

in the US because it is a larger proportion of the population: 1 million of the country's 26 million people. But native Americans on both sides of the border share many problems, including high suicide rates, alcohol abuse, and unemployment.

Sainte-Marie believes that Cradleboard, funded by a \$1.5 million grant from the Kellogg Foundation in Battle Creek, Mich., will not only improve what is taught in schools, but will enhance contact between Indians and non-Indians. "The project comes from the very positive experience I've had

living in these two cultures, seeing how much they have to say," says Sainte-Marie, who works from Kapaa, Hawaii. "And then it's combined with my own appreciation of technology and how [it] should be in the hands of kids and all cultures."

Indian schools are paired with non-Indian schools and technical colleges, and students are encouraged to interact via computers. The interactive program also enables the schools to access resources about native-Americans.

Schools in Montana, Minnesota, Washington, New York, and South

Dakota are participating in the project. They represent people of the Puyallup, Cree, Ojibwe, Mohawk, and Lakota.

Jim Ransom, a Mohawk living on the Akwesasne Reserve, is on the parent committee of the Akwesasne Freedom School. "The public schools are very good but they teach a white curriculum." He highlights the value of Cradleboard's interactive nature: "The intent ... is to share with partner, non-native schools a better understanding of the contributions of native people to mainstream society." ■

15. Christian Science Monitor

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Tribal Colleges: Gains for 'Underfunded Miracles'

By Kirsten A. Conover

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

When the native-American community makes the news, all too often it is portrayed with a sense of plight.

But a story of renewal and hope has been waiting to be told: native-American colleges.

From North Dakota to Arizona, tribal colleges have been steadily and quietly making a positive difference in native-American communities.

Documenting their determination is a report released yesterday by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

The report, titled "Native American Colleges: Progress and Prospects," revisits a study done eight years ago by Carnegie and offers evidence of how these colleges, sometimes referred to as "underfunded miracles," have grown and succeeded against great odds.

"Without question, the most significant development in American Indian communities since World War II, was the creation of tribally controlled colleges, institutions of higher learning founded by tribes and governed by Indians," writes Paul Boyer, author of the report, who has studied the colleges for more than a decade. "More than any other single institution, they are changing lives and offering real hope for the future."

Mr. Boyer and his colleagues make the case that today:

Tribal colleges establish a learning

environment that supports students who had come to view failure as the norm.

They celebrate and help sustain native-American traditions.

They provide counseling and recreation services that enrich surrounding communities.

Tribal colleges are centers for scholarship in such areas as prairie-grasslands management and mental-health services.

The first tribal college was founded in 1968 on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona. Today, there are 27 tribally controlled colleges in the United States, mainly concentrated in the northern Plains and in the Southwest. For the most part, they are two-year community colleges. Resources are limited: Facilities, while deemed "adequate," are often in poor shape and lack updated equipment. Yet more of these colleges are adding four-year and even graduate degrees to their curriculums.

While much of the faculty is American Indian, two-thirds is non-Indian. According to the report, most graduates stay on the reservation, share their knowledge, and serve as role models. Health care and education are popular concentrations.

The colleges' greatest challenge, according to the report, is funding. Native-American colleges do not have a high profile within the higher-education system. And while foundation support has grown in the past 10 years, student populations are rising rapidly. In 1989, enrollment hovered at about 10,000; by

1995 it had doubled to more than 20,000.

Janine Pease Pretty-On-Top, founder and president of Little Big Horn College on the Crow Reservation in Montana, says the Carnegie report presents an exciting opportunity. "It's a voice that adds to ours that is strong and credible."

The first Carnegie report of almost a decade ago was "a new day for us," she explains in a phone interview. Few people - from the general public to Congress - had ever heard of native-American colleges before.

Faculty from tribal colleges had the opportunity to meet with individuals from institutions, foundations, and the private sector - "people who care about other people, community development, and equal access to higher education," Ms. Pretty-On-Top says. "Within that eight-year period we have really grown and come into fruition." She says she hopes to see similar impact with this study.

The Carnegie report makes recommendations for continued and increased support from the federal government and the private sector. At a press conference yesterday, the Kellogg Foundation announced a \$22.2 million grant to help tribal colleges and mainstream institutions that enroll a significant number of native American students.

"One has to put this in a context of Americans' historical and moral responsibility," says Bob Hochstein, a Carnegie Foundation spokesman. He recalls asking one Native American

OPINIONLINE

What people are saying about Clinton's State of the Union address

Education means hope for the future

In his *State of the Union* address Tuesday, President Clinton issued a "call to action for American education" and warned that "the enemy of our time is inaction" as he opened an aggressive campaign for his education and budget-balancing plans. Some comments on Clinton's annual message to the nation:

DAILY NEWS, New York, in an editorial: "There is hope. . . . Hope found in the words that may have been lost in the furor Tuesday. In Clinton's address, he made education the priority for his new term. He wants to make 'American education, like America itself, the envy of the world.' This campaign also may be the tool needed to close the racial gap. For education is the great ladder that moves people from who they are to whom they can be."

LOS ANGELES TIMES in an editorial: "President Clinton's decision to choose education as his No. 1 priority for the next four years . . . was perhaps a safe and politically popular one, but it makes eminent sense as well. If America is to build a 'bridge to the next century' . . . Americans have to know how to read, how to write, how to use a computer, to learn how to put things together as they work. . . . As the president noted, the nation no longer faces the threat of foreign missiles. The enemy of today is our own inaction."

THE DAILY OKLAHOMAN, Oklahoma City, in an editorial: "In the Republican response to President Clinton's *State of the Union* address . . . Oklahoma's J.C. Watts Jr., a son of the heartland, reminded us all that the power for America's goodness and greatness comes from within, sparked by God's grace, and not

from some great federal monopoly. In this core vision and message, Republicans differ, simply but profoundly, from Clinton and most Democrats in Congress."

PETE DU PONT, editor of *Intellectualcapital.com*: "Last year the president assured us that 'the era of big government was over.' Perhaps briefly it was, but with his last election behind him, the president returned to the liberal fold in an address that could have been delivered by Great Society architect Lyndon Johnson. The president's speech was of the government, by the government and for the government."

STAR-TRIBUNE, Minneapolis, Minn., in an editorial: "Americans might . . . wonder, after Tuesday's speech, which Bill Clinton will lead the nation during the next four years — the impassioned policy wonk who grasps big issues, or the timid incrementalist who retreats in the face of criticism and builds an architecture of small ideas. Here the speech offered a good deal of chaff with the wheat. His courage came in certain specifics — a deadline for campaign finance reform, national standards for school excellence. But it was often lost in a wave of safe proposals — a new war on drugs

and Internet access for schools — that seem more the province of a small-state governor than a nation's leader."

PAUL GREENBERG, editorial page editor, *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*: "Surely the man could be elected president-for-life if the people in their wisdom had not limited presidents to two terms. And yet, apart from informal gatherings or the occasional catharsis at a black church — a spiritual and cultural institution that seems to allow every Southerner to breathe free and eloquent — Bill Clinton is not a great rhetorician. He never has been. Some performances (his Second Inaugural) are worse than others (Tuesday night's) but none is likely to be included in Great Speeches of the Western World. Maybe its because, big as he is on sentiment, Clinton seems deaf to myth"

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER in an editorial: "Poor Bill. No Civil War, Depression or Evil Empire to test his mettle. You know what. If facing such agonies is the price of 'greatness' in the Oval Office, let's pass. Let's just wish for a president who's serious about the

stewing challenges the nation does face. Such as: its slow-drying pool of red ink; entitlement programs steaming into a head-on collision with demographics; a system of paying for elections that would turn St. Francis into a cynic; an unstable world order; public schools that have lost the faith of the people, even if they are not so feckless as some aver. Tuesday, in his fifth *State of the Union* address, Bill Clinton put on a pretty good show of wanting to be that president. Details to follow, of course. And, with him, the devil is always in the details."

GEORGE WILL, syndicated columnist: "President Clinton got off to a good start, doing something excruciating to every fiber of his being — taking a stand against something popular. This is called (the rarity of it may have caused you to forget) leadership. In this maiden fling at it he flatly opposed the proposed constitutional amendment to require balanced budgets. Balancing the budget, he noted, requires only self-control, not constitutional tinkering."

THE SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE in an editorial: "Passing off to an undefined 'bipartisan process' the task of reforming Social Security and Medicare — two of the most urgent and talked-about issues in recent months — stands in sharp contrast to the president's detailed proposals for education. The contrast is even more marked by the fact that federal money accounts for less than one-tenth of schools' budgets, while fiscally troubled Social Security and Medicare are decidedly federal concerns."

MAUREEN DOWD, columnist, *The New York Times*: "The White House moved Bill Clinton's big speech up a day to avoid competing with the Miss USA pageant, and ended up competing with the O.J. pageant. So here was the president of the United States, fighting to be heard on education and Medicare, wedging himself into the American consciousness between bathing beauties and a man held responsible for the murders of his wife and her friend. Never has the *State of the Union* been such a perfect expression of the state of the union. The juxtaposition of political power and social reality, of happy talk about race and unhappy talk about race, of what America is supposed to care about and what it really cares about, captured the mood of our celebrity-obsessed, morally riven culture."

Only Minor Rewriting Seen For Higher Ed. Act

By Jeanne Ponesse

Washington

When the country's major higher education law meets the scrutiny of Congress this year, the measure will likely emerge with a tune-up, not a rebuilt engine.

The Higher Education Act, which expires in September, authorizes the federal government's chief college-grant and loan programs and other higher education support. Most college groups say the program is on track.

"The challenge this time around is not to reinvent the wheel, rather it is to fine-tune-to modify," Stanley Ikenberry, the president of the Washington-based American Council on Education, told student-aid officials at a conference here last week.

College and university groups have already surveyed the issues. As a prelude to the reauthorization process, the Department of Education invited comments through last week. And both congressional committees that oversee the bill have already slated reauthorization hearings, which also began last week.

The HEA reauthorization won't take center stage right away, however. President Clinton's budget and tax plans, which are heavy on college-aid strategies, could alter some of the reauthorization plans for the HEA.

As these issues shake out, policymakers are setting tentative time lines to keep the HEA reauthorization on track. David Longanecker, the Education Department's assistant secretary for postsecondary education, said the administration hopes to have its HEA proposal to Congress by late April.

On Capitol Hill, House committee aides expect hearings on the bill through July, with the measure ready to move in early fall. A Senate aide said that while a hearing schedule remains uncertain after this month, senators would like to get a bill out of their committee sometime in the fall.

The Higher Education Act authorizes funding for Pell Grants for needy students, college work-study programs, and two federal student-loan programs.

Together, the programs account for nearly \$11 billion in federal spending in the current fiscal year.

During reauthorization, the Education Department will try to keep the debate focused on access to higher education, high standards for student achievement, and simplified program delivery, Mr. Longanecker said.

Since President Clinton's plan for income-tax breaks, included in his budget proposal, will primarily target middle-income families and will be considered first, Mr. Longanecker said that the HEA reauthorization would likely place an emphasis on grant programs for the neediest families.

Direct-Loan Dispute

One issue expected to remain the subject of contention during the reauthorization is the battle between competing loan programs: the traditional system—the \$1.7 billion Federal Family Education Loan Program—in which banks and other agencies handle college loans, and the Clinton administration's \$544 million program making federal loans directly to students through their colleges and universities.

While the administration says that its direct-lending approach makes getting financial help for college more efficient, Republicans have threatened to limit or cut the program on the grounds that it adds to the federal bureaucracy.

At the meeting here last week, Mark Brenner, an aide to the House Education and the Workforce Committee, said that the Education Department has glossed over lapses in its implementation of the program.

"If they're going to tout it as a better program, they'd better make sure it's a better program," said Mr. Brenner, who has been working on oversight of the direct-lending plan.

As they prepare for a showdown, supporters of both loan plans are calling for program comparability.

The National Direct Student Loan Coalition, an alliance of schools participating in the direct-lending program, says that FFELP lenders discount origination fees and interest rates to some students. Such special benefits should be available to all borrowers, said Phyllis K. Hooyman, the chairman of the group and the director of financial aid for Hope College in Holland, Mich.

On the other hand, the Coalition for Student Loan Reform, a group of nonprofit guarantors and secondary markets involved in the traditional system, has questioned the terms of the direct-lending program's option which allows students to repay loans based on their income. The slower repayment plan could be too costly for students in the long run, said the coalition's executive director, Mark Cannon.

Future Teachers Teacher Education

Beyond college financing, policymakers also have teacher education issues to wrestle with under the HEA, which includes programs dealing with recruiting, retaining, and training educators.

Penelope M. Earley, the senior director for government relations of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, based here, said that higher education leaders would like to see federal programs that help colleges meet state and professional standards for teacher education, work with local school officials on teacher induction programs, and expand recruiting efforts.

In previous reauthorizations, the teacher training portion of the bill has been used as a vehicle for the pet projects of Congress. Because of the patchwork of programs, funding for the line item has lagged in appropriations committees.

This time around, Ms. Earley said, college groups would like to persuade lawmakers to "resist some of the silliness that has made this title meaningless" and instead work on drafting a streamlined, efficient plan for government support for teacher preparation.

Lawmakers wary of education proposal

By Carol Innerst
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Before it considers President Clinton's \$51 billion of education initiatives, the GOP wants to look at "what works and what's wasted" in 760 existing federal education programs spread over 39 agencies and costing \$121 billion a year.

"Many programs don't work and we have to admit that," Rep. Bill Goodling, Pennsylvania Republican and chairman of the House Committee on Education and the Workforce, said yesterday at a news conference.

"If kids can't read by the third grade, we need to look at what went wrong before we start looking at new programs and more money," Mr. Goodling said.

Mr. Clinton, in his State of the Union address Tuesday night, scattered education proposals like candy.

His proposed 20 percent increase in education spending would be used to develop national tests in reading for fourth-graders and in mathematics for eighth-graders; certify 100,000 "master teachers;" expand Head Start; spur school construction and renovations; provide \$1,500 college scholarships to students with a B average; and enlist 1 million volunteer tutors to help children learn to read.

"Do we really need another literacy program?" asked Rep. Peter Hoekstra of Michigan, chairman of the subcommittee on oversight and investigations, which is one of the panels that will filter the president's initiatives when they are offered as legislation.

"Right now we have 32 literacy

programs," he said. "Before we sign up 1 million tutors, shouldn't we ask why kids aren't reading, with 34 literacy programs?"

"Family literacy is the name of the game," Mr. Goodling said. "I don't see the president's emphasis on that. Literacy skills of parents must improve so parents can become their child's first teacher."

Great Society programs, including Head Start and Title I for disadvantaged children, failed be-

cause they focused solely on the child and "expected the 'village' to be the parent," he said.

"A village can play a great role if a parent or adult in the home is literate enough," he said.

The president's proposal to tie a \$1,500 college scholarship to a B average will invite both grade and tuition inflation, said GOP critics.

"How will the federal government know if a student has a B average?" Mr. Goodling and other

subcommittee chairmen asked in a letter sent Tuesday to the president. "Will the Internal Revenue Service collect report cards in the same manner they obtain written reports to verify other tax data?"

The B average is certain to invite "down-dumbing," he added. Mr. Goodling is convinced that the federal government helped create a 200 percent increase in higher education costs with aid programs.

The federal government has no business funding local school construction, he said. The president's proposed \$5 billion "wouldn't scratch the surfaces" and would only inflate the cost of construction and maintenance.

"You'd get Davis-Bacon coming in," Mr. Goodling said. The law requires contractors to pay "prevailing [union] wages" to laborers on federal construction projects.

He'll back the president's push for national standards and for funding national reading and math tests, so long as nothing is mandatory, Mr. Goodling said.

"I'm not against the federal government getting experts together to say what we need to know in the core subjects," he said. "We have a role in helping to set standards."

He remains opposed to having the federal government fund master teacher certification: "I fought the program from day one."

The backbone of the GOP education agenda set forth yesterday consists of parental involvement, basic academics and getting the money to the classroom instead of the bureaucracy, Mr. Goodling said after the news conference.

He defined the basics as "the three R's" and said reading instruction should include phonics.

Clinton travels to Georgia college to make detailed education pitch

AUGUSTA, Ga. (AP) — Seeking to turn election-year promises into a second-term agenda, President Clinton yesterday prodded Congress to "make American education the best in the world" and pass his \$51 billion plan.

Speaking to students and educators at Augusta State University, Mr. Clinton said: "It won't be done overnight."

He spoke at a roundtable discussion just hours after his State of the Union address. Pledging to make schools his No. 1 priority, Mr. Clinton proposed a 20 percent increase in federal education spending.

Mr. Clinton, repackaging campaign initiatives, told Congress on Tuesday the federal government must pay for more scholarships, grants, literacy programs and standardized student testing. Republicans are challenging his budget proposals but have not attacked the

education components.

The president said yesterday: "It is very important that the American people respond to the challenge I laid out last night: to make American education the best in the world and to ... not be afraid of trying to reach higher standards."

A series of scripted White House events and quick trips outside Washington will underscore key Clinton arguments: Education standards must rise, the budget must be balanced his way, and the nation's biggest problems cannot be solved by Washington alone.

Despite a better-than-usual approval rating, Mr. Clinton knows the honeymoon won't last, especially with questions about his fund-raising efforts mounting.

"This is no longer about his words, but his action," Clinton spokeswoman Ann Lewis said.

The Washington Times
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1997

cc: Mike

File: Educ - Stan Testing

WALL STREET JOURNAL, Nov. 21, 1996

NEW YORK CITY OPENS ITS BOOKS ON SCHOOL COSTS

by Steve Stecklow

Critics of New York City schools have just received the ultimate weapon: a money trail.

After a year of effort, the nation's largest school district made its first attempt at demystifying its \$8.84 billion budget, releasing 41 volumes of financial information based on a database containing more than 17 million separate records.

The report, which cost \$600,000 to produce, for the first time breaks down the budget according to expenditures at each of the district's 1,100 schools. It also provides new, detailed information of such expenditures as special-education funding. Fully \$2 billion, or 23% of the entire budget, is earmarked for special education, with the average full-time student costing \$21,291. Of New York's one million students, about one in nine are enrolled in part-time or full-time special education programs.

Details of the budget, some of them jarring, are expected to inform ongoing debate about a school system that has been much criticized for low achievement levels and high dropout rates. In particular, observers say, it should give parents reason to question why expenditure levels vary so widely from school to school, and why special-education expenditures are so large a chunk of the budget.

Like most school districts, New York has never disclosed such details as school-by-school breakdowns or salary expenditures. School accounting methods often are antiquated and many districts feel little incentive to open up their books completely.

"Nobody could figure out where the money was going," says Herman Badillo, a special counsel on education to New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani. "The average parent who is sending kids to a school is not interested if you're spending \$8.8 billion for the whole city. They want to know how much money is being spent on P.S. 46, where their kids go."

New York City is not alone in its effort to make its accounting more transparent. Coopers & Lybrand, the big accounting firm, recently released a software package that allows school districts to track their spending down to the classroom. The program was tested in 188 school

districts in 17 states, including Milwaukee and Houston.

School districts have begun hiring financial managers who "have been trained to reflect the private sector idea of running as efficiently as possible," says Bob Sampieri, Coopers & Lybrand's director of K-12 education.

More...

SCHOOL COSTS, continued...(2)

Michael Casserly, executive director of the Council of Great City Schools, says he suspects that those who study New York's report "are going to be surprised at how much goes to direct instructional expenditures rather than other costs," which have often been portrayed as excessive. "That's not to say that people who are against public-school funding at any level won't use this as an occasion to take potshots." The nonprofit council is an association of the 50 largest urban school systems.

Of New York's total 1995-1996 budget, about half goes to classroom instruction. Central administrative and district costs total less than 4%. The rest of the money goes for a wide range of expenses, including school-level administration (6.3%), food and transportation (7.1%), custodial and other building services (7%) and debt service (4.5%). In addition, another 7.5% is spent on special education, lunches and other costs for students in programs at private schools.

While teacher salaries and benefits account for \$2,965, or 38%, of average per-pupil spending, only \$16 is budgeted for librarians and library books and \$9 for drug-prevention programs. And spending on activities to encourage greater parent involvement -- believed by many education experts to be critical to improving student achievement -- represents less than a dime of the \$7,717 spent on the average student.

Spending on special education -- services for learning-disabled or otherwise handicapped children -- can create funding discrepancies among schools. At Sheffield Elementary School in Brooklyn, where better than one student in five students is in special education, the average per-pupil spending is \$10,434. But at Little Red School elementary, a Brooklyn school where no pupils are enrolled full-time in special education, average per-pupil spending is \$6,639.

Juan Morel Campos, another Brooklyn elementary school without any full-time special education students, receives still less: \$6,167 per pupil. The breakdown revealed no obvious reason for that discrepancy.

Bruce Cooper, a professor of education at Fordham University and a consultant to Coopers & Lybrand, says most school budgets are calculated on a systemwide, district level, making it impossible to compare spending from school to school. "It would be like General Motors not knowing how much it costs to build a car at each plant," he says. "You need to know what your unit costs are."

Dr. Cooper says that breaking down a budget on a school-by-school basis can challenge the idea of a wasteful administration. Central administrative budgets actually account for between 3% and 8% of spending in most districts that Coopers & Lybrand surveyed, but usually seem higher because districts typically lump transportation, food, maintenance and employee benefits under the administration's budget, he says.

More...

SCHOOL COSTS, continued...(3)

But when communities get a detailed accounting, debate often shifts to "equity and fairness issues," or why some schools get more than others, says Mr. Sampieri. New York officials are bracing for this, once parent groups discover apparent inequities. "These reports will allow parents to take a more active role," says Rudolph F. Crew, New York's schools chancellor.

The budget report also should provide fodder for critics, like Mr. Badillo, of the system's special-education spending. Mr. Badillo, who was a U.S. Congressman when a federal bill to provide funding for disabled children was first passed, says the system "has grown into a monster" where kids who are disruptive in the classroom are labeled learning disabled and placed in costly, separate classrooms. "That is a waste of money because the kids don't belong there," he adds. He hopes the new budget report will put pressure on the school system to reduce the number of special-education students.

How It Adds Up

Some facts and figures from the 1995-1996 New York City school budget

Total budget	\$8.84 billion
Number of students	1,059,642
Average spending per pupil	\$7,717
Librarians and library books	\$16
Teacher salaries, benefits	\$2,965
Secretaries, support staff	\$203
Full-time special ed	\$21,291

With Riley Still in Charge, Familiar Faces To Mark ED's Second-Term Team

By David J. Hoff

Washington

President Clinton's education team will have familiar faces and most of them will be in familiar places when his second term officially begins next week.

Secretary of Education Richard W. Riley will stay in the job he's held since 1993, and almost all of his high-level staff will stay on board with him.

Mr. Riley, who earned high marks from education groups and members of Congress over the past four years, hopes to put to rest the debate over whether his

department should remain a Cabinet post.

"The American people sent a very clear message that they want those of us in Washington to focus in on positive and concrete solutions," Mr. Riley said on

Dec. 20 when the president announced the secretary would stay for the second term. "In that spirit, I sincerely hope that the Congress will move beyond the issue of whether or not the Department of Education should exist or not exist."

One major addition to Mr. Riley's team will be Carol Rasco. Ms. Rasco will move from the White House, where she was Mr. Clinton's top domestic-policy adviser, to lead the president's effort to recruit 1 million tutors to help children improve their reading.

Bruce Reed, an assistant to Mr. Clinton for policy and planning during the first term, will take Ms. Rasco's current job at the White House.

Michael Cohen, who advised Mr. Riley at the department of education for 3½ years, will continue as the president's education adviser at the White House—a role he assumed before Mr. Clinton's re-election campaign last year.

Mr. Riley's team at the department has had only one high-level resignation since the November election.

Sharon Robinson, the assistant secretary in charge of research, left to become of a vice president at the Educational Testing Service, the nonprofit company that administers the SAT and runs the National Assessment of Educational Progress for the department.

New Financial Officer

Otherwise, familiar faces will dominate the department's leadership.

Marshall S. Smith will continue as the undersecretary and will also will carry the title of acting deputy secretary, which he assumed last summer.

Gerald Tirozzi will continue as the assistant secretary for elementary and secondary education, and Judith Heumann will stay in her job as the assistant secretary overseeing special education.

One addition to the department will be Donald Rappaport, whom Mr. Clinton last week nominated to be the agency's chief financial officer.

Mr. Rappaport is a partner in the Price Waterhouse accounting firm and a former chairman of the Pennsylvania state school board. The top financial job at the department has been vacant since Donald Wurtz retired last year.

Mr. Rappaport and whoever replaces Ms. Robinson must be confirmed by the Senate.

The 'Other' Colleges

THE PRESIDENT, bouncing around the country making speeches, has shown a pronounced fondness for delivering them at community colleges. Besides dramatizing some of his favorite campaign themes—access to education, job training and retraining, and work and family issues—such venues allow the president to issue sometimes extravagant praise to institutions that rarely receive it. “To me, the community college is the institution in America which most clearly reflects how we ought to be organized, how we ought to work together, and what we ought to be trying to do as we move America into the 21st century,” he recently told listeners at an advanced technology center at Central Piedmont Community College in North Carolina. “This country would work better if it worked more like a giant community college.”

Campaign gambit this may be, but it's nevertheless a refreshing spotlight on an overlooked and, these days, greatly overworked category of school. These places are, as the president hints, the sole upward route for more and more students as tuition rates at the four-year colleges rise. They are also saddled with burdens that have become heavier as strain increases on the better-known institutions of higher education.

Community colleges have become among the most crowded and most ethnically diverse schools in the country. As flagship public university systems like the City University of New York turn away from the 20-year experiment in open admission at their four-year schools, those systems, too, have reposed more hope in the two-year colleges—to grant terminal two-year degrees and also to give potential four-year college students a shot at showing their stuff without making the trip in one leap.

What will best help the community colleges, beyond the momentary TV coverage and ego gratification of a presidential compliment? It's not at all obvious that the president's own touted proposals, such as his \$10,000 tuition tax credit, do anything for them as opposed to the bigger, more expensive schools. The notion that, as he argues, Americans should come to think of the “13th and 14th grades” as “a matter of second nature” could hurt efforts at high school standard-raising as much as it helps. More likely to be of direct help to these working students, probably, is the minimum wage hike.

Still, when you're talking about motivating students and improving educational access, a little well-placed PR can be a good thing.

Clinton believes history will judge him by how well he scores on education. A primer on what's coming in the second term. BY JONATHAN ALTER

Bill's Final Exam

HISTORY HAS AN IRONIC sense of humor. It turns out that President Clinton's fondest hope for the millennium is to fulfill one of George Bush's casual promises from back in 1988. Campaigning against Michael Dukakis, Bush pledged to be "the Education President." He wasn't. Nor was Clinton in his first term. But now, barring an unexpected crisis, Clinton will bet his legacy on educating the American work force for the future.

Of course, this must be accomplished in what the Washington wonks are calling "the context of a balanced budget." And what exactly does *that* mean? The rap on Clinton is that by becoming essentially a

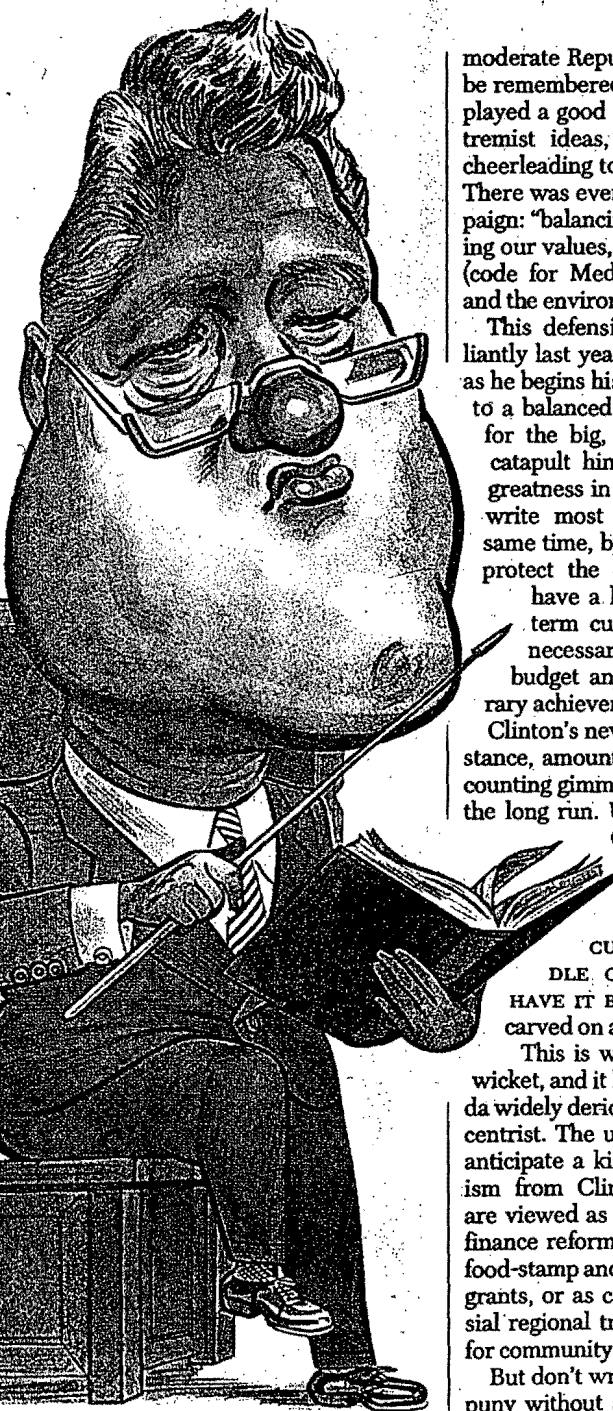
moderate Republican on fiscal issues, he'll be remembered mostly as a president who played a good game of defense against extremist ideas, with some nice on-court cheerleading to make everyone feel better. There was even a mantra for it in the campaign: "balancing the budget while protecting our values," the values being "M2, E2" (code for Medicare, Medicaid, education and the environment).

This defensive maneuver worked brilliantly last year, but it hamstrings Clinton as he begins his second term. Commitment to a balanced budget means little money for the big, bold initiatives that could catapult him to greatness—or at least greatness in the eyes of the liberals who write most American history. At the same time, by promising so feverishly to protect the elderly, the president will have a hard time making the long-term cuts in entitlement programs necessary to make balancing the budget anything more than a temporary achievement.

Clinton's new Medicare proposal, for instance, amounts to little more than an accounting gimmick that buys him nothing in the long run. Unless he pulls a Nixon-to-China, on entitlement reform, he will win few points for fiscal responsibility. The epitaph HE CUT THE DEFICIT IN THE MIDDLE OF HIS TENURE, ONLY TO HAVE IT BALLOON LATER will not be carved on a monument any time soon.

This is what the British call a sticky wicket, and it has yielded a domestic agenda widely derided as too modest, even for a centrist. The usual Washington wise guys anticipate a kind of energetic do-nothingism from Clinton. His short-term goals are viewed as either futile, like campaign-finance reform and trying to roll back the food-stamp and welfare cuts for legal immigrants, or as cakewalks, like uncontroversial regional trade pacts and more money for community policing.

But don't write off Clinton's priorities as puny without a close look at education, a



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The Beltway wise guys are expecting an energetic do-nothing-ism from Clinton. But don't write him off yet: his education ideas could still transform the country the way the GI Bill did.

JANUARY

Clinton sees progress for his education proposals

By SANDRA SOBIERAJ

Associated Press Writer

RALEIGH, N.C. (AP) - President Clinton claimed steady momentum for his education proposals today, citing the Defense Department and North Carolina as ready to carry out national reading and math tests in their schools.

"We can make our public schools, just like our military, the best on earth if - like our military - we are will to adhere to high rigorous standards," the president told a joint session of the North Carolina legislature.

Noting that the children of military personnel are routinely uprooted and relocated, Clinton added, "No group of students better underscores the need for common national standards."

The testing is to be in place by 1999.

The Defense Department serves some 115,000 children of military personnel at 223 schools in 14 countries, six states and Puerto Rico - a school system as big as Delaware's, the president said. Defense Secretary William Cohen and Education Secretary Richard Riley accompanied Clinton to North Carolina in a show of support.

Clinton also announced April 17 as the date for the much-ballyhooed White House conference on early childhood learning - a pet project of Hillary Rodham Clinton. The conference of scientists, physicians, religious and business leaders and child-care providers will examine how a child's earliest experiences affect later learning.

The president challenged every state to follow the lead of North Carolina's Democratic Gov. Jim Hunt, who has proposed a 12 percent salary increase for the so-called "master teachers" certified by the independent National Board for Professional Teaching Standards.

Clinton, criticized by GOP opponent Bob Dole in last year's presidential campaign as a "pliant pet" of the teachers' unions, also called on local school boards to give incompetent teachers two years to do better or be fired.

"The biggest challenge we face today is the challenge creating world-class education system that embraces every child in this state and in this nation. This must not be a political football," Clinton told the narrowly Democratic-controlled legislature.

It was Clinton's third in a series of speeches to state lawmakers designed to gin up support for national achievement standards - and his first venture to the South, where conservatives are generally suspicious of anything perceived as a step toward a national school curriculum.

Clinton acknowledged the controversy around national standards, but chided critics for suspecting "some sort of plot - as if math is different in Raleigh than in Little Rock."

"I think that is inherently implausible," Clinton said.

Vice President Al Gore was in Sacramento today, making the same pitch to the California legislature.

In Michigan last week, Republican Gov. John Engler put his state on board for the voluntary program of standardized testing - and measuring results against national standards - in 4th-grade reading and 8th-grade math. Maryland also will participate.

Clinton's budget proposal asks for \$39 billion in deductions and tax credits for education and training, including a \$1,500 tax credit for the first two years of tuition at a typical community college.

Clinton to push school reforms in N.C.

It is his third visit to a statehouse. On the agenda:
Student test standards and weeding out bad teachers.

By Robert A. Rankin

INQUIRER WASHINGTON BUREAU

WASHINGTON — President Clinton today will call for stronger efforts by local schools to weed out incompetent teachers.

White House officials said Clinton, in a speech to the North Carolina legislature in Raleigh, will point to programs such as those in New York City and Cincinnati — both run in cooperation with the local teachers union — as models for every locality in the country to emulate in holding teachers to standards of competence.

He also will announce that Defense Department-run schools serving about 115,000 children will participate in his drive to give national-standards tests for reading to every fourth grader and for math to every eighth grader.

Raising U.S. education standards by encouraging voluntary adoption of such tests is a driving theme of Clinton's second term as president, as it was in his second term as governor of Arkansas in 1983. His Raleigh speech will be his third address on this subject before state legislatures in the last five weeks, the previous two coming in Maryland and Michigan.

Praise for a governor

As in those states, the North Carolina governor is expected to announce that his state, too, embraces Clinton's call and will give the tests to fourth and eighth graders. Gov. James B. Hunt Jr. is widely hailed as one of the foremost advocates for education reform.

Clinton plans to put new emphasis today on holding teachers to performance standards, said Mike Cohen, a domestic policy adviser.

In that vein, Clinton first will commend Hunt for proposing a 12 percent salary bonus for teachers who win certification for excellence from the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, a private organization that recognizes "master teachers."

"At the same time, Cohen said, Clinton will issue a message that "we have to get serious about removing weak teachers from the classroom." Clinton made that general point in his State of the Union address.

The New York City and Cincinnati programs are run in conjunction with local units of the American Federation of Teachers. The National Education Association, a rival teachers union, operates a similar program in Columbus, Ohio, that Clinton also may cite as a model.

'Back on their feet'

In New York City, when a tenured teacher is identified as foundering or at risk of disciplinary action, "master teachers" are assigned to work with the troubled instructor in the classroom for up to a year. School principals determine whether the problems have been corrected, in consultation with the union.

"Usually they get them back on their feet," said Sandra Feldman, president of the United Federation of Teachers, the AFT unit in New York, which negotiated this "peer-intervenor" program with local school authorities.

The program is about five years old, works with about 75 teachers a year, and has helped ease out about 20 percent of instructors deemed to be problems. "We tell them quite frankly, 'It's time to leave teaching,'" Feldman said of the ones who fail to improve. The program then helps them find other jobs. If troubled teachers fail to leave voluntarily, school administrators step in.

Independent experts vouch for the programs.

"I'm not aware of deep research into them, but anecdotally speaking, yes, they are effective programs," said Kathy Christie, a policy analyst with the Education Commission of the States, a nonprofit, nonpartisan research institute in Denver. "The only

problem is they are expensive because you've got to free up that other [master] teacher."

"The criticism I've heard is resistance from teachers who may not want to be held accountable for evaluating their peers," Christie added. "It's a hard spot to be in when you're teaching in the same building with someone. So usually

they'll bring in someone from another school."

Clinton maintains that only by evaluating America's children under uniform national standards geared to international performance levels can parents and teachers measure where students stand.

He takes his crusade to state legislatures because states, not Washington, hold primary responsibility for education. But his Department of Education intends to contract with independent authorities to develop suitable tests and make them avail-

able to willing states and school districts by 1999.

In North Carolina, the Defense Department runs four schools at Camp Lejeune teaching 3,459 students in grades kindergarten through 12, and four more at Fort Bragg teaching 4,492 students in grades kindergarten through nine. All will participate in the student tests Clinton calls for, as will students in all 66 schools operated by the Defense Department at bases around the country and in 166 more abroad, Cohen said.

N.C. gives Clinton a vote of confidence

But there's skepticism, and fund-raising concerns

By Richard Benedetto
USA TODAY

RALEIGH, N.C. — President Clinton has been tarnished, but not yet seriously wounded, by the fund-raising scandal that has gripped Washington for nearly two months.

That's the conclusion after almost three dozen interviews and discussions with area residents the past two days.

Clinton is here today to address the North Carolina Legislature in another in his series of speeches to state legislatures on his domestic priorities.

Many here express unease with Clinton for rewarding big political donors with overnight stays in the White House's Lincoln bedroom. They also voice concern about possible donations of foreign money to Democratic coffers.

And there is serious disappointment about reports that Vice President Gore made calls for campaign contributions from inside the White House.

"I had a lot of respect for (Gore), but now he's just like those others," says Joseph Huth, a retired engineer.

But for the most part, there is widespread belief that Republicans also engaged in campaign-finance abuses over the years, and that Clinton and Gore have been caught doing what others may have gotten away with.

That prevailing view here buys Clinton a measure of protection as he tries to weather the storm of coverage of 1996 Democratic fund-raising irregularities.

"It's something that definitely needs to be cleaned up, but don't put all of the blame on Clinton. All the other presidents have done it, too," says Thomas Burt, 45, a state transportation worker.

In interviews and discussions with residents, 24 of whom were part of a focus group gathered by the nonpartisan Council for Excellence in Government, it is clear they are dissatisfied with the campaign-finance system and the apparent ease with which big money is able to buy access to elected officials.

But there is little agreement on solutions. Some think public financing of campaigns may work. Others are strong-

ly against their tax dollars being used to help politicians get elected. Others back limits on contributions, tougher rules for collection and free air time to cut down the cost of ads.

Overall, however, the most common responses were skepticism and frustration at the current system.

"The politicians talk a lot about (reforming) it, but they don't do much," says Warren Stone, 76, a retired CPA. "The Republicans don't want it any more than the Democrats."

Clinton supporters here feel let down by the steady stream of allegations fired at the White House. Still, they cite a good economy, his work in education and his efforts in behalf of the environment and welfare reform as evidence that Clinton is still serving the nation well.

"He could have been a little more ethical," says bakery worker Sally Giess, 32. "But I still think he's doing a good job."

Homemaker Linda Musten, 43, agrees, but adds, "If he did something

wrong while he was in office, he ought to be held accountable."

The problem, she notes, is that the issues are so complicated that many people have a hard time sorting them out. Some question whether any laws were broken. Others complain about the perceived ethical lapses.

Then again, some Clinton supporters such as homemaker Alicia Adrian say not to be too quick to condemn the president because everyone exercises "poor judgment" once in a while.

"Let's get on with the work of running the country," she says.

Those who've never liked Clinton find much to bolster their views in the current fund-raising reports. But some lament that there have been so many questions about Clinton's ethics that a certain "numbness" has set in.

"It's typical of the Clinton White House: 'Everything's OK and we can do

what we want.' Every time you turn around it's something else. Nobody cares anymore," says Don Cring, 55, a former IBM manager.

But people should care, says Raleigh meter maid Deborah Hargrove, 41.

"Everyone should abide by the rules, even the president," she says. "Our leaders are supposed to set the example. If leaders can break the rules and get by, people will think they can do the same thing. We need good role models, starting with the president."

Even some who voted for Clinton last fall show signs of wavering in the wake of the fund-raising flap.

"I feel let down," says preschool teacher Ann Loftin. "It makes me question his leadership."

And Norma Cook, a motivational speaker, is disappointed: "He keeps trying my patience as to how far he will push the limits of good taste."

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

CLINTONS ON THE BRAIN

Will this be their legacy?

BY JOE KLEIN

ON the morning of February 21st, Bill and Hillary Clinton visited a cheerful classroom at William Lloyd Garrison Elementary School, a few miles from the White House, and read "The Tortoise and the Hare" to a group of first graders, most of whom were African-American. The President and the First Lady each held a copy of the book, and took turns reading. As one read, the other would show the page to the students, who sat on the floor, clustered around them. Despite the tangle of cameras, cables, reporters, and Secret Service agents in the back of the room, there was an ease and grace in the Clintons' performance: it was clearly something they'd done before. When they finished the story, the First Lady asked, "What did you learn from this book?" And, rather than solicit an answer from one of the eager readers in the front of the class, she looked to the more reticent souls in the back.

"Some turtles run fast," one boy said.

The First Lady tried another boy. "Sometimes the tortoise wins," he said. There was an awkward silence. No one offered the obvious answer, and so the First Lady explained, "It's a lot like reading. If you do it slowly and carefully, and just keep at it, you can succeed, just like the tortoise did. You can win the race."

The moment was doubly poignant. The children were trying so hard and seemed so enthusiastic, but learning to read was going to be a struggle for more than a few of them. The Clintons were trying hard, too. Indeed, they have been very persistent about promoting their edu-

cation initiative, which is supposed to be the policy centerpiece of their second term. After visiting the classroom, they went on to the school's auditorium and announced that Washington-area colleges had made a commitment to provide hundreds of reading mentors for the city's el-



Two provocative White House education initiatives—they are arguably "his" and "hers"—may set off a national ruckus.

mentary schools. It was a direct and tangible—and undeniably worthy—result of steady Presidential exhortation. Since the Inauguration, the President and the First Lady have each been out at least once a week—she visiting schools and early-education programs, he addressing state legislatures about the need to join his campaign for national reading and math standards. On March 6th, Michigan's Governor John Engler, a Republican, pledged to do so, which was a significant victory for the President.

The intensity—and mutuality—of the Clintons' interest in this topic has only one precedent: their campaign for universal health-insurance coverage, in 1994. Obviously, this crusade isn't as risky. Few

Republicans have even bothered to attack the program as a White House "scheme" to "federalize" education policy. And the media's interest, which was never great, evaporated almost immediately after the plan was announced in the President's State of the Union Message—a consequence of scandal mania and the reflexive narcolepsy that results whenever the words "education" and "initiative" are uttered in tandem. On the evening of February 21st, the Clintons' school visit—and mentor announcement—didn't dent the network news: the big story that night was Kenneth Starr's decision not to quit as the Whitewater independent counsel.

In fact, there seems to be remarkably little interest in the political community about *anything* substantive that the President intends to do in his second term. An insidious assumption about priorities has begun to seep through official Washington: the rest of this spring will be about the campaign-finance scandals (and, perhaps, the congressional effort to balance the budget). But official Washington has rarely seemed more remote from the rest of the country. Bill Clinton is at the peak of his popularity—around sixty per cent, in most polls. He has repeatedly insisted that education is his top priority. "You can feel it whenever he talks privately about this stuff," an aide says. "This is it. This is his legacy." And so, perhaps, it deserves a closer look.

That requires some effort. Clinton undercut the admirable qualities of his education plan by presenting it as a laundry list of ten items stuffed into his State of the Union Message, which was delivered while much of the country was channel-surfing in search of the second O. J. Simpson verdict. He spent nearly half an hour on it, but it sounded stale—a campaign leftover, the items "bite-size" and poll-driven. The most expensive program, and the one closest to controversial, was his plan to give \$36.1 billion in college-tuition tax benefits. The public loves this idea; few politicians with a pulse will vote against it. (Most education experts think it's a waste of money, since a greater percentage of Americans already attend college than young people in any other country do.) There were also the usual pleas for more money for Head Start and safe schools and "character education" and local school construction.

But embedded in the boilerplate were two substantive ideas that could cause a ruckus. They were, arguably, "his" and "hers" education initiatives—the President's and the First Lady's personal cru-

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sades. His was the proposal for rigorous national math and reading standards, which contained an impressive acronym familiar only to education experts: NAEP, for National Assessment of Educational Progress—a group of tests that have found startling numbers of American children to be subliterate and innumerate in recent years. Hers was barely mentioned in the speech, but it is at the heart of the “early learning” initiative and seems to be the education fetish of the moment in precincts as disparate as Washington and Hollywood: a fascination with new scientific research on the intellectual and emotional development of infants, which will lead, in April, to a meeting that aides have taken to calling, sometimes without even raising their eyebrows, “the White House Conference on the Brain.”

A FEW hours after the President and the First Lady read “The Tortoise and the Hare,” and a few blocks away, Colin Powell sat in a television studio made to look like a child’s bedroom and read “Goodnight Moon” to his two-year-old grandson, Brian. He read wonderfully, Brian was pretty terrific, too, pointing to the kittens and snuggling against his grandfather. The director, Rob Reiner, and his wife, Michele Singer-Reiner, watched the scene on a video monitor and then glanced at each other with tears in their eyes. “I don’t think we’ll need a second take,” Reiner said.

“Goodnight Moon” will be the final scene of an hour-long program about early-childhood development which ABC will broadcast on April 28th, around the time that the White House brain conference may take place. Both events coincide with a national “Early Childhood Public Engagement” campaign that is being coordinated this spring by a New York-based nonprofit group called the Families and Work Institute. A special edition of *Newsweek*, which will be available at newsstands for several weeks, will also be part of the effort. Reiner has been deeply involved with the campaign. His interest in the subject, he acknowledges—with a candor peculiar to the west side of Los Angeles—grew out of nine years of daily psychoanalysis. “I realized that what happened to me in the first three years of my life was absolutely critical, for good and not so good, to how I dealt with the world and relationships and my work,” he said. “I began to think that other people should have this information, too. It’s important for parents to know how important the first few years are.”

Reiner’s psychoanalysis coincided with a number of biochemical and behavioral studies that proved, with scientific precision, most everything your grandmother assumed to be true about child-rearing: that it’s crucial for babies to be hugged, talked to, sung to, read to, and adored. Those who don’t get the physical attention suffer; those who are abused or neglected can be physiologically damaged for life.

Another pilgrim who came early to this information was Hillary Rodham Clinton, who wrote about it in her book “It Takes a Village.” Indeed, all questions about the brain conference are directed by the White House press office to the First Lady’s staff. Few are answered: there is no guest list, and no agenda, and not even a specific date for the conference yet.

“The policy implications are absolutely clear,” said Reiner, who has schooled himself in this subject—he recently addressed the National Governors’ Association about it—and is working in loose conjunction with the White House. He rattled off a list of early-education programs that need to be funded. The First Lady cites more than a few programs in her book, too. And it’s true that programs like Healthy Start, which offers child-care advice to poor mothers in some states, seem to have been very useful. But there is another policy “implication” that may prove disturbing for a great many two-wage-earner and single-parent families. The research is pretty clear: it’s much better for an infant to have a parent—almost inevitably, a mother—at home for at least the first few years of the infant’s life. “Most women go back to work before they want to,” says Ellen Galinsky, the president of the Families and Work Institute and a crusader for better day care, who understands the limits of the possible. Her group has studied the effects of smaller group size and better training for day-care workers in Florida: only about twenty-six per cent of the child-care situations there were considered stimulating for kids before the training; but the figure rose to between thirty-six and forty-four per cent afterward. An optimist might see progress, but many parents will see a six-in-ten chance that their own children will not be getting sufficient attention. (Galinsky said day care in Florida was better than in most of the rest of the country.)

The White House conference on the brain could touch off an emotional debate about the responsibilities of parents, and how active the government should be in encouraging parents to act responsibly.

“The real policy implication,” one White House aide said, “may turn out to be that we should try to make it easier for parents to stay home”—during the first few years of life—by offering a large, concentrated tax incentive.

“I hadn’t thought of that,” Reiner says. “That’s what the conservatives are going to be for. It’s very depressing.”

Not just conservatives. William Galston and Elaine Kamarck, both of whom have worked on the White House staff (Kamarck still does, for the Vice-President), proposed just such a tax credit in “Mandate for Change,” a policy agenda published after the first Clinton victory, by the Progressive Policy Institute, a New Democrat think tank. “I don’t think this should be an either-or situation,” says Galston, a former Clinton domestic-policy adviser who now teaches at the University of Maryland at College Park. “We should be investing more in our children, period. We should have greater incentives for parents to stay home in the early years, and better child-care options for those who can’t afford to do that. But don’t ask me to choose between them. That’s someone else’s box, not mine.”

It is the White House’s box, and the White House hasn’t yet decided how, or whether, to climb out of it. “I’d hope that every parent who learns about this research will want to go find their kids and hug them,” Bruce Reed, the President’s domestic-policy adviser, says. “I’d hope that this information will cause a lasting change in parental behavior.”

But what about government’s role? To be determined, Reed says. And how can this year’s interest in early-childhood development be squared with last year’s welfare-reform legislation, which now demands that poor women leave their children and find work? “We believe that kids who grow up in a household without the structure of work as a discipline and aspiration will also suffer,” Reed says. “It doesn’t mean that lousy child care is a good idea, but we believe that if you can bring work to a household, and a community, lives will improve.”

LOOK, if you have a chance to land in Normandy, does that mean you have to plan the invasion all the way to Berlin?” a White House aide asked, in defense of the semi-hatched nature of

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some of the President's education initiatives. Although Bruce Reed and others had been planning for a second term through much of 1996, the education package seems to have been cobbled together hastily, to produce *something* in time for the State of the Union Message.

There is a signature Clintonian quality to all this—ambitious, high-minded, and haphazard. Like the White House brain conference, much of the rest of the President's education policy—especially the call for national reading and math standards—raises more compelling questions than it seems prepared to answer. It was the President himself who insisted on the most rigorous reading and math tests. "He knew this stuff cold," an aide said. "The Department of Education was dragging its feet a little, but he knew exactly what he wanted."

The Department of Education would no doubt deny recalcitrance, but it wasn't thrilled with the last set of NAEP reading results, for the year 1994, released in April of 1995. "Dick Riley didn't even attend the press conference," one testing expert said. "I can't remember another time when the Secretary of Education didn't show up." The test results were brutal. NAEP divides students into four categories: advanced, proficient, basic, and below basic. The two crucial categories are in the middle: a basic reader will know, say, that the tortoise beat the hare; a proficient reader will be able to extrapolate that "slow and steady wins the race." (An advanced reader might make the First Lady's point: that the lesson can be applied to other endeavors as well.) The 1994 NAEP results for fourth graders were: seven per cent advanced, twenty-three per cent proficient, and thirty per cent basic—which left forty per cent semi-literate at best. The figures for certain minorities were even more depressing: one per cent of blacks were advanced, seven per cent were proficient, twenty-two per cent were basic, and seventy per cent were below basic.

The 1994 NAEP results were culled from a national sample. The President has proposed that a similar test be given to *every* fourth grader in 1999, but he can't ordain it. He has to get the

individual states to agree, and that may not be easy, even though he is offering to reimburse them for the costs of the examination. "Do we have a strategy for getting the states to go along?" an aide asks. "Well, he'll be out pushing this. We think Governor Engler's support is significant—a lot of the other Republican governors look to him. We're not expecting a huge rush of other states right away, though. . . . Is there a Plan B if they don't come along? No."

And so it is entirely possible that the centerpiece of the President's education initiative will never come into being. But it is also possible—and this is clearly what Bill Clinton is hoping for—that enough states will go along, and then the million reading mentors that he has called for will swarm into elementary-school classrooms throughout America in 1998, and the NAEP results will show a dramatic improvement in 1999. If the President were to achieve his goal—every fourth grader reading at or above the basic level—that would be a significant accomplishment indeed.

He is likely to settle for less than that—for a national-testing regime that demonstrates just how much work needs to be done. And, like the conference on the brain, this may intensify the existing, deeply rutted policy debates between left and right—especially when parents across the country begin receiving the NAEP results, and find their children semi-literate or worse. The left will want to spend more money on poor schools; the right will argue for a freer, more entrepreneurial system. If the President is lucky, a national consensus may emerge—as William Galston proposed on early-education issues—to try both. "You're not going to get an argument from me about trying everything, including spending more money on poor schools," Chester E. Finn, Jr., a conservative education specialist with the Hudson Institute, says. "But we've also got to try some of the things that give palpitations to the teachers' unions"—things like school vouchers, merit pay, and the elimination of tenure.

As President, Bill Clinton has avoided such harsh specificity—in part, no doubt, because the teachers' unions were among

his strongest supporters, but also because he has no direct authority over such things: a union contract, like almost every other aspect of education, is a local matter. Which is why education is an area that Presidents have traditionally left to their speechwriters (and why this President didn't devote very much time to it until he began to run for reelection). Clinton's decision to stake his second term on this usually peripheral area seems a combination of true interest—he lights up whenever he enters a school—and desperation. Most of his and the First Lady's beloved social-policy issues are off the table: welfare has been "reformed" (at least, for the moment), and health care probably won't be any time soon. Crime is down. Affirmative action is being mended, not ended. The great entitlement battles—over Medicare and Social Security—are there to be fought, but they are dry, bitter debates: a matter of taking something away from the public rather than offering anything to it (other than the distant prospect of fiscal stability). "Yes, it's difficult to really *do* something about education," an aide says. "You don't control the levers of power. But he's pursuing this because it's what he really cares about."

These are humble times for government, and Bill Clinton's education plan is a modest policy. He does not ask for vast new funds. He offers no sticks along with his few scraggly carrots—there is no requirement that states join his testing regime, lest conservatives squawk that he is "imposing" a national education scheme; there is no requirement that high-school graduates pass a test to receive college-tuition tax credits, lest liberals squawk that minorities would suffer a "disparate impact." It's also possible that all this will be swallowed by the scandals that have overwhelmed Washington. But the debate about parental responsibility which will attend the brain conference is bound to be provocative, and the outrage that may accompany the testing results in 1999 could instigate some useful reforms. And, though Bill Clinton would no doubt like to be remembered for something more dramatic, he may have to settle for this: that at a moment when the public distrusted the government's ability to provide answers, he demonstrated—in this area, at least—an ability to raise some of the important questions. ♦

FORT WORTH TELEGRAM, Dec. 8, 1996 p. 6 D

(Best Copy Available)

WRONG MESSAGE

WASHINGTON — One result of the presidential campaign is that the rule of unintended consequences kicked in to protect the Department of Education from congressional critics out to abolish it.

The Cabinet seat now seems secure, although its budget, already one of the smallest of the departments, may still be under siege.

MARIANNE MEANS Ironically, the emphasis that Bob Dole and other GOP candidates gave to wiping out the department finally forced them to realize that the public is in favor of keeping it. Post-election Republican surveys indicate that attacks on the Education Department cost the party crucial support among female voters.

The primary target was actually the National Education Association, the nation's largest teachers union and a favorite GOP villain because it contributes mostly to Democrats. Dole even devoted a chunk of his convention acceptance speech to denouncing the NEA.

But the Republicans didn't stick to assaulting the NEA; they also campaigned to destroy the Cabinet seat that Republicans feel is dominated by the NEA.

This was not a revolutionary position for either Dole or other GOP candidates. They were echoing a party stand first adopted by Ronald Reagan shortly after the department was created 16 years ago and encaised in party-platform concrete.

The subject never developed much traction so long as it was a rhetorical rather than legislative goal. Congress never really tried very hard to get rid of Education or any other department. Rather than fighting to reduce the size of his Cabinet, Reagan even added another department, one for veterans affairs.

But this year education became a campaign priority, in large part because of the president's successful stress on such symbolic reforms as school uniforms, high performance goals and a ban on cigarette vending machines near schools.

Don't mess with the Department of Education

Polls indicated that education was one of the top voter issues, contributing to the pro-Clinton gender gap among women. Clinton was seen as a strong advocate for a variety of educational improvements. But Dole's program, centering on handing out parochial as well as public school vouchers, had little middle-class appeal and threatened to undermine the public schools that most children attend and of which most voters approve.

GOP focus groups disclosed that Dole got immediate thumbs down when he vowed to kill the department during a debate with President Clinton. It was a red flag, a symbol of an anti-education attitude.

Dole and congressional Republicans viewed the elimination of the Department of Education,

along with a few other small departments, as evidence that they were serious about downsizing the federal government and returning more power and responsibility to states and localities.

But too many voters viewed it as a sign of Republican determination to downsize the importance of public education in American life. For years polls have consistently showed a clear majority approving a Department of Education and favoring increased rather than decreased spending on public education.

A seat at the Cabinet table brings the heightened visibility that represents a national commitment to better academic performance. Parents may not want federal meddling in every classroom decision, but they want the assurance of that broad commitment.

At the post-election Republican Governors' Conference, GOP Chairman Haley Barbour conceded that mishandling the education issue had been one of Dole's biggest problems. Other conference partici-



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pants told reporters that dumping on the Department of Education had not translated into the hoped-for philosophical appeal of shifting power away from a federal bureaucracy to local schools.

"Instead of talking about abolishing the Department of Education, we should be talking about sending more money back to mothers and fathers," Michigan Sen. Spencer Abraham said. "Closing the Department of Education translated into ... less benefits for your children."

By itself, the Department of Education is not such a big deal. It is so small that it neither threatens the federal budget nor imposes excessive and dangerous red tape or bureaucratic nonsense onto the wise judgments of local school officials. Most of the regulations it does apply, in fact, are congressionally mandated to counter what a legislative majority sees as school district shortcomings.

But education has always been about more than a classic contest between federal and local government power. It is about such emotional social questions as how and whether to teach about sex, condoms, homosexuality and creationism. It is about how best to provide federal aid for schoolchildren, to which children and how much.

It's about how to encourage students to learn. It's about involving parents, discouraging dropouts, improving school discipline, ending student violence.

Abolishing the Department of Education would solve none of these problems. It would create new ones by eliminating the central entity through which they can be showcased and debated and around which a consensus can form to address them.

Voters understood this better than Dole and his party. It is time to drop the silly notion that revenge against the NEA requires scattering education guidelines to the winds. It is petty and counterproductive.

Republicans should now come up with some genuine education programs that involve more than pleasing the religious right or promoting the notion that if only the states are left alone, all will be well.

I'm old enough to remember one-room schoolhouses back home in the Middle West, the result of leaving education up to the states. It is not a pleasant memory.

ADVERTISEMENT

Where We Stand

By Albert Shanker, President
American Federation of Teachers

Ideology and Common Sense

Advocates of full inclusion have a simple answer to the complicated problem of educating children with disabilities. They believe that all of these children should be put into regular classrooms, regardless of the nature and severity of their disability. And they dismiss people who disagree with them as enemies of children with disabilities.

What full inclusionists don't see (or acknowledge) is that children with disabilities are individuals with differing needs; some benefit from inclusion and others do not. Full inclusionists don't see that medically fragile children and children with severe behavioral disorders are more likely to be harmed than helped when they are placed in regular classrooms where teachers do not have the highly specialized training to deal with their needs. They don't see that when a disabled student misbehaves or demands extraordinary attention from the classroom teacher, the learning of all the other children in the class is being sacrificed. And they don't admit that there is absolutely no evidence supporting the idea that all children with disabilities do better in regular classrooms.

With advocates of full inclusion insisting on their one-size-fits-all ideology, it sometimes takes the parents of a disabled child to bring the conversation back into the real world. Arch and Margaret Puddington are parents whose younger son, Mark, is afflicted with a relatively rare condition called Cornelia de Lange syndrome. This means that Mark cannot run, jump, or pronounce more than a handful of intelligible syllables. His IQ was once evaluated at 36. Arch Puddington recently wrote an article for *Commentary* (May 1996), reflecting on life with Mark and America's treatment of the mentally retarded. He discusses, among other topics, the debate over full inclusion—which, to a parent of a severely disabled child, "involves much more than an abstract argument over educational policy."

Puddington knows that full inclusion can work; he's seen cases where it did: "Some children may indeed be able to participate in the competitive environment of a normal classroom; this is particularly the case with children who suffer from certain physical disabilities, and young children who are only mildly retarded." But Puddington is also a practical guy. He realizes that it is one thing to have lofty ideals and quite another to make inclusion work for all children with disabilities. He cites a report by the National Association of State Boards of Education as a prime example of putting ideology ahead of common sense. The report endorses inclusion on the sweeping grounds of educational reform, civil rights, and equity, but as Puddington points out, it is silent on an important practical matter that will determine whether anybody in a class—children with disabilities or those without them—will receive an education:

[It] ignores the critical question of how the fully inclusive school is to cope with autistic children, or children who exhibit strange and inappropriate behavior, who become violent when frustrated, who are chronically disruptive, or who require exceptional medical attention. No wonder middle-class parents are beginning to cite the ever growing emphasis on "special needs" as among the reasons for transferring their own children from public to private schools.

Puddington is not blinded by ideology, and he realizes that a one-size-fits-all approach to inclusion would hurt everyone, especially disabled kids. Take the case of his own son, Mark:

Were New York to take [the path of full inclusion], Mark would be transferred from his present school, which is devoted solely to special education classes, and placed in a regular classroom in our neighborhood high school, a forbidding building with a rough and intimidating student body. Because of his precarious sense of balance and lack of coordination, Mark is physically quite fearful; he goes into panic if accosted by overly playful small dogs. For him, inclusion in a big-city high school would be an exercise in terror.

And if forced into a regular classroom, Mark would not be the only person who would suffer:

Mark would present his new teachers and classmates with a set of unique problems.... The advocates of full inclusion speak glibly of giving teachers the training necessary to cope with the immense variety of challenges which handicapped kids bring to the classroom. Yet no amount of training could prepare a regular teacher for Mark. In our experience, the requisite expertise and commitment are found only among teachers who have chosen to specialize in the handicapped.

Puddington concludes his article with a stark warning on the danger of "sabotaging our genuine achievements in the pursuit of worthy-sounding but deeply wrongheaded ideas." Extending civil rights to children like Mark sounds like a fine idea, but how will these children benefit if special programs and special teachers disappear and they are thrust into regular classrooms? And what about the children in the regular classrooms? As the parent of a child with a severe disability, he sees this as a situation in which everyone would lose, and I think he is right.

Schools change unlikely until '98

Proposal for White lacks panel majority

By BENJAMIN MARRISON
PLAIN DEALER BUREAU CHIEF

COLUMBUS — State lawmakers probably won't complete legislation changing the governance of the Cleveland school district in time to affect the 1997-98 school year — unless some compromise is struck.

Although she called another year under the current system "a real tragedy," Rep. Amy Salerno said she didn't believe most members of the Select Committee on School Governance she chairs support a bill giving district control to Mayor Michael R. White.

That bill, sponsored by Republican Reps. Mike Wise of Mayfield and William Batchelder of Medina, would let voters retain or reject the system four years after the new governance structure is in place.

The lack of a vote before shifting control to the mayor has Cleveland Democrats in an uproar and has weakened Republican support for the bill.

The possibility of middle ground emerged late yesterday when Salerno and Rep. Jamie Callender, a Willowick Republican on the committee, said they were working on a compromise.

The potential compromise would move up the date of a referendum to the first election after the mayor took control, probably in the spring of 1998.

Batchelder said he was willing to discuss a compromise, but believed a May vote would be too soon. "I don't think you can measure how Mike has done in that period of time," he said.

But Salerno said there might be no other choice.

"From my own polling of committee members, I have not found a majority on the committee in favor of the bill," said Salerno, a Columbus Republican. "We've got a lot of good ideas, and outside of the pressure of the fact that it leads to another year of students that have to go through this system, we really need to take the opportunity to sit down and really look at all of them and take the best parts."

Even if Wise and Batchelder consented to a prior vote, it would be difficult to get the bill through the legislature in time for the November election, Salerno said.

To put the proposal on the November ballot, state officials said the legislation would have to clear both the House and Senate and be signed by Gov. George V. Voinovich by May 23.

State law requires such measures to be given to local boards of elections at least 75 days before the election. In addition, legislation does not take effect until 90 days after it is approved — unless lawmakers pass it as an emergency.

Salerno said additional hearings must be held on the bills, including a hearing April 17 in Cleveland. Even when the House comes to a consensus on how to restructure the district, the Senate must hold its own hearings. And after the governor signs the bill, the federal judge overseeing the district will have to approve it.

"That's going to take time," Salerno said. "I'm not sure at this point any of the bills can be done in time ... and that's a tragedy because we are robbing those students of yet another year of education."

Cleveland civic leaders support the Wise-Batchelder bill because it closely mirrors suggestions made by a civic task force. Among other things, the bill would create a nine-member school board, named by the mayor, to run the schools if the

U.S. District Court releases them from direct state rule. A team of professional administrators would be brought in to run the district.

Some supporters of the bill are concerned that the mayor will walk away from the plan if he doesn't get control quickly.

Said White: "We've made no demands and have not delivered any ultimatums to the state legislature. All we have said is we will be of assistance to the community if given a reasonable request."

Yesterday, committee members heard proposals from Democratic Reps. Peter Lawson Jones of Shaker Heights and Dan Brady from Cleveland's West Side.

Brady suggested splitting the 70,000-student district into five mini-districts, each with its own elected school board and administration, as a way to improve management.

Jones' plan is similar to that offered by Wise-Batchelder. It would create a 13-member panel, with six appointed by the mayor with City Council confirmation; four elected from city districts — two on each side of the city; and three elected at-large.

Jones' plan would require a prior vote before any changes could be made. Callender pointed out that the Jones proposal would require two votes: one to create the new governance structure, and another for voters to select school board members.

Jones assailed the Wise-Batchelder proposal, saying it was tailored to fit the unique personality and management style of White, and not the person who may be the next mayor.

"He's not mayor for life," Jones said.

School funds must be our top priority

■ *State must foot at least half the bill for all Illinois schoolchildren.*

By Gov. Jim Edgar

The reform of the Chicago public schools—which we fashioned in the state Capitol two years ago—is being hailed as a model for other metropolitan areas across the nation. Schools in the city and throughout Illinois are more accountable. Local school boards and educators have far more flexibility to develop new and better approaches to educating the Illinois work force of the next century. In the last several years, we have taken substantial steps to demand and produce better results from our classrooms.

But there is an extremely important reform that has eluded us. We need to change dramatically the way we fund our public schools.

About 700,000 schoolchildren in Illinois are not receiving the level of support recommended by business executives and others who have taken a long, hard, realistic look at this issue.

That is not fair. It is not right. We can and should do better in Illinois.

Nearly 60 cents out of every dollar spent on elementary and secondary education in our state comes from property taxes. That is not fair, either. It is time we shift the burden from local property taxes to state dollars.

We should assure that each and every student in Illinois is supported by at least \$4,225 annually. The state should pay at least half the cost of providing that. And we should reduce local property taxes by at least \$1 billion.

I believe increasing the income tax is the fairest way to raise the additional state dollars that will be needed primarily to provide the substantial property tax relief I am advocating. I am open to other possibilities. However, any package we agree upon should be fair to all children in Illinois.

ardless of where they live and end our excessive reliance on local property-tax payers.

In terms of dollars and cents, a tax shift will mean a net increase in taxes for some, a net decrease for others. But I am convinced all Illinoisans will be winners if we assure all schoolchildren in Illinois receive an adequate level of funding and make our system for funding education fairer. We cannot be proud that hundreds of thousands of children are using out-of-date textbooks, do not have access to courses to provide them with a fair chance to succeed in college and the workplace, and are forced to try to learn in oversized classes where teachers cannot give them appropriate attention.

The inequities are to be found in every region of our state. To allow them to persist is to shirk our responsibility to our children and to the future economic viability of our entire state. Our children cannot compete for the jobs of tomorrow—and our state will not attract the jobs of tomorrow—if the General Assembly and I do not act now.

I believe we have the best opportunity in 30 years to accomplish meaningful funding reform. But it will not be easy. If it were easy to achieve in the politically charged atmosphere of Springfield, it would have been done years ago. And I fear it will not happen for many, many more years if we fail this year.

We need for the people to speak up, to insist that members of the General Assembly and I keep the campaign promises virtually all of us have made. They need to insist that we—at long last—do what is right for the children and the future of our state.

SCHOOL FUNDING REFORM

First in a series of guest commentaries

For Release 10 a.m. EDT
Report: More Adults Going Back to School

By DARLENE SUPERVILLE
Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) - The better educated you are, the greater your chances for success, Education Secretary Richard Riley said today in reporting that a larger percentage of adults are returning to the nation's classrooms.

"My message to all Americans is very simple: If you want to get ahead, stay in school, go back to school or take advantage of on-the-job opportunities to advance your skills," Riley said in remarks prepared for delivery at Jefferson Community College in Louisville, Ky.

Riley was releasing the Education Department's annual report on the state of education, which shows that 40 percent of adults participated in some form of adult instruction last year, up from 32 percent in 1991.

The report showed that 21 percent returned to school for work-related courses and 20 percent for personal development. A smaller proportion, 6 percent, studied for a diploma, degree or certificate.

The report also found that:

- High school pupils are taking tougher courses, particularly in math and science, and also are completing more advanced classes in the two subjects.

- College attendance is increasing. The percentage of 18- to 24-year-olds enrolled in college grew from 33 percent in 1984 to 42 percent in 1994.

- The proportion of high school graduates going directly to college increased from 47 percent in 1973 to 62 percent in 1994, despite continued increases in college costs compared to family income.

Employed individuals and those with more education are most likely to return to school, Riley said, noting that opportunities for success in both life and work are limited for those who fail to complete even high school.

The department's National Center for Education Statistics prepared the report, which contains 60 indicators related to preschool, elementary, secondary and post-secondary education that define the status of education in the United States. Included are data on enrollment, student achievement, curricula, revenues and expenditures, staffing, degrees awarded and tuition.

"The record is clear. More and more adults are taking the time to learn new skills," Riley said. "But there is a growing gap between those who are returning to school to learn new skills and those who aren't."

Riley cited new findings that confirm high school dropouts face tough times: In 1994, they were more than twice as likely to receive welfare as were high school graduates who didn't go directly on to college.

Less than 1 percent of college graduates received public assistance.

"I urge students to finish high school (and) to recognize that if they don't they may have years of struggle ahead of them," Riley said.

HOOKING SCHOOLS TO INTERNET, continued...

Time Warner and Continental, however, under "social contracts" with the Federal Communications Commission, already made pledges to provide free high-speed Internet access to schools in their regions, the FCC said. The contracts allowed the companies to negotiate a rate they could charge customers for regulated cable services in return for agreeing to do certain things for the community.

Local franchise authorities said it is not unusual for them to try to require cable companies to provide such free services to schools as a condition of franchise renewal.

Other industries, such as telephone companies, also are offering Internet connections to schools.

AT&T Corp., for example, pledged last October to spend \$150 million over five years to help connect schools to the network.

The cable industry's program builds upon an existing one called Cable in the Classroom. Under that voluntary program, more than 8,400 cable companies and 32 cable network have invested more than \$420 million to wire and connect 74,000 schools to cable TV for free.

Clinton 'unveils' years-old gun plan

By Susan Page
USA TODAY

Eager to promote President Clinton's credentials as a crime fighter, the White House staged a dramatic event Monday on an administration initiative aimed at preventing teen-agers from buying guns.

One problem: The initiative was launched in 1993.

"I know that Bill Clinton's fond of recycling, but recycling a program that was announced three years ago carries things a bit far even for him," said Nelson Warfield, press secretary for Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole.

Two days earlier, Dole had proposed his own measures to crack down on juvenile crime. His plan would charge young people as adults for serious crimes and make their juvenile criminal records available to schools, courts or employers after they become adults.

Under the Clinton pilot project, 17 cities are using computers to trace the guns used by juveniles to the point of purchase. Law enforcement officials then try to arrest and prosecute the traffickers who sold the guns to the juveniles.

"We cannot permit the United States to go into the 21st century the richest, most powerful country in the world and keep allowing our young people to die before their dreams ever have a chance to take shape," Clinton said.

He was introduced at the

East Room event by Joseph Chery, a soft-spoken Boston man who told about the death of his 15-year-old stepson in cross fire in 1993. The boy was on his way to a Christmas party sponsored by an anti-gang group.

The White House ceremony certainly seemed to be an unveiling, with speeches by Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin and Attorney General Janet Reno as well as Vice President Gore and Clinton. Police chiefs and local prosecutors applauded their remarks.

Clinton then sat at a small table to sign a directive to "implement" the program. He presented the pen to Chery.

But the initiative in fact was announced at a November 1993 news conference called by the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. Over the next two years, the project led to the development of a software program that helps collect and analyze data to trace the guns.

Officials struggled to explain what new development precip-

itated the ceremony.

"Today what you have are representatives for those 17 cities representing the police, the federal prosecutors and state prosecutors, all signing on saying ... every crime gun that's seized will be put through the National Tracing Center process," said Ray Kelly, undersecretary for enforcement at the Treasury Department.

But he acknowledged that the cities already had been cooperating. "There hasn't been a problem in that regard."

Briefing papers distributed to reporters described the announcement as "another step to reduce violence among youth."

The cities in the pilot program are Atlanta; Baltimore; Birmingham, Ala.; Boston; Bridgeport, Conn.; Cleveland; Inglewood, Calif.; Jersey City, N.J.; Memphis; Milwaukee; New York; Richmond, Va.; St. Louis; Salinas, Calif.; San Antonio; Seattle; and Washington, D.C.

taught how to use the information, according to a study of the school district released on June 18. Memorization skills are important, but students also need to know how to "apply information to solve complex problems and develop new solutions," the study of the district's instruction and curriculum says. The national educators say they saw little evidence that students were being challenged. In classroom visits, the auditors noted that "students were engaged in either listening to the teacher, completing work-sheets or reading silently." "Few classes reflect a concern for either connecting instruction to the real world of the students or using creative approaches to teaching to make learning stimulating and exciting." The study called "A Curriculum Management Audit," was authorized by the Des Moines School Board at the urging of Supt. Gary Wegenke. Five educators from across the country conducted the study, which was coordinated by William Poston Jr. of Iowa State University's College of Education. 7/12

A NEW NUMBER 1 ISSUE WITH IOWANS: The latest Iowa Poll indicates that the quality of public schools is the No. 1 issue with Iowans that are likely to vote in the November presidential election. With the Cold War in the past, the economy in fairly good shape, and crime perhaps receding as the No. 1 issue, this is a good time to devote the national attention to schools and their place in America's future.

IDAHO

PORTFOLIOS REPLACE GRADES AT NAPLES SCHOOL: Naples School has altered its approach to education by teaching and assessing student progress differently and adopting portfolios for assessing student progress instead of traditional letter grades. Portfolio-based assessment encompasses a variety of means to document and evaluate student growth, including teacher observations, collection of student work, self-evaluations, and questionnaires. This method helps reinforce student achievement by helping students access their own progress, helps teachers develop more effective lesson plans, and gives the parents a visual look at their child's achievements.

ILLINOIS

EMPOWERMENT ZONE PANEL FUNDS TO CHICAGO PROGRAM: After months of delay, tainted by a racially charged fight, on July 2 the council overseeing Chicago's empowerment zone program again stalled on funding a widely publicized job-training program. The vote to hold up funding was the latest example of the city's struggle to make good on the promise of a federal program meant to resurrect some of the nation's poorest neighborhoods. The Greater West Town Community Development Project is just one of about 250 proposals submitted late last year for empowerment zone funding. But it is one of a relatively small number that has a proven track record in accomplishing a central goal of the federal program: training and placing low-income residents in jobs. Even so, its request repeatedly has been torpedoed by the chairman of the committee that ranks proposals. Chairman Paul Ramey has complained that Greater West Town has not helped black public housing residents, especially those from the Henry Horner Homes. Meanwhile, top officials from the Mayor's Office of Employment and Training have praised Greater West Town for its record of finding jobs for residents, including those from Horner, through its woodworking and shipping/receiving programs. Business owners in Chicago's empowerment zone have said that the way Greater West Town has been treated is stoking the skepticism they already have of the program.

KANSAS

SCHOOL QUALITY IS THE NO. 1 POLITICAL ISSUE: According to a recently released survey, the quality of public education is at the top of the list of issues that Kansans consider very important. Of the more than 500 Kansans who took part in the survey, a statistically reliable sample, 74.2 percent listed school quality as "very important" to them -- a higher percentage than any other issue. Other issues included violent crime 69 percent; balancing the federal budget 66.9 percent; maintaining Social Security 65.6 percent; and reforming welfare 59.4 percent. So what is the most accurate interpretation that can be made of this survey finding? Kansans consider education so vital to the well-being of the State that they place school quality ahead of issues that get a lot more attention from the politicians and the news media.

MASSACHUSETTS

ALLIANCE AGAINST DRUGS: A cloud continues to hang over the operations of the Governor's Alliance Against Drugs in Massachusetts. Some 2 months after the Boston press questioned

It's Whoopi time for president

Whoopi Goldberg hosts the 50th birthday bash for President Clinton Aug. 18 at Radio City Music Hall. But Robin Williams wants it known that he won't be a host, contrary to reports elsewhere. He says it's unfair to have people buy tickets thinking he'll be there.

Williams was invited but is working on *Father's Day*, a movie with Billy Crystal.

Goldberg will be aided by Jeff Margolis, her Oscarcast director who's executive producing the birthday event, a Democratic National Committee fundraiser. He says the program will be "a tribute to each decade of Clinton's life ... the



Joannie Williams
News & Views

growth of his political career. We're getting a lot of film and taped pieces out of the family vaults," and Hillary Rodham Clinton is very involved. Margolis promises "very special surprises and moments" but no Don Imus-style humor. "We'll try to be respectful," Margolis says. Maya Angelou is set for a poetic message; Ted Danson and Mary Steenburgen will intro a tribute section, as will Leslie Nielsen. Tim Conway will do a little golf comedy.

Tony Bennett is the only definite music name to date. Barbra Streisand is busy editing a movie (although she's involved with a Clinton fund-raiser

on the West Coast).

ENCORE: "Three tenors, off to see the world," sang Placido Domingo as the trio warbled *Moon River* at Saturday's Giants Stadium concert on their world tour (finale: New York, New York). George and Barbara Bush had choice seats. Who should sit next to the former first lady but a petite young woman with a long braid — Nicoletta Mantovani, who has been dubbed by Luciano Pavarotti "the favorite of my harem!" What did the lady in pearls and Pav's mistress chat about? Domingo and Pavarotti were in excellent voice; José Carreras' wobble is seriously embarrassing. The concert is available again Sunday via pay-per-view, and the tenors will appear next March in Miami.

ECB
Mike

INSIDE TV / BY PETER JOHNSON

CBS future unsure for 'Colors' author

CBS News president Andrew Heyward hasn't decided the on-air future of contributor Joe Klein, whose credibility as a journalist has come under fire since he admitted he was Anonymous, the author of *Primary Colors*.

This, after Klein, also a columnist for *Newsweek*, denied it everywhere — including on the CBS Evening News.

Heyward, who was on vacation in Europe when the story broke last week, is putting off a decision until they can talk eye to eye, so to speak.

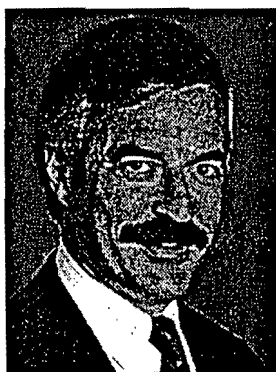
"Obviously, I'm very troubled any time anyone is less than honest with me and less than honest with the American public. And when it's a colleague and a journalist, that raises serious issues," Heyward told TV critics in Los Angeles Monday.

"At the same time, I like and respect Joe Klein, I like working with him, and the very least I can do is sit down with him and discuss the situation."

Heyward expects to resolve the matter this week; he said Klein is on vacation and won't be on air again until a decision is made.

"I do think one of the reasons this has attracted a lot of attention is that it involves a journalist, and journalists are meant to be people who hold people to certain standards. So that does add piquancy to the situation."

Unlike *Newsweek* editor Maynard Parker, Heyward was kept in the dark about Klein's nom de plume. "I would have found that an extremely difficult if not untenable position."



By Craig Blankenhorn, CBS
Heyward: Kept in the dark about Klein's authorship

College tuition less than perceived

By Dennis Kelly
USA TODAY

The public thinks the cost of college tuition is much higher than it is, sometimes overestimating by thousands of dollars, a new survey says.

The American Council on Education, which represents U.S. colleges, commissioned the phone survey of 1,019 adults to help counter an onslaught of recent publicity about soaring college costs. The council's Terry Hartle says the stories often focus on the price of the most expensive schools, where costs can run \$25,000 to \$30,000 a year.

In the new survey, presented at a House subcommittee hearing, adults:

► Estimated tuition at two-year public colleges at \$3,524. Actual cost: \$1,194.

► Placed tuition at four-year public universities at \$6,130. Actual cost: \$2,982.

► Figured a four-year private university is \$19,590. Actual tuition: \$14,510.

Actual cost numbers are from Department of Education statistics for 1994-95 and are for tuition only. The survey has a margin of error of 3 percentage points.

Ohio State University President E. Gordon Gee, who presented the data, said the "sensationalized slant on prices" in some media recently "only perpetuates the sense of unease that families feel regarding the affordability of college." He said the price of public universities looks like a "bargain" considering the public thinks the cost is twice what it is, and is even lower than the \$3,767 the public said would be a fair price.

But Charles Sykes, author of 1988's *ProfScam* (St. Martin's Press, \$18.95), which focuses on abuses in higher education, says "any middle-class family with kids knows that college costs are backbreakers. This is not a myth. These folks should get out of denial and find a way to get costs under control."

Rep. Howard (Buck) McKeon, R-Calif., chair of the subcommittee holding the hearings, says he just wants to hear facts about whether federal financial aid and regulations are helping or hurting the cost of college.

"People are pretty concerned about the rapid increases," he says. "I think this is going to become a major issue."

SEPTEMBER

Insects penetrate genetically engineered cotton

By Anita Manning
USA TODAY

Cotton crops that have been genetically engineered to contain a natural pesticide are failing to ward off insect predators in some regions, cotton growers reported this week.

The news has raised concern that the cotton is producing such low doses of the pesticide that it kills only the most susceptible insects, allowing a generation of pesticide-resistant superbugs to evolve.

The Environmental Protection Agency "takes this extremely seriously," says entomologist Phil Hutton of the EPA's division of pesticide and pollution prevention.

The insecticide in question, a toxin from a soil bacteria called *Bacillus thuringiensis*, or Bt, is valuable because it kills pests but is harmless to animals and useful insects, and it degrades in sunlight. "We don't want to lose it," Hutton says.

The EPA is taking samples of affected cotton crops and gathering other information that "we will analyze and take action on," he says.

A handful of farmers in Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia have had to begin spraying cotton crops with insecticide to kill the persistent cotton bollworm, says Randy Deaton, product development manager for Monsanto, developer of the Bt-enriched cotton.

Deaton says "while the potential is there" for the evolution of Bt-resistant insects, Monsanto has an ongoing plan to prevent that. "We have a lot to lose if our product loses effectiveness," he says. One part of the plan requires growers to plant a portion of their land with cotton that does not contain Bt "to provide a place where the insect can feed and not be exposed" to it.

This has been a banner year for bollworms, Deaton says, and "we knew on this particular worm we weren't going to control heavy infestations. If you have light to moderate infestation, we can control it, but if you have heavy infestation, as we do this year, you need to supplement

with insecticide."

There could be several explanations for the crop failures, says Hutton, including mislabeling of cotton seeds. It's possible "that the cotton's not producing any Bt and then resistance wouldn't be affected," he says. "Is this really Bt cotton or did someone mess up a shipment?"

But, if it is producing only low levels of Bt, Hutton says, "we have a much more difficult scenario because it is far more likely that the worms, by being exposed to sub-lethal doses, would have a greater opportunity to develop resistance. It would be much better resistance-wise if that crop were producing no Bt at all."

Where We Stand

By Albert Shanker, President
American Federation of Teachers

Debunking the Debunkers

What if the problem with student achievement that we spend so much time talking and worrying about were simply a myth? And what if this myth had been concocted and was being spread by conservatives who want to destroy public education? These are claims put forward by David Berliner and Bruce Biddle in *The Manufactured Crisis* (Addison-Wesley, 1995). Combining good news with a conspiracy theory makes for compelling reading, but the authors are able to sustain their thesis only by ignoring or distorting evidence that doesn't fit. Lawrence Stedman, a researcher and teacher at the State University of New York-Binghamton, demonstrates this in a couple of careful discussions that appear in *Educational Policy Analysis Archives*, a scholarly electronic journal.



By any reasonable standard, our students are performing poorly.

Stedman agrees with Berliner and Biddle that the alleged decline in U.S. education—often explained by the excesses of the 1960s—never happened. Student achievement, he says, has remained largely unchanged in the past 30 years. But, of course, we may have to do more than stand still. Take the U.S. auto industry. What was good enough to make our cars tops in the world in the 1950s was no longer good enough in the 1980s. The auto industry had to make big changes in order to recover ground from the Japanese. American education is in a similar situation.

How, otherwise, do we explain the fact that over 25 percent of high school seniors taking the 1994 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) reading test could not read at what is considered to be a basic level or that 50 percent failed to achieve at a basic level in history? This means, as Stedman points out, that less than half of seniors knew such things as the purpose of the Monroe Doctrine or that the main aim of U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War was to prevent the spread of communism.

Student achievement in math is equally dismal. NAEP's own analysis of exams administered in the early 1990s shows that fewer than half of high school seniors appeared to have a firm grasp of seventh-grade content. Most students are competent at basic procedures such as adding whole numbers or reading line graphs, but many stumble when it comes to even simple problems involving fractions, decimals, and percents.

It is not that NAEP questions are difficult—or irrelevant. The history NAEP asks for the kind of information we would expect citizens to know. And if students cannot do seventh-grade math—a minimum for most jobs—it makes little difference that our test scores are still as good as they were 30 years ago.

Berliner and Biddle attempt to bolster their contention that the education crisis is all on paper by looking at international comparisons. Are U.S. students at the bottom, as we often hear? Not at all, according to Berliner and Biddle. In fact, they are at the top—or, if they are not, it is because they are being compared with elite groups of students from other countries or tested on material that they have not covered in school. Stedman agrees with them that U.S. students do well in reading and elementary school science, but he points out that Berliner and Biddle can support these conclusions for high school science and math only by extremely selective use of the evidence.

Take the second international IEA math study, for example. Many countries had enrollment rates in math for 12th graders that were similar to ours, and most of these countries outperformed the U.S. In some cases, countries with higher enrollment rates performed better than the U.S. Hungary, for example, which enrolled about half of its 12th graders in math, scored about the same as the U.S., which enrolled only 13 percent. In the second international science study in the mid 1980s, the U.S. actually had more selective 12th-grade course enrollments than most countries, and still achieved more poorly in chemistry, physics, and biology.

The Manufactured Crisis has been warmly received by educators all over the country. No wonder. They are human, too, and they are tired of hearing bad news about public education. But, as Stedman shows, they are just kidding themselves if they go along with Berliner and Biddle's insistence that our biggest problem is thinking that we have a problem. Stedman does not find much evidence for the conspiracy theory, either. It is true that people who want to privatize public education, perhaps by introducing vouchers, are exploiting the difficulties with student achievement. But the fact that conservatives exploit these problems is no evidence that conservatives have manufactured them. Neither do problems with achievement lead inexorably to vouchers. When conservatives point to the high levels of achievement in other countries, they never mention that none of these countries use vouchers. Why don't we try instead to emulate their successful public school systems?

Lawrence Stedman's two critiques of *The Manufactured Crisis* and David Berliner and Bruce Biddle's rejoinder can be accessed in Volume 4 of *Educational Policy Analysis Archives*. The address on the World Wide Web is: <http://seamonkey.ed.asu.edu/epaa/>

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Book on This Campaign

The Making of Political Best Sellers, 1996

By ALISON MITCHELL

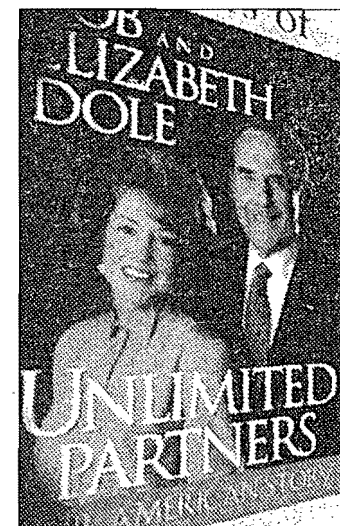
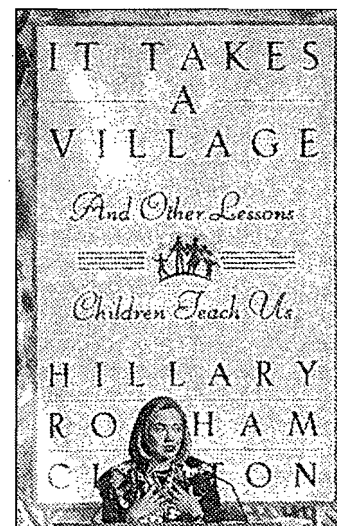
WASHINGTON
WHEN Theodore H. White wrote "The Making of the President, 1960" after John F. Kennedy defeated Richard Nixon, his book provided a groundbreaking look inside the political industry. Now, nine campaigns later, the hawking of books about Presidential politics has become an industry unto itself. And it's ever harder to tell quite where explanation ends and exploitation begins.

If 1992 was the year in which the Oprah and Larry King shows displaced newspapers and news programs as the media of choice for Presidential candidates, 1996 will surely be remembered as the year in which the race for the White House looked in danger of becoming a mere adjunct of the best-selling book tour.

So it was that when Bob Dole lambasted the "liberal media" last week he used the same media to promote the reissue of "Unlimited Partners," the joint autobiography written with his wife, Elizabeth. ("Let's talk about the book," Mrs. Dole interrupted a bit plaintively, as her husband and Katie Couric sparred over the issue of tobacco on the "Today" show.)

Mr. Clinton and his wife, Hillary, meanwhile, had just spent weeks responding not to the latest challenges from a campaign opponent but to tableaux from a book by Gary Aldrich, a former F.B.I. agent, and another by Bob Woodward of The Washington Post.

But what else would you expect from a campaign season that began with Colin Powell: The Book Tour?



Also-rans: Colin Powell's book, now in paperback; Hillary Rodham Clinton's book, looming behind her; Bob Dole's book-signing at a Barnes & Noble in New York.

Of course, books and politics have long been intertwined. After writing "Profiles in Courage," Senator Kennedy not only won a Pulitzer Prize but gained added stature that served him well in his Presidential race. Barry Goldwater burnished his reputation on the right with "Conscience of a Conservative." In 1992, Mr. Clinton and Ross Perot alike used books to set out their campaign platforms. And as long as there have been

long-shot candidates there have been quickie campaign biographies to introduce them.

But many in publishing and politics say this election year has been qualitatively different — and not just because Mr. Woodward released his campaign chronicle "The Choice" well before the major-party nominating conventions. This has been a year when even the No. 1 best-selling work of fiction was for a time a satire of Mr.

Clinton's 1992 campaign, "Primary Colors."

This campaign cycle, politicians are using not just books but book tours to generate publicity and try to retain maximum control over who interviews them and on what terms. They and other authors have timed their books in such a way that the books themselves become

Continued on Page 10

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Seven Challenges That Face American Education

by Richard W. Riley

Today and in the years ahead, American education must reach a new level of excellence for the most basic of reasons: Our very prosperity as a nation, and the economic security and quality of life for each and every American family, depend on it.

So we must roll up our sleeves, invest in our children, and re-dedicate ourselves to quality public education, the very cornerstone of our nation's prosperity and democratic values.

Yes, public education has its problems. But for every problem, I have found many more successful school communities that have come together and found common purpose in going about the business of helping children learn. And despite reports of gloom and doom, much progress has been made in recent years.

Math and science scores are up, and we have also seen a great rise in the number of students taking the core academic courses they will need to get into college.

Still, we have a long way to go. There will be 51.7 million young people in our nation's classrooms this fall, breaking the record set in 1971 when the baby boomers came of age.

The challenges facing us are many. We need to get America reading again and give parents the power to be more involved in their children's education. Our children need to be protected from drugs and violence, and every young person has to gain the technological literacy he or she needs for the coming times.

More...



THE SEVEN CHALLENGES, continued...

We need to challenge ourselves to strive for the excellence of high standards and teach our young people real-life skills to get good jobs. And we must make sure that the doors to a college education are open wide to every deserving student who has worked hard to make the grade.

Specifically, I believe that seven challenges face us. If we can meet these challenges, we will have gone a long way toward making sure that our children get the education and training they will need to succeed in the 21st century.

***The world is changing.
Our nation is changing.
And so must our schools.***

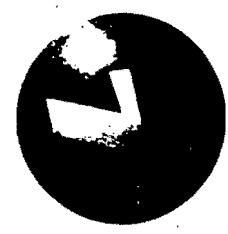


Becoming a Nation of Readers

Our very first challenge is to get America reading again. In a major 1994 study, 41 percent of all 4th graders, 31 percent of all 8th graders, and 25 percent of all 12th graders scored below the basic reading level.

This is why I have announced a new, long-term effort to improve America's literacy. We will create a national reading and writing partnership of more than 35 diverse groups dedicated to the single goal of improving reading and writing in America. These groups include: the American Library Association, Hadassah, the Center for the Book at the Library of Congress, the National Retired Teachers Association, AMC theaters, Pizza Hut, the Girl Scouts of America, and members of the national Family Involvement Partnership for Learning.

I also urge state leaders to put a new emphasis on reading. Every child should be able to read independently by the end of the 3rd grade. And I would like to



see our community, civic and religious groups work with our schools to keep classrooms open at night to teach reading and writing, and to give many of our citizens, including new immigrants, the gift of the English language.



The Challenge to Support the American Family

Our second challenge is to give parents the power to help their children learn. Strong families make strong schools.

I urge parents to have a fierce commitment to the education of their children. Every family should follow the first rule of education and read to children. Start early and keep at it. And I encourage parents to find an extra 30 minutes a day to help their children learn. If every parent did this, it would revolutionize American education.

More...

THE SEVEN CHALLENGES, continued... (3)

As a first step in improving American education, Secretary Riley urges parents to have a fierce commitment to the education of their children and read to their children. What about the parents who are unable to read themselves? Or those who did not do well in school and lack the confidence to teach their children?

The Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters (HIPPY), developed in 1969 at the NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, is designed for parents with limited formal schooling to provide educational enrichment for their preschool children. Support and training for the parents are given by paraprofessionals, themselves parents of young children from the communities served by the program.

In 1982, HIPPY went international, and by 1984 the first HIPPY programs in the United States were established. As of 1996, over 15,000 economically disadvantaged families participated in 107 programs operating in 29 states. And HIPPY is more than a home-based instruction program.

HIPPY empowers parents as children's primary educators and breaks the cycle of learned helplessness. Parents learn that they play an instrumental role in their child's education, a role that cannot be replaced by schools.

HIPPY provides children with school-readiness skills, without which children are prone to failure at the onset of their educational careers.

HIPPY brings literacy into the home. By introducing 24 storybooks throughout the three-year program, HIPPY makes reading one of many activities parents and children do together.

HIPPY is based on a community empowerment model. By working from within, HIPPY builds a sense of trust among parents, paraprofessionals and the professional coordinator.

HIPPY reaches hard-to-reach families by going into the home, families who are receiving few, if any, services.

HIPPY promotes dialogue within the community. HIPPY encourages the establishment of a local advisory group at each site to guide program implementation and to stimulate broad attention to the unmet needs of the children and families served.

HIPPY provides lower-income communities with jobs by hiring and training paraprofessionals from within the community.

Today HIPPY USA is an independent educational corporation with strong programmatic and organizational links to NCJW. NCJW, through its commitment to HIPPY, follows its proud tradition by bringing an innovative educational program to communities in need throughout America.

Parents can volunteer in school and stay connected to their children. Too often we live such busy lives that we disconnect from our children, and we don't even know it is happening. The time crunch can just about wear you down, but don't give up.

One other important goal: Define your moral standards, and if that means turning off the television, then be strong and determined. Do it!



The Challenge to Make Our Schools Safe

Our third great challenge is to keep our schools safe, orderly and disciplined. No teacher should ever fear to walk into a classroom. And no child should ever stay home from school because he or she is afraid.

Alternative schools need to be seen as options for the most troublesome students. We cannot let a few bad apples ruin the school day for the majority of our young people. We need to get these young people out of the regular classroom but not give up on them. They need good, structured learning environments.

President Clinton has gotten a great deal of mail lately from young people across the country regarding his comment about school uniforms and dress codes. If parents and teachers think that uniforms can help children learn, then uniforms ought to be seen as one positive way to instill discipline and prevent violence.

But little will be accomplished unless the young people of America live their lives by a new code of conduct, an honor code that isn't written on paper but written in their hearts. Growing up really comes down to choices: The choice not to cheat on a test or drive drunk; the courage to say "no" to peer pressure when it comes to smoking marijuana; and the willingness of young men and women not to throw their lives away in a moment of passion, to wind up with a baby, and maybe even on the welfare line.



The Challenge to Achieve High Standards

Our fourth challenge is to recognize that we are smarter than we think. We will never help our young people to measure up, especially those living in poverty, if we lower their expectations, water down

More...

THE SEVEN CHALLENGES, continued... (4)

their curriculum, and write them off by categorizing and stigmatizing them.

I believe in the young people of America. They have the same capacity to achieve as the generation that won World War II, as the generation that sent man to the moon, as the generation that set out to save the environment, and as the generation that created the Pentium chip.

That is why I am so pleased that work is underway all across America to develop high standards in core academic subjects.

In Delaware, parents now know that in 12th grade science their children have to master an understanding of DNA. In Colorado, parents of 4th graders have a clear understanding of what is expected of their children when it comes to reading. And in northern Illinois, 20 school districts are racing to be the first in the world in science and math.

We are beginning to expect more from our children and we are starting to see the results. In Maryland, a steady trend in improving test scores tells us that high standards are making a difference. In Kentucky, 4th, 8th and 12th graders are demonstrating dramatic improvement on statewide tests.

I want to be very clear in saying that there is no one way to establish standards. Every state is going to have to decide what works best for its students. Look at the various model standards that are out there and use what works best, but please aim high. We will continue to support the good work now being done in so many local communities through the Goals 2000 education quality initiative.

But aiming high is only half the battle. Teachers need to be able to teach to high standards and we need a greater sense of accountability in public education. Let's remember that teaching is not just a job but a demanding and exacting profession. I'm tired of those who make a living out of bashing teachers. We will only win the battle for excellence if we have excellent teachers.

If we give our teachers the

support they deserve, then we must also ask our public schools to be much more accountable. Graduating from high school has to mean more than going to the senior prom. Many creative efforts need to be looked at to make this happen: Testing at 4th, 8th, and 12th grades, statewide exit exams, school report cards, parent-teacher compacts, and new demanding

standards for initial certification and re-certification of teachers and principals.



The Challenge to Innovate Effectively

Technology is very much at the heart of our national effort to

bring America's schools up-to-date. One year ago, only 35 percent of all of America's public schools were hooked up to the Internet. Today, that figure stands at 50 percent. And we now have a new telecommunications law that gives schools the opportunity to be the first to get on line and at a lower cost.

Public school choice, schools-within-schools, and the expansion of the charter school movement are three other winning examples of American creativity.

Public school choice needs to be seen as an option. Some of our most successful schools are small schools that create a community of learning and do not allow young people to be forgotten.

In his new budget, President Clinton has asked Congress to create new "venture capital" to encourage the development of charter schools. I urge Congress to respond with enthusiasm. I have visited charter schools, and I am particularly impressed by what they are doing for disabled and under-achieving children.

More...



The Challenge to Prepare Young People for Work

Our sixth great challenge is to help our young people to make something of themselves in these new economic times, to receive an education relevant to real and good jobs. Today, too many of our young people see no connection between what they learn in school and the skills they need to function in real life, and too many business leaders rightly complain that high school

graduates come to them without the skills for today's jobs.

This is why I am a strong believer in rethinking the American high school by creating partnerships between high schools and business and community colleges. Our young people need career paths that lead to jobs that actually exist.

Apprenticeships, career academies, tech prep and other school-to-work opportunities represent concrete examples of how we can help young people prepare for well-paying jobs. I urge young students to look at these new opportunities as real stepping stones and to go on to a local community college and to future job security.



Keeping the Doors to College Wide

In the Information Age, every American who qualifies and wants to study hard should have the opportunity to attend college.

So I offer this challenge to every high school student: If you do your share, we will do ours. Through a continuation of loans, grants, Americorps and work study, we will widen the opportunity to go to college.

We believe in rewarding excellence and hard work. This is why President Clinton has called for the creation of a new Presidential Honors Scholarship of \$1,000 for the top five percent of all graduating students in every high school in America.

We also believe that the maximum Pell Grant program should go up during each of the next five years to ultimately reach \$3,120. And it makes good sense to me to rapidly expand our college

work-study program to help millions of young people get ahead in life.

I also encourage Congress to enact into law President Clinton's tuition tax deduction, which would allow middle-class families to deduct up to \$10,000 a year for college tuition and other costs.

I know we can meet these seven challenges because we are a people who believe in education. We did not become the world's greatest superpower, the most productive nation in the world, on a foundation of ignorance.

As we cross the new frontier of knowledge, we need to recognize that the success and freedom of being an American is the freedom to reach for excellence, the freedom to be highly educated and trained, and to be able to negotiate a complex economic environment and become productive and responsible citizens.

We know how to create good schools and now is the time to get the job done. It is the right thing to do for our children and the right thing to do for America.

Richard W. Riley is United States Secretary of Education.

All-Girl Schools Duck the Issue

By Peggy Orenstein

The problem is well known. Teachers, often unwittingly, direct most of their attention toward boys. They call on boys more often than girls, allow them to blurt out answers and ask them more complex questions.

Over time, many girls lose confidence; they don't speak out as much, and don't develop skills necessary for leadership. In short, girls learn to get along while boys learn to get ahead. That's why a group of educators and community leaders have proposed a public junior high school for girls in East Harlem.

The appeal is clear: Graduates of all-girls high schools describe themselves as more independent and assertive than their peers who attended coeducational schools. As adults, they're more likely than other women to achieve pay equity with men.

Peggy Orenstein is the author of "Schoolgirls: Young Women, Self-Esteem and the Confidence Gap."

But as beneficial as these schools may be, they should not be seen as the solution to educational inequality.

Critics of the single-sex school in East Harlem have cited the Supreme Court's recent decision declaring that the all-male Virginia Military Institute must open its doors to women. But an all-girls school may have some legal leeway. Title IX, the Equity in Education Act, potentially allows for public financing of single-sex programs, so long as they are remedial or redress past discrimination. And the Young Women's Leadership School in Harlem plans to emphasize science and math, subjects in which girls have lagged behind boys.

Beyond the legal issues, however, the creation of public girls' schools is risky. The United States has been down the separate-but-equal road before, and it was not a happy trip. Once institutionalized, who can guarantee that educational resources will be divided fairly?

The biggest danger of the single-sex debate is that it shifts the focus away from the real issue: How to make the coeducational classroom, where most children will continue to be educated, work for both girls and

boys. Why not take some lessons about class participation, role models and teacher-student interaction from single-sex institutions, and apply them to coeducation? Couldn't a coeducational school devoted to sexual equality, be advantageous not only for girls, but boys as well? Boys who are doing poorly could benefit

Berkeley, along with a local eighth-grade teacher, are studying how to improve science education, taking sexual inequality into account. Their early results were successful enough to earn the teacher, Doug Kirkpatrick,

an award from the Feminist Majority Foundation.

Instead of clamoring for single-sex schools, advocates for girls might be better off pushing for, among other things, mandatory teacher training in how to encourage girls to speak up in class and not be intimidated by boys; textbooks that include women's contributions to science and math, for example; better sports programs for girls; clear rules against sexual harassment, and comprehensive sex-education programs.

At the same time, educators should be pushing for more after-school programs for girls only. Young women are desperate for programs that build confidence, encourage their interest in activities not usually open to girls and help them avoid teen-age pregnancy.

Pushing for after-school programs for girls is different from advocating permanent separation in the classroom. After all, school boards, administrators and teachers have an obligation to fulfill public education's mandate: to provide a safe environment in which both girls and boys learn their lessons as well respect for each other as equals. □

Let's fix things
to work better
for all students.

from creative teaching techniques, and all boys should be taught to listen to, rather than dominate, girls.

Some educators are already exploring the possibilities. Researchers at the University of California at

New York Times, July 22, 1996, P. 1B

Planners of a New Public School for Girls Look to Two Other Cities

By MARY B. W. TABOR

PHILADELPHIA — Planners of a new public school for girls in New York City have looked to the country's last two all-female public schools, one here and one in Baltimore, for indications that such a concept can succeed — even in the face of legal challenges.

But while both the Philadelphia High School for Girls and the Western High School in Baltimore do offer plenty of evidence that young women prosper in a single-sex atmosphere, they do not provide the kind of legal comfort zone that New York's planners might seek.

Unlike the proposed Young Women's Leadership School in East Harlem, neither of the other schools says outright that its mission is to educate only girls. And both may owe their continued existence to their success at ducking the kind of major court tests that many predict await the planned New York middle school.

"Boys can apply," said Glenna M. Hazeltine, assistant counsel to the Philadelphia school district, who oversees legal matters affecting what is commonly called Girls High. "But they just have never come here."

A 1992 review by the United States Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights, which investigated one person's complaints that the Philadelphia and Baltimore schools violated discrimination laws, found that both schools are "open to both boys and girls" and do not "deny admissions to boys." Neither school has been forced to go to court.

In New York, Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew's office has been in daily discussions

with planners of the new school and with officials of School District 4.

"The last thing Rudy Crew wants is to put his imprimatur on a school that might then be closed due to legal challenges," his spokeswoman, Chiara Coletti, said on Sunday. Among the options being considered, she said, are keeping the school focused on women's leadership skills but admitting boys, or creating a similar all-boys school. An important meeting is planned for Wednesday at the Board of Education.

Traditionally, legal experts say, it has been all-male schools, with reputations as centers of power and superior academic programs, that have come under attack. Just last month, the Supreme Court ruled that the Virginia Military Institute's all-male enrollment policy violated the Constitution's 14th Amendment guarantee of equal protection, a ruling that has thrown all single-sex programs receiving Government funds into question.

"It's not clear from the V.M.I. case how all this is going to play out," Ms. Hazeltine said.

A 1991 law in New York City actually prohibits single-sex public schools, but there has been no single-sex school in the city since 1986 and the law has not been invoked. Neither Philadelphia nor Baltimore has such a law.

In fact, Philadelphia's school administrators say, Girls High has held on to its girls-only status simply by virtue of a fragile blend of tradition, informal district policy and success in warding off the handful of boys who express interest. Both Girls High and West-

ern have also avoided trouble by keeping an intentionally low profile, say students and administrators.

Geraldine Myles, the principal of Girls High, declined to be interviewed before September, saying through a secretary that she was unavailable until then. Philadelphia's schools superintendent, David W. Hornbeck, spoke favorably of Girls High but said he had not given much attention to its single-sex status. "I don't know why boys don't apply," he said. "It really hasn't come up."

Ms. Hazeltine said the city's school board "made a decision that it is important to maintain Girls High as a single-gender school."

In Baltimore, the high school pamphlets distributed by the city's guidance counselors have no language indicating that Western is a single-sex school. The school's principal, Anne Carusi, said simply, "It's just girls; it just is."

Girls High and Western were founded in the 1840's, when single-sex public schools were commonplace. Although those schools began to be supplanted by co-educational institutions in the late 19th century — a movement that gained momentum throughout this century — Girls High and Western had the reputation and support to hold out. Both traditionally accepted only top students and produced high graduation rates.

But here at Girls High, there are some indications that competition from co-ed schools has taken its toll. Enrollment has dipped since the 1980's from 2,000 students to about 1,500, and the average Scholastic Assessment Test score is below state and national levels. The dropout rate at Girls High, however, is extremely low; virtually all the girls graduate and go on to college. There is almost no violence at the school.

More..

Planners of School for Girls Look to Two Other Cities

Continued . . .

Among Girls High alumnae are Judith Seitz Rodin, president of the University of Pennsylvania; Barbara Chase-Riboud, a writer and sculptor; Constance Clayton, the former superintendent of Philadelphia's public schools, and hundreds of doctors and lawyers.

Girls High, like Western, serves a wide constituency, drawing from economically and racially diverse neighborhoods throughout the city. The proposed school in New York would enroll mostly economically disadvantaged black and Hispanic girls from the surrounding neighborhood.

At Girls High, which is in the Olney section of northwest Philadelphia, 50 percent of the students are black, 35 percent are white and the rest are Hispanic or Asian. Half of the students are from poor families and qualify for free or discount lunches. But some come from affluent families.

The school's décor, which includes a pink marble entrance with life-size copies of the Winged Victory and Venus de Milo statues, seems designed to appeal to young women.

Other special features include a "Virgin's Club," something like a buddy system in which seniors are assigned to help freshmen adjust, and a Junior Tea, an elegant party for 11th graders given by school administrators.

The curriculum follows the tradi-

tional college preparatory path: four years of math and English and three years of core science courses. Like Philadelphia's other magnet schools, Girls High has rigorous admission requirements.

But boys seldom indicate an interest in being considered for Girls High when they fill out the city's universal high school application form, according to district officials. This is not an uncommon reaction from boys, said Meg Moulton, executive director of the National Coalition of Girls Schools. "For whatever social and societal reasons, it just appears that it is not as attractive for boys to break the gender barrier," she said.

In 1983, Philadelphia's all-male Central High School, the oldest and most distinguished public secondary school in the city, was forced to admit girls after a state court judge ruled that Central's ban on girls violated the Constitution and the Pennsylvania Equal Rights Amendment.

The judge found that while separate but equal single-sex schools could exist, Central had a richer teaching staff and educational program, including a 50,000-volume library, science program and campus, than Girls High. Central was also the only school in the city that enjoyed a "substantial private endowment."

In Baltimore, Polytechnic High School, once all boys, became co-educational in 1976 after a female student pressed for entrance, saying that Polytechnic's advanced math, science and engineering courses were not available elsewhere. The decision to admit girls was made by the school, not by a judge, said Ian Cohen, the principal.

On a handful of occasions, boys have listed Girls High as their top choice for high school. No boys, however, have been accepted. They have simply been assigned to another magnet school on their list of top choices, administrators said.

In Baltimore, although no boys are enrolled at Western, Polytechnic students can take classes there.

And, administrators say, Girls High and Western have nothing, other than an all-girls atmosphere, that is noticeably different from other magnet schools.

But if the all-girls element is the weak link in either school's legal armor, it is one of the strongest selling points for incoming students.

"When I came here to visit, I just fell in love with the teachers and the warmth of the place," said Gwendolyn Petrucci, 17, who will be a senior at Girls High this fall. "Besides, boys my age are still spitting spitballs and think it's funny," she said. "I don't think I could handle that."

Sheryl L. Sterling, another senior, said that she had been apprehensive about entering high school. But at Girls High, the transition was easy, she said.

Classes, some of which seat the students in a circle, is collegial, not competitive, she and others said. And friendships are close.

As he stood waiting for the bus after attending summer-school classes at Girls High, Curtis Williams, 19, said that his grades had not been good enough for admission, but that in any case, he would not have been eager to be the first male on campus.

"There wouldn't be any guys to mingle with," he said.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL MONDAY, JULY 22, 1996

P-2

Wage Gap Based on Education Levels Off

Difference for College, High-School Grads Hits Plateau

By MICHAEL M. PHILLIPS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

The gap between the wages paid to recent college and high-school graduates, which skyrocketed during the 1980s, has finally reached a plateau. And a prominent labor economist believes that is the first sign that overall inequality in U.S. wages may also have stopped its rapid expansion.

The economist, Kevin M. Murphy of the University of Chicago, says recent Census Bureau data suggest that the payoff to a college education — the so-called college premium — has leveled off. A recent college graduate in 1978 could expect to earn 38% more than the holder of a high-school diploma. When converted into 1994 dollars, to control for inflation, that means a recent college graduate in 1978 earned about \$13.03 per hour compared with \$9.43 for high-school graduates. The premium rose sharply by 1990 to 79% (\$13.93 compared with \$7.79). But in 1994, the college premium measured only 73% (\$12.93 compared with \$7.48), which economists consider evidence that its rise has come to an end.

"Based on my reading of the evidence ... it would seem that growth in the wage gap has probably run its course," says Mr. Murphy, who has written extensively on the subject and is cited by other economists for his expertise.

Economists have long believed that growing wage inequality in the U.S. resulted from a shift away from factory jobs, rising international competition, growing immigration and, perhaps most important, the increasing use of computers

and other sophisticated technologies in the workplace. These factors tended to depress wages of lower-skilled workers while enhancing wages of workers with stronger skills.

But now, says Mr. Murphy, job-seekers are responding in textbook economic fash-

It is too early to conclude that overall wage inequality is actually reversing or that income inequality — a broader measure of the wealth divide that has continued to widen in recent years — has peaked. But wages are a major component of income and a good barometer of things to come, Mr. Murphy says.

The Rush to College

Prompted by the growing financial benefits to education, the share of 18- to 24-year-olds enrolled in college jumped from 26% in 1980 to 35% in 1994, according to the 1996 Economic Report of the President. Inevitably, Mr. Murphy and other economists argue, that rush to the classroom stifles growth in the college wage premium — a trend that appears first among recent graduates who have to slug it out for jobs that simply don't pay as much as they had hoped.

Certainly that has been the street-level view from companies such as Interim Services Inc., a Fort Lauderdale, Fla., temporary-staffing and home health-care company that in 1995 placed 375,000 people.

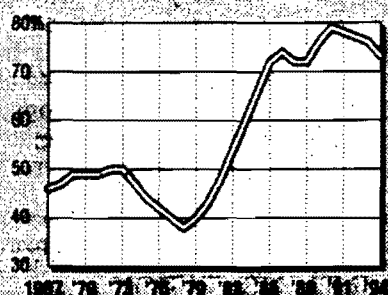
Ray Marcy, Interim's president and chief executive officer, has noticed over the past five years a surge in the number of new college graduates seeking work, and a commensurate surge in the number of those graduates willing to work as secretaries or in other lower-paying positions.

Jacob Mincer, a Columbia University labor economist, projects that — thanks to the surge in enrollments — the college wage premium will actually tumble 25% over the next six to seven years, barring some unexpected new economywide jump in demand for skilled workers. Even students who don't finish their college degrees or who attend two-year programs help damp growth in the wage gap because they increase the pool of skills in the labor force, Mr. Mincer says.

While other economists agree that, in principle, a wage gap generates a self-correcting increase in the supply of skilled workers, some are more skeptical than Mr. Murphy about the speed and scale of that adjustment.

The College Premium

The additional wages, in percentages, that a college graduate one to five years out of school receives over a high-school diploma holder one to five years out of school.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

ion to these changes. Because workers with greater skills and education earn considerably higher wages, more people are attending college or getting other training. And as college graduates flood the job market, they are beginning to depress the premium their degree is worth above what a high-school diploma would have earned them.

Meanwhile, Mr. Murphy says, wages of high-school graduates could start to rise as their reduced numbers result in higher salaries.

More...

Wage Gap Reaches Plateau for College, High-School Grads

Continued . . .

Harvard University economist Lawrence F. Katz and John H. Bishop, chairman of the human-resource studies department at Cornell University, wonder whether the post-baby-boom students — even though a larger proportion of them attend college — are numerous enough to reverse the growth in overall wage inequality.

"There has been a slowdown in the rate of increase in the college premium — in fact, I think it has just about stopped dead for the people with one to five years of work experience," says Mr. Bishop. However, he adds, "the wage premium for people of all experience levels has continued to rise."

How Workers React

Yet history confirms the importance of workers' response to shifts in relative wages. The advent of electrification in American factories between 1900 and 1930, for example, produced a large demand for workers with high-school educations. But the wage gap between those with and those without high-school diplomas didn't widen sharply during that period, because the supply of high-school graduates grew fast enough to meet the demand, according to recent research by Mr. Katz and Claudia Goldin, another Harvard economist.

A similar situation arose in the early 1970s, when a surge in college enrollment — prompted in large part by the coming of age of the baby boomers and the military-draft deferrals available to col-

lege students during the Vietnam War — drove down the college wage premium. There were simply too many grads chasing too few jobs.

The reduced financial benefits of having a college education and the graduation of the last of the baby boomers began to drive enrollment rates down again at the end of the 1970s. Gradually, as educated workers grew more scarce, the college wage premium shot up again — and with it arose the historically large gap between the wages of the more educated and the less educated.

The wage gap, though perhaps abhorrent politically and socially, has the beneficial effect of increasing the value of investment in human resources, says Mr. Murphy.

"You hear coming out of the White House continually this notion that you need to invest in the workers," he says. "There's nothing out there that's going to do more to generate that investment than the existence of this wage gap. People respond to those kinds of incentives much more than they respond to anybody's rhetoric."

More Than One Way to Pay Off That Student Loan

But Extending It Can Prove Costly

By DOREEN HEMLOCK

WHEN Jane Penn graduated last year from New York University with a master's in fine arts, she planned to repay her \$23,000 in student loans over the usual period: 10 years. But the \$300 monthly payment was more than she could afford.

So Ms. Penn renegotiated her loans to pay only interest for three years. This slashed her bill to \$175 a month but stretched out her payments to 13 years. If her finances improve, she can pay more at any time. If they worsen, she can extend her repayment period to 15 or 20 years. Or if she is really strapped, she can link the amount she pays to a part of her income for a few years under a 30-year plan.

"For now, it's a little bit of being in limbo," said Ms. Penn, a dancer and arts administrator who makes just over \$18,000 a year working 30 hours a week as development director of the Jose Limon Foundation. "You're just sort of paying off the interest and keeping them at bay," she said, pointing out that she will still owe \$23,000 after three years.

Until recently, her choices would have been far more limited. The Education Department's move in 1994 to make loans directly to students has liberalized rules for repayment and nudged other lenders to offer many of the same accommodations.

Students now have so many repayment options that choosing can be difficult. Those who graduated in recent months are probably just beginning to decide, since they usually have six to nine months to settle on a plan.

Though stretching out payments may sound enticing, it has a price: far higher total costs, plus fees and other expenses, financial aid experts say. Repaying a \$30,000 Federal student loan over 20 years instead of 10, even assuming a steady 8 percent interest rate and no fees or expenses, would cut monthly bills just 31 percent, from \$364 to \$251, but increase total interest paid by a whopping 121 percent, from \$13,678 to \$30,224.

Assuming Ms. Penn resumes paying interest and principal after three years, she will spend at least \$6,300 more than she would have under the standard plan. If she decides to stretch out payments a few more years, her total costs will really rise.

Still, many students feel they must extend their payments. With grants on the wane and tuition costs rising faster than family incomes, student debt is soaring. College students have borrowed more in the 1990's than in the previous three decades combined, according to the Education Resources Institute, a Boston concern that guarantees student loans. Borrowing through Federal programs alone topped \$25 billion last year and will probably reach \$29 billion this year, with billions more financed through private lenders, credit cards, home equity loans and other programs.

On average, this year's college graduates owe \$11,000 from Federal loan programs and may owe up to \$19,000 to other sources. Those finishing graduate schools, like three-year law programs, may have total debts of \$90,000 to \$120,000. As a rule of thumb, financial planners estimate a monthly payment of \$125 for every \$10,000 borrowed.

That means many college graduates face bills of \$375 a month, and new lawyers perhaps \$1,250 a month, amounts difficult to pay if starting salaries are low.

Many graduates are consolidating; that is, grouping together loans from multiple sources and refinancing them under the new repayment schedules. About 208,000 people consolidated \$2 billion in Federal student loans last fiscal year, an increase of more than 25 percent from a year earlier. The tally is expected to more than triple to 624,000 borrowers and \$11.6 billion in 2003, the Education Department said. Billions more in loans also are being rescheduled through private lenders and other sources.

"We believe these options will lead to lower default rates," said David Longaneker, the assistant secretary for post-secondary education.

With so many choices then, how does a student decide among options? Anthony F. Rizzuto, a certified financial planner at American Express Financial Advisors, said cash flow is the main consideration. A grad-

uate just out of law school or medical residency who will be earning a hefty salary should take the standard 10-year plan and "get rid of the debt quick," he advised.

He recommended that someone starting a business should choose a longer plan with smaller initial payments, but probably no more than 15 years. "You don't want to be paying through your 40's," he said.

At that point, the loans could seem like a real burden, especially since the interest is not tax-deductible. "Try to pay them off soon," said Raymond Loewe, president of College Money, a consulting firm in Marlton, N.J. "If not, they'll get in the way of your life style later, when you may want to get a big home mortgage that will have tax-deductible interest."

Whatever the period selected, financial advisers emphasize paying on time to maintain a good credit record. Many programs now offer rewards. Sallie Mae, the Government-sponsored agency that buys most Federal loans on the secondary market, cuts interest rates by 2 percentage points on

More...

Pay Off That Student Loan

continued...

federally subsidized Stafford loans after students make their first 48 payments on time. It trims 0.25 points more when payments are electronically debited from bank accounts.

Do not wait until falling behind on payments to broach the subject with the lender, financial planners and others advise. "If you are at a law firm and even sense there may be layoffs, immediately contact your lender to see what options may be available to you," said Alice Rigas, director of financial aid at Columbia Law School.

For someone in a real bind, lenders may agree to a proposal to delay or to reduce payments quickly. During processing, which may take 30 days or more, students need to keep up their monthly payments.

Averting default is essential. Along with creating new repayment options, the Government is getting tougher on delinquents by garnisheeing wages, refusing to release tax refunds, taking people to court and informing private credit bureaus. Bad credit could block access to financing for cars, credit cards or further education.

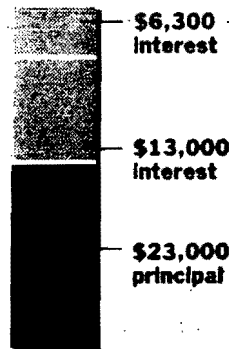
Should a graduate secure a high-paying job or come up with extra cash, advisers often suggest paying more than the monthly minimum on student loans. Prepayment saves interest and carries no penalty.

But even before that, try paying off credit card debts or other loans with high interest rates. Then move on to the student loans with the highest rates.

There is one final consideration for those trying to decide how to split up a tight budget. When taxes are figured in, it's often preferable to put money into a 401(k) retirement savings plan at work, since the contributions are made with pretax dollars. The money invested in these plans may provide greater returns than the interest rate paid on student loans, and employers often provide some matching money. □

Stretching Out the Schedule

Jane Penn is paying only interest for 3 years on her student loans, in effect stretching a 10-year repayment plan into a 13-year plan.



For the first 3 years, she pays \$175 a month

For the next 10 years, she will pay \$300 a month, totaling \$36,000, the amount she would have paid.



Illustration by Stuart Goldenberg for The New York Times

Paying by Degrees for a College

*Glendening Backs Prepayment-Installment
Plan to Help Md. Parents Beat Tuition Inflation*

Education

By Michael Abramowitz

Washington Post Staff Writer

Maryland Gov. Parris N. Glendening (D) endorsed in concept yesterday permitting parents to pay for their children's college education in advance, thus protecting them against escalating tuition costs.

Glendening said Maryland's plan would be modeled after those in several other states, including Florida, where parents can prepay college tuition at state institutions in manageable installments. The Florida plan shields parents from inflation by guaranteeing that their children's tuition will be paid even if costs surge beyond what was expected.

"Our concern is that all across this country, certainly across Maryland, people today simply cannot afford to send their children to college," Glendening told reporters after raising the proposal with delegates to the Maryland PTA summer conference in Towson.

Glendening said that many details of the Maryland plan remain to be worked out by a panel he and legislative leaders have created to study the issue. The panel will be headed by Edwin S. Crawford, a Baltimore investment banker and a member of the University of Maryland Board of Regents, administration officials said.

Glendening said he is committed to submitting a formal proposal to the General Assembly when it reconvenes in January.

If the plan goes through, Maryland would join a growing number of states that have adopted college prepayment plans. Eight states have adopted such plans, and others are on the way, including in Virginia, where a new higher education trust expects to begin selling "prepaid tuition contracts" by the end of November.

Although not a guarantee of college admission, contracts such as Virginia's will cover the cost of tuition and fees at public colleges and universities, as well as a large part of

the cost at more expensive private colleges or out-of-state schools. One of the largest programs is in Florida, where families of more than 376,000 children have begun paying for college costs in this way since the program was established in 1987.

The biggest virtue of such programs is the peace of mind they offer families, according to Glendening and other advocates. With college costs rising about 7 percent annually, well ahead of inflation, parents know that if they set aside a certain amount of money, their child's "tuition will be absolutely guaranteed," the governor said.

In other states, the amount set aside depends on a child's age and actuarial projections of what college will cost when the child enrolls.

But there are pitfalls to participating in such programs, financial planners warned. These include a potential tax liability facing the child when he or she begins using the money set aside for college tuition and the possibility that parents would do better

by investing in mutual funds or other holdings.

"Generally, we tell [clients], 'You'll probably do better if you buy a good mutual plan and save outside the plan,'" said Raymond Loewe, president of College Money, a financial planning firm that specializes in helping families plan for college costs. "I'm not against the concept, but there are too many unanswered questions."

Still, advocates said, the new program would represent a major improvement over the current situation. "This changes the whole approach to how we pay college costs in the state of Maryland," said Del. Mathew Mossburg (R-Montgomery), who introduced the task force bill in the House. "Now we are shifting the philosophy from debt to guaranteed savings. . . . We're assuring parents that their children's educational costs will be met. What we're really doing is alleviating a major fear."

Colleges Blame States, Federal Rules For Tuition Hikes

Rising college costs are due mostly to reduced state support and increased federal regulation, a college president told a House subcommittee yesterday.

States are shifting funds from higher education to cover rising prison and medical costs, said Gordon Gee, president of Ohio State University.

And federal regulations—such as those requiring equal access for the disabled, and equal access for women to athletic programs—drive up costs faster than inflation, Gee said at a House Postsecondary Education, Training and Life-Long Learning Subcommittee hearing on rising college costs.

“State legislatures and governors must resist the temptation to relieve budgetary pressure by ... raising tuition,” Gee said in testimony prepared for the hearing.

‘Seller’s Market’

But Thomas Hall, representing the U.S. Students’ Association, said Gee’s arguments distort the real reason tuition is skyrocketing.

“The short answer as to why colleges are increasing their price is because they can,” he said in prepared testimony. “Colleges today are operating in a seller’s market.”

Hall added that other industries have complied

with federal regulations without significantly increasing costs.

Tuition rose 6.1 percent in 1994, according to a survey by the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (ED, Sept. 18, 1995). Annual tuition hikes sprang into double digits in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

This winter, President Clinton urged college presidents to do more to keep the cost of college in check.

But Gee said the federal government should step up its contributions to students, as well: “Congress should rededicate itself to providing adequate support for need-based student assistance.”

Thomas Kane of the Washington, D.C.-based Brookings Institution agreed, saying the federal government hasn’t kept up the value of Pell Grants, which help low-income students attend college.

“Although the real value of the maximum Pell Grant has fallen by 20 percent, total Pell Grant spending increased by 40 percent between 1980 and 1994,” he said in a statement.

No further action is planned after today’s hearing, but the testimony will help lawmakers begin considering reauthorization of the Higher Education Act (HEA). HEA expires Sept. 30, 1997. —Rebecca S. Weiner

Budget Tables

Education Daily Special Supplement • July 23, 1996

P-1

The following tables compare the fiscal 1997 Education Department appropriations the House passed this month with President Clinton's proposal and fiscal 1994-96 funding. Senate education appropriators may issue their fiscal 1997 plan this week.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT	Fiscal 1994 appropriations	Fiscal 1995 appropriations	Fiscal 1996 appropriations	Clinton's 1997 request	House 1997 proposal
(dollars in thousands)					
ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION					
Title I Programs for Disadvantaged Students (ESEA I-A)					
Basic grants	\$5,642,000	\$5,968,235	\$6,046,266	\$5,494,065	\$6,047,266
Concentration grants	694,000	663,137	684,082	670,935	704,082
Targeted grants	0	0	0	1,000,000	0
Bur. of Indian Affairs/outlying areas	0	66,984	0	0	0
Capital expenses for private school children	41,434	41,434	38,119	20,000	20,000
Even start (I-B)	91,373	102,024	101,997	102,000	101,997
State agency programs:					
Migrant (I-C)	305,193	305,475	305,474	320,000	305,474
Neglected and delinquent (I-D)	35,407	39,311	39,311	40,000	39,311
State program improvement grants (I-A)	25,933	27,560	0	15,000	0
Evaluation (I-E)	7,987	3,664	3,359	10,000	7,000
Innovative practices demonstrations (I-E)	0	0	0	7,000	0
Rural, other technical assistance centers	10,073	0	0	0	0
State administration	60,712	0	0	0	0
Subtotal, Title I	6,914,112	7,217,824	7,218,608	7,679,000	7,225,130
Migrant education (HEA IV-A-5)					
High school equivalency program	8,161	8,088	7,441	0	0
College assistance migrant program	2,224	2,204	2,028	0	0
Subtotal, Migrant Education	10,385	10,292	9,469	0	0
School Assistance in Federally Affected Areas (Impact Aid ESEA VIII)					
Payments for federal property	16,293	16,293	16,293	0	17,500
Payments for heavily affected districts	33,437	40,000	50,000	20,000	50,000

The total for grants to LEAs includes about \$1.3 billion that becomes available on Oct. 1 of the following fiscal year.

(more)

KEY TO EDUCATION LAWS

HEA -- Higher Education Act

CRA -- Civil Rights Act

PHEAA -- Postsecondary Education Act

ESEA -- Elementary and Secondary Education Act

IDEA -- Individuals with Disabilities Education Act

RA -- Rehabilitation Act

AWA -- Adult Education Act

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT	Fiscal 1994 appropriations	Fiscal 1995 appropriations	Fiscal 1996 appropriations	Clinton's 1997 request	House 1997 proposal
(dollars in thousands)					
Facilities maintenance	0	0	0	3,000	0
Basic support payments	0	631,707	581,707	550,000	615,500
Payments for children with disabilities	0	40,000	40,000	40,000	40,000
Disaster assistance	115,000	0	0	0	0
Construction	11,904	0	5,000	4,000	5,000
Payments for "A" children	613,445	0	0	0	0
Payments for "B" children	123,129	0	0	0	0
Subtotal, Impact Aid	913,208	728,000	693,000	617,000	728,000
School Improvement					
Eisenhower professional development state grants (ESEA II-B)	250,998	251,298	275,000	610,000	0
Innovative education program strategies state grants (ESEA VI-A)	369,500	347,250	275,000	0	606,517
Inexpensive book distribution (ESEA X-E)	10,300	10,300	10,265	9,000	9,000
Arts in education (ESEA X-D)	8,944	10,500	9,000	10,000	9,000
Law-related education (ESEA)	5,952	4,500	0	0	0
Safe, drug-free schools, communities (ESEA IV)					
State grants	369,500	440,981	440,978	515,000	440,978
National programs	59,496	25,000	24,993	25,000	0
School personnel training	13,614	0	0	0	0
Emergency grants	24,552	0	0	0	0
Safe schools initiative	20,000	0	0	0	0
Christa McAuliffe fellowships (HEA V-C-2)	1,964	1,946	0	2,000	0
Magnet schools assistance (ESEA V-A)	107,985	111,519	95,000	95,000	95,000
Education for homeless children, youths (McKinney Act VII-B)	25,470	28,811	23,000	29,000	23,000
Women's educational equity (ESEA V-B)	1,984	3,967	0	4,000	2,000
Training and advisory services (CRA IV)	21,606	21,412	7,334	14,000	7,334
Dropout prevention (ESEA V-C)	37,730	12,000	0	0	0
Assistance to the Virgin Islands (ESEA X-M)	1,227	0	0	0	0
Ellender fellowships (ESEA X-G)	4,223	3,000	1,500	0	1,000
Follow Through Act	8,478	0	0	0	0
Education for Native Hawaiians (ESEA IX-B)	8,224	9,000	12,000	6,000	4,000
Foreign language assistance (ESEA VII-B)	10,912	10,912	10,039	0	0
Training in early childhood education and violence counseling (HEA V-F)	14,000	0	0	0	0
Charter schools (ESEA X-C)	0	6,000	18,000	40,000	18,000
Technical assistance for improving ESEA programs (XIII-A)	0	29,641	21,507	45,000	21,554
Subtotal, School Improvement, Other Program	1,376,659	1,328,037	1,223,616	1,404,000	1,237,383
Goals 2000 School Reform					
Goals 2000: Educate America Act (P.L. 103-227)					
State, local reform	97,000	361,870	340,000	476,000	0
Parental assistance	0	10,000	10,000	15,000	0
Subtotal, Goals 2000 School Reform	97,000	361,870	350,000	491,000	0

\$5 million for foreign language assistance is included in bilingual and immigrant education.

(more)

(3)

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT	Fiscal 1994 appropriations	Fiscal 1995 appropriations	Fiscal 1996 appropriations	Clinton's 1997 request	House 1997 proposal
(dollars in thousands)					
Indian Education					
Grants to local education agencies	57,210	59,686	50,000	61,200	50,000
Special programs for Indian children	17,394	12,342	0	12,000	0
Special programs for adult Indians	4,861	5,420	0	5,000	0
National activities	200	125	0	0	0
Program administration	3,835	3,468	2,497	3,300	2,497
Subtotal, Indian Education	83,500	81,041	52,497	81,500	52,497
Total, Elementary and Secondary Education	9,394,864	9,727,064	9,547,190	10,272,500	9,243,010
VOCATIONAL AND ADULT EDUCATION					
Vocational Education (Carl D. Perkins Act)					
Basic state grants (Perkins Title II)	972,750	972,750	972,750	1,100,000	972,750
Community-based organizations (Perkins III-A)	11,785	0	0	0	0
Consumer education (Perkins III-B)	34,720	0	0	0	0
Tech-prep education (Perkins III-E)	104,123	108,000	100,000	0	100,000
Tribally controlled postsecondary vocational institutions (Perkins III-H)	2,946	2,919	2,919	2,919	2,919
State councils	8,928	8,848	0	0	0
National programs (Perkins IV A-C)	38,077	11,101	4,998	17,081	0
Bilingual vocational training (Perkins IV-E)	2,946	0	0	0	0
Permanent appropriation (Smith-Hughes Act)	7,148	7,148	7,148	0 ²	7,148
Subtotal, Vocational Education	1,183,423	1,110,766	1,087,815	1,120,000	1,082,817
School-To-Work					
School-To-Work Opportunities Act (P.L. 103-239)	50,000	122,500	180,000	200,000	175,000
Subtotal, School-To-Work Transition	50,000	122,500	180,000	200,000	175,000
Adult Education (AEA)					
State grants (Part B)	254,624	252,345	250,000	290,000	250,000
National programs	8,837	8,769	4,860	10,000	4,000
State literacy resource centers (Part B)	7,857	0	0	0	0
Workplace literacy partnerships (Part C)	18,906	12,736	0	0	0
Literacy training for homeless adults (McKinney Act)	9,584	0	0	0	0
Literacy programs for prisoners (National Literacy Act)	5,100	5,100	4,723	0	0
Subtotal, Adult Education	304,908	278,950	259,583	300,000	254,000
Total, Vocational and Adult Education	1,538,331	1,512,216	1,527,398	1,620,000	1,511,817
BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND MINORITY LANGUAGES AFFAIRS (ESEA VII)					
Instructional services	148,755	117,190	128,000	117,190	117,190
Support services	15,977	14,330	0	14,330	0
Professional development	36,431	25,180	0	25,180	0
Immigrant education	38,992	50,000	50,000	100,000	50,000
Foreign language assistance	0	0	0	5,000	0
Total, Bilingual Education	240,155	206,700	178,000	261,700	167,190

(more)

¹ Funds are provided through Interior Department appropriations.² Legislation has been proposed to eliminate permanent appropriations in the Smith-Hughes Act.³ Receives equal funding through the Labor Department.⁴ Receives an additional \$170 million through the Labor Department.

(4)

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT	Fiscal 1994 appropriations	Fiscal 1995 appropriations	Fiscal 1996 appropriations	Clinton's 1997 request	House 1997 proposal
(dollars in thousands)					
SPECIAL EDUCATION AND REHABILITATIVE SERVICES					
Education for the Disabled					
State assistance					
State grant program (IDEA B)	2,149,686	2,322,915	2,323,837	2,603,247	2,323,837
Preschool grants (IDEA B)	339,257	360,265	360,409	380,000	360,409
Early intervention grants (IDEA H)	253,152	315,632	315,754	315,632	315,754
Chapter 1 handicapped program	116,878	0	0	0	0
Subtotal, State Grants	2,858,973	2,998,812	3,000,000	3,298,879	3,000,000
Special Purpose Funds (IDEA)					
Deaf-blindness (Part C)	12,832	12,832	12,832	0	12,832
Serious emotional disturbance (Part C)	4,147	4,147	4,147	0	4,147
Severe disabilities projects (Part C)	9,330	10,030	10,030	0	10,030
Early childhood education (Part C)	25,167	25,167	25,147	0	25,147
Secondary transitional services (Part C)	21,966	23,966	23,966	0	23,966
Postsecondary education (Part C)	8,839	8,839	8,839	0	8,839
Innovation and development (Part E)	20,635	20,635	14,000	0	14,000
Media and captioning services (Part F)	18,642	19,142	19,130	0	20,030
Technology applications (Part G)	10,862	10,862	9,993	0	9,993
Special studies (Part B)	3,855	4,160	3,827	0	3,827
Personnel development (Part D)	91,339	91,339	91,339	0	91,339
Parent training (Part D)	12,735	13,535	13,535	0	13,535
Clearinghouses (Part D)	2,162	2,162	1,989	0	1,989
Regional resource centers (Part C)	7,218	7,218	6,641	0	6,641
Program support, improvement (proposed)	0	0	0	254,034	0
Subtotal, Special Purpose Funds	249,729	254,034	245,415	254,034	246,315
Total, Education for the Disabled	3,108,702	3,252,846	3,245,415	3,552,913	3,246,315
Rehabilitation Services and Disability Research (RA)					
Vocational rehabilitation state grants (Title I)	1,974,145	2,054,145	2,114,334	2,176,038	2,176,038
Technical assistance	0	0	1,000	0	0
Supported employment state grants (Title VI-C)	34,536	36,536	38,152	38,152	38,152
Client assistance (Title I)	9,547	9,824	10,119	10,392	10,392
Service, demonstration (Titles III, VI, VIII)	56,396	56,646	51,023	45,459	45,459
Helen Keller National Center	6,741	6,936	7,144	7,337	7,337
Independent living (Title VII)	62,952	71,344	72,560	74,687	74,687
Protection and advocacy (Title V)	5,500	7,456	7,456	7,657	7,657
Training (Titles III, VIII)	39,629	39,629	39,629	39,629	39,629
National Institute on Disability and Rehabilitation Research (Title I)	68,146	70,000	69,984	70,000	70,000
Assistive technology assistance	37,744	39,249	36,109	39,249	36,109
Evaluation	1,600	1,587	1,582	1,587	1,587
1996 Paralympics games	0	0	7,000	0	0
Program Improvement	0	0	0	2,400	2,400
Subtotal, Rehabilitative Services, Disability Research	2,296,936	2,393,352	2,456,092	2,512,587	2,509,447
Special Institutions					
American Printing House for the Blind	6,463	6,680	6,680	6,495	6,680
National Technical Institute for the Deaf	41,836	43,191	42,180	43,041	43,041
Gallaudet University	78,435	80,030	77,629	80,030	79,182
Subtotal, Special Institutions	126,734	129,901	126,489	129,566	128,903
Total, Special Education and Rehabilitative Services	5,532,372	5,776,099	5,827,996	6,195,066	5,884,665
					(more)

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT	Fiscal 1994 appropriations	Fiscal 1995 appropriations	Fiscal 1996 appropriations	Clinton's 1997 request	House 1997 proposal
(dollars in thousands)					
RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT					
Education Research, Statistics					
Research	78,000	86,200	107,021	108,000	121,641
Statistics	48,588	48,153	46,227	50,000	50,000
Assessment	29,262	32,752	32,623	32,750	32,623
Fund for Education Improvement (ESEA X-A)	33,379	36,750	37,611	40,000	40,000
Fund for the Improvement and Reform of Schools and Teaching (P.L. 100-297)	9,083	0	0	0	0
National Diffusion Network (ESEA XIII-B)	14,582	11,780	0	0	0
Javits gifted, talented education (ESEA X-B)	9,607	4,921	3,000	10,000	3,000
Territorial teacher assistance	1,737	0	0	0	0
National writing project (ESEA X-K)	3,212	3,212	2,955	0	0
21st century learning center (ESEA X-I)	0	750	750	0	0
International education exchange (Goals 2000 Title VI)	0	3,000	5,000	3,000	3,000
Eisenhower math, science programs (ESEA II-A)					
National programs	16,072	0	0	0	0
Regional consortia	13,871	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000
Eisenhower professional development, national activities (ESEA II A.C)	0	21,356	17,984	15,000	0
National Board for Professional Teaching Standards	4,792	0	0	0	0
Civics education (ESEA)	4,463	4,463	4,000	4,000	4,000
Educational technology (ESEA III)	0	22,500	48,000	325,000	48,000
Star schools (ESEA IX)	25,944	25,000	23,000	25,000	0
Ready-to-learn television (ESEA C)	0	7,000	6,440	7,000	0
Telecommunications demonstration for math	0	1,125	1,035	0	0
Subtotal, Research and Improvement	292,592	323,962	350,646	634,750	317,264
Libraries and Learning Technologies					
Public library services (LSCA I)	83,227	83,227	92,636	110,000	92,636
Public library construction (LSCA II)	17,792	17,792	16,369	0	0
Interlibrary cooperation (LSCA III)	19,749	23,700	18,000	0	11,864
Library literacy programs (LSCA VI)	8,098	8,026	0	0	0
College library technology (HEA II-A)	3,873	0	0	0	0
Training	4,960	4,916	2,500	0	0
Research and demonstrations (HEA II-B)	2,802	6,500	3,000	0	2,500
Research libraries (HEA II-C)	5,808	0	0	0	1,000
Subtotal, Libraries	146,309	144,161	132,505	110,000	108,000
Total, Research and Improvement	438,901	468,123	483,151	744,750	425,264
POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION					
Student Financial Assistance (HEA)					
Pell Grants (Title IV-A)	6,633,566	6,143,680	4,914,000	5,919,000	5,342,000
Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants (Title IV-A)	583,407	583,407	583,407	583,407	583,407
College Work-Study (Title IV-C)	616,508	616,508	616,508	679,000	685,000
Perkins loans (Title IV-E)	173,000	176,000	113,297	178,000	20,000
State Student Incentive Grants	72,429	63,375	31,375	0	0
Family Education Loans (Title IV-B)	163,461	5,058,498	3,297,183	1,785,015	1,768,420
Benefits for participants in Operation Shield/Storm (P.L. 102-25)	3,165	3,165	0	0	0
Direct Student Loans (Title IV-D)	315,727	1,105,221	574,078	544,023	473,023
State postsecondary review (Title IV-H)	21,250	0	0	0	0
Subtotal, Student Aid	8,582,513	13,749,854	10,129,848	9,688,445	8,871,850

(more)

1 Excludes \$833 million in fiscal 1996, \$506 million in Clinton's fiscal 1997 proposal, and \$491 million in the House 1997 proposal from surplus funds.

2 Reflects \$4.79 billion from Student Loan Marketing Association debt retirement.

(6)

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT	Fiscal 1994 appropriations	Fiscal 1995 appropriations	Fiscal 1996 appropriations	Clinton's 1997 request	House 1997 proposal
(dollars in thousands)					
Higher, Continuing Education (HEA)					
Institutional aid program (Title III)	212,870	229,656	194,846	182,611	194,846
Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (Title X-A)	16,872	17,543	15,000	18,000	15,000
Native Hawaiian and Alaska arts	0	500	0	0	0
Eisenhower leadership program (Title X-D)	4,000	1,080	0	0	0
Minority teacher recruitment (Title V-E)	2,480	2,458	2,212	2,458	2,212
Minority science improvement (Title X-B)	5,892	5,839	5,255	5,839	5,255
Innovative community service (Title XI-B)	1,436	1,423	0	0	0
International education, foreign language studies					
Domestic programs (Title VI)	52,283	52,283	50,481	52,283	53,481
Overseas programs (Fulbright-Hays Act)	5,843	5,790	4,750	5,790	4,750
Institute for International Policy (Title VI-C)	1,000	1,000	920	1,000	0
Cooperative education (Title VIII)	13,749	6,927	0	0	0
Law school clinical experience (Title IX-G)	14,920	13,222	5,500	0	0
Urban community service (Title XI-A)	10,606	10,000	9,200	0	8,280
Construction interest subsidy grants (Title VII)	18,029	17,512	16,712	15,673	15,673
Bethune-Cookman College (P.L. 102-423)	0	4,000	3,680	0	0
Aid for Students					
Trio programs for disadvantaged (Title IV-A)	418,525	463,000	462,993	500,000	500,000
Byrd honors scholarships (Title IV-A)	19,294	29,117	29,117	29,117	0
National science scholars	4,464	3,303	0	0	0
Douglas teacher scholarships (Title V-C)	14,731	299	0	0	0
Women and minority participation in graduate education (Title IX-A)	5,846	0	0	0	0
Harris graduate fellowships (Title IX-B)	20,427	10,144	0	0	0
Javits fellowships (Title IX-C)	7,857	6,845	5,931	0	0
Graduate assistance in areas of national need (Title IX-D)	27,498	27,252	27,252	30,000	30,000
Faculty development fellowships (Title IX-E)	3,500	212	0	0	0
School, college and university partnerships	3,928	3,893	0	0	0
Legal training for disadvantaged (Title IX-F)	2,991	2,964	0	0	0
Early intervention scholarships (Title IV-A)	1,875	3,108	3,108	0	0
Presidential honors scholarships (proposed)	0	0	0	130,000	0
Subtotal, Higher, Continuing Education	890,916	919,370	836,957	972,771	829,497
Howard University	192,686	204,663	182,348	195,963	187,348
College Housing and Academic Facilities Loans	6,615	6,241	10,579	12,083	12,081
Historically black colleges capital financing (Title VII-B)	200	346	166	104	104
Total, Postsecondary Education	9,672,930	14,880,474	11,159,898	10,869,366	9,900,880
ED ADMINISTRATION					
SALARIES AND EXPENSES					
Program administration	346,008	356,021	326,686	355,476	297,229
Office for Civil Rights	56,570	58,325	55,277	60,000	54,171
Office of the Inspector General	28,840	30,437	28,563	30,500	27,143
Headquarters renovation	0	0	7,000	0	0
Total, Administration	431,418	444,783	417,526	445,976	378,543
TOTAL, EDUCATION DEPARTMENT	27,024,773	32,956,511	29,072,684	30,241,858	27,443,869

Reflects offsetting receipts of \$224.3 million in fiscal 1994, \$59 million in fiscal 1995, \$407.5 million in fiscal 1996, \$167.5 million in Clinton's 1997 plan, and \$67.5 million in the House 1997 plan.

Source: Education Department.

ECONOMY

Wage Gap Based on Education Levels Off

Difference for College, High-School Grads Hits Plateau

By MICHAEL M. PHILLIPS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

The gap between the wages paid to recent college and high-school graduates, which skyrocketed during the 1980s, has finally reached a plateau. And a prominent labor economist believes that is the first sign that overall inequality in U.S. wages may also have stopped its rapid expansion.

The economist, Kevin M. Murphy of the University of Chicago, says recent Census Bureau data suggest that the payoff to a college education — the so-called college premium — has leveled off. A recent college graduate in 1978 could expect to earn 38% more than the holder of a high-school diploma. When converted into 1994 dollars, to control for inflation, that means a recent college graduate in 1978 earned about \$13.03 per hour compared with \$9.43 for high-school graduates. The premium rose sharply by 1990 to 79% (\$13.93 compared with \$7.79). But in 1994, the college premium measured only 73% (\$12.93 compared with \$7.48), which economists consider evidence that its rise has come to an end.

"Based on my reading of the evidence... it would seem that growth in the wage gap has probably run its course," says Mr. Murphy, who has written extensively on

Tracking the Economy is on Page A5.

the subject and is cited by other economists for his expertise.

Economists have long believed that growing wage inequality in the U.S. resulted from a shift away from factory jobs, rising international competition, growing immigration and, perhaps most important, the increasing use of computers and other sophisticated technologies in the workplace. These factors tended to depress wages of lower-skilled workers while enhancing wages of workers with stronger skills.

But now, says Mr. Murphy, job-seekers are responding in textbook economic fash-

It is too early to conclude that overall wage inequality is actually reversing or that income inequality — a broader measure of the wealth divide that has continued to widen in recent years — has peaked. But wages are a major component of income and a good barometer of things to come, Mr. Murphy says.

The Rush to College

Prompted by the growing financial benefits to education, the share of 18- to 24-year-olds enrolled in college jumped from 26% in 1980 to 35% in 1994, according to the 1996 Economic Report of the President. Inevitably, Mr. Murphy and other economists argue, that rush to the classroom stifles growth in the college wage premium — a trend that appears first among recent graduates who have to slug it out for jobs that simply don't pay as much as they had hoped.

Certainly that has been the street-level view from companies such as Interim Services Inc., a Fort Lauderdale, Fla., temporary-staffing and home health-care company that in 1995 placed 375,000 people.

Ray Marcy, Interim's president and chief executive officer, has noticed over the past five years a surge in the number of new college graduates seeking work, and a commensurate surge in the number of those graduates willing to work as secretaries or in other lower-paying positions.

Jacob Mincer, a Columbia University labor economist, projects that — thanks to the surge in enrollments — the college wage premium will actually tumble 25% over the next six to seven years, barring some unexpected new economywide jump in demand for skilled workers. Even students who don't finish their college degrees or who attend two-year programs help damp growth in the wage gap because they increase the pool of skills in the labor force, Mr. Mincer says.

While other economists agree that, in principle, a wage gap generates a self-correcting increase in the supply of skilled workers, some are more skeptical than Mr. Murphy about the speed and scale of that adjustment.

Harvard University economist Lawrence F. Katz and John H. Bishop, chairman of the human-resource studies department at Cornell University, wonder whether the post-baby-boom students — even though a larger proportion of them attend college — are numerous enough to reverse the growth in overall wage inequality.

"There has been a slowdown in the rate of increase in the college premium — in fact, I think it has just about stopped dead for the people with one to five years of work experience," says Mr. Bishop. However, he adds, "the wage premium for people of all experience levels has continued to rise."

How Workers React

Yet history confirms the importance of workers' response to shifts in relative wages. The advent of electrification in American factories between 1900 and 1930, for example, produced a large demand for workers with high-school educations. But the wage gap between those with and those without high-school diplomas didn't widen sharply during that period, because the supply of high-school graduates grew fast enough to meet the demand, according to recent research by Mr. Katz and Claudia Goldin, another Harvard economist.

A similar situation arose in the early 1970s, when a surge in college enrollment — prompted in large part by the coming of age of the baby boomers and the military-draft deferrals available to col-

Please Turn to Page A5, Column 1

Continued From Page A2

lege students during the Vietnam War — drove down the college wage premium. There were simply too many grads chasing too few jobs.

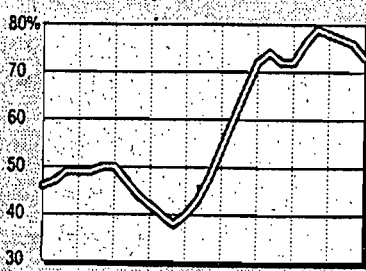
The reduced financial benefits of having a college education and the graduation of the last of the baby boomers began to drive enrollment rates down again at the end of the 1970s. Gradually, as educated workers grew more scarce, the college wage premium shot up again — and with it arose the historically large gap between the wages of the more educated and the less educated.

The wage gap, though perhaps abhorrent politically and socially, has the beneficial effect of increasing the value of investment in human resources, says Mr. Murphy.

"You hear coming out of the White House continually this notion that you need to invest in the workers," he says. "There's nothing out there that's going to do more to generate that investment than the existence of this wage gap. People respond to those kinds of incentives much more than they respond to anybody's rhetoric."

The College Premium

The additional wages, in percentages, that a college graduate one to five years out of school received over a high-school diploma holder one to five years out of school.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

ion to these changes. Because workers with greater skills and education earn considerably higher wages, more people are attending college or getting other training. And as college graduates flood the job market, they are beginning to depress the premium their degree is worth above what a high-school diploma would have earned them.

Meanwhile, Mr. Murphy says, wages of high-school graduates could start to rise as their reduced numbers result in higher salaries.

July 22, 1996

Tracking the Economy

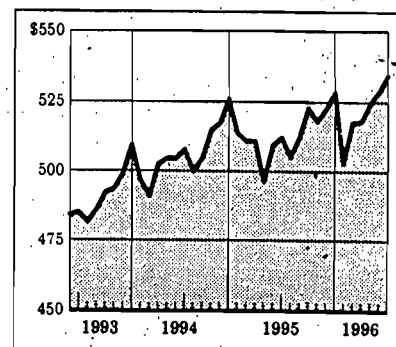
Key statistics scheduled to be released this week

ECONOMIC INDICATOR	PERIOD	RELEASE DATE		PREVIOUS ACTUAL		TECHNICAL DATA CONSENSUS FORECAST	
		Thursday		4.26 million		-0.4%	
Durable Goods Orders	June	Thursday		4.20 million			
Existing-Home Sales	June	Thursday		364,000			
Initial Jobless Claims	Week to July 20	Thursday		355,000			
Money Supply: M2	Week to July 15	Thursday		+\$2.2 billion		+\$1.1 billion	

Source: Technical Data

Weekly Earnings

Weekly pay, in dollars.



AVERAGE WEEKLY PAY of factory workers in June rose to \$534.23 from \$528.74 the preceding month, the Labor Department reports.

Sam Sch
Mike

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

The Forbidden School

With the ink barely dry on the Supreme Court's ruling in June that the all-male Virginia Military Institute's existence is unconstitutional, civil rights activists are quickly moving forward to kill single-sex education projects across the country. The first target likely to have Ruth Bader Ginsburg's *VMI* opinion dropped on it is a proposed public school for girls in one of the most impoverished areas of New York City, Justice Ginsburg's hometown.

It is an East Harlem project known as the Young Women's Leadership School. An experimental program for girls from the seventh to twelfth grades, the Leadership School aims to teach students "to become self-confident, self-reliant, independent learners" using the model of private and parochial schools. Though a public school, the Leadership School is the brainchild of Ann Rubinstein Tisch, a New York philanthropist with a longstanding interest in education. With the enthusiastic backing of the local school district, Ms. Tisch and education reformers from the city's conservative Manhattan Institute's Center for Educational Innovation worked for two years on the project—writing curriculum, hiring staff and arranging space on 106th Street. Some 35 seventh graders are already enrolled for the 1996-97 school year and are getting ready to purchase their uniforms.

We're getting ready, that is, until the school's existence affronted the legal types at the New York Civil Liberties Union. Its executive director, Norman Siegel, wrote to city schools Chancellor Rudy Crew earlier this month to complain and has said in the media that "regardless of good intentions, school boards may not, as a general rule, segregate by race or sex without violating the Constitution and federal and local law."

This of course is a place where liberal lawmakers lately passed their very own "Human Rights Law." Other civil rights types argued that the little school violated the Fourteenth Amendment and the 1964 Federal Civil Rights Act. Echoing Justice Ginsburg, Janet Gallagher, an attorney who heads the Women's Rights Project at the ACLU, told us that "We [the ACLU] will always look very closely and skeptically at programs that categorically exclude by gender" and warned that the school could "reinforce gender stereotypes and generalizations." In a typical version of the kind of modern blackmail such civil rights organizations practice, she also said, "We are

eager to be of assistance in helping the school district develop a program that meets constitutional requirements."

All this is a shame, because studies show that girls nationally do better when afforded the opportunity to study in single-sex classrooms, and East Harlem girls are a group particularly in need of opportunity. A City University of New York study found that the neighborhood was among the poorest in the nation; 1993 city data show that more than one in three citizens of this neighborhood are on some form of public assistance. In the early 1990s, the number of violent crimes there was twice the city average. More than 50% of high schoolers enrolled in New York public schools drop out; in the girls' case, they are often dropping out into single motherhood.

An unusual coalition of forces has arisen to protect this project to save girls, not least their parents, who've been outspoken in support. So is Derrick Bell, a former Harvard law professor known generally as a champion of political correctness. Prof. Bell penned a Times op-ed titled "Et Tu, ACLU" pointing out that a successful action by so-called defenders of civil rights might "do no more than maintain a woeful status quo."

Friends of the Leadership school note with special rage that it appears the city's civil rights establishment is imposing its brand of justice with an uneven hand. The ACLU, for example, seem unruffled about stereotyping, or worse things that might occur at another local experiment: the Harvey Milk school, a public magnet school for gay and lesbian teens in New York. The ACLU spokesperson said the school wasn't a problem because it didn't bar applicants of straight orientation. But the public school for girls dare not speak its name. The whole idea about reforming New York's rotting education system, points out Sy Fliegel, formerly deputy superintendent in East Harlem and one of Ms. Tisch's inspiritors, is choice, not coercion: "No kid is going to that school because they were assigned to it. This is a choice matter."

We have argued that the civil rights mafia's efforts to force all the nation's public schools to goose-step to co-education ultimately will erode just the sort of tolerance they pretend to promote. Insofar as such cases shed light on this destructive hypocrisy, they yet may rouse public opinion, even in liberal Manhattan, and allow the Leadership School's doors to open, as scheduled, come September.

After Cavallo

No sooner was the resignation of Argentina's Economics Minister, Domingo Cavallo, official than a support campaign began around his replacement Roque Fernandez. And for good reason. Domingo Cavallo built and guarded Argentina's convertibility law, which links the value of the peso to the U.S. dollar. He is responsible for nothing less than the demise of inflation as a time-honored policy tool in Argentina. Investor angst over the future of stability ex-Cavallo had built a wall of worry around Argentina, and the spin doctors have been scrambling recently to reassure the markets.

Normally, an economics minister is expendable. If the economy does well, the president takes credit. If things go poorly, he fires the minister. With Argentina's unemployment running over 17%, one might think it easy to dispose of the minister. Domingo Cavallo, however, was not your run-of-the-mill economics minister. It was Mr. Cavallo, at the height of a speculative attack induced by the Mexico crisis in 1995, who circled the wagons to defend the Argentine peso—as 20% of bank deposits fled the country. He refused to devalue. Sound money, he told us, was the only monetary policy that Argentina would pursue while he was on watch. Over his five year tenure, he sold a credible Argentine peso to the world. As importantly, he designed and implemented a massive privatization program that sparked a four year growth spurt for the country. Argentina had turned from being an object of ridicule in world financial circles to a success story.

Success made Mr. Cavallo a god and worse—it made him bigger than the president. The investment community was enamored of him, but he became so entangled in political problems at home that by the end even Mr. Cavallo himself said he was "a spent force."

For now there is a calm over the southern cone. Reportedly, the only lines in Buenos Aires this weekend were formed by *porteños* waiting to see the Argentine opening of the new

movie, "The Hunchback of Notre Dame." Foreign investors and Argentines are collectively relieved that the Menem-Cavallo drama is over and sufficiently convinced, for now, that Mr. Fernandez's University of Chicago training qualifies him as a classical liberal; he is considered more orthodox than Mr. Cavallo. Convertibility, say most, looks safe. The Argentine peso passed the test.

But a changing of the guard at the Ministry of Economics doesn't solve Argentina's problems. Chronically high unemployment and sluggish growth haunt the economy. These are not caused by a lack of technical know-how, which, by all accounts, Roque Fernandez brings to the job. Economic malaise is instead rooted in the absence of political will to continue with reform. The feisty and sometimes hardheaded Domingo Cavallo had more than personality differences with President Menem and Congress. He was pushing hard for vital structural reform and butted heads with powerful political forces.

The need for bold reform is more critical than ever. Roque Fernandez's honeymoon with investors will end, and a more vibrant economy will be expected. Anything more than standard austerity measures will require political skills that the mild-mannered Mr. Fernandez does not have. He will need political support of a kind only a president can supply.

Carlos Saul Menem came to power in 1989, and his government has radically changed Argentina. He likes to take credit for that. But stability is only step one. Gradualism in Argentina is not working well. The country is caught in a transition from a highly distorted state run economy to a more liberal economy. If Mr. Menem truly wants to leave a meaningful legacy, he must resist the ever-present temptation of anything-goes populism and become a genuine, deep reformer. Mr. Menem has the political capacity; doing anything less will risk all that he has already achieved to restore Argentina as a serious place to do business.

Asides

Godless New Jersey

It appears that New Jersey's legislators are running out of useful things to do with their time. Last year the state passed a law banishing the mention of God from state courtroom

oaths, so now a county judge has decided to ban Bibles for such oaths because you-know-Who is mentioned inside. It now appears that Jersey's judges can swear in jurors however they see fit. Maybe just a non-secular wave on the way into the box.

ERASING THE PASSED; PRIZE-WINNING SCHOOL BESET BY TEST-SCORE SCANDAL

by Karen Avenoso

FAIRFIELD, Conn. -- In this seaside town in one of the nation's richest counties, Stratfield School parents had plenty to brag about.

They had T-shirts heralding their public school's two-time selection as a national Blue Ribbon school by the US Department of Education. They had glossy copies of a 1993 Redbook magazine touting their school as one of the nation's best. And they had their pricey homes -- driven up in value by their proximity to a prize-winning elementary school.

Then came "Erasuregate."

Since Fairfield school officials disclosed in May that the answer sheets for Stratfield Elementary School's standardized tests had been tampered with, an entire suburban community has been rocked by intrigue and scandal.

A former FBI agent, who once investigated Eastern bloc spies, was hired to probe the cheating charges. A forensic scientist who worked on the O.J. Simpson case put 8-year-olds' answer sheets under microscopes and in chemical baths to try to find the perpetrator. The school board hired a public relations firm, at a cost of \$15,000, to do crisis control.

Yet, despite all those efforts to deal with what the Fairfield press has dubbed "Erasuregate," tempers remain raw and anxieties still race in this town of 53,000.

These days, neighbors snipe at each other in local papers and at Little League games. Stratfield School students were pulled from the town's Memorial Day parade because the principal worried about potential taunting. As for the whodunit theories, they're as abundant as those in a Raymond Chandler mystery.

It's just the sort of imbroglio, observers say, that happens when parents with high expectations feel betrayed by a school system that was supposed to send their children straight to the Ivy League.

"If you're high-achieving and you really believe in something, it's pretty upsetting to have that belief shaken to its very foundation," said Philip Halligan, president of Fairfield's PTA Council.

The troubles surrounding the Stratfield School, a 67-year-old school with 500 kindergartners through 5th graders, began at the end of April. Superintendent Carol Harrington held a press conference to announce that the publisher of the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, a comprehensive national test given annually to many 3d and 5th graders, had studied the school's 150 answer sheets from January and observed tampering on many exams.

More...

26.

ERASING THE PASSED, continued... (2)

Executives at Houghton Mifflin, the parent company of the Iowa Test publisher, based their conclusions on comparisons between Stratfield's reading-comprehension tests and those from two other high-performing elementary schools in Fairfield. The Stratfield tests had 3.5 to 5 times the number of erasures of the other schools' exams. And 89 percent of the Stratfield erasures ended in a change to the correct answer -- compared to less than 70 percent of such switches at the other schools. Such results, Houghton Mifflin officials concluded, "clearly and conclusively indicate tampering."

The school's principal and many Fairfield residents said there is nothing suspicious about such results. Still, the saga continued.

When students were retested in March, at the school board's request, Stratfield slipped behind the other two schools. On the test allegedly tampered with, Stratfield 3d graders scored higher than 89 percent of students nationwide on vocabulary and reading comprehension. On the monitored retest, their scores fell to 80 percent for vocabulary and 79 percent for reading.

The school year closed with more drama: Connecticut's education department studied tests given to Fairfield 4th graders in 1994 and 1995. Again, Stratfield tests showed higher erasure rates than on the other schools' exams; again, 89 percent of erasures ended in correct answers.

"It is unlikely that this occurred by chance," concluded Harcourt Brace, the publisher of the Connecticut Mastery Test.

But at the Stratfield School, staff and parents remain unconvinced that anyone did anything wrong, and are disgusted with having the integrity of their school attacked.

Principal Roger Previs, an education award-winner and a hero among local parents, maintains that "there has been no proof of tampering." He explains the high erasure rate as evidence of the school's emphasis on thorough, precise work.

"You can look at the statistics and say something is wrong or something is right," Previs said. "These kids are taught to self-evaluate. If you need to make a change, you do."

Parents, particularly, have rallied to defend their beloved school. Shortly after Harrington's announcement, the Stratfield PTA launched a "silver lining" campaign, pinning shiny ribbons with Stratfield pride slogans on their cars, mailboxes and blue blazers. Parents have formed about a dozen committees around the matter, including a school morale committee, a "retesting dynamics" committee and a data-analysis committee. They have also sought advice from a Yale University therapist on how to handle their children's trauma.

"Why tamper?" asked parent Catherine O'Keefe, one of whose children took the controversial test at Stratfield. "We are a strong school across the board, not just on tests."

More...

ERASING THE PASSED, continued... (3)

Stratfield School parents say they are particularly concerned about the impact of the events on their children, who have had television cameras thrust into their faces and "cheater school"

insults slung at them. Many say their children think they caused the scandal and are worried about erasing on tests again.

Many are upset that Superintendent Harrington released the tampering reports publicly, hurting the school without sufficient evidence. One irate parent even sued the Iowa Test company, claiming that his property value has been diminished by what may be false charges.

Harrington insists she took the "high road" by divulging the tampering. "If schools cannot stand for ethics and proper behavior, where are we as a school system?" she said.

But some Stratfield supporters are pointing their fingers right back at her, suggesting Harrington had an ongoing ego-battle with Previs and wanted to bring him down. Their suspicion? Sabotage.

"By winning all kinds of accolades, Mr. Previs has upstaged others. . . . This could have been a way to create controversy around the school," said Stratfield parent and alumnus Cliff Myers.

Beyond the school's Melville Avenue site, there are other hypotheses, most notably about the pressures on Stratfield School staff to live up to their school's awesome reputation.

Around town, there is also some not-so-subtle glee about the downfall of a school with standardized test scores typically 20 to 40 percent higher than those of other Fairfield schools.

"There's always been this elitism if you were in the Stratfield school, as if your kids were blessed somehow," said Clare Liberis, who has two children at another of the town's nine elementary schools. "My kids drink the same water as those kids. No one knew the explanation for why Stratfield always did better. Now there is one."

In the weeks since Fairfield schools let out, the Stratfield School drama goes on. Connecticut's former public safety commissioner has been hired to serve as the investigation's "impartial overseer." A report released by the state's top forensic scientist, Dr. Henry Lee, showed several different patterns of pencil strokes on 81 3d-grade test sheets and a number of hand prints on 28 exams. Still to come: Findings from a renowned education professor at Michigan State University, and a case file from a network of former FBI agents whose typical turf is tax fraud.

ED Requires More Oversight For Student Support Services

The Education Department has begun mandating that postsecondary schools evaluate their performance under the Student Support Services grant program, under final rules published in Wednesday's *Federal Register*.

Before awarding grants, ED will require schools to send documents showing how they meet outcome-based performance standards, and how they fulfill the program's objectives.

Prior to the rules—which became effective with their publication—schools performed self-evaluations, but weren't required to submit them to the department.

ED says that routing those evaluations through the department will allow it to keep better track of how the program is meeting its goals to help needy students.

As one of five Trio programs, Student Support Services helped fund remediation services to more than 165,000 students at 706 postsecondary schools this year.

Student Support Services offers tutoring, counseling and remedial instruction to low-income, disabled and first-generation college students. Its goals are to increase college retention and graduation rates.

The program was funded at a total of \$144 million in fiscal 1996.

A House spending bill for fiscal 1997 would increase funding by \$37 million for all five Trio programs to \$500 million.

That total does not include a breakdown for Student Support Services grants, however.

For more information, see the July 24 *Federal Register* or contact Virginia Mason, Division of Student Services, Education Department, 600 Independence Ave., S.W., Portals Building, Room 600D, Washington, D.C. 20202, (202) 708-4804. —Rebecca S. Weiner

Higher Ed

Single Sex School

Mike

A.C.L.U. Sees Unequal Education, But . . .

To the Editor:

Derrick Bell, in "Et Tu, A.C.L.U.?" (Op-Ed, July 18), misunderstands our opposition to an all-girls junior high school in East Harlem. It might help to explain our reasoning:

Schools often fail to provide equal educational opportunities for girls. To the extent that our education system does shortchange girls, it perpetuates the already pervasive gender discrimination that characterizes our society and so profoundly disadvantages girls and women.

Attempts to create programs that are responsive to the needs of students — especially girls and racial minorities — should be encouraged. Nonetheless, regardless of good intentions, school boards may not, as a general rule, segregate by sex or race without violating the Constitution and Federal and local laws.

Mr. Bell also misunderstands the A.C.L.U. Of course we promote and defend the rights of women, African-Americans, lesbians and gays and others. We champion "liberal" and other causes, but we defend civil liberties regardless of how unpopular or "politically incorrect" the cause, or our clients, may be. Remember Skokie? NORMAN SIEGEL
Exec. Dir., N.Y. Civil Liberties Union
New York, July 20, 1996

Rights Get in the Way

To the Editor:

Derrick Bell makes some good points (Op-Ed, July 18). As an elementary-school teacher, I have seen numerous good ideas never be adopted because of fear for civil rights legislation.

Several years ago a group of educators in Detroit suggested special classes taught by African-American men for at-risk African-American boys in the primary grades. Some rights groups immediately started crying racial stereotyping.

All-girl college-prep math classes in high school have also been proposed because capable girls often get lost in the shuffle in mixed classes.

Educators need the freedom to design programs to help members of all races and classes and both sexes do the best they possibly can. It's a shame that too often rights groups use laws to deny services to the very groups these laws were intended to help.

LARRY WIENER
Alhambra, Calif., July 18, 1996

A Different G.O.P.

To the Editor:

Faye M. Anderson (Op-Ed, July 16) writes elegantly in telling Bob Dole why he should have attended the N.A.A.C.P. convention. Ms. Anderson points out that an N.A.A.C.P. founder, W. E. B. DuBois, was a Republican. However, she failed to note that before Franklin Roosevelt, 85 percent of African-Americans were Republicans. Republicans were different then. RAY RICKMAN
Pres., R.I. Black Heritage Society
Providence, R.I., July 17, 1996

Girls Deserve Help

To the Editor:

Derrick Bell (Op-Ed, July 18) distinguishes between the proposed all-girls junior high school in East Harlem and the Virginia Military Institute. Another difference is that while young women will no doubt seek admission to the military institute once its doors are open to them, it is doubtful that the parents of sixth-grade boys would enroll them in a school devoted to black and Hispanic girls — even if it did admit boys one day.

When schools like the one proposed in Harlem represent the power and opportunity that V.M.I. offers its male graduates, then it may be appropriate to revisit the role of girls' schools. Until then, girls — particularly those subordinated by racism as well as sexism — deserve every possible educational innovation.

PATRICIA HEALY HOWELLS
San Francisco, July 18, 1996

Teach Gender Bias

To the Editor:

Peggy Orenstein ("All-Girl Schools Duck the Issue," Op-Ed, July 20) suggests that the problem of bias in the education of girls will be best solved by making the coeducational classroom a place of equal opportunity and not by forming girls-only schools like that proposed for East Harlem.

Ms. Orenstein's recommendations of textbook reform to include more material on women and mandatory teacher training to discourage gender bias are laudatory. However, few if any teacher education programs currently require their faculty, who train the teachers of tomorrow, to study this issue.

In a series of conferences that I administer at Marymount College Tarrytown on this subject, I have found that not one of more than 80 participating institutions offers a course devoted to gender bias in the classroom. Clearly, many deserving girls will slip through the cracks before the necessary reforms are put in place.

ELLEN S. SILBER
Bridgehampton, L.I., July 21, 1996
The writer is director of the Marymount College Institute for the Education of Women and Girls.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

WEDNESDAY, JULY 24, 1996

T.W.A. Workers Resent Giuliani's 'Posturing'

To the Editor:

The shameful posturing by Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani shortly after the crash of T.W.A. Flight 800 will not go unnoticed by the employees of the airline. While airlines do have crisis management plans in place to deal with the loss of an aircraft, the variables and complications of a disaster conspire against their smooth implementation.

The last thing the nearly 7,000 New York-based T.W.A. employees needed during this tragedy was the Mayor's persistent criticism of our airline. We grieve for our passengers and for the many fellow employees we lost on Flight 800, and we will remember Mayor Giuliani's rhetoric in November '97. WILLIAM RIOS
South Ozone Park, N.Y., July 22, 1996
The writer is an aviation maintenance technician for T.W.A. at La Guardia Airport.

To the Editor:

How shameful for Vickie Cumack to have remarked that there is an inherent conflict of interest after an air disaster with families of victims left "in the hands of the people who killed them" ("How to Inform the Families: Is Quick Better Than Right?" news article, July 21).

We don't yet know who "killed" these victims, but we do know that, whether accident or sabotage, it wasn't T.W.A. The members of the T.W.A. "family" are also victims, both those who died and their grieving loved ones.

JOEL JACOBS
Wantagh, L.I., July 22, 1996
The writer is a former Pan Am flight attendant.

Start Budget Reform

To the Editor:

It's unfortunate that your July 18 news article on proposals to reform the broken state budget process dismissed the Senate Republicans' plan before giving any of the details.

Not simply another idea for a commission, our plan recognizes that it takes the Governor, the Senate and the Assembly to agree on a state budget. Each side would be represented on the commission.

I would be open to any proposal by the commission and, to insure bipartisan support, would recommend that the Senate approve any proposal the commission has approved by a two-thirds vote.

JOSEPH L. BRUNO
Senate Majority Leader
Albany, July 22, 1996



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U.S. Permits Chancellor To Oust Board

Legal Victory for Crew In Bronx School District

By MARIA NEWMAN

The United States Department of Justice handed Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew a significant legal victory yesterday in his attempts to oust Carmelo Saez Jr., the resilient former president of Community School District 9 in the Bronx, who has been removed by three chancellors but returned to office by voters each time.

In a letter issued Friday but not released until yesterday, Justice officials said they had no objection to Dr. Crew's action to keep Mr. Saez and four other District 9 board members from taking office. All of them served on the board suspended by Dr. Crew in February. All were re-elected in May.

It is the second time in a week that the Justice Department has sided with the Chancellor, allowing him to use a new state law to keep re-elected board members in suspended districts from taking office.

Last week, the department also stated no objection to his keeping re-elected members in District 7 in the Bronx and District 17 in Brooklyn from taking office. All three boards had been suspended for wrongdoing.

The Justice Department only recently became involved in the years-long battle between chancellors and elected community school board members, when Federal officials said they wanted to make sure such actions did not violate the Federal Voting Rights Act, designed to protect minority voters.

Dr. Crew praised the Justice Department's ruling yesterday, saying that he was "gratified that the Federal Government has kept the best interests of the public school children in mind when making this decision."

But the fight by suspended board members to assume their seats may be far from over.

Dr. Crew's suspensions of the three boards spawned several lawsuits, and it is unclear what impact the Justice Department's rulings will have on those cases. The cases were to return to Federal District Court tomorrow, when a three-judge panel

in Brooklyn was to hear arguments, primarily whether regarding the Voting Rights Act applies.

Lawrence E. Becker, the legal counsel for the Board of Education, said his office would file motions to dismiss the cases based on the decisions by the Justice Department.

"We believe this answers to a large degree the voting rights issue and that the court will be guided by it," Mr. Becker said.

But the lawsuits were based on other matters besides the board's adherence to the Voting Rights Act, and the courts have not always sided with chancellors who have tried over the years to oust board members they believed to be guilty of mismanagement, misuse of their offices or outright corruption.

Mr. Saez said yesterday that he was disappointed by the Justice Department ruling, but said that the courts would side with him because the Chancellor had never proven any charges of wrongdoing leveled at him.

"Since I've never been charged with anything or convicted, I don't feel like I've lost," Mr. Saez said. "And I will feel like I've lost only after a judge tells me it's all right for him to violate the Constitution."

Indeed, on July 3, Justice Joseph N. Giambol of State Supreme Court set aside Dr. Crew's suspension of the District 9 board, saying the Chancellor had exceeded his authority by unseating the board members in May.

The Chancellor had initially suspended the board in February, citing the South Bronx district's last-place ranking on city-wide reading and math tests as well as a televised report that suggested wrongdoing.

On April 30, Justice Jerry L. Crispino of State Supreme Court in the Bronx nullified the suspensions, ruling that the Chancellor had acted without proper evidence.

When the Chancellor appealed Justice Crispino's decision, he was automatically granted authority to keep the board members locked out of their offices until September, when his appeal would be heard.

On May 15, citing a new report by Edward F. Stancik, the schools' investigator, as evidence, Dr. Crew suspended the board again. It was in response to that second suspension that Justice Giambol ruled on July 3.

Justice Giambol distinguished between the removal of Mr. Saez, then the board president, and the other members of his board, saying that the report had implicated only Mr. Saez in any wrongdoing. Therefore, Justice Giambol ruled, the other members should be allowed to serve.

He recommended the reinstatement of Mr. Saez pending the Justice Department ruling. The Board of Education appealed.

Mr. Saez said that so far, courts of law have not determined whether he is guilty of any wrongdoing, including the charges in Mr. Stancik's report.

He also disputed Dr. Crew's contention that he had allowed children in the district to flounder academically, saying that Board of Education statistics show test scores in his district have risen, although they are still near the bottom in the city.

"What keeps me going is the fact that I know I haven't committed a crime," Mr. Saez said.

Voting Rights

GAO: ED Met Most Recommendations For OPE

The Education Department has done much to clean up its student aid operation over the past five years, fulfilling 91 percent of recommendations from a trio of investigative agencies, Congress' watchdog says.

Since 1991, the General Accounting Office, ED's Inspector General and the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee have issued 205 major suggestions aimed at improving the management of federal student aid programs, GAO says in a new report.

The department took action on all but 19, which it either disagreed with or said it couldn't do without new legislation.

Recommendations GAO deemed "significant" that ED hadn't acted on include:

- Requiring guarantee agencies to standardize loan accounting systems;
- Collecting schools' job placement rates from accrediting agencies; and
- Coordinating data with the Labor and Veterans' Affairs departments to cut down on paperwork and overlapping functions among student loans and job training programs.

In addition to not acting some requests, ED's Office of Postsecondary Office failed to take adequate action on 19 other recommendations, GAO says.

The actions GAO deemed incomplete include ED's attempts to effectively screen out students who are ineligible for federal aid.

In the report, David Longanecker, ED's assistant secretary for postsecondary education, said the numerous ED has taken to address the concerns "fully demonstrates our commitment to ... ensuring the integrity of the federal student aid program."

One major change the department made, he said, was the implementation of the National Student Loan Data System (NSLDS) to cut down on fraudulent loans.

ED says the new system, which helps identify students who have defaulted on loans, kept 100,376 students from receiving additional federal support, saving the government about \$280 million in the 1995-96 award year.

Still, GAO says ED isn't doing enough to meet the recommendation to streamline and modernize its information systems which came from the Senate subcommittee.

NSLDS "checks and data analyses may screen out obvious errors and inconsistencies; however they do not ensure that the remaining data are valid and accurate," GAO said. We "believe that the department has not adequately tested the accuracy or validity of loan data in NSLDS."

"Status of Actions to Improve the Management of Student Financial Aid" is available free for the first copy and for \$2 for additional copies from the U.S. General Accounting Office, P.O. Box 6015, Gaithersburg, Md. 20994-6015, (202)512-6000, or info@www.gao.gov.

—Rebecca S. Weiner

Single Sex
School

Mike

JOHN LEO

Now that the Supreme Court is finished with the Virginia Military Institute, the next national uproar over single-sex education will focus on the Young Women's Leadership School in New York City.

It's a girls-only public school, opening in September, and serving mostly black and Hispanic girls in School District 4 in East Harlem. Unless the courts step in, the school will start with 50 seventh-graders and later expand into a full middle school.

This will be the first single-sex public school in the city in a decade, or since the civil rights movement virtually eliminated such schools across the country. The word "leadership" in the school's title is a rather obvious indicator that the idea is to concentrate on turning out successful, upwardly mobile women. "This is not a school for secretaries," one parent told the New York Daily News.

A lot of people are greatly upset over the plan, largely because they fear a legal precedent for whites-only, blacks-only or boys-only public schools.

Derrick Bell, the radical black law professor, is in favor of the school. So are many feminists, such as USA Today columnist Susan Estrich, and the conservative think tank, the Manhattan Institute. Among those opposed are the New York Civil Liberties Union, the National Organiza-

Courting closure on girls' public school?

tion for Women (New York City chapter) and the generally conservative Michael Meyers, head of the New York Civil Rights Coalition.

It's too bad that this school is getting tangled up in race-and-gender politics, because it deserves a chance to stand on its own merits. If we put aside ideology and strategic considerations, it comes down to this: Why can't we extend to minority and poor youngsters the same option for single-sex education that well-off parents exercise when they send their daughters to the fancy private girls' schools found all over Manhattan?

The new school should be justified as a reasonable option offered to a constituency that has all too few. As it happens, District 4 in East Harlem has set up 23 different schools (some of them actually programs within schools), including three concentrating on math and science, two on the performing arts, a writing school, a prep school and a maritime school. Why not a girls' school, or a boys' school, as well? A decade ago, the Harvey Milk School, now private, was established as a publicly funded city

high school for homosexual students, with hardly a ripple of protest. Why is that less controversial than a school for girls?

Some observers, trying to connect the dots between their opposition to all-male VMI and support for the all-female Young Women's Leadership School, have fallen back on victim theory. The new girls' public school "is a compensatory effort," wrote one New York columnist, arguably "a remedial effort, a limited and carefully tailored way to correct past discrimination against girls."

No, no, no. Victim theory requires constant reminders of oppression, deprivation and second-class status to justify girls-only schools. In effect, it means that if the school is to become permanent, it logically depends on finding more and more patriarchal oppression to justify it. This is not the way to go.

Gender politics in our schools are still suffering a hangover from the famously bogus 1992 report by the American Association of University Women, "How Schools Shortchange Girls." A politicized rewrite of studies

in the field, the AAUW report drew big headlines by alleging vast gender bias in the schools.

Among the scholars distancing themselves from the findings of this report is one hired by the AAUW itself for a follow-up study, Valerie Lee of the University of Michigan. Ms. Lee found a much murkier and more balanced picture than the AAUW, and concluded: "Not all academic outcomes favor boys, nor are they as large as some recent public discussions would imply. We would like to see the study of gender equity moved away from the political arena." Amen.

Victim theory seems to have little to do with the rise of the Young Women's Leadership School. Some accusations of bias toward boys has been heard, but most conversation seems to focus on distractions of the mating dance at the average school, and how much freer girls are to concentrate on schoolwork when boys aren't in class. If we want to study gender equity away from the political arena, let's consider the East Harlem school as an experiment toward that goal. New York City has 1,045 schools integrated by gender. Surely it can afford to set up one of these for girls.

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

DAN THOMASSON

Garrison state as a terror victory

In the early morning hours Saturday, the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Olympic Games was soiled by a random act of terrorism all too familiar in today's world. A bomb exploded in Atlanta's Centennial Olympic Park, leaving two persons dead and injuring more than 100.

Because of the Games, Atlanta was supposed to be the most secure city in the world, full of troops, metal detectors and the latest in anti-bomb technology. It still happened, proving what most of us have always known — if someone is determined to commit such an act, very little can be done

to thwart it.

Coming as it did only a few days after the destruction of a TWA jet, the Olympic bomb is all the more frightening in its implications.

This country's openness always has made it vulnerable to terrorism. It is the price we pay for our freedom, for our ability to move about without fear. But our world is no longer limited to the land between two great oceans. We are only hours away from events in the most far-flung areas of the Earth, and their ripples of violence are reaching us with more and more regularity. In any case, Oklahoma City taught us that terrorists don't have to be foreign-

ers.

What can be done about it? We can make it as difficult as possible for those who would disrupt our way of life to succeed. But security can and should be allowed to go just so far. It should not be permitted to turn us into a closed society of xenophobes cowering in our bunkers. For if that takes place, it becomes the ultimate victory for terrorism, and the spirit of the Olympics will be lost forever to a world that desperately needs it.

Dan Thomasson is editor of Scripps Howard News Service.

Economists Dub Privatization 'Risky Business' For Schools

There is no evidence a business can manage public schools successfully, reduce costs and make a profit, an economic think tank says.

While the prospects of private management tantalize school districts looking to improve student achievement, "we have no positive track record for this particular model," Max Sawicky, an economist, said at a news briefing yesterday.

A new book by Sawicky and two other authors for the nonprofit Economic Policy Institute (EPI), however, offers recommendations for schools that want to give it a shot, from using competitive bidding to measuring success.

Sawicky, a teacher educator and an education writer analyzed the practice of contracting out by scrutinizing the arrangement of Educational Alternatives Inc. (EAI) with Baltimore, one of the earliest and longest experiments in private management.

EAI managed nine schools in Baltimore from 1992 to this year, when the company refused to accept cuts in its \$44 million annual payment.

Although EAI spent 26 percent more per student in Baltimore than the average cost per elementary student districtwide, no clear academic gains were made. The company's profit came from stock sales, EPI says.

Another recent report also found no significant student achievement gains in several experiments with privately run public schools, although the contractors provided other benefits, such as improved access to computers and building repairs.

Currently, EAI holds no contract to manage public schools. The Edison Project manages

single schools in Boston, Wichita, Kan., Mount Clemens, Mich., and Sherman, Texas.

"For reformers in search of *proven* innovations or demonstrated cost savings, contracting is the wrong option," the book says.

Setting The Stage

EPI says school districts considering management contracts should:

- Encourage competitive bidding and research the companies that apply for contracts, although currently there are few firms that manage public schools;
- Write contracts with accountability and performance standards; and
- Collect good student performance data beforehand for comparisons.

"Risky Business: Private Management of Public Schools" is \$19.95 from Economic Policy Institute, 1660 L St. NW, Suite 1200, Washington, D.C. 20036, (800)374-4844.

—Regina Lightfoot-Clark

7/26

Record Number of Adults Earn High School Equivalency Diplomas

By DEB RIECHMANN

AP Education Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) - A record half-million adults earned high school equivalency diplomas last year, joining a roster of well-known test takers that includes Bill Cosby, the late Navy Admiral Jeremy Boorda and Sen. Ben Nighthorse Campbell.

Last year, nearly 724,000 adults in the United States and Canada completed the General Educational Development test, commonly known as the GED, according to a report released today by the American Council on Education.

Seventy-two percent, or 523,463 people, passed and received credentials - the largest number since the test began in 1943 to help World War II veterans earn high school credit.

"I've always been proud of the fact that I did it and I've given talks to motivate others to do it," said Campbell, R-Colo. "I tell them if they want to straighten out their lives, the GED is part of that opportunity."

Campbell took the test while serving in the Air Force in the early 1950s. A self-described "troublemaker," Campbell dropped out during his senior year at Placer High School in Auburn, Calif. In 1992, he returned to the school to walk through commencement with the graduating class.

More than 10 million adults have earned GED credentials in the past 25 years. The number of adults earning GED diplomas has increased by 19 percent during the past decade, the report says.

The GED is a battery of five tests that measure the general academic skills and knowledge usually acquired in four years of high school. They test writing skills, social studies, science, interpretation of literature and the arts, and math.

"Those who take the GED test are a richly diverse group," the report says. "Some have recently dropped out of school. Others have been out of school for several years. Most take the tests to qualify for further education, and others hope that passing the GED will encourage their children or their grandchildren to stay in school."

Dave Merkowitz, a spokesman for the American Council on Education, which operates the test, said it has been more heavily promoted in recent years, increasing awareness and raising the number of adults signing up to take it.

"The GED is a gateway to further education and training, and with the premium that's being placed on education in the workplace, more people want to take it," Merkowitz said.

Still, only 1 percent of adults without diplomas in the United States and its territories earned GED credentials last year, the report says. In 1990, more than 45 million adults in the United States and territories did not have a high school diploma.

GED Participation Continues To Edge Upward, ACE Says

The number of adults taking General Educational Development (GED) tests increased 2 percent in 1995, continuing an upswing that started in 1993.

Last year, 723,899 adults completed the tests, 11,478 more than the previous year, the American Council on Education (ACE) says in its annual GED report, released last week.

About 72 percent of the individuals who completed all five tests met their jurisdiction's score requirements for passing the GED.

GED Testing Service, which ACE operates, is not surprised by the recent increases in test takers.

Company, state and local officials have focused public relations campaigns on building a stronger recognition of the program, targeting specific audiences, such as people with disabilities.

The number of test takers planning to go on to a postsecondary education has steadily increased over the decades, from 35 percent in 1966, to 66 percent in 1994.

More than half a million of the 1995 test takers, roughly 64 percent, indicated they planned to pursue a postsecondary education.

Regional Differences

Seven states—Alaska, Idaho, Vermont, Maine, Oregon, New Mexico and Ohio—reported at least a 10 percent increase from 1994 in the number of people taking the test.

But that was slightly offset by five states—Delaware, Michigan, New Jersey, Wyoming and Rhode Island, plus the District of Columbia and two other jurisdictions—which had drops of at least 10 percent.

The number of people with disabilities served by the GED program also continued to rise in 1995. GED reports a 19 percent rise in the number of people taking special editions of the test, and a 17 percent increase in the number receiving special accommodations.

"Who Took the GED? GED 1995 Statistical Report" is \$20, plus \$5 for shipping, from GED Fulfillment Service, P.O. Box 261, Annapolis Junction, Md. 20701, (301)604-9073.

—Matthew Dembicki

GED Changing With The Times

The GED Testing Service aims to transform its test by decade's end to reflect school reform and changing workforce demands.

The revamped test will mirror changes in high school curricula, as well as the requirements of postsecondary schools and employers, say officials for the General Education Development (GED) program.

"We are exploring ways to revise test content, format and delivery methods and increase the use of technology to develop, score, and keep records on the tests," said Jean Lowe, director of the GED Testing Service.

That includes administering the test on computers.

The firm expects to appoint next month a task force of about six GED administrators to study the feasibility of testing via computer.

—Matthew Dembicki

More...

GED Participation Continues To Edge Upward (Cont.)

Trends In GED Testing, 1990-95

Year	Number of GED test centers	Number of people completing battery	Percentage meeting score require- ments	Average age	Average years of schooling	Percent planning further study	Number of credentials issued
1990	3,316	662,789	69.9	26.5	9.9	56.5	431,231
1991	3,445	706,182	71.5	26.4	9.9	58.6	483,854
1992	3,401	688,582	71.4	26.6	9.9	61.4	479,252
1993	3,250	685,304	71.4	26.0	9.9	61.7	489,474
1994	3,300	712,421	73.0	25.6	9.9	65.6	510,587
1995	3,255	723,899	72.0%	25.3	9.9	63.7%	523,463

Source: American Council on Education, "Who took the GED? GED 1995 Statistical Report," July 1996.

- **Lightweight Auto:** DOE's Oak Ridge Lab in TN, and Thompson Aluminum Casting in Garfield Heights, OH, have joined with a major U.S. automaker for the commercial production of aluminum vehicle and motor parts. Reducing the weight of automotive parts substantially improves fuel consumption of automobiles and will reduce U.S. dependence on imported oil.
- **FL Defense Conversion:** On July 14, two new companies signed leases furthering DOE's efforts to privatize the Pinellas Plant. While one company will manufacture heavy equipment and parts for the paper industry, the other will produce electronic components. By meeting the challenge to convert defense production facilities to private business and reinvigorate the local economy, DOE is sharing its manufacturing and high technology development expertise with the public and industry.
- **Secretary's Schedule:** On July 31-August 2, Secretary O'Leary will lead the U.S. delegation to the Hemispheric Energy Ministers Meeting in Santa Cruz, Bolivia. The meeting will be an opportunity for the ministers and private sector representatives from the hemispheric region to assess progress and recommend the next steps for energy cooperation, as you initiated at the 1994 Summit of the Americas. The ministers will sign a communiqué outlining the next steps and their recommendations for the agenda of the Summit on Sustainable Development planned for December in Santa Cruz, Bolivia.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Noted Julie - Do we have info on this?

Back To School: Secretary Riley is planning the 1996 *America Goes Back To School: Get Involved!* initiative, which will be co-chaired by Mrs. Gore, National PTA President Joan Dykstra, Southern Illinois University President Ted Sanders, and Bo Jackson. Secretary Riley has written to Cabinet Members, Members of Congress, and Governors to encourage their participation. The Department is sending every school information on how to organize an *America Goes Back to School* event.

*Set for
Cand
Rose*

- **Secretary's Schedule:** On August 9, Secretary Riley is scheduled to travel to New Mexico to join Senator Bingaman in an event to focus on hispanic education issues.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

- **Project XL Reinvention Project:** On July 24, EPA and DoD announced a pilot project to improve environmental performance at the Vandenberg Air Force Base in Santa Barbara, CA. This project is part of EPA's Project XL and DoD's reinvention

Technology's Edict: Adapt Or Lose Out

Change Drives Growth, But Puts Labor at Risk

By PETER PASSELL

NEW MILFORD, Conn. — Louie Pokrywka makes a false start before bringing an elaborate schematic of the Kleenex production line to his computer screen. "Until a few weeks ago I hadn't sat down at a keyboard since high school typing class," apologized the line operator at Kimberly-Clark's paper products mill here. But his job is rapidly evolving from grunt work — such as lifting boxes — to the more demanding tasks of monitoring precision machinery.

Mr. Pokrywka, one of the handful of employees who oversee the sophisticated robots that churn out Kleenex Pocket Packs, isn't feeling sorry for himself, though. And for good reason: he is on the right side of the invisible line dividing the industrial labor force into two camps — a well-paid minority that tends machines and an unprivileged army of workers who, in effect, compete with them.

Indeed, while the percentage of adults working in the United States has not been higher since World War II, many sense they are trapped in a Darwinian struggle, with the computer literate atop the food chain. The resulting anxiety has raised anew a question older than Karl Marx: Is technology destroying the good jobs, leaving the unskilled and just plain unlucky to survive on the economy's scraps?

To Jeremy Rifkin, the anti-corporatist writer, the answer is clear. "Human labor is becoming increasingly tangential and irrelevant in an ever more automated world," he wrote in "The End of Work" (Putnam). But in the view of mainstream economists, the latter-day Luddites are tilting at windmills.

Technological change, they argue, does not so much destroy jobs as redistribute the fruits of everyone's labor. In recent decades it has also widened the gap in wages between the skilled and unskilled, violating most people's sense of economic justice. By the same token, though, technological change can be reined in only at the risk of undermining the economy's capacity to grow.

The challenge, then, for the technology-age economy is to find a way into balance. "In a better world, we'd use some of the fruits of technological change to compensate the losers," Daniel Hamermesh, an economist at the University of Texas, said.

Everyone at the Kimberly-Clark plant under-

Labor-saving technology does typically lead to falling product prices, which sometimes stimulates sales enough to sustain or increase employment. The mechanization of the textile industry in the early 19th century, which transformed cotton clothing into a staple, fits this description. More typically, though, employment shrinks as sales expand — think of farmers, say, or movie projectionists, who used to change reels every 10 or 15 minutes and now preside over automated multiplexes.

But economists argue that the job creation-job destruction dichotomy misses a central point. If competitive labor markets are working according to Hoyle, they say, most workers will find different jobs. That is certainly the case in the United States, where total employment has grown as rapidly as the labor force, even through the wrenching changes of the 1980's and 1990's.

Hence, mainstream economists agree that the level of unemployment is largely determined by the luck and skill of the Government in manipulating its levers over the economy. "You can have full employment at any level of technology," concluded Herbert Simon, a Nobel Prize-winning economist at Carnegie-Mellon University.

That does not mean technology affects all workers equally. For one thing, said James Heckman, an economist at the University of Chicago, "It puts a big premium on their capacity to adapt."

The point is not lost on managers at Kimberly-Clark. "When we hire now, we're thinking about how easily a person can be trained to do different jobs," said Lizanne Gottung, who manages the production of Huggies at the New Milford plant.

That's fine by Mike Thomas, a 41-year-old line worker in Ms. Gottung's department who has been at Kimberly-Clark for 16 years. Diaper-making, which used to be a matter of attaching piece A to tab B by hand, is now a computer-driven process in which humans monitor the electronic monitors and service the moving parts. "I'm an old dog who's adjusted to three product changes in the last year," Mr. Thomas explained proudly.

But William Baumol and Ed Wolff, economists at New York University, argue that older, less educated workers are at a serious disadvantage. And the resulting increase in em-

ployer selectivity helps explain why people who lose their jobs are, on average, staying out of work longer.

The biggest worry, though, is a widening wage gap. While other factors certainly come into play, researchers generally agree that technology has helped to drive the wedge between the wages of the winners and losers.

"For a long time economists assumed the rising tide of productivity would carry all boats," Frank Levy, an economist at M.I.T., recalled. "We've learned better."

Lawrence Mishel, research director of the Economic Policy Institute, specializes in measuring how far the boats are out of sync. He estimates that in 1979 the average hourly wage of workers in the top 10 percent of the pecking order was 59 percent higher than for those in the middle. By 1995, that had grown to 76 percent. More ominously, jobs paying wages that could not support a family above the poverty line had jumped from 24 percent to 30 percent of the total.

Could the trend reverse on its own, with future technological change raising the relative demand for unskilled workers? Claudia Goldin and Lawrence Katz, economists at Harvard University, point out that the 19th-century transition from artisan workshops to assembly lines did strongly favor unskilled labor. Gun-making, for example, was transformed from a complex task for metal cutters and shapers to a much simpler process of fitting machine-made parts together.

By contrast, with modern technology the winners in the last two decades have been workers with the

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Job Skills

Continued on Page D4

Continued From First Business Page

stands the uneasy relationship between technology and jobs. When Mr. Pokrywka (pronounced po-KREEF-kuh) started at the mill in 1980, a staff of 16 produced fewer than half the Pocket Packs a crew of 5 can deliver today. Since the early 1990's, employment at the plant has fallen from 1,250 to 1,100. And while Ben Pruet, its manager, notes that the cuts have been made "entirely through attrition," it is undeniably more difficult for local residents lacking specialized skills to earn a middle-class income.

If technology did not eliminate certain jobs, however, overall living standards could not grow. Take the case of electromechanical switches, which largely replaced telephone operators before World War II. If they hadn't, there would be tens or even hundreds of thousands more Ernestines making a living at switchboards. But telephone service would still be a near-luxury, and the communications revolution — which created tens of thousands of new, better-paying jobs — would have been strangled in the crib.

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smarts and adaptive skills to keep the machine running well or to build new ones. In theory the pendulum could swing back again, reducing the demand for the skilled and raising demand for the unskilled. But while there is some tentative evidence that the gap is no longer widening as rapidly, nothing on the admittedly cloudy technological horizon suggests the trend will reverse soon.

A more intriguing possibility is that workers will respond to increasingly obvious financial incentives, and that the resulting growth in the supply of skilled labor will swamp demand. If enough people invest in education, the wage imbalance could correct itself. "We're already seeing a very large supply response" as measured by the percentage of Americans going to college, Mr. Katz noted.

Equally important, upgrading skills is becoming the rule, not the exception, for workers in the middle. Mr. Heckman points to survey data showing that 40 percent of sales workers and 23 percent of materials handlers are receiving training at least once a year.

But the price tag for a far more skilled labor force would be substantial. Mr. Heckman estimates that it would cost \$400 billion to give low-end workers the skills to return their real wages to the levels of the early 1970's. An ambitious, G.I. Bill-style push for mass higher education, he says, would cost \$1.6 trillion — far more than even the \$20 billion annual training budget Bill Clinton proposed in the 1992 campaign.

It is hard to find an economist who does not see some merit in education, at the very least in easing access to college and midcareer technical training. But it is also hard to find an economist who thinks investment in "human capital" is the whole answer.

Traditional liberals like Mr. Mishel would use Government regulation to offset unfavorable wage trends. He favors a considerably higher minimum wage, along with mandatory employer-paid benefits like health insurance and long vacations — in general, the sort of bene-

fits provided in the generous welfare states of Western Europe.

The catch is that Europeans live with 10 percent unemployment for adults and much higher rates for the young. "I'd settle for European-level unemployment if we could have European wages," Mr. Mishel responded.

Economists from the center and right prefer income or wage subsidies that do not raise the cost of labor. One indirect route to raising the living standards of low-wage workers, for example, is national health insurance or child care. The more direct route is to stimulate demand for less productive workers by subsidizing businesses to employ them.

Edmund Phelps, a Columbia University economist, has long crusaded for cash grants to employers who hire low-wage workers, arguing that this is the least intrusive approach. But he acknowledges that Federal cash to the workers themselves — a beefed-up version of the current earned-income tax credit — would have much the same effect.

The catch, of course, is cost. While the Clinton Administration managed a significant expansion of the earned-income tax credit in 1993 and still talks wistfully about ambitious training initiatives, "nobody wants to spend the money to seriously address the wage gap problem," Mr. Heckman argued.

Meanwhile, technology marches on — and workers scramble to stay on its benign side. "You just jump in," Mr. Pokrywka at Kimberly-Clark explained, "and do whatever, whenever."

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There's more to life than a medal

Single for Schools

USA TODAY
THURSDAY, JULY 25, 1996

Steve
Tisch

Mike,
Lyn

For Kerri Strug and others who miss a shot at gold — Olympics bring deeper rewards

By Debbie Brown

With a single, stunning vault Tuesday, new gymnastic star Kerri Strug catapulted herself into Olympic history. Yet, injured and worried, her instant reaction was not elation but disappointment.

"I had goals for myself," she told an interviewer. "One of them was to make the all-around final and ... it might be taken away."

On Wednesday, it became official: Strug withdrew from the individual all-around.

Misfortunes of all types have struck other Olympians, but take it from someone who's been there: All your work isn't down the drain, and there is plenty that matters besides the gold or silver or bronze.

I was a member of the 1980 U.S. Olympic team. I guess there's no group of U.S. athletes that has felt as much pain, disappointment and anger as we did. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December 1979, President Carter decided to protest by barring U.S. athletes from competing in the 1980 Moscow Games.

I've never had a more frustrating experience. I was part of a delegation that went to the White House to "discuss" the matter with the president. But the decision had been made, and there was absolutely nothing that could be done. We stayed home in the summer of 1980, and my Olympic dream died. All my work went for nothing.

Or did it? No. It's true I didn't get to compete in the Olympics, and that is still disappointing. But rather than dwell on the negative, I've concentrated on the positive: the journey. As a member of

the national team training for the Olympics, I traveled to China, Russia, Cuba, Israel, and more than 15 other countries, gaining a lifetime of cultural experiences. And on top of that, I found my closest friends — Sue Woodstra, Laurie Corbett, Sharon Burling, and other members of the 1980 U.S. Olympic volleyball team.

And what about the chance to go for the gold? In 1980, we were among the two or three teams favored to win the tournament. Who knows how we would have done? Maybe we would have won, maybe not.

But as I've come to learn, there is so much more to life than gold, silver and bronze. I have a loving family, a satisfying career and wonderful friends. A medal of any hue would be nice, but it really would make little difference in my life and the way I live it.

Rita Crockett, a teammate in 1980 who went on to win a silver medal at the 1984 Games, once was asked how she felt about losing the gold medal.

"Some people say I lost the gold medal," she said, "but I say I won the silver." I like that, and I like the idea that there's so much more to the Olympic experience than actually competing in the Games.

So here's a word of encouragement and advice to gymnasts, rowers, volleyball players and all the other athletes gathered at the Olympiad in Atlanta: Good luck. We're all behind you. And enjoy the journey.

Debbie Landreth Brown was co-captain of the 1980 U.S. Olympic volleyball team and now is head volleyball coach at the University of Notre Dame. Brown is shown at left practicing in 1979 with the U.S. Olympic team.

Laws stand in way of single-sex schools

Studies prove girls benefit greatly. Still, ACLU is blocking opening of Harlem school.

LOS ANGELES — "It's not that I don't want to be with the boys," says Leslie Ann Cortez, age 12, who has already applied for admission to the Young Women's Leadership School in East Harlem. "I just think it will be better with girls. Most boys get a lot of attention, and girls are kind of shy. With all girls, we can speak up and talk to each other and the teachers can help us."

She's right. Numerous studies have found that teachers, including female teachers, pay more attention to boys than to girls and that girls' self-esteem suffers dramatically in the early teen years. Girls continue to lag behind boys in standardized tests, reflecting a stubborn gap between girls and boys in math and science. Single-sex education may be one piece of the answer.

But don't tell that to the New York Civil Liberties Union or the New York Civil Rights Commission. They are blocking this innovative effort to help underprivileged young women in the name of civil liberties and civil rights. But whose?

The Young Women's Leadership School was created by the joint efforts of generous and committed private citizens, Andrew and Ann Reubenstein Tisch; the Center for Educational Innovation, an educational research organization; and a Harlem community school district. The school has been carefully designed to emphasize math and science, using techniques found to be particularly effective with girls. The lab tables are set up at angles to emphasize personal feedback; visual tools aid in the teaching of math. Why should that be unconstitutional? Who does it harm?

"If this is something that is good enough for children in affluent communities and parochial schools," Mrs. Tisch has said, "isn't it good enough for children in our inner cities?" Mrs. Tisch has even offered to fund a boys' school if the girls' school could open.

When news of the school became public last week, the executive director of the New York Civil Liberties Union fired off a letter to the chancellor demanding that the school not open. Invoking the Supreme Court's decision ordering the Virginia Military Institute to admit women, the Civil Liberties Union argued "while it may be well intentioned," the new school "would violate both the federal Constitution as well as federal statutory law."

I don't read the court's VMI decision that way at all. Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, writing for the court, recognized that single-sex education affords benefit and that diversity is a value in educational offerings. But the court concluded that Virginia had not shown that its all-male military academy was necessary to serve any important public objectives.

The planned Harlem middle school presents a strong case for single-sex education. Although researchers still debate the positive impact of single-sex education for boys, its benefits for teenage girls have been clearly established.

But it doesn't necessarily matter if the new school could withstand Supreme Court scrutiny. There are still federal and local laws, passed to protect women, which on their face bar public single-sex education. The threat of litigation has been enough to deter most districts from experimenting with single-sex schools.

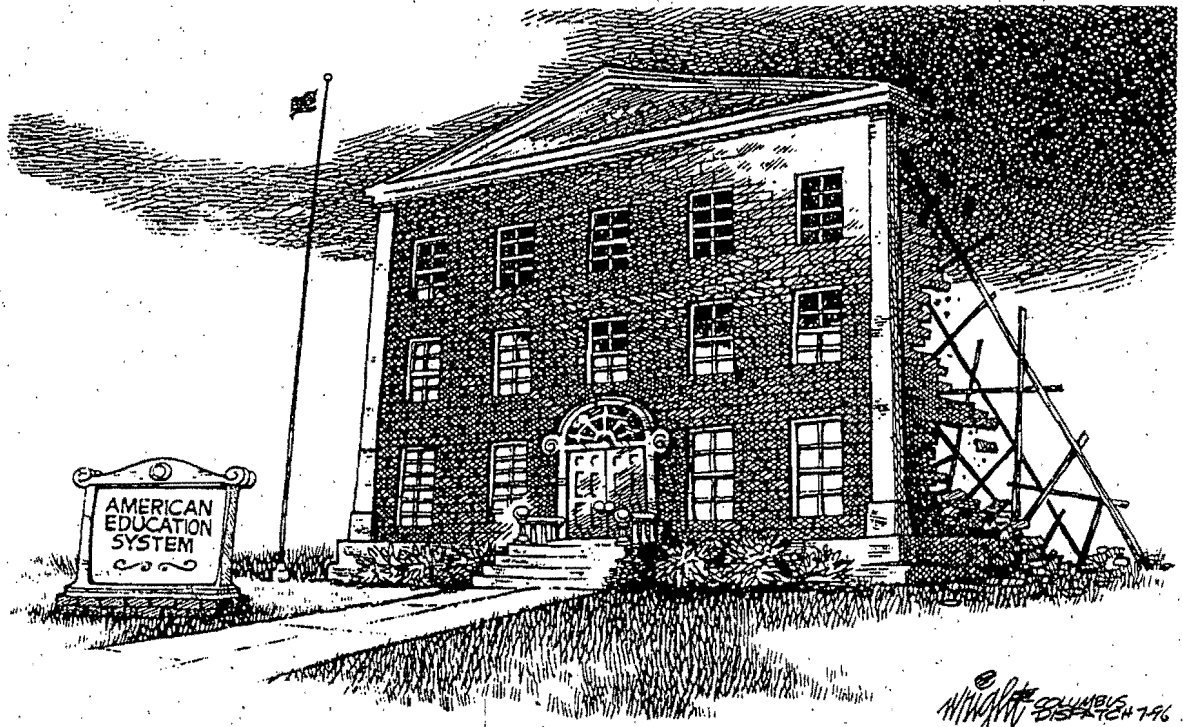
The school has already rented space, hired a director, and accepted half the entering class. If it isn't permitted to open, Leslie Cortez will be denied an important opportunity. And the insult is that she will be denied that opportunity in the name of equality.

COUNTERPOINTS' four columnists provide views from diverse perspectives on today's issues. Mondays: Tony Snow; Tuesdays: Michael Gartner; Wednesdays: Linda Chavez; Thursdays: Susan Estrich.



Counterpoints
By Susan Estrich

ARIANNA HUFFINGTON



Opportunity for an education candidate

Got an issue that could help Bob Dole stand apart from Bill Clinton? He could use one now that many of the GOP prize issues — a balanced budget and welfare reform among them — have been poached by our wildly triangulating president.

But even Mr. Clinton knows there is one circle he cannot attempt to square, one special interest he cannot afford to cross: the teachers' unions. They stubbornly and consistently resist educational reform even as voter confidence in public schools continues, with good reason, to tumble.

In a tragic twist, more than 40 years after the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision, public schools have never been less equal or more segregated. Among 1,000 black residents polled in Milwaukee, 71 percent were in favor of vouchers that would enable low-income parents to pull their children out of the morass of public schools where they are not safe and where they cannot learn.

Last week, Mr. Dole chose Milwaukee to unveil his G.I. Bill for Schoolchildren, a \$2.5 billion federal program to provide "opportunity scholarships" to low- and middle-income students for use at public, private or religious schools. "We can't tinker around the edges," Mr. Dole said. "School uniforms, maybe that helps. Curfews, maybe that helps. But nothing will help until we fundamentally change the system and we give the parents of the United States a choice."

How nice it is to hear a Republican talking the language of the good old days — 1994, that is — when the GOP promised a revolution to sweep away the ossified Great Soci-

ety propped up by powerful special interests and a dearth of clearly articulated, positive alternatives.

There are few areas in which radical reform is more urgently needed than in education, despite the \$250 billion spent each year on elementary and secondary public schools.

Albert Shanker, the president of the American Federation of Teachers, described as "devastating" the fact that 57 percent of parents surveyed would choose a private school for their children if they could afford it. The parents who can, like the president and vice president of the United States, have already voted on the sorry state of public education by taking their children out of it.

But the teachers' unions, and the politicians beholden to them, are standing in the school doors telling poor children they cannot get out — the way George Wallace stood in the door, telling black children they could not get in.

A radical commitment to educational reform could ignite the public imagination and recapture for Republicans the moral high ground by putting them solidly on the side of the disenfranchised. School vouchers for the poor is not some bloodless idea manufactured in a conservative think tank. Mr. Clinton will be forced to justify his readiness to sacrifice the children of the poor to pay off the educrats backing his campaign.

But for this to succeed, Mr. Dole must take the battle to his opponent every day from now till November. And he will have to find the ringing voice of the true believer.

One such true believer was with Mr. Dole in Milwaukee last week.

Michael Joyce heads the Bradley Foundation, which grants more than \$500,000 annually to PAVE, a Milwaukee group of business and civic leaders that provides children with access to good schools. "Let's start," he has said, "by giving the parents of our low-income children the option to exit a system that, like all monopolies, is deaf to their cries and unresponsive to their needs."

A grateful father once knelt and kissed Mr. Joyce's hand for making it possible for his child to escape a terrible public school. This story, more than any other, brought home to me the pain of being a parent who is powerless because of poverty to give his child the gift of a decent education.

At Messmer High School, which participates in the PAVE program, I met Brother Bob Smith, its principal and one of the heroes in the struggle for parental choice. "This is the next civil-rights movement," he told me.

Perhaps some of Mr. Joyce's and Brother Smith's crusading spirit will rub off on Mr. Dole and take him beyond merely committing government resources to the voucher plan to challenging corporate America to supplement the scholarships for children whose families cannot make up the difference.

There is plenty of reason for skepticism. After all, in the summer of 1992, in a White House ceremony, President Bush endorsed a similar G.I. bill for kids — then, as now, with Lamar Alexander at his side. It was like a head cold: It took seven days to work through the president's system before it was cast aside for the next issue du jour.

We shall soon see if Mr. Dole is more committed to the lives of millions of children trapped in a broken system than the last Republican who ran against Bill Clinton.

Arianna Huffington chairs the Center for Effective Compassion and is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Clintons Share Families' Anguish

President Acknowledges Communication Failures by TWA, Government

By Laurie Goodstein
and Rene Sanchez
Washington Post Staff Writers

NEW YORK, July 25—President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton spent more than three hours today trying to console the heartbroken families of the passengers who perished last week in the crash of Paris-bound Trans World Airlines Flight 800.

They commiserated over now-irreplaceable photographs of mothers and teenagers who never made it to Paris. They admitted that in some ways the government and airline had failed in handling the disaster's aftermath. And they listened like priests at confession to the pain and frustration of the victims' relatives.

"These families had suffered enormous pain: the loss of a parent, a child, a husband, a wife, a brother, a nephew, a niece," Clinton said after his visit with the families at a hotel outside John F. Kennedy International Airport here. "They were still in a great deal of pain. And I know that we can all understand, not only their pain, but the frustration that they feel at the time it is taking to recover their loved ones and to get answers."

Many of the relatives and friends of the 230 victims of Flight 800 have been cooped up inside this cement-block airport hotel for eight days waiting for word that divers have found their loved ones' bodies. Some have lashed out in anger at a succession of targets: at TWA for taking up to 20 hours after the tragedy to provide a complete passenger list, at searchers for the pace of the recovery effort, and at government officials for providing conflicting information.

Clinton's decision to fly here this morning to meet with the families followed several days of debate in his administration about how he should directly respond to the tragedy. In the days after the Boeing 747 exploded in midair and crashed into the waters off Long Island, Clinton attended the Olympics in Atlanta and embarked on a campaign trip in the West. Aides said that initially, he did not want his presence to slow the arduous process of trying to find bodies and parts of the plane that are still sunk 120 feet below the ocean surface.

Several family members and others who attended the president's session said his presence here was both appropriate and comforting. Clinton spoke for about 30 minutes to the crowd jammed inside the Ramada Plaza Hotel ballroom, updating them on the recovery and investigation. He acknowledged that it had taken TWA too long to notify relatives that their loved ones were aboard the downed plane. Then he and the first lady held more intimate conversations with small knots of the victims' families and friends.

"I thought he was very cordial, very pleasant, very understanding of some of the feelings and emotions that so many people are suffering under the strain of not having their loved ones recovered



President Clinton attends briefing with NTSB Vice Chairman Robert Francis, center, and James Kallstrom, assistant director of New York's FBI branch.

NEW AIR TRAVEL SECURITY MEASURES

International flights would be most affected, but domestic passengers also would feel the effects. Measures apply to major and commuter airlines and to all large and medium-sized airports.

- Increased hand searches and other screening of luggage, both check-in and carry-on, as well as cargo.
- Required pre-flight inspections of the cabins and cargo holds of any plane flying to or from the United States.

- Ban on hotel check-ins of passenger luggage.
- Increased interviews with passengers before boarding.
- Appointment of a commission headed by Vice President Gore to review aviation safety and security, including the pace of a U.S. effort to introduce sophisticated bomb detectors and other screening devices.
- Other measures officials declined to describe for fear of alerting terrorists or saboteurs.

yet or identified," said Lovette Brangman, the cousin of Sandra Aikens-Bellamy, a TWA flight attendant who died and was buried yesterday.

"He was just very reassuring as a human being," said Richard Penzer, who lost his sister Judy Penzer, 49, in the crash. "He was a real human being, no artifice. There wasn't any sense of phyness."

Peter Goetz, a National Transportation Safety Board official who accompanied Clinton to New York, said that the president "had a private word for every one of them."

White House Chief of Staff Leon E. Panetta said Clinton reassured relatives that the first priority is to recover the bodies of the Flight 800 dead, and that while he thought officials were succeeding in that and in the investigation, "not a good job has been done communicating with the families."

Before the Clintons arrived, some of the families had planned to present a list of demands. When the meeting actually occurred, a few anguished family members did express their frustrations privately to the Clintons, according to some present, but nobody came forward with a list of demands.

"I saw a sense of appreciation the president was here," said Rabbi Jay Ro-

senbaum, executive director of the New York metropolitan region American Jewish Congress. "People were truly uplifted. New life came into them as the president made it clear that everything possible was being done for them."

Clinton said that "an awful lot of them [families and friends] expressed gratitude to me for the efforts that are being made by the government personnel, the TWA personnel assigned to the families and the many volunteers who are working hard to make this awful experience at least bearable for them."

Clinton has assigned James Lee Witt, director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, to work directly with the families.

Before the Ramada hotel meeting, Clinton was briefed for about an hour by Robert Francis, the vice chairman of the NTSB, which is leading the crash investigation, and James Kallstrom, the assistant director of the New York division of the FBI, which also is involved.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

To read profiles of the crash victims, click on the above symbol on the front page of The Post's site on the World Wide Web at <http://www.washingtonpost.com>

P-7E

ADVERTISEMENT

Where We Stand

By Albert Shanker, President
American Federation of Teachers

Some Food for Thought

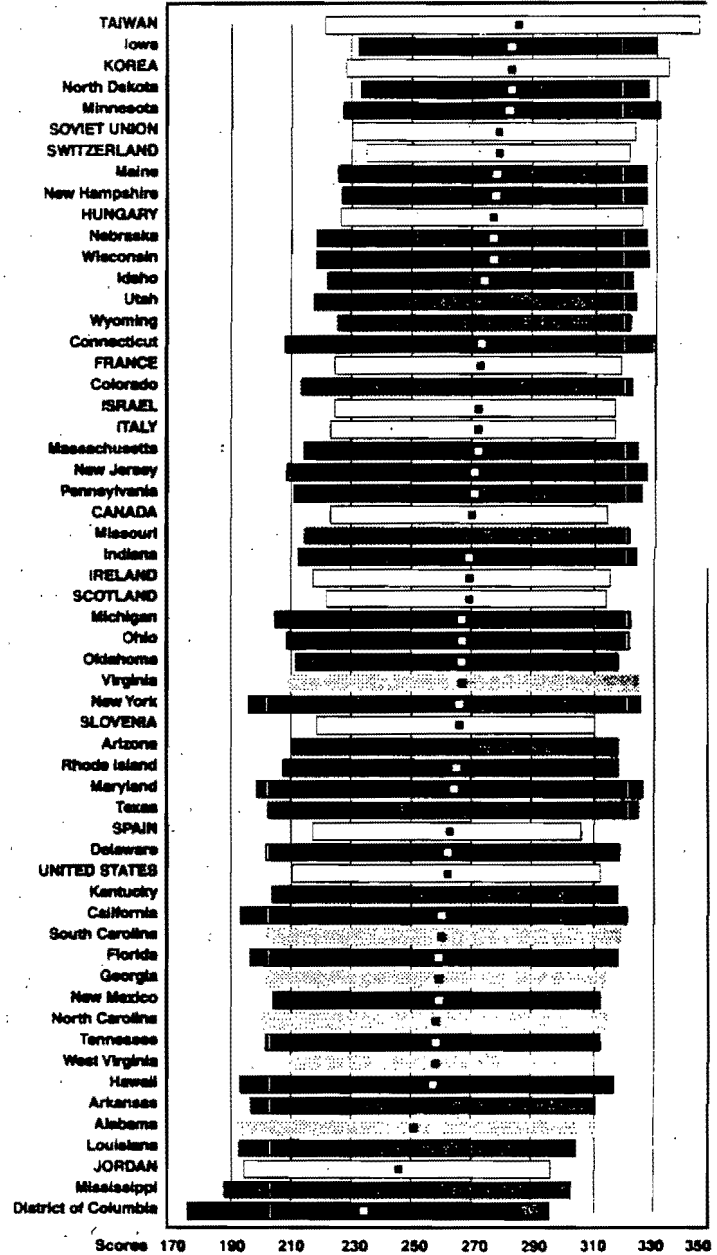
Are teacher unions the cause of poor student achievement? You don't have to look very far these days to find an editorial writer or TV commentator who will answer this question with a resounding yes, and now Bob Dole is getting into the act. The people who make this claim don't explain why most of the countries with successful school systems—like Japan, Germany, and France—also have strong teacher unions. Nor do they offer proof that U.S. students taught by non-union teachers are more successful than those taught by teachers who are union members. Is there any?

Here's a simple test. If unions pull down student achievement, states where teachers are not allowed to bargain collectively should do much better than states where teachers have a legal right to do so. The chart below ranks the math achievement of 13-year-olds in a number of industrialized countries and 41 states. It also indicates which are collective bargaining states (with black bars), which prohibit collective bargaining (light gray bars), and which give no legal support for collective bargaining but where it exists in some localities (medium gray bars). This chart should give people who connect unions with poor student achievement some food for thought.

At first glance, it tells a familiar and dismal story. Average math scores for U.S. eighth-graders are lower than those for youngsters from any other large country. But there is also some extremely encouraging news: Students in some states do as well as youngsters from top-scoring countries. The average scores for Iowa and North Dakota are the same as Korea's (283). Maine and New Hampshire are slightly higher than Hungary. And, yes, all four of these are collective bargaining states. Furthermore, if you look at the chart as a whole, you see that states where teachers have a right to bargain collectively occupy most of the spots in the top third—and states where collective bargaining enjoys no legal support or where it is prohibited are bunched in the bottom third. Students from states with strong teacher unions are obviously not being held down. The evidence points in the other direction.

Does this prove that collective bargaining leads to higher student achievement? I wouldn't go that far, but it's certainly clear that people who want to make unions the goat in poor student achievement had better rethink their case.

Mathematics proficiency scores for 13-year-olds in countries (1991) and public school eighth-grade students (1992), with collective bargaining data for states



Scores 170 190 210 230 250 270 290 310 330 350

Bars show range of test scores between 5th and 95th percentiles. Possible test scores range from 0 to 500. Small squares indicate average scores.

Shading on bars shows status of collective bargaining:

- States where teachers have right to bargain collectively
- States that prohibit collective bargaining
- States with no legal support for collective bargaining and where it exists in some localities

Sources: National Science Foundation/NCS. Data about collective bargaining: AFT.

Unions