not because all retarded children represent a universal personality type, but rather because institutionalized retarded children have had such depriving and atypical social histories.

Indeed, it is hardly surprising that certain groups of retardates differ from normals in personality functioning in light of these atypical social histories. However, again, we must remember that the specific atypical features of their socialization histories, and the extent to which they are atypical, may vary from one retarded child to the next. Two sets of parents who are themselves retarded may provide quite different socialization histories for their children. At one extreme, we may find a retarded child who is ultimately institutionalized, not because of lack of intelligence, but because his own home represents an especially poor environment. At the other extreme, a retarded set of parents may provide their children with a relatively normal home even though it might differ in certain important respects — values, goals, and attitudes — from the typical home in which the families are of average or superior intelligence. In the first example, the child not only experiences a quite different socialization history while still living with his parents, but also differs from the child in the second situation to the extent that institutionalization affects his personality structure (see Yarrow, 1964). Given the penchant of many investigators for comparing institutionalized retarded children with children of average intellect who live at home, the factor of institutionalization becomes an extremely important one. One cannot help but wonder how many differences discovered in such comparisons reflect the effects of institutionalization, the factors that led to the child's institutionalization, or some complex interaction between these factors and institutionalization, rather than some purely cognitive aspect of mental retardation.

To add even more complexity, the socialization histories of both institutionalized and noninstitutionalized familially retarded persons differ markedly from the history of those retarded individuals who are brain-damaged. The brain-damaged do not show the same gross differences from normals in the frequency of good vs. poor environments. In the face of such complexity, we need not consider the problem unassailable, nor need we assert that each retarded child is so unique that it is impossible for us to isolate the ontogenesis of those factors which we feel are important in influencing the retarded's level of functioning. Once we conceptualize the retarded as essentially rational human beings, responding to environmental events in much the same way as individuals of normal intellect, we can allow our knowledge of normal personality development to give direction to our efforts.

This does not mean that we ignore the importance of the lowered intelligence per se, since personality traits and behavior patterns do not develop in a vacuum. However, in some instances, the personality characteristics of the retarded will reflect environmental factors that have little or nothing to do with intellectual endowment. For example, many of the effects of institutionalization may be constant regardless of the person's intelligence level. In other instances, we must think in terms of an interaction; that is, given his lowered intellectual ability, a person will have certain experiences and develop certain behavior patterns differing from those of a person with greater intellectual endowment. An obvious example is the greater amount of failure which the retarded typically experience. But, again, what must be emphasized is that the behavior pattern developed by the retarded as a result of such a history of failure may not differ in kind or ontogenesis from that developed by individuals of normal intellect who, by some environmental circumstance, also experienced an inordinate amount of failure. By the same token, if the retarded can somehow be guaranteed a more typical history of success, we would expect their behavior to be more normal, independent of their intellectual level.

This last statement, alluding to the improvement of the behavior of the retarded through the manipulation of environmental events which affect their motivational structure, leads me to raise a note of caution. Rather knowledgeable workers in the area of mental retardation (Milgram, 1969; Zeaman, 1968) have attributed to me a motivational theory of mental retardation. This is an error. I have never asserted, nor am I now asserting, that the essential nature of the deficiency in retarded functioning is motivational. As I hope has been made clear in this presentation, as well as in numerous earlier ones, I consider the essential difference between retarded and normal individuals to be cognitive. Thus no amount of change in the motivational structure of the retarded individual will make him intellectually normal, when such normalcy is defined in terms of those formal cognitive processes discussed at the outset of this chapter. However, we can speak of improving the performance of the retarded on a task, through the manipulation of motivational factors, to the extent that variations in the performance of that task are influenced by motivational variables over and above the cognitive demands of the task.

This point becomes an especially crucial one when dealing with the everyday social competence of the retarded individual. No amount of change in his motivational structure will make it possible for him to become a nuclear physicist. However, rather circumscribed changes in his motivational structure may make the difference between successful and unsuccessful employment at an occupation whose cognitive demands fall within the limits of his cognitive ability. I have been impressed by the repeated demonstrations that the performance of many retarded on a variety of tasks is poorer than

would be predicted from their general level of cognitive ability, typically defined by their MAs. It is my view that a great deal, if not all, of this MA deficit in performance is due to the attenuating effects of motivational factors. However, if these attenuating effects were removed and the individual functioned optimally in a manner commensurate with his general level of cognitive ability, he would still be intellectually retarded in terms of cognitive comparisons with same-aged individuals of normal intellect. Thus a concern with motivational factors in the performance of the retarded holds no promise of a dramatic cure for mental retardation when such retardation is defined in terms of its essential cognitive foundation. A motivational approach does hold promise of informing us how we might help the mentally retarded utilize their intellectual capacity optimally. Although not terribly dramatic, such a goal is not only realistic, but is of the utmost social importance in light of the now well-documented evidence that the everyday adjustment and/or competence of the bulk of the retarded residing in our society is more a function of the retarded individual's personality than it is of his cognitive ability. Such evidence bolsters a recurring theme in my thinking; namely, that as important as the formal cognitive processes are, their roles have been overestimated, especially with respect to those minimal daily demands of society which we consider when assessing individual social competence.

Over the years, then, my colleagues and I have attempted to delineate and, in certain instances, experimentally manipulate a number of motivational variables: variables not unique to the performance of the retarded, but ones particularly relevant to the behavior of the retarded, inasmuch as retarded children, as a group, tend to encounter certain events much more than do middle-class children of normal intellect. We have been interested in discovering the particular experiences which give rise to particular motives, attitudes, and styles of the retarded and how variation in these experiences leads to variation in the personality structure of individuals of both retarded and normal intellect. We have, in certain instances, been especially interested in demonstrating that the performance of the retarded, which has heretofore been attributed to his cognitive shortcomings, is actually the product of a particular motive. This interest does not mean that we have invariably championed the importance of motivational over cognitive variables, since it is clear that these two classes of variables can, independently and in interaction, both influence performance on any given task. It has only been through a fine-grained analysis of the performance on a variety of tasks by a number of groups of retarded and normal subjects with varying socialization histories that we have been able to attribute particular aspects of performance either to cognitive or motivational factors. We have also been aware that, while it is conceptually feasible to draw a distinction between cognitive and motivational factors with respect to certain behaviors, this division becomes

extremely difficult if not totally artificial. However, in much of our work, each of these two factors has been sufficiently delineated for us to demonstrate how each, independently, may affect the child's performance.

Over the years, we have questioned several relatively orthodox views and have tried to divest ourselves of those preconceived notions which stand in the way of increasing our knowledge concerning the retarded child. While we have attempted to broaden our thinking concerning the retarded child, we have certainly not tried to replace older views with any new orthodoxy. Unfortunately, we are rather far from the construction of any very satisfying nomological network of interrelated personality constructs which will provide the ultimate explanatory system of the personality functioning of the retarded. Rather than having evolved any such theoretical edifice, we still find ourselves at the earliest stages of theory construction; namely, the sheer isolation and mapping of those personality variables and their genesis which we think are particularly germane to the personality functioning of various types of retarded children. Although not committed to any formal theoretical statement concerning personality, our group over the years has had a very strong commitment to a particular research strategy. Of utmost importance in our work is our continued attempt to remain sensitive to what our subjects themselves are doing and thinking when they are presented with experimental tasks. Workers in our laboratory are continuously cautioned to stay tuned in to the child and to avoid the researcher's egocentricity which often grows out of too strong a commitment to a particular theoretical view or system. It is this continuing sensitivity to the child which often has dictated the specific direction of our research. We have found that if one takes the trouble to observe children closely while they perform on experimental tasks, rather than being interested only in whether the child's measured behavior confirms or disconfirms some *a priori* hypothesis, the child's behavior will dictate either the study which should be pursued next or an entirely new area of investigation which must be entered. Given this overview of our thinking, as well as the research strategies which have directed our efforts, it would now appear appropriate to turn our attention to the research itself.

The Lewin-Kounin Formulation

Our work began a good number of years ago when Harold Stevenson and I became interested in the Lewin-Kounin rigidity formulation concerning the behavior of the retarded. (see Zigler, 1962a, for a complete discussion of this position and the controversy which has surrounded it.) So much of our earlier work stems from this position and the experimental findings that supported it that at least a brief overview of the Lewin-Kounin effort becomes essential. This important theoretical formulation has had considerable impact on our

conceptualization of the retarded, as well as on the treatment and training practices devised over the years to help the retarded, and it continues to this day to engender much research in the area. This formulation states that, due to the very nature of the development of retarded individuals, they are inherently more rigid than are chronologically younger normal individuals who are at the same mental age level. This view derived initially from Lewin's general behavior theory. Within this theory, the individual is treated as a dynamic system, with differences among individuals derivable from differences in: (1) structure of the total system; (2) material and state of the system; or, (3) its meaningful content. The first two factors play the most important role in Lewin's theory of mental retardation. He viewed the retarded child as being cognitively less differentiated, i.e., having fewer regions in the cognitive structure than a normal child of the same CA. Thus, with respect to the number of cognitive regions, the retarded child resembles a normal younger child. However, in terms of the material and state of the system, Lewin (1936) argued that even though a retarded child corresponded to a normal younger child in degree of differentiation, they were not to be regarded as entirely similar. He explicitly stated that he conceived "the major dynamic difference between a feeble-minded and a normal child of the same degree of differentiation to consist in a greater stiffness, a smaller capacity for dynamic rearrangement in the psychical systems of the former."

Lewin presented a considerable amount of observational and anecdotal material, as well as the findings of one experiment, to support his theoretical position. Unfortunately, Lewin's experimental findings were ambiguous at best. It remained for Kounin (1941a) to provide clear experimental support for the position that retarded individuals are more rigid than normal individuals having the same degree of differentiation, i.e., MA.

Kounin (1941a,b; 1948), building upon Lewin's work, advanced the view that rigidity is a positive, monotonic function of CA. It is imperative to note that by "rigidity" Kounin, like Lewin, was referring to "that property of a functional boundary which prevents communication between neighboring regions" and not to phenotypic rigid behaviors, as such. Thus, with increasing CA, the individual becomes more differentiated, i.e., has more cognitive regions, which results in a lower incidence of rigid behaviors, while, at the same time, the boundaries between regions become less and less permeable. Furthermore, while this lack of permeability in the boundaries between regions often results in behaviors which would be characterized as rigid, in some instances, it leads to behaviors which could be characterized as indicative of "flexibility." (For an example of this latter possibility, see the results of Kounin's lever-pressing task presented below.)

Kounin offered the findings of five experiments in which he employed older retarded individuals, younger retarded individuals, and normals. (It should be noted that the two retarded groups resided in an institution,

whereas the normal children did not.) The degree-of-differentiation variable was controlled by equating the groups on MA. As predicted, the performance of the three groups differed on certain instruction initiated tasks, e.g., first being instructed to draw cats until satiated and then to draw bugs until satiated; and first being instructed to lower a lever and then to raise the lever in order to release marbles. As predicted from the Lewin-Kounin hypothesis, the normals showed the greatest amount of transfer effects from task to task, the younger retarded a lesser amount of transfer, and the older retarded the least amount of transfer. That is, following satiation on the first drawing task, both retarded groups drew longer on the second task than did normals, with the least cosatiation effects (longest drawing time on second task) being observed in the older retardates.

Kounin also found that the retarded subjects spent considerably more total time on the tedious drawing tasks than the normal subjects, a finding not derivable from the Lewin-Kounin formulation. This was attributed to the "rigid state" of the retarded which evidently spells itself out behaviorally in persistence on boring tasks. Another unpredicted and rather surprising finding was that the older retarded group had a negative cosatiation score; that is, they spent less time drawing on the first task than on subsequent drawing tasks involving highly similar figures. More will be said about this rather intriguing finding later.

On the lever-pressing task, the greatest number of errors, lowering rather than raising the lever on task two, was made by the normals, the least number by the older retarded, with the younger retarded falling between these two groups. One should note that on this task the lesser "rigidity," as defined by Lewin and Kounin, of the normals resulted in a higher incidence of behavioral responses often characterized as rigid, i.e., perseverative responses. One should further note that this lack of influence of one region on another in the performance of the retarded would be predicted only in those cases where the retarded individual is "psychologically" placed into a new region by instructions, e.g., "push down; now push up." In those instances where the individual must, on his own, move from one region to another, the Lewin-Kounin formulation would predict that such movement would be more difficult for the retarded than for the normal individual.

This prediction was confirmed by Kounin's concept-switching experiment in which the child was given a deck of cards which could be sorted on the basis of either one (form) or another (color) principle. In this experiment, the subject was asked to sort the cards and was then asked to sort the cards some other way. Here the normals evidenced the least difficulty, and the older retarded the most difficulty in shifting from one sorting principle to another, while the younger retarded again fell between these two groups. Thus, in the instance where a child is not psychologically placed in a new region but must

move through a cognitive boundary on his own, it is the retarded who evidence the greater incidence of perseverative responses.

The Lewin-Kounin theory of rigidity in the retarded is a conceptually demanding one in that it sometimes predicts a higher, and sometimes a lower, incidence of "rigid" behaviors in retarded as compared to normal individuals. However, the fact that it generates specific predictions as to when one or the other state of affairs will obtain is a tribute to this theory. Kounin thus offered impressive experimental support for the view that, with MA held constant, the older and/or more retarded an individual is, the more will his behaviors be characterized by dynamic rigidity, i.e., less permeable boundaries between regions.

Stevenson and I (1957) conducted a study that was designed to test the validity of the Lewin-Kounin theory of rigidity. This study investigated the ability of normal and retarded subjects to acquire one response and then to switch to a new response in a discriminative learning situation. Moving from Kounin's postulate that the boundaries within the life space are more rigid in the retarded than in normals, Stevenson and I hypothesized, "that the solution of a reversal problem would require movement to a new region of the life space and that such movement would be more difficult for the feeble-minded subject because of the more rigid boundaries separating the regions of the life space." As to the actual rigid behavior resulting from such rigidity in a reversal problem, Stevenson and I chose as our measure the incidence of previously correct responses during the solution of the second problem. It would appear that such a perseverative response following the switch is the most direct evidence that the subject has remained in a prior region and has not moved to a new region.

Three groups of subjects were used: an older retarded group, a younger retarded group, and a group of normal children, with the groups equated on MA. (As in the Kounin study, the two retarded groups were institutionalized and the normal children were not.) The results indicated a striking equivalence in performance among groups. They did not differ significantly on the number of trials required to learn the initial discrimination problem, the number of correct choices on the reversal problem, the number of subjects in each group who learned the reversal problem, or on the direct measure of rigidity employed, the frequency with which subjects of each group made the response on the reversal problem which had been correct for them on the initial discrimination problem.

Although the switching problem employed by Stevenson and myself was relatively difficult, the possibility still remained that this switching problem was too easy to allow differences between the groups to become manifest. In order to investigate this possibility, Stevenson and I conducted a second experiment, designed to investigate the performance of normal and retarded individuals on a more difficult reversal problem. On the basis of the findings

of the first experiment, we rejected the Lewin-Kounin formulation, testing instead the hypothesis that rigidity is a general behavior mechanism. From this hypothesis, it may be deduced that the frequency with which rigid behaviors are shown is a function of the complexity of the problem. We predicted that the frequency of rigid responses (perseverations) would be greater for both the normal and retarded groups in the second experiment, utilizing a more difficult reversal problem than in the first experiment, but that there would be no differences between the groups. All predictions made for the second experiment were confirmed. These findings were in essential agreement with those of Plenderleith (1956) who also failed to find the type of differences in performance between the retarded and normals on discrimination learning and discrimination reversal tasks that would be predicted from the Lewin-Kounin formulation. The more recent findings with Balla (Balla & Zigler, 1964) were generally consistent with those reported in the Plenderleith (1956) and Stevenson and Zigler (1957) studies.

Social Deprivation and Motivation for Social Reinforcement

In an effort to evaluate the disagreement of our findings with those of Kounin, Stevenson and I directed our thinking to the differences in tasks employed across the two sets of experiments and, probably more important, the characteristics of the subjects, over and above their formal cognitive characteristics, which could have influenced their performance. In respect to the retarded groups, their most obvious characteristic was that they were residing in institutions. Thus we evolved the view that the performance of such subjects on tasks like those employed by Kounin could, at least in part, be ascribed to the social deprivation experienced by institutionalized subjects. Stevenson and I noted that, in our experiments, the subjects were required to learn two successive discriminations in which there was minimal interaction with the experimenter while, in Kounin's tasks, the response had been made primarily on the basis of instructions. Thus differences in rigid behaviors between normal and retarded individuals of the same MA in the instruction initiated tasks may be related to differences in the subjects' motivation to comply with instruction rather than to differences in cognitive rigidity. This hypothesis was based on the assumption that institutionalized retarded children tend to have been relatively deprived of adult contact and approval and, hence, have a higher motivation to procure such contact and approval than do normal children. At the time, this assumption appeared congruent with the view advanced by other investigators that both institutionalized retarded and institutionalized normal individuals exhibit an increased desire to interact with adult figures (Clark, 1933; Sarason, 1953; Skeels, Updegraff, Wellman, & Williams, 1938).

The first test of this motivational hypothesis was contained in a study by Hodgden, Stevenson, and myself (Zigler, Hodgden, & Stevenson, 1958). In an effort to employ tasks comparable to Kounin's instruction-initiated satiation task, we constructed three simple motor tasks, each having two parts and each allowing the experimenter to secure a satiation, cosatiation, and error score. The study deviated from Kounin's procedure in that two conditions of reinforcement were used. In one, the experimenter maintained a nonsupportive role and did not reinforce the subject's performance; in the second, the experimenter made positive comments and, in general, reinforced the subject's performance.

Two specific hypotheses were advanced: (1) Support has a reinforcing effect which results in an increment in performance over that found in nonsupport conditions; and (2) Interaction with an adult and adult approval provide a greater reinforcement for the responses of institutionalized retarded subjects than they do for those of normal subjects. Two retarded groups (a support and a nonsupport) equated on CA and two normal groups (support and nonsupport) equated on MA were employed. All four groups were equated on MA. Six predictions were derived from the two hypotheses. Five of the six predictions were fully or partially confirmed. It was found that:

1. Retarded subjects spent a significantly greater amount of time playing the games under the support than under the nonsupport condition, while normal subjects did not.
2. Retarded subjects spent more time on the games than the normal subjects in both reinforcement conditions.
3. There was a significantly greater difference in length of performance between support and nonsupport conditions for the retarded than for the normal subjects.
4. There was little difference in the cosatiation scores for normal subjects between support and nonsupport conditions. However, for retarded subjects, support not only resulted in lower cosatiation scores, but in scores that were negative in value (the subject plays longer on part two of the game than on part one).
5. Cosatiation effects were generally less for retarded than for normal subjects under both conditions of support and nonsupport.
6. The proportion of errors was not significantly different for normal than for retarded subjects.

In addition, a significantly greater number of retarded subjects stopped the games at points where the experimenter asked them if they wanted to play other games. This was interpreted as further indication of their greater compliance with instructions. (The error in this interpretation will be pointed out in a later section of this chapter dealing with the phenomenon of out-directedness.)

The marked sensitivity of the retarded, as compared to the normals, to variations in the degree of social reinforcement, as well as the marked shift by the retarded from one social reinforcement condition to another in behavioral indices thought by Kounin to reflect cognitive rigidity, lent a certain amount of support to the social deprivation hypothesis. As pointed out earlier (Zigler, 1966c), this social deprivation interpretation of Kounin's findings is bolstered further by the fact that Kounin employed a procedure for selecting his retarded sample which led to the inclusion of only those retarded subjects who were highly motivated to interact with an adult. However, the findings of the study by Hodgden, Stevenson, and myself were not of the sort that would lead one to abandon totally the Lewin-Kounin inherent rigidity formulation. In fact, certain of our findings were reminiscent of those found by Kounin. Consistent with Kounin's results, we found that regardless of social reinforcement condition, our retarded subjects performed an inordinately long time on relatively boring and monotonous tasks. As Kounin surprisingly found with his older group of retarded, we found that our retarded subjects in the support condition played the second part of a two-part cosatiation task longer than they did the first part, even though both parts of the task were extremely similar. (I must confess that this strange increase-from-part-one-to-part-two phenomenon remained a mystery to me for several years. I think I began understanding this phenomenon, which will be discussed at some length in the next section, when I gave up trying to interpret it in terms of theories with which I was conversant and relied instead on a closer and more clinical observation of what the child was feeling, as well as doing, when performing such a two-part task.) In light of this, the Zigler, Hodgden, and Stevenson findings hardly constitute any death blow to the Lewin-Kounin rigidity formulation. At most, these findings indicate that the production of phenotypically rigid behaviors is also influenced by motivational effects, a view not very much at variance with Lewin and Kounin's own stance concerning motivational factors. At this point, what appeared to be in order was a more convincing test of the view that the Lewin-Kounin rigidity formulation lent little to our understanding of the grossly observable high incidence of rigid behaviors emitted by the retarded.

In what I hoped to be a more definitive test of our view that the rigid behaviors emitted by the retarded were a result of the social deprivation they had experienced rather than a product of any inherent cognitive rigidity, I did a study (Zigler, 1958, 1961) in which it was hypothesized that, within an institutionalized retarded population, a relationship should exist between the degree of deprivation experienced and the amount of rigidity manifested. The specific hypothesis tested was the following:

The greater the amount of preinstitutional social deprivation experienced by the feeble-minded child, the greater will be his motivation to interact with an adult, making such interaction and any adult approval or support

that accompanies it more reinforcing for his responses than for the responses of a feeble-minded child who has experienced a lesser amount of social deprivation.

In order to examine the social deprivation experienced by retarded children, a measure that would reflect long-term deficits was required. Since the population of events which constitutes social deprivation has never been adequately delimited, the procedure employed in this study was to have raters evaluate the preinstitutional history of the child in terms of degree of social deprivation.

On the basis of these ratings, 60 retarded children were divided into two groups, high and low socially deprived. The groups did not differ significantly on either MA, CA, or length of institutionalization. The study employed a socially reinforced, instruction initiated, two-part satiation game similar to those used in earlier studies. Three of the four predictions derived from the hypothesis were confirmed. The more socially deprived subjects: (1) spent a greater amount of time on the game; (2) more frequently made the maximum number of responses allowed by the game; and (3) evidenced a greater increase in time spent on part two over that spent on part one of the game. The fourth prediction, that the more socially deprived subjects would make fewer errors, only reached a borderline level of significance. These findings would appear to call seriously into question the Lewin-Kounin rigidity formulation, since it is difficult to derive from this formulation an explanation of differences in rigid behaviors between groups of retarded children equated on both CA and MA. The findings offer further support for the view that the rigid behavior observed in retarded individuals is a product of higher motivation to maintain interaction with an adult and to secure approval from him through compliance and persistence. These results also offer evidence that the institutionalized retarded subjects' higher motivation to interact with an adult is related to the greater preinstitutional social deprivation such subjects have experienced. Furthermore, individual differences among the retarded in persistent and/or compliant behavior can be related to differences in the amount of social deprivation experienced. Since the persistence and compliance exhibited by retarded subjects have been found to be related to social deprivation, the prediction was generated, at that time, that these characteristics would also be shown by subjects of normal intelligence who have experienced similar social deprivation. (The fate of this hypothesis will be noted shortly.)

In discussing this last study, I am afraid that I have passed too lightly over what has remained a thorny issue in much of our work, namely, the nature and measurement of social deprivation. Once a worker turns his attention from the cognitive characteristics of the mentally retarded and focuses on the effects of social deprivation on the behavior of the retarded, he finds that he has entered a general arena of psychology which has an extremely murky

conceptual foundation and is characterized by a rather vast literature, replete with inconsistent and contradictory findings. It will probably not surprise you if I state that there are few constructs in psychology that have been more frequently employed, yet more inadequately defined, than social deprivation. The definitional dilemma has been noted by Yarrow (1961), and has been aptly summarized by Gewirtz (1957) in his assertion that the concept of social deprivation has been loosely applied to certain events early in childhood which, in turn, are characterized as being antecedent to certain social behaviors. The problem, of course, is that there is little agreement as to either the early events or the subsequent behaviors.

In attempting to operationalize the social deprivation construct for use with institutionalized retarded children, I, initially, entertained the possibility of using length of institutionalization as a measure of social deprivation. Such a measure would meet the requirement of reflecting conditions operative through relatively long segments of time. In addition, this measure has whatever advantage lies in being perhaps the most widely used referent of social deprivation. However, upon closer analysis, I came to the conclusion that institutionalization *qua* institutionalization is not a clear measure of social deprivation. There can be little doubt that the contemporary conditions of institutionalization must be a determinant of the child's current behavior. However, the results of such institutionalization are far from clear. A fact that has not been sufficiently recognized is that institutionalization is not, in itself, a psychological variable. At best, it refers to some vague social status of the individual. In order to relate institutionalization to social deprivation, one must designate specific social interactions in the institution that give rise to particular behavioral propensities. Given these qualms concerning institutionalization as a measure of social deprivation, another possibility came to mind: that perhaps the commonality in the positive findings of studies in which institutionalization was used as a social deprivation measure was due, not to common psychological features of institutions, but instead to the fact that most institutionalized children tend to come from homes which are relatively depriving. This possibility suggested that it was the preinstitutional social deprivation experienced by the retarded child that needed evaluation. (Within such a framework, institutionalization would be analyzed for its particular psychological features and for its effects viewed as interacting with the effects of the preinstitutional psychological environment. I will have more to say on this matter in the subsequent section on institutionalization.)

These considerations led us to the construction of a standard, objective measure of preinstitutional social deprivation. This instrument has been continuously refined over the years and a complete description of its current form is presented in a paper by Butterfield, Goff, and myself (Zigler, Butterfield, & Goff, 1966). Initial work on this scale began with the 60

children employed in the study just described. Two experienced psychologists were asked to read the social histories of these 60 consecutively admitted, familial retarded children and to independently rate each of them on a social deprivation scale. The scale consisted of nothing more than a line, evenly subdivided for reference into six areas: "very protected," "protected," "slightly protected," "slightly deprived," "deprived," and "very deprived." The possible range of scores was from 1 (extreme of "very protected") to 60 (extreme of "very deprived"). The judges were not instructed as to what constituted "deprivation" or "protection" beyond being told that the concepts were concerned with the amount and quality of the interaction that the child had had with important adults in his life. The judges were also asked to list for each child the specific factors in that child's social history which influenced their ratings.

At this early stage, there was considerable interest in whether the social deprivation construct was tangible enough to allow an adequate degree of inter-judge reliability. In spite of the vagueness of the concept, as well as the ambiguity of the instructions, the inter-rater reliability was found to be a respectable .77. This is especially impressive in light of the skimpy social histories with which the raters had to work and the attenuated range of the social deprivation scores. No less than 47 of the 60 children fell in the three deprived categories of the scale.

There is clearly some commonality in the early histories of retarded children to which experienced psychologists respond in deducing the amount of social deprivation experienced. In order to determine what these common factors might be, we turned our attention to the specific experiences of the child which the raters had listed as being important in determining their ratings. The most frequently listed factors and the frequency with which one or both judges noted them are presented in Table I. The data reported in Table I make it abundantly clear that the early childhood histories of the institutionalized familial retarded differ greatly from those children of normal intellect with whom the retarded are so frequently compared. Such grossly observable differences in the degree of early social deprivation experienced should act as a strong deterrent to those who insist on interpreting the inadequacies in the behavior of such retarded individuals solely in terms of their formal cognitive characteristics. (Some preliminary work [Zigler, 1962b] with our deprivation scale did indicate that the institutionalized organic retarded had experienced less preinstitutional social deprivation than did the institutionalized familial retarded.)

Using the items in Table I as a point of departure, social histories of a large number of retarded children in a number of state schools were examined in order to assemble a collection of gross items thought to be the experiential referents of social deprivation. Each of these items was then refined into a continuous variable and their reliability (inter-judge) and validity (relation-

ship to performance on a social motivation task and to diagnosis, i.e., familial versus organic) assessed. This process continued over several years until the final form of the scale consisted only of items that could be clearly and reliably rated, even by raters who were untrained in psychology.

In addition to these items, the scale also includes a single subjective estimate of social deprivation which the rater assesses prior to scoring each of the objective items. The subjective scale has values from 0 (no deprivation) to 24 (severe deprivation), and was retained in order to capture nuances of deprivation which may not be reflected in the objective items. It was also felt that, with added use, the relationship discovered between the subjective rating and individual items would throw further light on the social deprivation construct and perhaps lead to its refinement. Our factor analytic work with this scale indicates that it yields four discernible components. These components are best viewed as reflecting the preinstitutional continuity of the child's residences, the attitude of his parents toward institutionalization, the intellectual and economic richness of his family, and the marital harmony of his family. In a recent study, Silverstein and Owens (1968) found a generally similar factor structure when employing the scale with another population of the institutionalized retarded.

This social deprivation scale with its four component scores was first used in a study by Balla, Butterfield, and myself (Zigler *et al.*, 1968). This study had among its goals a further clarification of my earlier findings (Zigler, 1961) indicating a positive relationship between degree of preinstitutional social deprivation and motivation for social reinforcement as measured by how long the child would persist in playing a monotonous but socially reinforced game. By using the scale, we hoped to discover the particular aspects of preinstitutional social deprivation that resulted in the heightened motivation for social reinforcement. The Zigler, Balla, and Butterfield study was also directed at shoring up a weakness in my earlier investigation. At that time, the children I described earlier had already been institutionalized for an average of two years. This makes it difficult to attribute, unambiguously, the observed relationship between social motivation and preinstitutional social deprivation to preinstitutional deprivation alone. In the Zigler, Balla, and Butterfield study, all of the subjects were tested shortly after their admission to the institution (i.e., within three weeks). This study also differed from the earlier one in that the institutionalized retarded of both the familial and nonfamilial types were investigated.

The findings of this study provided further support for the general hypothesis that social deprivation results in a heightened motivation for social reinforcement. As in the earlier study (Zigler, 1961), a positive relationship was found between preinstitutional social deprivation and the effectiveness of social reinforcers dispensed by an adult. It should be noted that, in the more recent study, this relationship was found at the time of admission, whereas in

Table I

Frequency with Which One or Both Judges Noted Each of Seven Specific Factors as Having Influenced Their Ratings

Factors in Social History	N
Child comes from an orphanage or has lived in several foster homes.	20
Child's parents are divorced or separated.	16
Child was abused (physical punishment, sex play) or neglected (inadequately fed or clothed) to the extent that legal action was taken to remove him from his home.	14
Child comes from original home in which he experienced considerable abuse or neglect, but no legal action taken to remove child from the home.	13
Mother or father institutionalized (mental hospital, institution for the retarded, or jail).	12
Child is illegitimate.	6
Mother verbalized her negative feelings toward the child	3

the earlier study, it was found at an average of two years following admission. The findings of this study go beyond the earlier ones by indicating that the deprivation-social reinforcement relationship holds for the nonfamilial as well as the familial retarded, and by implicating particular aspects of the preinstitutional history as critical, namely, the harmony and richness of the child's family and the attitude of his parents toward institutionalizing him.

Another test of the view that the incidence of rigid behaviors is a function of the greater social deprivation experienced by the institutionalized retarded child, rather than a function of his inherent rigidity, was carried out by Green and myself (1962). We employed three groups of subjects: institutionalized retarded, noninstitutionalized retarded, and normals. It was assumed that the noninstitutionalized retarded child has suffered less social deprivation than the institutionalized retarded child. All three groups were equated on MA, and the two retarded groups were also equated on CA. As in the earlier studies, only familial retarded children were employed. Again, a two-part satiation type task was used.

The Lewin-Kounin rigidity formulation would generate the prediction that the performance of the two retarded groups would be similar and that

their performance would differ from that of the normal group. The social deprivation hypothesis would generate the prediction that the performance of the normals and the noninstitutionalized retarded would be similar and that their performance would differ from that of the institutionalized retarded. The latter hypothesis was supported, with no significant differences in performance found between the noninstitutionalized retarded and normals. Both of these groups differed significantly from the institutionalized retarded. Again, it was the institutionalized retarded who showed the relatively long satiation times, a perseverative behavior that has been employed as evidence for the inherent rigidity of the retarded.

We (Zigler, 1963a) conducted a further test of the view that perseveration on open-ended satiation type tasks is a result of an enhanced effectiveness of social reinforcers, stemming from the greater social deprivation experienced, rather than a product of an inherent cognitive rigidity. This study differed from the one conducted by Green and myself primarily in that it included a group of institutionalized normal children. In this study, institutionalized children of both normal and retarded intellect were found to play a socially reinforced satiation-type task longer than did groups of noninstitutionalized normals and retarded of the same MA. This greater effectiveness of social reinforcement for both institutionalized normal and retarded children as compared with noninstitutionalized normal and retarded children has also been found by Stevenson and Fabel (1961).

Crucial to the motivational interpretation of many of the studies discussed above is the view that the institutionalized retarded have been deprived of adult social reinforcement and are, therefore, highly motivated to obtain this particular class of reinforcers. Evidence offering further support for this view is contained in a recent study by Harter and myself (1968), in which we found that an adult experimenter was a more effective social reinforcer than a peer experimenter for the institutionalized retarded, but not for the noninstitutionalized retarded. Thus it would appear that the institutionalized retarded child's motivation to obtain social reinforcement is relatively specific to attention and praise dispensed by an adult, rather than a more generalized desire for reinforcement dispensed by any social agent, e.g., a peer. This differential effectiveness of peer and adult social reinforcement further argues against the view that the retarded are inherently rigid and will, therefore, persevere on a dull monotonous task. Rather, how perseverative the retarded child is would appear to depend on the valence of the social reinforcers dispensed during the task. That peer reinforcement was not highly valued by the institutionalized child is not particularly surprising, in view of the general availability of this type of reinforcer in the institutional setting as has been found in an observational study by Balla (1967).

Balla's observational study constitutes an important missing link in the chain of evidence which we have been attempting to forge. Although there is

a certain appeal to the assumptions we have been making, a crucial question remains: Do the social histories of the institutionalized retarded differ from those of noninstitutionalized children of normal intellect in the specific ways which we have been suggesting? If it is true that performance differences between normals and the institutionalized retarded are due to differences in experiential histories of adult social reinforcement, then these differences should be discernible at the level of gross observation. Balla conducted observations in the homes of noninstitutionalized normal and retarded children and in several institutions which housed children of both normal and retarded intellect. The findings of the Balla study provided direct observational support for the assumption of an adult social reinforcement deficit; with respect to the quantity and quality of adult social interactions, the institutionalized retarded were found to be much like the institutionalized normal groups, whereas the noninstitutionalized retarded were much like the noninstitutionalized normal groups. However, when the institutionalized retarded were compared with the noninstitutionalized normals, the comparison most often made in the mental retardation literature, the retarded children were found to interact with adults significantly less often than normal children. It is, therefore, not surprising to discover that when such institutionalized retarded children are placed in the situation where social interaction is readily available, they choose to remain in such situations longer than noninstitutionalized normal children who are more easily satiated on social reinforcers.

Although we have been couching this discussion in terms of the socially deprived child's heightened motivation for social reinforcement, it should be noted that such a heightened motivation for social reinforcement has itself been used as an indicator of an important phenomenon discussed in the general child development literature: namely, dependency. ^{Thus, with an almost imperceptibly slight shift in terminology, we might conclude that the findings in this section indicate that a general consequence of social deprivation is overdependency.} It would be impossible to place too much emphasis on the role of such overdependency in the institutionalized familial retarded and on the socialization histories that give rise to such overdependency. In a paper (Zigler & Harter, 1969) reviewing factors in the socialization of the mentally retarded, ^{if it was} Harter and I concluded that, given some minimal intellectual level, the shift from dependency to independence is perhaps the single most important factor ^{in enabling} the retarded to become self-sustaining members of our society. It appears that the institutionalized retarded must satisfy certain affectional needs before ^{they} can cope with problems in a manner ^{characterized by} individuals whose affectional needs have been relatively satiated. These affectional needs can best be viewed as ones which often interfere with certain problem-solving activities.

Evidence on this point comes from a ~~recent~~ study by Harter (1967), in which institutionalized retarded individuals took significantly longer to solve a concept formation problem in a social condition, where they were face-to-face with a warm supportive experimenter who praised their performance, than in a standard condition, where the experimenter was silent and out of view. The retarded subjects in the social condition appeared highly motivated to interact with an approving supportive adult, so much so that it seemed to compete with their attention to the learning task. Further evidence on this point may be found in ~~Harter's~~ ^{Harmon's} observational study. ~~When observing institutionalized retarded children in a schoolroom setting, he obtained evidence indicating that this type of child employs the school as a place to interact with adults in an effort to compensate for the lack of such interactions in the other segments of his life space. It thus appears that, just as in Harter's experimental situation, institutionalized retarded children in the school utilize this opportunity to satisfy their motivation for social interaction, rather than to learn.~~

Such findings suggest that because the severely deprived retarded are highly motivated to maximize interpersonal contact, they are relatively unconcerned with the specific solution to problems. Of course, the two goals will not always be incompatible, but in many instances they will be. Some evidence that this attenuating aspect of retarded behavior can be overcome has been presented by McKinney and Keele (1963) who found improvement in a variety of behaviors in even the severely mentally retarded following an experience of increased mothering.

Social Deprivation and the Negative Reaction Tendency

Although an atypically high motivation for social reinforcement appears to be an important factor in the performance of the institutionalized retarded, it can, by no stretch of the imagination, account for all of the reported behavioral differences in comparisons of retarded and normal individuals of the same MA. A recurring theme in our work has been the necessity for appreciating the complexity of the retarded individual. It has certainly not been our goal to replace the view that the retarded are to be understood in terms of their cognitive features alone, with the view that they are to be best understood in terms of some single motivational factor. The gross observation of the behavior of the retarded indicates that a wide spectrum of motivational factors are influencing them.

A phenomenon which appears to be at considerable variance with the retarded individual's increased desire for social reinforcement (a phenomenon I have sometimes labeled the "positive-reaction tendency") has been noted, namely, the retarded child's reluctance and wariness to interact with adults

(Hirsh, 1959; Sarason & Gladwin, 1958; Wellman, 1938; Woodward, 1960). This orientation toward adults (which I have labeled the "negative-reaction tendency") appears capable of explaining certain differences between the retarded and normals reported by Kounin, differences that have, heretofore, been attributed to the greater cognitive rigidity of retarded individuals. As noted earlier, Kounin employed a cosatiation-type task as one measure of rigidity. In this type of task, the subject is instructed to perform a response and is allowed to continue until he wishes to stop. He is then instructed to perform a highly similar response until again satiated. The cosatiation score is the measure of the degree to which performance on the first task influences performance on the second task. The theoretical positions of Lewin and Kounin, as well as Stevenson and Zigler, would predict that the absolute playing time of subjects on task two, after satiation on task one, would be greater than that of normal subjects. However, neither of these positions can explain the recurring finding (Kounin, 1941a; Zigler, 1958; Zigler et al., 1958) that, as a group, retarded subjects, under certain conditions, perform longer on task two than they do on task one. Groups of normal children, on the other hand, have invariably been found to perform longer on task one than on task two.

In an effort to explain the longer playing times of the retarded on task two relative to task one, I advanced the following hypothesis:

Institutionalized feeble-minded subjects begin task one with a positive-reaction tendency higher than that of normal subjects. This higher positive-reaction tendency is due to the higher motivation of feeble-minded subjects to interact with an approving adult. At the same time, feeble-minded subjects begin task one with a negative-reaction tendency higher than that of normal subjects. This higher negative-reaction tendency is due to a wariness of adults which stems from the more frequent negative encounters that feeble-minded subjects experience at the hands of adults. If task one is given under a support condition, the subject's negative-reaction tendency is reduced more during task one than is his positive-reaction tendency. (Zigler, 1958).

The institutionalized child learns during task one that the experimenter is not like other strange adults he has encountered who have initiated painful experiences (physical examinations, shots, etc.) with supportive comments. This reappraisal of the experimental situation results in a reduction of the negative-reaction tendency. When the deprived child is then switched to task two, he meets it with a positive-reaction tendency which has been reduced less than has been his negative tendency. The result, then, is that his performance on task two is lengthier than it was on task one. The finding that normal children exhibit a decrease in length of performance during task two, as compared to task one, follows if one assumes that they have a relatively low negative-reaction tendency when they begin task one. When normal subjects are switched to task two, it is the positive-reaction tendency which has been reduced more, through fatigue and satiation effects, than any

negative-reaction tendency they might have had. The result, then, would be a briefer performance on task two than on task one.

Thus I suggested that the cosatiation score mirrors a particular set of motivational determinants, rather than inherent rigidity. This view was first tested in a study by Patricia Shallenberger and myself (1961). The cosatiation score was obtained on a two-part experimental task similar to those used in the earlier studies. The study differed from the earlier cosatiation studies in that three experimental games preceded the two-part criterion task. These experimental games were given under two conditions of reinforcement. In a positive reinforcement condition, all of the subject's responses met with success and he was further rewarded with verbal and nonverbal support from the experimenter. It was assumed that this reinforcement condition reduced the negative-reaction tendency which the subject brought to the experimental setting. In a negative reinforcement condition, all of the subject's responses met with failure, and the experimenter further negatively reinforced the subject by noting his lack of success. It was assumed that this reinforcement condition increased the negative-reaction tendency. (Ignoring the positive-reaction tendency was dictated by the assumption that this tendency was less open to experimental manipulation than was the negative tendency.) Two groups of retarded and two groups of normal subjects, all matched on MA, were employed. One normal and one retarded group were given the positive experimental condition, while the other two groups received the negative condition. All subjects performed on the criterion task under identical conditions, i.e., during both part one and part two all subjects received liberal amounts of verbal and nonverbal social reinforcement.

The most striking finding of this study was the confirmation of the prediction that both negatively reinforced groups would evidence a greater increase in time spent on part two over that spent on part one of the criterion task, than would the normal and retarded groups who played the experimental games under the positive reinforcement condition. This difference was such that the two groups receiving the negative condition played part two longer than part one, while the two groups receiving the positive condition played part one longer than part two. These findings indicate that cosatiation effects are not the product of inherent rigidity, but rather of the relative strength of certain motivational variables, i.e., positive- and negative-reaction tendencies. These tendencies and their relative strengths seem to be the product of particular environmental experiences and, apparently, are open to manipulation and modification. Thus the Shallenberger and Zigler study presents further evidence that differences in the performance on certain tasks of retarded and normal individuals of the same MA can be attributed most parsimoniously to different environmental histories and motivations.

The findings of this study did require us to broaden our views concerning motivational factors in the behavior of the retarded. Whereas the earlier

studies emphasized the increased motivation to interact with and receive the support of an adult, the Shallenberger and Zigler study demonstrated the role of another motivational variable, the negative-reaction tendency. It would seem that the experiencing of that population of events, which has been described as socially depriving, gives rise to an increased desire to interact as well as a wariness of so doing. This conclusion gave further impetus to our concern with the discovery of those specific events which give rise to each of these opposing motivational factors.

Certain findings in the Zigler, Balla, and Butterfield study (1968) threw some light on the particular preinstitutional experiences of the child which give rise to the wariness and fearfulness of adults that we have labeled the negative-reaction tendency. These findings indicated that it was the marital harmony factor in our deprivation scale which was most related to the manifestation of the negative-reaction tendency. It is not terribly surprising to discover that the particular items in this factor include the nature of the marital relationships of the parents, the father's mental health, the mother's mental health, the father's general attitude toward the child, and the mother's general attitude toward the child.

The view that the genesis of the negative-reaction tendency was to be found in early socially depriving experiences, rather than in mental retardation per se, was central to a study conducted by Susan Harter and myself (1968). In this study, our two-part cosatiation task was once again employed to compare the negative-reaction tendencies of institutionalized retarded children with those of noninstitutionalized retarded children living at home with their parents, in homes that could be considered at least fairly adequate. (In order to investigate just how general the child's wariness (i.e., the negative-reaction tendency) was, our subjects were further subdivided so that half of each group was socially reinforced by an adult and the other half by a child of normal intelligence.) The institutionalized retarded were found to manifest a higher negative-reaction tendency than did the noninstitutionalized retarded. This greater wariness on the part of institutionalized as compared to the noninstitutionalized retarded was found in both the adult and peer reinforcement conditions. It thus appears that the institutionalized retarded suffer from a generalized wariness of strangers, regardless of whether the strangers are adults or children.

The cosatiation scores used to measure the negative-reaction tendency of the noninstitutionalized retarded were very similar to those found with normal children of the same MA. The finding that nondeprived retarded children are very much like normal children with respect to a general fearfulness runs counter to considerable anecdotal evidence. This led Harter and I to raise the possibility that the very simplicity of the task we employed may have obscured the noninstitutionalized child's fearfulness. Cromwell (1963) has emphasized the failure-avoiding nature of retarded children's

performance, a phenomenon which also suggests a certain wariness or fearfulness. To the extent that such failure avoidance underlies the retarded child's frequently noted wariness, one would expect to encounter it primarily on complex or intellectually challenging tasks where failure is perceived by the child as a probable outcome. This explanation would not account for the performance of the institutionalized retarded children in the Harter-Zigler study, however. It may be, therefore, that the retarded child's wariness is best conceptualized as the product of two relatively independent factors: one involving those negative experiences with social agents which make him wary of other human beings, and the other relating to failure experiences on intellectual tasks, which cause him to be wary of tasks, rather than of people. If this formulation were true, one would expect the institutionalized retarded to be wary on all tasks presented by social agents, regardless of the task complexity. The noninstitutionalized retarded, on the other hand, should only be wary of tasks that are of an intellectually challenging nature.

Further evidence for the importance of the negative-reaction tendency in the behavior of socially deprived retarded children, be they institutionalized or not, is contained in the recent experimental investigations by (Weaver, 1966). ^{He} examined the negative-reaction tendencies of a group of noninstitutionalized retarded children obtained in a school district in a large urban area which had an extremely poor record of academic, social, and health adjustment. Among the tasks employed by Weaver was one developed in our laboratory which required the child to place a series of cut-out shapes on a long felt board, at one end of which sat an adult. In one experimental condition, the adult positively reinforced the behavior of the child, while in the other condition he made negative comments concerning the child's performance. Unlike the time measures used in earlier studies, Weaver employed a more direct measure of the child's approach and avoidance tendencies, namely, how far from the adult experimenter the child placed the shapes. Consistent with our thinking concerning the negative-reaction tendency, Weaver found that, over the series of trials, children in the positive reinforcement condition moved toward the experimenter, whereas children in the negative condition moved away from him. (The findings of a subsequent study [Klaber, Butterfield, & Gould, 1969] indicate that the two experimental measures used to date to assess positive and negative-reaction tendencies, persistence in playing a dull but socially reinforced task, and how far from a stationary adult a child places himself are significantly correlated.)

Since positive and negative-reaction tendencies, as ~~we have been~~ describing them, are hardly unique to children of limited intellect, ~~we have~~ pursued this line of investigation in a series of studies with children of normal intellect (Berkowitz, Butterfield, & Zigler, 1965; Berkowitz & Zigler, 1965; Irons & Zigler, 1969; McArthur & Zigler, 1969; McCoy & Zigler, 1965). These studies have all been directed at further validation of what has come to

be known as the "valence position". Stated most simply, this position asserts that the effectiveness of an adult as a social reinforcing agent for a particular child depends upon the valence which that adult has for the child. This valence is determined by the relative amount of positive and negative experiences the child has encountered at the hands of the particular adult whose social reinforcer effectiveness is being assessed, and/or other adults in the child's past from whom he has generalized. The five studies noted above employed length of playing time on a boring satiation-type task as the measure of the adult's social reinforcer effectiveness. These studies have produced considerable evidence indicating that prior positive contacts between the child and the adult increase the adult's effectiveness as a reinforcer while negative contacts decrease it. If the experimentally manipulated negative encounters in these experiments are conceptualized as the experimental analogue of what the institutionalized retarded actually have experienced, then the often reported reluctance and wariness with which such children interact with adults becomes understandable.

It should be noted that further investigation of such positive and negative-reaction tendencies, their interactions, and the specific events which give rise to them may clarify issues much more global in nature than the troublesome finding that, under certain conditions, retarded individuals will play a second part of a two-part cosatiation task longer than the first part. ^{we} specifically have in mind the current controversy over whether social deprivation leads to an increase in the desire for interaction or to apathy and withdrawal (Cox, 1953; Freud & Burlingham, 1948; Goldfarb, 1953; Irvine, 1952; Spitz & Wolf, 1946; Wittenborn & Myers, 1957).

In respect to retarded individuals, a logical conclusion here is that this wariness of adults and of the tasks that adults present leads to a general attenuation in the retarded child's social effectiveness. Failure of the institutionalized retarded on tasks presented by adults is, therefore, not to be attributed entirely to intellectual factors but must be interpreted in light of the atypically high negative-reaction tendency of many retarded individuals. This tendency motivates them toward behaviors, e.g., withdrawal, which reduce the quality of their performance to a level lower than that which one would expect on the basis of their intellectual capacity alone.

The Reinforcer Hierarchy

Another concept which my colleagues and I have advanced to explain differences in performance between normals and retarded of the same MA is that of the reinforcer hierarchy. This reinforcer hierarchy pertains to the ordering of reinforcers in the individual's motivation system from most to least effective. While the motivational factors noted previously can explain

many of the normal-retarded differences found by Kounin, they cannot handle parsimoniously Kounin's finding that the retarded evidence greater difficulty than do normals on a concept-switching task. An early explanation of this finding, which I advanced (Zigler, 1958), relied heavily on the retarded child's heightened motivation to interact with an adult and the relationship of this motivation to the child's compliance. I suggested that, while this heightened motivation results in greater compliance when it increases the degree of social interaction, it may not lead to greater compliance when such compliance terminates the interaction as seems to be the case in Kounin's card-sorting task. Thus the argument can be made that the institutionalized retarded are thrown into a conflict between making a particular response which leads to the termination of the social interaction, and failing to make the correct response which results in the continuation of the interaction. Since normal children would experience this conflict to a much lesser degree, their performance would be superior on Kounin's concept-switching task.

I finally concluded that this argument, though plausible, could not satisfactorily explain Kounin's finding of a sizeable difference in concept-switching between normals and retarded. Furthermore, my argument contained an inherent weakness in the assumption that all of Kounin's subjects were aware that resorting the cards would result in a termination of the social interaction. A closer examination of Kounin's card-sorting task led me to deemphasize the importance of social interaction and focus instead on the relative weakness of the reinforcer employed by Kounin to motivate retarded children on this task. The only reinforcer obtained by Kounin's subjects for correctly switching concepts was whatever reinforcement inheres in being correct. Being correct is probably more reinforcing for the performance of normal than for retarded children, who may value the interaction with, and attention of, the experimenter much more than the satisfaction derived from performing the task correctly.

The hypothesis suggested here is that if equally effective reinforcers were dispensed to normals and retarded of the same MA for switching concepts, no difference in the ability to switch would be found. Such a hypothesis demands the assumption that the positions of various reinforcers in the reinforcer hierarchies of normal and retarded children differ. Basic to this assumption is the view that for every child there exists a reinforcer hierarchy, and the particular position of various reinforcers is determined by (1) the child's developmental level; (2) the frequency with which these reinforcers have been paired with other reinforcers; (3) the degree to which the child has been deprived of these reinforcers; and (4) a variety of other experiential factors.

Considerable evidence has now been presented either indicating or suggesting that the reinforcer hierarchies of middle-class children differ from those of lower-class children (Cameron & Storm, 1965; Davis, 1944; Douvan,

1956; Ericson, 1947; Terrell, Durkin, & Wiesley, 1959; Zigler & Kanzer, 1962). Emanating from this body of work is the view that middle-class children are more motivated to be correct for the sheer sake of correctness than are lower-class children. These studies attest to the feasibility of attributing the differences in performance between normal and retarded children on a concept-switching task to such differing reinforcer hierarchies, rather than to the greater cognitive rigidity of the retarded. Terrell *et al.* (1959) and Cameron and Storm (1965) found that middle-class children did better on a discrimination learning task when an intangible rather than a tangible reinforcer was employed, while lower-class children evidenced superior performance when the reinforcer was a tangible one. This social class finding is pertinent to the relatively poor performance of the institutionalized familial retarded on concept-switching tasks, since such individuals are drawn predominantly from the lowest segment of the lower socioeconomic class (Zigler, 1961). The importance of the specific reinforcer dispensed, in studies of the retarded, is further suggested by the Stevenson and Zigler findings (1957) that when tangible reinforcers were given, the institutionalized familial retarded were no more rigid than normal subjects of the same MA on a discrimination reversal learning task. Furthermore, on a concept-switching task identical to Kounin's (1941a), both retarded and upper-class children switched more readily in a tangible than in an intangible reinforcement condition. Contrary to Kounin's findings, no significant main effect associated with the normal-retarded dimension was found (Zigler & Unell, 1962).

This suggests that the differences obtained by Kounin (1941a) on his concept-switching task resulted from the comparison of retarded with middle-class children who valued the intangible reward of being correct much more than did the retarded. These studies further suggest that not only retarded, but lower-class children, in general, would be inferior to middle-class children when such a reinforcer is employed. However, middle-class children should not be superior to either retarded or lower-class children of the same MA when these latter children are rewarded with more optimal reinforcers, i.e., reinforcers high in their hierarchies.

This view was tested by deLabry and myself (Zigler & deLabry, 1962) in an experiment utilizing Kounin's concept-switching task under two reinforcement conditions with groups of institutionalized familial retarded, lower-class, and middle-class normal children. In one condition, Kounin's original reinforcer, the reinforcement that inheres in a correct response, was employed. In a second condition, the reinforcer was a tangible reward, a small toy. Half the subjects in each group received the tangible reinforcer and half received the intangible reinforcer for switching from one concept (either form or color) to the other. The reinforcement hypothesis and the predictions derived from it were supported by the findings. The retarded and normal lower-class children did better (fewer trials to switch in the tangible than in

the intangible condition), while the normal middle-class children did slightly better in the intangible than in the tangible condition. Reminiscent of Kounin's results was the finding of significant differences among the three groups who received intangible reinforcers. However, no differences were found among the three groups who received tangible reinforcers. Furthermore, no differences were found among the three groups that exhibited maximal performance (retarded tangible, lower-class tangible, and middle-class intangible).

(Zigler, 1963b) have argued at some length that shifts in the position of particular reinforcers in the individual's reinforcer hierarchy are related to changes in cognitive functioning associated with differing developmental stages. However, such factors do not appear to be the crucial ones when one discovers differences in the reinforcer hierarchies of normal and retarded children who have been matched on MA, and thus grossly on cognitive-developmental level. Such differences appear to be more appropriately attributable to the particular social learning histories of the children in question. For instance, in retarded populations, the incidence of failure is so high that training is often centered on doing one's best rather than being right. This deemphasis of right for right's sake alone would lower the motive to be correct in the child's motive hierarchy. Again, however, caution is in order. Although retarded children as a group may value being correct less than do middle-class children as a group, this may not hold for any particular child. The crucial factor is not membership in a particular social class or being retarded in intellect, but, rather, the particular social learning experienced by the child.

This point is aptly underlined in a recent study by Byck (1968), who examined the performance of institutionalized mongoloid and familial retarded subjects (matched on MA, CA, IQ, and length of institutionalization) on the concept-switching task employed both by Kounin and myself. Each group was subdivided, so that half of the children were reinforced for their performance with a tangible reward (a small toy), and the other half with social reinforcers, including the information that they were correct. A highly significant interaction was found indicating superior concept-switching for the mongoloids in the intangible as compared to the tangible condition, whereas the reverse pattern was found for the familials. This finding is consistent with the social class and reinforcer effectiveness literature noted above, if one remembers that institutionalized familials almost invariably come from a lower-class background, whereas the mongoloids are much more likely to come from the middle-class. It would appear that it is the social learning experiences acquired fairly early in the child's life and prior to institutionalization that are influential in determining the potency of particular reinforcers. Several investigators (Davis, 1941, 1943, 1944; Douvan, 1956; Ericson, 1947) have noted that the emphasis on being right is

primarily a middle-class phenomenon and that this particular intangible reinforcer is more frequently paired with other primary and secondary reinforcers in middle-class than in lower-class populations. The enhanced effectiveness of tangible reinforcers for institutionalized retarded and lower-class children would appear to be due to the relative deprivation of tangible rewards, such as toys, experienced by these children.

Up to this point, our discussion of the reinforcer hierarchy has focused upon how particular reinforcers (e.g., a small toy or the verbal statement, "You're right") external to the child, but dispensed to him by some social agent, take on their effectiveness as a consequence of the child's general cognitive-developmental level and/or social learning experiences. In more recent work, we have shifted our attention to the more general phenomenon of the intrinsic reinforcement that inheres in being correct, regardless of whether or not an external agent dispenses a reinforcer for such correctness. This shift in (our) orientation owes much to White's (1959) formulation concerning the inherent and permeating nature of the effectance motive in man as a behavior system. Whether or not one accepts the view that the individual's need for effectance or mastery is a basic need that parallels certain other primary drives, there can be little question that White's effectance concept provides a rubric for a variety of behaviors that appear very central in the individual's behavioral repertoire from infancy through senility, e.g., the desire for optimal levels of sensory stimulation, manipulation, exploration, and curiosity. In a series of studies (Shultz & Zigler, 1970; Zigler, Levine, & Gould, 1966a,b, 1967) which we have conducted primarily with normal middle-class children from infancy through the elementary grades, we have obtained some support for the view that using one's cognitive resources to their utmost is intrinsically gratifying and thus motivating.

The adaptive features of such a motive for cognitive mastery are rather obvious; Child and I (Zigler & Child, 1969) have recently discussed the importance of such a motive in relation to the entire spectrum of socialization. Although it is my inclination to view the effectance motive as inherent and central to the human organism, I think that it differs from such primary drives as hunger and thirst. If these latter tissue needs are not met, the person dies. This is hardly the case with the need to be effective or, more specifically, to utilize one's cognitive resources to the fullest. To note that cognitive mastery is not life-preserving does not mean that it is automatically expelled from the arena of primary needs. One drive, widely accepted as a primary one, is sex, a drive whose satisfaction is also not life-preserving. However, it would be easy to conceptualize both sexual and effectance needs as life-fulfilling ones, when such fulfillment is defined in terms of the successful perpetuation and evolution of the species. A species would become immediately extinct if all procreation ceased. By somewhat the same token, the adaptive aspects of the effectance motive in the face of a continually

changing environment plays an important role in the successful evolution of the species. Given this, it would not be surprising to find the human organism at the biological level programmed with such needs as sexual activity and cognitive mastery. However, such species programming does not guarantee that every member of the species will, at all times, be highly motivated by such self-fulfilling needs. Foregoing examples of more elevated sexual abstinence, one immediately thinks of the individual whose life experiences have been of such a sort as to lead them to be frigid or impotent. In terms of some hierarchy of motives, one could say that the sexual motive in such individuals has dropped from its normal place toward the top of such a hierarchy to some place near the bottom.

Analogously, one could conceptualize a situation in which cognitive mastery drops in the motive hierarchy as a result of experiences which either specifically extinguish this motive or as a result of the elevation and/or emphasis of other motives more important to physiological or psychological self-preservation. In the case of the retarded whose efforts after cognitive mastery so frequently meet with failure, such a motive could easily become associated with anxiety. As a result, the retarded individual would be more motivated to escape the painful anxiety associated with cognitive effort than he would to directly gratify the cognitive mastery motive. Such a process may underlie the considerable evidence that has now been presented indicating that retarded children are more motivated to avoid failure than to achieve success (Cromwell, 1963). (Other effects on the retarded of failure experiences will be discussed in detail in the next section.)

Susan Harter and I have been collaborating on a project directed toward operationally purifying the effectance motive construct and examining such motivation in groups of normal and retarded children. Initially, we attempted to construct and pretest a battery of tasks which we felt measured various aspects of this motivation to master, to explore, to conceptualize tasks as challenging problem-solving situations, to be curious, and to solve a task for the sake of being correct. Our original efforts were partially guided by our intuitive attempts to design a set of tasks which might reflect those behaviors which we have observed to be important in the development of the normal child, but seemingly absent or less predominant among the retarded populations we have tested in previous studies. These preliminary efforts resulted in a battery of five tasks, each measuring various facets of the behaviors noted above. We have now tested these tasks in a study involving three groups of subjects: normal children, noninstitutionalized retarded children, and institutionalized retarded children, all matched on MA. The evidence presented throughout this chapter led us to consider the institutionalized population of the retarded as differing from their noninstitutionalized counterparts on just those motivational variables which Harter and I were investigating.

The results of this study indicate significant differences among groups in the predicted directions on four of the five tasks. That is, the typical pattern which has emerged is that the normal children show the greatest desire to master a problem for the sake of mastery, to choose the most challenging task, to demonstrate the greatest curiosity and exploratory behavior; the noninstitutionalized children show less of this type of behavior, and the institutionalized children, in most cases, demonstrate the least mastery motivation. To date, we have looked only at these general group differences; however, currently we are looking at the relationships among tasks in order to assess the degree to which these tasks are intercorrelated and may represent components of some general motivational pattern.

Of some special importance, in the study just described, is not only that the retarded differ from normal children, but that groups of retarded children, matched on intellectual functioning, differ from one another in respect to a general motive which would influence a wide variety of behaviors. Again one finds support in this section for the view that many differences in the performance of normal and retarded children are a result of motivational differences which arise from diverse environmental histories and conditions.

Expectancy of Success

Another factor frequently noted as a determinant in the performance of the retarded is their high expectancy of failure. This failure expectancy has been viewed as an outgrowth of a lifetime characterized by frequent confrontations with tasks with which the retarded are intellectually ill-equipped to deal. That failure experiences and the failure expectancies to which they give rise affect a wide variety of behaviors in the intellectually normal has now been amply documented (Atkinson, 1958a, b; Katz, 1964; Rotter, 1954; Sarason, Davidson, Lighthall, Waite, & Ruebush, 1960). However, experimental work employing success-failure manipulations with the retarded is still somewhat inconsistent. The work of Cromwell and his students (reviewed in Cromwell, 1963) has certainly lent support to the general proposition that the retarded have a higher expectancy of failure than do normals. This results in a style of problem-solving for the retarded which causes them to be much more motivated to avoid failure than to achieve success. However, the inconsistent research findings suggest that this simple proposition is in need of some further refinement. One investigator (Gardner, 1957) found that retarded subjects performed better following success and poorer following failure compared to a normal control group. Heber (1957) found that the performances of normals and the retarded were equally enhanced following a failure condition, and that while success enhanced the

performances of both normals and the retarded, the performance of the retarded was enhanced more than normals.

Kass and Stevenson (1961) found that success enhanced the performance of normals more than that of the retarded. Another study also found that failure had a general enhancing effect for both normals and the retarded, but that failure enhanced the performance of normals more than that of the retarded (Gardner, 1958). In a recent study by Earl Butterfield and myself (1965b), one factor capable of producing this type of inconsistency was isolated. We found that both normal and retarded children reacted differentially to success and failure experiences as a function of their responsivity to adults, i.e., their desire to gain an adult's support and approval. The nature of the difference between normals and the retarded in their reaction to success or failure experiences appeared to be determined by this latter variable. Among high responsive subjects, failure, opposed to success, attenuated the performance of retarded while improving the performance of normal subjects. Among low responsive subjects, failure, compared to success, attenuated the performance of normals while improving the performance of the retarded. (Again we see the error of conceptualizing either normal or retarded children as homogeneously reacting in some stereotyped manner to an environmental event.)

One problem involved in the success-failure experiments is that the experimental manipulations typically involved very simple, circumscribed experiences of success or failure. They do not constitute an adequate experimental analogue of the lengthy and repeated history of failure assumed for the retarded. In a study involving prolonged failure, a condition more representative of what the retarded actually experience, Zeaman and House (1960) found that their retarded subjects were unable to solve an extremely simple problem although they had previously been able to do so. As reported below, fairly clear results are also obtained when the experimenter simply assumes that the retarded have a "failure set," rather than attempting to see how such a set is influenced by one more failure or success experience.

Assuming that the inordinately high incidence of failure experienced by retarded children produces such a failure set, Stevenson and I (1958) tested the hypothesis that the retarded would be willing to settle for a lower degree of success than would normal children of the same MA. To test this hypothesis, we employed a three-choice discrimination task in which only one stimulus was partially reinforced, the other two stimuli yielding zero reinforcement. Although it is now clear that performance on such a task is influenced by a number of other factors (Gruen & Weir, 1964; Lewis, 1965, 1966; Stevenson & Weir, 1959, 1963; Weir, 1962, 1964), the Stevenson and Zigler rationale was that maximizing behavior (persistent choice of the partially reinforced stimulus) should be more characteristic of the retarded than the normal child since retarded children have come to expect and settle

for lower degrees of success than have normal children. This rationale is consistent with Goodnow's (1955) analysis of the determinants of choice behavior. Goodnow suggested that greater maximizing behavior will be found when a subject will accept less than 100% success as an acceptable outcome, while less maximizing behavior will be found when a subject is expecting 100% success, or a level of success greater than that allowed in the situation. As we predicted, retarded children were found to maximize their choice of the partially reinforced stimulus to a greater degree than normal children.

Further support for the expectancy-of-success hypothesis was found in a second experiment (Stevenson & Zigler, 1958) in which normal children were given either a success or failure condition prior to performing on the partially reinforced three-choice learning task. It was hypothesized that a preliminary failure experience would lower the expectancy of success and thus lead to a higher incidence of maximizing behavior. As predicted, a higher incidence of maximizing behavior was found for children who had experienced prior failure than for children who had experienced success. We thus see again that if normal children receive the experimental analogue of the real life experiences of retarded children (in this instance, a low degree of reinforcement across a number of tasks preceding the criterion task), they behave in much the same manner as do the retarded.

It should be noted, however, that in the first Stevenson and Zigler experiment the obtained difference in maximizing behavior between the retarded and normals is consistent with a number of other positions. These findings are certainly consonant with the Lewin-Kounin rigidity formulation (Kounin, 1941a, b; Lewin, 1936). Within this framework, maximization (consistently responding to one stimulus) could be conceptualized as perseverative, stereotyped behavior, thus generating the prediction that the inherently more rigid retarded child would maximize more than the less rigid normal child of the same MA. Some support for this interpretation of the Stevenson-Zigler (1958) findings is contained in the work of Siegel and Foshee (1960) who found that retarded children were less variable in their response patterns than were normal children of the same MA.

A further test of the validity of our motivational explanation for the differences found in the performance of retarded and normals of the same MA on a partially reinforced three-choice problem was conducted by Gerald Gruen and myself (1968). A procedure for differentially testing the Stevenson-Zigler motivational and Lewin-Kounin inherent rigidity positions suggested itself. If it is the lowered expectancy of success stemming from a high incidence of failure experiences that causes the retarded to manifest maximizing behavior, then this same type of behavior should be found in children of normal intellect who have also experienced relatively high amounts of failure. Lower-class children would appear to have had such a background (cf. Gans, 1962). The motivational position would, therefore,

predict similarity in performance by retarded and lower-class children on a partially reinforced three-choice problem. The position that rigidity is inversely related to IQ would lead us to expect a dissimilarity in the performance of these two groups and a similarity in the performance of lower- and middle-class children matched on IQs.

In the Gruen and Zigler study, groups of middle-class normal, lower-class normal, and noninstitutionalized familial retarded children of comparable MAs (approximately seven) performed on the partially reinforced three-choice learning task employed by Stevenson and Zigler (1958). In order to throw further light on the possible motivational dynamics influencing performance on this task, two experimental manipulations were also utilized. As in Stevenson and Zigler's (1958) second experiment (which employed only children of normal intellect), the degree of success experienced by children immediately prior to performance on the learning task was manipulated. One-third of the children in each group were administered a number of pretraining tasks in which they experienced a high degree of success; one-third were given pretraining tasks in which they experienced a very low level of success; and one-third did not receive any pretraining. The expectation here was that the low, as compared to the high, success condition would lower the child's general expectancy of success and thus result in more maximizing behavior on the learning task.

Penalty and no-penalty conditions were also included. Gruen and Weir (1964), employing the same three-choice probability learning task as Stevenson and Zigler (1958), found that penalizing children by having them give up a previously won reward for an incorrect response (defined as a trial on which the subject received no reward) resulted in greater maximizing behavior than did reward alone. In this study, in addition to examining the sheer number of correct responses made, the strategies employed by the children in attempting to solve a problem were also investigated. Earlier studies (Gruen & Weir, 1964; Stevenson & Weir, 1959; Weir, 1962) have demonstrated that, when confronted with this task, a common strategy of MA-seven children is a left, middle, right, or a right, middle, left response pattern, which accounts for about 50% of the total number of responses made. It was this specific pattern strategy which was investigated in the Gruen and Zigler study.

The analyses we conducted on the pattern of responding, i.e., the strategy of the child, provided a more fine-grained look at what the child was actually doing than that provided in the earlier Stevenson and Zigler study. The findings of the Gruen and Zigler study and the conclusions to which they led us were as follows: Across all trials, normal lower-class children showed the most maximizing (correct responses), and the least left, middle, right patterning of their responses, while the normal middle-class children showed the least maximizing and most patterning. Retarded children fell between

these two groups on both measures. Penalty as opposed to no-penalty resulted in significantly more maximizing behavior and less patterning. No effects as a result of prior conditions of success and failure were found for the lower-class and retarded children. However, consistent with the findings of Stevenson and Zigler (1958), for middle-class children, the preliminary success condition resulted in less maximization (fewer correct responses) than did the other two conditions. Furthermore, while the preliminary success or failure conditions did not influence pattern response strategies of the lower-class or retarded children, they did influence those of the middle-class children. For this group, children who had experienced the preliminary failure showed the least amount of patterning while those who had experienced success evidenced the most patterning.

Examining performance across the 100 trials employed, the findings obtained on the correct-response measure, in conjunction with those obtained on the pattern-response measure, permit certain conclusions concerning the processes which mediate the performance of the three types of children. During the early trials, all children rely rather heavily on the pattern response, a strategy dictated by their cognitive level as defined by MA. Subsequently, the operation of a number of factors appears to determine the child's willingness to give up this cognitively congruent strategy for a maximization strategy which, although not meeting the goal of 100% success, does provide the best possible payoff. One such factor is the penalty involved in continuing to utilize the pattern strategy. Across all groups, the penalty condition (punishment) causes the child to give up the pattern response in favor of the maximization strategy. This shift to a different strategy in the strategy hierarchy would appear to be predictable from the Law of Effect. However, independent of penalty effects, the three groups continue to differ in their tendency to make patterns which, in turn, produces differences among the three groups in the number of maximization responses.

These remaining differences between the groups are not at all consistent with the position that the lower the IQ, the greater the rigidity. The findings do appear consistent with the expectancy-of-success hypothesis advanced initially. In the middle-class child, this expectancy is relatively high and, therefore, he is unwilling to settle for that degree of success provided by the maximization response. Given such a situation, he can do little more than continue with the patterning response which, at this MA level, would appear to represent a relatively complex strategy. On the other hand, the retarded and lower-class children have a lower expectancy of success and are, therefore, more willing to give up the patterning response in favor of the maximization response. The tendency for lower-class children to make fewer patterning and more maximizing responses is understandable if one remembers that the retarded children in this study were obtained from special classes, whereas the lower-class children were obtained from classes in which

they probably had to compete continually with brighter children. While this factor may be offset by non-school experiences, it is very possible that the lower-class child in the middle-class oriented schoolroom has more failure experiences than the retarded in special classes conducted especially for them.

The importance of these success and failure experiences is suggested by the impact of the success-failure manipulations on the middle-class children in this study. As in the Stevenson and Zigler (1958) study, greater maximization was found following failure than following success. At the same time, success resulted in an increase, and failure led to a decrease, in pattern responding among middle-class children. It would appear that the preliminary success experience enhances the child's confidence in the pattern strategy dictated by his cognitive level, and thus increases his reluctance to give up this strategy when confronted with a problem which he thinks can be solved. This reasoning would appear to represent an extension of our expectancy-of-success hypothesis. The smaller number of correct responses on a probability learning task by a middle-class child would appear to be determined not only by the amount of success he is willing to settle for, but also by the amount of confidence the child has in his own cognitive strategy. That the retarded child has little confidence in his own cognitive resources will be pointed out in the next section of this chapter. It would not be surprising to discover that the low-class child, who typically experiences a high incidence of intellectual failure, also distrusts his own cognitive strategies and is, therefore, more willing to give them up than is the middle-class child.

This argument would have been strengthened had the success-failure effects found with the middle-class group also been found in the retarded and lower-class groups. However, as has been noted and demonstrated (Irons & Zigler, 1969; Zigler, 1964), it is naive to believe that simple short-term experimental manipulations of the sort used in this study would inexorably affect all children to the same degree. How these short-term operations influence behavior will ultimately depend on how they are mediated by the child. The findings of the Gruen and Zigler study suggest that, unlike the middle-class child, the retarded and the lower-class child have such entrenched attitudes and expectancies that short-term experimental manipulations of success and failure have relatively little effect on their performance. The fact that lower-class children of normal intellect are more similar in their performance to the retarded than to middle-class children of the same MA is consistent with other findings (Zigler & deLabry, 1962) and allows the conclusion that differences between the retarded and middle-class children on a probability-type task are due to motivational factors of the kind which have been discussed, rather than to any inherent cognitive rigidity of retarded individuals.

Reminiscent of certain findings of the Gruen and Zigler study are those of Odom (1967). Employing the expectancy-of-success hypothesis, this investi-

gator also found that lower-class children were more willing to employ a maximization strategy on the task I have been describing than were the middle-class children. However, what must be emphasized is that it is not social class nor intellectual level, in and of themselves, which determine the child's expectancy of success and thus his performance on this particular learning task. Rather, it is the particular incidence of success or failure experienced by the individual child that determines his expectancy of success. Certainly, a very protected retarded child, who may not experience as much failure as one who is less protected, will thus have a higher expectancy of success. Analogously, not every child in the lower socioeconomic class has the same history of success and failure. Thus the performance of the child is more predictable when it is approached from a psychological point of view, rather than from a demographic, economic, or social class membership frame of reference.

This is exactly what was attempted in a recent study by Rae Jean Kier and myself (1969), which employed the same three-choice probability learning task used in the earlier studies. In this study, only lower-class and middle-class children of normal intellect were employed. However, two types of lower- and middle-class children were investigated. One subgroup of middle- and one subgroup of lower-class children were selected on the basis of their evaluation by their teachers as being successful in school. Consistent with the hypothesis advanced, we found that, independent of socioeconomic class, it was the children ranked as unsuccessful by their teachers who were the most willing to settle for a lower degree of success and thus adopt a maximization strategy on our partially reinforced discrimination learning task. The Kier and Zigler study also provided some, heretofore missing, direct evidence that performance on this task does indeed reflect the child's expectancy of success. Using a modification of a direct measure of expectancy of success, constructed by Diggory (1966), we found that performance on this measure was correlated with performance on our learning task. That is, those children with the lowest expectancy of success made more correct responses on our learning task (i.e., adopted a maximization strategy) than did children with a high expectancy of success. The findings reported in this section would appear to provide considerable support for the view that motivational factors determined by experiential events are important determinants in the child's problem-solving across social classes and intellectual levels.

Outer-directedness

Another line of investigation in our work has indicated that, in addition to a lowered expectancy of success, the high incidence of failure experienced

by the retarded generates a style of problem-solving characterized by outer-directedness. That is, the retarded child comes to distrust his own solutions to problems and, therefore, seeks guides to action in the immediate environment. In an early study (Zigler *et al.*, 1958), it was found that the institutionalized retarded tended to terminate their performance on experimental games following a suggestion from an adult experimenter that they might do so. Normal children tended to ignore such suggestions, stopping instead of their own volition. (Originally, this finding was discussed in terms of social deprivation and heightened motivation for social reinforcement and was interpreted as reflecting a greater compliance on the part of the institutionalized retarded. The position here was that social deprivation resulted in an enhanced motivation for social reinforcers and, hence, greater compliance in an effort to obtain such reinforcement. (I think we see here a clear instance of how a commitment to a particular viewpoint leads one to avoid interpretations of data other than the ones to which he is committed.)

However, Green and I (1962) found that, while normal children again exhibited little tendency to do so, a higher percentage of the noninstitutionalized than the institutionalized retarded terminated their performance upon a cue from the experimenter. This finding is incongruent with the social deprivation interpretation, which would generate the prediction that the noninstitutionalized retarded would be similar to normal children in their sensitivity to adult cues. This dissimilarity in the performance of the noninstitutionalized retarded and normals led us to suggest that such sensitivity to external cues is most appropriately viewed as a general component of problem-solving, having its antecedents in the child's history of success or failure.

Of the three types of children which Green and I employed, the normal child would be expected to have had the highest incidence of success emanating from self-initiated solutions to problems. As a result, such a child would be the most willing to employ his own thought processes and the solutions they provide in problem-solving situations. Antithetically, the self-initiated solutions of the retarded would be expected to result in a high incidence of failure, thus making the retarded wary of the solutions provided by their own thought processes. This type of child should then evidence a greater sensitivity to external or environmental cues, particularly those provided by social agents, in the belief that these cues would be more reliable indicators than those provided by his own cognitive efforts. The retarded, in general, then, would be more sensitive to external cues than would normal children. The institutionalized retarded live in an environment adjusted to their intellectual shortcomings and should, therefore, experience less failure than the noninstitutionalized retarded. This latter type of child must continue to face the complexities and demands of an environment with which

he is ill-equipped to deal and should, as we found, manifest the greatest sensitivity to external cues.

This general position was tested by Turnure and myself (1964). In a first experiment, we examined the imitation behavior of normal and retarded children of the same MA on two tasks. One task involved the imitation of an adult and the other, the imitation of a peer. Prior to the imitation tasks, the children played three games under either a success or a failure condition. The specific hypotheses tested were that retarded children would be generally more imitative than normals and that all children would be more imitative following failure experiences than following success experiences. These hypotheses were confirmed on both imitation tasks. To the extent that the behavior of normal children is considered the preferred mode, this study indicates that the outer-directedness of the retarded child results in behavior characterized by an oversensitivity to external models, with a resulting lack of spontaneity and creativity. However, it must be emphasized that heightened outer-directedness is not invariably detrimental to performance on problem-solving tasks.

Turnure and I conducted a second experiment (1964) in order to test further the hypothesis that retarded children are more outer-directed than normal children of the same MA. In this study, an effort was also made to demonstrate that outer-directedness may be either detrimental or beneficial, depending upon the nature of the situation. Normal children and noninstitutionalized retarded children of the same MA were instructed to assemble an item, reminiscent of the object-assembly items on the WISC, as quickly as they could. While the subject assembled the item, the adult experimenter put together a second object-assembly item. The hypothesis was that the outer-directedness of the retarded child would lead him to attend to what the experimenter was doing rather than concentrating on his own task, thus interfering with his performance. When the child had completed his puzzle, the experimenter took apart the puzzle that he himself had been working on. He then gave this second puzzle to the child and told him to put it together as quickly as he could. Here, the cues that the retarded child had picked up as a result of his outer-directedness should facilitate performance on the second puzzle. The predictions were again confirmed. The normal children were superior to the retarded on the first task, whereas the retarded were superior to the normal children on the second task. No statistically significant differences were found in the control condition in which the experimenter did not put together the second object-assembly task while the subject was working on the first. Further confirmation of the outer-directed hypothesis was obtained by a direct measure of the frequency with which the children actually glanced at the experimenter. As expected, the retarded subjects were found to glance at the experimenter significantly more often than did the normal children.

The findings of this study not only confirmed the hypothesis that retarded children are more outer-directed in their problem-solving, but also suggested the process by which the outer-directed style of the retarded is reinforced and perpetuated. There are undoubtedly many real life situations in which the child is rewarded for careful attentiveness to adults. However, it is also clear that there will be many situations in which such attending will be detrimental to the child's problem-solving. Across tasks, optimal problem-solving requires a child to utilize both external cues and his own cognitive resources. The retarded child's overreliance on external cues is understandable in view of his life history. The intermittent success accruing to the retarded child as a result of such a style, in combination with his generally lowered expectation of success across problem-solving situations, suggests the great utility which such outer-directedness would have for the retarded.

A further test of the hypothesis that retarded are more outer-directed than normals was conducted by Sanders, Butterfield, and myself (Sanders, Zigler, & Butterfield, 1968). The central question we addressed was whether the outer-directedness of the retarded, found on simple imitation and object-assembly tasks, also manifests itself in a standard discrimination-learning situation. The discovery that the retarded child's outer-directedness influences even his performance on a discrimination learning task would indicate that this style of problem-solving is a relatively pervasive one which should be taken into consideration in evaluating the general behavior of the retarded child. Groups of normal and retarded children of the same MA were compared on a size discrimination task that involved the presentation of an additional cue which the subject could use in making his choice of stimuli. Three conditions were employed: (a) one in which the subject's response to the cue would lead to success (positive condition); (b) one in which it would lead to failure (negative condition); and (c) one in which no cue was presented (control condition). The expectation was that the cue would be more enhancing in the positive and more debilitating in the negative to the performance of the retarded than for the normal children. Although some rather complex findings were obtained in the positive condition which lent some weight to the outer-directedness hypothesis, this hypothesis received its strongest support under the negative conditions. The retarded made significantly more errors than normals in the negative conditions. Furthermore, the retarded made significantly more cued than noncued errors, while there was no difference between cued and noncued errors for normals. Thus the retarded relied heavily upon the negative cue even though it led to errors, while the normals did not. This study thus provides further evidence of an outer-directed style of problem-solving in retarded individuals.

Further work on the outer-directedness hypothesis was conducted in a series of three experiments by Thomas Achenbach and myself (1968), in which this hypothesis was reformulated in terms of a distinction between two

contrasting learning strategies, defined by the degree of reliance upon situational cues as guides to behavior. Achenbach and I described these two strategies as follows:

1. The cue-learning strategy was defined as problem-solving behavior characterized by a reliance on concrete situational cues, such that overt behavior is guided by the cues with little attempt being made to educe relations among problem elements.

2. The contrasting problem-learning strategy was defined as problem-solving behavior characterized by active attempts to educe abstract relations among problem elements in order to proceed from these relations to the solution of the problem.

This distinction is reminiscent of Tolman's (1948) distinction between "narrow strip" and "broad comprehensive" cognitive maps and Bruner's (1965) distinction between "extrinsic" and "intrinsic" problem-solving.

Although our procedure varied somewhat across the three experiments, essentially we utilized a three-choice size discrimination task in which a light came on in association with the correct stimulus. On the first few trials of this learning task, the light came on almost immediately. As the trials progressed, however, the interval between the onsets of the trial and of the light became longer and longer. Throughout the trials, the subject was occasionally prodded to make his choice of stimulus as quickly as possible. This procedure was intended to create a somewhat ambiguous situation in which the child could either continue waiting for the light to direct his choice, or begin responding to the abstract relation (relative size) among the problem elements. Correct responses before the light onset were utilized as the measure of the successful employment of the problem-learning strategy. Control groups were also employed in which groups of subjects learned the discrimination without any light cue present.

In our first experiment, we examined the performance of institutionalized retarded, noninstitutionalized retarded, and normals matched for MA. (As noted above, the noninstitutionalized retarded should be even more reliant on external cues than should the institutionalized retarded, because the environment of the latter, which is geared more to their abilities, reduces the failure experiences leading to reliance on external cues.) In the control condition, the learning performances of the three groups were quite comparable. As predicted, however, in the cue condition, the retarded relied on the cue significantly longer than the normals. Furthermore, the noninstitutionalized retarded relied on the cue significantly longer than the institutionalized retarded.

In a second experiment, groups of normals and noninstitutionalized retarded were presented the learning tasks immediately after experiencing either success or failure. In this experiment, some further control groups were established in order to allow us to assess whether waiting for the light cue

inhibited learning of the size relation, or was just a conservative response strategy whereby the subject decided to wait for the light even though he knew that size determined which stimulus was correct. In this second experiment, we replicated the findings of our first experiment and also demonstrated that reliance on the cue by the retarded involved an inhibition of learning rather than caution in responding. Contrary to our expectations, our failure and success manipulations did not significantly influence the reliance on cues, either by the normal or by the retarded. However, during this study, we obtained some rather serendipitous support for our view that it is the relative incidence of success and failure experienced by the child that determines his outer-directedness as defined by reliance on cues. We discovered a class of 16 retarded children whose teacher employed teaching methods directed to the long-term manipulation of precisely those variables which we thought mediated outer-directedness. Observation of his classroom made it clear that he showered new pupils with success experiences and attempted to increase their self-esteem. Thereafter, he specifically reinforced what he called "figuring things out for yourself," rewarding independent thought more highly than correct responses. We examined the performance of these 16 retarded subjects on our learning task and we discovered not only that they relied on cues significantly less than our other retarded children, but that they relied on them less, albeit not significantly so, than did the children of normal intellect. Again, we see that it is not the retardation *per se* that produces the behavior, but rather the particular experiences to which retarded children are subjected.

In a third experiment, Achenbach and I (1968) found a significant correlation between imitation of an adult and the number of trials taken to give up reliance on the cue in the learning task by the retarded, but not by normals. This suggested that the reliance on external cues constituted a more general, less task-specific strategy for the retarded than for the normal child. However, the findings of a recent study by Achenbach (1969) indicated that, for normal children, the cue-learning strategy is not necessarily task-specific, since such cue dependency was found to be related to the normal child's impulsivity as well as to the higher intellectual processes involved in analogical reasoning. It thus appears that for normals and the retarded, reliance on cues in a discrimination learning problem is but one manifestation of a general style of problem-solving.

This general style of problem-solving, which we have been calling "outer-directedness," may be called into play to explain the great suggestibility so frequently attributed to the retarded child (e.g., Davies, 1959). Other studies by Hottel (1960) and Lucito (1959), which have demonstrated that duller pupils showed more frequent conformity to group decisions than did brighter subjects under ambiguous stimulus conditions where the group made the wrong decision, are in keeping with our views concerning

outer-directedness. Lucito's interpretation of these findings was that, as a result of their previous experiences, the brighter children see themselves as successful in interpreting objective reality and as definers of social reality for others; however, the dull children have more frequently failed at interpreting objective reality and, therefore, have looked to others to define social reality for them.

Also consistent with other studies are our findings that it is the noninstitutionalized retarded child who must continually meet the expectations of a world with which he is ill-equipped to deal, who is more outer-directed than the institutionalized retarded child who resides in a less demanding environment more geared to his intellectual shortcomings. Our findings are in keeping with those of Rosen, Diggory, and Werlinsky (1966), indicating that residential care is more likely to foster the retarded child's optimism and self-confidence than is the nonsheltered school in the community setting. These investigators found that, compared to the noninstitutionalized retarded, the institutionalized retarded set higher goals, predicted better performance for themselves, and actually performed at a higher level. Edgerton and Sabagh (1962) have also pointed out certain positive features of the sheltered institutional setting for the high-level retarded child. They note certain "aggrandizements" of the self which are available, such as the presence of inferior low-level retarded children with whom they can compare themselves favorably, their far greater social success within the institution, and mutual support for face-saving rationales concerning their presence there. This argument is similar to that presented by Johnson and Kirk (1950), who favor separate special classes for those retarded children in public schools, since they tend to be isolated and rejected in regular classes.

What must be emphasized at this point is that the retarded child is not more outer-directed than the normal child simply because he has a lower IQ. Within our present theoretical formulations concerning outer-directedness, how outer-directed any child will be would appear to depend on two factors: (1) level of cognition attained, e.g., mental age; and (2) the degree of success experienced through employing whatever cognitive resources he has available. Ignoring the second factor, it may be asserted that the lower the mental age, the more outer-directed the child, since such outer-directedness would be more conducive to successful problem-solving than dependency upon poorly developed cognitive abilities. With the growth and development of greater cognitive resources, the child should become more inner-directed, since such cognitive development reduces the child's dependence on external cues. Furthermore, independence training with increasing age is characterized by a continuous reduction in cues provided the child by adults which further reduces the effectiveness of an outer-directed style. Thus the shift from outer- to inner-directedness in normal development would be viewed as a product of

both the increasing cognitive ability of the child and the withdrawal of those external cues which had previously made the outer-directed style an effective one.

This general developmental factor does not explain the findings discussed in this section, which indicate that the retarded are more outer-directed than normal children even when matched on MA. Apparently, in these studies, the crucial variable is not the level of cognition attained, but rather, the success or failure experienced by the child when employing his cognitive resources. It would appear that certain age expectancies are firmly built into our child training practices and that society reacts to a child more on the basis of chronological age than mental age. The normal child's mental age is commensurate with his chronological age, and he is continuously presented problems that are in keeping with his cognitive resources. With increasing maturity, he experiences more and more success in utilizing these resources in dealing with problems. The retarded child, on the other hand, is continuously confronted with problems appropriate to his chronological age but inappropriate to his mental age. These problems are too difficult for him and he does not experience that degree of success which would lead him to discard his outer-directedness in favor of reliance on his own cognitive abilities.

It may be hypothesized that outer-directedness, which is learned relatively early due to the rather effective cues provided by adults and peers, would generalize to a multiplicity of other external stimuli. This generalization would impel the child to attend to a wide variety of stimuli impinging upon him, since such behavior has been conducive to more successful problem-solving. Such a style should be given up relatively early in the development of the typical child, but should continue to be characteristic of the retarded child due to the inordinate amount of failure he experiences when relying on his own resources. One would probably describe a child who utilizes such a style as being distractible and, in fact, distractibility has often been attributed to the retarded child (Cruse, 1961; Goldstein & Seigel, 1961). The outer-directedness hypothesis suggests that distractibility, rather than being an inherent characteristic of the retarded, actually reflects a style of problem-solving emanating from the particular experiential histories of these children. Some support for such a view has recently been presented by Turnure (in press) who examined retarded children's glancing behavior and found that such glancing was motivated by information-seeking and was neither a type of random behavior which one would ascribe to a neurological problem, nor was it some vacuous orientation to salient social stimuli. Employing the view that distractibility reflects a particular type of problem-solving, one would expect this style of problem-solving and the trait of distractibility in normal children whose self-initiated solutions to problems have often been inadequate (e.g., the very young child), or the inappropriately reinforced child (e.g., the child whose parents make intellectual demands not in keeping with the child's cognitive ability).

Institutionalization

No discussion of motivational factors in the performance of the retarded would be complete without a consideration of the role of institutionalization. Understanding the effects of institutionalization on the behavior of the institutionalized retarded is not only important in its own right, but also plays a unique role in assessing a number of particular theoretical efforts concerning mental retardation. The reason for this is that many of the theoretical approaches presently being employed to explain the behavior of the retarded have been derived almost solely from the performance of institutionalized retarded individuals. I hope that I have made clear by now that it is a serious error to assume that the performance of the retarded reflects their intellectual retardation, uninfluenced by the effects of institutionalization. If one has any remaining doubts, I would refer him to those findings with the retarded which indicate that institutionalization is associated with a decrement in performance on a number of tasks thought to reflect important cognitive processes, including the quality of language behavior (Lyle, 1959; Schlanger, 1954), the level of abstraction on vocabulary tests (Badt, 1958), the ability to conceptualize an emotional continuum (Iscoe & McCann, 1965), discrimination learning (Denny, 1964), and ability to form a learning set (Harter, 1967; Kaufman, 1963). (Whether these deficiencies in the behavior of the institutionalized retarded reflect an actual change in intellectual capacity or are motivational in nature is, in my opinion, still an open question.)

Findings such as these, plus those emanating from the rather dramatic studies and reports of deleterious effects of institutionalization on the behavior of normal children, have made us all too ready to conceptualize institutionalization as some negative, monolithic effect which is constant across every individual who experiences it. Immediately contradicting such a negative view of institutionalization are the findings reported in the previous section that the protected environment of the institution results in the retarded child being less outer-directed, and thus more spontaneously utilizing his cognitive resources than is the case with his noninstitutionalized counterparts. Here again, however, caution is in order. Before one can assert that institutionalization will have some common effect, regardless of the particular institution in which the child finds himself, one must be prepared to argue that the particular social-psychological phenomena which mediate the effect are constant from institution to institution. It is difficult for me to see how such an argument can be defended when there has been so little systematic work done to discover the psychological features that are common to all institutions. I concur with Sarason and Gladwin (1958) in their amazement that so little programmatic work has been done in the investigation of the nature of institutionalization. I also find myself in complete agreement with the views of Cleland (1965) that we must go

beyond a concern with such demographic characteristics as the size of institutions for the retarded and begin, instead, the painstaking search for the particular social-psychological characteristics and practices of institutions which might optimize the development of children who differ among themselves in respect to important psychological features.

In our work on institutionalization, we have, therefore, entertained two assumptions. The first is that institutions for the retarded differ among themselves in the effects they have on children who come to them for care. Our second assumption lends even further complexity to an already complex state of affairs. It has been our view that one and the same institution may affect children differently depending upon the child's personality dynamics, which may themselves have been determined during the preinstitutional history of the child.

A recent study by Earl Butterfield and myself (1965a) is illuminating with respect to how particular practices in institutions give rise to particular behaviors. In this study, we examined differences in children's motivation for social reinforcement in two equally large residential schools for the mentally retarded in the same state and with identical admission policies. The children in the two institutions were matched on a wide range of variables, thus allowing us to attribute any discoverable differences to the factor of the child's residence in one institution rather than the other. The social climates in the two schools impressed us as very different. We described the two institutions (A and B) as follows:

In institution A, every effort is made to provide a noninstitutional, i.e., homelike, environment. School classes, residential units at the younger age levels, and frequent social events are all coeducational. Meals are prepared in the living units, where the children eat in small groups. Emphasis is placed upon individual responsibility rather than upon external control by the staff. No buildings are locked and all children who are ambulatory move freely about the grounds to school, work, and recreational activities. Isolation is rarely used as a punishment. Essentially no security force is employed. There are many small residential units and a number of factors are considered before assigning a child to a unit, e.g., age, sex, intellectual level, the child's attitude toward the caretakers and other children residing in the unit, and their attitude toward him.

In institution B, little effort is made to provide a homelike environment for the children. School classes, all residential units, movies, and most other social events are segregated by sex. Meals are prepared and children eat in a large central dining room with virtually no individual supervision. Emphasis is upon external control of the children by the staff, rather than upon inculcating individual responsibility. All buildings are locked, and no child moves about the grounds unless attended by an employee. Isolation is frequently used as a punishment. A large staff of security officers patrols the

grounds regularly. Residential units are all of the large, dormitory type, and no effort is made to group children except by the gross criteria of sex, age, and general intellectual level. The social climate at institution A strikes one as being much more conducive to constructive, supportive interactions between the children and their adult caretakers than the social climate at institution B.

In this study, we again employed, as a measure of how motivated a child was to obtain social reinforcers, his persistence on a monotonous task when such persistence was rewarded with either attention or attention plus verbal approval. As would be predicted from our earlier work on social deprivation and motivation for social reinforcement, we found that the children from the more unenlightened, depriving institution had a significantly higher motivation to obtain both types of reinforcement. Such differences between institutions in retarded children's responsivity to social reinforcement has also been found by Klaber *et al.* (1968), employing both persistence and interpersonal distance measures of the child's motivation for social reinforcement. In a recent study, Klaber and Butterfield (1968) postulated that rocking behavior in institutions was related to the quality of institutional care, and found not only differences in the incidence of rocking behavior between institutions, but also differences among wards within the same institution. In this same vein, Butterfield and I (Zigler & Butterfield, 1966) found institutional differences in the performance of the retarded on the concept-switching task employed by Kounin to assess cognitive rigidity.

Let us now turn our attention to the evidence concerning an interaction effect between the effects of institutionalization and the preinstitutional history of the child. Such an interaction was shown in a study conducted by Joanna Williams and myself (Zigler & Williams, 1963). After an interval of three years, we retested the children who still remained in the institution out of the original group of 60 children whose motivation for social reinforcement I had assessed previously (Zigler, 1961). Employing the same original measure of motivation for social reinforcement, we found that the motivation for such reinforcement had increased for the children who had remained. This is understandable if one assumes that institutional living is socially depriving and thus results in an enhanced desire for the attention and support of an interested adult. However, most striking in this study was the finding that the increase between the two testings in motivation for social reinforcers was related to the amount of preinstitutional deprivation experienced. Children coming from relatively good homes evidenced a much greater increase in their motivation for social reinforcers between the two testings than did children coming from more socially deprived homes. It thus appears that the general motivational effects of institutionalization depend on the preinstitutional history of the child, with such institutionalization being more socially depriving for children from relatively good homes, than for children from homes characterized by a considerable amount of social deprivation.

An unexpected finding of the Zigler and Williams study was that a general decrease in IQs of the children had occurred between the two testings. This change in IQ, discovered in the context of a study employing the amount of preinstitutional social deprivation as an independent variable, is reminiscent of a finding by Clarke and Clarke (1954). These investigators found that changes in the IQs of retarded children following institutionalization were related to their preinstitutional histories. They discovered that children coming from extremely poor homes showed an increase in IQ, with no such increase observed in children coming from relatively good homes. Zigler and Williams, however, found that the magnitude of the IQ change in their subjects was not significantly related to preinstitutional deprivation. Although this finding was inconsistent with that of Clarke and Clarke, it should be noted that the only subjects in the Zigler and Williams study who evidenced an increase in IQ were in the highly deprived group. The failure of Zigler and Williams to replicate the findings of Clarke and Clarke may be due to two factors: the subjects used by Clarke and Clarke were older and had been institutionalized at a later age than the retarded children employed by Zigler and Williams; and the IQ changes reported by Clarke and Clarke took place during the first two years of institutionalization, while the IQ changes reported in the Zigler and Williams study were based on five years of institutionalization. This latter factor becomes important in view of Jones and Carr-Saunders' (1927) finding that normal institutionalized children show an increase in IQ early in institutionalization, and then a decrease in IQ with longer institutionalization.

The work of Clarke and Clarke, Jones and Carr-Saunders, and others (e.g., Guertin, 1949) dealing with changes in IQ following institutionalization has given central importance to the intellectual stimulation provided by the institution, contrasted with that provided by the original home. This orientation suggests that the change is one in the actual intellectual potential of the person. The Zigler and Williams study suggests that the change in IQ reflects a change in the child's motivation for social interaction rather than an actual change in his intellectual potential. That is, as social deprivation resulting from increased length of institutionalization increases, the desire to interact with the adult experimenter increases. Thus, for the deprived child, the desire to be correct must compete in the testing situation with the desire to increase the amount of social interaction. That this conflict would be resolved in favor of the latter motivation is suggested by our work indicating that "being right" is relatively low in the reinforcer hierarchy of institutionalized retarded children. This argument would appear to provide the conceptual framework for Clarke and Clarke's finding that highly deprived subjects evidence an increase in IQ with relatively short institutionalization, while the less deprived subjects demonstrate no greater increase than a test-retest control group. One would further expect that, with increasing

institutionalization, all children would exhibit a decrease in IQ, the phenomenon found by Jones and Carr-Saunders (1927), and one that appears in the Zigler and Williams study. Direct support for this view comes from the finding in the Zigler and Williams study of a positive relationship between the magnitude of the decrease in IQ and the child's motivation for social reinforcement, as measured by the amount of time the children performed on the satiation task.

It should be noted that the Jones and Carr-Saunders study involved institutionalized children of relatively average intellect, thus indicating that the dynamics under discussion here are the same for both normal and retarded children. Furthermore, the position advanced here is quite consistent with the findings for normal children obtained by Barrett and Koch (1930) and Krugman (1939); these investigators found that the greatest increase in IQ was obtained by children who showed the greatest improvement in their personality traits and/or by children who evidenced a marked change in the nature of their relationship with the examiner. Conversely, what must be emphasized with respect to lowered IQs is not the lowered test score, *per se*, but rather that the factors which attenuate these test scores will, in all probability, reduce the adequacy of many problem-solving behaviors performed in a social situation. More direct evidence indicating the effects of motivation and social factors on IQ test performance is contained in a recent study (Zigler & Butterfield, 1968) of IQ change in children attending nursery school programs for the culturally deprived. This study indicates that the typical IQ gain found among such nursery school children is due largely to the effects of those nursery school experiences which ameliorate debilitating motivational factors, rather than to any change in the child's formal cognitive structure.

Further light was thrown on these issues in a continuation of the longitudinal investigation of those children of the original 60 who still remained in the institution as long as eight years after my original testing (Zigler, Butterfield, & Capobianco, *in press*). These children were given our perseveration measure of motivation for social reinforcement five years and again, eight years after my original testing. (Thus 60 children were tested on this measure on an average of two years after initial institutionalization, and children remaining in the institution were retested three years, five years and eight years after the original testing.) As in the case of the three-year follow-up, in the later follow-ups we also examined changes in the children's IQs after added years of institutionalization. Unlike our three-year follow-up, in our five- and eight-year follow-ups, we found a generally decreased motivation for social reinforcement in the children. This is not terribly surprising since, by this time, the children were well into adolescence and should not be as motivated to receive praise on a very simple task involving little more than dropping marbles into a hole. It is actually reassuring to find

such a general decrease in the population of the institutionalized retarded, since both normal and retarded noninstitutionalized children evidence a decrease in their motivation for social reinforcement (i.e., dependency) with added maturity (Lewis, Wall, & Aronfreed, 1963; Stevenson, 1961; Zigler, 1963a).

However, the most significant finding of the five- and eight-year follow-up was the discovery that the effects of preinstitutional deprivation interacted with the effects of institutionalization even after the children had been institutionalized this long. Children from highly deprived preinstitutional backgrounds showed a greater decrease in their motivation for social reinforcement than children from less depriving backgrounds. This finding is consistent with our three-year follow-up, and again indicates that institutionalization is much more socially depriving for children from relatively good homes than for children coming from homes characterized by a high degree of social deprivation.

These findings would appear to support my position (Zigler, 1966b) that social deprivation is a phenomenon that, once experienced, becomes built into the structure of the child and there mediates the child's interactions with his environment. Certainly, the effects of early social deprivation can be influenced by subsequent environmental events, but the effect of such subsequent environmental events do not appear to act upon the child in a mechanical manner. Rather, the effects of such conditions as institutionalization appear to be comprehensible only if viewed in terms of the child's mediational structure upon which such events are acting. This view, which emphasizes the long-term mediational role of early social deprivation, stands in opposition to the view that social deprivation effects are best conceptualized within a short-term model analogous to hunger (Gewirtz & Baer, 1958a,b). Within this approach, social deprivation effects are viewed as being easily built-in or reduced through the relative satiation-deprivation of social reinforcement.

In our five- and eight-year follow-ups (at which time the children had been institutionalized for seven and ten years, respectively), the interaction between the effects of preinstitutional social deprivation and institutionalization was also found in the change in IQ data. Following five years of institutionalization (three-year follow-up), the children showed a marked decrease in their IQs (Zigler & Williams, 1963). By the end of eight years, the drop in IQ had not only leveled off, but a number of children now showed an increase in IQ over that obtained at the time of their admission. As reported by Clarke and Clarke (1958), children showing such an increase were more likely to come from preinstitutional backgrounds characterized by a high degree of social deprivation. That a significant interaction between preinstitutional social deprivation and IQ-change consistent with that of Clarke and Clarke was found in the later follow-up, but not in the earlier one, is probably

due to the fact that, by the time of the later follow-up, our children were more comparable in age to those employed by Clarke and Clarke.

The particular pattern of IQ changes, found across the years of our longitudinal study, lends credence to the view that IQ changes following institutionalization are due to motivational factors which affect IQ performance, rather than being due to changes in the level of primarily intellectual factors. Further evidence that IQ changes following institutionalization reflect motivational dynamics, rather than changes in formal cognitive functioning, was provided in a recent study by Butterfield and myself (1970). In this investigation we employed our social deprivation scale to measure preinstitutional deprivation and examined the yearly IQs, beginning one year prior to institutionalization through five years of institutionalization, for groups of familial and nonfamilial retarded. In both groups, there was a general decrease in IQs following institutionalization. Although our results were somewhat complex, we did find that the magnitude of IQ decrease was related to the degree of preinstitutional deprivation among both types of retarded children.

That changes in both the child's motivation for social reinforcement and IQ following institutionalization are dependent upon the particular characteristics of the institution may be seen in the longitudinal component of the study conducted by Balla, Butterfield, and myself (Zigler *et al.*, 1968). This study was originally discussed in the section on social deprivation and the child's motivation for social reinforcement. You will remember that in it we discovered that, at the time of institutionalization, a positive relationship was found between the children's preinstitutional deprivation and their motivation for social reinforcement as measured on our monotonous but socially reinforced task. The children, in this study, who had remained in this institution were retested on the same experimental measure three years later, and we also examined what had happened to their IQs over this three-year period. Although generally consistent with the motivational hypotheses which we have been advancing, the exact nature of the children's performance following three years of institutionalization in this particular institution was quite different from that reported in the three-, five-, and eight-year follow-up studies and the Butterfield and Zigler IQ-change studies discussed above, all of which were conducted in one and the same institution. In the three-year follow-up study (Zigler *et al.*), we found a significant decrease in the familial retarded children's motivation for social reinforcement. This finding disagrees with that of Zigler and Williams (1963) who found a significant increase in playing time following three added years of institutionalization. The most reasonable interpretation of this difference in findings is that the institution employed by Zigler *et al.* (1968) was not as socially depriving as the one used by Zigler and Williams. The fact of the matter is that the institution employed by Zigler *et al.* is generally considered to be one of the

most enlightened in the country. It was the "good" institution in the study of motivation for social reinforcement (Butterfield & Zigler, 1965a). This study provided experimental evidence indicating that it is less depriving than another institution which impressed us as having a social climate more similar to that of the one used by Zigler and Williams.

However, in the Zigler *et al.* study, as in the Zigler and Williams study, there was a significant relationship between change in the children's motivation for social reinforcement following three added years of institutionalization and their preinstitutional history of social deprivation. Children with the better preinstitutional histories showed a smaller decrease in playing time between the two testings than did the children with the poorer histories. Thus it appears that, even in an enlightened institution, institutionalization is more socially depriving for children from less depriving backgrounds. This finding again highlights the error in conceptualizing institutional living as if it affected all children in the same manner. It would appear that living in this particular institution ameliorated the effects of preinstitutional deprivation which resulted in a reduction in the children's atypically high and probably debilitating need for social reinforcement. Again, it must be emphasized that this amelioration was more marked for children who experienced greater rather than lesser amounts of preinstitutional deprivation.

Some evidence was also found in this study that the child's wariness or negative-reaction tendency changed over the course of three years of institutionalization and that the magnitude of the change also interacted with the child's history of preinstitutional deprivation. Employing the time spent on each part of the two-part game measure of negative-reaction tendency discussed in a previous section, we found that the more deprived children were more wary at the time of admission and became less wary following three years of institutionalization, whereas the wariness of the less deprived children increased with institutionalization. Thus the interaction between preinstitutional deprivation and institutionalization on the wariness measure was in keeping with the interaction found for the motivation for social reinforcement measure.

In opposition to the Zigler and Williams finding of a significant decrease in IQ following a number of years of institutionalization, in the Zigler *et al.* study, the familial subjects were found to evidence a significant increase in IQs after three years of institutional living. This finding may be regarded as further evidence that the institution employed in this study is less depriving than the one used by Williams and myself. My colleagues and I have argued that changes in intelligence test performance of the sort found in this and the earlier study were due to changes in motivational factors which can influence the intelligence test score, rather than to changes in the subject's cognitive abilities.

Support for this view was also presented by Zigler and Williams in their finding that children who showed the greatest need for social reinforcement, upon retesting, evidenced the greatest decrease in their IQs. However, in the Zigler *et al.* study, no relationships were found between IQ changes and preinstitutional social deprivation, need for social reinforcement at the second testing, or changes in the need for social reinforcement between the two testings. Therefore, the Zigler *et al.* study, taken alone, offers little support for our motivational hypothesis that social deprivation results in an atypically high need for social reinforcement which, in turn, attenuates intelligence test performance. This hypothesis generates the prediction that IQ changes following institutionalization should co-vary with both the child's preinstitutional social deprivation history and his measured motivation for social reinforcement. Nevertheless, the pattern of findings across the Zigler *et al.* and the earlier Zigler and Williams study does provide some support for the motivational interpretation of IQ changes. In both studies, there were complementary changes in the need for social reinforcement and changes in IQ. In the earlier study, there was a marked increase in motivation for social reinforcement and a marked decrease in IQ. In the Zigler *et al.* study, a significant increase in IQ was found to accompany a sizeable decrease in the children's motivation for social reinforcement.

A complex picture thus emerges of the effects that the particular institution employed by Zigler *et al.* had on the behavior of the children investigated. Over the course of three years of institutional living, the children's motivation for social reinforcement and their wariness of adults underwent certain changes, with the magnitude and nature of these changes being influenced by the child's preinstitutional history of social deprivation. A comparison of the findings of this study with those of the earlier ones also indicates that different institutions for the retarded may have quite different effects on their residents. It thus appears that how an institution affects a child depends on both the nature of the institution and the life history of the child prior to his institutionalization. This view seems preferable to the more common one where institutions for the retarded are seen as equally depriving environments which exert uniform influences on all children.

In respect to IQ changes following institutionalization, it would appear that the retarded child's atypically high need for social reinforcement, as well as his wariness, compete with the production of correct responses in the testing situation and thus result in intelligence test performance lower than that dictated by the child's intellectual resources. To the extent that the child's need for social reinforcement and his wariness are ameliorated, one would expect an increase in IQ. A promising avenue for further research would appear to involve the isolation of particular motivational factors, such as the child's desire for social reinforcement, which may influence an IQ test

score, and the investigation of the genesis of such factors in the preinstitutional and institutional experiences of the child. The importance of this work rests upon the fact that such motivationally induced changes in IQ performance would probably be found with respect to a variety of other performances typically utilized to gauge general social competence. Furthermore, such work would be of the utmost practical importance in light of the evidence noted earlier that motivational and emotional factors are more important than intellectual abilities in determining the institutionalized individual's prognosis for success in the community.

Personality Factors and the Everyday Adjustment of the Retarded

The research which I have now reviewed for you has been conducted within a framework which emphasized the systematic evaluation of the role of experiential, motivational, and personality factors. It is precisely an understanding of these factors, and their relationship to intelligence level, which will provide a better understanding of the socialization process in the retarded. For while the majority of the efforts and environmental manipulations designed to improve the quality of cognitive functioning in the retarded have been relatively unsuccessful (see reviews by Jones, 1954; Zigler, 1966a), there is a growing body of evidence indicating that certain motivational and personality factors relevant to social adjustment are considerably more modifiable. As Penrose (1963) noted, after a lifetime of work with the retarded:

The most important work carried out in the field of training defectives is unspectacular. It is not highly technical but requires unlimited patience, goodwill and common sense. The reward is to be expected not so much in scholastic improvement of the patient as in his personal adjustment to social life. Occupations are found for patients of all grades so that they can take part as fully and usefully as possible in human affairs. This process, which has been termed socialization, contributes greatly to the happiness not only of the patients themselves, but also to those who are responsible for their care. (p. 282)

It is perhaps within this area of socialization that we can do a great deal to enhance the everyday effectiveness of the retarded. Both Burks (1939) and Leahy (1935) discovered that personality and character traits were more influenced by environment than was intellectual level. Such findings bolster the argument that there are many modifiable factors which are important in the determination of social adjustment. It is not rare to encounter individuals with the same intellectual make-up demonstrating quite disparate social adjustments. Perhaps, then, the important question concerning the socialization potential of retarded individuals centers less on the problem of how to improve their cognitive functioning than on the issue of how to maximize their adjustment, whatever their intellectual capacity may be.

Several reviews (Goldstein, 1964; Tizard, 1958; Windle, 1962; Zigler & Harter, 1969) of follow-up studies directed at assessing the adjustment of the vast majority of the retarded (IQs between approximately 50 and 75) have generated the same conclusion, namely, that there seems to be little relationship between cognitive status of these retarded individuals and their successful adjustment to the community. The soundness of such a conclusion is attested to most clearly in Windle's (1962) comprehensive review of over 100 studies dealing with the prognosis for the adjustment of the retarded discharged from institutions. The tendency to overemphasize the importance of intelligence in adjustment is made by his survey. Windle found that most institutions presume that intelligence is the critical factor in adjustment after release. He points out that the vast majority of studies on outcome "after release from institutions have reported no relation between intellectual level and later adjustment."

Windle goes on to state that there is some evidence (Grant, 1956; Krishel, 1957) which suggests a curvilinear relationship between outcome after discharge and IQ level, within the IQ range of 40 and 85. The tentative explanation for such findings is that, among the high IQ institutionalized retarded, there is a high incidence of personality problems which are more detrimental to extrinstitutional adjustment than is mild intellectual retardation in the absence of personality problems. Grant (1956), in examining the histories of his retarded subjects, found that the incidence of "character disorders," which he defined as persistent misconduct, was positively correlated with IQ. Tarjan and Benson (1953) have presented similar indirect evidence that the more intelligent subnormals released from the institution may have the most severe adjustment problems.

That personality factors are as important in the adjustment of the retarded individual as are intellectual factors has been noted by numerous investigators (e.g., Davies, 1959; Penrose, 1963; Sarason, 1953; Tizard, 1953). In fact, many of the early workers in this country, such as Fernald and Potter, felt that the differences of social adequacy in that large group of borderline retarded was a matter of personality rather than intelligence. One of a number of studies which seem to confirm this view is a comprehensive survey by Weaver (1946) of the adjustment of 8000 retarded individuals inducted into the United States Army, most of whom had IQs below 75. Of the total group, 56% of the males and 62% of the females made a satisfactory adjustment to military life. The median IQs of the successful and unsuccessful groups were 72 and 68, respectively. Weaver's conclusion was that the "personality factors far overshadowed the factor of intelligence in the adjustment of the retarded to military service."

It has only been quite recently, however, that the specific personality factors relating to adjustment have been the object of more direct and

systematic study. Shafter (1957), in attempting to ascertain those characteristics which best predicted successful adjustment of retarded individuals after release, first compiled a list of 66 variables which had been described in the literature and which he could objectify. He then compared the records of a group of 111 parolees who had been successful in adjusting to the community with a group of 94 who had been unsuccessful, i.e., had been returned to the institution. Included among those characteristics which contributed nothing toward predicting successful adjustment were IQ, age at discharge, length of institutionalization, and behavior record while an inmate. Among those 12 characteristics which significantly differentiated the successful from the unsuccessful parolees were truthfulness, obedience, attention to details and personal habits, (less) predisposition toward quarrelsomeness, and (less) display of aggressiveness in the institution.

The body of work on the social adjustment of noninstitutionalized groups also underscores the importance of personality factors. As Robinson and Robinson (1965) noted in their review of these studies:

Success in obtaining and keeping a job is related to a large number of psychological and work-habit variables, including initiative, self-confidence, cooperation, cheerfulness, social mixing with other employees, respect for the supervisor, and understanding and efficiency in work. (p. 545)

Those factors which would seem to determine failure on the job have been studied by Collman and Newlyn (1956, 1957). They found that, among a group of retarded individuals who had been former special class pupils in England, those few who failed to keep their jobs were most often described by their employers as having some character deficiency, e.g., temperamental instability, inefficiency, and/or poor home conditions.

These findings, taken with the general literature on factors relating to the adjustment of the retarded, reveal that the characteristics associated with poor social adjustment include anxiety, jealousy, overdependency, poor self-evaluation, hostility, hyperactivity, emotionality, resistance, and failure to follow orders even when requests are well within the range of intellectual competence. To date, however, relatively little attention has been directed toward an examination of the processes through which such characteristics are developed in the maturing retarded child. Tizard (1958) makes a similar point in his review of the longitudinal and follow-up studies of the retarded, which he criticizes as being largely descriptive. He concludes with a plea that we "learn more about the basic psychological processes of the mentally subnormal, and the laws which govern their interaction and development." Similarly, Windle (1962) notes the narrowness of those studies which tend to focus on the total IQ score as the major prognostic indicator; he urges a more meaningful research approach in which a broader range of variables, e.g., personality factors, based on psychological theory, are examined.

While there is thus considerable agreement on the importance of personality factors, there has been too little attention given to the precise identification of these factors, their relative importance, and the socialization histories which give rise to such characteristics. The authors are certainly in agreement with the philosophy behind Davies' (1959) statement that, "The constructive efforts of (community) agencies are especially directed toward those elements of personality which have been shown not to be fixed, which are susceptible to improvement, and which are more decisive factors in socialization than intelligence alone (p. 216)." However, from his discussion of these rehabilitative efforts, it would seem that much of this work is being conducted on the basis of little established evidence. In the absence of such information, it appears that often, and perhaps necessarily, policy decisions are based on common sense, intuition, vague generalizations, and stereotypic beliefs about the retarded, e.g., the mentally retarded are "notably impressionable and easily influenced" (Davies, 1959).

Over the years, then, the research program I have reviewed for you has been directed at providing some hard evidence concerning the role of personality factors in the behavior of the retarded. We have tried to isolate the particular factors most relevant to the behavior of the retarded and have attempted to discover the particular experiences of the retarded which give rise to the particular characteristics of certain types of retarded children. While we have made some progress, certain notes of caution are in order. In my presentation, I dealt with one personality factor at a time. While this facilitated the presentation of the findings of a large number of studies, it may also have suggested that, when a retarded individual is confronted with a task, only one factor is operative. This, of course, is not the case. The psychological processes and the motive states, which we have been discussing, operate in combination more often than in isolation. This is merely to assert that the behavior of the retarded child on any task is a complex and multidetermined phenomenon.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that much of the work reported in this paper is very recent. Many of the findings related to our hypotheses are more suggestive than definitive. However, it is my view that the factors we have been investigating are extremely important ones in determining the retarded individual's general level of functioning. An increase in our knowledge concerning these motivational and emotional factors, and their ontogenesis and possible manipulation, is mandatory before we can fully comprehend the behavior of retarded individuals.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
OFFICE OF DOMESTIC POLICY

CAROL H. RASCO

Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy

xc's of all pages
to: Bill Halston
xc This slip only to Stan (see back also)

Draft response for POTUS
and forward to CHR by: _____

Draft response for CHR by: _____

Please reply directly to the writer
(copy to CHR) by: _____

Please advise by: _____

Let's discuss: _____

For your information: _____

Reply using form code: _____

File: _____

Send copy to (original to CHR): _____

Schedule ? : ☐ Accept ☐ Pending ☐ Regret

Designee to attend: _____

Remarks: Bill & Stan! We have
invited him to join us
at the Sept. 21 disability
appointees meeting. Stan,
will you try to meet

personally with him
(I can't & include Bill
if his schedule permits)

Tell Glenn I'm sorry
I can't do a private
meeting this trip, look
forward to seeing him 21st.



U.S. Dept. of Health & Human Services
Region X - Admin. for
Children and Families

GLENN YOUNG
Program Specialist

RX34
2201 Sixth Avenue (206) 615-2548, Ext. 3051
Seattle, WA 98121-2500 TDD: 615-2573
Internet # ~~GLENN.YOUNG@HHS.ARA@ACF.SEA~~ FAX: 615-2574



DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH & HUMAN SERVICES

Administration for
Children and Families

September 2, 1994

Region X
M/S _____
2201 Sixth Avenue
Seattle, WA 98121

Carol Rasco
Assistant to the
President for Domestic Policy
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ms. Rasco:

It was a great pleasure meeting you in Seattle, when you were here for the National Council on Disabilities. Per your request, attached are three documents concerning learning disabilities and projects in Washington State.

I hope that you will have time to meet[^] with me while I'm in DC, from September 20-22, to discuss learning disabilities in adulthood and its impact on efforts at adult literacy, welfare reform, employment and training, criminal justice, etc. I look forward to helping you on this issue.

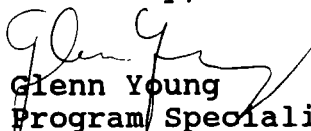
The first document concerns the pilot project that is funded by Washington State, JOBS funds and money from the National Institute for Literacy to screen JOBS candidates for learning disabilities and attention deficit disorder, and to provide appropriate services to those found to have this disability. This appears to be a first of its kind project in the nation.

The second document is the results of two years of screening and testing of runaway and homeless youth populations in the Seattle area. The study found that 63% of youths entering the programs had learning disabilities.

The third document is the results of a study of the Even Start program in Washington state, focusing on the needs of low-income families. This study found that at least 28% of persons entering the program self-identified as having learning disabilities.

Also, per your request, I am forwarding this same information to Stan Herr.

Sincerely,


Glenn Young
Program Specialist

cc Stan Herr

LEARNING DISABILITIES INITIATIVE
Department of Social and Health Services
Economic Services
May 20, 1994

OBJECTIVE

This initiative proposes the development of a pilot project to provide effective case management and educational accommodations to AFDC/JOBS clients who have learning disabilities to ensure they are able to successfully complete Adult Basic Education and obtain skills to become self-sufficient.

Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 require the provision of accommodations to people with disabilities. The project will produce effective strategies for the provision of educational and therapeutic accommodations which can be incorporated into current social service and educational service delivery systems.

To date, there has been no major empirical study to identify people with learning disabilities who are receiving AFDC. This project will provide an opportunity to produce empirical information which can be used to solicit support for similar efforts nationally.

The project will:

- Work with the National Institute For Literacy to develop appropriate screening tools.
- Use qualified professionals to test the validity of the screening tools in identifying persons with learning disabilities and the severity of the disabilities.
- Determine what method(s) of instructional techniques would be most beneficial in meeting the learning needs of these individuals.
- Provide instructional accommodations to persons with learning disabilities.
- Increase educators awareness of the specific needs of persons with learning disabilities and encourage the development of instructional techniques to respond to the needs of these persons.
- Enhance the opportunity of AFDC/JOBS Clients who have learning disabilities to achieve self-sufficiency.

Two project sites will be established in public assistance offices; one in an urban area, and one in a rural area. The project will be administered by Economic Services.

Participants initially identified as having a learning disability will be further screened using a more detailed instrument. This instrument is designed to determine the severity (mild, moderate, or severe) of the learning disability.

Participants screened as having a potential learning disability will then be referred to a contracted clinical psychologist or clinical social worker for testing and evaluation of the severity of the disability. (This second testing will be administered to determine the validity of the screening tool.)

The testing will confirm or deny the presence of a learning disability, identify the specific type of learning disability and recommend the type of instructional techniques which would be most beneficial to the participant based on the participant's learning style. This information will be shared with the education or training provider so that appropriate accommodations can be made in the education or training activity to assure that the participant receives quality instruction. Accommodations include, but are not limited to, alternative testing methods, alternative instructional techniques and access to libraries for the blind and disabled.

The participant will be apprised of the results of the testing. With the understanding of the reasons for previous difficulties with learning, the participant will be in a better position to assume responsibility for developing social skills, follow through on educational activities and use resources in a self-directed manner.

Participants identified as having a severe learning disability shall be referred to the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation for further testing and evaluation.

If the testing and evaluation conducted by DVR confirms the presence of a severe learning disability, DVR will assume the case management responsibilities. The DVR counselors will provide immediate feedback to the JOBS office and will keep the JOBS site apprised of the progress of the participant while the participant receives services from DVR. Individuals with moderate or slight learning disabilities will receive case management services from DSHS Social Workers.

Case management will include provisions for personal, academic, career, and, employment counseling. Other services will be client centered and will include semi-monthly conferences with the participant and the service provider to monitor progress and ensure that appropriate accommodations are being provided.

Social service staff administering the screening tools will receive extensive training in their use as well as training to identify functional impairments.

Staff providing instructional accommodations will receive additional staff development training through the Adult Basic Literacy Educators (ABLE) network.

GOVERNANCE

An executive advisory board will be formed to provide oversight and professional consultation to the project.

The advisory board will include representatives from; DHHS, DSHS, ESD, ABLE, and, the Community College Vocational Technical Board. Representation will be sought from one or more persons who have a learning disability and learning disability specialists from the diagnostic and educational fields.

The advisory board will meet at the beginning of the project to define roles and identify individual members available during the project to provide consultation to project staff as issues arise. At the end of the project, the board will be convened to review outcome achievement and evaluate the effort.

Each pilot site will have a local advisory group. The local advisory group(s) will provide a forum for sharing problems and identifying solutions for increasing local coordination of the project.

OUTCOMES

This pilot will:

1. Project the extent to which learning disabilities are present in the AFDC/JOBS population. The number and percentage of new JOBS participants who have a learning disability and the severity of their learning disabilities will be tabulated.
2. Determine the effectiveness of the screening tools in identifying persons with learning disabilities and the severity of the learning disability. Ideally, the results of this initial screening will be accepted by, and replace more expensive testing currently administered by, DVR.
3. Identify the capacity of the educational community and JTPA providers to provide accommodations to persons with learning disabilities.
4. Demonstrate the need to develop additional accommodations by the educational community and JTPA providers to serve persons with learning disabilities.
5. Show the extent to which educational accommodations enhance successful program participation by the person with a learning disability.
6. Identify service delivery strategies DSHS and ESD can incorporate into existing JOBS methodology to better serve people with learning disabilities.

MONITORING

Individuals will be closely monitored from the point of initial screening through completion or termination of their activities within the project. The following data will be collected by DSHS:

1. The number of participants screened initially;
2. The number of participants identified as having special learning needs, including learning disabilities, and the severity of their learning disabilities;
3. The number of participants whose learning disability is corroborated by further testing administered by contracted professionals and the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation;
4. The number of participants with learning disabilities who enroll in an education or training activity, the type of activity and the number of hours per week each participant is actively involved in that activity; and
5. The number who complete the assigned activity, the number who discontinue the activity and the reason for the discontinuance.

EVALUATION

The department will contract for the evaluation of the project. The contract will be awarded through a competitive bidding process.

COST

SALARY AND BENEFITS:

Project Coordinator	\$ 48,000	
DSHS Social Workers (2)	\$ 85,000	
Comm. College Teachers (2)	\$ 80,000	
Comm. College Counsellors (1)	<u>\$ 39,000</u>	(2 Half-Time Positions)
SUB-TOTAL	\$252,000	

STAFF

CONTRACTED SERVICES

Specialized Tutoring	\$ 64,000	(40 hr X 80 clnts. @ \$20 hr.)
Therapeutic Support	\$ 16,000	(800 hr. grp. sessions @ \$20 hr.)
Contracted Provider Testing	\$ 35,000	(100 tests @ \$350 ea.)
DVR Testing	<u>\$ 18,000</u>	(25 tests @ \$720 ea.)
SUB-TOTAL	\$133,000	

TRAINING *

DSHS Staff Training	\$ 3,000	
Provider Training	\$ 2,000	
Teacher/Counsellor Training	<u>\$ 5,000</u>	(In-kind from ABLE)
SUB-TOTAL	\$ 10,000	

ADMINISTRATIVE

Travel (DSHS staff & adv. board)	\$ 10,000
U.W. evaluation and report	<u>\$ 25,000</u>
SUB-TOTAL	\$ 35,000

GRAND TOTAL **\$430,000**

FUNDING SOURCES

JOBS FUNDING

State	\$182,500
Federal	\$182,500

MEDICAID

State	\$17,500	(Contracted Provider Testing)
Federal	\$17,500	

NIFL \$ 25,000 (Evaluation and Report)

ABLE (In-kind) \$ 5,000 (Teacher/Counsellor Training)

TOTAL **\$430,000**

DRAFT September 1, 1994

Washington State Even Start Family Literacy Program 1993-94
Selected Demographics: Preliminary Report on those with Learning
Disabilities in this Population

Dr. Lynne Iglitzin, University of Washington
Mary Wandschneider, M.A., Washington State University
DRAFT- Not For Attribution

Introduction:

Over a two year period this research team has designed and implemented an evaluation system to assess demographics, participant goals, parenting changes and development of target child changes and test scores at both intake and exit from the year-long Washington State Even Start family literacy program. Data has been gathered on 469 families enrolled in the program during 1993-1994. Of particular interest is data we are collecting on the close to one third of adults who self-identified as having been told they have learning disabilities.

What follows are some initial descriptive statistics on this group of 127 adults, in comparison to the remainder of the Even Start population. A full report is being prepared for publication later this fall that will detail all demographics of the entire group at intake; what is provided here are highlights of a few areas in which adults with learning disabilities in this population appear at variance with the rest of the group.

Note These are descriptive statistics only; the analysis of significance and interpretation of these findings is currently being undertaken and is not yet complete. All information is based on self-report by site coordinators or parent-completion of questionnaires at intake. Information cited here on LD is not based on tests or screening.

I. Have you ever been told you had a learning disability?

Yes	28%
Not sure or maybe	3%
No	69%

II. If yes, describe type of learning disability:

(multiple answers possible)

Dyslexia or Reading problems	45%
Discalcula or Math problems	26%
Anomia or Memory problems	9%
Other	39%

[Other: includes comments such as years spent in special education classes; been termed "slow"; special classes; attention deficit; comprehension; concentration problem]

III. Family Status?

There was no significant difference between LD adults and rest of Even Start population. A little over half of each group are single parents with children with the rest are couples with children.

IV. Public Assistance

There was no significant difference between adults with LD and rest of Even Start population. In both groups, approximately 88% were receiving public assistance. There was difference in types of assistance received. While both groups received highest amounts of assistance in the form of Food Stamps, AFDC, and Medical Coupons, the LD group received somewhat lower support in the form of Food Stamps and Medical Coupons and considerably higher SSI or other disability help and somewhat higher JOBS support

Adults with LD

(multiple answers possible)

Food Stamps	79.4%
AFDC	81.2%
Medical	79.4%
SSI	25.0%
JOBS	23.2%

Adults without LD

(multiple answers possible)

Food Stamps	86.2%
AFDC	78.5%
Medical	82.0%
SSI	6.6%
JOBS	16.5%

V. Employment Status

There were several interesting differences in the responses to this question among the adults who identified as having been told they had LD compared with the rest of the group. Far fewer termed themselves full-time homemakers and a far higher number said they were holding down part-time jobs.

Adults with LD

(multiple answers possible)

Fulltime Homemaker	30.4%
Fulltime Employed	1.4%
Parttime Employed	39.2%
Not seeking job	23.4%
Seeking Job	22.8%

Adults without LD

(multiple answers possible)

Fulltime Homemaker	49.6%
Fulltime Employed	1.6%
Parttime Employed	5.4%
Not Seeking Job	28.3%
Seeking Job.....	20.9%

VI. Language Category

Those who checked English as their primary language were far more likely to have been told they had LD. Similarly, far fewer of those who identified as having LD listed their language as either Asian, Spanish, or other.

Adults with LD

English	91%
Asian	3%
Spanish	4%
Other	2%

Adults without LD:

English	58%
Asian	15%
Spanish	17%
Other	10%

VII Previous Enrollment in Adult Basic Education Classes

This question prompted a significant disparity between those who had been told they had learning disabilities, and those who had not. The LD group was far more likely to have been enrolled previously in ABE, parenting, or ESL classes.

Adults with LD:

(multiple answers possible)

First time in ABE class	28%
First time in Parenting	22%
First time in ESL	3%

Adults without LD:

(multiple answers possible)

First time in ABE class	62%
First time in Parenting	82%
First time in ESL	18%

LEARNING DISABILITIES IN HOMELESS ADOLESCENTS

PREPARED BY MELINDA GIOVENGO, Ph.C..
CHARLES MORGAN, Ph.D.
VICTORIA WAGNER, M.A.
YouthCare,
333 First Ave. West
Seattle, WA 98119

Over the past YouthCare has been engaged in research funded by the Administration for Children and Family Services of the US Department of Health and Human Services to determine the prevalence of learning disabilities in the runaway and homeless population in the Seattle area. In addition YouthCare is developing a screening tool designed to help alert Runaway Shelter staff to the presence of Learning Disabilities within their client population. The goal is to facilitate better treatment planning and referral needs for this population.

Preliminary data show the following.

SUMMARY

- **63 % OF YOUTH TESTED CAN BE DIAGNOSED AS LEARNING DISABLED**
 - 35% SELF IDENTIFY AS HAVING RECEIVED A FORMER DIAGNOSIS OF LD IN THE PAST ON THE SCREENING TOOL
 - 100% OF YOUTH TESTED IN THE SECOND DATA SET ARE PERFORMING BELOW AGE LEVEL IN MATH
 - 75% OF SUBJECTS TESTED BELOW AGE LEVEL IN WRITING ACHIEVEMENT
 - 70% OF YOUTH TESTED SCORED BELOW CHRONOLOGICAL AGE IN READING ABILITY
 - 33% DEMONSTRATED BELOW AGE LEVEL ABILITY IN LANGUAGE INDICATING THE PRIMARY SKILL DEVELOPED TO COMPENSATE FOR OTHER WEAKNESSES
 - The accompanying charts are derived from the individual achievement scores obtained on the WIAT and the youth's chronological age

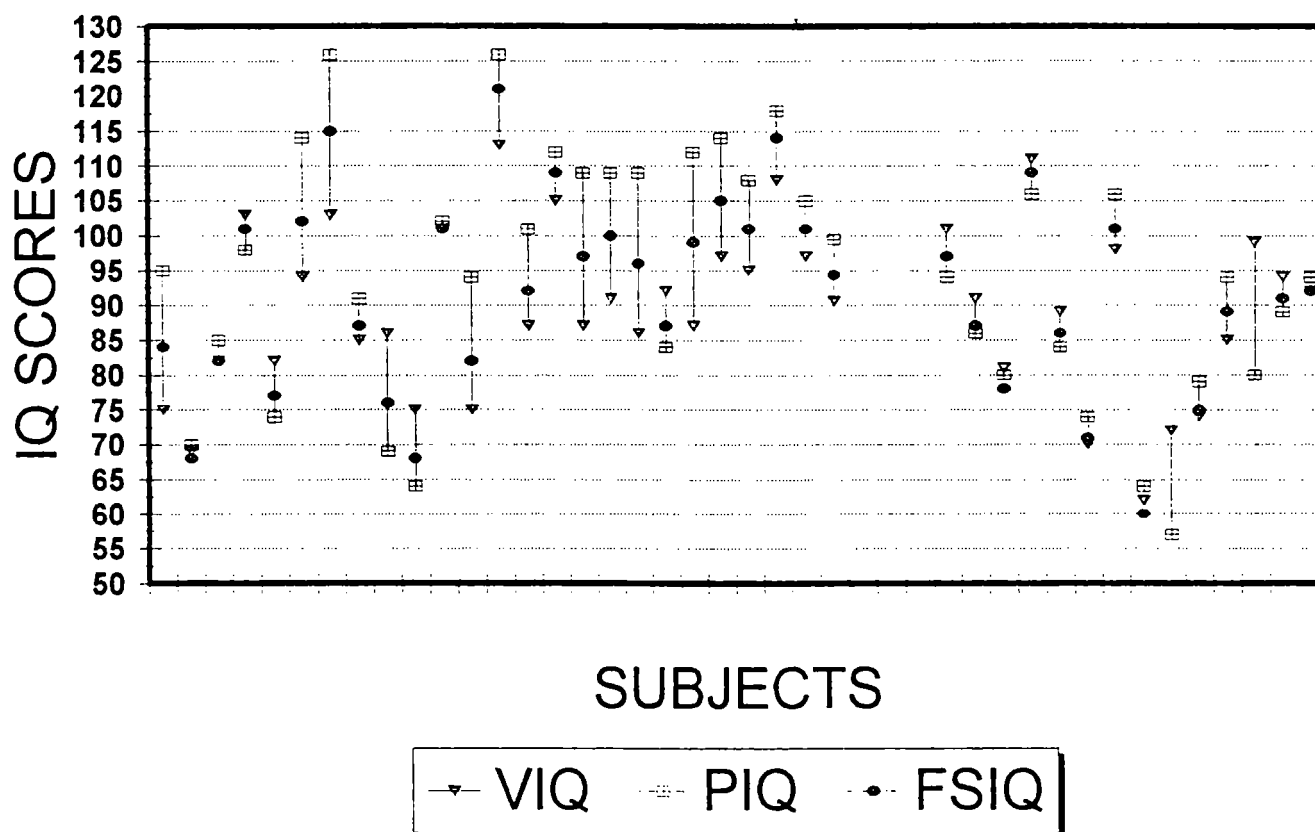
GOALS

During the third phase of this project we will attempt four goals.

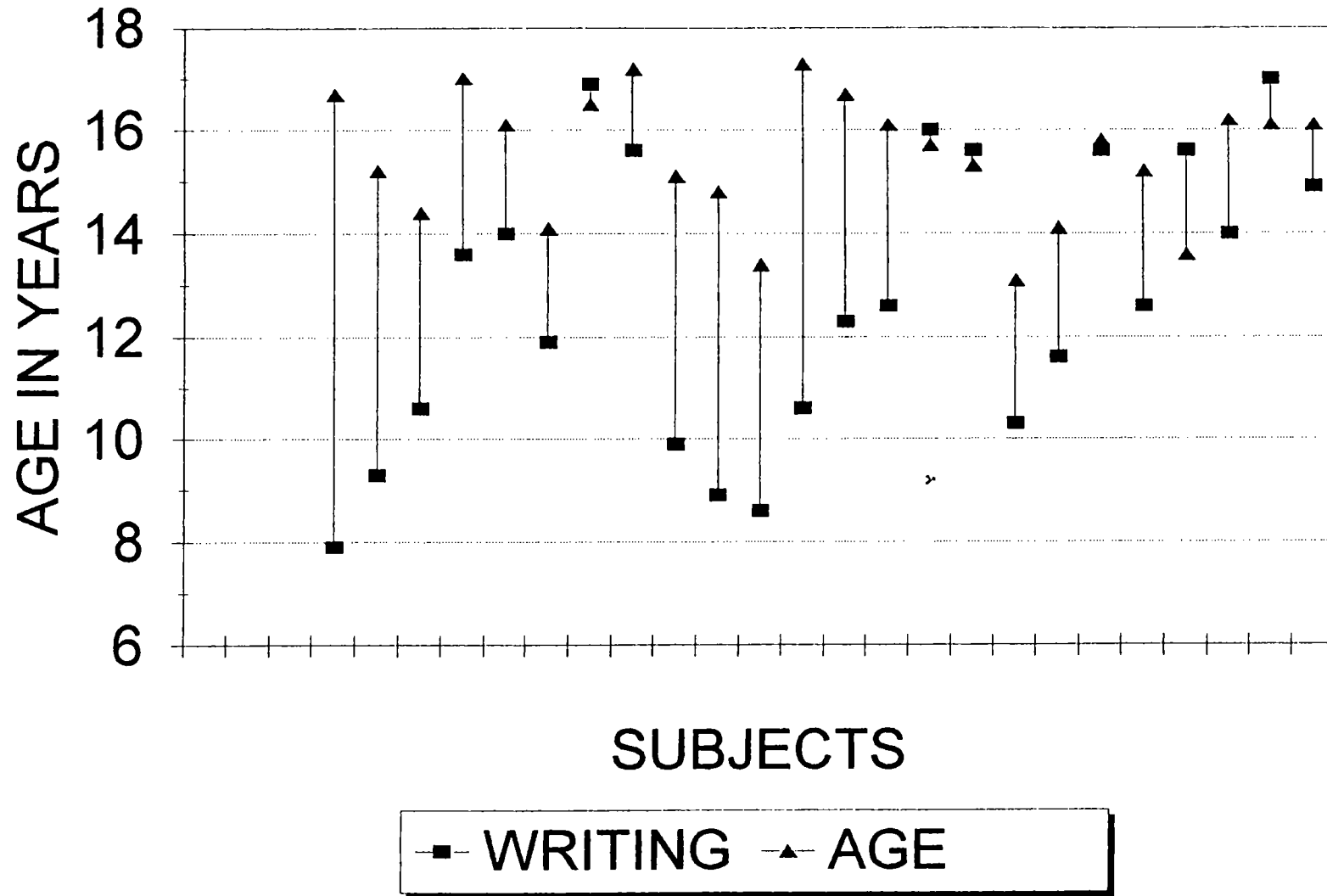
- I. To replicate the findings in other urban areas with equivalent runaway rates such as Portland, San Francisco, Boston and Denver.
- II. Compare screens from non urban areas within region 10 such as, eastern Washington and Idaho.
- III. To look more extensively into the Data and perform more detailed assessment of youth previously tested to determine the exact area of learning disability. This information is only suggested in the initial battery and further testing helps to articulate the exact needs for youth intervention.
- IV. To analyze services youth are presently eligible for and are receiving compared to the services appropriate diagnosis would allow them to access, such as vocational rehabilitation. and accommodation needs.
- V. Make formal program recommendations regarding the findings and suggest training for individuals working with this population.

IQ SCORES

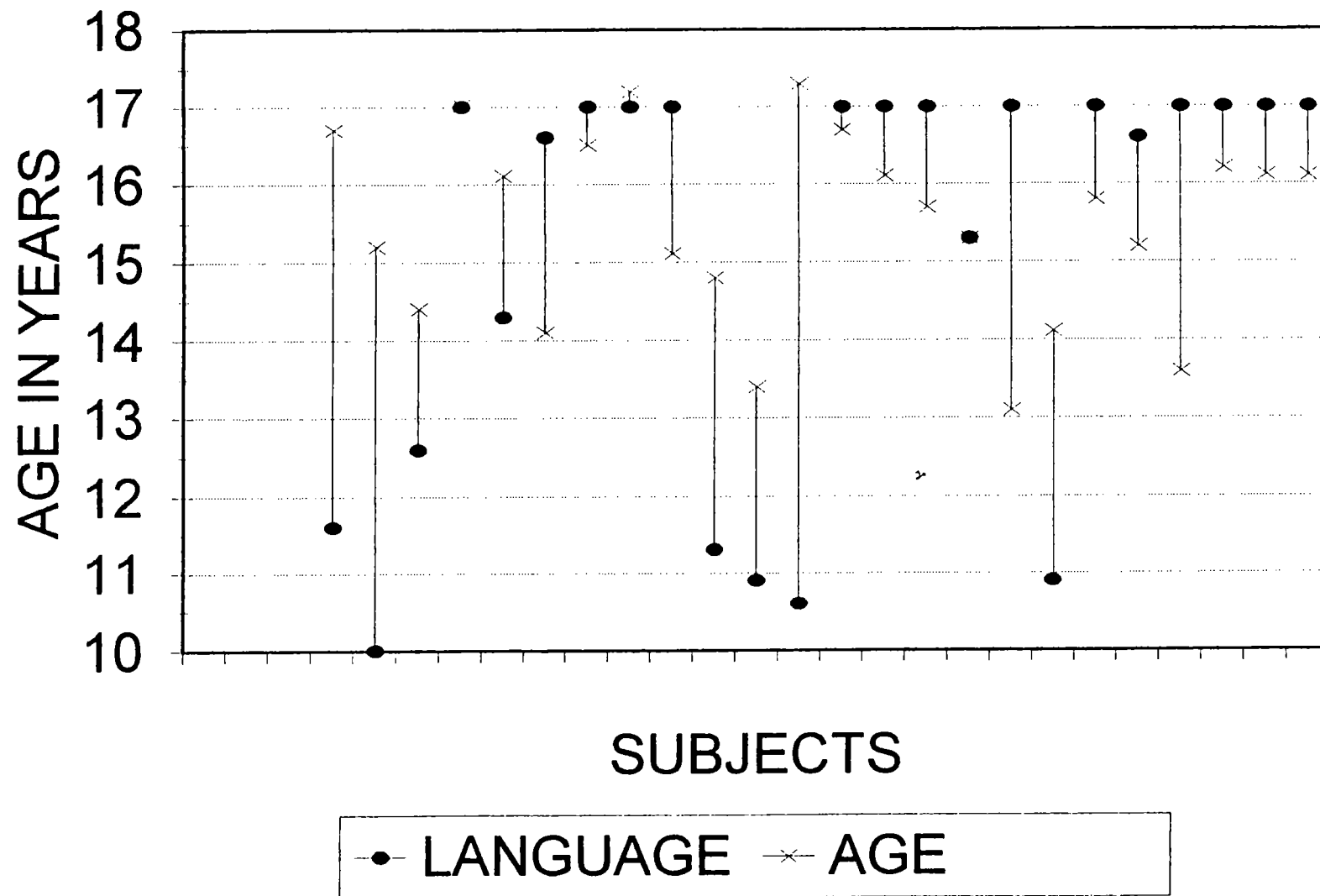
YOUTHCARE LD STUDY



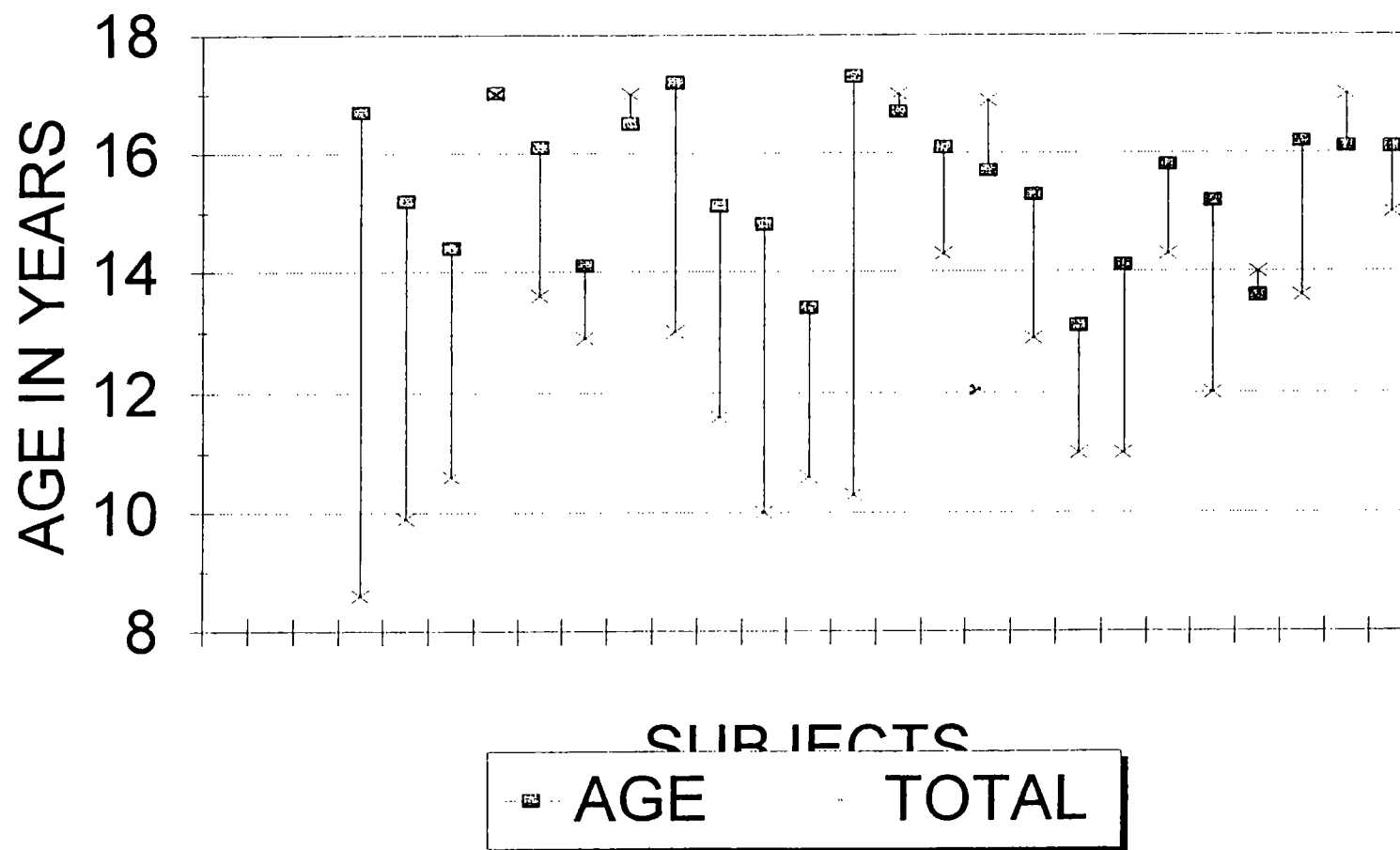
WRITING ABILITY



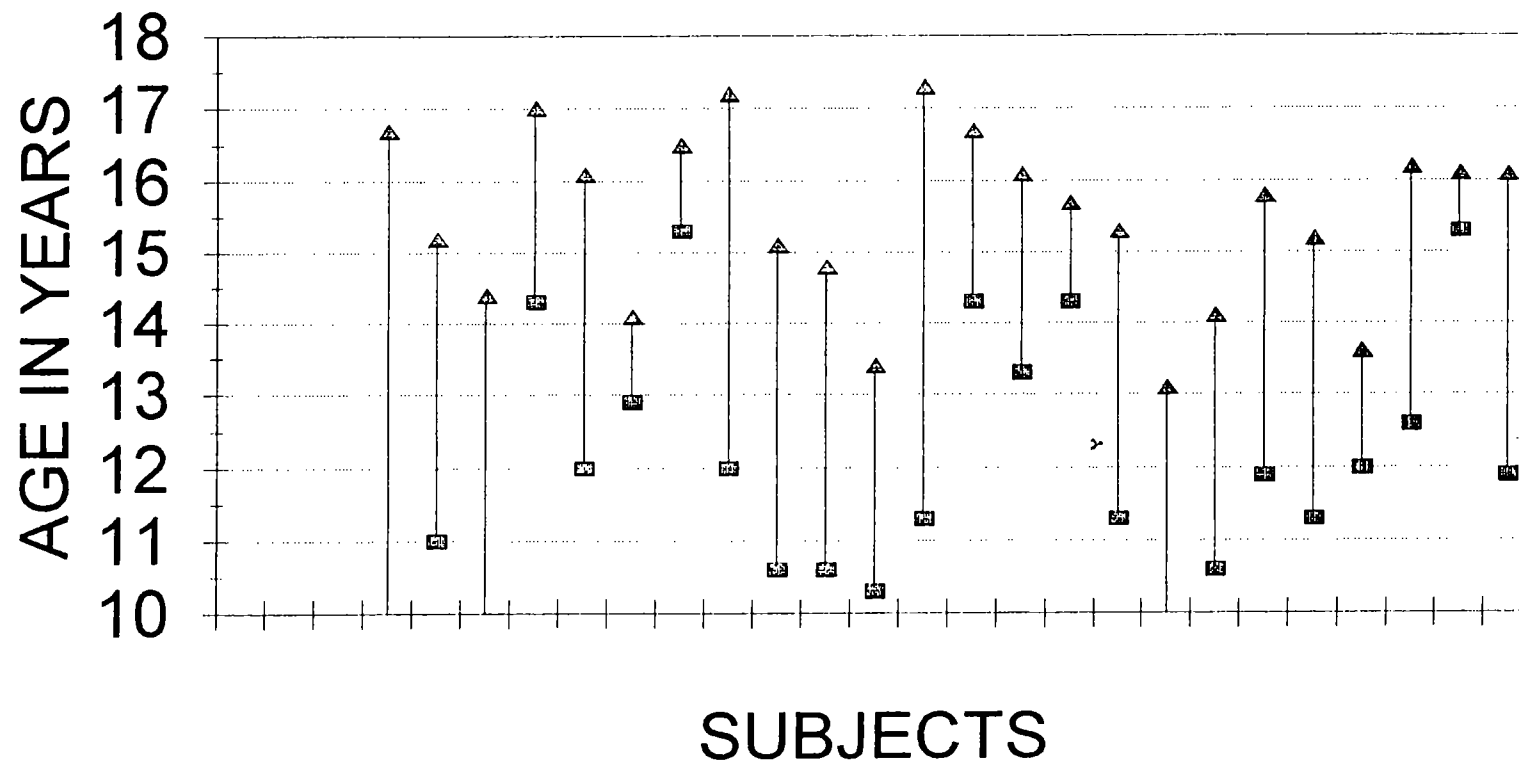
LANGUAGE ACHIEVEMENT



COMPOSITE ACHIEVEMENT



MATH ACHIEVEMENT



AGE
 MATH AGE

New 'All's Fair' wins bipartisan support in stores

By Deirdre Donahue
USA TODAY

Two authors, two editors, two publishers and one impressive debut. That's the story with the much-hyped *All's Fair: Love, War and Running for President* by Mary Matlin and James Carville with Peter Knobler. This tale of dueling yet dating politicians during the 1992 campaign, published by Random House and Simon & Schuster, makes its debut at No. 25. Too cute.

And *Barbara Bush: A Memoir* is rising on the list at No. 12. Former President Bush is writing a book with Brent Scowcroft on foreign affairs. But memoirs by first ladies traditionally outsell their husbands' books. And can either Bush top the work of that best-selling first dog, Millie?

► **NEW TO BOOKSHELVES:** Many parents consider child psychologist David Elkind's *The Hurried Child: Growing Up Too Fast Too Soon* a classic. His new book, *Ties That Stress: The New Family Imbalance* (Harvard, \$19.95), examines how the needs of children are sacrificed to the needs of their overworked, undersupported parents.

Flu shots for elderly have health, economic benefits

By Karla Price
USA TODAY

Flu vaccinations may reduce hospitalizations, deaths and health-care costs among the elderly, but more than half still don't get the vaccine annually as recommended.

That's among the findings of a study in Wednesday's *New England Journal of Medicine*.

The three-year study, begun in 1990, involved almost 79,000 people age 65 and up who were enrolled in a Minneapolis-St. Paul health maintenance organization. Rates of vaccination by year studied: 45% first year, 58% second and 55% third.

The savings linked to vaccinations totaled almost \$5 million, averaging \$117 for each of

the 41,418 people vaccinated.

Previous studies likely underestimated flu shots' savings, says report author Dr. Kristin Nichol. If the reduction of hospitalization rates for diseases other than flu and pneumonia is ignored, she says, "then one is missing out on a whole range of conditions that might be benefiting from vaccinations."

Among those vaccinated, the study found:

► A 37% reduction in the hospitalization rate for congestive heart failure during the 1991-92 epidemic season.

► A 48% to 57% reduction in hospitalizations for pneumonia and influenza.

► A 27% to 39% reduction in hospitalizations for respiratory conditions.

Doubts over bilingual schooling

By Tamara Henry
USA TODAY

Bilingual education is costing taxpayers about \$12 billion annually and Lynne V. Cheney says she is worried.

Cheney, the former chairwoman of the National Endowment for the Humanities during the Reagan and Bush administrations, says a Report Card on American Education, which she helped prepare, found the huge expenditure is not really improving achievement of students who have trouble speaking, reading, writing or understanding English. She says research has not proven that bilingual instruction is

better than English as a second language. This approach uses English and a special curriculum to teach English rapidly.

Cheney says, "It's important to take pride in one's culture, but we're doing a great disservice to our budget."

The study found California has the largest number of students with limited English skills, about 1 million, and spends about \$3 billion, followed by Texas, New York, Florida and Illinois. Texas, with 331,054 students, and New York, with 165,484, both spent more than \$1 billion.

The report, by the conservative American Legislative Exchange Council, also found

"virtually no relationship" between the amount of money spent on education and student performance. Consider:

► Current school expenditures increased by nearly 43% over the past decade. Scores on the college entrance Scholastic Assessment Test declined by 35 points since 1972. This year's high school graduation rate was 71.2%.

► None of the states ranking in the top 10 in student performance hold similar spots in per pupil spending. Most of these — Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, Wisconsin and Wyoming — spent less than the national average.



By Mary Noble Ours
CHENEY: "We're doing a great disservice to our budget."

► Student enrollment is down 5% from 1973 levels. There are 19% more teachers; 45% more non-teaching staff.

Teaching learning disabled

By Tamara Henry
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — A new national survey adds fuel to the debate over whether students with disabilities should be taught in regular classes.

The National Center for Learning Disabilities says 98% of parents of learning-disabled children think that general educators are not trained adequately to teach their children.

Many teachers agree: Only 53% of the regular teachers surveyed feel adequate to teach such students.

The disparity is grim evidence that "teacher training is behind the times," says the Education Department's Tom Hehir.

Children with learning disabilities make up 51% of disabled kids in public schools. Their problems may include inability to follow simple instructions, keep track of time, understand body language, read signs or count change.

A movement began several years ago to educate these children in regular classrooms instead of separating them from their school-

mates. Some parents applaud inclusion as a way to give normalcy to their children; others call it cruel and disruptive for everyone.

The survey was released during a three-day summit on Capitol Hill that includes first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, Education Secretary Richard Riley and 1,500 parents and teachers.

Most participants agree a good teacher-preparation plan is needed to begin any inclusion program. And many believe special education teachers should teach in regular classrooms.

IDEA →

NATIONLINE

FAA chief gives USAir his support

USAir, with two recent fatal crashes and five in five years, got an endorsement Wednesday from FAA chief David Hinson. He said despite "substantial additional surveillance ... we haven't been able to see anything at all that would suggest they're anything but a safe airline."



AP
HINSON: Calls carrier 'safe airline'

And David Bowden, the FAA's chief inspector for USAir, told a National Transportation Safety Board hearing in Charlotte, N.C., that USAir's training programs were superior overall, despite some problems such as the carrier's records omitting the fact that 51 pilots had a refresher course in wind-shear training. Bowden's 11-member staff is strained by the recent crashes, he said, and "there's more follow-up needed than what we can give."

Bowden was testifying at a hearing into the USAir Flight 1016 crash July 2 in Charlotte. Killed: 37 of the 57 aboard.

DISNEY GO-AHEAD: Walt Disney Co. cleared two important hurdles toward building a 3,000-acre history theme park in Haymarket, Va. A regional transportation panel approved \$130 million in road improvements and the Prince William County Planning Board OK'd rezoning and special use permits in what Disney spokeswoman Mary Anne Reynolds called "an important milestone." Opponents fear overdevelopment and the effect on nearby Civil War battlefields. Disney promises to minimize the impact. Supporters say the project will bring an economic boom.

JUVENILE RIGHTS: A Miami-area curfew for youths under 17 violates their rights, a judge said in striking down the Dade County ordinance passed in January but not enforced. Hours: 11 p.m. to 6 a.m. weekdays, midnight to 6 a.m. weekends. The judge said it amounts to house arrest for innocent youths. County Commissioner James Burke says the curfew would fight crime. He wants to appeal.

PROTECTED ART: Chicago will pay \$95,000 to artist David Nelson, whose *Mirth and Girth* painting of the late Mayor Harold Washington in a G-string and bra was seized by three aldermen during a 1988 show at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago. A federal judge ruled Nelson's rights were violated. City Law Department spokeswoman Nina Cadsawan said the money is to pay American Civil Liberties Union lawyers who represented Nelson.

COURTROOM CAMERAS: Federal judges may still decide to allow cameras in appeals courts, despite a decision Tuesday by the Judicial Conference of the United States to end a three-year test. The concern about cameras intimidating witnesses and jurors, voiced by judges at a closed-door policy session, does not apply in the 12 federal appeals courts, where there are no witnesses or jurors, said judge Gilbert Merritt, a conference member.

FIRST SNOW: Denver got its first winter-like storm, with 3 inches of snow expected to accumulate overnight in the city, more in higher elevations. Autumn begins at 11:19 MT tonight. Pre-autumn snow is not unusual in the area. "Last year we had 5½ inches of wet snow here at Stapleton (Airport) on Sept. 13," said forecaster Tom Dulong. The storm will be short-lived. Temperatures should hit the 80s this weekend. (Full weather, 14A)



By David Zalubowski, AP
SNOW SOON? A pedestrian shields herself in Denver.

GOUGERS GUILTY: Doretha Crawford, 34, and Beverly Johnson, 35, of Arcadia, La., were convicted of aggravated assault on their sister, Myra Obasi, whose eyes were gouged out. Prosecutors say the defendants, who face 10 year-terms at sentencing today, were trying to remove a demon they believed possessed Obasi, 30.

ALSO WEDNESDAY ...

► **'MASSACRE' PAYMENTS:** Florida sent the first \$50,000 checks to four elderly survivors of the 1923 Rosewood massacre, when a white mob burned a black community. About 10 people are expected to qualify for payments.

► **CENSUS DISPUTE:** Minorities undercounted in the 1990 Census will be added, reversing a Republican policy, *The Wall Street Journal* said. The Clinton administration decision would alter distribution of \$30 billion in federal money to states and cities. A White House spokesman said no information was available on a possible decision.

► **NAZI CASE:** The Justice Department sued in Boston to strip U.S. citizenship from Aleksandras Lileikis, 87, of Norwood, claiming he was "a senior-level perpetrator of the Holocaust" in Nazi-occupied Lithuania.

► **AIRPORT EXPANSION:** Atlanta opened a 34-gate international terminal that can handle 6,000 passengers per hour. It will ease congestion for the 1996 Olympics.

► **NUCLEAR WASTE:** A federal appeals court in Charlotte, N.C., considered whether to continue a ban on the U.S. Department of Energy accepting foreign nuclear waste at the Savannah River Site near Aiken, S.C. There's no date for a ruling. Officials fear the spent fuel rods, already en route by ship, could be used by others to make atomic bombs.

Shooting victim's mom stays free

Janice Payne, caught on an old probation violation warrant after she appeared with President Clinton at the White House to plead for the crime bill's passage, can remain out of jail, a judge in Gretna, La., ruled. Payne, who told Clinton about the shooting death of her son, James Darby, 9, admitted she violated her 1992 probation on drug charges. But she said she was "irresponsible and immature" then and "now everything is better." The judge extended her probation for another year. James was a drive-by shooting victim on Mother's Day in New Orleans. Nine days before that, the fourth-grader had written Clinton, pleading with him to do something about violence and saying "somebody could kill me."



AP
PAYNE: Caught after Clinton photo-op

Written by Paul Leavitt. Contributing: Steve Marshall, Gordon Dickson and Tony Mauro

The Power of One

When Members of Congress grapple next year with a revision of the special-education laws for the handicapped, they should consider a case unfolding now in Orange County, California. It's an extreme example of how school districts—and indirectly the majority of parents and children they serve—can be held hostage to the demands of a troubled few.

Jimmy Peters is only six years old, but authorities said his behavior was so fearsome—biting and kicking, for example—that his teacher and two aides “stressed out” of his kindergarten class last spring. Classmates were having nightmares. He was removed but a federal judge ordered him back in, rejecting a more controlled setting. Parents began picketing. Some pulled their kids out.

The Ocean View School District used the summer to arrange a class that could handle Jimmy this fall. As the Orange County Register gently put it, he “has difficulty speaking and sitting still.” The district says it spent \$5,000 to train staff at Circle View Elementary for the situation.

But the Friday before school was to start, the boy's father, Jim Peters, said he wasn't satisfied. He was still sore at the Circle View parents who took issue with his son's behavior last year and wanted their classroom visits limited while he himself could spend the better part of the school day watching what went on. He also wanted Jimmy's baby sitter made a teacher's aide. District officials said neither was possible and that a further idea, to allow Jimmy to have his pets with him, didn't fly, either.

At this point, Mr. Peters requested that his son be allowed to attend schools closer to his home. The district said they weren't set up to handle a problem child such as Jimmy and that it was too late anyway. For one thing, parents would need to be notified before Jimmy was admitted among their youngsters. As it is, six students left Circle View permanently after last year's disruption.

So no “full inclusion” setting, preferred by the law in this era of mainstreaming the disabled, could be found. For now Jimmy is being kept home, with TWO district instructors sent over five hours a week and an “adaptive PE” course made available.

The father and his lawyer contest most of the district's story and say that the classroom arrangement is a “zoo” and that is why Jimmy and the other students have withdrawn.

Superintendent James Tarwater suspects the district is being set up to fail, which under the federal laws is a costly outcome. “It's like going to a medical doctor and getting a diagnosis and prescription, then saying ‘Forget it. But I'm holding you accountable’,” he says. Mr. Peters and his lawyer have already cost authorities more than \$30,000 in legal defenses, and if Ocean View is found to have short-changed the child in some way, it will owe perhaps \$100,000 in plaintiff attorney's fees. Plus there are civil-rights possibilities (Jimmy is black).

Beyond that is the cost of attention. Dr. Tarwater estimates that a third of his working time since last spring has been devoted to this one student out of 9,000 in the district. For his instructional deputy, it's more like 80%.

A typical special-ed pupil will require extra resources, but this one is off the charts. Yet the law as it exists now seems inclined toward such imbalance. All it takes is a disputatious parent with a full-time capacity to exploit the system. On top of everything else, Mr. Peters is running for the school board.

Dr. Tarwater is used to dealing with the various categorical programs that divert resources away from ordinary instruction—the classes for the gifted, bilingualism, Chapter 1 programs for those of low income. None, he says, carries the legal burden of special-ed. From his representatives in Washington, he would like some relief—“new tools that wouldn't bankrupt us.”

Asides

Halls of Broken Dreams

The American Society of Association Executives finds that 20% of members may curtail meeting plans because the tax write-off for travel and entertainment expenses has been cut

to 50% from 80%. And 31% say deductibility changes have cut spouse attendance. No wonder some secondary destinations, or even a Los Angeles, are finding their new tax-paid exhibition halls to be white elephants.

► Many Haitians overwhelmed by size of force; index, 3A

► Carter building 'remarkable' record as ex-president, 4A

► Clinton gains support on day of relief;

Troops move across Ha

Deaths from smoking may triple by 2020

By Dennis Kelly
USA TODAY

AI

Worldwide deaths from cigarettes may reach 10 million people a year — triple the rate now — if smoking patterns continue, says a new study.

That means one death every three seconds, or 20 every minute by the year 2020, say scientists at Britain's Imperial Cancer Research Fund, the World Health Organization and the American Cancer Society.

The report, considered the most comprehensive to date, covers 45 countries.

Scientists compared U.S. lung-cancer death rates to those in other nations to estimate numbers of smokers worldwide. They also figured in deaths from related maladies — heart attacks, strokes and other cancers — to find:

► 10% of British men will die from smoking by the time they are 35 to 59 years old.

► In Poland, 20% of men will die from smoking.

► In Spain, smoking will kill millions of women within decades, even though their lung cancer rates are low now.

Tom Lauria of the Tobacco Institute declined comment.

Richard Peto of the Imperial Cancer Research Fund says he hopes governments will enforce policies such as bans on advertising.

Dr. Clark Heath, American Cancer Society, says the warnings aren't new, "but people ignore them at their peril."

► Smoking at work, 1D

Effort to restore safety said 'off to good start'

By Tom Squitieri
and Steve Komarow
USA TODAY

AI

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — U.S. Marines today are expected to secure the Cap-Haitien port and airfield on day two of Operation Uphold Democracy.

The city, 275 miles north of Port-au-Prince, has been the scene of political violence.

U.S. troops — 3,000-strong by nightfall Monday — are spreading out across Haiti after taking control of the capital's port and international airfield.

They were welcomed Monday by Haitians, some of whom shouted, "We're free!"

But there were also reports Haitian police beat supporters of exiled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

"You always have to be prepared for a peaceful or hostile reception," said Army Sgt. Maj. Larry Rodriguez.

In Washington, the House of Representatives voted 353-45 to commend President Clinton for averting an invasion, but called for withdrawal of U.S. forces "as soon as possible."

But criticism of the last-minute agreement that reversed the invasion order mounted.

A top aide says Aristide has "severe problems" with it.

"They've got four weeks to hump off as many of the people who might be helpful to the pro-democracy forces as they can," says Burt Wides, Aristide's counsel.

"We were holding all the cards and we folded," says Sen. Tom Harkin, D-Iowa.

Former president Jimmy Carter, retired general Colin Powell and Sen. Sam Nunn, D-Ga., negotiated the settlement.

It gives coup leader Raoul Cedras until Oct. 15 to step down and does not guarantee he will leave Haiti.

Defense Secretary William Perry said Cedras would be in charge of Haiti's military and police until he leaves office.

"We do not want to have our military doing street-corner police work," he said on PBS' MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour.

Other developments:

► "The mission still has risks," Clinton said in a White House news conference with Carter, Powell and Nunn.

"But we are off to a good start," Powell said.

► A USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll shows 51% approve of Clinton's handling of the crisis, compared with 35% over the weekend. More than half are confident the U.S. effort to restore democracy will succeed; 70% give Carter credit for staying off a full-scale invasion.



By Rick Meyer, AP pool photo
ITO: Throws out defense motion to dismiss Simpson case.

Judge rules police acted properly

By Gale Holland
and Richard Price
USA TODAY

LOS ANGELES — A judge refused Monday to throw out murder charges against O.J. Simpson, adding to the football Hall of Famer's unbroken string of court defeats.

"The evidence pretty much speaks for itself," Superior Court Judge Lance Ito said.

Defense lawyers unsuccessfully argued that lower court Judge Kathleen Kennedy-Powell should have excluded evidence gathered by detectives at the Simpson estate before a search warrant was issued.

But Ito upheld Kennedy-Powell on every point. Detectives were right to enter the estate immediately. Ito said blood drops on the grounds and unanswered phone calls gave police reason to believe more victims might be inside.

They "were faced with a brutal and violent killing," Ito said. Detectives also had to deal with "two young children who were unattended."

Simpson has pleaded innocent to the June 12 murders of ex-wife Nicole Simpson and her friend, Ronald Goldman. The trial starts Sept. 26.

Later Monday, the defense asked Ito to "sanction" prosecutors for failing to promptly turn over DNA test results.

Ito takes that up Wednesday. He'll also hear a motion to throw out the warrant used to search Simpson's home. The defense will argue the warrant application was falsified; about 20 witnesses may testify.

► Stories of murder, 6A

Hanging off for 410 lb. killer

By Carrie Dowling
USA TODAY

AI

A 410-pound death row inmate should not be hanged because it could decapitate him, a federal judge ruled.

U.S. District Judge Thomas Zilly in Seattle agreed with lawyers for Mitchell Rupe that decapitation would be cruel and unusual and would violate "basic human dignity."

The judge also said a new sentencing jury should review Rupe's penalty because a lower court erred in the penalty phase by excluding evidence that a key witness failed a polygraph test.

Zilly, however, upheld Rupe's conviction.

The new jury could sentence Rupe to hang with a

different type of rope or to death by lethal injection. Or he could get life in prison without parole.

Rupe, 41, was convicted of killing two bank tellers during a 1981 robbery.

The 6-foot-1 Rupe, who eats about 2,000 calories a day in candy and potato chips he buys from the prison store, refused to choose a form of execution — so state law called for hanging.

"We're disappointed," says assistant Atty. Gen. John Samson. "The evidence showed only a slight risk of decapitation, and if it did occur, the person would be dead before he felt pain."

Rupe's lawyer, Todd Maybrown, says such a hanging would have violated "public standards of decency."

File under
"IDEA"

E X E C U T I V E O F F I C E O F T H E P R E S I D E N T

22-Sep-1994 03:16pm

TO: William A. Galston
TO: Gene B. Sperling

FROM: Paul R. Dimond
National Economic Council

SUBJECT: I.D.E.A.

Gene and Bill,

While we have been struggling with other matters, a working group headed by Judy Hueman of DoEd has been working on the reauthorization of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. I fear that we are setting ourselves up for a political and policy debate not worth fighting for here.

As I understand it, business (witness the CED report on Putting Learning First) objects both to labeling more kids special and to mainstreaming kids who disrupt the "regular" classroom. On the other hand, many of the constituency groups are demanding that more kids get special services (for which they must be labelled exceptional on some basis in order to qualify) and that some want more kids mainstreamed, while others demand separate and special treatment. Meanwhile, I have no idea where the traditional civil rights groups are who long protested labelling more and more minority kids special and giving them dead-end, watered down schooling. I assume that the NEA and AFT will straddle the issue in some way. This looks like the makings of a political firefight, with no winners.

With respect to policy, I think it is clear that the basic principles we established almost a quarter century ago -- that the State may not give up on the education of any child no matter how disabled and that the state may not classify anyone as disabled without some fair procedure -- have been transmogrified: into a procedural model of bureaucratic I.E.P.s and a total distortion of financing local schooling through federal and state mandates to fund categorical programs for the disabled. The curious part is that the fair procedure principal was originally intended to put the brakes on calling more and more kids -- particularly minority -- retarded or learning disabled. I have seen no evidence that the rise in the number of children labeled disabled, the development of individual education plans to remediate whatever presumed diagnosis of their problem may be, or the huge rise in dollars spent on persons labeled disabled has improved education for the kids called special or for the rest of the students.

The entire diagnostic model of education is, in my opinion, dubious. In fact, it is totally inconsistent with the growing understanding that the primary work of learning is done by the learner (not by the teacher, and certainly not by some diagnostician who is going to define what's wrong or defective about a

child and prescribe a plan to overcome those defects); and that the role of the teacher is that of a tutor or coach (not a remediator) to help learners find their own best pathways to learning, and to point out resources and goals, to nurture small flashes of discovery and understanding. The diagnostic model of human capital development just doesn't fly for most kids; yet parents, understandably, want to find a modern day equivalent of an educational medicine man, who will provide the answer....through an I.E.P. [By the way, this is another good reason to push learning technologies so that all teachers can be coaches, all students can be actively engaged in doing the primary work of learning in school and at home, and parents can really be a new kind of first learning coach for their children.]

I may be an outlier from the traditional education bureaucracy on this, but the IDEA deserves a full airing of alternative approaches before we proceed along the current course of merely seeking reauthorization of IDEA (with an incremental call for less labeling and for more mainstreaming). Why not consider an approach that goes back to the basic principles: a state can't give up on any kid, and some process is required before labeling a child as impaired by one disability or another. Then leave it up to the states and local districts to fight out the details -- within the context of our real focus, which is GOALS 2000 (and its explication of higher objectives for all kids, without imposing mandates on the States). After all, if we propose such an approach, we can also stand y and let the Congress fight it out with the warring factions -- and try to stay above the fray, rather than getting into the thick of it.

Is Carol or Secretary Riley so wedded to the common wisdom about the benefit of IDEA with some minor reforms? Has anyone thought through how this fits with the politics of Goals 2000 and the message on education that we want to send to the nation?

Please let me know whether to shut up and stay out of this or to get involved to propose consideration of an alternative approach.

Dimond aka Paul

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION



NEWS

19.

FOR RELEASE
October 6, 1994

Contact: Jim Bradshaw
(202) 401-2310

**REGULAR CLASSROOMS NOW MOST LIKELY PLACEMENT
FOR STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES**

The number of students with disabilities who attend regular classes rose 8.4 percent in 1991-92 to 1.7 million, surpassing for the first time all other placements of disabled students.

Of the nation's 5.17 million students with disabilities, 35.7 percent were assigned to regular classes at least 80 percent of the time. That eclipsed resource rooms at 34.4 percent as the largest placement site, followed by separate classes at 23.9 percent.

The results are contained in the Education Department's "Sixteenth Annual Report to Congress on the Implementation of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA)." IDEA mandates that "to the maximum extent appropriate, children with disabilities . . . are educated with children who are not disabled."

"This administration is strongly committed to achieving excellence in education for all children — including students with disabilities," said U.S. Secretary of Education Richard W. Riley. "Educational placement decisions for students with disabilities are best made at the local level and should be based on individual student needs and address the issue of adequate resources for both students and teachers."

The annual report also cites data from the National Longitudinal Transition Study, a congressionally mandated project that tracks the outcomes of high school students with disabilities. Findings indicate the success of students with disabilities in regular classes is

-MORE-

related to supports and services they receive. For example, students with disabilities who participate in vocational education courses have fewer absences, higher grades and higher graduation rates.

The study also found that, despite the benefits of inclusion, those who spend most of their time in regular classes were 10 percent more likely to fail a class in the ninth grade than peers who spent just half their time there.

In addition, disabled students overall had higher absenteeism, dropout rates and lower grades than the general high school population.

"The fact that some high school students with disabilities have difficulties in regular academic courses should come as no surprise," according to Judith Heumann, assistant secretary for special education and rehabilitative services, "since less than half of these students have their regular class progress monitored by a special education teacher and fewer than one in five have teachers with training in the education of students with disabilities. This reinforces what we know about the importance of supports in the classroom."

Heumann added, "We hope to use the IDEA reauthorization process to explore ways to provide better training and other support for teachers educating children with disabilities in regular classes." Portions of IDEA expire next year.

Other highlights of the 16th annual report:

- The number and percentage of children with disabilities continues to grow. In 1992-93, 5.17 million children from birth through age 21 were served by federal special education programs — a 3.7 percent rise from the previous year.
- Graduations continue to increase. More than 57 percent of disabled students received a diploma or certificate in 1991-92, extending a five-year trend.

- Grade point averages were slightly lower than the general student population. Those with disabilities who completed four years of high school earned a cumulative GPA of 2.3, compared to a national average of 2.6 for students in the 1980 sophomore class.
- Students with "specific learning disabilities" made up the largest group of disabled students age 6-21 in 1992-93. They accounted for 2.33 million students or 52.4 percent of the total 4.45 million.
- Next highest were those with speech or language impairments — 990,718 (22.2 percent), mental retardation — 484,871 (10.9 percent), and serious emotional disturbances — 368,545 (8.3 percent).
- Serious emotionally disturbed students have lower grades and higher dropout rates than any other group of students with disabilities.
- Although states and the nation as a whole are making progress in measuring educational results for students with disabilities, many are excluded from the accountability assessments administered to gauge the success of school reform activities.
- The average allocation per student served by the IDEA in FY 1993 was a record \$411 — a dollar higher than in FY92. Under Chapter 1, the other major government funding source for special education, the average allocation per student that year was \$432.

The department administers more than \$2 billion in programs serving students with disabilities under the IDEA and Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

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FOR RELEASE
October 5, 1994

Contact: Stephanie Babyak (202)401-2311
Jane Glickman (202)401-1307

FEWER HEADACHES, LESS PAPERWORK FOR STUDENTS, SCHOOLS

U.S. Secretary of Education Richard W. Riley today announced a series of measures to simplify management and reduce paperwork for colleges and students.

Riley said the Education Department will also hold a series of regional meetings to discuss further regulatory and administrative changes to improve student financial aid programs.

"These changes are part of a continuing effort to better serve our clients -- students and schools -- by being more responsive and efficient," Riley said. "We've made concrete reforms based on school suggestions to relieve some long-standing frustrations, and we plan to continue this productive dialogue."

Key changes:

- o eliminate paper record-keeping and allow electronic processing for more than 4 million Federal Pell Grant recipients;
- o replace the paper-intensive financial aid transcript process with a national electronic database;
- o ease administrative burden during the transition to the national database. Schools will not have to report Federal Supplemental Education Opportunity Grant (FSEOG) data to the national electronic database;
- o reduce requirements for multiple forms and duplicate signatures on federal student aid applications to validate and update information, thereby reducing time and effort for parents and students.

-MORE-

governor's race runs early-release prison plan

By Tim Novak
ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. — For the past year, Illinois criminals have been able to shave time off their prison sentences if they get job training, an education or treatment for drug abuse.

Republican Gov. Jim Edgar championed the early-release program to ease prison overcrowding. Now he is catching heat for it from his Democratic opponent, state Comptroller Dawn Clark Netsch, as they battle over crime, a perennial election-year issue.

Mr. Edgar has used television ads to portray Ms. Netsch as soft on crime because she opposes the death penalty. Ms. Netsch wonders how anyone who supported an early-release program can try to label her as soft on crime.

The early-release program was tied to construction of a super-maximum-security prison so legislators could deflect charges that they were soft on crime. Nevertheless, the early-release program has become an issue in the governor's race and some legislative contests. And it's being used by Democrats and Republicans trying to oust incumbents in the Nov. 8 election.

The attacks are reminiscent of the 1988 presidential race, when Democrat Michael Dukakis was skewered for the early release of convicted killer Willie Horton. Horton was arrested for raping a woman after he was furloughed from prison while Dukakis was governor of Massachusetts.

If any Illinois politicians are hoping to find an example like Willie Horton, the state isn't cooperating.

State officials say they have no statistics to show how many convicts have been let out early since Mr. Edgar approved the program in August 1993.

"They don't want to give Dawn Clark Netsch any ammunition to use against their governor," said Michael Mahoney, president of the John Howard Association, a prison watchdog group that supported the

Criminals get a day off for every day they attend drug treatment, job training or education classes.

plan.

State officials point out that this early-release program is only available to first-time offenders convicted of nonviolent crimes such as burglary, forgery or theft. No killers or rapists have been freed under this plan, they say.

"The bad guys are not earning time off," said Nic Howell, spokesman for the Illinois Department of Corrections. "But as for numbers, I can't tell you. We'll try to get the numbers, but it's not a high priority for us."

When Mr. Edgar was pushing the early-release program last year, prison officials estimated 1,498 criminals would be released within the first year and 3,227 within four years.

Netsch spokesman Peter Giangreco said the Edgar administration is hiding the facts on this latest early-release program, which gives criminals one day off their sentence for every day they attend drug treatment, job training or education classes. This is in addition to the program that gives all prisoners a chance to get one day off for every day they behave.

"She's withholding her opinion on early release until we know if the program is working," Mr. Giangreco said. "We may be letting dangerous criminals out on the street, but we just don't know."

Edgar spokesman Michael Lawrence said it was "real hypocritical" for Ms. Netsch to criticize the new early-release program because as a state senator she supported the system that lets prisoners cut their sentences in half merely for good behavior.

• Distributed by Scripps Howard.

Report faults teaching disabled in regular class

Practice's drawbacks may outstrip benefits

By Carol Innerst
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The federal government's push for "full inclusion" of students with disabilities in regular classrooms is setting up more of them for failure, according to a new report from the U.S. Department of Education.

The revelation comes at a time when the number of students with disabilities in regular classes rose 8.4 percent to 1.7 million in the 1991-92 academic year, surpassing for the first time all other placements.

Of the nation's 5.17 million students with disabilities in 1992-93, 35.7 percent were assigned to regular classes at least 80 percent of the time. That eclipsed part-time "resource rooms" at 34.4 percent, the second-largest placement site, followed by separate classes at 23.9 percent. The rest were in separate schools, residential facilities, homebound or in hospitals.

Despite the benefits of inclusion, the study found, those who spend most of their time in regular classes were 10 percent more likely to fail a class in the ninth grade than peers who spent just half their time there.

"Involvement in regular education classrooms influences the performance of students with disabilities negatively, for several reasons," the report states.

"First, it was the inability to succeed in regular education settings that qualified many students with disabilities for special education originally," the study says. "Second, regular education classrooms have higher student-to-teacher ratios than special education settings, a fact that potentially reduces the amount of individualized attention students with disabilities might receive there."

In addition, disabled students overall had higher absenteeism, drop-out rates and lower grades than the general high school population.

The results are contained in the Education Department's "Sixteenth Annual Report to Congress on the Implementation of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA)."

IDEA mandates that "to the maximum extent appropriate, children with disabilities... are educated with children who are not disabled." Portions of the IDEA legislation expire next year.

Judith Heumann, assistant secretary for special education and rehabilitative ser-

vices, said, "The fact that some high school students with disabilities have difficulties in regular academic courses should come as no surprise, since less than half of these students have their regular class progress monitored by a special education teacher and fewer than one in five have teachers with training in the education of students with disabilities."

"This reinforces what we know about the importance of supports in the classroom," Ms. Heumann said. "We hope to use the IDEA reauthorization process to explore ways to provide better training and other support for teachers educating children with disabilities in regular classes."

The department administers more than \$2 billion in programs serving students with disabilities under the IDEA and Title 1 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

The annual report also cites data from the National Longitudinal Transition Study, a congressionally mandated project that tracks the outcomes of high school students with disabilities.

Other highlights of the 16th annual report:

- In 1992-93, 5.17 million children from birth through age 21 were served by federal special education programs — a 3.7 percent rise from the previous year.

- More than 57 percent of disabled students received diplomas or certificates in 1991-92.

- Students with disabilities earned an average of 12 credits in academic classes, or 55 percent of their total credits, compared with 69 percent of academic credits earned by students in the general population. Students with disabilities earned 5 credits or 24 percent of their total in vocational courses, compared with 18 percent for the general population. Life skills courses constituted a single credit or 6 percent of the total. The remaining credits were distributed among other courses.

- Students with "specific learning disabilities" made up the largest group of disabled students ages 6 to 21 in 1992-93. They accounted for 2.33 million students or 52.4 percent of the total 4.45 million. Next highest were those with speech or language impairments, 990,718 or 22.2 percent; mental retardation, 484,871 or 10.9 percent; and serious emotional disturbances, 368,545 or 8.3 percent.

Thumbing through the campaign finance reports of Rep. Leslie Byrne, Virginia Democrat, we noticed that Lynda Bird Robb, wife of Sen. Chuck Robb, contributed twice to Mrs. Byrne's campaign in recent months — gifts of \$250 and \$500.

But instead of identifying herself as housewife or homemaker, like several other female contributors, Mrs. Robb listed her occupation as "household executive."

We wonder how many steps above housewife this is? Or how many steps below Roseanne's "domestic goddess" title?

The aircraft carrier USS George Washington was passing through the Suez Canal yesterday to get to the Red Sea, a position from which its aircraft could strike Iraqi forces. On board is Petty Officer 2nd Class Marvin Ferguson, whose home is in the District.

At exactly the same time, WMAL-AM radio's Frank Harden, Tim Brant and Andy Parks were going about their Monday morning routine. The phone rang. It was Petty Officer Ferguson calling, all the way from the Suez Canal, to tell his family he was OK.

"My parents live in Anacostia — 14th and Good Hope Road," the electronic warfare technician and 1979 graduate of Woodrow Wilson High School relayed. "Hello, Mom, Dad — Marvin Sr. and Sandra Ferguson — my wife, two boys. I'll be home soon!"

The broadcasters told Petty Officer Ferguson to be careful and call collect any time.

How is Defense Secretary William Perry able to appear on television so often and still find time

A black and white portrait of a man with dark hair, wearing a suit jacket, white shirt, and a patterned tie. He is looking directly at the camera with a slight smile. The background is a light, textured gray.

Rep. Martin Hoke of Ohio exhibits a very outside-the-Beltway view of the midterm election.

The premier issue of *Behind the Barricades*, a quarterly journal of politics and opinion, is being launched in Washington this month, and one of the features will be "The Diane Rehm Watch," offering commentary and analysis of Ms. Rehm's program and of National Public Radio in general.

"We intend to be an interactive publication," Editor and Publisher Kenneth R. Kahn tells Inside the Beltway. "To that end, we are organizing a petition drive leading to a challenge to WAMU's FCC license, which is held by American University"

How do most Democrats feel about Bill Clinton this year? National Journal contributing editor William Schneider recalls the story of when George McGovern was the Democratic nominee in 1972 and his campaign manager called a Democratic House member from Ohio:

"I have good news. Senator McGovern is going to come and campaign in your district."

"Oh, that's too bad," the member said. "I'm going to be in Florida, visiting my mother."

"Wait a minute," the McGovern aide said. "I haven't told you when we're coming."

"It doesn't matter," the Ohio

All this talk about whether Democrats will retain control of the House and Senate, or surrender one or both to Republicans, caused Rep. Martin Hoke, Ohio Republican, to point out:

"This House does not belong to the Democratic Party any more than it belongs to the Republican Party. It belongs to the people of the United States of America, and they are the ones who will speak on November 8."

Title of P.J. O'Rourke's new book: "All the Trouble in the World: The Lighter Side of Overpopulation, Famine, Ecological Disasters, Ethnic Hatred, Plague, and Poverty"

When it comes to whistling, we assumed Chris Ullman, Capitol Hill press secretary and recently crowned national whistling champion, had done it all. He had whistled incessantly from his boyhood paper route on Long Island, into jazz and blues bars in Washington, onto 100 radio shows, and finally "The Tonight Show" with Jay Leno.

But despite all his success, Mr. Ullman, press secretary to Rep. Rod Grams, Minnesota Republican, said his "ultimate goal has remained constant — a live performance with a symphony orchestra."

Yesterday, Mr. Ullman told us his wish is about to come true. He has been invited to whistle Oct. 22 with the the McLean Symphony Orchestra, performing an arrangement called "Mozart With a Twist," which features an oboe.

"I'm the oboe," he said.

By Rod Dreher
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Three months after promising to respond, Rush Limbaugh has finally hit back at a liberal media watchdog group that accused the conservative broadcaster of 42 specific instances of lying or dissembling on his popular radio and television talk shows.

Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) published a report titled "Rush Limbaugh's Reign of Error" this summer in its magazine, *Extra*. Some of the charges were repeated by the mainstream press in late June. The Washington Times has obtained a 37-page response from Mr. Limbaugh to the "most oft-cited charges leveled by the small attack group known as FAIR"

Mr. Limbaugh said he was limiting his response to answering FAIR's claims as reported by the New York Times, Associated Press, Los Angeles Times, USA Today and The Washington Post.

"Like everyone else in the media, my attention has been focused on the Clintons' health care takeover plan," he said in a cover letter, explaining the three-month delay. "But now that it has been successfully dispatched, I can turn my attention to more minor matters."

"I can see why they took their time," said Jeff Cohen, FAIR's ex-

ecutive director. Mr. Cohen said the Limbaugh rebuttal "shows a total contempt for factual discourse."

Through a spokesman, Mr. Limbaugh declined to be interviewed yesterday. "We'll let the document speak for itself," said Kit Carson, his chief of staff.

The document covers disputed statements Mr. Limbaugh made on a host of subjects, including student loans, feminism, beer and alcohol taxes and politically correctness at Sidwell Friends School, where the president's daughter Chelsea attends.

One controversy treated at some length in the Limbaugh response was the talk show host's contention that Chelsea Clinton had been assigned by a teacher at Sidwell Friends to write a report on the theme "Why I Feel Guilty Being White." FAIR disputed various elements of Mr. Limbaugh's version in its report, but Mr. Limbaugh stood by the story in his response.

He cited a July 16, 1993, article in Washington's City Paper attacking the tony private school for political correctness. The report quoted an anonymous parent as saying that an eighth-grade teacher assigned the topic to her class. Wrote Mr. Limbaugh: "My office did what no other journalist did: We tracked the story to its root and

talked to the original reporter. He confirmed the story."

Mr. Cohen said FAIR went beyond the reporter and talked to teachers and administrators at the school, and determined that the story was "apocryphal." Bill Gifford, the City Paper reporter in question, said yesterday that his original story was slightly wrong; the theme was actually "Should White People Feel Guilty," and it had to do with the 1992 Los Angeles riots.

The paper was assigned in the riot's aftermath, while the Clinton family still lived in the Arkansas governor's mansion, Mr. Gifford said.

In the response to FAIR, Mr. Limbaugh attacked the group's "sorry track record of misinformation," and cited a past FAIR report saying that wife-beating increased during the Super Bowl. That story was widely repeated in the national press, but its accuracy was later seriously questioned.

Another issue given prominent treatment in the Limbaugh response was federally guaranteed student loans. FAIR had criticized Mr. Limbaugh for saying "banks take risks in issuing student loans and they are entitled to the profits." FAIR said banks take no risks in making those types of loans be-

cause they are guaranteed by the U.S. government.

In his defense, Mr. Limbaugh quotes a spokesman for a banking association as saying the government will only pay off defaulted loans if banks have followed "a very careful, very detailed, very exacting set of procedures of servicing and collecting student loans."

"If banks don't follow the guidelines precisely, they won't be reimbursed by the government and they are left high and dry," said Fritz Elmendorf of the Consumer Bankers Association. "That is risk"

Mr. Cohen of FAIR said this just proves that the banks are covered by the government if they follow the rules.

Mr. Limbaugh accused reporters of being insufficiently skeptical of the group's criticisms of him.

"There have been no independent investigations of the information; there has been no double-checking; there have been no questions asked of FAIR," he asserted in the letter. "Journalists were handed a list of items by this group, and they simply repeated them."

"How would he know that?" Mr. Cohen said. "We were called by journalists from coast to coast, asking us for our sourcing."

10-07 0:29a

Disabled Students in Regular Classes Are More Likely to Fail

By CAROLE FELDMAN

AP Education Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) - Placing students with disabilities in regular classrooms without support services for the children or their teachers is creating a "climate of failure," a researcher says.

Mary Wagner, director of an Education Department study on academic achievement of special education children, found that disabled high school students who spend most of their school day in regular classrooms are more likely to fail a course than those taught primarily in special settings.

"We believe the students and the regular education teachers both got very little support," Wagner said Thursday. "Our view is that it's not regular education per se that is difficult, but absent the support that students need to succeed, they don't succeed."

The Education Department reported that in 1991-92, for the first time, regular classrooms were the most frequent placement option for children with disabilities.

Of the 5.17 million special-needs children, it said, 35.7 percent were in regular classes at least 80 percent of the time, 34.4 percent spent most of their time in resource rooms and 23.9 percent were in special classrooms.

The federal Individuals with Disabilities Education Act requires that to the "maximum extent appropriate, children with disabilities ... are educated with children who are not disabled." The law is up for reauthorization next year.

Many school districts have adopted "full inclusion" policies that place special-needs children in regular classroom settings, regardless of the disability.

Advocates of full inclusion say the policy provides children with the best opportunity to learn and reduces discrimination.

But others argue that full inclusion has reduced the services available to special-needs children. The American Federation of Teachers staunchly opposes full inclusion, saying teachers aren't adequately trained to deal with the wide range of disabilities, physical and emotional.

"Nothing we did said regular ed can't work. The way we saw it working was in a climate of failure," said Wagner, who works for SRI International in Menlo Park, Calif., and did the study under contract with the Education Department.

Education Secretary Richard Riley said decisions about student placements should be based on individual needs, and officials should provide sufficient resources for students and teachers.

Wagner focused her research on children in the late 1980s, but she said the situation is essentially the same today.

The study found that ninth-grade special-needs students who spent most of their time in regular classes had a 10 percent greater likelihood of failing a class than those who spent only half their time there.

The likelihood of failure declined in later grades, the report said, possibly because some of the students dropped out or began taking vocational education classes.

File: IDEA

THE WHITE HOUSE
OFFICE OF DOMESTIC POLICY

CAROL H. RASCO
Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy

② To: Holston Sendmi
new

Draft response for POTUS
and forward to CHR by: _____

Draft response for CHR by: _____

Please reply directly to the writer
(copy to CHR) by: _____

Please advise by: _____

Let's discuss: _____

For your information: ☒ _____

① Reply using form code: G-IDEA authorization
groups

File: _____

Send copy to (original to CHR): _____

Schedule ? : ☐ Accept ☐ Pending ☐ Regret

Designee to attend: _____

Remarks: _____



Kelly Henderson
Policy Specialist for Governmental Relations
Department of Public Policy

THE COUNCIL FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN
1920 Association Drive, Reston, VA 22091-1589
Voice/TTY 703-620-3660
703-264-9418 FAX 703-620-4334

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 3, 1994

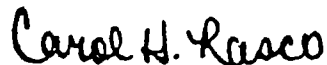
Kelly Henderson
Policy Specialist
The Council for Exceptional Children
1920 Association Drive
Reston, VA 22091-1589

Dear Ms. Henderson:

Thank you for taking the time to write and share your thoughts with me on IDEA reauthorization. It is very important that this Administration hear from groups like yours who have valuable information to contribute. I have shared your letter with staff members of the Domestic Policy Council.

Again, thank you for writing.

Sincerely,



Carol H. Rasco
Assistant to the President for
Domestic Policy

CHR:ram

THE COUNCIL FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN



September 28, 1994

SEP 30 1994

Carol Rasco
Assistant to the President
for Domestic Policy
1600 Pennsylvania Ave, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Rasco:

I enjoyed speaking briefly with you today at the National Education Goals Panel meeting and press conference. The Council for Exceptional Children, the largest international organization of professionals dedicated to improving the educational outcomes for children with disabilities and those who are gifted, takes great interest in the Goals Panel's efforts to encourage systemic educational reform across the nation. CEC has worked hard to ensure that the needs of all children and youth, including those with disabilities, are embraced throughout the various provisions of the Goals 2000: Educate America Act. We are pleased that both the legislation itself and the accompanying Senate committee report language make clear the importance of including each and every student, regardless of his or her individual strengths and challenges, as an integral part of true education reform.

As we discussed, I am enclosing a copy of the testimony on IDEA reauthorization presented to the House Subcommittee on Select Education and Civil Rights in July. The issues are outlined and presented, in many cases, with solid recommendations. CEC will be finalizing further recommendations in the areas of personnel preparation and early intervention; I will forward these as soon as they are available. I believe CEC's testimony includes some valuable insights into real-life practical issues faced by teachers, parents and other educators of exceptional children.

The Council for Exceptional Children stands ready to continue its advocacy efforts in support of the Administration's educational goals and objectives. Please contact us if we can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

Kelly Henderson
Policy Specialist



STATEMENT OF
THE COUNCIL FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN (CEC)
RESPECTING

REAUTHORIZATION OF
THE INDIVIDUALS WITH
DISABILITIES EDUCATION ACT (IDEA)

July 19, 1994

Presented to:

**The Subcommittee on
Select Education and
Civil Rights
The United States
House of Representatives**

Presented by:

**Pam Gillet
President, CEC
1920 Association Drive
Reston, VA 22091
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THE COUNCIL FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN



INTRODUCTION

July 19, 1994

Mr. Chairman, and members of this subcommittee, we wish to thank you for this opportunity to convey the views and recommendations of the Council for Exceptional Children as you proceed in your consideration of reauthorization of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA).

The Nation is rapidly approaching the 20th Anniversary of the enactment of P.L. 94-142, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975 (Part B of the current Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA)). IDEA has provided children with disabilities with the fundamental right to a free and appropriate public education. As the Congress commences deliberation on the reauthorization of Parts C through H of IDEA, we are given an opportunity to evaluate how well all of the programs in IDEA are serving children with disabilities.

In that context, The Council for Exceptional Children believes that the fundamental rights and protections for children and their families, as well as the basic fiscal and administrative mechanisms contained in Parts A, B, and H of IDEA, are sound, have stood the test of time, and should remain untouched. At the same time, we believe that further refinements and fine-tuning may be in order so that children and their families may be better served in the context of evolving realities of the American school and community and the corresponding evolution known as school reform. CEC also believes that it is incumbent upon all of us to take full advantage of what we have learned in this 20-year period which might lead to improvements in the IDEA.

In essence, CEC believes that in this era of change in the American school, the IDEA must perform a dual role. On the one hand, it must reflect for children with disabilities the basic tenets and directions of national policy in education reform as expressed in the "Goals 2000: Educate America Act." We do not think this will be difficult, for we believe that IDEA, as enacted in P.L. 94-142, was good model legislation for school reform long before school reform was a national topic. At the same time, during this period of intense innovation and change in American education, IDEA must stand as the rock of stability in its declaration of the

fundamental and unchanging rights and protections for children with disabilities and their families. We know that the IDEA can and will perform this dual function.

Mr. Chairman, knowing where you and your colleagues are in your deliberations, we have tried to be as specific as possible in our recommendations. Along with the major themes which we have just cited, you will observe that our testimony reflects at least two other major considerations: the need to further strengthen the family/professional partnership that is the essential foundation of the IDEA and the need to further enhance our focus for children who are culturally and linguistically diverse and their families.

I. OUTCOMES AND EDUCATION REFORM

A. The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act Should be Linked to Education Reform Efforts Implemented in Goals 2000: Educate America Act.

Issue: On March 31, 1994, the President signed the Goals 2000: Educate America Act. The disability community worked diligently to ensure students with special needs would be fully included in education reform efforts, including initiatives involving standards and assessments. IDEA needs to reflect the linkage between services for students with disabilities and the overall education goals that are applicable for all students.

Recommendation: A statement needs to be included in the purposes section of IDEA to reiterate Congress's intent to include children with disabilities in the Goals 2000 education reform programs. Services available to students with disabilities through IDEA will allow all students to aspire to the high standards set in Goals 2000.

B. The Statutory Intent Should be Strengthened to Emphasize that Part B has the Objective of Improved Student Performance Along with the Guarantee of FAPE (Free, Appropriate, Public Education).

Issue: The provisions of Part B need to place greater emphasis on the objective of improved student performance along with the guarantee of FAPE, with appropriate mechanisms for monitoring outcomes for students. This change would allow IDEA to run in tandem with the development of voluntary national content and performance standards for all students in the recently passed Goals 2000 legislation.

Recommendation: Increased emphasis must be placed on outcomes for students receiving the support of special education and supplementary aids and services. The purposes section of IDEA should be amended to emphasize the need for positive outcomes through the delivery of special education programs/services. The annual report to Congress on IDEA should also include information on how students with disabilities do after school.

II. FLOW AND USE OF FUNDS

A. The National Policy Should be Adjusted to Encourage State Special Education Funding Formulae to be Placement Neutral.

Issue: The Federal government distributes funds for the Part B State grants on the

basis of the number of children with disabilities in the State compared with the number of all children with disabilities. The Federal formula does not differentiate funding based on a child's placement in a regular classroom or in a different setting. Many States, however, do award funds to local education agencies based on the child's placement. In some cases the local education agency is allocated more funding for a child who is in a separate classroom for children with disabilities than for a child who is integrated into a regular classroom. Unfortunately, this may act as an disincentive for placing the child in the regular classroom.

Recommendation: CEC strongly believes that State funding formulae should be made to be "placement neutral". In that context, it should be reiterated that the federal funding formula is "placement neutral." IDEA clearly states that to the maximum extent appropriate a child with a disability should be educated with children who do not have disabilities. To award additional funding for placement of children with disabilities outside of the regular classroom works against the principles of IDEA. To the other extreme, incentives should not be provided for removal of students from special education programs. The Federal government should require States to ensure their State funding formula is "placement-neutral" in their State plan. To do so would not prohibit placements along the continuum.

B. Should a Shift be Made in the Allocation Formula from Current Relative Count of Children Served?

Issue: Funds under Part B are currently allocated to the states and to the Local Education Agencies (LEA's) and Intermediate Education Units (IEU's) within each state based upon the relative number of children receiving the support of special education and related services. This approach was developed in an era when a very large number of children were estimated to be wholly excluded by the schools or inappropriately served without necessary special education support. Thus, the current allocation arrangement was intended to encourage closing the gap between served and unserved. The argument is offered that at this point in history the allocation formula should become service-neutral, i.e. neither promoting nor discouraging the provision of special education services to children. Proponents of change have suggested, as one approach, the inauguration of a funding formula state-by-state based solely on each state's relative population of all children ages three to 21 years, with a similar approach for in-state allocation.

Implications: Those favoring a change argue that the current formula encourages labeling, fosters over-identification, and tends to inhibit flexibility in the utilization of special education funds. They further contend that a formula which rewards classification for special education purposes is wholly inappropriate in an era when preventing the need for special education support is a professional priority.

However there is a concern that such a shift would appear to penalize states which have worked diligently to identify and serve all students with disabilities, and further contend that the relatively small federal contribution to the total national special education budget makes over-identification in order to generate federal dollars improbable. There is also concern regarding the differentiation in the costs of serving children with specialized needs.

Recommendation: In this instance, we are frankly not prepared to make a formal recommendation at this time. Along with other implications already mentioned, a change in the allocation formula would carry dramatic fiscal implications, with a perception of winners and losers among the states. Further complicating the issue is the concern that a census approach could mean an under-count of the population of children in urban areas. However, we do recommend that the allocation formula remain a discussion item during reauthorization deliberations.

C. Should Part B Funds Participate in "School-Wide" Projects Authorized Under Chapter One (Title I) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)?

Issue: This proposal has its origin in the provision for school-wide use of Chapter One, ESEA, funds under certain circumstances. A similar provision included in the Part B-supported program would operate in tandem with the Chapter One-supported program in a specific school. Both Part B and Chapter One funds would be directed to school-wide improvement, with the objective of benefiting special education students through needed school-wide instructional improvement, with the added objectives of promoting inclusive schools and discouraging unnecessary barriers in the in-school coordination of separate federal support programs.

Implications: Even those who agree in theory with allowing the school-wide approach do so with considerable caution. Concerns include: the need to maintain the visible audit trail of Part B funds; the need to insure that all students receiving the support of special education continue to have full implementation of their IEP's; the need to maintain clear accountability mechanisms for fulfillment of the school-wide objectives; the right to eligibility for special education programs, where appropriate; the need to have organized participation by parents, advocates and professional in the school-wide project; the need to insure appropriate professionals preparation for all persons involved in the school-wide enterprise, and the need to have a state/local match of special education dollars in order to make any school-wide effort financially feasible. Further, many argue that the school-wide approach should be authorized as a demonstration only in a fixed number of selected sites around the nation.

Recommendation: We are not prepared to offer a specific recommendation at this time. But we believe this proposal should continue to be discussed in the context of IDEA reauthorization, along with the overall objective of achieving a more effective interaction of Part B and Chapter One (Title 1) in the individual schools. The ability to use both funding sources to serve students school-wide may reduce duplication of effort, and contribute to the sharing of staff expertise, and to the most efficient use of human and financial resources.

III. ASSESSMENT FOR ELIGIBILITY

A. There Should be a Stronger Link Between Assessment and Intervention

Issue: P.L. 94-142 and subsequent reauthorizations of the Education of the Handicapped Act, including IDEA, have guaranteed a right to a free, appropriate public education (FAPE) for all students with disabilities. This right has led to an emphasis in federal and state regulations on a categorical model of special education which promotes assessment for eligibility determination and classification. Although it is imperative to continue this right to FAPE for all eligible students with disabilities, a number of concerns with current policy and practice have been persistent in the implementation of a categorical model of special education. For example, assessment to determine categorical eligibility often does not provide information that either identifies student competence or is directly linked to appropriate interventions or supports. In addition, many assessment measures used to determine categorical disabilities have not been found to be reliable or valid for the purpose for which they are used. The emphasis of assessment on determination of student eligibility for services also restricts the time that professionals can allocate to other essential activities.

Recommendation: Changes within IDEA should clarify the purpose and intent of the law to minimize the use of assessments to categorize children within the medical model, and instead to place an emphasis on the determination of eligibility and be based on the educational, emotional, and vocational needs of students and on assessment of student progress. Changes in the law as well as federal and state regulations could thus deemphasize the current "medical model," and clearly support a service delivery system that is driven by the identification of student competence, instructional need, and student growth.

B. There is a Need to Make Statutory or Policy Changes that More Clearly Support Functional, Curriculum-based, and Performance Assessments.

Issue: Re-conceptualization of the special education assessment process is

compatible with key concepts within the general education restructuring movement, accountability, and the increased emphasis on demonstrable student outcomes. It is also consistent with the knowledge that many of the standardized assessment instruments and procedures being used are not technically adequate for the purpose for which they are being used, nor are they linked to curriculum and instruction. Additionally, there exist numerous professional concerns regarding the inappropriateness of such standardized tests for culturally- and linguistically-diverse exceptional children.

Recommendation: CEC recognizes that functional, curriculum-based, and performance assessment instruments and procedures are currently allowed under current federal law and policy. However, there are words and phrases used in the federal regulations that seem to reinforce and support the use of standardized instruments and procedures; e.g., the requirement that tests be valid for the purpose for which they are used, etc. Perhaps a change in federal law is not needed; however, sometimes a re-statement of purposes of assessment and the range of possible alternatives can be beneficial to shifting "mindsets" and resulting practice. Rather than making a change in federal law, Congress could clarify the variety of possible assessment procedures in report language. It would seem important that inquiry regarding the special education assessment process be done at the same time that such inquiry is being carried out with other educational assessment procedures within the school restructuring process. The emphasis of assessment should be on identifying current functioning levels, educational needs, and assessing the impact of the program and services on students.

C. There is a Need to Clarify the 3-Year Re-evaluation Process.

Issue: The regulations governing the IDEA require a child with a disability who is receiving special education services to be re-evaluated every three years, or more frequently if conditions warrant, or if the child's parent or teacher requests an evaluation. Although the regulations do not specify the components of the re-evaluation, they do require the procedures to be based on the initial evaluation procedures. In practice, this has resulted in some confusion with schools conducting the same numerous assessments they initially administered to the child to find out if he or she was eligible for special education services.

Recommendation: CEC believes every child being served under IDEA should be evaluated for services during the annual IEP process. The three year re-evaluation, however, has often resulted in unnecessary eligibility testing of children with disabilities. Time that could be spent on instruction and learning is currently wasted on unnecessary repetitive testing. The regulations should be clarified to discourage schools from conducting repetitive testing unless specifically asked for by the parents or teacher. Correspondingly, parents should be allowed to waive

any particular test(s) at time of the re-evaluation. CEC does believe, however, that a more thorough evaluation should be conducted at natural transition points for the student. We urge Congress to consider requiring re-evaluations to be conducted at these transition points: at the 4th grade level, before entry into middle/junior high school, and before entry into high school.

IV. DEFINITIONS

A. Additional Diagnostic Definitions Should not be Added to the Law.

Issue: There seems to be a marked consensus in professional educational circles that no new diagnostic categories be added to the definition of the eligible population under the IDEA, with the point being made that more refined diagnoses are not appropriate for an educational law.

Recommendation: The contention is made that the existing categories are already too great in number, and that any further diagnostic refinements can be accommodated within the existing categories. Too much time is spent on the sorting process; and further diagnostic categorization runs counter to the inclusive school and community movement, and to the need to focus on the whole child.

B. Diagnostic Categories Should not be Required for the Primary Grades.

Issue: CEC has a strong preference for removing the federal requirement to report by diagnostic category those children receiving the support of special education. This may, however, not be the right moment to contemplate moving to a single definition of disability that would apply to all children in determining eligibility for special education support. We do believe, however, that a strong case can be made for allowing one broad category for the majority of children from kindergarten through the third grade. The same logic applies which allows the schools to use one broad category for the federal preschool program for children with disabilities. Namely, diagnostically-governed categorization for most children in their early childhood years is inappropriate and not helpful in determining appropriate instruction. CEC defines early childhood as birth through age eight, as does IDEA, Part C, the Early Education for Children with Disabilities Program.

The primary grades represent the time when a great many reading and behavior problems begin to develop; at this point they don't require designation of a diagnostic category. These problems, however, require immediate and effective intervention by trained educators. An increased focus on effective intervention in the early grades could avoid the need for special education support for many

children in the later years.

Recommendation: CEC recommends that the states be given the option of using for the majority of children ages six, seven, and eight the definition which they now have the option of using for children ages three, four, and five.

Permit us to quote that definition, Section 602(a)(1)(B) of IDEA:

- (i) experiencing developmental delays, as defined by the State and as measured by appropriate diagnostic instruments and procedures, in one or more of the following areas: physical development, cognitive development, communication development, social or emotional development, or adaptive development; and
- (ii) who, by reason thereof, need special education and related services.

C. The Term "Serious Emotional Disturbance" Needs to be Changed to "Emotional or Behavioral Disorder."

Issue: Use of the term "serious emotional disturbance" has resulted in a number of problems in efforts to serve the population of children who have emotional and behavioral challenges. "Serious emotional disturbance" is the only one of the ten categories of children eligible to receive IDEA services that includes the term "serious." Further, the regulatory definition of "serious emotional disturbance" is narrow, based on criteria that have never been supported by research on subtypes of children with emotional or behavioral disorders.

Recommendation: If children with disorders of this nature are to be accurately identified, so that they can access appropriate education and services, the term "serious emotional disturbance" must be changed in statute to "emotional or behavioral disorder." Characterized by behavioral or emotional responses so different from appropriate age or cultural norms that they adversely affect educational performance, "emotional or behavioral disorders" must involve exhibition of inappropriate responses in at least two different settings. The term "emotional or behavioral disorder" is less demeaning than the current "serious emotional disturbance" and would permit more accurate identification of children and youth with disabilities who require special interventions. This is also the recommendation of the Mental Health/Special Education Coalition.

V. PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS

A. The Age for the Entitlement of IDEA Services Should be Clarified.

Issue: Part B of IDEA states special education services must be provided for eligible students who are aged 3 through 21. It is unclear as to what "through 21" really means. This has created confusion in the provision of services.

Recommendation: There is general agreement that a clarification of the eligible age for Part B services is needed. The regulations should clearly state that the student will be eligible for services through the school year in which the student turns 21.

B. Mediation Should be Required as an Option for Parents Prior to the Initiation of Due Process Hearings or Court Cases.

Issue: The due process procedures in IDEA provide necessary protections for parents of students with disabilities. It is often, however, the only recourse parents have available to use in settling disputes with school officials. This has sometimes led to overly legalistic and costly proceedings. The due process procedures have in many cases caused some animosity between school officials and parents. Parents should have the right to choose to have their differences with the school settled through mediation.

Recommendation: CEC believes States should be required to make mediation available to parents. While mediation is now available to parents in some States, it is not available to all. By amending IDEA to require mediation be made available, all parents would be allowed to choose an alternative way of settling disputes. While CEC strongly believes that parents have the right to proceed directly to due process proceedings, mediation should be made available to those who wish to try to work out their differences with the school. Safeguards, however, would have to be put in place to assure parents who choose mediation that they can proceed to the formal due process procedures at any time. Parents must also be assured that mediation does not delay the established timetable for resolution of due process procedures.

IDEA may also need the inclusion of Sec. 513 of the Americans with Disabilities Act which reads "Where appropriate and to the extent authorized by law, the use of alternative means of dispute resolution, including settlement negotiations, conciliation, facilitation, mediation, factfinding, minitrials, and arbitration, is encouraged to resolve disputes arising under this Act." The inclusion of this provision would help to encourage other means of conflict resolution between parents and schools.

C. Parents Should be Required to Meet with School Officials to Discuss Concerns About the Evaluation Performed by School Officials Before Obtaining an Independent Evaluation.

Issue: Under IDEA, parents who disagree with the school's evaluation of a student may obtain an independent evaluation at school district expense if the school district's evaluation has been determined to be inappropriate or discriminating. Parents' rights to an independent evaluation should be maintained. However, if the school has an opportunity to address the concerns of parents before an independent evaluation is sought, additional funds may be saved. In addition, by requiring parents to meet with school officials before obtaining an independent evaluation, parents can be provided an opportunity to air grievances or concerns about the school's evaluation. A meeting of this nature would also provide school officials with an opportunity to address these concerns, and may prevent the need for an independent evaluation.

Recommendation: By requiring parents to meet with school officials before obtaining an independent evaluation, schools and parents are provided a chance to work together to address issues regarding the evaluation of a student. If nothing is resolved during the meeting, parents can still obtain an independent evaluation at school district expense. Requiring a meeting between parents and school officials facilitates communication between the two parties and may resolve any disagreement.

D. Parental Notification Requirements Should be Streamlined.

Issue: The current parental notification requirements under IDEA require too much paperwork, consume large quantities of valuable instructional time and can act as a disincentive for progressive educational programs. In addition, current approvable forms (e.g. parental rights, in special education) are too lengthy and often are not readable by the parents.

Recommendation: By streamlining parental notification requirements, schools would not be required to notify parents every time there is a change in the strategies used to implement the individualized educational program of a child. Teachers would be allowed the flexibility needed to vary the instructional approaches used to continue the individualizations of a child's education program without the bureaucratic disincentives. Parents will continue to be notified of any change in the child's identification, evaluation, and individualized education plan and placement but they will not be confused by the barrage of documents coming from the school for other related issues.

E. Schools Should not Have to Reimburse State/Federal Attorneys.

Issue: Protection and advocacy for students with disabilities is a necessary and much-needed component of IDEA. The Federally funded Protection and Advocacy Services (P. & A.'s) that exist in every state provide families with legal representation they might not otherwise be able to afford. The annual separate appropriation specifically for this legal representation enjoys widespread support from advocates from the disability community. The issue raised, however, is whether state/federal attorneys, already having been publicly funded, should also be entitled to taxpayer reimbursement of legal fees at the local level.

Recommendation: For state/federal attorneys to be reimbursed at the local level after already receiving public funds seems to be paying twice for the same service. With local school districts already strapped for funds, it does not seem fair to reimburse the legal fees of someone already being paid from the public purse. By changing the statute, schools would not have to reimburse state or federally funded attorneys but would continue to reimburse the costs of private attorneys.

F. The Immediate Refiling of a Hearing Request Regarding the Same Issue Should be Prohibited.

Issue: There is concern that after an expensive and time-consuming due process procedure in which a decision has been made, parents can immediately refile a hearing request regarding the same issue. This can lead to additional costs and time spent on an issue that the school and the parents have already addressed. After a hearing officer rules on an issue, neither party should be able to immediately start the process all over again. Parents are allowed to appeal the decision of the hearing officer and should take this route if they feel the decision is unjust.

Recommendation: A prohibition on the immediate refiling of a hearing request regarding an issue that was just decided would alleviate the unnecessary time and funds spent to decide the same issue. IDEA guarantees adequate protection for parents by allowing parents to appeal the hearing officer's decision.

VI. INDIVIDUALIZED EDUCATION PROGRAMS

A. The IEP Should Be Made More Relevant to Parents, Teachers, and the Learning Needs of Children.

Issue: Is the IEP, as it has evolved, as relevant as originally intended? Is it a meaningful document that explains the program provided to the student? Is it a

useful document for monitoring student progress? Is it a useful document for monitoring for state officials? Is it meaningful for parents? Is there real dialogue taking place in the development of the IEP? There seems to be consensus that the IEP for too many students is no longer meeting the original intent of the framers of the statute and has become cumbersome and, in many instances, meaningless paperwork.

Recommendation: CEC believes that the IEP is one of the cornerstones of IDEA. An argument can be made that a simplified IEP, which met the original intent of the law, would be more meaningful to teachers and parents. Such an IEP might also be a more useful document for monitoring purposes and for monitoring student progress. A revised IEP might also promote the original intended dialogue between parents and school personnel and result in truly individualized instructional programs being developed for students with disabilities. Of course, this revised IEP would contain the needs of the child, the special education programs and services provided, and the projected initiation and termination of these services.

B. The Required Components of the IEP Document Should be Changed by Eliminating the Requirement that each Annual Goal Have Two Short-Term Instructional Objectives.

Issue: When the law and its implementing regulations were originally passed, there was a strong belief that we needed to include in the IEP document not only the current level of a student's performance but also a series of annual goals and corresponding short-term instructional objectives. There are a number of educators who strongly believe that the current focus on student performance and annual goals remain critically important within the IEP. However, there appear to be a majority who believe the short-term instructional objectives are not as valuable as originally anticipated and could (and should) be dropped from the statute and regulations. It appears that both teachers and parents do not gain enough value from the inclusion of short-term instructional objectives to make them worth including in the IEP process, due to the IEP teams' time and effort involved to develop them.

Recommendation: Eliminating this requirement will significantly increase the time educators have to be able to teach, while at the same time helping significantly to reduce the labor-intensive paperwork. Some educators believe eliminating the short-term instructional objectives will improve the communication process between parents and school officials, since they will not be required to focus on the instructional objectives that many parents find confusing and of limited value. The IEP should focus on the annual goals (written in measurable terms) and a clear articulation on what the special education and related services will be to achieve

those goals.

C. IEPs Need to Specify the Extent of Student Participation in National and State-wide Assessments.

Issue: Many children with disabilities have been uniformly excluded from participating in the various national and state-wide assessments administered to their non-disabled classmates. Various reasons account for these exclusions including vague participation guidelines, unwillingness to accommodate exceptionalities, high-stakes incentives for exclusions, and altruistic motivation. As a result of these exclusions, assessment results are skewed, not accurately portraying the diversity of our school populations.

Recommendation: The purposes of developing an IEP include team determination of relevant instructional goals and identification of specific educational services needed to achieve the stated goals. In line with these purposes, CEC recommends the addition of a statutory requirement to the IEP - a statement describing the extent of student participation in national and state-wide assessments. Those individuals assembled to develop an IEP would be required to consider the appropriateness of student participation, as well as to formalize the accommodations or modifications necessary for each child's assessment administration. CEC strongly believes that such accommodations or modifications should accurately reflect those provided to the child in his or her daily instructional program. Addition of this assessment participation statement on the IEP would do much to increase the number of students with disabilities who participate in nation-, state- and district-wide assessments, thus providing the students, the schools, and the public with more accurate data, representative of all children.

D. The Individualized Education Program (IEP) should be more Family Focused, Particularly for Children in the Elementary Grades.

Issue: Family involvement in the provision of special education and related services to children with disabilities has always been an essential underpinning if meaningful results for the student are to be achieved, particularly in the early childhood and elementary school programs. Special educators have always considered the family members to be their core partners in the special education enterprise. Further, one of the universal characteristics of school reform across the country has been the movement toward greater parent involvement in the neighborhood school, both from the standpoint of policy and overall monitoring of the school program and from the standpoint of involvement in the instructional program of their particular child.

Recommendation: One school of thought has been arguing that the Individualized Family Service Plan (IFSP) should eventually replace the IEP for all children. We do

not feel that this would be appropriate policy, since the IFSP focuses on an array of co-equal services and involves multiple agency jurisdiction. The IEP is school-based and focuses on special education and the necessary related services in order to make that special instruction possible and meaningful. However, we recommend that the underlying philosophy of the IFSP, which is centered on the strengths, needs, and concerns of both the child and the family, be built into the IEP. Further, we recommend that recognition of the cultural and linguistic diversity of families become a focus of the IEP, in keeping with the ever more varied tapestry of American families as we enter the 21st Century.

E. The Teacher(s) who Participates in the IEP Meeting Must Work with the Child on a Regular, Daily Basis.

Issue: Although the regulations clarify that the participants in a student's IEP meeting include "the child's teacher," it appears that in some cases, the teacher who attends the meeting is not necessarily one who has regular, daily contact with the student. There are a variety of reasons for this, but one commonly cited involves situations where a child is being served in a non-public setting.

Recommendation: In order to best represent the child's present performance and needs, the teacher or teachers who have regular, daily instructional contact with the student must be the individuals who fulfill the teacher requirement for IEP meeting participation. CEC recommends the addition of a regulatory note further clarifying the selection of the "child's teacher" as one who works with the child on a regular daily basis. Further, it is important to note that in many cases, more than one teacher may work with the child on a regular daily basis and be familiar with the student's disability. When and where appropriate, more than one teacher should participate in the IEP meeting, in that multiple sources strengthen the information sharing and decision making process. However, this recommendation should not be interpreted as requiring all teachers to attend a student's IEP meeting.

VII. CULTURALLY- AND LINGUISTICALLY-DIVERSE POPULATIONS

A. The Annual Report on IDEA Should be Required to Address the Issue of Disproportionate Representation of Children From Diverse Backgrounds in Special Education.

Issue: The question of disproportionate representation of children from culturally- and linguistically-diverse backgrounds, including limited English proficient students, in special education continues to be a major national concern. Periodic data surveys have shown higher percentages of minority children, particularly African-

American children, classified as needing special education services as compared to other children. However, there is a notable lack of hard data and information on the extent of the over- and under-representation and the causes. Moreover, there is little available data regarding issues of referral and identification for special education. The "Special Studies" section of IDEA (section 618) calls for a study that examines "(i) the factors that influence the referral and placement decisions and types of placements, by disability category and English language proficiency, of minority children relative to other children, (ii) the extent to which these children are placed in regular education environments, (iii) the extent to which the parents of these children are involved in placement decisions and in the development and implementation of the IEP and the results of such participation, and (iv) the type of support provided to parents of these children that enable these parents to understand and participate in the educational process." Unfortunately, this critical study has never been funded and policy makers still do not have necessary data on the numbers and percentages of children from diverse backgrounds in special education programs. In order to provide information on the issue of disproportionate representation, the *Annual Report to Congress on the Implementation of IDEA* should be required to address the issue.

Recommendation: By funding the study and requiring the *Annual Report* to include data on representation of culturally- and linguistically-diverse students in special education, federal policy makers, would provide educators and parents with crucial information on the identification of children with special needs. Regular annual information on the causes of disproportionate representation could lead to policy/practice changes that will not occur without the necessary data.

B. Additional Federal Resources Must Focus on Improving Instruction and Methodology for Educating Children with Disabilities who are Culturally- and Linguistically-Diverse.

Issue: Children with disabilities who are culturally- and linguistically-diverse have historically been subject to limited, and often inappropriate, instruction and services. While the few longitudinal studies conducted reveal very poor post-school outcomes, including exceptionally high unemployment for this population, only limited federal resources have been targeted to research, develop, and disseminate information on proven instructional practices and methodology.

Recommendation: In light of the challenge that lies before educators in addressing the unique needs of children and youth with disabilities who are culturally- and linguistically-diverse, CEC strongly recommends the dedication of Federal resources to focus specifically on effective instructional practices. While the need for data collection and statistical/causal research in the area of culturally- and linguistically-diverse children and youth with disabilities is key, so is the development and

dissemination of real-life practical strategy and methodology. Solid, proven strategy and methodology will assure the delivery of a free, appropriate education to those children with specialized linguistic and cultural needs. If, as the recent Goals 2000 education reform legislation promises, every student is to have a true opportunity to learn, the Federal government must take an active role in contributing to instruction which is appropriate and responsive to the needs of all students, including those of culturally- and linguistically-diverse backgrounds.

VIII. IDEA DISCRETIONARY PROGRAMS, PARTS C THRU G

A. Greater Flexibility should be Built into the IDEA Support Programs, Parts C through G.

Issue: CEC wishes to affirm the vital role that the support programs operated directly by the Office of Special Education Program (OSEP) have played through the years in providing research, development and technical assistance which as enriched the special education enterprise and benefited children in many demonstrable ways. Nonetheless, the contention is made that the support programs have become too fragmented over the past fifteen years, with many individually authorized programs and numerous earmarks of funds within the individual programs. It is argued that it is difficult for a recipient to put a significant funding package together toward achieving statewide systemic change and further argued that OSERS/OSEP is too constrained in meeting identified national needs by funding limitations. The situation is further exacerbated by the low appropriation level over many years.

Some would opt for a general review and reorganization of the support programs. While this may appeal to one's sense of organizational logic, it might not be a realistic undertaking. After all, all of these authorities were created to meet a genuine need, and CEC was involved in creating each and every one of them.

Recommendation: We recommend that applicants be allowed to make joint applications under more than one support program as long as the Congressional intent is met for each of the individual discretionary programs involved in the joint application. However, the devil is in the details, and much variation exists in the fine print of requirements for applications from program to program. We would be pleased to assist the Congress in achieving more uniformity of specific requirements.

We also recommend that the Congress enlarge the currently very modest authority and provide greater resources to allow OSERS/OSEP to provide individual states technical and other assistance to bring about systemic changes needed to bring individual states into greater compliance under federal and state law.

OSERS/OSEP should not simply police; it should be a helpmate. For instance, if a state is not effectively monitoring results for students, or is experiencing difficulty in implementing fully-supported inclusion, we recommend that you give the U.S. Department of Education a flexible resource to be of assistance. We further recommend that you require in the annual Report to Congress a recounting of how this resource was applied, and to what effect in the specific states.

B. Research Programs must Remain within Jurisdiction of the Office of Special Education Programs.

Issue: Research efforts in the education of individuals with disabilities, provided under IDEA, are essential to meeting the goals of the Act. The research and demonstration projects are unlike some other Education Department research grants, in that the IDEA grants stress practical research, aimed at direct application of the data and knowledge to the delivery of special education, most importantly, at the classroom level. These programs are administered by the Office of Special Education Programs, maintaining a strong connection between the research and the instructional components of special education and related services.

Recommendation: The authority for the IDEA research components must remain in the Office of Special Education Programs. This vital connection between instructional practice and related research must be maintained. Removal of the research in the education of children with disabilities component from the Office of Special Education Programs would jeopardize the link to applied research connections.

IX. TRANSITION

A. Lower the Age When Transition Plans are Required to be Developed.

Issue: Currently, a transition plan must be developed by the IEP team by the time a student is 16, or when determined appropriate for the individual, beginning at age 14 or younger. The majority of IEP teams, however, do not approach the subject of a student's transition from school into his or her adult life until the team is required to at age 16. Unfortunately, many students with disabilities drop out of school before they reach 16 and do not have transition plans.

Recommendation: Lowering the age for mandated transition planning will increase our ability to keep students with disabilities in school. Students will be better able to see and believe that they are learning skills that will lead to a job, to further education, and to living independently. As Congress made clear in the School-to-Work Opportunities Act, we need to prepare students much earlier for their

transition from school into the work place. CEC urges the Congress to amend IDEA to require the IEP team to develop a transition plan for students with disabilities beginning at age 14 or younger.

X. OTHER ISSUES

A. Statutes Need to Clarify and Strengthen Responsibilities and Accountability Related to Interagency Agreements.

Issue: There appears to be a great disparity among and between states regarding both the degree to which interagency agreements are in effect and the extent of efficacy of those agreements. In some states, there appear to exist effective interagency agreements, while in other states, few or no such agreements exist. In these latter situations, the schools, as holder of the "first dollar," are assuming the responsibility for, and the cost of, most or all related and transition services. The question centers on whether the IDEA and/or other statutes can or should be further strengthened to reflect shared responsibility, accountability and cost for wrap-around, related, and transition services.

Recommendation: Changes to the IDEA statute could strengthen the requirements for development and use of interagency agreements. While CEC recognizes that all agencies, including education, health, mental health, juvenile justice, and social services, are struggling with financial concerns, more effective interagency agreements can serve as a vehicle for sharing the fiscal, personnel, and administrative responsibilities. Further, we know that collaboration and cooperation between agencies are an effective method of service provision to children and youth with disabilities. Model efforts, such as those funded by the Education Department's Program for Children and Youth with Serious Emotional Disturbance and the Child and Adolescent Service System Program, or CASSP, supported by the National Institute of Mental Health, bear witness to the effectiveness of programs that "wrap" a comprehensive array of services around the child. If all children and youth with disabilities are to be provided a genuine opportunity to benefit from a seamless delivery of multi-agency services, statutory requirements for establishing, maintaining, and monitoring interagency agreements must be strengthened.

We also wish to reference the current Part H provisions for interagency programs of early intervention services. These policies and procedures provide a strong model for extending effective interagency agreements to all children and youth with disabilities.

B. Issues Related to School Discipline Should be Clarified.

Issue: Concern has been heightened by an increase in school violence. As more students with disabilities are educated in regular classrooms with their non-disabled peers, teachers and school administrators are concerned that there appear to be two sets of rules regarding student behavior and discipline. In addition, schools are increasingly trying to take strong measures to address school violence but believe that they may not apply the same disciplinary measures to students with disabilities.

Recommendation: Resolution of this issue would promote inclusionary practices since building administrators would be more willing to include students on their campus if they believe they retain the right to determine appropriate discipline. Increased school safety would benefit all students and school personnel. It may be argued that the violent behavior which is of concern today was not the type of behavior considered at the time of the framing of P.L. 94-142 and that differentiated strategies are needed to address new problems. There will need to be great care exercised, however, in framing differentiated strategies to ensure that the original concerns of behavior related to the disability and perhaps not within the student's control are still appropriately addressed. There is a potential for disciplinary measures to be used in such a way that students with disabilities are, once again, denied a free and appropriate education.

Specifically, CEC recommends that the pendency provision contained in the procedural safeguards section of IDEA (Sec. 615, (c)(3)) be reviewed with respect to a student who poses a clear and continuing danger to himself or others. Such a review, however, must be sensitive to applying the strongest possible safeguards to protect everyone involved, particularly students and their families. Further, such a review of the statute requires detailed exploration and dialogue, and should not be finalized any earlier than Congressional reauthorization of the IDEA in the next calendar year.

C. School District Responsibilities Need to be Clarified for Students Being Served in Private Settings (not publicly placed in private settings.)

Issue: There is confusion regarding the extent of responsibility of the public schools to students who qualify for special education and related services and who are attending private schools. In some states/LEAs, there appears to be an understanding that the student can receive benefit up to the dollar amount generated from federal dollars. In other states/LEAs, there appears to be an understanding that the student shall receive the same benefits as he/she would if attending public schools. In all cases, there is a lack of clarity about the definition of "genuine opportunity."

Recommendation: As the system is currently operating, there appears to be considerable disparity, depending on geography, as to the special education and related services benefits a student enrolled in private school is entitled to receive. Because this places parents in the potential role of "shopping" for appropriate services, clarification and more uniform application of the statute and regulation would benefit parents and students. Clarification would also benefit all parties by reducing the potential for litigation.

Numerous OSERS policy letters, as well as the Education Department's amicus brief in the recent Tribble v. Montgomery Co. (AL) Board of Education Circuit Court of Appeals case have made clear, in the ED interpretation, that statute and regulation do not make an individual entitlement to services for parentally-placed private school students with disabilities. However, under regulation school districts do have an obligation to provide benefits to a class of individuals. Clarification of these interpretations in both statute and regulation is necessary for practical application of this provision.

D. There is a Need to Focus Increased Resources on Adjudicated Children and Youth who have Disabilities.

Issue: Over the course of one year, 450,000 delinquent youth in the US are placed in juvenile detention centers and state training schools, while another 300,000 spend some time in adult jails. Children and youth with a variety of disabilities constitute a considerable number of those served by the juvenile corrections system. The relationship between youth identified as having learning disabilities, mental retardation, and behavior disorders and juvenile delinquency, though not causal, is strong, up to 60% of youthful offenders in certain correctional facilities have been enrolled previously in special education programs in public schools. Unfortunately, the numbers of incarcerated youth are growing. The incarcerated population in state juvenile facilities increased 14% over a five year period. Further, recent longitudinal research data reflect poor outcomes for students with disabilities who have been incarcerated, including low rates of high school completion and limited employment success.

Recommendation: While the statistics appear bleak at first glance, it is important to recognize that many innovative, effective models for serving adjudicated youth with disabilities show great promise. Practices that support meaningful special education programs in juvenile correction facilities include functional assessments, curricula and instruction; transition services; and collaborative linkages among community agencies. However, without a greater investment in these innovative models and practices, incarcerated youth with disabilities may continue to struggle. Additional resources must be dedicated to both research and instruction of this troubling population.

E. The Annual Data Requirements of the Federal Government Should be Reduced/Streamlined.

Issue: The contention is made that the federal government is literally burying the states and localities under annual data requirements, with costs in terms of human resources that should be redirected toward classrooms and instruction.

Recommendation: There is a need to distinguish between data which government "needs to have" in contrast to what it would be "nice to have". Annual data reporting requirements should be restricted to the bottom lines of improved student performance for each student and the guarantee of procedural safeguards for students and their families. While it must be observed that it is not an easy task to distinguish data requirements imposed by the national government and those having their origin in the SEA's, during the reauthorization we must try to limit the data requirements to that data which is truly helpful in determining the effectiveness of special education. Attention to this issue, along with implementation of our recommendations for the IEP and re-evaluation, could reduce the paperwork which is hindering our teachers in the performance of their paramount responsibility, the provision of instruction (including time for planning, consultation and problem solving).

Professional Preparation

Intense discussion is occurring with respect to the best use of the federal resources available for the professional preparation of special educators as well as personnel in the related disciplines. Notable shortages in the needed work force continue to be reported by the states, with particular concern in areas such as teachers for children with behavior disorders and for the low incidence population, as well as related services personnel, especially physical therapists, and speech language therapists. The nation also continues to be challenged by the need for appropriate collaborative training of special and general education professionals as well as the need for effective interdisciplinary training.

Questions continue about whether the limited federal resource for professional preparation should be more tightly focused than is currently the case. Of related concern is the urgent need to strengthen the linkages between the local school districts, the state education agencies, and the nation's institutions of higher education with respect to both preservice training and continuing professional preparation. An important aspect of achieving better linkages is the need to breathe new life into the comprehensive system of personnel development (CSPD) which is required under IDEA for each of the states.

CEC has been engaged in an intensive dialogue with all interested parties respecting these and related issues, and continues to seek the advice of the involved divisions of CEC, such as the Teacher Education Division (CEC-TED). Though, we do not have specific recommendations at this time, we expect to shortly. We hope that the forthcoming recommendations will represent a solid consensus, and one which protects the good work which is on-going under the IDEA Part D grant program and at the same time improves the future federal role.

Early Childhood

CEC's Division on Early Childhood (DEC) continues to lead us in a discussion on the reauthorization of Part H. DEC has held public hearings and is still receiving input from advocates of early childhood development. One main issue of great concern is how to better facilitate the transition between the Part H program and the Preschool program. We are also looking at the Part H formula and the way funds are distributed. Advocates are struggling to reach a consensus on whether we should continue to distribute funds based on census figures or if we should be looking at other ways of funding Part H programs. Perhaps, we should be moving toward a per child allocation or use poverty data or some other criteria. We hope to have solid recommendations on the Part H program soon and will forward them as soon as possible.

Closing

In closing, Mr. Chairman, the Council wishes to state that your proven leadership on disability issues as chair of this House panel assures us that we will have a thoughtful and progressive reauthorization bill from the United States House of Representatives. CEC stands ready to provide you every resource at our command in the preparation of that legislation.

File: IDEA



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
OFFICE OF SPECIAL EDUCATION AND REHABILITATIVE SERVICES

September 9, 1994

To: Marshall S. Smith
Under Secretary

Judith E. Heumann
Assistant Secretary

From: Connie Garner
Executive Director
Federal Interagency Coordinating Council

Subject: Response to the IDEA Reauthorization Questions

Background

In May of 1994, the Federal Interagency Coordinating Council (FICC) was approached by the Department of Education, Office of the Under Secretary, on behalf of the Office of Management and Budget, to respond to questions related to the reauthorization of Part H of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). These questions were distributed to all members of the FICC for their consideration. Duane French, chairperson for the Legislative Subcommittee of the FICC, and Connie Garner, FICC staff, worked to coordinate the responses of the membership.

The FICC, was enacted in 1991 to reflect the interagency nature of Part H of IDEA---the Early Intervention Program for Infants and Toddlers with Disabilities. This early intervention program for infants and toddlers with disabilities assists States in providing family-centered support to infants and toddlers through individually designed early intervention services. In doing so, this program also challenges the nation to improve and expand those services so that the policy goal of a statewide, comprehensive, coordinated, multidisciplinary, interagency system of services can be achieved.

To assist in this effort towards collaboration, one of the provisions of Part H is the establishment of State Interagency Coordinating Councils (SICC) to advise and assist lead agencies. The FICC was established to mirror the role that Congress stipulated for SICC's, including the mobilization of all available resources to assure appropriate services for the nation's infants and young children with disabilities and their families.

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Under statute, representation on the FICC now includes the major agencies responsible for payment and delivery of services to children with disabilities and their families. While the Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services (OSERS) is charged with the implementation of P. L. 102-119, other Federal agencies have overlapping responsibilities in some areas as they relate to the provision of resources for services to children with disabilities and their families.

For example, the Developmental Disabilities Act finds that, "individuals with disabilities occurring during their developmental period are more vulnerable and less able to reach an independent level of existence, and it is in the national interest to strengthen specific programs, especially programs that reduce or eliminate the need for institutional care." Title V of the Social Security Act directs Maternal and Child Health programs to provide "community-based, coordinated care for children with special health care needs with a focus on strengthening the family unit." These examples are parallel concepts to the P. L. 102-119 findings under Part H that, "There is a need to enhance the development of infants and toddlers with disabilities in order to minimize their potential for delay and maximize the potential for their independent living in society."

The FICC is meant to serve as a mechanism for Federal agencies with common programmatic goals to "conduct policy analysis of Federal programs related to the provision of early intervention services, and determine areas of conflict, overlap, duplication or omission."

Preface Statement:

The questions posed by the Office of Management and Budget are insightful and raise some of the recurrent and complicated issues experienced by agencies administering Part H, as well as children and families receiving early intervention services.

There is agreement within the FICC that none of the issues raised should be addressed by solely targeting Part H, and that a broader sweep of interagency initiatives (e.g. service integration and consolidated funding streams) within the larger framework of coordinated services is an appropriate consideration. Because many of the questions posed concerning IDEA are dependent on current health and welfare reform efforts, viable recommendations need to cross-cut other legislative efforts that provide services to young children with disabilities and their families.

To construct the most representative and expedient response, the FICC acknowledges that is not in a position to render a consensus decision.

To incorporate the divergent viewpoints among Federal agencies, parent representatives, and State and voluntary agencies, these questions will be addressed by synthesizing common themes into one response to each question and presenting alternative approaches which point out the range of responses that were received. The individual responses are available for review upon request.

Responses

Question #1: How could the Part H data collection requirements be enhanced to provide State and Federal governments with a unified data base on the target population, permitting earlier cross-agency identification and outreach of infants at the earliest possible time.

To minimize confusion for families, delays/gaps in services and duplication in services, there is general agreement among the responders that there is a need for a more unified data base, acknowledging that there is a distinction between data collection for reporting for funding and data collection for identification and outreach. The development of such an approach needs to recognize the following considerations: (1) agency identification and outreach can only occur when other relevant statutes mandate coordination with Part H; (2) State agencies have invested substantial sums of money in computerized systems that are not necessarily cross-program compatible, thus a change might impose further costs on already stretched state budgets; (3) the fear of national data banks, their use and abuse; and, (4) issues of confidentiality.

Options/Strategies:

.... One useful requirement might be the establishment of a uniform system by use of a common identifier number such as the social security number. If issued at birth, these numbers could be used for medical/maternal/child registries which indicate early those children entering the State and Federal system of early intervention.

.... Develop case definitions which would provide a common basis for analysis at the Federal level or for comparison among states. There could be several levels of federally defined developmental delay. States could then define which level they would serve.

.... Include the following information in the data base:

- (1) number of "at risk" children being served, including demographics.

- (2) number of Part H children transitioned into Head Start placement at age three. (ACYF attachment outlines a comparable requirement which could be added to Head Start legislation).

Question #2: Should the Federal government establish the minimum developmental delay a child must have in order to be eligible to receive early intervention services? Currently, eligibility criteria differ across states, with some states serving only infants and toddlers with significant disabilities?

This question raises a generic tension that exists not only in Part H but in a number of federally subsidized entitlement programs -- the tension between state flexibility in designing systems of service, and the issue of consumer portability of entitlements. In the Part H legislation, states were offered flexibility and agreed to participate on that basis. Retroactively imposing a modified standard would not only violate that commitment to flexibility, but could promote: (1) the development of a definition that is unnecessarily restrictive, thus reducing the numbers of children eligible for services or, (2) the development of a definition that is extremely inclusive resulting in increased costs of providing mandated services and prompting states to terminate participation in the program.

The most significant concern of the FICC is that defining developmental delay in infancy does not lend itself to an approach that is so absolute. There is inherent difficulty in identifying appropriate standardized instruments and standard deviation scoring to determine quantifiable delays in infants. Part H, for that reason, requires that informed clinical opinion be a part of the evaluation and assessment process, specifically to enhance standardized measures.

The challenge remains one of achieving a greater level of uniformity and portability without jeopardizing services to children served in states with broad eligibility criteria.

*** FICC Recommendation:** Regarding this question, the FICC respondents reached consensus in recommending that **no established level of developmental delay should be federally mandated.** However, the issue of portability remains a concern and needs to be addressed.

Options/Strategies:

- It might be useful to consider mandating a national task force, in conjunction with the FICC, to develop a model definition which is consistent with the intent and mandates

of Part H, but focuses on the objective of increasing portability. This group, including parents, administrators, educators, and individuals with disabilities, could identify the impact a Federal definition might have given the above referenced concerns.

**Question #3: What changes are needed to encourage States to better identify and serve the at-risk children ?
Should States be permitted to serve those children with a more flexible array of services ?**

Although the primary constraint to serving the at-risk population is inadequate funding and resources, there is also a question of what kind and intensity of early intervention services is most effective for this population. Although we know that children whose delays are less severe make substantial gains with early intervention, many of the entitlement under the "full array of services" may be more than is required for meaningful intervention. Greater use of personnel who are indigenous to the community who can provide more opportunity for sensitive child-adult interaction, for example, may be less costly and more effective than specific therapy services.

Greater collaboration among agencies traditionally serving this population, such as Head Start and Even Start, needs to be encouraged, thus allowing States more flexibility in designing its service system to meet the needs of these children and families.

States should be encouraged and supported to serve the at-risk children through a variety of flexible mechanisms. However, if a child is determined, at some point, to need Part H entitlement services, the child and family should have access to the full range of services. It is important to note that very young children can move between eligibility categories dependent upon the success of various interventions or as increased delays are identified in the course of growth and development.

*** FICC Recommendation:** Regarding this question, the FICC came to consensus that States should be encouraged to serve the at-risk population through flexibility that meets the individual needs of the child and family.

Options/Strategies:

.... One strategy might be to require States to serve a targeted population, such as children who are homeless; migrant children; or children whose parents have developmental disabilities.

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- Permit States more flexibility in evaluation and assessment procedures, such as determining whether a child needs a full multidisciplinary assessment.
- If flexibility cannot be given to States, separate the at-risk population from IDEA both administratively and financially and increase efforts to have these children served by Head Start.
- Fund grants for tracking systems, home visitor programs and community based programs.
- Require more interagency coordination by **requiring** that State Interagency Coordinating Councils include a representative from a Head Start funded infant-toddler program in the State. Require the Part H lead agency to **show evidence** of their efforts at coordination with Head Start programs so that at risk children who are Head Start eligible will be referred when they reach three years of age.
- Give States flexibility in providing services to the at-risk population, but require that at-risk children being served have service coordination/case management. This would provide a mechanism for all children to be linked with the other existing programs for which they are eligible (e.g. Title V, SSI, Medicaid, or the Immunization program).

Question #4: Should some form of means testing be required where no children would be denied services due to an inability to pay, but some level of payment would be required of those who could afford.

The complexity of this issue relates to the presence of sliding fee scales being used now and before the law was passed, payor of last resort questions, insurance caps, whether States had an entitlement in place before IDEA was passed, and the administrative costs of collecting fees versus the potential benefit. This is an area that is not likely to be solved looking only to the reauthorization of Part H, and needs to consider the health and insurance reforms that are still evolving. For example, the option to charge fees may be important for third party reimbursement, as it creates an financial obligation for parents, thus making it possible for reimbursement to be considered under an indemnity-based insurance system (e.g. Champus, Private Insurers). Should a means test be applied, the development of a sliding scale might take into consideration **all disability-related expenses incurred by the family (e.g. special equipment, in-home care).**

In addition, there are serious questions around family use of third party coverage for IDEA services. Medicaid policies are based on the belief that support from public funds carries with it some obligation to provide access to an individual's third party coverage. This is a major point of difficulty between Medicaid and IDEA as it relates to those children covered under the TEFRA waiver. The fundamental point about sharing the costs of services and providing access to third party resources still remains unresolved.

On the other hand, applying a mandated means-test to this program or impacting family insurance caps could be construed as a violation of Free Appropriate Public Education (FAPE) (some States had entitlement to early intervention prior to Part H and operate under the guidelines of FAPE). Part H is still considered a portion of a civil rights law (IDEA), and while the Part B procedural safeguards are not explicit, there is a question as to whether families should be expected to pay for services which are included at a later age under a free, appropriate education system.

***FICC Recommendation:** Given the complexity of this question, and the current instability surrounding changes in the health care system, the FICC recommends that no means testing should be required and States should retain the choice to determine whether or not family payments, including sliding fee scales, should be implemented for those able to pay.

Options/Strategies:

.... One strategy might be to have families contribute payment in a form other than money. This could be flexible -- instead of paying with money, families could pay with time or by helping to purchase equipment and materials. This way families could positively support the resource pool of early intervention using themselves as resources.

Question #5: Are there statutory or regulatory changes that need to be made within Part H that will reduce barriers that impede successful program implementation around: (1) program eligibility; (2) providing services; and/or (3) obtaining financing for services

There are clear complexities that can be addressed at the Federal level, for example, the two-day referral requirement, whether parental consent should be necessary for referral, and issues around non-supplanting and payor of last resort.

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However, most of the complexity occurs at the level of state policy application, thus the issues are not necessarily resolved by statutory or regulatory changes.

The need for strengthening interagency coordination, including service delivery systems and financing mechanisms, continues to be the greatest concern and priority of the FICC. With that in mind, the FICC submits the following range of recommendations:

- Require States to articulate and show evidence of how interagency activities are occurring.
- Make statutory changes that would allow family contribution (means-related) to be considered an acceptable means of reimbursement towards the costs incurred by the early intervention program.
- Clarify the role of Medicaid and other third party reimbursers as a financing mechanism for early intervention services.
- Modify regulations to require additional representation of medical and social services in the planning, implementation and coordination of the IFSP.
- Draft Congressional language to encourage the full review of the multiple funding sources for young children to reduce fragmentation.
- Create the capability to transfer funds across Federal Departments and agencies that would permit resource and personnel sharing in support of Part H.
- Statutorily require interagency agreements with the Head Start at the State and local level.

Summary

The FICC, as an entity committed to improving the coordination of services to young children with disabilities and their families, is appreciative of this opportunity to contribute to the reauthorization effort.

As we approach the turn of the century with the goal of having "all children healthy and ready to learn," the multi-dimensionality of that vision requires interagency/interpersonal collaboration and decision-making. As noted by an earlier observer of the process for making policy for children, "Public involvement in this field is a Federal agency-by-Federal agency, congressional committee-by congressional committee, State-by-State or city-by-city assortment of unrelated decisions that are as likely to be contradictory as complementary." (Steiner, 1976)



National Association of State Directors of Special Education, Inc.

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DEC 12 1994

December 7, 1994

Ms. Carol H. Rasco
Asst. to the President for Domestic Policy
The White House
West Wing - 2nd Floor
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Rasco:

As you requested when we met in late October, we have enclosed the NASDSE position document on the reauthorization of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. Although you indicated that you would not have primary responsibility for the reauthorization, we understand and appreciate your personal interest and expertise in this area.

If you need additional copies of the document or have questions or comments, please do not hesitate to contact us. We look forward to working with the Administration in crafting a bill that will provide children and youth with disabilities a quality education within the context of overall educational reform.

Sincerely,

Martha J. Fields, Ed.D.
Executive Director

Myrna R. Mandlawitz
Special Asst. for Government Relations

MJF:mmm



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MEMORANDUM

TO: Education Colleagues

FROM: Martha Fields, Executive Director *MF*
Myrna Mandlawitz, Special Asst. for Government Relations *MM*

DATE: December 1994

RE: IDEA Proposals

After a long process commencing at the 1993 NASDSE Annual Meeting, we have completed our review of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). The enclosed document is the result of that effort.

Although we have not addressed every issue in this document, NASDSE is interested in hearing and discussing all concerns and viewpoints. The membership will review other recommendations as they arise and take positions when appropriate.

We hope that this document will provide the basis for serious discussions about access to and the quality of educational services for children and youth with disabilities within the context of overall school reform.

Please feel free to contact us with any questions or comments.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE REAUTHORIZATION OF THE INDIVIDUALS WITH DISABILITIES EDUCATION ACT

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
STATE DIRECTORS OF SPECIAL EDUCATION



DECEMBER 1994

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE REAUTHORIZATION OF THE INDIVIDUALS WITH DISABILITIES EDUCATION ACT

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
STATE DIRECTORS OF SPECIAL EDUCATION

DECEMBER 1994

INTRODUCTION

The National Association of State Directors of Special Education (NASDSE) began the process of identifying issues for the reauthorization of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) in the fall of 1993. At the NASDSE Annual Meeting held in Little Rock, Arkansas, State directors shared their concerns in a hearing on the reauthorization and participated in small group discussions to further define the issues. Other items were also submitted in writing.

After that meeting, the issues and concerns were distilled into an 18-point paper which represented the first recommendations of the organization. In April 1994 David Stockford, president of the organization, presented those recommendations in testimony before the House Subcommittee on Select Education and Civil Rights.

Since that time, the organization has continued to receive input, discuss, and refine its recommendations. The result of those efforts is this comprehensive review of the IDEA, incorporating changes that will update and strengthen the existing law. These proposed changes were developed based on four basic principles:

- The reauthorization of the IDEA should link that Act with education reform and should focus on the educational results for children and youth with disabilities;
- The adversarial and litigious atmosphere currently surrounding the implementation of the IDEA should be reduced;
- The IDEA should reflect an increasingly diverse society and the negative consequences of children and families living in poverty; and,
- The principles mandated under the IDEA of a "free appropriate public education, including procedural safeguards, must be maintained.

NASDSE believes that the IDEA, when fully implemented with the following proposed amendments, will provide a solid framework for the provision of quality education for all children and youth with disabilities in a reformed education system.

Sec. 1400. CONGRESSIONAL STATEMENTS AND DECLARATIONS.

1400(b). Findings. ---

The Congress finds that --

(1) there are more than eight million children and youth with disabilities in the United States today;

(2) there are more than five million children and youth with disabilities, 3-21, being served;

(3) during the last twenty years, much progress has been made toward improving accessibility to and delivery of special education programs and services;

(4) the provision of an appropriate education, including special education services as needed, is essential to preparing children and youth with disabilities to be active and productive members of society;

(5) with the proper supports, children and youth with disabilities can achieve at significantly higher levels;

(6) there is a continuing need to address issues related to the availability of adequately trained special education and related services personnel;

(7) emphasis should be placed on preparing general education personnel to meet the needs of children and youth with disabilities;

(8) parent participation is an important component in the education of children and youth with disabilities;

(9) children and youth with disabilities drop out of school in disproportionate numbers to their nondisabled peers;

(10) it is in the national interest that children and youth with disabilities be given equal access to educational curriculum, programs, and services available to their nondisabled peers; and

(11) it is in the national interest that children and youth with disabilities exit school with the skills necessary to be included and integrated in the economic and social fabric of society and to live independently.

1400(c). Purpose. It is the purpose of this chapter to assure that all children and youth with disabilities have available to them [within the time periods specified...this title] a free appropriate public education which [emphasizes special education and related services] includes appropriate special education services and supports to meet their unique needs, to assure that the rights of children and youth with disabilities and their parents or guardians are protected, to assist States and localities to provide for the education of all children and youth with disabilities, and to assess and assure the effectiveness of efforts to educate children and youth with disabilities, resulting in their progress to meet high performance standards.

RATIONALE: The Findings and Purposes sections represent the basis and foundation for the Act. The proposed changes reflect the evolution in thinking regarding the abilities of children and youth with disabilities, the responsibility of the general community for ensuring equal educational opportunity, and some of the problems still to be addressed.

Sec. 1401. DEFINITIONS.

1401(a)(1)(B) [children with disabilities]: Amend to read "The term 'children with disabilities' for children aged 3 to 8, inclusive, may at a State's discretion, include children...services.

RATIONALE: Categorization by diagnosis is inappropriate for most children in the early childhood years, i.e., through age eight. Rather, the focus should be on effective early intervention, which often alleviates or eliminates the need for more intensive special education supports later on.

1401(a)(16) [special education]: Amend to read "The term 'special education' means specially designed instruction, including services and supports,...including --

(A) [instruction] supports and services provided in the classroom...and

(B) [instruction] supports and services in physical education.

RATIONALE: As children and youth with disabilities are more fully included in general education programs, appropriate supports and services must be provided. Special education can no longer be viewed as solely an instructional placement, but rather must include services and supports designed to allow the student to receive the full benefit of instruction regardless of the setting in which the instruction is delivered.

1401(a)(17) [related services]: Amend to read "The term 'related services' means transportation, and such developmental, corrective, and other supportive services (including speech pathology...physical and occupational therapy, orientation and mobility instruction,...children."

RATIONALE: Orientation and mobility instruction is a specialized service which does not come under the aegis of any of the other related services listed. It is an important and integral part of the educational process for children who are blind or visually impaired.

1401(a)(19) [transition services]: Amend to read "The term 'transition services' means a coordinated set of activities that are individually designed for a student [designed within an outcome-oriented-process] ~~and [promotes]~~ enable continuity in movement from school to appropriate post-school activities, including...community participation. The coordinated set of activities shall be based upon the student's needs [taking into account the student's], preferences and interests and shall include...vocational evaluation. Such services shall be initiated no later than age 16."

RATIONALE: Emphasis should be placed on ensuring that appropriate individualized transition planning is initiated, which will give students with disabilities additional incentive to remain in school. That translates, in turn, to having the opportunity to develop the necessary skills to find meaningful employment and live independently after exiting the school system.

1401(a)(20) [individualized education program]: Amend to read "a written statement for each child or youth with a disability developed in any meeting by a representative of the local educational agency or an intermediate educational unit who shall be qualified to provide, or supervise the provision of, specially designed instruction including supports and services...which statement shall include...."

RATIONALE: As children and youth with disabilities are more fully included in regular education programs, appropriate supports and services must be provided. Those supports and services should be reflected in the individualized education program (IEP).

1401(a)(20)(C): Amend to read "a statement of the specific educational services to be provided to such child or youth, and the extent to which such child or youth will be unable to participate in [regular] general educational programs."

RATIONALE: The current wording suggests that the IEP team must justify the student's participation in the general education setting. Use of the word "unable" in this statement provides an assumption in favor of including students with disabilities in the general education program.

1401(a)(25) [assistive technology device]: Amend to read "The term 'assistive technology device'...with disabilities. Commonly considered personal devices such as hearing aids, corrective lenses, crutches, wheelchairs, and other devices needed regardless of the provision of special education shall not be considered assistive technology devices under this title. Funds distributed under subchapter II of this Act

may be used to purchase personal devices at the discretion of the State if other funds are not available, pursuant to sec. 1413(e) of this title."

RATIONALE: This addition clarifies that such personal devices are necessary for generally improved functioning beyond the educational relevancy. Assistive technology devices are only required if it is determined, through the IEP process, to be special education, a related service, or a supplementary aid or service required to enable a child to be educated in the least restrictive environment.

ADD new definition - 1401(a)(28): "The term 'substantially approvable' as applied to the State plan, section 1413 of this title, means a State plan addressing all requirements specified in section 1413 of this title in a manner sufficient to meet the intent of the Act and in sufficient form to trigger obligation of funds as specified in the Education Department General Administration Regulations [34 C.F.R. 76.703]."

RATIONALE: In accordance with recent policy directives concerning the Cash Management Improvement Act (CMIA) (*See* OSEP Memoranda 93-16, 94-9), States may not obligate Part B funds until the later of either the date that the State plan is delivered to the Secretary in "substantially approvable" form or the date the funds are first available for obligation by the Secretary. The term "substantially approvable" is not defined in law or regulation and has caused a great deal of confusion for both the State Directors and the Department.

NASDSE believes that grant awards should not be delayed while decisions are made regarding process. Withholding payment will often mean delay in provision of needed services. *See also*, new provision added under section 1413.

ADD new definition - 1401(a)(29): "The term 'supplementary aids and services' means adjunct services provided in and as part of the general educational program which enable children and youth with disabilities to receive special education and related services in the general education setting."

RATIONALE: The addition of this definition clarifies and emphasizes that children and youth with disabilities must be served in the least restrictive environment with appropriate aids and supports. If the least restrictive environment is the general education classroom, those aids and supports must

be provided in that setting and in a manner that enhances educational performance and results.

ADD new definition - 1401(a)(30): "The term 'suspension' means a temporary removal of a child or youth from the current educational placement for a specified period of time."

ADD new definition - 1401(a)(31): "The term 'expulsion' means a permanent removal of a child or youth from the current educational placement unless the local educational agency reinstates that student."

RATIONALE: These definitions are added to conform with the proposed addition of a requirement under section 1413 that States have in place policies and procedures addressing the disciplining of children and youth with disabilities.

ADD new definition - 1401(a)(32): "The term 'regulation' means any rules, regulations, guidelines, interpretations, orders, or requirements of general applicability prescribed by the Secretary as defined under the General Education Provisions Act [20 U.S.C. 1232]."

RATIONALE: See new sec. 1407(a) below.

Sec. 1407. REGULATION REQUIREMENTS.

ADD new sec. 1407(a) and re-letter current (a) and (b):

(a) Negotiated Rulemaking

(1) Prior to publishing in the Federal Register proposed regulations to carry out this title, the Secretary shall obtain the advice and recommendations of representatives of federal, State, and local administrators, parents, teachers, and members of local boards of education involved with the implementation and operation of programs under this title.

(2) Such advice and recommendations may be obtained through such mechanisms as regional meetings and electronic exchanges of information.

(3) In an emergency situation in which regulations to carry out this title must be issued with a very limited time to assist State and local educational agencies with the operation of a program under this title, the Secretary may issue proposed regulations without following such process but shall, immediately thereafter and prior

to issuing final regulations, conduct regional meetings to review such proposed regulations.

(4) No other less formal method of implementing the provisions of this title is authorized."

RATIONALE: The Office of Special Education Programs issues letters of interpretation in response to inquiries regarding the IDEA statute and regulations. The issuance of these letters has proved problematic for State educational agencies (SEA) because, in some cases, States are being monitored against interpretive letters and occasionally are being forced to codify these interpretations in State statute.

The letters are not widely or consistently disseminated, nor do these interpretations conform with the GEPA requirement that they be published in the Federal Register with opportunity for public comment. There is no quarrel with the Department issuing a letter clarifying statute or regulation unless it becomes a monitoring criterion. When that occurs, however, the "guideline" or "interpretation" should be subjected to the normal regulatory process.

Sec. 1411. ENTITLEMENTS AND ALLOCATIONS.

ADD new sec. 1411(c)(1)(C): "Notwithstanding sec. 1414(a)(2)(B)(i) of this title, an amount equal to 10 per centum of the total amount of funds received from the State pursuant to this subsection may be used in conjunction with funds from other federal or State categorical programs on an intra-agency or interagency basis to provide noncategorical supports and services for children and youth with disabilities."

RATIONALE: This language gives local educational agencies the flexibility to combine program dollars to provide necessary supports and services, while avoiding duplication of effort and improving results for students.

The intention is that this language be added to other education acts as they are reauthorized, so that there will be a bridge between IDEA and other federal programs.

1411(c)(2)(B) [Distribution and Use of Grant Funds]: After "other than Federal funds..." add "except funds provided under the Goals 2000: Educate America Act [20 U.S.C. 5801 et seq.]..."

RATIONALE: Allowing the use of Goals 2000 funds provides an incentive for coordination of statewide services.

Sec. 1413. STATE PLANS.

1413(a)(1) [Requisite features]: After "paid to the State under this subchapter" add "and subchapter IV sections 1431(a)(4) and 1432..."

RATIONALE: NASDSE believes that the comprehensive system of personnel development (CSPD) should be based on State needs and that the State plan and the CSPD plan should be combined. The intention in adding this language is to allow funds to flow for CSPD based only on the approval of the State plan.

ADD new sec. 1413(a)(2) and renumber subparagraphs (2) through (15): "In cases where language of State policies and procedures is identical to language in this title, States may submit statements of assurance regarding those policies and procedures to comply with subparagraph (a)(1) of this section."

RATIONALE: The addition of 1413(a)(2) will relieve States of the necessity of copying into State plans language that is identical to federal statute, e.g., the components of the IEP.

1413(a)(3)(A)(i): Amend to read, "By methods determined by the Secretary and based on demonstrable needs identified by the States, the development and maintenance of a system for determining, on an annual basis --..."

RATIONALE: This change will allow the Secretary to select and require the use of a common means for determining personnel needs, thus basing competition for training funds on a common definition of "need."

1413(a)(3)(A)(i)(I): Delete "by area of specialization."

RATIONALE: By deleting this phrase, States will report only on two broad categories -- special education teachers and related services personnel. Eliminating reporting by specialization will decrease the emphasis on disability categories.

NASDSE also recommends that "emergency, provisional, or other basis" be defined in the accompanying regulations. These terms are general and are subject to broad interpretation.

INCORPORATE sec. 1413(a)(3)(A)(iii)(II) into sec. 1413(a)(3): Sec. 1413(a)(3) will read: "describe, consistent with the purposes of this chapter and with the comprehensive system of personnel development described in section 1476(b)(8) of this title, a comprehensive system of personnel development that coordinates and facilitates efforts....and personnel with disabilities and that shall include --...."

RATIONALE: This change highlights closer coordination of efforts among State and local educational agencies (LEA), institutions of higher education (IHE), and professional associations. This collaboration will enhance the ability of SEAs to address systemic needs and to link personnel preparation grants to States' needs.

1413(a)(12)(C): Amend to read "assists the State in developing and reporting such data and evaluations...this title, including, for States having State-determined performance standards, data on the progress of children and youth with disabilities in meeting those standards."

RATIONALE: Goals 2000: Educate America Act states that all children and all students must be included in State performance standards and assessments. Accountability for the results of including children and youth with disabilities must be a part of regular reporting by the Secretary of Education.

ADD new sec. 1413(a)(12)(D): "for states participating in the Goals 2000: Educate America Act, advises the State educational agency on the participation of children and youth with disabilities and their families and teachers in activities undertaken by the State pursuant to that Act."

RATIONALE: Goals 2000: Educate America Act states that all children and all students are to be a part of any efforts to reform the education system. The State advisory panel, which has the responsibility of advising the SEA regarding unmet needs, should expand its mandate to include information on the extent to which children and youth with disabilities are being included in overall education reform.

1413(a)(14): Amend to read "set forth policies and procedures relating to the establishment and maintenance of standards to ensure that personnel necessary to carry out the purposes of this subchapter are appropriately and adequately prepared and trained [~~DELETE~~ ", including" and subparagraphs (A) and (B)]."

RATIONALE: Personnel standards are a State issue. The subparagraphs proposed for deletion inhibit a State from developing the standards that it feels are appropriate to its own needs. Further, leaving these policy decisions to the State is consistent with Goals 2000, in which States are given the responsibility for developing the capability of teachers to provide high-quality instruction.

ADD new sec. 1413(a)(17) after renumbered sec. 1413(a)(16): "set forth policies and procedures relating to the suspension and expulsion of children and youth with disabilities, addressing --

- (A) short-term suspensions of up to ten days;
- (B) long-term suspensions exceeding ten days;
- (C) short-term suspensions in which the cumulative total exceeds ten days per school year;
- (D) expulsion;
- (E) appropriate due process procedures;
- (F) the causal connection between the behavior exhibited and the disability of the child or youth, for purposes of subparagraphs (B)-(D);
- (G) immediate removal from the current educational placement of children and youth who are endangering themselves or others;
- (H) those children and youth with disabilities bringing firearms, as such term is used in section 921 of title 18, United States Code, onto school property;
- (I) determination by an independent hearing officer of the appropriateness of immediate removal if a parent or guardian objects to that removal; and
- (J) provision of a free appropriate public education as defined in section 1401(a)(18) of this Act during removal in excess of ten days from the current educational placement.

RATIONALE: The recent amendment to the IDEA, enacted under the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, as well as the Gun-Free-Schools provision of that same Act have caused much confusion for both general and special education. States should have in place policies and procedures to provide guidance to LEAs when they are confronted with questions regarding when children and youth with disabilities may be removed from their placements and to what extent and what type of educational services must be provided.

ADD new sec. 1413(a)(18): "set forth policies and procedures to address instruction in Braille literacy as appropriate for children and youth who are blind or visually impaired, and to ensure that personnel instructing children and youth who use Braille are adequately and appropriately trained in Braille."

RATIONALE: Basic literacy skills are a fundamental part of education. States should ensure that, when it is determined appropriate for individual students, instruction in Braille should be provided. Currently at least half the States have statutes or regulations relating to Braille literacy. Teachers should have access to training, as needed, depending on the level of assistance and instruction individual students may require.

ADD new letter 1413(b); current (b) becomes (c):

"(b) *Optional feature*

Any State which sets forth policies and procedures to ensure that --

(1) at a minimum 98 per centum of the children and youth with disabilities are included in the State assessment program;

(2) the assessment data will be disaggregated;

(3) demonstrable progress is made toward predetermined goals; and

(4) the results are publicly reported

may, notwithstanding any other provisions of this Act, combine funds received under section 1411(c)(2)(B) and section 1431 of this Act with funds distributed under other federal and State programs to support the participation of children and youth with disabilities in State education reform activities."

RATIONALE: Activities mandated under the IDEA should be linked with activities under Goals 2000 and other education reform efforts and should focus on the educational results for children and youth with disabilities. States that participate in reform activities and are able to document performance results for students with disabilities through their State accountability systems should be rewarded for those efforts. This proposed

amendment would allow States more flexibility in combining certain funds under IDEA with funds from other federal programs to support education reform activities for children and youth with disabilities:

ADD new letter (e); current (c) becomes (d); current (d) becomes (f): "The Secretary shall establish procedures for the timely approval of the State plan that are consistent with the requirements of the Cash Management Improvement Act [31 U.S.C. 6501 et seq.], such that --

(1) for the purposes of approval of State Plans required under this Act, the term 'substantially approvable' shall have the meaning given in section 1401 of this Act; and

(2) in no case shall the failure of the Secretary to ensure timely approval of the State plan result in the delay of issuance of funds under this Act to the State."

RATIONALE: The Cash Management Improvement Act (CMIA), which became effective on July 1, 1993, provides for the timely transfer of funds between Federal agencies and States. According to OSEP Memorandum 93-16 (July 21, 1993), "changes in the Department's grant processing procedures limit the circumstances under which the Department will retroactively authorize States to charge against the Part B grant program costs incurred before the Part B State plan is submitted in substantially approvable form."

The implementation of the CMIA has precipitated the need to revamp accounting systems in a number of States, since pre-award costs will no longer be granted. In addition, questions have been raised regarding the definition of "substantially approvable," the standard on which State plan approval will be based. This recommendation and the recommended definition of "substantially approvable" are an attempt to clarify the changes resulting from the implementation of the CMIA.

Sec. 1414. APPLICATION.

1414(a)(1): DELETE subparagraphs (B) through (E). Amend to read "provide satisfactory assurance that payments under this subchapter will be used for excess costs directly attributable to programs which [-- (A)] provide that all children...services[;]."

ADD new sec. 1414(a)(2) and renumber subparagraphs (2) through (7): "provide satisfactory assurance that the local education agency or intermediate educational unit will keep on file the policies and procedures as required by the State for the implementation of this title;"

RATIONALE: Section 1414 is amended as indicated to allow a simpler local application procedure. Since the Act has been in effect for twenty years and programs are well-established, a less cumbersome procedure is appropriate. The language as amended provides a list of assurances that State policies and procedures will be met.

ADD new subparagraph (C) to renumbered sec. 1414(a)(3) and re-letter current subparagraph (C):

(C) allowance shall be made for diminution of State or local funds if the State determines that the decrease in the use of State and local funds in no way reduces the level or quality of services available to children and youth with disabilities in that jurisdiction.

RATIONALE: The current "supplement...and in no case supplant" language in sec. 1414(a)(2)(B)(ii) does not take into account the changing financial obligations of small school districts or changing systems of State funding for special education. For example, a small district has a special educator retire who then is replaced by a recent graduate. The district would be expending less for the latter's services; however, the level and quality of services to the students in that district would not be reduced. Under current law, this district would not meet the "nonsupplanting" and "maintenance of effort" requirements and would lose Part B funds. This proposal would provide needed flexibility in these requirements.

Renumbered sec. 1414(a)(4): Amend to read "provide [for] satisfactory assurance that --

(A) [furnishing] such information...in programs carried out under this subchapter [;] shall be furnished; and

(B) [keeping] such records shall be kept, and [affording] such access shall be afforded...such information furnished under subparagraph (A);"

RATIONALE: See "Rationale" for sec. 1414(a)(1) and new sec. 1414(a)(2).

ADD new sec. 1414(b) and re-letter subparagraphs (b) through (f):

(b) Optional feature

In States participating under this subparagraph, local educational agencies and intermediate educational units shall provide --

(1) satisfactory assurances that the requirements of subchapter II section 1413(b) are met; and

(2) a description of how funds received under section 1411(c)(2)(B) of this title, and as appropriate funds under section 1431 of this title, will be used in conjunction with other State and federal funds to support the participation of children and youth with disabilities in State education reform activities.

RATIONALE: This language conforms the State plan and local applications.
See new section 1413(b).

Sec. 1415. PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS.

ADD new sec. 1415(b)(2) and renumber current sec. 1415(b)(2) as sec. 1415(b)(3):

"Whenever a complaint has been received under paragraph (1) of this subsection, the parents or guardian shall have an opportunity for voluntary informal mediation conducted by a impartial third party selected and trained as determined by the State educational agency. For purposes of this paragraph --

(A) attorneys or other independent contractors used to provide legal advocacy services shall not attend or otherwise participate in these proceedings;

(B) these proceedings shall not be considered administrative proceedings;

(C) no award of attorneys' fees and related costs may be made;

(D) nothing shall preclude the parent or public education agency from being accompanied and advised by a nonattorney representative; and

(E) these proceedings shall not be required to be within timelines developed for due process hearings under subparagraph (3).

RATIONALE: Parents should be afforded easy access to a system that guarantees their children the rights and protections provided under the IDEA. However, in many States when a dispute arises, the only forum available to parents is a due process hearing. Therefore, dispute resolution under the Act has become highly adversarial and litigious.

Offering informal mediation as an option and reducing the adversarial tone of the proceeding by barring the presence of attorneys will allow the parties to settle their differences in a spirit of cooperation. Studies show that mediation has been used effectively in a number of States to foster better communication and to reach settlements with minimal emotional stress. The

use of mediation would in no way preclude either party from pursuing a due process hearing.

1415(e)(3): DELETE "(A) Except as provided in subparagraph (B), during." DELETE subparagraph (B). Amend to read "During the pendency of any proceeding conducted pursuant to this section, notwithstanding proceedings referred to in section 1413(a)(17)(G) of this Act, unless the State or local education agency and the parents or guardian otherwise agree or unless the resolution of the controversy is unreasonably protracted by the parents or guardian, the child shall remain in the then current educational placement of such child [or]. [i]f applying for initial admission...proceedings have been completed.

RATIONALE: This change eliminates the language added to this provision under the recent reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The reference to the proposed section on discipline [See section 1413(a)(17) above] would allow an independent hearing officer to intervene to remove a student immediately who was acting in a dangerous manner if the parents did not agree to the student's removal. Currently, under the decision in Honig v. Doe, EHLR 559:231 (U.S. 1988), the school district must petition the court for an injunction to remove the student. This change would allow the school district to neutralize a potentially dangerous situation in a more expeditious manner.

The reference to the "unreasonable protraction of the controversy" is aimed at the elimination of delaying tactics widely used by plaintiffs' attorneys in both administrative and federal court IDEA litigation. The stay-put provision was not intended to extend a placement for two or three years, but rather to allow sufficient time to ensure that the proper placement is found.

1415(e)(4)(F): In clause (ii), delete "or" and insert a semicolon. In clause (iii), delete "." and insert ";or". ADD the following clause:

" (iv) the parent or guardian did not exercise good faith in attempting to resolve the controversy prior to filing a complaint and requesting an impartial due process hearing under this section."

RATIONALE: See "Rationale" under new sec. 1415(b)(2). This addition further reinforces the belief that disputes arising under the Act should be settled in the most collaborative manner possible. Reducing attorney's fees if an attempt is not made to settle the dispute outside the courts will encourage the use of mediation or other less costly and adversarial means.

ADD new sec. 1415(f) and re-letter current (f):

"(f) Other compensation

A hearing officer or the court may order reimbursement for the costs of a non-public service or placement incurred by the parents or guardian only upon a showing that the parents or guardian have cooperated in good faith with the local educational agency to develop an individualized education program for the child or youth prior to seeking the non-public service or placement."

RATIONALE: Parents or guardians should work cooperatively with school districts to design an appropriate educational program. If the parents or guardian, after such an effort, still feel that a non-public service or placement would best meet the student's needs, then reimbursement may be appropriate.

Sec. 1417. ADMINISTRATION.

ADD new letter (b) and re-letter subparagraphs (b), (c), and (d): "The Secretary shall develop regulations that set forth standards to be used to monitor State systemic compliance under this Act, including goals and objectives related to the stated purposes of the Act as directed under the General Education Provisions Act [20 U.S.C. 1226c]."

RATIONALE: SEAs express serious concerns about current federal monitoring procedures. States have not been provided specific standards to be used in compliance monitoring, and procedures remain inconsistent. States, therefore, remain unsure of what criteria will be used in monitoring.

Currently, there is no reference in the IDEA regarding federal monitoring of SEAs. Adding this provision in the statute will ensure that standards for monitoring will be developed.

Sec. 1418. EVALUATION AND PROGRAM INFORMATION.

DELETE the phrase "by disability category" in each reference in this section.

1418(b)(1)(A)(i) and (ii): To conform with the change in age for the "developmental delay" category (*See Definitions section*), amend to read:

"(i) in age groups [0] birth-2 and 3-8, and

(ii) in age groups 9-11, 12-17, and 18-21 [by disability category]."

1418(b)(1)(D): Amend to read "the number [and type] of personnel that are employed...."

RATIONALE: The amendments in this section are proposed to change the focus from category of disability to range of services provided. As we move to a more inclusive model of education, special education should be viewed as a list of supports and services defined by the individual needs of the student to ensure success in the school environment. A deemphasis on reporting by category of disability will help to drive this reformulation.

Sec. 1419. PRESCHOOL GRANTS.

1419(f)(2): Amend to read "may, [if consistent with State policy,] at the option of the State, use such funds to provide [a free appropriate public education,] services, in accordance with this subchapter, to [2-year-old children...school year] children with disabilities, birth to 5, whether or not such children...subchapter VIII of this chapter."

RATIONALE: Currently there are a number of states using Preschool Grant money in this manner. This amendment would conform statute and practice and allow all States the option to use these funds for children, birth to 5.

Sec. 1421. REGIONAL RESOURCE AND FEDERAL CENTERS.

1421(b) [Considerations governing approval of application]: Add a new sentence at the end of the section -- "The proposals selected shall be determined by a panel, the majority of whom are State directors of special education or their designees."

RATIONALE: The regional resource centers are established to provide technical assistance to SEAs, addressing needs identified by the various States in a particular region. Therefore, it is appropriate that State directors be involved in determining which entities will provide these services.

Sec. 1424. PROGRAMS FOR CHILDREN WITH SEVERE DISABILITIES.

1424(a)(2): Amend to read "the development or demonstration of new, or improvements in existing, methods, approaches, or techniques which would contribute to the adjustment and education of such children and youth with disabilities in general educational environments, classes, and activities with nondisabled peers."

RATIONALE: The addition of this language would refocus the grants to methods that facilitate the integration of children and youth with disabilities into general education. The current language emphasizes improving instructional methods for addressing needs in segregated classes or schools.

1424(a)(3): Amend to read "training of special and [regular] general education, related services, and early intervention personnel and administrators for [programs] services specifically designed for such infants, toddlers, children and youth [including training...peers] in integrated settings with nondisabled peers."

RATIONALE: This amendment would shift the focus to training personnel in delivery of services in integrated or inclusive settings, rather than training targeted to self-contained schools, classes, or programs.

1424(a)(5): Amend to read "statewide projects, in conjunction with the State's plan under subchapter II of this chapter, [to improve the] to change the delivery and quality of special education and related services for children and youth with severe disabilities [and to change the delivery of those services] from segregated to integrated environments."

RATIONALE: The change in wording combines two clauses -- "to improve the quality of services" and "to change delivery of those services" -- into one statement addressing the delivery and quality of services in integrated environments.

Sec. 1424a. POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION.

1424a(a)(1): Change references from "specially designed model programs" to "specially designed models of service delivery." Change "such model programs" to "such grants or projects."

COMBINE 1424a(a)(2)(A) and (a)(2)(B): In the current (2)(B), change "programs" to "services addressing the education of individuals with disabilities with nondisabled peers." In (2)(A), replace "programs" with "Developing service delivery models to meet the needs of individuals with disabilities in postsecondary, vocational, technical, continuing or adult education."

Re-letter 1424a(a)(2)(C) as 1424a(a)(2)(B): Amend the current (2)(C) to read "...strengthen efforts in the development, operation, and design of [model programs] service delivery models that are adapted to [the special needs-of] meet the needs of individuals with disabilities."

RATIONALE: The change in terminology from "model programs" to "models of service delivery" moves the focus from special education as a place to special education as an array of services designed to meet individual student needs.

Sec. 1425. SECONDARY EDUCATION AND TRANSITIONAL SERVICES.

ADD new sec. 1425(a)(4): Delete "and" at the end of sec. 1425(a)(2); add "and" at the end of sec. 1425(a)(3). **ADD new (4):** "coordinate the provisions of this Act with the School-to-Work Opportunities Act of 1994 and the Goals 2000: Educate America Act."

RATIONALE: As new laws are enacted, there must be coordination of activities to avoid duplication of effort and to strengthen the existing laws. School-to-Work provides grants for States to develop or enhance apprenticeship and training programs and specifically includes students with disabilities. Goals 2000 addresses the problem of keeping students in school and, through the National Skills Standards Board, will examine the skills students need to successfully transition to meaningful employment. Students with disabilities must be included in and have the advantage of any programs developed in the States. These new programs must be coordinated with transition planning mandated under the IDEA.

1425(b)(5): Amend to read "research and development projects for exemplary service delivery models and the replication and dissemination of successful models, with special attention to the needs of culturally diverse students and students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds."

RATIONALE: The National Longitudinal Transition Study of Special Education Students (NLTS; data collected 1987-1990) indicates that race and ethnicity and economic status are very often predictors of negative results for students with disabilities. There are a higher percentage of culturally diverse and economically disadvantaged students leaving school before graduation. Even for those remaining in school, enrollment in postsecondary programs is less likely, as is participation in competitive long-term employment. Special

emphasis should be placed on improving results for these populations of students with disabilities.

1425(c): Amend to read "For purposes of paragraphs (1) [and], (2), (5), (8), (9), and (11) of subsection (b)...State education agency."

1425(e)(3): Delete "Improve working relationships," and add instead "Coordinate programs." Delete "local Private Industry Councils (PICS) authorized by the Job Training Partnership Act," and add instead "School-to-Work Opportunities Act, Goals 2000: Educate America Act, and JOBS (job opportunities and basic skills programs under the Social Security Act)."

RATIONALE: In order to avoid duplication of efforts, the projects delineated in this section should be coordinated with similar activities conducted by the SEA.

ADD new sec. 1425(e)(3)(E): "Create effective support services especially designed to assist culturally diverse students and students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds to attain successful postsecondary results."

RATIONALE: As stated above [See sec. 1425(b)(5)], culturally diverse and economically disadvantaged students fare worse in dropout rate, in participation in postsecondary programs, and in long-term employment.

1425(e)(4)(A)(iii): Delete "improve and increase working relationship," and add instead "coordinate programs." Delete "local Private Industry Councils (PICS) authorized by the JTPA," and add instead "School-to-Work Opportunities Act, Goals 2000: Educate America Act, and JOBS (job opportunities and basic skills programs under the Social Security Act)."

1425(e)(4)(B)(iii): Amend to read "provide incentives...particularly with PICS authorized by the JTPA [and], local branches of State employment agencies, and JOBS (job opportunities and basic skills programs under the Social Security Act)."

RATIONALE: See sec. 1425(e)(3) "Rationale" above.

1425(f)(3)(B)(i): Amend to read "the results of the transition services provided under such subsection, including the [effect of the services regarding] number of students pursuing and the number of students completing postsecondary education, the number of students receiving and the type of job training, and the number of students entering and the type and level of employment, and other appropriate matters."

RATIONALE: It is not enough to know simply that students are receiving transition services. A more accurate measure of those services is reflected in the number of students participating and the level of education and employment attained.

ADD new sec. 1425(f)(3)(B)(vi): "a comparison of results as directed in 1425(f)(3)(B)(i) for culturally diverse and economically disadvantaged students to the overall population served in programs funded under this section."

RATIONALE: See sec. 1425(b)(5) "Rationale" above.

ADD new sec. 1425(f)(3)(B)(vii): "a comparison of results as directed in sec. 1425(f)(3)(B)(i) of male and female students to the overall population served in programs funded under this section."

RATIONALE: The NTLS indicates that female students in the general population tend to enroll in higher numbers than their male counterparts in postsecondary school, whereas the reverse is true for students with disabilities. In addition, of those attending postsecondary programs, male students with disabilities are more likely to complete those programs. The comparisons are similar in the area of competitive paid employment. The gender factor, just as racial and economic factors, must be considered in planning and implementing programs.

Sec. 1426. PROGRAMS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH WITH SERIOUS EMOTIONAL DISTURBANCE.

ADD new sec. 1426(c) and re-letter current sec. (c) as (d): "The Secretary is authorized to make grants to, or enter into contracts or cooperative agreements with, institutions of higher education, State and local educational agencies, and other appropriate public and private nonprofit institutions or agencies to establish a pilot

regional program designed to meet the needs of children and youth who are deaf and hard of hearing and exhibit behavioral or mental health challenges.

(1) The pilot program established under this section shall provide services, including --

(A) identification and tracking of students using a standardized referral system and case coordination;

(B) evaluation services, including consultation and technical assistance;

(C) crisis intervention, including the establishment of a hotline providing consultation and technical assistance;

(D) development of a Service Delivery Plan, as part of an overall children's mental health plan, including a referral system, case coordination, and program development; and,

(E) personnel preparation, including preservice and inservice components.

(2) At the conclusion of the pilot program, the Secretary shall receive data regarding the efficacy of the program and determine the continuation and possible replication of the program.

RATIONALE: Options for children and youth who are deaf and who also have emotional or mental health disabilities are extremely limited. Because of the extremely low incidence of this population and the intensity and complexity of their needs, the Act as written has not met the challenges of these children. Specifically, special education programs are often not available, and there has been no federal financial support for efforts undertaken by State and local educational agencies. This pilot program would begin to address these unmet needs.

Sec. 1431. GRANTS FOR PERSONNEL TRAINING.

1431(a)(2)(A): Amend to read "The Secretary shall base the award of grants under paragraph (1) on [information relating to the present and projected need] demonstrable State and regional needs determined by the States and in conformity with its comprehensive system of personnel development as directed in sec. 1413 of this Act for special education, related services, early intervention, and other personnel to be trained based on identified State, regional, or national shortages calculated by methods prescribed by the Secretary, including a priority on preparation of personnel to serve children and youth with disabilities from low incidence populations, the need for personnel....Secretary."

RATIONALE: National personnel shortages should be addressed after careful study of State and regional needs. Further, the number of programs training personnel to serve children and youth from low incidence disabilities has declined, leaving certain areas of the country unable to find adequate staff.

1431(a)(4): Amend to read "The Secretary in carrying out paragraph (1) shall reserve a sum not to exceed 5 percent of the amount available for paragraph (1) in each fiscal year for [contracts] grants to State educational agencies to award stipends or other innovative incentives based on criteria determined by the State in consultation with local educational agencies to prepare personnel...grant process."

RATIONALE: State and local educational agencies are best able to determine personnel needs in their particular area. Therefore, when such a need is identified and has not been met through the regular grant process, that need should be communicated to the Secretary and grants under the section should be made available to the States.

1431(a)(5): Amend to read "In making grants under subsection (a)(1)...and shall be designed to assist special educators in properly coordinating service provision with related services and general education personnel...."

RATIONALE: As a more collaborative and integrated model of service delivery develops, special and general educators cannot be trained in isolation. Interdisciplinary training for special and general educators, as well as related services personnel, allows professionals to focus on common goals for all students and to utilize the expertise of each member of the educational team.

1431(d)(1): Amend to read "The Secretary shall fund up to 5 grants to States or entities...for the purpose of providing opportunities for [career advancement and/or competency-based training] human resource management training and continuing education...." **ADD new sentence** after first sentence in paragraph (1): "The human resource management system will include early recruitment, induction, mentoring, and continuing education components and should be coordinated with the regional resource and Federal centers funded under sec. 1421 of this Act."

1431(d)(1)(B), (C) and (D)(3): In both sections, delete "career development" and insert "human resource development and continuing education."

1431(d)(1)(D): Delete "workers" and insert "high quality personnel."

RATIONALE: Education should adopt the human resource management model used successfully in modern business and industry to develop a cadre of quality personnel. Under that model, human-resource management is integrated with the overall quality and operational performance of the business. The goals of human resource management, therefore, are to create high-performance work teams, offer opportunities for continuing education, broaden employee responsibilities and encourage creativity, and ensure a supply of well-prepared employees for the future.

This model's goals are synonymous with those of a quality educational system. The educational system must determine (1) the related education and training needs for all employees; (2) mechanisms for promoting cooperation and collaboration; (3) a plan for empowering employees to contribute to their maximum potential; and, (4) a means of recognizing those contributions.

ADD new sec. 1431(e)(4)(E): "be coordinated with parental information and resource centers funded under Title IV of Goals 2000: Educate America Act [20 U.S.C. 5911]."

RATIONALE: Entities receiving grants under Goals 2000 to establish parental information and resource centers must assure that they will network with the parent centers mandated under the IDEA. Adding coordinating language in the IDEA reinforces the need for collaboration and cooperation.

1431(e)(11)(A): Amend to read "the number of parents provided information and training [by disability category of their children], including disaggregation of data on the percentage and number of culturally diverse families served."

RATIONALE: While there is an overrepresentation of culturally diverse children and youth in special education programs, their families have historically been underserved. This additional data requirement will provide a snapshot of services being provided and areas where services need to be improved and increased.

Sec. 1432. GRANTS TO STATE EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS FOR TRAINEESHIPS.

1432(a): Amend to read "The Secretary shall make a grant of sufficient size and scope to each State educational agency for the purposes described in [DELETE REMAINDER OF SENTENCE] sec. 1431(a)(3) of this title and based on the approval of the State plan required under this Act."

RATIONALE: Grants authorized under this section should be tied to the needs identified in the State plan.

DELETE 1432(b) and (c).

RE-LETTER 1432(d) as 1432(b): Amend to read "The Secretary is authorized to provide directly or by grant, contract, or cooperative agreement, technical assistance and training to State education agencies on matters pertaining to the effective implementation of [section 1413(a)(3) of this title] this Act."

RATIONALE: This change would expand technical assistance under this part beyond just the comprehensive system of personnel development to include all of the IDEA, as well as education reform activities.

Sec. 1433. CLEARINGHOUSES.

ADD new sec. 1433(d)(6) and (d)(7):

"(6) Collect and disseminate information on successful practices for the recruitment, retention, and mentoring of personnel.

(7) Collect and disseminate successful practices for support to first-year teachers and for teachers reentering the profession."

RATIONALE: These additions are particularly crucial for a system faced with large shortages. States should have the benefit of knowing what works in other places regarding recruitment and retention of staff. In addition, the literature shows that new teachers and those reentering the field are considered "at risk" and leave the profession in higher numbers unless they are given adequate support.

Sec. 1434. REPORTS TO THE SECRETARY.

1434(a)(1) and (a)(2): Delete "category" and insert "kind." After "kind of training" insert "(special education, general education, related services, and other.)"

RATIONALE: These changes move the focus of reporting from a disability category orientation to a focus on training individuals who can provide a broad range of support services, depending on the individual needs of the student.

Sec. 1441. RESEARCH AND DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS IN EDUCATION OF [HANDICAPPED] CHILDREN AND YOUTH WITH DISABILITIES.

1441(b): Amend to read "In carrying out subsection (a) of this section, the Secretary shall consider the special education, related services, or early intervention and research experience of applicants [.] to identified children and youth with disabilities in general education or community environments."

RATIONALE: Applicants should be conversant with and have experience in dealing with children and youth with disabilities in the broad range of settings. As more students are integrated into general education, the focus should move to advancing the knowledge base on how best to serve students in that setting.

AMENDMENTS TO OTHER ACTS

Improving America's Schools Act of 1994:

Sec. 1114(a)(4)(A): DELETE the parenthetical phrase -- "other than formula or discretionary grant programs under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act."

RATIONALE: This deletion would allow local school districts, at their discretion, to use IDEA funds in schools participating in schoolwide programs. Research shows that students with mild to moderate learning disabilities often benefit from and learn best under similar conditions as those students who most often receive help under schoolwide programs. This flexible use of funds would benefit both populations.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. Advocate for full funding of the IDEA.
2. All references in the Act to "regular education" should be changed to read "general education."
3. Change references to "child(ren)" to "child(ren) and youth."
4. Delete references to "disability category" throughout the Act.
5. All references to "0-2" should read "birth-2."
6. Where reference is made in the IDEA to provisions of other federal acts, comparable language should be included in those acts cross-referencing the IDEA.
7. The triennial reevaluation should be reexamined during the regulatory process. Regulations should reflect that the triennial reevaluation should not be a repetition of the eligibility process. Such repetitive testing should not be undertaken unless specifically requested by parents or teachers. Instead, a more thorough evaluation should be conducted at natural transition points in the educational process.
8. The protection and advocacy system (P & A) should be redesigned and moved to one independent act.
 - a. The mandate should extend beyond advocacy for individuals with developmental disabilities;
 - b. Funding should be centralized into this protection and advocacy act;
 - c. P & A should not be eligible for attorneys' fees; and,
 - d. P & A should report regarding the poor and culturally diverse families they serve.

***Success For All:
Longitudinal Effects of Systemic School-By-School
Reform in Seven Districts***

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This is an extraordinary time in the history of American education. Never has the demand for fundamental reform been as widespread or as compelling. Never have national, state, and local education policy makers been as united in a commitment to remake the schools. Few would disagree that schools must change, and that change must be “systemic,” which means broad, thoroughgoing, and ambitious. However, there is great diversity in ideas about how systemic change should take place.

One question on which there is sharp disagreements among reformers is whether it is possible to systemically reform schools school by school, teacher by teacher. Many believe that this is the only way to bring about serious change; this is the basis, for example of the school reform networks led by James Comer (1988), TheodoreSizer (1984), Henry Levin (1987), and others, and it is the premise on which the New American Schools Development Corporation and the new Annenberg Institute at Brown University are founded. Each of these groups begins with the idea that the school is the unit of change, and that what is needed to fundamentally reform American schools is better methods backed up by networks of schools, technical assistance, and professional development.

The contrary point of view, in its extreme form, holds that school-by-school change on a broad scale is futile. Advocates of this view point out with some justification that there are few examples of school-by-school reforms that have been fully implemented in more than a few dozen schools. Systemic school reformers of this persuasion typically emphasize such governmental solutions as new standards, assessments, accountability systems, curriculum frameworks, choice, charter schools, opportunity to learn standards, and the like (Smith & O’Day, 1991). All of these can be legislated from Washington or from state capitals, and therefore affect hundreds or thousands of schools at once.

These two positions rarely exist as polar opposites; school-by-school systemic reformers certainly acknowledge that legislation can help (or hinder) their efforts, while those who believe that systemic governmental solutions are more likely to succeed would acknowledge that professional development and school-by-school change must be part of an overall reform

strategy. Yet in practice state and national reforms in recent years have focused far more on changing of rules than on changing of schools. For example, despite recommendations from several commissions and other influential groups to dedicate far more Chapter 1/Title I funding to professional development and R &D, the Clinton administration did not propose such a policy and the final bill focuses far more on changing the rules and accountability mechanisms of the program than on investing in the skills of the teachers and administrators who actually work with children. The administration's Goals 2000 bill similarly focuses on standards and assessments. One of the new standards added to Goals 2000 late in its evolution relates to improving professional development for teachers, but these words are not backed up by important new funds or other support.

If the concept of systemic school-by-school change is ever to prevail at the policy level, we must have convincing demonstrations of situations in which school change models are shown to be effective and are then shown to be replicable on a broad scale and effective in sites beyond the initial pilot sites. One program that is well advanced in providing such a demonstration is Success for All, a comprehensive reform program for elementary schools serving many disadvantaged students. Earlier evaluations of Success for All have shown it to be consistently effective in increasing reading achievement and reducing special education placements and retention rates in many schools beyond its pilot sites (Madden et al., 1993; Slavin et al., 1992, 1994). By September, 1994, Success for All will be fully in place or just starting in about 140 schools in 56 districts in 20 states throughout the U.S. It currently exists in large cities and tiny towns, on an Indian reservation and in Spanish bilingual programs, in a wide variety of local circumstances. Clearly, Success for All has shown that it can be effective, can be replicated, and is still effective in its replication sites. Other programs, such as Reading Recovery (Pinnell, 1989), have made similar demonstrations of the possibility of building networks to support effective methodologies and then showing that replication sites are also effective (Bryk et al., 1994).

The present paper adds a important dimension to the research on Success for All. In a program of prevention and early intervention such as Success for All, longitudinal assessments are essential. Success for All invests in tutors and other early interventions to see that students do not fall behind in the early grades. If the program did not maintain and build on gains made in the early grades, it would be of little value. Yet the longitudinal effects of Success for All have only recently begun to be studied outside of Baltimore.

In order to seriously confront the question of whether research-based school reform programs can be replicated on a broad scale without losing their effectiveness, a large body of data over an extended time period in diverse settings is needed. The purpose of this paper is to present data from the seven districts being studied intensively over time as of Spring, 1993. This is the first assessment in which multi-year cohorts were followed in schools beyond the pilot schools; the first in which students who began the program in first grade had reached the end of the elementary grades; the first in which the Spanish bilingual version of the program could be evaluated; and the first in which the effects of Success for All could be compared to those of another effective and widely used early intervention program, Reading Recovery. This paper summarizes findings from these and other longitudinal evaluations.

Success for All: Program Elements*

Basic Principles

Our basic approach to designing a program to ensure success for all children begins with two essential principles: *Prevention* and *immediate, intensive intervention*. That is, learning problems must first be prevented by providing children with the best available classroom programs and by engaging their parents in support of their school success. When learning problems do appear, corrective interventions must be immediate, intensive, and minimally disruptive to students' progress in the regular program. That is, students receive help early on, when their problems are small. This help is intensive and effective enough to catch students up with their classmates so that they can profit from their regular classroom instruction. Instead of letting students fall further and further behind until they need special or remedial education or are retained in grade, students in Success for All are given whatever help they need to keep up in the basic skills. The elements of Success for All are described below (see Slavin, Madden, Karweit, Dolan, & Wasik, 1992, for more detail).

Reading Tutors

One of the most important elements of the Success for All model is the use of tutors to support students' success in reading. One-to-one tutoring is the most effective form of instruction known (see Wasik & Slavin, 1993a). The tutors are certified teachers with experience teaching Chapter 1, special education, and/or primary reading. Tutors work one-on-one with students who are having difficulties keeping up with their reading groups. Students are taken from their homeroom classes by the tutors for 20-minute sessions during times other than reading or math periods. In general, tutors support students' success in the regular reading curriculum, rather than teaching different objectives. For example, if the regular reading teacher is working on stories with long vowels or is teaching comprehension monitoring strategies, so does the tutor.

* Adapted from Slavin et al., 1992

However, tutors seek to identify learning deficits and use different strategies to teach the same skills.

During daily 90-minute reading periods, tutors serve as additional reading teachers to reduce class size for reading. Information on students' specific deficits and needs pass between reading teachers and tutors on brief forms, and reading teachers and tutors are given regular times to meet to coordinate their approaches with individual children.

Initial decisions about reading group placement and need for tutoring are made based on informal reading inventories given to each child by the tutors. After this, reading group placements and tutoring assignments are made based on eight-week assessments, which include teacher judgments as well as more formal assessments. First graders receive first priority for tutoring, on the assumption that the primary function of the tutors is to help all students be successful in reading the first time, before they become remedial readers.

Reading Program

Students in grades 1-3 are regrouped for reading. That is, students are assigned to heterogeneous, age-grouped classes with class sizes of about 25 most of the day, but during a regular 90-minute reading period they are regrouped according to reading performance levels into reading classes of 15 students all at the same level. For example, a 2-1 (second grade, first semester) reading class might contain first, second, and third grade students all reading at the same level.

Regrouping allows teachers to teach the whole reading class without having to break the class into reading groups. This greatly reduces the time needed for seatwork and increases direct instruction time. We do not expect reduction in class size to increase reading achievement by itself (see Slavin, in press), but it does ensure that every reading class will be at only one reading level, eliminating workbooks, dittos, or other follow-up activities which are needed in classes with multiple reading groups. The regrouping is a form of the Joplin Plan, which has been found to increase reading achievement in the elementary grades (Slavin, 1987).

The reading program itself has been designed to take full advantage of having 90 minutes of direct instruction. The reading program emphasizes development of basic language skills and sound and letter recognition skills in kindergarten, and uses an approach based on sound blending and phonics starting in first grade (although kindergarten students who show readiness are accelerated into the first grade program if the school chooses). Students in pre-K, kindergarten, and first grade experience the Peabody Language Development Kits to help them build language concepts essential to later reading success. The K-1 reading program uses a series of “shared stories,” in which part of the story is written in small type and read by the teachers, while part is written in large type and read by students. The student portion uses a phonetically controlled vocabulary. The program emphasizes oral reading to partners as well as to the teacher, instruction in story structure and specific comprehension skills, and integration of reading and writing. When they reach the primer reading level, students use a form of Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition (CIRC) with novels or basals. CIRC uses cooperative learning activities built around story structure, prediction, summarization, vocabulary building, decoding practice, writing, and direct instruction in reading comprehension skills. Research on CIRC has found it to significantly increase students' reading comprehension and language skills (Stevens, Madden, Slavin, & Farnish, 1987).

Eight-Week Reading Assessments

Every eight weeks, reading teachers assess student progress through the reading program. The results of the assessments are used to determine who is to receive tutoring, to suggest other adaptations in students' programs, and to identify students who need other types of assistance, such as family interventions or vision/hearing screening.

Preschool and Kindergarten

Most Success for All schools provide a half-day preschool and/or a full-day kindergarten for all eligible students. The preschool and kindergarten provide a balanced and developmentally

appropriate learning experience for young children. The curriculum emphasizes the development and use of language. It provides a balance of academic readiness and non-academic music, art, and movement activities. Readiness activities include use of integrated thematic units, Peabody Language Development Kits, and a program called Story Telling and Retelling (STaR) in which students retell stories read by the teachers.

Family Support Team

A Family Support Team consisting of any social workers, parent liaisons, counselors, and others who work in the school provides parenting education and works to involve parents in support of their children's success in school. Also, family support staff are called on to provide assistance when there are indications that students are not working up to their full potential because of problems at home. For example, families of students who are not receiving adequate sleep or nutrition, need glasses, are not attending school regularly, or are exhibiting serious behavior problems receive family support assistance. Links with appropriate community service agencies are made to provide as much focused service as possible for parents and children.

Program Facilitator

A program facilitator works at the school full time to oversee (with the principal) the operation of the Success for All model. The facilitator helps plan the Success for All program, helps the principal with scheduling, and visits classes and tutoring sessions frequently to help teachers and tutors with individual problems. The program facilitator may work with individual children having particular difficulties to find successful strategies for teaching them, and then return the children to the tutors or teachers. He or she helps teachers and tutors deal with any behavior problems or other special problems, and coordinates the activities of the Family Support Team with those of the instructional staff.

Teachers and Staff Development

The teachers and tutors are regular teachers. They receive detailed teacher's manuals supplemented by two days of inservice at the beginning of the school year and several inservice sessions throughout the year on such topics as classroom management, instructional pace, and implementation of the curriculum.

Special Education

Every effort is made to deal with students' learning problems within the context of the regular classroom, as supplemented by tutors. Special education resource services are still provided for students assigned to special education in previous years, but no new assignments to resource services are being made for reading problems, on the assumption that tutoring services available to all students will be more appropriate. Self-contained services for seriously handicapped students are maintained for students whose needs cannot be met in the regular class.

Advisory Committee

An advisory committee composed of the building principal, facilitator, teachers, and parent representatives meet regularly to review the progress of the program and to identify and solve any problems that arise.

The Success for All program was designed in a collaboration between our group at Johns Hopkins and the Baltimore City Public Schools, and piloted in one school in the 1987-88 school year. Since then Success for All has expanded within Baltimore and, as noted earlier, is currently being implemented in a total of 140 schools in 56 school districts in 20 states from coast to coast. From the outset, the program has emphasized rigorous evaluation of the program in comparison to matched local control schools, emphasizing use of individually administered tests of reading. Due to funding limitations, not all Success for All schools are being assessed in this way, but we currently have high-quality assessment data from 18 Success for All and 17

matched comparison schools in seven districts in seven states, a remarkable body of evidence for an innovative program. Three of the districts were evaluated by Johns Hopkins staff, and four (using identical measures and procedures) by an independent evaluation group at Memphis State University. This paper summarizes the findings from these seven districts.

Evaluation Design

A common evaluation design, with variations due to local circumstances, has been used in all Success for All evaluations. Every Success for All school involved in a formal evaluation is matched with a control school that is similar in poverty level (percent of students qualifying for free lunch), historical achievement level, ethnicity, and other factors. Children in the Success for All schools are then matched on district-administered standardized test scores given in kindergarten or (starting in 1991 in four districts) on Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) scores given by the project in the fall of kindergarten or first grade. In some cases, analyses of covariance rather than individual child matches were used, and at Key School in Philadelphia schools were matched but individual children could not be (because the school serves many limited English proficient students who were not tested by the district in kindergarten).

The measures used in the 1993 evaluations were as follows:

1. **Woodcock Reading Mastery Test.** Three Woodcock scales, Word Identification, Word Attack, and Passage Comprehension, were individually administered to students by trained testers. Word Identification assesses recognition of common sight words, Word Attack assesses phonetic synthesis skills, and Passage Comprehension assesses comprehension in context. In one Philadelphia school (Fairhill) its controls school students in a Spanish bilingual program were given the Spanish versions of these scales.

2. Durrell Analysis of Reading Difficulty. The Durrell Oral Reading scale was also individually administered. It presents a series of graded reading passages which students read aloud, followed by comprehension questions.

Except at Key and Fairhill, analyses of covariance with pretests as covariates were used to compare raw scores in all evaluations, and separate analyses were conducted for students in general and for students in the lowest 25% of their grades. At Key, analyses of variance were used and results were reported separately for Asian (mostly Cambodian) students and for non-Asian students.

The figures presented in this paper summarize student performance in grade equivalents (adjusted for covariates) and effect size (proportion of a standard deviation separating the experimental and control groups), averaging across individual measures. Neither grade equivalents nor averaged scores were used in the analyses, but they are presented here as a useful summary. The figures show the outcomes for all students in the Success for All and control schools, and also those for the students in the lowest 25% of their grades, who are most at risk. In most cases the low 25% was determined based on Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test scores given as pretests. In Baltimore and Charleston, South Carolina, however, Peabody pretests were not given and low 25% analyses involve the lowest-performing students at posttest. At Philadelphia's Key School, outcomes are shown separately for Asian and non-Asian students.

Each of the evaluations summarized in this paper follows children who began in Success for All in first grade or earlier, in comparison to children who had attended the control school over the same period. Because Success for All is a prevention and early intervention program, students who start in it after first grade are not considered to have received the full treatment (although they are of course served within the schools). For more details on methods and findings, see Slavin et al. (1992) and the full site reports listed for each evaluation.

Baltimore

Baltimore was the original home of Success for All and is the district with the longest longitudinal data base and the largest number of schools being evaluated. As of spring, 1993, the original pilot school had implemented the program for six years and four additional schools had done so for five years. All schools are almost entirely African-American, and range from 75% to 96% in poverty (free lunch eligibility). Outcomes (in mean grade equivalents and effect sizes) are summarized in Figure 1.

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Figure 1 Here

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Students in Success for All schools scored significantly higher than students in matched comparison schools on every individually administered reading measure at every grade level, 1-5. As shown in Figure 1, effect sizes at every grade level except second grade were around +.50; second grade effect sizes were somewhat lower, at +.37. Constant effect sizes over the grades require growing raw or grade equivalent differences (because standard deviations increase). The grade equivalent difference was more than three months in first grade, and increased to seven months in third grade and a full year in fifth grade.

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Figure 2 Here

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Figure 2 shows outcomes for the lowest achievers. Because of the lack of an individually administered pretest, low achievers were defined by their posttest scores. Effects for the lowest achievers significantly favored Success for All students on every measure at every grade level, 1-5. As has been true in nearly every evaluation of Success for All, effect sizes are much higher for the lowest achievers than for students in general. Success for All low achievers performed

better than control low achievers by an average of about a full standard deviation at all grade levels. This means that Success for All not only increases overall achievement, but also moves the lowest achievers more rapidly toward the mean. This is not surprising given that these students were most likely to receive tutoring, family support services, and other interventions designed to ensure that all students reach an adequate level of performance.

In addition to the individually administered reading measures, we analyzed data on two standardized tests given by the district. One was the Maryland Program Performance Assessment Program (MSPAP), a criterion-referenced performance assessment used for state accountability purposes. The MSPAP is given to third and fifth graders in Maryland, but in 1993 the third grade tests were declared invalid. The fifth grade results are summarized in Figure 3.

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Figure 3 Here

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The MSPAP is scored from 1 (high) to 5 (low). Scores in the entire state on this new and different test were very low, especially in the high poverty schools such as those involved in Success for All. However, as is clear from Figure 3, the number of scores above the lowest category were significantly higher in Success for All than in control schools in reading, science, and social studies. In math, the one school piloting the new MathWings program we are developing for use in Success for All schools scored substantially better on the MSPAP than did control schools. These differences understate the true effect of Success for All. The number of students who were counted as absent or excused (mostly due to special education placement) was much lower in Success for All than in control schools, and the number of children retained was much lower. Assuming that absent, excused, and retained students are lower achievers than other students, the control schools were excluding many more low achievers and therefore look better than they actually were.

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Figure 4 Here

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The second set of standardized tests given in Baltimore was the norm-referenced Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS). Figure 4 summarizes the effects of Success for All on four CTBS reading/language scales: total language, reading vocabulary, reading comprehension, and total reading. The effects were more inconsistent than for the MSPAP or individually administered measures. While every comparison at every grade level favored the Success for All schools, not all differences on all measures were statistically significant. By fifth grade, Success for All students averaged 75% of a grade equivalent higher than control students.

Evaluations of Success for All in Baltimore have also found positive effects on attendance. Retentions have been reduced from an average of 11% in grades K-3 to near zero. Avoiding retentions is a policy of Success for All rather than an outcome, but it is important in showing that inner-city schools can get along without retaining such large numbers of students.

For more on the Baltimore evaluations see Slavin et al., 1992, 1994; Madden et al., 1993.

Philadelphia

Philadelphia was the first school district outside Baltimore to implement Success for All. Frances Scott Key Elementary school, which serves a population that is majority Southeast Asian (mostly Cambodian), has been implementing the program since 1988. In 1991, three additional schools began to implement Success for All. These are all very high poverty schools (nearly 100% of students qualify for free lunch) serving African American student bodies. Spanish-dominant limited English proficient students from another school, Fairhill Elementary, were added to the study in 1992. This school has a Latino majority, and uses a Spanish version of the Success for All Beginning Reading program called *Lee Conmigo* ("Read With Me").

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Figure 5 summarizes outcomes for the five Philadelphia schools taken together. Overall, students in the Success for All schools are reading substantially better than students in the control schools. Success for All schools averaged above grade level in all grades except five, and scored about two months ahead of control students in first grade, four months in second grade, and approximately a full year ahead in grades 3-5. Effects were particularly strong for low achievers, for Asian students at Key School, and for limited English proficient Latino students at Fairhill (on Spanish reading assessments). More data on the Key and Fairhill evaluations appear in a later section on language minority students. For more on the Philadelphia evaluations, see Slavin & Madden (1994), Slavin (1993), and Slavin & Yampolsky (1991).

Charleston, South Carolina

Pepperhill Elementary School in Charleston, South Carolina began to implement Success for All in the 1990-91 school year. Pepperhill is the only Success for All school being evaluated that is not a Chapter 1 school. Despite a poverty rate much higher than the national average (40% of students qualify for free lunch and 60% are African-American), Pepperhill does not qualify for Chapter 1 funding within the Charleston district. It does receive limited state compensatory education monies under the South Carolina Educational Improvement Act (EIA) that pay for the program's cost. However, because it is not a Chapter 1 school it has fewer funds to implement Success for All than do other program schools. As a result, Pepperhill is the only school being evaluated that uses paraprofessionals rather than certified teachers as tutors. The paraprofessionals are of high quality; one is certified to teach in another state, and another has a four-year degree. All received significantly more training than that usually given to tutors. Pepperhill provides us with an opportunity to evaluate Success for All in a school that has fewer resources and a relatively less needy population.

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Figure 6 Here

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The outcomes for first grades at Pepperhill are summarized in Figure 6. They show a substantial positive effect of the program on student achievement. This school has the highest mean reading levels of any Success for All school. First graders scored well above grade level ($GE=2.46$), two months ahead of their control group ($ES=+.20$). Second graders scored almost a year above grade level ($GE=3.79$) and eight months ahead of their control group ($ES=+.67$), and third graders averaged 6.5 months ahead of their control counterparts ($ES=+.30$). Effect sizes were even larger for students in the lowest 25% of their grades, averaging $+.74$ for first graders, $+2.65$ for second graders, and $+.99$ for third graders. For more on this evaluation, see Wasik & Slavin, 1993b.

The evaluations of Success for All in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Charleston, South Carolina are being conducted by our group at Johns Hopkins. Several additional evaluations are being conducted by an independent evaluation team at the University of Memphis (formerly Memphis State) led by Steven Ross and Lana Smith. These include evaluations in Memphis, Fort Wayne, Indiana, Montgomery, Alabama, and Caldwell, Idaho.

Memphis

In 1990, the University of Memphis and the Memphis City Public Schools collaborated to implement and evaluate Success for All at Florida Elementary School, a very high-poverty school (nearly 100% free lunch) in inner-city Memphis serving an African-American student body.

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Figure 7 summarizes the 1993 outcomes of Success for All at Florida Elementary School (matched with control students based on kindergarten PPVT scores). First graders at Florida were performing well above grade level (2.1), three months ahead of their matched controls (ES = +.38). Effects in second grade were substantial for students in general (ES = +.51), and even stronger for low achievers, who exceeded control low achievers by almost nine months (ES = +2.66).

In addition to the main achievement analyses, Ross and Smith (1993) also analyzed standardized Tennessee Comprehensive Assessment Program (TCAP) scores for matched first and second graders in the Success for All and control schools. They found positive effects in both grades on the TCAP Reading Comprehension scale (ES = +.20 for first grade, +.23 for second), but no differences in reading vocabulary or total reading.

A new superintendent in Memphis has expressed a commitment to expand Success for All. Four more schools were added in the 1993-94 school year, and five are expected to begin in September, 1994. For more on the Memphis implementation and evaluation, see Ross & Smith, 1993.

Ft. Wayne, Indiana

Success for All was introduced to two schools in Ft. Wayne, Indiana as part of the district's response to a court order to desegregate its schools. The district created several magnet schools, but schools with many African-American students who were left out of the magnet school plan were given additional funds to improve their students' achievement. These funds were combined with Chapter 1 dollars to fund the Success for All implementations.

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The outcomes at the two Ft. Wayne Success for All schools are shown in Figure 8. First graders scored well above grade level ($GE=2.35$) and three months ahead of their control group ($ES=+.51$). Second graders were also above grade level ($GE=2.96$), and were four months ahead of their controls ($ES=+.44$). Students in the lowest 25% of their cohorts on pretests showed particularly large gains, averaging effect sizes of $+.79$ in both first and second grades. In addition, a teacher survey found strong positive attitudes toward the program; 100% of teachers agreed that the program should be continued.

For more on the Ft. Wayne evaluation, see Smith & Ross, 1993.

Montgomery, Alabama

Success for All was introduced to two schools in Montgomery, Alabama in the 1990-91 school year. These are both schools in which nearly 100% of students qualify for free lunch and all are African-American. A new cohort of kindergartners was pretested on the PPVT in fall of 1991, and these students were then assessed at the end of first grade in spring, 1993.

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The results across the two Montgomery schools are summarized in Figure 9. Both schools had among the highest effect sizes for any first grade evaluation, averaging $+1.32$. In grade equivalent terms, Success for All students were performing more than five months ahead of their control counterparts. Among the lowest 25%, control students were not reading at all, while Success for All students averaged a grade equivalent of 1.46 ($ES = +2.86$).

For more on this evaluation, see Ross, Smith, Bond, Casey, & Johnson, 1993.

Comparing Success for All and Reading Recovery

Reading Recovery is one of the most extensively researched and widely used innovations in elementary education. Like Success for All, Reading Recovery provides one-to-one tutoring to first graders who are struggling in reading. Research on Reading Recovery has found substantial positive effects of the program as of the end of first grade, and longitudinal studies have found that some portion of these effects maintain at least through first grade (DeFord, Pinnell, Lyons & Young, 1988; Pinnell, Lyons, DeFord, Bryk, & Seltzer, 1991).

Schools and districts attracted to Success for All are also often attracted to Reading Recovery, as the two programs share an emphasis on early intervention and a strong research base. Increasing numbers of districts have both programs in operation in different schools. One of the districts in the Success for All evaluation, Caldwell, Idaho, happened to be one of these. Ross, Smith, Casey, & Slavin (in press) used this opportunity to compare the two programs.

Reading Recovery tutoring is similar to that used in Success for All in that it is done by certified teachers and in that it emphasizes “learning to read by reading” and direct teaching of metacognitive skills. However, it is also different in many important ways. Reading Recovery tutors receive substantially more training than do Success for All tutors. Reading Recovery tutoring sessions are longer than those used in Success for All (30 vs. 20 minutes). Success for All places a great deal of emphasis on a linkage between tutoring and classroom reading instruction; tutors usually use the same books as those used in the reading class and emphasize the same objectives. Tutors in Success for All teach a reading class, so it is easy for them to maintain a consistency of approach. Reading Recovery does not emphasize coordination between tutoring and classroom instruction to this degree largely because the nature and quality of classroom reading instruction is not the central concern of the Reading Recovery program. However, many schools using Reading Recovery do provide classroom reading teachers with professional development to help them create supportive classroom environments that reinforce the strategies used in tutoring.

In Caldwell, two schools are using Success for All and one is using Reading Recovery. All three are very similar rural schools with similar ethnic makeups (10-25% Hispanic, with the remainder Anglo), proportions of students qualifying for free lunch (45-60%), and sizes (411-451). The Success for All schools were somewhat higher than the Reading Recovery school in poverty and percent Hispanic. In 1992-93, one of the Success for All schools was in its second year of implementation and the other was a new school that was in its first year (but had moved a principal and some experienced staff reassigned from the first school). Reading Recovery was in its second year of implementation.

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Figure 10 Here
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The study compared first graders in the three schools. Figure 10 summarizes the results. As is clear from the figure, students in the Success for All schools performed somewhat better than students in Reading Recovery school overall ($ES=+.17$). Differences for special education students were substantial, averaging an effect size of $+.91$. Special education students were not tutored in the Reading Recovery school and were primarily taught in a separate resource room. These students scored near the floor on all tests. In contrast, Success for All special education students were fully mainstreamed and did receive tutoring, and their reading scores, though still low, showed them on the way toward success in reading.

Excluding the special education students, there were no differences in reading performance between tutored students in the Success for All and Reading Recovery schools ($ES=.00$). In light of earlier research, these outcomes suggest that both tutoring programs are highly effective for at-risk first graders.

The comparison of Success for All and Reading Recovery supports a common-sense conclusion. Success for All, which affects all students, has positive effects on all students. Reading Recovery focuses on tutoring and therefore produces its effects on tutored students. These results suggest that Success for All may be most appropriate in schools serving many at-

risk students, while Reading Recovery may be the better choice when the number of students at risk of reading failure is small. The results may also justify a merger of the two programs, combining the breadth and comprehensiveness of Success for All with the outstanding professional development for tutors provided by Reading Recovery.

For more on this study, see Ross et al. (in press).

Success for All and Special Education

Perhaps the most important goal of Success for All is to place a floor under the reading achievement of all children, to ensure that every child performs adequately in this critical skill. This goal has major implications for special education. If the program makes a substantial difference in the reading achievement of the lowest achievers, then it should reduce special education referrals and placements. Further, students who have IEP's indicating learning disabilities or related problems are typically treated the same as other students in Success for All. That is, they receive tutoring if they need it, participate in reading classes appropriate to their reading levels, and spend the rest of the day in age-appropriate, heterogeneous homerooms. Their tutor and/or reading teacher is likely to be a special education teacher, but otherwise they are not treated differently. One-to-one tutoring in reading, plus high-quality reading instruction in the mainstream at the student's appropriate level, should be more effective than the small-group instruction provided in special education classes. For this reason we expect that students who have been identified as being in need of special education services will perform substantially better than similar students in traditional special education programs.

The philosophy behind the treatment of special education issues in Success for All is called "neverstreaming" (Slavin et al., 1991). That is, rather than waiting until students fall far behind, are assigned to special education, and then may be mainstreamed into regular classes, Success for All schools intervene early and intensively with students who are at risk to try to keep them out of the special education system. Once students are far behind special education services are unlikely to catch them up to age-appropriate levels of performance. Students who

have already failed in reading are likely to have an overlay of anxiety, poor motivation, poor behavior, low self-esteem, and ineffective learning strategies that are likely to interfere with learning no matter how good special education services may be. Ensuring that all students succeed in the first place is a far better strategy if it can be accomplished. In Success for All, the provision of research-based preschool, kindergarten, and first grade reading, one-to-one tutoring, and family support services are likely to give the most at-risk students a good chance of developing enough reading skills to remain out of special education, or to perform better in special education than would have otherwise been the case.

The data relating to special education outcomes clearly support these expectations. Several studies have focused on questions related to special education. One of the most important outcomes in this area is the consistent finding of particularly large effects of Success for All for students in the lowest 25% of their classes. While effect sizes for students in general have averaged around + 0.50 on individually administered reading measures, effect sizes for the lowest achievers have averaged in the range of +1.00 to +1.50 across the grades. Across five Baltimore schools only 2.2% of third graders averaged two years behind grade level, a usual criterion for special education placement. In contrast, 8.8% of control third graders scored this poorly. Baltimore data have also shown a reduction in special education placements for learning disabilities of about half (Slavin et al., 1992). A recent study of two Success for All schools in Ft. Wayne, Indiana found that over a two year period 3.2% of Success for All students in grades K-1 and 1-2 were referred to special education for learning disabilities or mild mental handicaps. In contrast, 14.3% of control students were referred in these categories (Smith, Ross, & Casey, 1994).

Taken together, these findings support the conclusion that Success for All both reduces the need for special education services (by raising the reading achievement of very low achievers) and actually reduces special education referrals and placements.

Another important question concerns the effects of the program on students who have already been assigned to special education. Here again, there is evidence from different sources.

In the study comparing Reading Recovery and Success for All described above, it so happened that first graders in special education the Reading Recovery group were not tutored, but instead received traditional special education services in resource rooms. In the Success for All schools, first graders who had been assigned to special education were tutored one-to-one (by their special education teachers) and otherwise participated in the program in the same way as all other students. As noted earlier (recall Figure 10), special education students in Success for All were reading substantially better ($ES=+.77$) than special education students in the comparison school (Ross et al., in press). In addition, Smith et al. (1994) combined first grade reading data from special education students in Success for All and control schools in four districts: Memphis, Ft. Wayne (IN), Montgomery (AL), and Caldwell (ID). Success for All special education students scored substantially better than controls (mean $ES=+.59$).

Success for All and Language Minority Students

One of the fastest-growing segments of the U.S. school-age population is children from home in which languages other than English are spoken (GAO, 1994). A program designed to ensure Success for All must be sensitive to the special needs and circumstances of these children.

Success for All has two basic approaches to meeting the needs of limited English proficient students. The preferred approach is a bilingual program, *Lee Conmigo* ("Read With Me"), that provides reading instruction in Spanish until students are ready to transition to English. However, *Lee Conmigo* can only be used in schools with Spanish bilingual programs. In schools where all instruction is in English, Success for All is adapted to incorporate instruction in English as a second language (ESL).

The first evaluation of *Lee Conmigo* was conducted in Philadelphia in the 1992-93 school year. This evaluation compared Spanish-dominant students in the Success for All bilingual program to similar students in another school that also has a bilingual program. The students were pretested on the Spanish PPVT and posttested on scales from the Spanish Woodcock. Results are summarized in Figure 11.

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Figure 11 Here

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As is clear in Figure 11, first graders in *Lee Connigo* scored substantially better than control students on the Spanish Woodcock ($ES=+.55$). The Success for All students scored at grade level, while control students were barely reading (Slavin & Madden, 1994). This study is continuing, and additional evaluations of *Lee Connigo* in Modesto and Riverside, California are under way.

A long-term evaluation of Success for All with limited English proficient Cambodian students has also been conducted in Philadelphia at Francis Scott Key Elementary School. At Key, Cambodian students enter the school with little or no English. The program integrates ESL with classroom reading instruction by having ESL teachers serve as reading teachers and tutors by providing cross-age tutoring from bilingual fifth graders to LEP kindergartners, and by maintaining consistency of materials and methods between the ESL and classroom instructional approaches. Key has been compared to a control school that also has many Cambodian students. The results are summarized in Figure 12.

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Figure 12 Here

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As is clear in Figure 12, Asian students at Key consistently and substantially exceeded their counterparts in the control school on reading measures at every grade level. The difference averaged approximately 3½ months in first grade ($ES=+.47$), increasing to more than a year in second grade ($ES=+1.73$), and third grade ($ES=+1.20$), and almost two years in fourth grade ($ES=+.99$). Fifth graders, who started in the program in first grade, scored a year ahead of their controls ($ES=+.38$). Asian students at Key scored above grade level at every grade, while their control group was far below grade level. These results, in line with the substantial effects found for *Lee Connigo* at Fairhill, show that Success for All can have particularly dramatic effects on the reading achievement of students who begin school with limited English proficiency. For

these students, the focus of Success for All curricula on cooperative learning and on language development and use contributes to outstanding gains for students who must become proficient in two languages to succeed in school.

Combined Outcomes Across All Sites and Years

Slavin and Madden (1993) introduced a method for combining the outcomes of experimental-control comparisons over many replications and over time. This technique, called a multi-site replicated experiment, considers each successive cohort and each pair of schools (experimental and control) a replication. For example, across the 16 Success for All schools we have studied,* 50 cohorts of first grades have experienced the program and have been assessed on individually administered reading measures. Thirty-three second-grade cohorts, twenty third-grade cohorts, and six fourth and fifth grade cohorts have been in the program since first grade. This pooling procedure, a minor variation on meta-analysis commonly used in medical research, allows us to build up an adequate sample over time to do school-level analyses of program effects.

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Figure 13 Here

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Figure 13 shows the mean grade equivalents and effect sizes for all sixteen Success for All schools in comparison to their control schools. Effect sizes averaged about half a standard deviation each year, meaning that the average Success for All child is performing better than 70% of control students. Analyses at the school level indicate that the effect sizes are significantly different from zero at all five grade levels ($p < .001$). Because standard deviations increase each year in school, a constant effect size implies a growing difference in absolute or

* Excluding Caldwell, where the comparison group was a Reading Recovery school.

grade-equivalent terms: Success for All students exceed matched control students by about three months in first grade but almost seven months by third grade and more than a year by fifth grade.

Conclusion

The results of evaluations of 18 Success for All schools in seven states clearly show that the program increases student reading performance. In every district, Success for All students learned significantly more than matched control students. Significant effects were not seen on every measure at every grade level, but the consistent direction and magnitude of the effects show unequivocal benefits for Success for All students. Earlier years' evaluations (e.g., Slavin, Madden, Karweit, Dolan, & Wasik, 1992; Slavin & Yampolsky, 1992; Madden, Slavin, Karweit, Dolan, & Wasik, 1993) have shown that Success for All has been effective in its original districts, Baltimore and Philadelphia. This paper adds evidence that the program can be replicated far from its original home and that it can produce effects in its replication sites like those seen in its original sites. It also adds evidence showing particularly large impacts on the achievement of limited English proficient students in both bilingual and ESL programs, and on both reducing special education referrals and improving the achievement of students who have been assigned to special education. It compares the outcomes of Success for All with those of another early intervention program, Reading Recovery.

The Success for All evaluations have used reliable and valid measures, individually administered tests that are sensitive to all aspects of reading: comprehension, fluency, word attack, and word identification. Performance of Success for All students has been compared to that of matched students in matched control schools, who provide the best indication of what students without the program would have achieved. Replication of high-quality experiments in such a wide variety of schools and districts is extremely unusual.

Although the outcomes on individually administered measures have the greatest validity and scientific importance, a number of other indicators further point to the replicability and practical impact of Success for All. One indicator is standardized test scores, which have been

found to increase significantly in many districts (Slavin et al., 1994). The positive effects on state-of-the-art performance assessments found in Baltimore are particularly important as states, districts, and the federal Chapter 1 program are currently moving toward tests of this type in their accountability programs.

An important indicator of the robustness of Success for All is the fact that of the more than 80 schools that have used the program for periods of 1-6 years, only five have dropped out (in all cases because of changes of principals). Many other Success for All schools have survived changes of superintendents, principals, facilitators, and other key staff.

The importance of this research is not only in validating a particular school restructuring program. Beyond this, the research demonstrates that comprehensive, systemic school-by-school change can take place on a broad scale in a way that maintains the integrity and effectiveness of the model. The eighteen schools in seven districts that we are studying in depth are typical of the larger set of schools currently using Success for All in terms of quality of implementation, resources, demographic characteristics, and other factors. Program outcomes are not limited to the original home of the program; in fact, outcomes tend to be somewhat better outside of Baltimore. The widely held idea based on the Rand study of innovation (Berman & McLaughlin, 1978; McLaughlin, 1990) that comprehensive school reform must be invented by school staffs themselves is certainly not supported in research on Success for All. While the program is adapted to meet the needs of each school, and while school staffs must agree to implement the program by a vote of 80% or more, Success for All is an externally developed program with specific materials, manuals, and structures. The observation that this program can be implemented and maintained over considerable time periods and can be effective in each of its replication sites certainly supports the idea that every school staff need not reinvent the wheel.

There is nothing magic about Success for All. None of its components are completely new or unique. Obviously, schools serving disadvantaged students can have great success without a special program if they have an outstanding staff, and other prevention/early intervention models, such as Reading Recovery (Pinnell, 1989) and the School Development

Program (Comer, 1988) also have evidence of effectiveness with disadvantaged children. The main importance of the Success for All research is not in validating a particular model or in demonstrating that disadvantaged students can learn. Rather, its greatest importance is in demonstrating that success for disadvantaged students can be routinely ensured in schools that are not exceptional or extraordinary (and were not producing great success before the program was introduced). We cannot ensure that every school has a charismatic principal or every student has a charismatic teacher. Nevertheless, we can ensure that every child, regardless of family background, has an opportunity to succeed in school.

The demonstration that an effective program can be replicated and can be effective in its replication sites removes one more excuse for the continuing low achievement of disadvantaged children. In order to ensure the success of disadvantaged students we must have the political commitment to do so, with the funds and policies to back up this commitment. Success for All does require a serious commitment to restructure elementary schools and to reconfigure uses of Chapter 1, special education, and other funds to emphasize prevention and early intervention rather than remediation. These and other systemic changes in assessments, accountability, standards, and legislation can facilitate the implementation of Success for All and other school reform programs. However, we must also have methods known not only to be effective in their original sites, but also to be replicable and effective in other sites. The evaluations presented in this paper provide a practical demonstration of the effectiveness and replicability of one such program.

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Figure 1
Baltimore: Success For All Outcomes, 1993
Mean Grade Equivalents and Effect Sizes,
Individually Administered Reading Tests

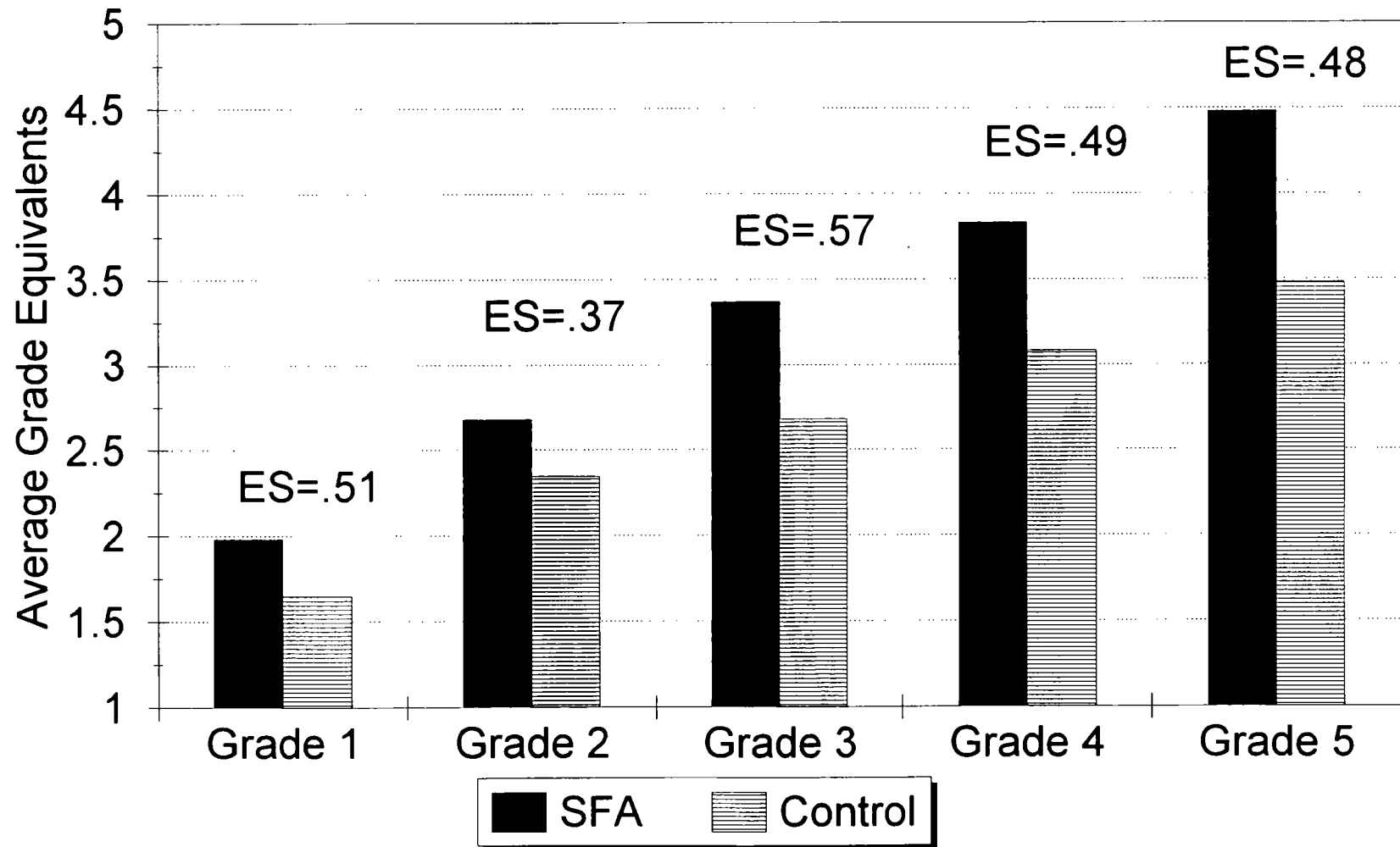


Figure 2
Baltimore: Success For All Outcomes, 1993
Mean Grade Equivalents and Effect Sizes,
Individually Administered Reading Tests
Students in the Lowest 25% of Their Grades

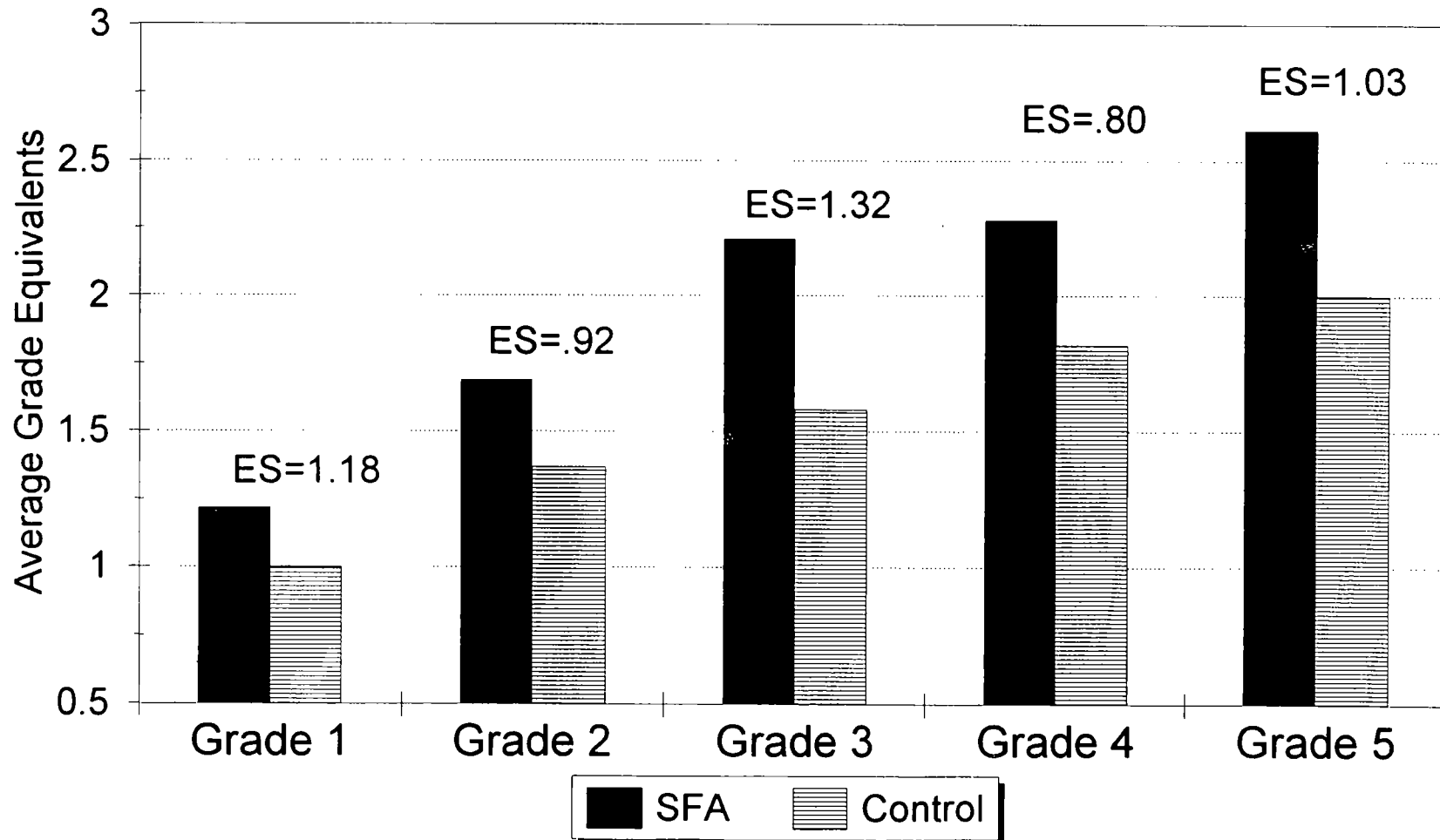


Figure 3
Baltimore: Success For All Outcomes, 1993
Maryland School Performance Assessment Program

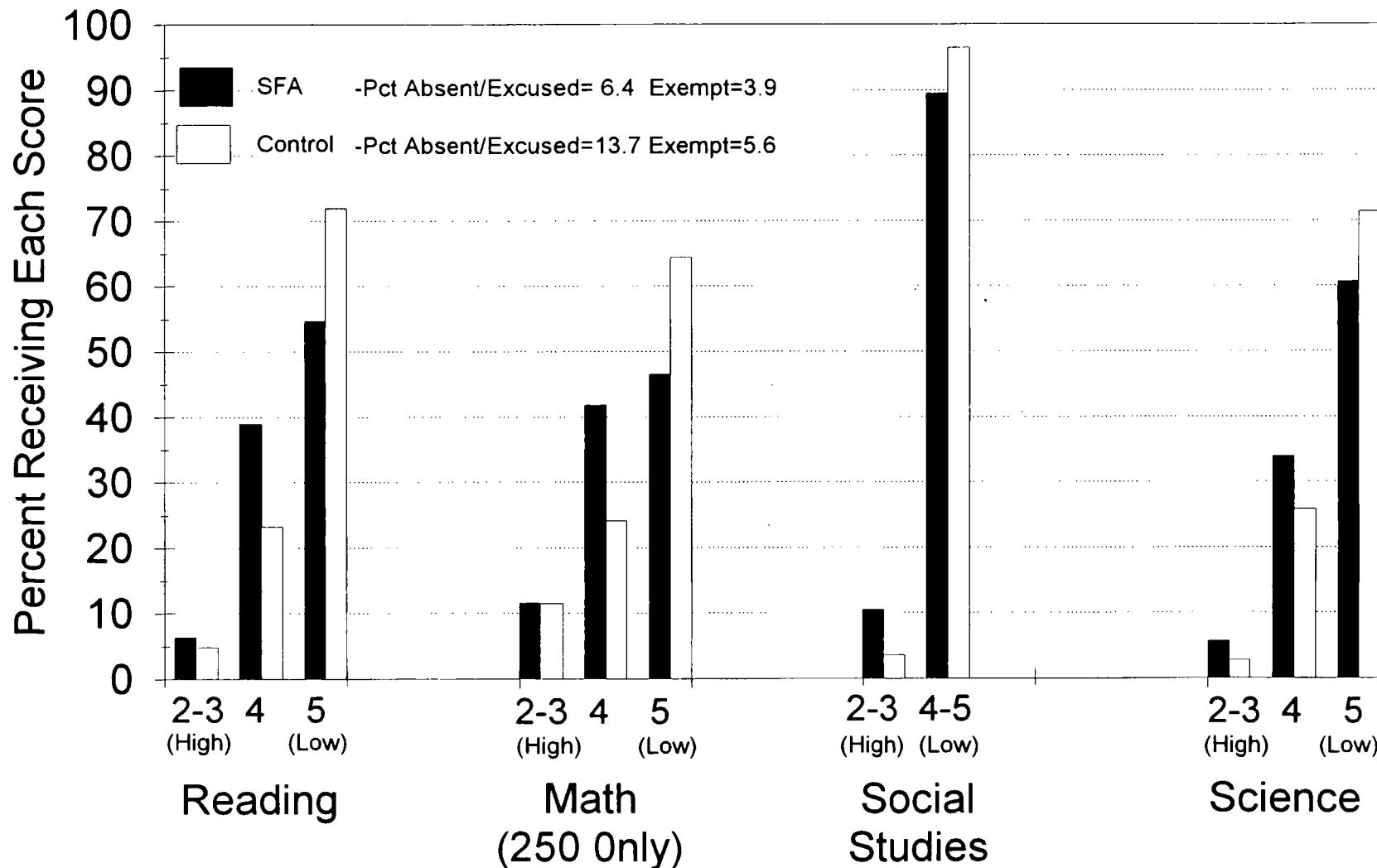


Figure 4
Baltimore: Success For All Outcomes, 1993
Mean Grade Equivalents and Effect Sizes
Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills

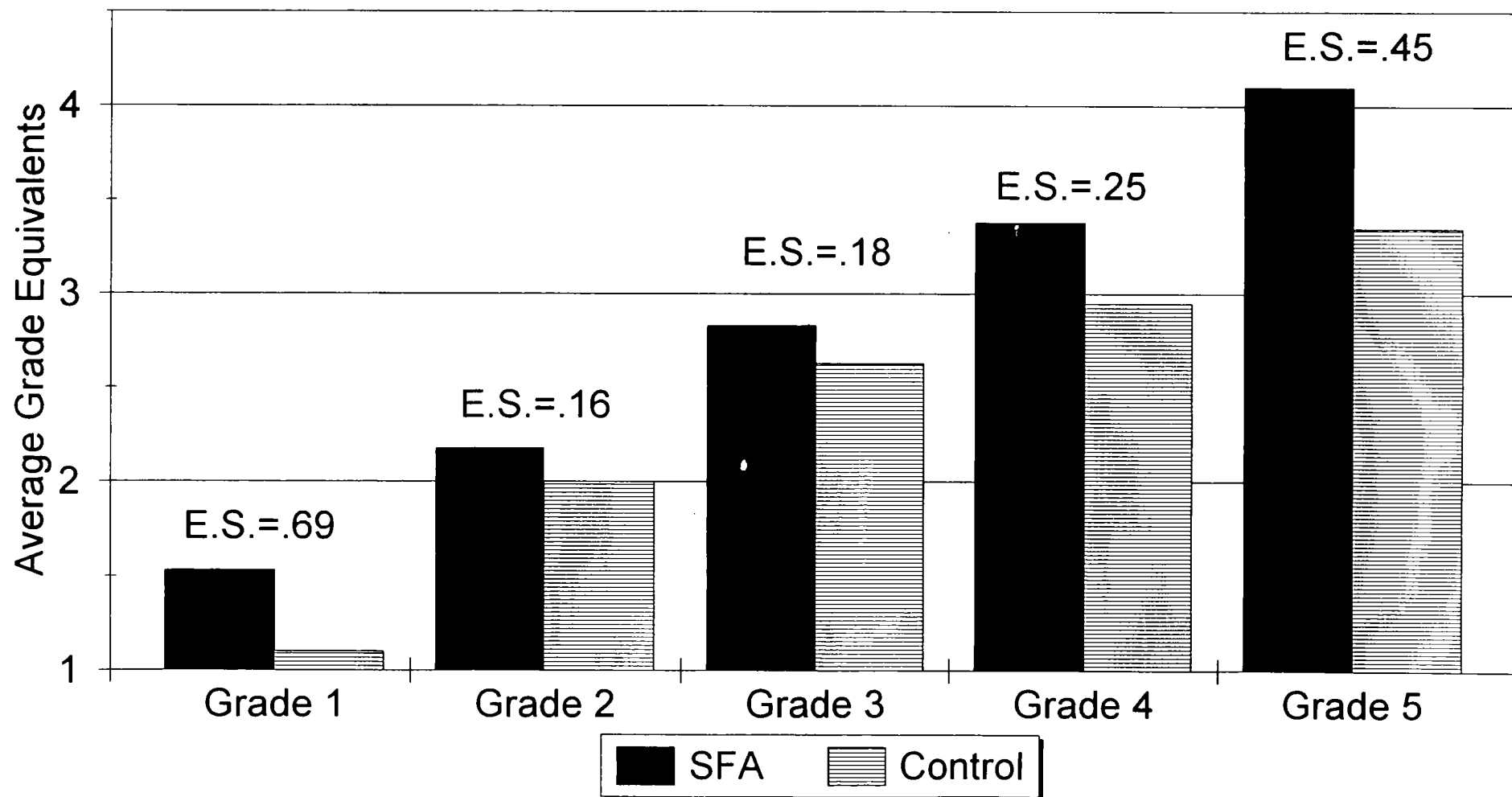


Figure 5
Philadelphia: Success for All Outcomes, 1993
Mean Grade Equivalents and Effect Sizes
on Individually Administered Reading Tests

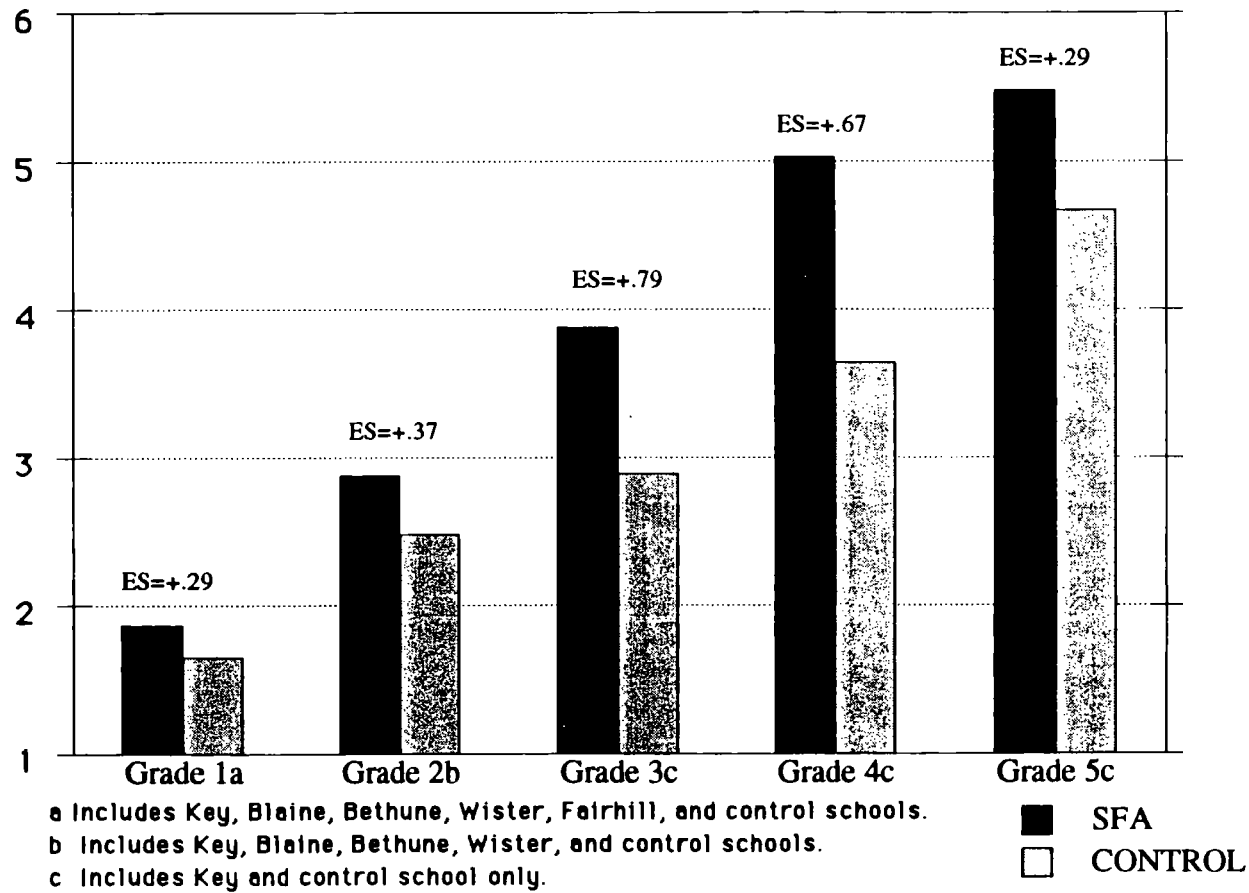


Figure 6
Charleston, SC: Success for All Outcomes, 1993
Mean Grade Equivalents and Effect Sizes
on Individually Administered Reading Tests

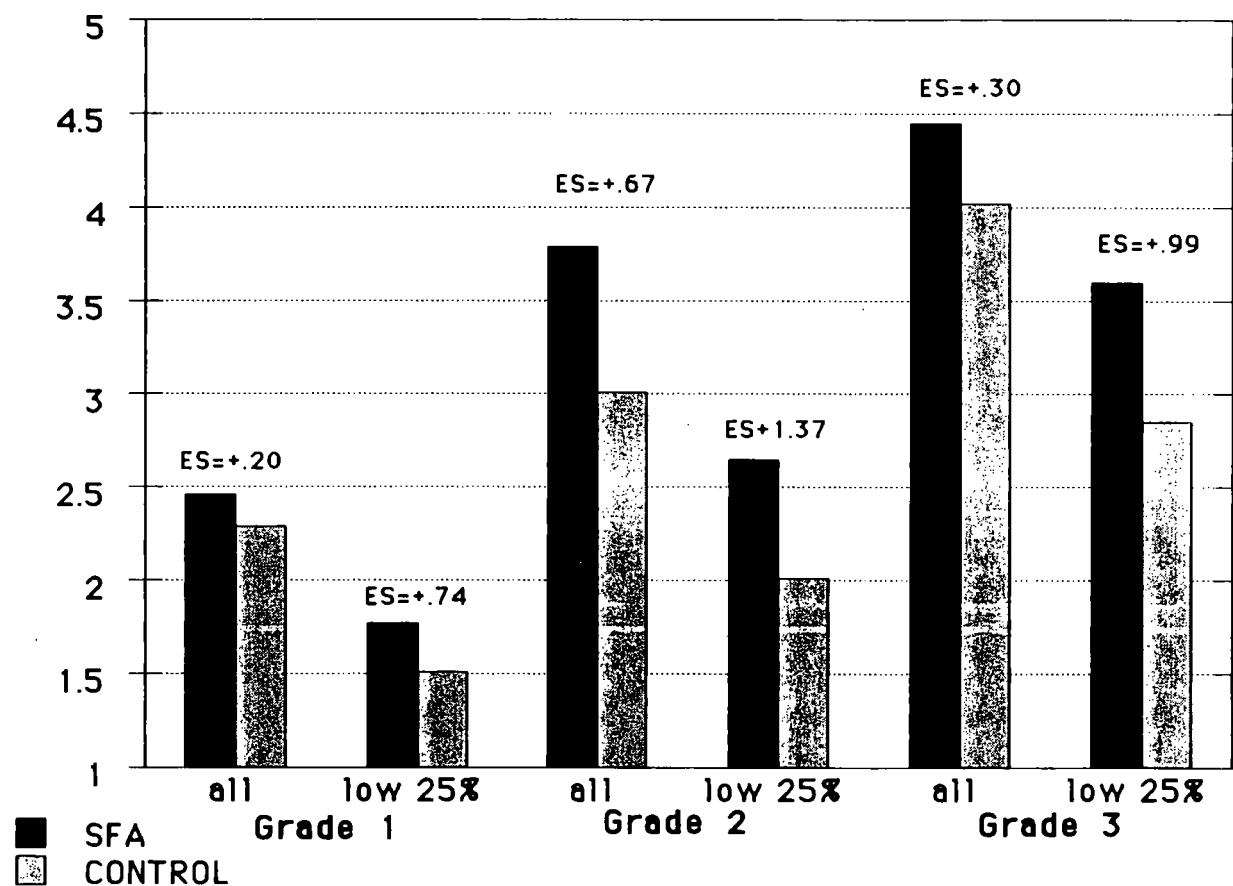


Figure 7
Memphis, TN: Success for All Outcomes, 1993
Mean Grade Equivalents and Effect Sizes on
Individually Administered Reading Tests

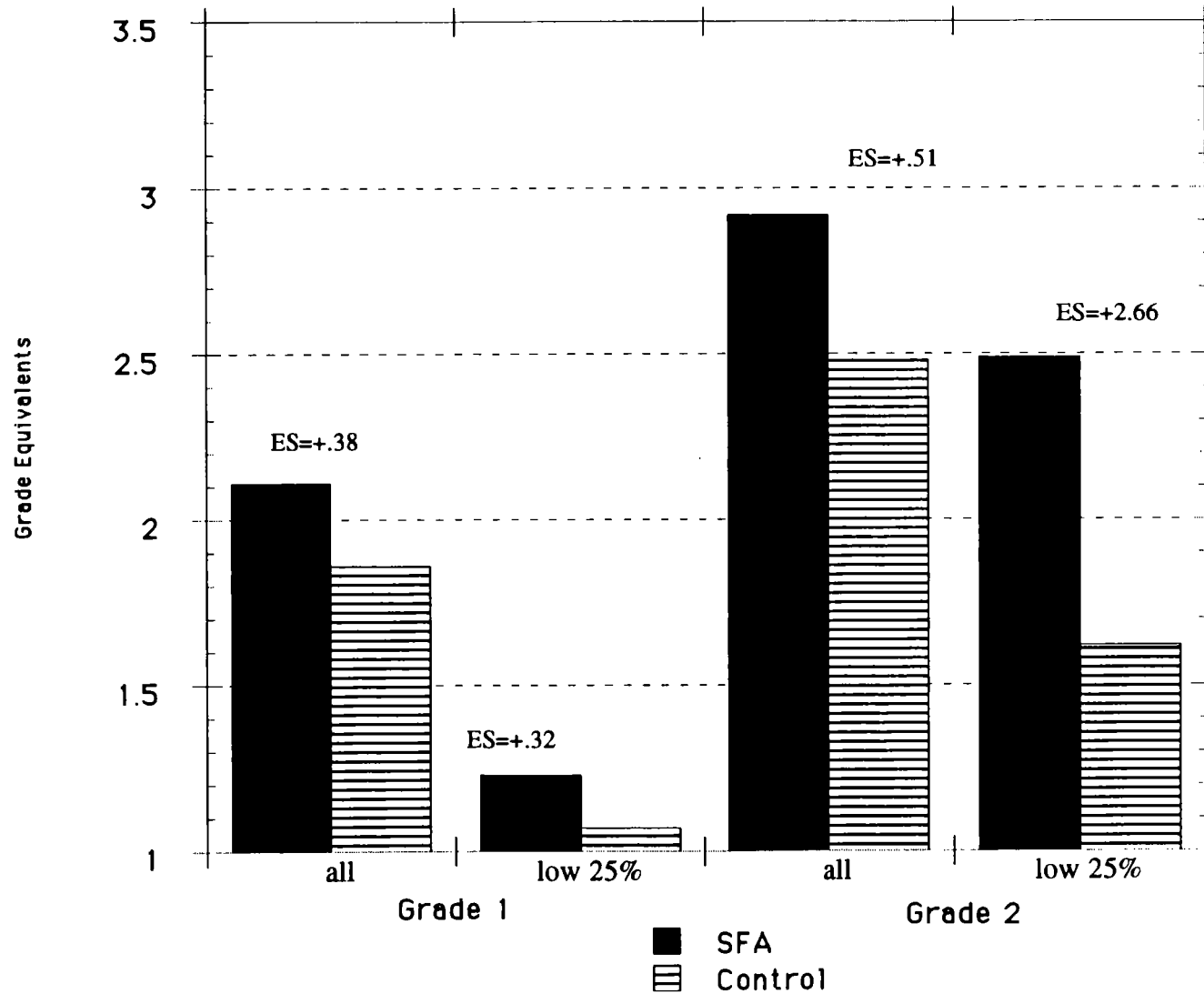


Figure 8
Ft. Wayne, IN: Success for All Outcomes, 1993
Mean Grade Equivalents and Effect Sizes on
Individually Administered Reading Tests

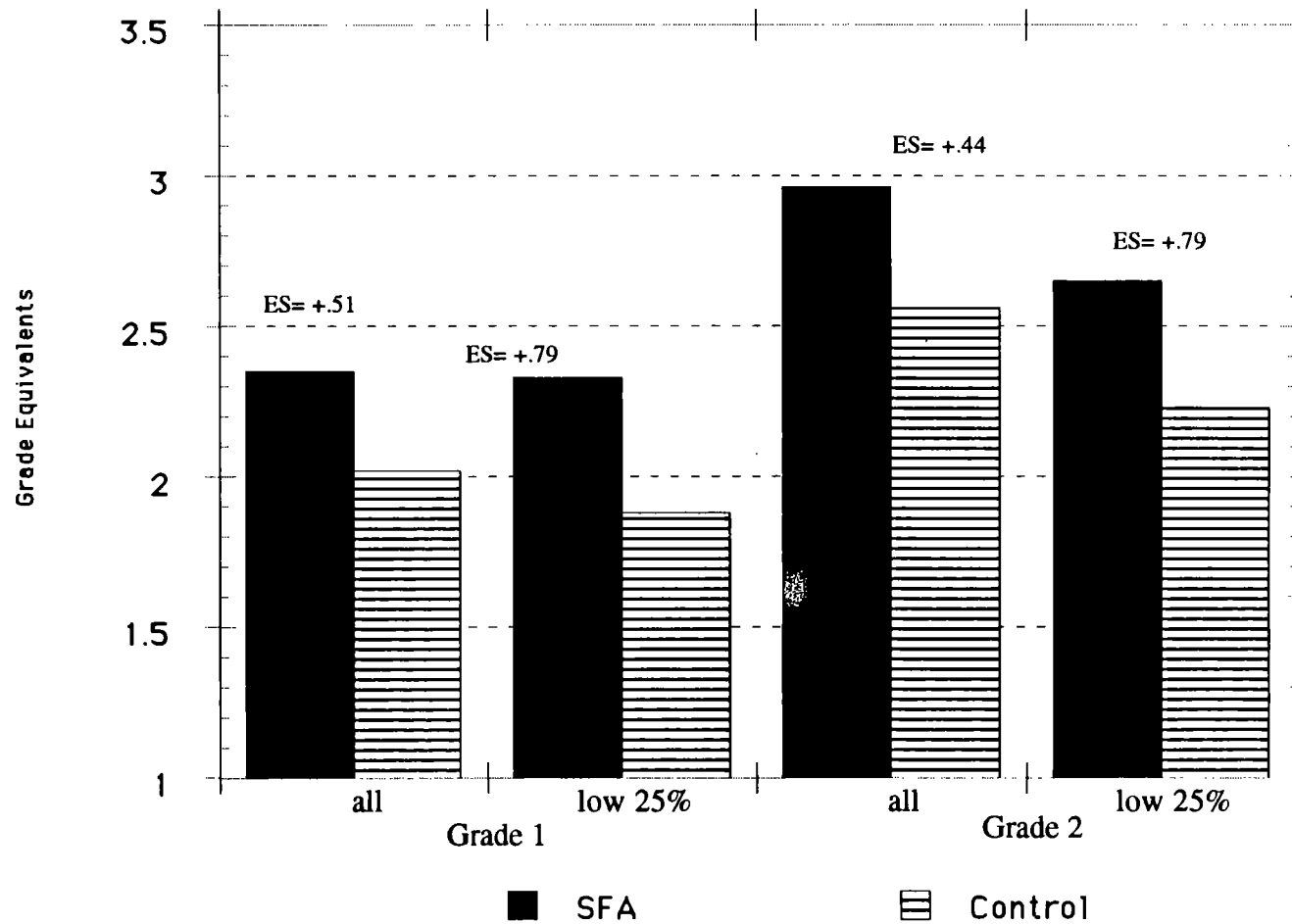


Figure 9
Montgomery, AL: Success for All Outcomes, 1993
Mean Grade Equivalents and Effect Sizes on
Individually Administered Reading Tests

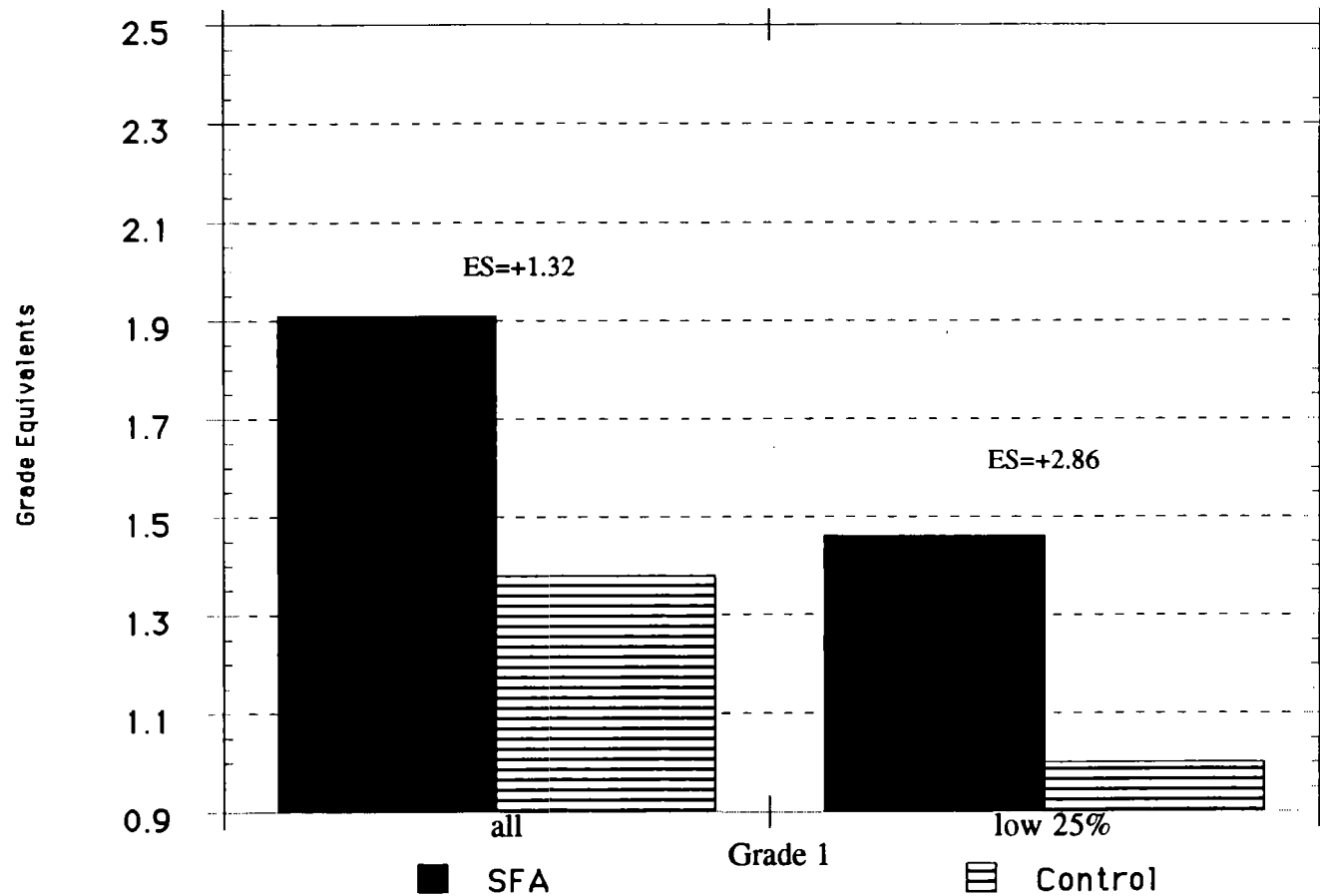


Figure 10
Caldwell, Idaho: Success for All vs. Reading Recovery, 1993
Mean Grade Equivalents and Effect Sizes
on Individually Administered Reading Tests (Grade 1)

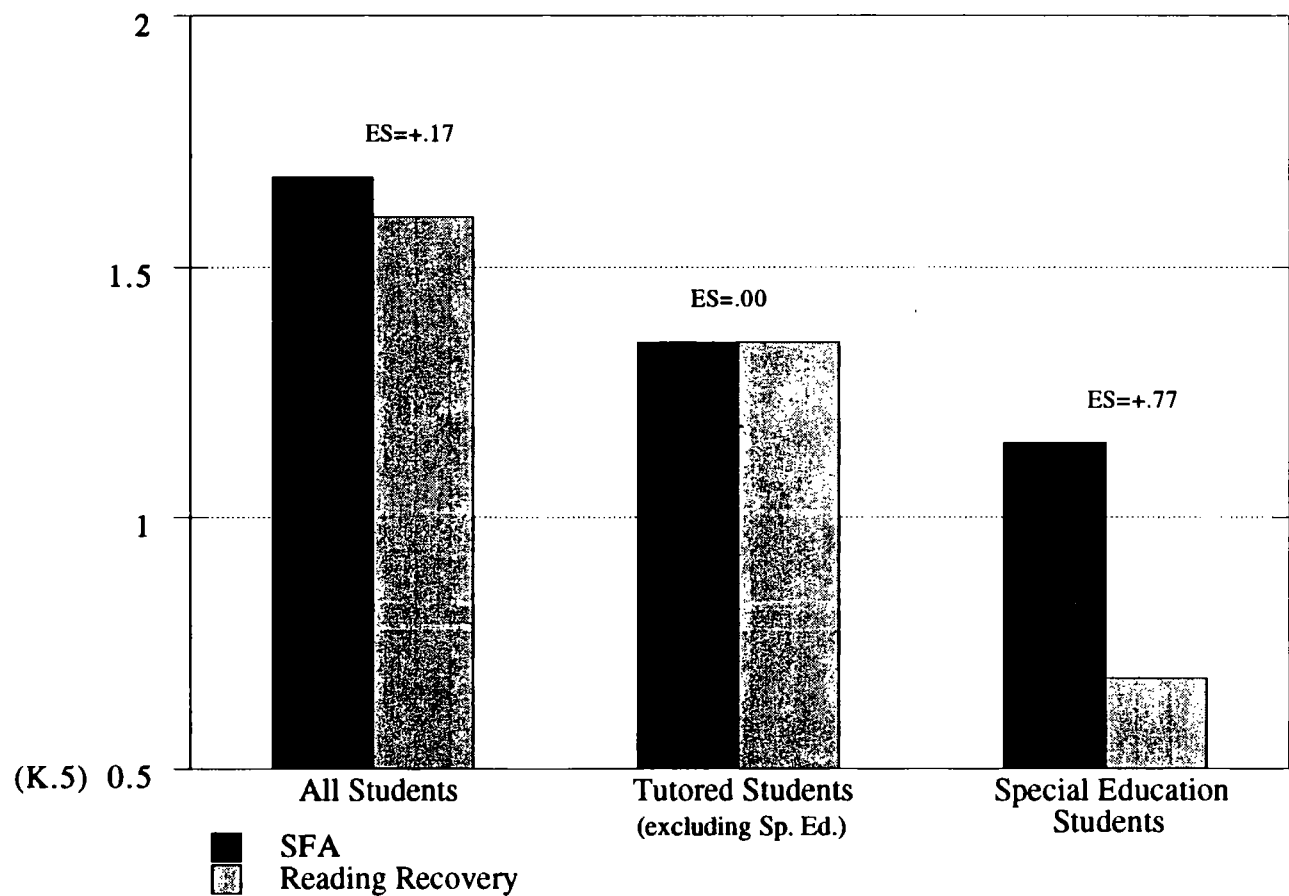


Figure 11
Spanish Bilingual Students, Fairhill School (Philadelphia):
Success for All Outcomes, 1993
Mean Grade Equivalents and Effect Sizes
on Individually Administered Reading Tests (in Spanish)

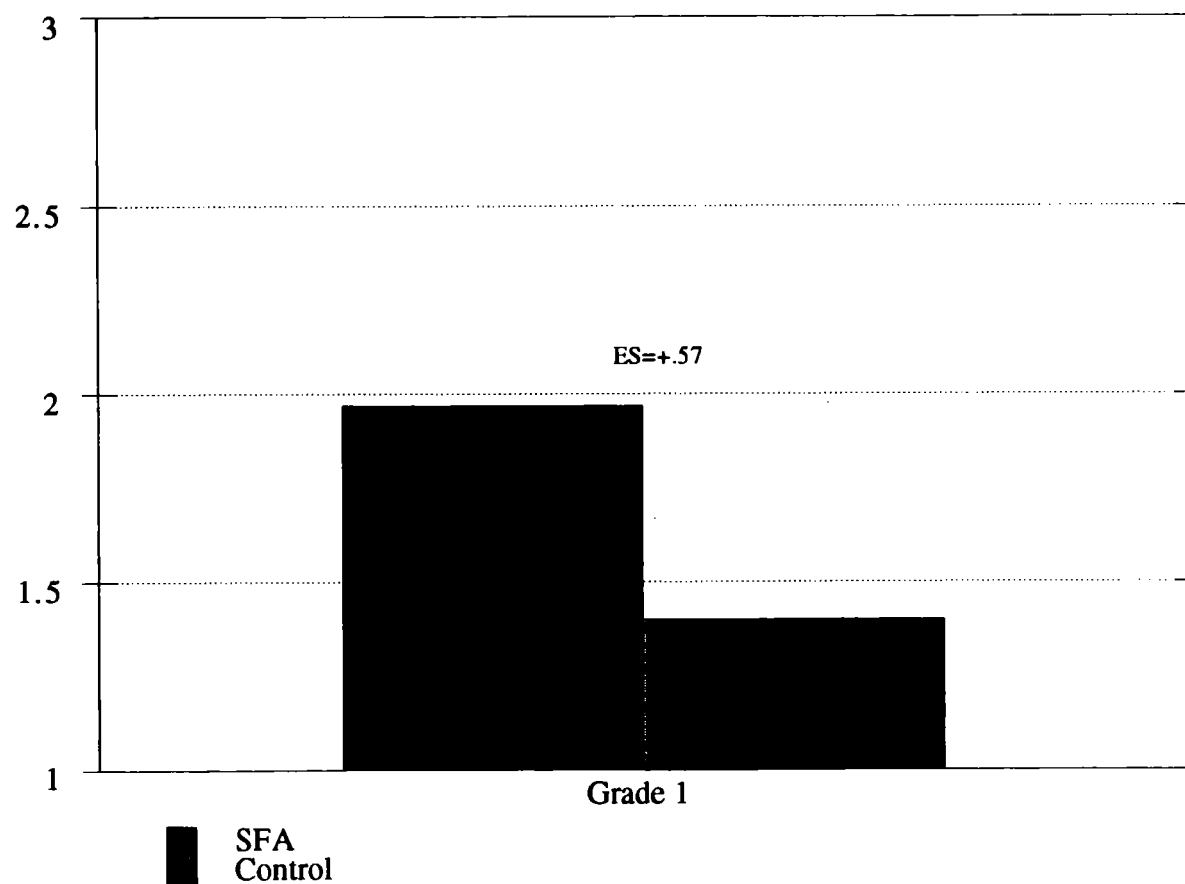


Figure 12
Asian Students, Key School (Philadelphia):
Success for All Outcomes, 1993
Mean Grade Equivalents and Effect Sizes
on Individually Administered Reading Tests

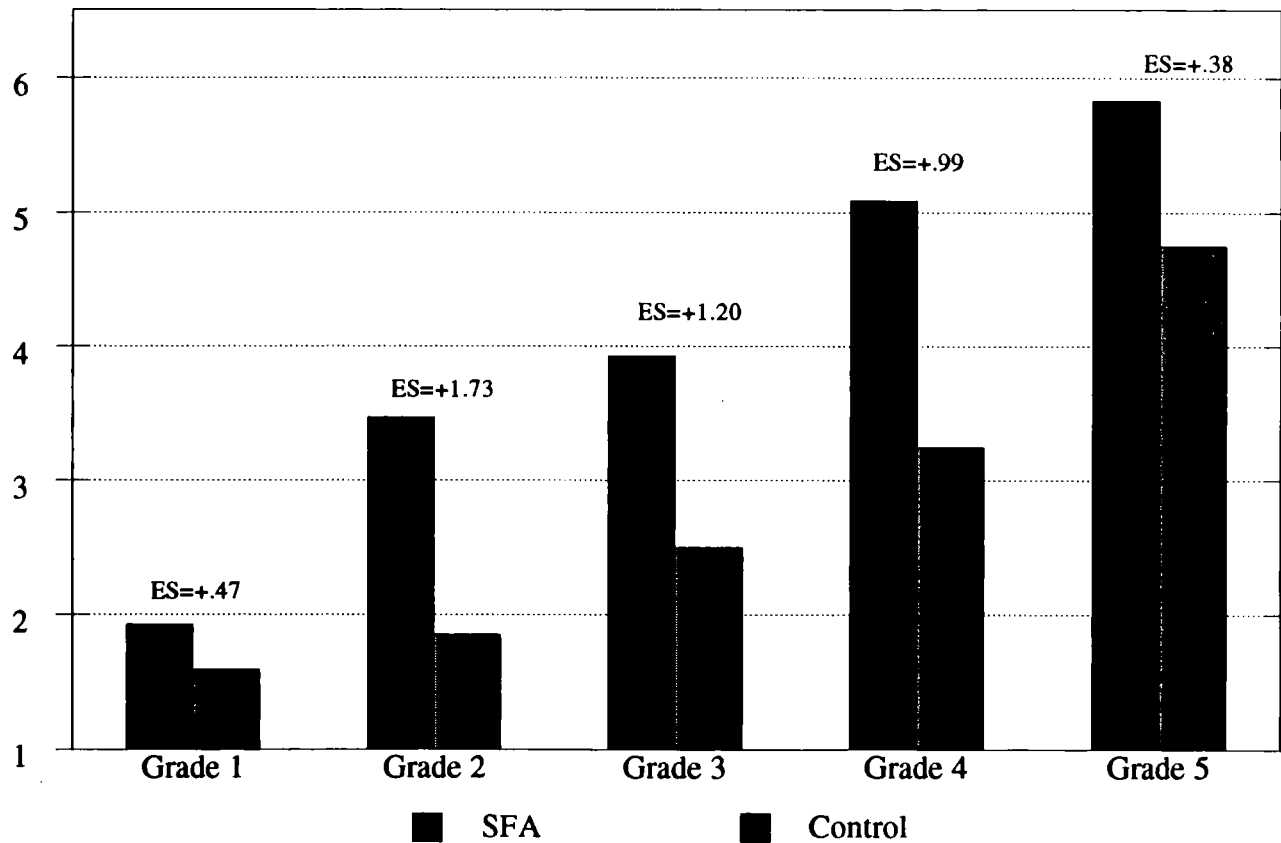


Figure 13
Cumulative Mean Reading Grade Equivalents and Effect Sizes
Comparing Success for All and Control Schools, 1988-1994

