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New Member's Guide
Briefing

Chapter 6

EDUCATION

By Allyson M. Tucker and William F. Lauber

THE 103RD CONGRESS

In 1994, Congress enacted two significant measures concerning education. With the passage of these bills, the Clinton Administration accomplished its major education policy objectives and did so with little opposition.

The first measure, the Goals 2000: Educate America Act, for the first time established a national framework of education goals and standards. Besides turning the 1989 standards approved by President Bush and the nation's governors into law, the legislation included hotly contested "opportunity-to-learn" standards. These standards, said to be voluntary, specify the level of "inputs" schools must reach in order to receive federal funding. The measure authorized an appropriation of \$105 million in fiscal year 1994, as well as \$400 million in fiscal 1995 spending.

The second measure, reauthorizing the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), authorized \$12.7 billion for elementary and secondary education, including \$7.4 billion for the Title I program serving disadvantaged youngsters. The measure also made slight changes in the formula for allocating grants to states under the Title I program.

Both bills give enormous powers of control to the federal government. Before the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was passed in 1965, the federal government was barely involved in education reform and let states make the majority of education decisions. However, with the passage of ESEA and the creation of the U.S. Department of Education in 1979, the federal government has steadily taken control away from state and local governments. With the passage of the two education bills in 1994, the bureaucratic "Washington knows best" approach to school reform became even more entrenched.

Under Goals 2000:

- Three new federal bureaucracies are created: the National Education Goals Panel, the National Education Standards and Improvement Council (NESIC), and the National Skills Board. The National Education Goals Panel has already started to develop standards for states. Unfortunately, the panels setting up the standards are politically controlled and al-

ready have created "politically correct" standards that distort American history.¹ NESIC will essentially serve as a 19-member national school board. All members will be politically appointed by the President and will approve or disapprove all state-developed plans to meet the national goals set by the Education Goals Panel. Meanwhile, the National Skills Board focuses on setting occupational skills standards.

- ✱ The federal legislation transformed the original six national goals from 1989 into eight goals. The original six goals (readiness for school, 90 percent graduation rate, competence in challenging subject matter, first in the world in math and science achievement, all adults literate, and safe and drug-free schools) were developed jointly by the federal government and states with the intent of focusing on results, or "outputs." The two added under Goals 2000 (teacher professional development programs and parent involvement partnerships) deviate from the original intentions of the states and venture into top-down federal "input" regulation and process-oriented, rather than results-oriented, goals.
- ✱ The legislation developed "opportunity-to-learn" standards that the federal government believes must be met if students are to meet the national goals adequately. Unfortunately, opportunity-to-learn standards encourage more "inputs," typically money and new regulation, rather than reward "outputs," or genuine results and innovation. Opportunity-to-learn standards include school curricula, teacher preparation, material requirements for schools, limits on class size, and, potentially, national standards for spending. These federally created standards go in a direction exactly opposite to that of recent research and state-level reform.²

Under the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act:

- ✱ In order to qualify for federal funds, each state must submit a plan for approval by the National Education Standards and Improvement Council. This must outline levels of student performance standards, statewide assessments for these standards, state curricula standards, "factors" that must be present in order "for students to achieve the standards," and gender equity practices, as well as how districts will coordinate health screenings and services, preschool programs, and disability programs. Only with these federally approved "content" and "student performance" standards in place can a state receive federal aid.
- ✱ The independent National Assessment Governing Board will lose its independence. In the past, a nonpartisan board elected new members as individual terms expired. But with the new method of packing the board, it is likely that the country's most reliable performance test for children—the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP)—will be

1 The recently released National Standards for United States History give a distorted and politically correct view of American history. For instance, George Washington is mentioned only briefly, while the founding of the Sierra Club and the National Organization for Women is given great attention. For a critique of the history standards, see Lynne V. Cheney, "The End of History," *The Wall Street Journal*, October 20, 1994. See also Carol Innerst, "History Rewritten for the Classroom," *The Washington Times*, October 26, 1994.

2 Many states, dealing with fiscal realities, have come to the realization that more money and regulation are not the answer. The so-called "effective schools" research supports this fiscal reality. For instance, the exhaustive review of academic studies concerning different "inputs" such as teacher/pupil ratio, teacher education, teacher experience, teacher salary, expenditures per pupil, administrative inputs, and facilities and student performance by University of Rochester economist Eric Hanushek demonstrated that there was little, if any, correlation between various educational production functions and student performance. See Eric Hanushek, "The Impact of Differential Expenditures on School Performance," *Educational Researcher*, May 1989. See also John E. Chubb and Terry M. Moe, *Politics, Markets, and America's Schools* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1990), and Eric Hanushek et al., *Making Schools Work: Improving Performance and Controlling Costs* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1994).

weakened or rendered useless. For one thing, the education establishment resists tests that allow different states to be compared. For another, the education establishment has already indicated that it plans to "race norm" test scores and survey parents and their children for what many consider to be "sensitive" information.

- ✱ The \$12.7 billion bill contains a large amount of pork-barrel spending for the education establishment. It is a huge windfall, for instance, for colleges of education, which will receive hundreds of millions of dollars in new "professional development" funds under the newly overhauled Eisenhower program.

ACTION IN THE STATES

In sharp contrast to Washington, many state and local education reform activists are pushing for decentralization of the education system and greater parental choice among schools. Whether confined to public schools or expanded to include private and parochial schools, school choice has emerged in state after state as a centerpiece of a growing grass-roots challenge to a government-run school system that is failing in many areas of the country, particularly in America's inner cities. This is not only because school choice is the best way to make schools accountable to parents and children, but also because virtually all other efforts, including higher taxes and spending for education, have failed to improve America's schools.⁴

Other efforts to improve our school system include charter schools and for-profit management of public schools. Charter schools are "public" schools, created and operated by a group of teachers or other qualified individuals or groups of individuals, that are largely free from state and district oversight. So far, eleven states have passed charter school legislation. In addition, many school districts have considered or are considering turning management of some or all of their public schools over to a private management firm. A private management firm operates eleven schools in the Baltimore, Maryland, school system, and the Hartford, Connecticut, school district recently decided to turn the management of all of its schools over to a private management firm.

Further, many businesses and individuals, tired of the slow process of legislative reform, have taken matters into their own hands by creating private voucher programs that give vouchers to low-income children to attend the private school of their parents' choice. During the first semester of the 1994-1995 school year, fifteen different cities had private voucher programs. Over 6,000 children are now able to attend the school of their parents' choice because of these programs, over 11,000 students are on the waiting list for programs already established, and many other cities are developing programs, indicating a general dissatisfaction with the way government schools are meeting the needs of children, particularly in the inner city.

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- 3 By "race-norming" scores, supporters of this technique aim to eliminate any score differentials among racial groups. But setting up separate percentile rankings for each racial group would make it impossible to know how one group of students compared with the test pool as a whole. Ironically, it would further the problem (minorities scoring lower) by artificially covering up the real problem. Such a solution would address the effect and not the cause of the problem. For some of the "sensitive" probing proposed for the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), see Carol Innerst, "Critics Say Test Probe of Parents Is Too Nosy," *The Washington Times*, August 30, 1994, p. A4.
 - 4 In 1993, some sort of school choice legislation was introduced or pending in 34 state legislatures. For a comprehensive state-by-state school choice review, see Allyson M. Tucker and William F. Lauber, *School Choice Programs: What's Happening in the States*, 1994 edition (Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, May 1994).

THE DEBATE IN 1995

The dramatic shift in power both in Congress and in the states gives conservatives an unprecedented opportunity to undo many of the harmful education programs of the last 30 years. To the extent that government should be involved in education, it is a matter for local and state government, not for the federal government. Thus, conservatives in the new Congress should work to:

✓ **Reassign or terminate the functions of the U.S. Department of Education in order to close the Department.**

Many of the Department's programs duplicate the activities of other federal agencies. Many others can and should be carried out at the state or local level. Congress should review these programs and determine which ones should be reassigned within the federal government or eliminated and which ones, with the funds to carry them out, should be transferred to the states. The goal should be to close down the department within five years.

✓ **Repeal most provisions of the Goals 2000: Educate America Act.**

Congress should reconsider the Goals 2000 legislation and turn the 1,000-page bill into a ten-page measure that will simply grant money to the states for education reform efforts. Congress should then reduce this funding over time as state reform experiments are completed. In revising the statute, Congress should:

- ❶ Repeal all of the regulations and mandates including, but not limited to, the opportunity-to-learn standards and the 7th and 8th goals that were not agreed to by the governors. These latter goals regulate "inputs." The others deal with performance measures, or "outputs."
- ❷ Eliminate the National Educational Standards and Improvement Council (NESIC), the National Goals Panel, and the National Skills Board.
- ❸ Restore the independence of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP).
- ❹ Eliminate the bureaucratic state application process in the Act, replacing it with a simple requirement that the states send in a letter saying how they spent the Goals 2000 money within the terms of the Act.

✓ **Repeal major provisions of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA).**

The \$12.7 billion reauthorization of the ESEA should be pared down and all the jargon and its mandates removed. Specifically, Congress should:

- ❶ Remove the requirement that states send plans to the federal government on standards, curricula, and other inputs, as well as on social services.
- ❷ Repeal all social service programs. Schools should go back to teaching and educating students instead of serving as social service agencies.
- ❸ Remove all gender equity language.
- ❹ Guarantee the independence of the National Assessment Governing Board, and thereby of the NAEP.
- ❺ Strip out the pork-barrel spending in the legislation (including the new funds for colleges of education).

- ① Alter the formula for granting Chapter I money. Funds should go to poor students, as originally intended, not to students in the districts of powerful Members of Congress.
- ② Add an effective federal charter schools program that maintains state and local flexibility and encourages state charter school reforms.

When Congress revises the statute, however, it should preserve state and local authority over standards for curriculum content and student performance and state and local authority over student assessment, including how testing results are used by the states and localities. Congress also should protect state and local authority over the resources that states and communities spend on education and over school and classroom practices.

- ✓ Repeal the Individuals With Disabilities Education Act (IDEA).

IDEA is extremely expensive and redundant in light of the Americans With Disabilities Act (ADA). It creates legal nightmares and provides few educational benefits. IDEA is a huge federal mandate which is costing the states billions of dollars. Congress originally intended to pay 40 percent of IDEA costs but now pays only 8 percent. Yet officials still have every incentive to declare as many children "disabled" as possible in their area so that they can collect additional funding.

- ✓ Oppose the Clinton Administration's vocational educational and job training legislation.

Lawmakers should seek to replace this legislation with a system which gives students and their parents the choice of whether they want their children in a school with a vocational education element. Congress should leave these programs up to the states.

- ✓ Eliminate, or at the very least means-test, the National Service Trust (NST).

The national service program does not encourage volunteerism and genuine service, but instead has distorted its very meaning. While the goals of the NST are laudable, the NST has not led and will not lead to expanded educational opportunity and increased responsibility. It has turned into another expensive, bureaucratic government spending program.

- ✓ Eliminate the new direct education lending program.

The major flaw in the design of the program is that the taxpayer bears all of the risk. Schools and students should bear greater responsibilities. Congress could accomplish this by requiring schools with unacceptably high default rates to place a percentage of the government's funds into a school-financed loan loss reserve fund. Under this revision, each school receiving federal money would place into the fund an amount equal to a set percentage of the principal of each Part B loan made to students at that school as a condition for participation in Part B programs. The initial contribution percentage for a particular school would be based on that school's most recent cohort default rate, as calculated by the Department of Education, plus a margin of safety. Placing market pressures into the student loan process would have numerous salutary effects. It would create a significant financial incentive for schools to recruit with more care and discretion with an eye toward the potential student's ability to succeed at the school's particular course of study or skill area. In addition, schools would have a strong incentive to keep students in school until they are trained adequately and placed in productive jobs that will allow them to repay the loan. Finally, taxpayers would save a significant portion of the funds which now pay for default claims.

✓ Enact a "Parent and Student Empowerment Act."

This legislation was introduced by Representative Richard Armey (R-TX) in 1993 as an alternative to Goals 2000. It could be enacted as a separate bill or incorporated into revisions made in the Goals 2000 statute. Among other things, this legislation would provide federal matching grants to the states to develop reforms such as school choice, merit and model schools, and other innovative ideas being implemented at the state level. In addition, it would free school districts to innovate by permitting waivers of federal red tape, subject to the Secretary of Education's approval. It would also enhance parents' right to protect their children from intrusive psychological testing and sex surveys and recognize the right of parents to determine who can view their children's school records.

For Members of Congress, the choice is clear: they can continue to create new government bureaucracies to regulate states and local school districts, or they can help "empower" parents by giving them decision-making power on the front lines of real school reform. The new Congress could offer parents, teachers, and students unique opportunities to encourage reform, shrink the bloated bureaucracy, and get official Washington out of the way of innovative activists at the grass roots.

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LOCAL OPTIONS

Congress should return control of education to states, school boards—and parents.

LAMAR ALEXANDER, WILLIAM J. BENNETT, AND DAN COATS

AS IT SETS out to repair the damage wrought by its predecessor, the new Republican majority in Congress needs to look hard at education. Among the least-noticed events of October's closing legislative rush was final passage of HR-6, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), a \$65-billion measure that is bad for children, for education, and for American federalism. In 1,000-plus pages it sets back the cause of serious school reform, wastes billions of dollars, and erodes local control of American schools.

At a showy pre-election bill signing in Massachusetts, President Clinton and Senator Edward Kennedy said the law signals a national commitment to our children. Retiring Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D., Me.) cited education as one of the jewels in the crown of the 103rd Congress. Education Secretary Dick Riley said no one in Washington, perhaps in the whole country, was serious about education before Clinton's inauguration. And columnist Jack Anderson reported that Morgan Stanley's research department finds Clinton's "political stock . . . blue-chip when it comes to keeping its promises on education reform."

Like so much associated with this Administration, however, what sounds too good to be true turns out to be not entirely true and not very good at all. HR-6 was the legislative equivalent of a stealth bomber, heavily armed with

dangerous weapons but scarcely visible save to its controllers and crew.

Part of a comprehensive education package, along with "Goals 2000" and measures such as a "school to work" program and expansion of Head Start, HR-6 did far more than reauthorize ESEA, the keystone of federal school aid since 1965. It reversed a decade of progress toward a coherent, bipartisan education-reform strategy as embodied in the Bush Administration's "America 2000" plan, which sought to roll back federal regulation and replace it with the initiative of teachers, communities, and parents, and which coupled voluntary goals with good tests and accountability for results.

By signing off on HR-6 and Goals 2000, President Clinton transformed a nationwide reform movement into a federal program. The new regulations concern not only the standards and assessments that schools use but also how they discipline student offenders, the topics that teachers and parents must discuss with one another, the content of sex-education courses, and the (rare) circumstances in which denying a child the right to pray may be an infraction. Clinton has even created something akin to a national school board, the National Education Standards and Improvement Council.

Almost as worrying is the resurrection of inputs, resources, and services as gauges of education quality. Three decades of research show no reliable link between what goes into schools and what children learn there. Yet Goals 2000 and HR-6 affirm the routine assertion of the education establishment: If we're not happy with school results, more money and regulations will improve them.

Political correctness pervades many sections of the bill. Education Daily

matter-of-factly reports that "HR-6 is laced with language on gender equity, from authorizing grants to requiring schools to collect data." The bill also establishes a post-modern definition of the "family," provides day care for the babies of unwed teenage mothers, and conflates school reform with health care, violence prevention, etc.

The law provides vast windfalls for colleges of education and authorizes funds for dozens of pork-barrel projects. More troubling still is the bill's hypocrisy with respect to such promising reform strategies as charter schools and parental choice. While allowing members of Congress to claim that they voted for them, HR-6 actually immobilizes them with rules and conditions. What good, for example, is a school-choice program that lets the "sending school" veto the child's departure? Furthermore, such shackles will help the enemies of school choice argue a few years down the road that these reforms don't work.

How It Passed

THE passage of this legislation reveals much about the opportunities and perils awaiting the new Congress. HR-6 spent more than a year on Capitol Hill after the White House sent it up. Hearings dragged on. The high-profile issues were how to adjust the Chapter One formula to direct more federal dollars toward poor communities and whether to keep or jettison Chapter Two, a block grant that was immensely popular with states and localities. Tucked away in the fine print—but seldom discussed or reported—were dozens of new programs and hundreds of changes in existing ones, as well as intricate linkages between ESEA and the Goals 2000 bill. The Administration's complex proposals were heavily embroidered by Bill Ford's House Education and Labor Committee, and Ted Kennedy's Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee.

Eventually, the House cranked out the most offensive piece of education legislation in memory, the Senate a somewhat milder version. The final edition was cobbled together behind closed doors during August and September in a "staff conference" dominated by Democratic congressional aides, some of them around since the days of LBJ. Lobbyists and Admin-

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MORE....

istration officials played key roles in the process, but nobody else was allowed into the room.

The vast bill emerged from conference about 48 hours before the House voted on final passage. Senators had a couple of additional days to try to get hold of copies and examine the bill. Few did. It is likely that not a single member of either body had actually read the full text of the final version.

The teachers unions and the Washington-based interest groups quietly did their part to round up votes, rounding their memberships with the promise of federal dollars. Business groups went along, perhaps because their education staffs consist mostly of establishment fellow-travelers. Governors, state legislators, and mayors, many of whom had fussed loudly about Goals 2000, were mute about HR-6, though it will cost them substantial control over their schools.

Conservative organizations sat this one out or focused on such narrow items as the school prayer provisions. Editorialists naively supposed that any bill labeled "education" must be a good thing. As for congressional Republicans, most donned their "damage control" garb, curbing the worst Democrat-drafted excesses without challenging the measure's fundamental premises.

What can we do now? When it comes to education, decisions made in Washington are decisions not made by parents, teachers, and 15,000 local school boards. Mandates shaped in Washington are programs not fashioned by the states and communities, which foot most of the bill. Regulations crafted in Washington can be counted upon to respond to the demands of special interests rather than the needs of fifty million unique children attending some 110,000 distinctive schools across this diverse land.

Education is not an endeavor where one size fits all. Perhaps we can agree on a core of voluntary goals and standards that make sense for the nation, but it's folly to prescribe a single path to them, or to suggest that Uncle Sam knows best. Worse than folly, it saps initiative and responsibility, curbs creativity, and wrongly pretends that some of the touchiest and most localized issues in American society—the way our children are taught about religion and sex, the place of education in our communities—lend themselves to

uniform national solutions. Decentralizing education policy is a way to strengthen communities, to rebuild the culture, to buttress families, and to diffuse—and perhaps defuse—volatile decisions.

Horse-Trading

IN 1988, when one of us was chairman of the nation's governors and another was education secretary, the governors proposed some "old-fashioned horse-trading," namely lifting the regulatory burden from American schools in return for better education results. In time this proposal turned into a consensus about how to reform the schools: local control coupled with gubernatorial leadership; voluntary national goals combined with responsibility for each state and locality to work toward them as it deemed best, wide-ranging choices for families among excellent schools that differ on many dimensions; the fundamental right to flee a bad, or unsafe school for a good one, (plus tests that make it possible to know which are which); and essential skills and serious content taught by talented individuals who are accountable for their results and rewarded for classroom excellence.

That's what America 2000 was all about. And that's still how the American people believe we should tackle our education problems. A recent survey by Public Agenda makes plain that a "safe, orderly environment and effective teaching of the basics" head their list, joined by high standards and clear lines of accountability. But the public has serious misgivings about the trendy schemes beloved of today's education establishment—the very approaches on which money and legitimacy are lavished by HR-6 and the rest of the Clinton package. As Public Agenda reports, "the large majority of Americans are uncomfortable" with such things as "ending the 'tracking' of students, and replacing standardized, multiple-choice tests with new, more 'authentic' assessments." We also know from other surveys that the American people strongly favor school choice and are deeply mistrustful of the Federal Government's ability to improve our schools.

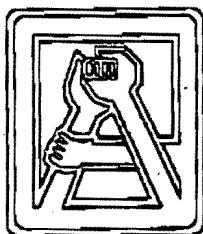
Today Washington is on a collision course with what the American people want and what they know to be right. The recent election results provide dra-

matic evidence. HR-6 is a large, ugly example of what has gone wrong and what the voters are rejecting. It should be repealed. The "national school board" should be canned, and local control should be restored. Education should be sent home to states, communities, and families.

Indeed, it's time for the Federal Government virtually to withdraw from elementary and secondary education and relinquish the authority it has seized in this domain. Dozens of federal programs ought to vanish. The resources they now consume should be made available—perhaps through a federal tax cut or an expanded version of Chapter Two—to states and localities to do with as they judge best. We're now drafting, and one of us plans in January to introduce, a short, simple bill to accomplish this. The new majority in Congress creates a more hospitable environment for such legislation than we've had since the Great Society pointed federal education policy in the wrong direction.

Insofar as any education functions stay in Washington, their guiding principles should be choice, deregulation, innovation, accountability, and serious assessment keyed to real standards in core subjects. The National Education Goals Panel, made up of governors and state legislators along with Executive Branch and congressional representatives, is where oversight responsibility should rest, not with civil servants, "experts," or the Federal Government. Today's Department of Education could be reduced to something far humbler and less costly.

That doesn't mean Presidents have nothing to say about education. In truth, they should say quite a bit. But they shouldn't try to run the nation's schools. They must not seek to control them. And they need to understand that acceptance of their education agenda depends on the power of their ideas, not on federal red tape. Bill Clinton should tell the country what he thinks a good school is. Those who agree with him can be trusted to create their own. Those who favor a different idea must be free to march to their own drummers. □



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Mike—
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Fax Cover Sheet

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REMARKS: Mike, one of our Alliance Board members sent this Lamar Alexander excerpt from a national publication to Bill Kolberg. The board member, Rich Gurin, sent a note to Lamar telling him he was wrong on all his dot points. I just thought you should have a copy of it -if you don't already.

OUR SCHOOLS

Driving in South Carolina, I saw this bumper sticker: 'I love my country, but I fear my government.'

One of the fears I hear the most about is the government in Washington taking over local schools.

People are afraid that Washington, D.C. 'experts' will impose their views about everything from safe sex to world history on public schools.

This is not just the ranting of some fringe group. Look at President Clinton's new 'Goals 2000' education law.

The New Hampshire State Board of Education asked me not long ago this question: 'Isn't Goals 2000 just a first cousin to President Bush's America 2000?'

My answer was: 'No.' My advice was: 'Treat Goals 2000 about the same way you would treat a fox dressed like a duck at a duck family reunion.'

Goals 2000:

- turns a national movement into a federal program;
- creates a sort of national school board that overrides local control;
- puts Washington experts and union leaders in charge instead of Governors;
- focuses on what is spent, instead of what children learn;

- encourages "outcome-based" education instead of focusing on whether children are learning the academic basics; and
- bans tests with consequences.

Every single Republican Senator voted to stop this kind of law in October, 1992. If I were still Governor, I would say 'no thanks' to Goals 2000 because of the strings.

The worst part of Goals 2000 is what Congress didn't do. No renewed commitment to rigorous academic standards. No push to charter thousands of new schools. No move to take federal regulations off the classroom teacher. No GI Bill for Kids so that poor families can also choose the best schools for their children.

In 1981, I suggested to President Reagan that most elementary and secondary education programs be turned over entirely to the states.

I feel even more strongly about that today. Parents and communities--instead of the company town, Washington, D.C.--will do a better job deciding what is best for our children's future.

Lamar

Portland, ME
August 1994

Will Success Spoil America?

Why the Pols Don't Get Our Real Crisis of Values

By Edward N. Luttwak

HAVING TRIED George Bush, who showed himself blithely unaware of the very existence of the problem, and having tried Bill Clinton, who spoke as if he knew all about it but failed to act, the American electorate has now given a two-year opportunity to the congressional Republicans to show that they can understand the problem and also come up with valid remedies.

The problem in question is the unprecedented sense of personal economic insecurity that has rather suddenly become the central phenomenon of life in America, not only for the notoriously endangered species of corporate middle managers, prime targets of today's fashionable "downsizing" and "reengineering," but for virtually all working Americans except tenured civil servants—whose security is duly reented.

Individual Americans who are neither economists nor statisticians do not focus on the economy's overall rate of growth, but rather on the security of their own jobs. Hence the vigorous recovery that provoked the Federal Reserve's anti-inflationary crusade cannot assuage personal fears. And the source of these fears is obvious: The once highly regulated and internationally dominant U.S. economic system has given way to a far more dynamic but also much more unstable turbo-charged capitalism open to the world's competition, in which no single firm, no particular industry and certainly no job or self-employment niche can be secure any longer. However tiny its effect, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) Treaty now before this lame-duck Democratic Congress, can only add to those worries.

There is nothing new about the "creative destruction" of free competition. Only if outdated economic structures and obsolete working methods are first swept away, freeing up their human and material resources, can more efficient structures and methods arise in their place. What is new is only a matter of degree, a mere acceleration in the pace of structural change at any given rate of economic growth. But that, as it turns out, is quite enough to make all the difference.

The rise and decline of skills, firms and entire industries is now quite rapid even when there is zero growth, becoming that much faster when the economy does grow. In the process, the most enterprising or most fortunate individuals are offered more opportunities for rapid enrichment than ever before, and even tiny firms can aspire to fabulous growth. (Microsoft, born 1975, is the classic example.) At the same time, however, the great majority of individuals has experienced not only unprecedented job upheavals, but also an absolute 20-year decline in personal earnings.

See SECURITY, C4, Col. 1

Edward Luttwak is senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies and author of "The Endangered American Dream."

Success and America

SECURITY, From C1

Republicans of the "family values" persuasion should have been the first to recognize that more disruptive change has been inflicted on working lives and entire industries than the connective tissue of many families and communities has been able to withstand. As it is, only a few paleo-conservatives of Pat Buchanan's persuasion have recognized the far-from-mysterious economy-society connection. Hence in the standard two-part Republican political speech, Part I still celebrates the virtues of dynamic economic growth, propelled by technological progress, deregulation and free trade, while Part II mourns the decline of the family and community "values" eroded precisely by the constant dislocations caused by our turbo-charged economy.

So far, the blatant contradiction at the very core of what has become mainstream Republican ideology ("family values" and dynamic economic growth) has gone mostly unremarked. And in any case it is not the Democratic Party as it is now defined itself that can benefit from the Republican contradiction. Americans who work hard earn but who fear for their economic future cannot benefit from what the Democrats have to offer: more taxes, more redistribution and more favors for any group that can claim victim status.

Both political parties promise more growth through the magic of an unfettered economy. But what most working Americans now seem to want is not the possibility of better jobs or higher incomes through growth, (because they have seen that it need not increase their earnings) but rather security for the jobs and income they already have.

A vast segment of the political spectrum is thus left vacant by the mainstream Republican contradiction on the one hand, and by mainstream Democratic "assimilationism" on the other. That was the space briefly occupied during the 1992 election year by the caprices of Ross Perot, who burdened his core message of personal economic security with strange preoccupations. And that is the space that the Republicans will leave vacant for another third-party candidate if they do not address the problem of personal economic security by 1996.

Perhaps the most obvious cause of accelerated structural change is the retreat of government regulatory controls. (Actually the totality of regulations continues to increase, but commercial as opposed to health, environmental and anti-discriminatory regulation has certainly diminished, and continues to do so.) With that, competition and efficiency both increase and once secure enterprises must face the full perils of the market.

The airline industry is the exemplary case. When still highly regulated, the moderately inefficient airlines were consistently profitable, comfortably offering lifetime jobs for all their employees. While their profits were not spectacular, they earned enough to pay both rank-and-file, and management employees rather well, and to serve as a stable and rich customer base for the aircraft industry.

Today's deregulated industry by contrast, consists largely of airlines perpetually within sight of bankruptcy, which they try to avert by extreme cost-cutting (service standards have notoriously collapsed) and desperate marketing maneuvers. Almost all have imposed serious wage reductions, layoffs or both. By con-

trast, almost all now pay much, much more to their top managers. And all surviving airlines offer such low domestic fares that, unlike the days of regulation, even Americans with ample free time and/or low incomes now habitually travel by air.

Airline deregulation has also destabilized the aircraft industry. Domestic airlines fly more aircraft than before, but tend to keep them until they are worn out. Lockheed has stopped manufacturing airliners altogether; McDonnell Douglas is too weak financially to develop any new airliners on its own (and seeks Asian risk-sharing partners at the price of sharing its key technologies); and Boeing's future is secure only because of sales to foreign airlines—most of which are still highly regulated.

Overall, airline regulation served the interests of Americans-as-producers, at the expense of Americans-as-consumers. Now it is the other way around. From a strictly economic point of view, the greater efficiency brought about by cut-throat competition may justify all. But from a social point of view there is no such compensation.

With its stable, well-paid jobs the regulated airline industry of the past obviously contributed to family and social stability. By contrast, today's chaotically unstable airlines are very disruptive for families and communities, as they rapidly expand or drastically shrink over a matter of months or even weeks, as they shift hubs and maintenance bases, each time hiring and firing employees in their constant maneuvering for market survival. It would be a nice bit of sociological research to calculate the number of divorces and problem children caused by deregulation-induced economic stresses on the families of airline employees.

Partly because there are no such statistics, we are accustomed to simply ignore the non-economic consequences of de-regulation, not just in the airline industry but in all industries. Yet it is intuitively obvious that social losses must outweigh economic gains in many cases.

Another obvious cause of accelerated structural change in the U.S. economy is the rather sudden computerization of office work. After being long delayed, the increased efficiencies that electronic computation, data storage, reproduction and internal communication machines were supposed to achieve bit by bit, finally arrived in bulk during the 1980s. Partly because even senior managers can now work these machines; partly because junior managers are increasingly compelled to use those machines in place of clerical help; and partly because "local-area networks" allow managers at the next level up literally to oversee the work that their subordinates are doing or not doing—for all these reasons the computerization of office-work has suddenly become a near-universal reality. With that, white-collar workers too are now exposed to the mass firings and diminishing employment prospects that have long been the lot of blue-collar workers in mature industries.

Management consultants prattle about "re-engineering the corporation," but the very real economies that Wall Street anticipates by bidding up the shares, thereby enriching top executives with stock options, come not from the background music of management consulting jargon but rather from the firing of telephone-answering secretaries replaced by voice-mail systems, of letter-writing secretar-

ies replaced by word-processing and faxboards, and of filing secretaries replaced by electronic memories, with the resulting elimination of their clerical supervisors, and the middle managers who used to supervise those supervisors.

That is why businesses whose revenues and profits are increasing nicely in the present recovery are nevertheless not adding white-collar or middle management positions; why businesses whose revenues and profits are stable are eliminating quite a few of those positions; and why businesses in decline are drastically reducing both white collar and management positions.

To be sure, technological progress also allows many new jobs to emerge, often very good ones. Unfortunately, as the continuing decline in the average hourly earnings of all employed Americans proves beyond a doubt, the loss of a great many so-so white collar jobs continues to outweigh increases in exciting new-technology jobs. A recent highly optimistic column by Robert J. Samuelson inadvertently showed why the totality of new jobs is not a satisfactory replacement for the old white collar jobs that have been lost.

The Samuelson list included such classic new-tech companies as Intel, Microsoft, Apple Computer and Genentech. Simple arithmetic, though, showed that all the companies in the list employed a grand total of 62,500 people—only 500 more than Home Depot alone, a retail chain that offers mostly low-paid and part-time jobs.

That indeed is the true destination of most fired white-collar workers: lower-status jobs in retail sales or other cheap services, with diminished earnings, smaller fringe benefits, and scant if any job security. (Since the table was published there have been mass firings at Apple.) It is interesting to note that the table also included Nike, which manufactures mostly outside the United States, and Southwest Airlines, a non-union company that pays the lowest wages in the industry, forcing competing airlines to do the same in each regional market it moves into.

Once again, as with deregulation, structural changes induced by the arrival of new technologies are undoubtedly increasing the total efficiency of the U.S. economy. The trouble is that they are enriching only the architects of change and those who can invest in their ventures, while impoverishing a net majority of all working Americans.

The most blatantly obvious (if not most important) cause of structural change is the so-called "globalization" of the U.S. economy. Negotiated trade agreements, including the new GATT Treaty, have been only one factor in increasing the exposure of the economy to the competitive pressures and opportunities of the global marketplace. Other factors include cheap and instant telecommunications that ease the formation of new commercial relationships; the diminishing incidence of transport costs and the hammering down of once diverse consumer preferences into uniformity by trans-national mass media imagery and advertising.

Globalization means that U.S. sales of goods or services can expand far beyond the limits of the domestic market—and of course that the U.S. production of many kinds of goods and services, and the related employment, can be displaced at any time by cheaper production from someplace else in the world. True, globalization as such does not determine U.S. wage levels. Even the U.S. worker who happens to be competing head-on with an Indian counterpart is paid according to the supply and demand for his skills in the U.S. labor

market, and not the Indian market. But life for the vast number of Americans who now participate in the global economy, wittingly or unwittingly, is full of exciting surprises and catastrophic downfalls.

Viewed in the very narrow national-accounting perspective of all our globalization debates, whether NAFTA last year or the GATT Treaty now, any increase in the combined income of all Americans—no matter how unevenly distributed—fully justifies going ahead to globalize some more. On that there seems to be a perfect consensus between mainstream Democrats and mainstream Republicans. Both take it for granted that globalization has increased and can continue to increase the country's total GNP (true), that it must therefore increase the income of all Americans or at least most of them (false), and that because protectionism is always bad for U.S. consumers (true), it must always be bad for the country (false).

What is missing is anything resembling a social perspective. In fact it is simply taken for granted that economic efficiency must never be compromised in the slightest to suit the needs of society. That would make perfect sense if the United States were a very poor country with a perfectly peaceful and tranquil society. As it is, the United States has much more wealth than social tranquility and would benefit much more from economic stability than from further economic growth, inevitably achieved by disruptive structural changes of one kind or another.

If one does take into account the psychological and practical need of families and communities for a reasonable degree of stability, very different criteria apply to globalization as well as to deregulation.

Those are the very criteria that have shaped Japan's protracted resistance to the globalization of its own economy, as well as to deregulation. U.S. trade negotiators are forever arguing the merits of free markets, but the overall purpose of Japan's many overt and covert trade barriers and domestic regulations is precisely to protect Japanese society from the disruptive effects of any competition, foreign or domestic. Small shopkeepers are protected by a Large-Scale Retail Law that greatly restricts the spread of chain stores, supermarkets and department stores. Craftsmen threatened by cheaper imports are protected by unwritten customs house conspiracies as well as overt barriers. And many industries, including low-tech paper and plywood, have their own informal protective arrangements, while high-tech industries are officially assisted as well as protected. As a result, Japanese-as-consumers must pay very high prices, but Japanese-as-producers enjoy all the benefits of personal economic security.

American visitors immediately notice the tranquility of Japanese crowds, and the conspicuous absence of the free-floating anger that has become a sinister feature of American life, and a deadly one at times. They may attribute all this calm to the homogeneity of Japan's population, or its ancestral discipline. But they would be wrong: Before its all-powerful bureaucracy stabilized Japan's economy with its regulations and protectionism, the country witnessed a great many very violent strikes, any number of political assassinations and frequent mass demonstrations that often degenerated into outright street fighting.

To be sure, the Japanese system sacrifices economic efficiency at every turn, and the consumer pays the price every time. It is a fact that the actual Japanese standard of living is on average much lower than the American, even though average Japanese money incomes are now substantially higher.

But that is a very incomplete truth, for it only includes purely material factors, overlooking society-wide considerations that count for much more—even in purely monetary terms.

When I drive into a gas station in Japan, three or four clearly underemployed young men leap into action to wash and wipe the headlights and windows as well as the windshield, check tire pressures and all the different oils, in addition to dispensing the fuel. For that excellent service, I have to pay a very high price for the gasoline. The Japanese bureaucracy, determined to protect those low-end jobs for youths who lack the talent for better employment, as well as small gas stations in rural areas, flatly prohibits self-service gas pumps, and in any case forces all gas stations to compete by offering lavish service because fuel prices are fixed by the government and price-cutting is banned.

Back in America, I fill my own tank much more cheaply from a self-service pump, but there also three or four young men are waiting—sometimes in person but certainly by implication. But because they are not employed by the gas station, or by anybody else, I do not have to pay their wages through government-imposed high prices for my gas. That is where U.S.-style economic analysis stope: Japanese consumers are being exploited, while the free market provides American consumers with cheap gas.

But in reality, I still have to pay for those young men who are not employed by the gas station. My car insurance rates are higher because of their vandalism and thefts, my taxes must be higher to pay for police, court and prison costs, and even a little by way of welfare benefits. If I am very unlucky, I may have to pay in blood. In a recent article on a Washington youth who killed a Korean immigrant at the age of 17, while absent from a psychiatric clinic where he had been sent for killing a taxi driver at the age of 15, it was parenthetically noted that more than \$100,000 had been spent on his psychiatric treatment; his 30-year prison term will cost another \$750,000 or so.

Not counting two deaths and his trial costs, the cost of not employing that one youth would pay for at least 37,777 gallons of gasoline—even at very high Japanese prices. American free-market gasoline is thus very expensively cheap, as compared to Japan's employment-generating, cheaply expensive gasoline.

There is no assurance of course that those young men whom I see loitering would actually take gas station jobs if any were available for them. But what is certain is that in Japan the governments acts to ensure that there are job openings for youths incapable of more demanding employment, while in the United States, nothing must stand in the way of free-market efficiency, very narrowly defined to exclude any and all social consequences.

As it happens, in Japan even the bureaucracy is now beginning to discuss deregulation. But the currently victorious Republicans might still benefit from glancing over at the Japanese model. As of now, we have not only unemployed youths but also a great many small-town shopkeepers facing the relentless spread of Wal-Mart and its ilk; textile workers imminently threatened by imports and employees everywhere caged with corporate tigers out to fire them if they possibly can.

If the Republicans too only offer more economic growth and yet more social disruption, by 1996 the electorate will be ready to try out whatever third party comes along—or lacking that, it may even vote for the Democrats if only to show its displeasure once again.

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Chapter 6

EDUCATION

By Allyson M. Tucker and William F. Lauber

THE 103RD CONGRESS

In 1994, Congress enacted two significant measures concerning education. With the passage of these bills, the Clinton Administration accomplished its major education policy objectives and did so with little opposition.

The first measure, the Goals 2000: Educate America Act, for the first time established a national framework of education goals and standards. Besides turning the 1989 standards approved by President Bush and the nation's governors into law, the legislation included hotly contested "opportunity-to-learn" standards. These standards, said to be voluntary, specify the level of "inputs" schools must reach in order to receive federal funding. The measure authorized an appropriation of \$105 million in fiscal year 1994, as well as \$400 million in fiscal 1995 spending.

The second measure, reauthorizing the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), authorized \$12.7 billion for elementary and secondary education, including \$7.4 billion for the Title I program serving disadvantaged youngsters. The measure also made slight changes in the formula for allocating grants to states under the Title I program.

Both bills give enormous powers of control to the federal government. Before the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was passed in 1965, the federal government was barely involved in education reform and let states make the majority of education decisions. However, with the passage of ESEA and the creation of the U.S. Department of Education in 1979, the federal government has steadily taken control away from state and local governments. With the passage of the two education bills in 1994, the bureaucratic "Washington knows best" approach to school reform became even more entrenched.

Under Goals 2000:

- Three new federal bureaucracies are created: the National Education Goals Panel, the National Education Standards and Improvement Council (NESIC), and the National Skills Board. The National Education Goals Panel has already started to develop standards for states. Unfortunately, the panels setting up the standards are politically controlled and al-

ready have created "politically correct" standards that distort American history.¹ NESIC will essentially serve as a 19-member national school board. All members will be politically appointed by the President and will approve or disapprove all state-developed plans to meet the national goals set by the Education Goals Panel. Meanwhile, the National Skills Board focuses on setting occupational skills standards.

- ✱ The federal legislation transformed the original six national goals from 1989 into eight goals. The original six goals (readiness for school, 90 percent graduation rate, competence in challenging subject matter, first in the world in math and science achievement, all adults literate, and safe and drug-free schools) were developed jointly by the federal government and states with the intent of focusing on results, or "outputs." The two added under Goals 2000 (teacher professional development programs and parent involvement partnerships) deviate from the original intentions of the states and venture into top-down federal "input" regulation and process-oriented, rather than results-oriented, goals.
- ✱ The legislation developed "opportunity-to-learn" standards that the federal government believes must be met if students are to meet the national goals adequately. Unfortunately, opportunity-to-learn standards encourage more "inputs," typically money and new regulation, rather than reward "outputs," or genuine results and innovation. Opportunity-to-learn standards include school curricula, teacher preparation, material requirements for schools, limits on class size, and, potentially, national standards for spending. These federally created standards go in a direction exactly opposite to that of recent research and state-level reform.²

Under the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act:

- ✱ In order to qualify for federal funds, each state must submit a plan for approval by the National Education Standards and Improvement Council. This must outline levels of student performance standards, statewide assessments for these standards, state curricula standards, "factors" that must be present in order "for students to achieve the standards," and gender equity practices, as well as how districts will coordinate health screenings and services, preschool programs, and disability programs. Only with these federally approved "content" and "student performance" standards in place can a state receive federal aid.
- ✱ The independent National Assessment Governing Board will lose its independence. In the past, a nonpartisan board elected new members as individual terms expired. But with the new method of packing the board, it is likely that the country's most reliable performance test for children—the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP)—will be

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- 1 The recently released National Standards for United States History give a distorted and politically correct view of American history. For instance, George Washington is mentioned only briefly, while the founding of the Sierra Club and the National Organization for Women is given great attention. For a critique of the history standards, see Lynne V. Cheney, "The End of History," *The Wall Street Journal*, October 20, 1994. See also Carol Innerst, "History Rewritten for the Classroom," *The Washington Times*, October 26, 1994.
 - 2 Many states, dealing with fiscal realities, have come to the realization that more money and regulation are not the answer. The so-called "effective schools" research supports this fiscal reality. For instance, the exhaustive review of academic studies concerning different "inputs" such as teacher/pupil ratio, teacher education, teacher experience, teacher salary, expenditures per pupil, administrative inputs, and facilities and student performance by University of Rochester economist Eric Hanushek demonstrated that there was little, if any, correlation between various educational production functions and student performance. See Eric Hanushek, "The Impact of Differential Expenditures on School Performance," *Educational Researcher*, May 1989. See also John E. Chubb and Terry M. Moe, *Politics, Markets, and America's Schools* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1990), and Eric Hanushek et al., *Making Schools Work: Improving Performance and Controlling Costs* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1994).

weakened or rendered useless. For one thing, the education establishment resists tests that allow different states to be compared. For another, the education establishment has already indicated that it plans to "race norm" test scores and survey parents and their children for what many consider to be "sensitive" information.³

- **The \$12.7 billion bill contains a large amount of pork-barrel spending for the education establishment. It is a huge windfall, for instance, for colleges of education, which will receive hundreds of millions of dollars in new "professional development" funds under the newly overhauled Eisenhower program.**

ACTION IN THE STATES

In sharp contrast to Washington, many state and local education reform activists are pushing for decentralization of the education system and greater parental choice among schools. Whether confined to public schools or expanded to include private and parochial schools, school choice has emerged in state after state as a centerpiece of a growing grass-roots challenge to a government-run school system that is failing in many areas of the country, particularly in America's inner cities. This is not only because school choice is the best way to make schools accountable to parents and children, but also because virtually all other efforts, including higher taxes and spending for education, have failed to improve America's schools.⁴

Other efforts to improve our school system include charter schools and for-profit management of public schools. Charter schools are "public" schools, created and operated by a group of teachers or other qualified individuals or groups of individuals, that are largely free from state and district oversight. So far, eleven states have passed charter school legislation. In addition, many school districts have considered or are considering turning management of some or all of their public schools over to a private management firm. A private management firm operates eleven schools in the Baltimore, Maryland, school system, and the Hartford, Connecticut, school district recently decided to turn the management of all of its schools over to a private management firm.

Further, many businesses and individuals, tired of the slow process of legislative reform, have taken matters into their own hands by creating private voucher programs that give vouchers to low-income children to attend the private school of their parents' choice. During the first semester of the 1994-1995 school year, fifteen different cities had private voucher programs. Over 6,000 children are now able to attend the school of their parents' choice because of these programs, over 11,000 students are on the waiting list for programs already established, and many other cities are developing programs, indicating a general dissatisfaction with the way government schools are meeting the needs of children, particularly in the inner city.

3 By "race-norming" scores, supporters of this technique aim to eliminate any score differentials among racial groups. But setting up separate percentile rankings for each racial group would make it impossible to know how one group of students compared with the test pool as a whole. Ironically, it would further the problem (minorities scoring lower) by artificially covering up the real problem. Such a solution would address the effect and not the cause of the problem. For some of the "sensitive" probing proposed for the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), see Carol Innerst, "Critics Say Test Probe of Parents Is Too Nosy," *The Washington Times*, August 30, 1994, p. A4.

4 In 1993, some sort of school choice legislation was introduced or pending in 34 state legislatures. For a comprehensive state-by-state school choice review, see Allyson M. Tucker and William F. Lauber, *School Choice Programs: What's Happening in the States*, 1994 edition (Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, May 1994).

THE DEBATE IN 1995

The dramatic shift in power both in Congress and in the states gives conservatives an unprecedented opportunity to undo many of the harmful education programs of the last 30 years. To the extent that government should be involved in education, it is a matter for local and state government, not for the federal government. Thus, conservatives in the new Congress should work to:

✓ **Reassign or terminate the functions of the U.S. Department of Education in order to close the Department.**

Many of the Department's programs duplicate the activities of other federal agencies. Many others can and should be carried out at the state or local level. Congress should review these programs and determine which ones should be reassigned within the federal government or eliminated and which ones, with the funds to carry them out, should be transferred to the states. The goal should be to close down the department within five years.

✓ **Repeal most provisions of the Goals 2000: Educate America Act.**

Congress should reconsider the Goals 2000 legislation and turn the 1,000-page bill into a ten-page measure that will simply grant money to the states for education reform efforts. Congress should then reduce this funding over time as state reform experiments are completed. In revising the statute, Congress should:

- ① **Repeal all of the regulations and mandates including, but not limited to, the opportunity-to-learn standards and the 7th and 8th goals that were not agreed to by the governors. These latter goals regulate "inputs." The others deal with performance measures, or "outputs."**
- ② **Eliminate the National Educational Standards and Improvement Council (NESIC), the National Goals Panel, and the National Skills Board.**
- ③ **Restore the independence of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP).**
- ④ **Eliminate the bureaucratic state application process in the Act, replacing it with a simple requirement that the states send in a letter saying how they spent the Goals 2000 money within the terms of the Act.**

✓ **Repeal major provisions of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA).**

The \$12.7 billion reauthorization of the ESEA should be pared down and all the jargon and its mandates removed. Specifically, Congress should:

- ① **Remove the requirement that states send plans to the federal government on standards, curricula, and other inputs, as well as on social services.**
- ② **Repeal all social service programs. Schools should go back to teaching and educating students instead of serving as social service agencies.**
- ③ **Remove all gender equity language.**
- ④ **Guarantee the independence of the National Assessment Governing Board, and thereby of the NAEP.**
- ⑤ **Strip out the pork-barrel spending in the legislation (including the new funds for colleges of education).**

- ⑥ Alter the formula for granting Chapter I money. Funds should go to poor students, as originally intended, not to students in the districts of powerful Members of Congress.
- ⑦ Add an effective federal charter schools program that maintains state and local flexibility and encourages state charter school reforms.

When Congress revises the statute, however, it should preserve state and local authority over standards for curriculum content and student performance and state and local authority over student assessment, including how testing results are used by the states and localities. Congress also should protect state and local authority over the resources that states and communities spend on education and over school and classroom practices.

✓ **Repeal the Individuals With Disabilities Education Act (IDEA).**

IDEA is extremely expensive and redundant in light of the Americans With Disabilities Act (ADA). It creates legal nightmares and provides few educational benefits. IDEA is a huge federal mandate which is costing the states billions of dollars. Congress originally intended to pay 40 percent of IDEA costs but now pays only 8 percent. Yet officials still have every incentive to declare as many children "disabled" as possible in their area so that they can collect additional funding.

✓ **Oppose the Clinton Administration's vocational educational and job training legislation.**

Lawmakers should seek to replace this legislation with a system which gives students and their parents the choice of whether they want their children in a school with a vocational education element. Congress should leave these programs up to the states.

✓ **Eliminate, or at the very least means-test, the National Service Trust (NST).**

The national service program does not encourage volunteerism and genuine service, but instead has distorted its very meaning. While the goals of the NST are laudable, the NST has not led and will not lead to expanded educational opportunity and increased responsibility. It has turned into another expensive, bureaucratic government spending program.

✓ **Eliminate the new direct education lending program.**

The major flaw in the design of the program is that the taxpayer bears all of the risk. Schools and students should bear greater responsibilities. Congress could accomplish this by requiring schools with unacceptably high default rates to place a percentage of the government's funds into a school-financed loan loss reserve fund. Under this revision, each school receiving federal money would place into the fund an amount equal to a set percentage of the principal of each Part B loan made to students at that school as a condition for participation in Part B programs. The initial contribution percentage for a particular school would be based on that school's most recent cohort default rate, as calculated by the Department of Education, plus a margin of safety. Placing market pressures into the student loan process would have numerous salutary effects. It would create a significant financial incentive for schools to recruit with more care and discretion with an eye toward the potential student's ability to succeed at the school's particular course of study or skill area. In addition, schools would have a strong incentive to keep students in school until they are trained adequately and placed in productive jobs that will allow them to repay the loan. Finally, taxpayers would save a significant portion of the funds which now pay for default claims.

✓ Enact a "Parent and Student Empowerment Act."

This legislation was introduced by Representative Richard Armey (R-TX) in 1993 as an alternative to Goals 2000. It could be enacted as a separate bill or incorporated into revisions made in the Goals 2000 statute. Among other things, this legislation would provide federal matching grants to the states to develop reforms such as school choice, merit and model schools, and other innovative ideas being implemented at the state level. In addition, it would free school districts to innovate by permitting waivers of federal red tape, subject to the Secretary of Education's approval. It would also enhance parents' right to protect their children from intrusive psychological testing and sex surveys and recognize the right of parents to determine who can view their children's school records.

For Members of Congress, the choice is clear: they can continue to create new government bureaucracies to regulate states and local school districts, or they can help "empower" parents by giving them decision-making power on the front lines of real school reform. The new Congress could offer parents, teachers, and students unique opportunities to encourage reform, shrink the bloated bureaucracy, and get official Washington out of the way of innovative activists at the grass roots.

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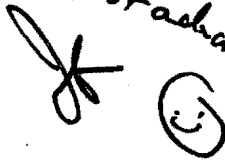
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THE NEW REPUBLIC



Tony Coelho

and the

Death

of the

Democrats

by Ruth Sidel

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keeping them warehoused within urban shums. The administration hasn't only tossed another unsolicited political bone to Republicans who would slash any social program, successful or failed, and who have never liked the possibility that a few poor kids might end up in their districts' public schools; it has also forsaken its professed commitment to policies that help the poor help themselves.

TRUE LOVE: Just as Suhla Tawil, Yasir Arafat's young wife, joyously announced she is pregnant, the PLO leader's first wife emerged from hiding to darken the couple's bright day. The other woman, 65-year-old Najla Yassin, insists she is the only one who truly understands how to love the man: "When I would see he was nervous or tired," she reminisced to *The Washington Post*, "I would go out into the street and find a Palestinian child, and I'd say to him, 'Go to Abu Ammar; he wants to give you a Kalashnikov so you can fight the Jews.' The child would go in and ask Abu Ammar for a Kalashnikov. He would forget immediately his troubles. He would smile, he would kiss the child, and he would say to me, 'Do you see these? They are our future.'"

THIS JUST IN:

Reducing water wastage means less waste water

—*The Nation* of Bangkok, October 21
(Thanks to Tom Cole, Santa Rosa, California.)

Grade cards used to gauge student progress

—*Standard Democrat*, Sikeston, Missouri, November 14
(Thanks to Steve Mosley, Sikeston, Missouri.)

Lost pets are often confused

—*The Daily Record*, Ellensburg, Washington, October 31
(Thanks to Robert Fordan, Ellensburg, Washington.)

Denver school official to talk with his boss

—*The Pueblo Chieftain*, Pueblo, Colorado, December 5
(Thanks to Thomas Payne, Pueblo, Colorado.)

TO THE MAX:
"What the Clintons have to offer, in short, is what Max

Weber called 'charismatic' leadership—the leadership of the chieftain whose authority depends on his ability to reward his followers directly."—Godfrey Hodgson, reviewing *On The Edge: The Clinton Presidency*, *The New York Times Book Review*, November 27.

"Together, he and the candidate raid the party and carry off the glittering booty, much in the manner of the 'charismatic horde' of Max Weber's classic description of the different types of authority."—Godfrey Hodgson, reviewing *Quest for the Presidency 1992*, in *The Washington Post Book World*, same day •

THE PRESS

HISTORY LESSON

By Jon Wiener

Lynne Cheney wasn't gone long. The head of the National Endowment for the Humanities under Ronald Reagan and George Bush has jumped back into the news with her attacks on the National Standards for History, a guide for elementary and high school teachers. Ironically, though, her mode of return may have its benefits, for it shows how a false story, with the help of the right-wing media, can enjoy a fine run in the public forum.

The National Standards make for an unlikely victim. To begin with, they were financed by the Bush administration and were well underway by the time Cheney left the endowment. Moreover, they were put together not by some leftist coven, but by teachers, administrators, scholars and parents—along with organizations ranging from the American Association of School Librarians to the National Education Association. The standards express a consensus that the teaching of history, long in neglect, should be the centerpiece of the social studies curriculum. This should include coverage of the experiences of ordinary people as well as elites, and treatment of nations and cultures throughout the world.

So what's the problem? In her first attack, launched in a *Wall Street Journal* op-ed on October 20, a week before the American History Standards were released, Cheney said the issue was simple: not enough white men. Harriet Tubman, the African American who led slaves to freedom before the Civil War, was "mentioned six times," while George Washington "makes only a fleeting appearance," and Thomas Edison gets ignored altogether.

A few days after Cheney's article appeared, Rush Limbaugh had it on the air. Limbaugh yelled that the standards were the work of a secret group and should be "flushed down the toilet."

Thereafter, more respectable journalists began picking up the story. *The New York Times* ran an Associated Press article on October 26, the day the standards were officially released. (Headline: "PLAN TO TEACH U.S. HISTORY IS SAID TO SLIGHT WHITE MALES.") The story did not describe the standards or give examples. Instead, it reported on Cheney's laments: "They make it sound as if everything in America is wrong and grim."

Two days later *The Washington Times* weighed in with an article complaining that the project took "\$2.2 million of taxpayers' money." On October 28 *USA Today* columnist Joe Urschel wrote that the commission's purpose was "to mislead and bully elementary and high school instructors." A *Washington Post* story devoted seven paragraphs to Cheney's criticism.

On November 4 Charles Krauthammer published an essay in the *Post* titled "History Hijacked"; it cited Cheney on Tubman and Edison. *U.S. News & World Report*, *Time* and *Newsweek* also participated. *Newsweek* even offered some original reporting—its article concluded with a quote from a black teacher backing the standards. Black children, the teacher said, have been "brainwashed" to "celebrate white heroes . . . and values," and "what needs to happen now is a reverse brainwashing." The statement did little to undermine Cheney's critique.

On November 8 *The Wall Street Journal* editorial pages ran letters under the headline, "THE HISTORY THIEVES." The first of these declared that national standards were "developed in the councils of the Bolshevik and Nazi Parties, and successfully deployed on the youth of the Third Reich and the Soviet Empire." Soon thereafter, *The New York Times* op-ed page featured an article by John Patrick Diggins of the CUNY Graduate Center, the only historian to write in support of Cheney. Nothing in his essay indicated he had read the standards. "At a time when people from all over the world are flocking to America," Diggins wrote, "students are told that they must study precisely that from which people are fleeing?" Don't study the rest of the world, he was arguing—a position more extreme than Cheney's.

On November 11 *The Wall Street Journal* broadened its attack by going after the World History Standards. It quoted Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, who had been swept up in the Cheney critique. "It's a travesty," Shanker said of the standards. It's "leftist point-of-view history. Everything that . . . has to do with white people is evil and oppressive, while Genghis Khan is a nice, sweet guy just bringing his culture to other places."

That day—three weeks after Cheney's initial broadside—a national news story reporting on the actual contents of the standards finally appeared. The article, page 1 of *The New York Times*, noted that the standards "keep William the Conqueror . . . but also give emphasis to non-European hallmarks like China's powerful Song dynasty." The guidelines, the paper added, "ask students to go beyond rote memorization and explain, analyze

and explore historical movements around the world."

Even a cursory look at the standards suggests the assault by Cheney and Co. was flawed. When I purchased a copy at the National Center for History in the Schools, located a few blocks from UCLA, I met project co-director Gary Nash, a UCLA history professor. I asked him whether white men had been neglected. "The fact is there are white males on every page of this document," he replied. Sure enough, there they are. Flip to page 76: for the revolution of 1776, "Analyze the character and roles of the military, political and diplomatic leaders who helped forge the American victory." If you don't discuss George Washington, you flunk. Page 138: for the period 1870-1900, "How did inventions change the way people lived and worked? Who were the great inventors of the period?" If you don't discuss Edison, you're in trouble.

What about Cheney's claim that "not a single one of the thirty-one standards mentions the Constitution"? Well, page 84 says students should be able to "analyze the fundamental ideas behind the distribution of powers and the system of checks and balances established by the Constitution." And, it turns out that the person mentioned most often is not Tubman, but Richard

Nixon. Ronald Reagan comes in second.

Cheney complained about the preferential treatment of women and minorities, but it's hard to see why. High school students should be able to explain "the arguments for and against affirmative action" and "for and against ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment." They should be able to evaluate "the Warren Court's reasoning in *Brown v. Board of Education*." Politics is treated in a similarly un-

biased and resolutely middle-of-the-road way: students should be able to "demonstrate understanding of the origins and domestic consequences of the cold war" and to analyze "the Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon administrations' Vietnam policy."

Shanker's anger that the standards portray Genghis Khan as a softie also runs into problems when compared with the text. The two pages on the Mongol empire say students should be able to "describe the destructive Mongol conquests of 1206-79 and assess their effects on peoples of China, Southeast Asia, Russia and Southwest Asia"; in grades seven and eight, students are asked to examine Genghis Khan's statement, "Man's highest joy is in victory: to conquer one's enemies, to pursue them, to deprive them of their possessions, to make their beloved weep."

Cheney made a particularly big deal out of one of the suggested high school teaching exercises on the rise of big business: "Conduct a trial of John D. Rockefeller on the following charge: 'The plaintiff had knowingly and willfully participated in unethical and amoral business practices designed to undermine traditions of a fair and open competition for personal and private aggrandizement in direct violation of the common welfare.'" She thought this was outrageous, but it is one of the older chestnuts of American history teaching. Those who went



to college in the '50s and '60s may remember *John D. Rockefeller, Robber Baron or Industrial Statesman?* published in the Heath *Problems in American Civilization* series, which presented the pros and cons of the industrial era, and on which countless papers and exams were based.

What comes next? Although the standards project began during the Bush years, the Clinton administration adopted it as part of its "Goals 2000" program of educational reforms. The standards are supposed to be submitted for certification by a bipartisan National Education Standards and Improvement Council, whose yet unnamed members are to be nominated by the president and confirmed by Congress. Certification would encourage textbook publishers and school systems to adopt the standards. But they would remain voluntary.

The battle likely will rage beyond the standards and the people appointed to approve them. Indeed, the flap could grow into a Republican effort to scrap the NEH. Don't be surprised if the halls of Congress, newly populated by a GOP majority, resound with denunciations of the endowment. And don't be surprised if the Clinton administration fails to put up much of a fight. Undersecretary of Education Marshall S. Smith told the *Post* that the president "had nothing to do with those folks" who drafted the standards. That doesn't sound good.

JON WIENER is professor of history at the University of California, Irvine.

SAINT PETERSBURG POSTCARD

PINK DAWN

By Anna Husarska

After two decades of construction of communism in the USSR, no one has any reason to be a homosexual, and those who persist in their homosexuality should be regarded as counter-revolutionary elements and should be punished for anti-Soviet activity.

—Nikolai Krilyenko, attorney general under Josef Stalin

Gay rights is the ultimate oxymoron in Russia, because for seventy years neither gays nor rights have been very visible here. In Moscow, there isn't a single gay rights defense group; there are only a few discos and cafés where gays even congregate. Saint Petersburg fares slightly better. It has two gay groups, though they aren't on speaking terms and spend precious energy fighting each other.

I went to see Yuri Yereyev, president of one of the groups, the Tchaikovsky Fund, named after the composer, who ~~was~~ is gay. Yuri is 40 and served three years in prison in the '80s under Article 121, Part 1 of the Rus-

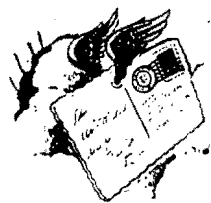
sian criminal code, which, until its repeal in May 1993, outlawed homosexual relations between men (but not between women). A former paper factory worker, he lost his job after his boss discovered he is gay.

In the headquarters, a sparsely furnished room in a communal apartment, Yuri and I sat on homemade wooden benches upholstered with black fabric. Dutch and German posters of gay events covered the walls. An old-fashioned radio and a gramophone sat in the corner; a doorless closet contained some basic kitchenware. Yuri showed me an English-language gay magazine, and I was browsing through the color photos when his mother, a round Russian woman with an apron and tightly combed gray hair, entered with some cheese sandwiches. As a reflex, I closed the magazine, but she only cast me a veteran look and poured us tea, while Yuri told me about gay magazine distribution: a confidential mail-order system offering local production with black-and-white drawings.

The primitive state of the gay movement in Russia persists because, although the laws may have changed, attitudes toward homosexuality have not, says Moscow sociologist Igor Siemionovich Kon. In polls in 1989, 32 percent of the Soviet population thought gays should be executed; 30 percent thought they should be isolated; 6 percent believed they need help; and 10 percent felt gays should be left to themselves. Not much has changed: Kon says homosexuals are still the most or second most hated group, competing for this title with the Jews. Those who once held the Jewish-Masonic conspiracy responsible for Russia's problems now fault the Jewish-Masonic-gay conspiracy, or just a gay conspiracy.

In the face of all this, the Tchaikovsky Fund organizes gay film festivals and gay pride parades, art exhibitions and ballet performances. Yuri takes part in T.V. and radio roundtables on minorities and on AIDS. The fund also has started a new dating service, which compiles the applicants' financial and housing situations, as well as their sexual inclinations. At the group's annual meeting, the dating service was the one topic that sparked real interest. There were some 40 participants (Kriliya, the rival group, met a week before, with similar attendance). Four of us were straight, two attendees were lesbians, five were men in their 60s who, as one told me, come to meetings because they're too old to go to discos or cafés. Six others were deaf-dumb. Until Vinay Saldanha of the Canadian office of the International AIDS Project started giving out condoms, these six chatted in sign language among themselves, leaving it unclear whether they even knew where they were.

The meeting's attendees also discussed launching a Russian edition of the gay magazine *The Advocate* and a gay radio station. Yuri announced that a man who had killed two gays had been spotted in the main Peterburg cruising area, and he warned everyone to be careful.



FOR YOUR EYES ONLY

NOTE TO TERRY PETERSON AND MIKE COHEN:

Attached is a quick overview of the issues raised about Goals 2000 in the recent Hudson Institute News and Views. Terry, let us know if you want to talk about the Secretary's presentation to the Hudson Institute.

Jennifer

DRAFT

SUMMARY OF INACCURACIES IN BRUNO MANNO PIECE IN NEWS & VIEWS

Myth: Secretary Riley inadvertently suggests, this agenda (Goals 2000) is a throwback to the mid-1960's education policies of the Great Society.

Reality: Secretary Riley was referring to the 1965 passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act that has provided important protection and assurances that children in poverty receive a quality education.

There are a great many differences, however, between the 1965 Act and Goals 2000. The Goals 2000 Act formalizes in law what Governors and local education activists have been asking for -- flexibility and waivers from burdensome federal rules and regulations. The Goals 2000 Act has no regulations and provides a great deal of flexibility to states and communities in their efforts to create and build on their own education improvement efforts.

There are also provisions in Goals 2000 that support state and community decisions to create public charter schools and to privatize aspects of the education system.

Myth: Local districts must develop their own reform plans for approval by the state. They are to be integrated into the plan sent to Washington.

Reality: The Department of Education will not be reviewing local or school improvement plans.

Myth: District plans will need a myriad of details, including how districts coordinate health and social service programs, homeless children programs, pre-school programs, and a host of other programs. They even must describe a parent involvement policy that includes topics to be discussed at parent/teacher conferences.

Reality: The Act states that districts will include in their plans how the local education agency will improve and support the ability of student to learn effectively at all grade levels by identifying the most pressing needs. (Sec. 309 (3) (F).

Each community, however, will determine what the most pressing needs are and decide what services students should be provided. Parental involvement policies and decisions will be made at the school level. The federal government will not in any way be involved in those decisions.

DRAFT

Myth: No matter that the Clinton administration's rhetoric is about plans created locally from the "bottom up." It's Uncle Sam who sets the requirements, describes the contents, writes the rules, and controls the purse strings. It's "top down" plain and simple, much like the education ministries of many European and Asian Countries.

Reality: Most centralized education systems have national standards and national tests. Goals 2000 does not promote either. States and communities are asked in Goals 2000 to develop **their own** standards and assessments to measure progress. In addition, there is a great deal of flexibility in how the improvement plans are developed and how they will be implemented.

Myth: NESIC is...becoming a sort of "national school board." Since Goals 200 gives NESIC the power to certify what content, performance, and delivery standards receive the federal housekeeping seal of approval, it holds effective control over what states must do to receive federal money.

Reality: NESIC was originally proposed by a bi-partisan commission to provide a "good housekeeping seal of approval" to standards submitted voluntarily by interested state and national groups. There is no requirement for any state or national group to submit standards to NESIC; rather, review by NESIC is simply an option for those who want a second opinion on the quality of their standards. NESIC will be comprised of a broadly representative group of citizens and educators, including both Democrats and Republicans.

Myth: "Systemic reform" is nothing more than the same old bureaucrats talking to many of the same old interest groups.

Reality: Every major national business group in the country endorsed the Goals 2000 Act. The Business community has long been an advocate for a "systemic" approach to education reform. In fact, a broad consensus has emerged, beginning back with President Bush, Lamar Alexander, and the nation's Governors, that this country needed to focus its attention on a comprehensive approach to reform. The Goals 2000 Act supports state and community efforts to do develop and implement their own comprehensive approaches to school improvement.



EDUCATIONAL
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November 1994

Dear NETWORK Member:

The frost is on the pumpkin and we're at the height of the Indiana autumn as we send this month's issue to press. This should cross your desk well before Thanksgiving and we wish you a good start to the holiday season.

Several items deserve special note this month. First of all, former NETWORK director Michael Heise leads off a lengthy "school choice watch" section with an original article about the constitutionality of school choice. EPC member Herb Walberg, along with Joseph Bast, survey the limited empirical research on U.S. choice programs and discuss the much broader body of available research comparing public and private schools. EPC co-chair (and NETWORK co-founder) Diane Ravitch discusses the urgent need for means-tested school choice, particularly in urban areas. In "School Choice Slandered," Dan McGroarty discusses John Witte's evaluation of the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program and the stalwart establishmentarians eager to accentuate the negative. The section also includes commentary by EPC member (and former education secretary) Bill Bennett on the Puerto Rico voucher program and an update on choice activity in Jersey City.

We also call your attention to "America's Education Catastrophe," a *News & Views* original written by Regna Lee Wood, a consultant with the National Right to Read Foundation. Mrs. Wood draws from an impressive array of sources and provides useful data we had not come across previously. We should note that the last essay we printed by Mrs. Wood was in October of 1992. Her article, which originally appeared in *National Review*, began "Chester Finn of the Educational Excellence Network is wrong." While we make take issue with the opinions of *News & Views* contributors, we always welcome solidly argued pieces on important topics.

Our "Inside/Outside the Beltway" section features our monthly "Washington Watch" column by Bruno Manno. This month, Bruno takes President Clinton to task for his administration's business-as-usual approach to American education. (Our "quotes of the month" illustrate the President's two minds on the issue of school choice and our "Endpaper" this month features the resolutions of the organization to which the President has pledged his fidelity.)

Finally, we gratefully acknowledge the continued support of Herbert Walberg and Chester Finn, Jr. as Sustaining Members of the NETWORK.

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N E T W O R K

NEWS & VIEWS

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**EDUCATIONAL
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INSIDE/OUTSIDE THE BELTWAY

The Clinton Agenda In K - 12 Education: *Déjà Vu All Over Again*

By Bruno V. Manno

The Clinton administration can hardly contain itself. Reflecting on its education work with the Congress, Secretary of Education Richard Riley crowns, "We passed more good education legislation than in the past 30 years."

A Department press release describes the administration's work as a "quiet consensus without much fanfare." It continues, "Inside the beltway, many Washington insiders say they're amazed. Not since the mid-60's, veteran Capitol Hill watchers say, has so much been done for education."

President Clinton is quick to join in. Heaping high praise on the Congress, he croons, "I think this Congress will go down in history as a great Congress for education."

The usually politically correct Washington Post agrees. It says of the Congress, "Whatever its record in other fields, the Congress now home campaigning was highly productive in the field of education. Six bills were passed...." Because of this "real achievement," the Post knights them "an education Congress."

The final victory in the education joust was the just completed five year rechartering of the federal government's main financial investment in K-12 education — the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). It allows the federal government to spend up to \$12.7 billion a year on almost 50 education programs.

This occurred despite a last minute effort led by former Secretaries of Education William Bennett and Lamar Alexander to kill the 1,000 page bill. They called it,

"...the kind of pernicious legislation which, if it is enacted, will make American education worse, not better. It will set back the renewal of American education [and] make it more difficult for reform-minded Americans to do what needs to be done."

In fact, ESEA furthers an education agenda that:

- imposes a "top down" Washington approach to transforming America's schools;

Imposing what the administration calls a "systemic model" of school reform on the country makes Uncle Sam the country's central education planner.

- advances federal control of those schools;
- expands the national policy role and influence of education bureaucrats and interest groups;
- suggests federal education spending be placed on autopilot so as to send it into the stratosphere.

The contours of this agenda were first set out in the administration's GOALS 2000: Educate America Act signed into law by President Clinton in March, 1994. But as Secretary Riley inadvertently suggests, this agenda is a throwback to the mid-1960s education policies of the Great Society — déjà vu all over again.

Uncle Sam as Central Planner

The bill mandates that state-wide education reform plans be submitted to the U.S. Secretary of Education for approval. Though ambiguously phrased, there is little doubt they are to describe a state's content

standards (what students must know and do), performance standards (what student achievement is good enough to denote content mastery), and delivery or opportunity-to-learn standards (what resources — fiscal and human — communities will devote to ensuring that students achieve these standards). They must also include assessment plans tied to the standards and schedules projecting what yearly progress will occur.

Local districts, too, must develop their own reform plans for approval by the state. They are to be integrated into the plan sent to Washington.

District plans will need a myriad of details, including how districts coordinate health and social service programs, homeless children programs, pre-school programs, and a host of other programs. They even must describe a parent involvement policy that includes topics to be discussed at parent/teacher conferences.

No matter that the Clinton administration's rhetoric is about plans created locally from the "bottom up." It's Uncle Sam who sets the requirements, describes the contents, writes the rules, and controls the purse strings. It's "top down" plain and simple, much like the centralized education ministries of many European and Asian countries.

Imposing what the administration calls a "systemic model" of school reform on the country makes Uncle Sam the country's central education planner. It's ironic this centralization occurs when most of the world is decentralizing, eliminating bureaucratic administrative layers and encouraging local control and decision making in many areas of life, including education.

A Federal Power Grab

The "systemic model" also pushes the new presidentially appointed bureaucracy

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INSIDE/OUTSIDE THE BELTWAY

created by GOALS 2000 — especially the National Education Standards and Improvement Council (NESIC) — further in the direction of becoming a sort of "national school board." Since GOALS 2000 gives NESIC the power to certify what content, performance, and delivery standards receive the federal housekeeping seal of approval, it holds effective control over what states must do to receive federal money.

This federal power grab is the height of an arrogant Washington-knows-best approach to education reform. It makes schools accountable to Uncle Sam, bypassing the day-to-day wishes and inclinations of local communities. As night follows day, this meddling and intrusiveness will lead to new federal mandates, controls, and regulatory burdens on states and communities.

The administration says this interpretation is unjustified. Secretary Riley says, "I strongly disagree with [the] belief that [our education package] will federalize American education."

But consider this example from ESEA. Any district receiving funds must expel from school for at least one year students found to have brought a weapon to school. Does an incident like this require a swift and sure response? Most certainly so. But should it be the job of Uncle Sam in Washington to mandate a national policy on weapons and school expulsions for every school district and impose it on all states and communities? Most certainly not.

Bureaucrats and Interest Groups in Control

GOALS 2000 placed NESIC under the control of the usual education establishment suspects — experts in school finance and equity and the long laundry list of professional educators, activists, and interest group representatives. ESEA continues this move to expand the national policy role, influence, and control of bureaucrats and interest groups.

For example, the presently independent National Assessment Governing Board — the policymaking group for the nation's report card on student achievement — now will have its members chosen by education interest groups. Placing the

only testing program with a long record of objectively monitoring student learning in the U.S. under the control of bureaucrats and interest groups is like putting the fox in the same coop as the chickens. There is today a broad smile on the faces of the education foxes.

Another example are the provisions in ESEA's "Gender Equity Act." They mandate teacher training in "gender sensitivity [and] gender equitable practices." This politically correct provision, which comes Fed Ex from Uncle Sam, panders to the wishes of a major interest group and is based on spurious research.

In short, ESEA — like GOALS 2000 — places control of education policy in the hands of education's producers rather than parents and other consumers, experts rather than laypeople, bureaucrats rather than civilians. "Systemic reform" is nothing more than many of the same old bureaucrats talking to many of the same old interest groups. In all likelihood, they will produce the same old results.

The Answer Is More Money

There are only two ways to judge quality in education: focus on intentions and efforts, institutions and services, resources and spending; or focus on goals and ends, products and results, on what students learn.

ESEA focuses on resources and proposes to put education spending on autopilot and send it into the stratosphere. It wants to increase the total share of federal spending on education at least one percent each year until it reaches ten percent of the federal budget. This year alone, the ten percent formula would add about \$130 billion to the federal education budget. No improvement in student learning would need to occur for this to happen.

There are numerous other windfalls for the education establishment. Targeted are the "professional development" types, especially the colleges of education. They would reap professional development money from at least two new sources: the reconfigured Eisenhower Professional Development Program and a mandated ten percent "set aside" for professional development of teachers in low income schools that have not made adequate progress in reaching agreed upon student achievement

goals.

It's Business As Usual

ESEA — as does most of this administration's education agenda — shows there is not much "new" about the "new" Democrat, Bill Clinton, nor his friends, the education Congress. He and his friends are "old" Democrats in disguise.

What they have created in ESEA is nothing more than Uncle Sam knows best imposing a "top down" approach to transforming America's schools while grabbing power for Washington. It's the most amount of money for the smallest amount of change with money going to the crowd that controls the schools and mostly likes them the way they are.

Lost is the chance to break the mold, to start from scratch.

Lost is the chance to unleash communities in a crusade to transform schools in a radical way, to create the best schools in the world for their children, schools that prepare them to live, work, and compete successfully in the twenty-first century.

Sadly, the Clinton agenda is a throwback to the mid-1960s policies of the Great Society. It's déjà vu all over again.

GOALS 2000: Help or Hindrance?

By Theodor Rebarber

The passage of *Goals 2000: Educate America Act* marks what the Clinton Administration clearly hopes will be a new era of strengthened federal involvement in state and local educational reform. Although approximately \$90 million of the \$105 million allocated for 1994 are expected to flow to states and communities, whether *Goals 2000* is likely to prove a modest help or hindrance to state and local reformers is less clear. In certain respects, *Goals 2000* is another chapter in the process that began in 1989 with President Bush and the nation's governors in Charlottesville, Virginia, which led to the creation of six national education goals. But while it contains several positive features, *Goals 2000* includes some troubling departures from that earlier, bipartisan effort. It also includes the Clinton Administration's attempt to introduce what it calls "systemic reform" to state and local school systems. The key academic provisions of *Goals 2000*, described below, are best understood in two parts, one at the national level and a second at the state and local levels.

At the national level, *Goals 2000* codifies into federal law eight education goals. The goals include the six already developed by President Bush and the nation's governors — readiness for school; ninety percent graduation rate; competence in challenging subject matter; first in the world in math and science achievement; all adults literate; and safe and drug-free schools — plus two new goals advocating teacher professional development pro-

grams and parent involvement partnerships. The two additional goals indicate a symbolic retreat both substantively and procedurally. Beyond the specifics of each of the original six goals were two overall principles that they embodied: that these are national, not federal, goals developed jointly by the states and the federal government; and education goals should focus on results rather than process. Under

Goals 2000 includes some troubling departures from earlier bipartisan efforts.

Goals 2000, the federal government has unilaterally changed the national goals by adding two new federal goals that focus on process. That these two particular goals are less harmful than others that might have been added in no way minimizes the damage of this precedent.

Goals 2000 also creates two new federal boards charged with establishing national academic standards and certifying state standards and assessments. These boards include the National Education Goals Panel, currently operating without federal recognition as a monitoring organization, and the National Education Standards and Improvement Council (NESIC). (A third board, the National Skills Standards Board, focuses on occupational skills standards.) Under these two boards, standards are to be developed for the academic "content" that all students should master, the levels of "performance" they should attain on that content, and the "opportunity to learn" that should be provided. Here again, in the addition of national "opportunity to learn" standards and in

the roles defined for NESIC and the Goals Panel, *Goals 2000* departs from previous bipartisan, state-federal compromises and understandings.

The addition of national opportunity to learn standards to be certified by NESIC represents a significant step backward. Such input or process standards have traditionally consisted of checklists and regulations that act to stifle reform. Mandating that they address every conceivable input or educational process — including school curricula, teacher preparation, laboratories, libraries, gender discrimination, and much else — *Goals 2000* encourages just the type of simplistic input standards that many states and districts are now attempting to move away from. The fact that they are voluntary, at least for now, and that funds to develop such standards must support multiple versions rather than a single national blueprint reduces — but does not eliminate — the possibility of their causing serious harm. At best, several million in federal grant dollars will have been spent on documents that are placed on a shelf and never heard from again. More likely are dreamy descriptions of gold-plated schools implementing the latest educational fads, which will then be used as a justification for federal intervention.

The role of the Goals Panel in the national standard-setting process was first outlined in 1992 in the report of the National Council on Education Standards and Testing, a broad, bipartisan consensus panel chartered by Congress. The bipartisan Goals Panel, which includes federal policy makers but is numerically dominated by state officials, was to appoint a preliminary review panel that would certify the standards and then pass them on to the Goals Panel for final approval. In place of this balanced approach, *Goals 2000* elevates the preliminary review panel, now dubbed NESIC, to the preeminent policy

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role and limits the Goals Panel to a veto (which requires a two-thirds vote of the full membership within 90 days). Instead of NESIC's 19 members being appointed the Goals Panel, all are to be appointed President Clinton, with the Goals Panel limited to providing nominees for four

As a whole, despite their flaws, the emerging standards contain a substantial amount of solid academic material, content that could improve the current standards and assessments of many states and districts.

slots (the rest of the nominees are provided by the Democratic leadership in Congress and Secretary Riley). To address the obvious partisanship of this process, a requirement was added that, "to the extent feasible," nominees and appointees to NESIC be evenly divided between the political parties. Both the number and the independence of Republican appointees that actually result from this system will set the tone for implementation of *Goals 2000* at the national level.

Whether national content and performance standards will have any significant impact, and whether this would be a positive development, remains to be seen. As voluntary standards, their influence will depend primarily on their quality as well as on the manner in which they are produced and approved. Current drafts being prepared by national professional and scholarly groups in different subjects are of uneven quality and could use some improvement before being adopted as the final standards. Several are overly weighted toward vague process skills at the expense of real knowledge; there are instances of a politically correct tilt; and, as a group, they seem to include too much material for any foreseeable curriculum to cover. The federal Education Department's recent cancellation of continuation funds to the organizations drafting English/Language Arts

standards is encouraging on this score. The establishment groups developing those standards had veered off-course from developing content and performances standards and instead were developing mushy, process-oriented "vignettes." As a whole, despite their flaws, the emerging standards contain a substantial amount of solid academic material, content that could improve the current standards and assessments of many states and districts. As long as states remain completely free to select what they deem appropriate and reject the rest, the standards may do some good.

In addition to national standards, *Goals 2000* creates a process for states to voluntarily submit to NESIC their own standards for content, performance, and opportunity to learn. But why would any state provide its standards, especially its "opportunity" input standards, to some federal board so that it may sit in judgment? What many states would find helpful are funds to support improved assessments and the establishment of a system to ensure comparability of state assessment results. And *Goals 2000* does create a federal assessment development grant program and allows states to submit their assessments for certification to NESIC. But given all the mandates and hurdles that it places on states considering participation in such a system, it is hard to imagine why a state would want to go to all the trouble. A state seeking certification of an assessment will have to demonstrate, to NESIC's satisfaction, not just the quality of the assessment itself, but that its educational system has done an adequate job of preparing its students for the assessment. Even if successful, a state would be prohibited from using the assessment in decisions on student graduation or promotion. If a state only accepts an assessment grant but does not attempt to have the assessment certified by NESIC, it will still be barred from using the assessment to hold students accountable to its standards (though it would be spared the task of demonstrating to NESIC the adequacy of its entire educational system).

The section of *Goals 2000* providing

state and local reform grants contains fewer direct restrictions but saddles states and districts with a cumbersome planning and implementation process. Large panels at the state and district levels representing dozens of interests and groups must be appointed in order to develop "improvement plans." With the portion of funds that they are permitted to keep at the state level, states must develop content standards, performance standards, assessments tied to these, and some type of opportunity to learn "standards or strategies" (though actual implementation of the latter is left voluntary). The need to develop quality state content standards and assessments is reasonable and widely accepted. Many states intending to begin, or already engaged in, such an effort will find the additional resources helpful.

Beyond standards and assessment, however, *Goals 2000* also specifies that state and district plans must include strategies in numerous specific areas, among which are: instructional materials; teacher professional development; parental and community involvement; making improvements system-wide; drop-out programs; even "bottom-up reform." The implicit underlying philosophy — that such reforms are best achieved through central planning by powerful "stakeholders" at the

Goals 2000's bureaucratic planning and implementation requirements might encourage even more fragmented, add-on programs.

state and district levels — is a major flaw. To avoid the pitfall of simply recreating the problems of the current system, those who appoint the panels — the Governor, chief state school officer, and local education agencies — will need to be especially careful in their selection of individual panel members. Otherwise, instead of causing a re-thinking of the current top-down system, *Goals 2000*'s bureaucratic planning and implementation requirements might encourage even more fragmented, add-on programs.

Trying to achieve world-class results on challenging assessments within the confines of the present system is bound to lead to frustration. As an alternative, the Education Department might advocate the expressed views of President Clinton, who has repeatedly advocated market mechanisms — including charter schools and private management contracts — as promising avenues to improvement. Pioneering states, such as Colorado, Minnesota, and Massachusetts are experimenting with such market-type mechanisms to create innovative schools, that really do improve learn-

Whether even the current Administration can resist the temptation to impose its will on state remains an open question.

ing opportunities. (Minor provisions in *Goals 2000* do mention charter schools and private management options, but these are treated as peripheral issues and afterthoughts.) Whether such attempts to rethink the structure of the system rather than just tinker at the margins will be encouraged — or even permitted — under *Goals 2000* remains unclear.

But apart from the promise of the specific reforms encouraged is the larger question of how much influence the federal government should have over state reform strategies. In order to continue receiving *Goals 2000* reform grants after the first couple of years, states are required to submit their improvement plans to the federal Education Department for approval. If the Clinton Administration succeeds in its intention of raising *Goals 2000* funding to hundreds of millions of dollars — eventually billions — the likely result would be greater federal control over state reform initiatives. While Secretary Richard Riley, himself a former governor, has demonstrated his commitment to federal flexibility in individual cases, he has had to oppose contrary efforts by others in Congress and his own Education Department in order to do so. Creating institutional structures for broad federal influence over state

reforms, and assuming that individuals like Secretary Riley will always be in a position to resist such temptations, is folly. For this reason, and in order to target funding where it is most needed, any future federal education funding increases should be channeled into Chapter 1 and other programs aimed at populations with special needs.

Whether even the current Administration can resist the temptation to impose its will on states remains an open question. The Department has recently mounted a legal challenge to Ohio's plan to use its new assessment system as the basis for granting high school diplomas. Because the passing rate by students from different racial groups is not precisely the same, although all students had been allowed additional assistance and multiple attempts over several years, the Department is attempting to block use of the assessment. Not only does this reflect federal intrusion, but it ignores the fact that far more minority students are being affected positively than negatively and that past experience demonstrates that common standards tend to close achievement gaps over time. By way of "explanation," the Department has offered that it is really not interested in challenging the assessment itself but in determining the adequacy of students' "opportunity to learn." Why the federal government would be better positioned to make judgments about day-to-day curricula than local educators has not been explained. Whether this is just an aberration or a foreboding of worse to come will be clear soon enough.

Goals 2000: Washington Knows Best

By Bruno V. Manno

Brace yourself America. The Clinton Administration's *Goals 2000: Educate America Act* is now law. Washington soon will appear on your doorstep bearing gifts. As with any gift from Uncle Sam, the long-term results will be more Washington-knows-best red tape and directives imposing rules and regulations on your schools, communities, and states.

Some Good News

To be fair, there are three elements which warrant some praise.

First, the legislation writes into law the six national education goals established by President Bush and the nation's Governors in 1989. It adds one on teacher education and professional development and another on parent involvement.

Second, it writes into law the National Education Goals Panel, established by President Bush and the Governors to monitor the nation's progress toward achieving the Goals.

Third, the law creates a process for establishing voluntary national academic standards that define what children should know and be able to do in core subject areas. This supports the effort to produce students who possess what President Bush and the Governors in National Goal three called competency in core subject matter. But not able to leave well enough alone, the legislation expands the list of academic subjects well beyond those listed in the original set of six national goals—math, science, English, history, and geography.

Mostly Bad News

Most of what *Goals 2000* establishes will, on balance, harm — rather than help — American elementary and secondary education. Three particularly onerous provisions in the law undermine the establishment of genuine academic standards for all our children.

One provision establishes a board to

As with any gift from Uncle Sam, the long-term results will be more Washington-knows-best red tape and directives imposing rules and regulations on your schools, communities, and states.

oversee the certification of education standards. Another calls for creating "voluntary" national opportunity to learn or delivery standards. The third is a provision on tests.

The National Education Standards and Improvement Council (NESIC) is a 19-member panel that will certify education standards that states "voluntarily" submit to. In reality, it's a sort of national school board whose members are the usual education establishment suspects — experts in school finance and equity and the long laundry list of professional educators, activists, and interest group representatives.

The law makes NESIC members more powerful than the National Education Goals Panel. This led the National Governors' Association to withhold their endorsement of the final *Goals 2000* legislation.

NESIC will do its best to ensure that the outcomes we expect all our children to master are those that have come to be part of the politically correct, outcome-based education movement: more attitudinal than cognitive, more process- than content- oriented, more fuzzy than clear.

Writing in *Education Week* (April 6, 1994), Stephen Arons, professor of legal studies at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, offers a warning about NESIC. Its creation puts the "specification of official knowledge...in full federal control." Further, submitting "...matters of intellect and conscience to [politically appointed members] will lead to political determinations [and] less respect for intellectual freedom, cultural diversity, and [the] critical thinking we should expect our children to learn."

Second, in judging educational quality, *Goals 2000* puts more emphasis on "inputs" such as school spending, how teachers teach, and class size. It does this by creating NESIC sanctioned national delivery or opportunity to learn standards. These certainly will become the impetus for new lawsuits that will aim to have states redistribute resources.

A recent intervention in Ohio by the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) of the U.S. Department of Education is an example of what to expect. OCR is investigating whether Ohio's high school exit exam violates the civil rights of minority students, who fail it in disproportionate numbers.

Kenneth A. Mines, director of OCR's regional office in Chicago says, "[We need]...to determine whether minority students will be denied high school diplomas on the basis of race or national origin because they have not had fair opportunities to learn."

Ted Sanders, Ohio superintendent of schools, commented, "Every state that is

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even thinking about setting standards has to be watching this and wondering how high we can set expectations."

Third, new federal dollars available for *Goals 2000* may not be used for at least the next three years for "high stakes" tests that have consequences associated with them. This means the NESIC will not certify any test used for promotion, high school graduation, or admission to college. The result is neither a meaningful accountability system for educators nor a meaningful national testing system.

The "New" Democrat, Bill Clinton

These three actions — expanding federal control of education by the usual education establishment bureaucrats, emphasizing delivery standards for schools at the expense of standards for students, and blocking the development of an exam system — show there is not much "new" about the "new" Democrat, Bill Clinton. He turns out to be an "old" Democrat in disguise.

Overall, *Goals 2000* is nothing more than the old Democrats' education agenda: more government from Washington and, with it, more money, more lawsuits, and more bureaucracy strangling schools, communities, and states. It's the most amount of money for the least amount of change, with the money going to the crowd that controls the schools and likes them the way they are.

Washington Bearing Gifts

The Clinton Administration and the Congress have set aside \$105 million to implement *Goals 2000*. Like peanut butter, the money will be spread around the country beginning July 1. States will need to submit a state reform plan to the U.S. Department of Education for its review and approval to receive their share of the money.

Writing in the *Wall Street Journal* (April 18, 1994), Irving Kristol, an American Enterprise Institute Fellow, calls *Goals 2000* an "expensive disaster" in the making. It proves Kristol's first law of education reform: "any reform that is acceptable to the educational establish-

ment, and that can gain a majority in a legislature, federal or state, is bound to be worse than nothing."

Business As Usual

Goals 2000's business as usual approach will not move the country in any significant way toward achieving the national education goals. It will not provide our students with an opportunity to learn. It will provide education bureaucrats with opportunities to spend, litigate, and regulate.

Former U.S. Secretary of Education, Lamar Alexander, has good advice for those in our Nation's schools and communities who soon will have to deal with *Goals 2000*: "I would treat it about the same way you would treat a fox dressed as a duck at a duck-family reunion."

Brace yourself America.



BY BARRIE MAGUIRE

Diane Ravitch

Goals 2000: Four Ways to Fix It

Almost a year ago, the 103rd Congress passed Goals 2000, the linchpin of the Clinton education strategy. Its purpose is to spur the development of voluntary state and national academic standards, but the complex mechanism put in place by the law is unlikely to create anything but federal interference and another layer of state bureaucracy.

Congress has to decide what to do about this law: It can repeal it, ignore it or fix it. A vote to repeal would undoubtedly be countered by a veto; even if successful, repeal would send an unfortunate message that the new Congress is against academic standards. However, it would be a mistake to leave Goals 2000 untouched, because the law has major flaws that will make the development of meaningful standards nearly impossible.

Goals 2000 should be fixed, and it should be turned into truly bipartisan legislation that has a reasonable chance of achieving real academic standards without inappropriate federal meddling.

Republicans should recall that it was President Bush who started the process of establishing national education goals when he convened the nation's governors at an education summit in Charlottesville in 1989. The president and the governors endorsed six national education goals for the year 2000. The point of setting goals was to focus attention on measurable results (like improving student achievement and increasing the high school graduation rate to 90 percent) and simultaneously to reduce federal and state regulation of schools.

Unfortunately Goals 2000 reversed that formula by minimizing the importance of results (the law strongly discourages student testing, for example) and by imposing burdensome procedures on states that accept federal funds to develop standards. Congress even added two new national education goals (about teacher training and parent involvement), which served to indicate that the goals were to be understood as empty rhetoric rather than as measurable outcomes for education.

It was the 103rd Congress that politicized and distorted the legislation, not the Clinton administration. Everything that is objectionable in the law was added by Congress to the administration's original proposal of March 1, 1993. Stripping the mischief and high-handedness out of the law would restore a bipartisan approach to education improvement.

The following four changes would significantly improve Goals 2000:

First, eliminate the National Education Standards and Improvement Council (NESIC), a 19-member body that was created to certify all state and national standards. Under current law, NESIC will be appointed solely by the president, will be almost entirely professional educators, will not be bipartisan and will endorse national and state standards by a simple majority vote. Neither the Bush administration nor the Clinton administration proposed this one-sided, politically unsound arrangement.

It defies common sense to expect that NESIC will have credibility when its members are from only one political party, when it includes few if any representatives of the lay public and when its decisions about controversial issues may be made by a simple majority. As currently constituted, NESIC is incapable of winning bipartisan support for its actions.

The 104th Congress should turn certification of national (but not state) standards over to the bipartisan National Education Goals Panel, which is dominated by governors but includes representatives from the administration and Congress. The Goals Panel should appoint advisory panels to judge proposals for national standards. These panels should include a substantial representation of lay members of the public and should require a two-thirds majority to approve standards. National standards, even voluntary ones, should not be approved unless they have broad bipartisan support. These changes reflect the Clinton administration's own initial proposal.

Second, Congress should eliminate the restrictions on student testing in Goals 2000, none of which were proposed by either the Bush or Clinton administration. At the behest of anti-testing lobbies, Congress declared that states cannot use their own assessments to make decisions about promotion, graduation or retention for five years. Furthermore, any state tests must meet rigorous technical standards in order to be certified by NESIC. Unless states refuse to submit their tests to NESIC for certification, Goals 2000 will essentially eliminate any meaningful student testing by the states. It is hard to see how higher standards will be produced by a virtual ban on the use of testing.

Congress should recognize that states have the right to develop and use tests as they see fit and should remove any language that attempts to establish federal regulation of educational testing.

Congress is not qualified to legislate on psychometric issues. None of the language proscribing the use of tests by states was in the original Clinton bill.

Third, Congress should eliminate the requirement that participating states set up state improvement panels to design a state education reform plan. These panels have few lay members but many representatives of interest groups, advocacy groups and professional organizations. The states should shape their standards as they think best rather than be compelled to honor a prescriptive formula that reflects interest group pressures in Washington. These committees, which in some states have as many as 100 members, have no fiscal accountability to the governor or the state board of education. Yet Goals 2000 gives them extensive powers to redesign the state's educational and social service programs. Nowhere does the legislation explain what happens if a state planning committee recommends doubling or tripling the state's education budget. While any state is free to convene an advisory group, these panels should not be mandated by federal law.

Fourth, Congress should remove from Goals 2000 all references to "opportunity to learn" standards. No one now knows what such standards are, so it seems premature to expect states to establish them. Presumably, "opportunity to learn" standards define the minimum resources—human and financial—that each school must have in order to provide all students with equal opportunity to learn. The states have been struggling with equalization battles in their legislatures and in the courts. Congress should not use a backdoor strategy to impose equalized school spending on the states.

Other parts of the law could easily be pared away, especially those that mandate specific educational practices. The 103rd Congress had an unfortunate habit of legislating matters that should be left to the judgment of teachers and principals. A revised Goals 2000 would allow the nation (not the federal government) to develop voluntary national academic standards in a manner that merits bipartisan support. It would allow states, school districts and schools to manage their affairs without directions from Washington. It would eliminate congressional efforts to micromanage educational reform. Above all, such changes would emphasize the fundamental object of all this activity: Standards for student achievement.

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Chapter 6

EDUCATION

By Allyson M. Tucker and William F. Lauber

THE 103RD CONGRESS

In 1994, Congress enacted two significant measures concerning education. With the passage of these bills, the Clinton Administration accomplished its major education policy objectives and did so with little opposition.

The first measure, the Goals 2000: Educate America Act, for the first time established a national framework of education goals and standards. Besides turning the 1989 standards approved by President Bush and the nation's governors into law, the legislation included hotly contested "opportunity-to-learn" standards. These standards, said to be voluntary, specify the level of "inputs" schools must reach in order to receive federal funding. The measure authorized an appropriation of \$105 million in fiscal year 1994, as well as \$400 million in fiscal 1995 spending.

The second measure, reauthorizing the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), authorized \$12.7 billion for elementary and secondary education, including \$7.4 billion for the Title I program serving disadvantaged youngsters. The measure also made slight changes in the formula for allocating grants to states under the Title I program.

Both bills give enormous powers of control to the federal government. Before the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was passed in 1965, the federal government was barely involved in education reform and let states make the majority of education decisions. However, with the passage of ESEA and the creation of the U.S. Department of Education in 1979, the federal government has steadily taken control away from state and local governments. With the passage of the two education bills in 1994, the bureaucratic "Washington knows best" approach to school reform became even more entrenched.

Under Goals 2000:

- Three new federal bureaucracies are created: the National Education Goals Panel, the National Education Standards and Improvement Council (NESIC), and the National Skills Board. The National Education Goals Panel has already started to develop standards for states. Unfortunately, the panels setting up the standards are politically controlled and al-

ready have created "politically correct" standards that distort American history.¹ NESIC will essentially serve as a 19-member national school board. All members will be politically appointed by the President and will approve or disapprove all state-developed plans to meet the national goals set by the Education Goals Panel. Meanwhile, the National Skills Board focuses on setting occupational skills standards.

- ✱ The federal legislation transformed the original six national goals from 1989 into eight goals. The original six goals (readiness for school, 90 percent graduation rate, competence in challenging subject matter, first in the world in math and science achievement, all adults literate, and safe and drug-free schools) were developed jointly by the federal government and states with the intent of focusing on results, or "outputs." The two added under Goals 2000 (teacher professional development programs and parent involvement partnerships) deviate from the original intentions of the states and venture into top-down federal "input" regulation and process-oriented, rather than results-oriented, goals.
- ✱ The legislation developed "opportunity-to-learn" standards that the federal government believes must be met if students are to meet the national goals adequately. Unfortunately, opportunity-to-learn standards encourage more "inputs," typically money and new regulation, rather than reward "outputs," or genuine results and innovation. Opportunity-to-learn standards include school curricula, teacher preparation, material requirements for schools, limits on class size, and, potentially, national standards for spending. These federally created standards go in a direction exactly opposite to that of recent research and state-level reform.²

Under the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act:

- ✱ In order to qualify for federal funds, each state must submit a plan for approval by the National Education Standards and Improvement Council. This must outline levels of student performance standards, statewide assessments for these standards, state curricula standards, "factors" that must be present in order "for students to achieve the standards," and gender equity practices, as well as how districts will coordinate health screenings and services, preschool programs, and disability programs. Only with these federally approved "content" and "student performance" standards in place can a state receive federal aid.
- ✱ The independent National Assessment Governing Board will lose its independence. In the past, a nonpartisan board elected new members as individual terms expired. But with the new method of packing the board, it is likely that the country's most reliable performance test for children—the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP)—will be

1 The recently released National Standards for United States History give a distorted and politically correct view of American history. For instance, George Washington is mentioned only briefly, while the founding of the Sierra Club and the National Organization for Women is given great attention. For a critique of the history standards, see Lynne V. Cheney, "The End of History," *The Wall Street Journal*, October 20, 1994. See also Carol Innerst, "History Rewritten for the Classroom," *The Washington Times*, October 26, 1994.

2 Many states, dealing with fiscal realities, have come to the realization that more money and regulation are not the answer. The so-called "effective schools" research supports this fiscal reality. For instance, the exhaustive review of academic studies concerning different "inputs" such as teacher/pupil ratio, teacher education, teacher experience, teacher salary, expenditures per pupil, administrative inputs, and facilities and student performance by University of Rochester economist Eric Hanushek demonstrated that there was little, if any, correlation between various educational production functions and student performance. See Eric Hanushek, "The Impact of Differential Expenditures on School Performance," *Educational Researcher*, May 1989. See also John E. Chubb and Terry M. Moe, *Politics, Markets, and America's Schools* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1990), and Eric Hanushek et al., *Making Schools Work: Improving Performance and Controlling Costs* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1994).

weakened or rendered useless. For one thing, the education establishment resists tests that allow different states to be compared. For another, the education establishment has already indicated that it plans to "race norm" test scores and survey parents and their children for what many consider to be "sensitive" information.³

- ✱ The \$12.7 billion bill contains a large amount of pork-barrel spending for the education establishment. It is a huge windfall, for instance, for colleges of education, which will receive hundreds of millions of dollars in new "professional development" funds under the newly overhauled Eisenhower program.

ACTION IN THE STATES

In sharp contrast to Washington, many state and local education reform activists are pushing for decentralization of the education system and greater parental choice among schools. Whether confined to public schools or expanded to include private and parochial schools, school choice has emerged in state after state as a centerpiece of a growing grass-roots challenge to a government-run school system that is failing in many areas of the country, particularly in America's inner cities. This is not only because school choice is the best way to make schools accountable to parents and children, but also because virtually all other efforts, including higher taxes and spending for education, have failed to improve America's schools.⁴

Other efforts to improve our school system include charter schools and for-profit management of public schools. Charter schools are "public" schools, created and operated by a group of teachers or other qualified individuals or groups of individuals, that are largely free from state and district oversight. So far, eleven states have passed charter school legislation. In addition, many school districts have considered or are considering turning management of some or all of their public schools over to a private management firm. A private management firm operates eleven schools in the Baltimore, Maryland, school system, and the Hartford, Connecticut, school district recently decided to turn the management of all of its schools over to a private management firm.

Further, many businesses and individuals, tired of the slow process of legislative reform, have taken matters into their own hands by creating private voucher programs that give vouchers to low-income children to attend the private school of their parents' choice. During the first semester of the 1994-1995 school year, fifteen different cities had private voucher programs. Over 6,000 children are now able to attend the school of their parents' choice because of these programs, over 11,000 students are on the waiting list for programs already established, and many other cities are developing programs, indicating a general dissatisfaction with the way government schools are meeting the needs of children, particularly in the inner city.

3 By "race-norming" scores, supporters of this technique aim to eliminate any score differentials among racial groups. But setting up separate percentile rankings for each racial group would make it impossible to know how one group of students compared with the test pool as a whole. Ironically, it would further the problem (minorities scoring lower) by artificially covering up the real problem. Such a solution would address the effect and not the cause of the problem. For some of the "sensitive" probing proposed for the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), see Carol Innerst, "Critics Say Test Probe of Parents Is Too Nosy," *The Washington Times*, August 30, 1994, p. A4.

4 In 1993, some sort of school choice legislation was introduced or pending in 34 state legislatures. For a comprehensive state-by-state school choice review, see Allyson M. Tucker and William F. Lauber, *School Choice Programs: What's Happening in the States*, 1994 edition (Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, May 1994).

THE DEBATE IN 1995

The dramatic shift in power both in Congress and in the states gives conservatives an unprecedented opportunity to undo many of the harmful education programs of the last 30 years. To the extent that government should be involved in education, it is a matter for local and state government, not for the federal government. Thus, conservatives in the new Congress should work to:

✓ **Reassign or terminate the functions of the U.S. Department of Education in order to close the Department.**

Many of the Department's programs duplicate the activities of other federal agencies. Many others can and should be carried out at the state or local level. Congress should review these programs and determine which ones should be reassigned within the federal government or eliminated and which ones, with the funds to carry them out, should be transferred to the states. The goal should be to close down the department within five years.

✓ **Repeal most provisions of the Goals 2000: Educate America Act.**

Congress should reconsider the Goals 2000 legislation and turn the 1,000-page bill into a ten-page measure that will simply grant money to the states for education reform efforts. Congress should then reduce this funding over time as state reform experiments are completed. In revising the statute, Congress should:

- ① **Repeal all of the regulations and mandates including, but not limited to, the opportunity-to-learn standards and the 7th and 8th goals that were not agreed to by the governors. These latter goals regulate "inputs." The others deal with performance measures, or "outputs."**
- ② **Eliminate the National Educational Standards and Improvement Council (NESIC), the National Goals Panel, and the National Skills Board.**
- ③ **Restore the independence of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP).**
- ④ **Eliminate the bureaucratic state application process in the Act, replacing it with a simple requirement that the states send in a letter saying how they spent the Goals 2000 money within the terms of the Act.**

✓ **Repeal major provisions of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA).**

The \$12.7 billion reauthorization of the ESEA should be pared down and all the jargon and its mandates removed. Specifically, Congress should:

- ① **Remove the requirement that states send plans to the federal government on standards, curricula, and other inputs, as well as on social services.**
- ② **Repeal all social service programs. Schools should go back to teaching and educating students instead of serving as social service agencies.**
- ③ **Remove all gender equity language.**
- ④ **Guarantee the independence of the National Assessment Governing Board, and thereby of the NAEP.**
- ⑤ **Strip out the pork-barrel spending in the legislation (including the new funds for colleges of education).**

- ① Alter the formula for granting Chapter I money. Funds should go to poor students, as originally intended, not to students in the districts of powerful Members of Congress.
- ② Add an effective federal charter schools program that maintains state and local flexibility and encourages state charter school reforms.

When Congress revises the statute, however, it should preserve state and local authority over standards for curriculum content and student performance and state and local authority over student assessment, including how testing results are used by the states and localities. Congress also should protect state and local authority over the resources that states and communities spend on education and over school and classroom practices.

✓ **Repeal the Individuals With Disabilities Education Act (IDEA).**

IDEA is extremely expensive and redundant in light of the Americans With Disabilities Act (ADA). It creates legal nightmares and provides few educational benefits. IDEA is a huge federal mandate which is costing the states billions of dollars. Congress originally intended to pay 40 percent of IDEA costs but now pays only 8 percent. Yet officials still have every incentive to declare as many children "disabled" as possible in their area so that they can collect additional funding.

✓ **Oppose the Clinton Administration's vocational educational and job training legislation.**

Lawmakers should seek to replace this legislation with a system which gives students and their parents the choice of whether they want their children in a school with a vocational education element. Congress should leave these programs up to the states.

✓ **Eliminate, or at the very least means-test, the National Service Trust (NST).**

The national service program does not encourage volunteerism and genuine service, but instead has distorted its very meaning. While the goals of the NST are laudable, the NST has not led and will not lead to expanded educational opportunity and increased responsibility. It has turned into another expensive, bureaucratic government spending program.

✓ **Eliminate the new direct education lending program.**

The major flaw in the design of the program is that the taxpayer bears all of the risk. Schools and students should bear greater responsibilities. Congress could accomplish this by requiring schools with unacceptably high default rates to place a percentage of the government's funds into a school-financed loan loss reserve fund. Under this revision, each school receiving federal money would place into the fund an amount equal to a set percentage of the principal of each Part B loan made to students at that school as a condition for participation in Part B programs. The initial contribution percentage for a particular school would be based on that school's most recent cohort default rate, as calculated by the Department of Education, plus a margin of safety. Placing market pressures into the student loan process would have numerous salutary effects. It would create a significant financial incentive for schools to recruit with more care and discretion with an eye toward the potential student's ability to succeed at the school's particular course of study or skill area. In addition, schools would have a strong incentive to keep students in school until they are trained adequately and placed in productive jobs that will allow them to repay the loan. Finally, taxpayers would save a significant portion of the funds which now pay for default claims.

✓ **Enact a "Parent and Student Empowerment Act."**

This legislation was introduced by Representative Richard Arney (R-TX) in 1993 as an alternative to Goals 2000. It could be enacted as a separate bill or incorporated into revisions made in the Goals 2000 statute. Among other things, this legislation would provide federal matching grants to the states to develop reforms such as school choice, merit and model schools, and other innovative ideas being implemented at the state level. In addition, it would free school districts to innovate by permitting waivers of federal red tape, subject to the Secretary of Education's approval. It would also enhance parents' right to protect their children from intrusive psychological testing and sex surveys and recognize the right of parents to determine who can view their children's school records.⁵

For Members of Congress, the choice is clear: they can continue to create new government bureaucracies to regulate states and local school districts, or they can help "empower" parents by giving them decision-making power on the front lines of real school reform. The new Congress could offer parents, teachers, and students unique opportunities to encourage reform, shrink the bloated bureaucracy, and get official Washington out of the way of innovative activists at the grass roots.

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LOCAL OPTIONS

Congress should return control of education to states, school boards—and parents.

LAMAR ALEXANDER, WILLIAM J. BENNETT, AND DAN COATS

AS IT SETS out to repair the damage wrought by its predecessor, the new Republican majority in Congress needs to look hard at education. Among the least-noticed events of October's closing legislative rush was final passage of HR-6, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), a \$65-billion measure that is bad for children, for education, and for American federalism. In 1,000-plus pages it sets back the cause of serious school reform, wastes billions of dollars, and erodes local control of American schools.

At a showy pre-election bill signing in Massachusetts, President Clinton and Senator Edward Kennedy said the law signals a national commitment to our children. Retiring Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell (D., Me.) cited education as one of the jewels in the crown of the 103rd Congress. Education Secretary Dick Riley said no one in Washington, perhaps in the whole country, was serious about education before Clinton's inauguration. And columnist Jack Anderson reported that Morgan Stanley's research department finds Clinton's "political stock . . . blue-chip when it comes to keeping its promises on education reform."

Like so much associated with this Administration, however, what sounds too good to be true turns out to be not entirely true and not very good at all. HR-6 was the legislative equivalent of a stealth bomber, heavily armed with

dangerous weapons but scarcely visible save to its controllers and crew.

Part of a comprehensive education package, along with "Goals 2000" and measures such as a "school to work" program and expansion of Head Start, HR-6 did far more than reauthorize ESEA, the keystone of federal school aid since 1965. It reversed a decade of progress toward a coherent, bipartisan education-reform strategy as embodied in the Bush Administration's "America 2000" plan, which sought to roll back federal regulation and replace it with the initiative of teachers, communities, and parents, and which coupled voluntary goals with good tests and accountability for results.

By signing off on HR-6 and Goals 2000, President Clinton transformed a nationwide reform movement into a federal program. The new regulations concern not only the standards and assessments that schools use but also how they discipline student offenders, the topics that teachers and parents must discuss with one another, the content of sex-education courses, and the (rare) circumstances in which denying a child the right to pray may be an infraction. Clinton has even created something akin to a national school board, the National Education Standards and Improvement Council.

Almost as worrying is the resurrection of inputs, resources, and services as gauges of education quality. Three decades of research show no reliable link between what goes into schools and what children learn there. Yet Goals 2000 and HR-6 affirm the routine assertion of the education establishment: If we're not happy with school results, more money and regulations will improve them.

Political correctness pervades many sections of the bill. *Education Daily*

matter-of-factly reports that "HR-6 is laced with language on gender equity, from authorizing grants to requiring schools to collect data." The bill also establishes a post-modern definition of the "family," provides day care for the babies of unwed teenage mothers, and conflates school reform with health care, violence prevention, etc.

The law provides vast windfalls for colleges of education and authorizes funds for dozens of pork-barrel projects. More troubling still is the bill's hypocrisy with respect to such promising reform strategies as charter schools and parental choice. While allowing members of Congress to claim that they voted for them, HR-6 actually immobilizes them with rules and conditions. What good, for example, is a school-choice program that lets the "sending school" veto the child's departure? Furthermore, such shackles will help the enemies of school choice argue a few years down the road that these reforms don't work.

How It Passed

THE passage of this legislation reveals much about the opportunities and perils awaiting the new Congress. HR-6 spent more than a year on Capitol Hill after the White House sent it up. Hearings dragged on. The high-profile issues were how to adjust the Chapter One formula to direct more federal dollars toward poor communities and whether to keep or jettison Chapter Two, a block grant that was immensely popular with states and localities. Tucked away in the fine print—but seldom discussed or reported—were dozens of new programs and hundreds of changes in existing ones, as well as intricate linkages between ESEA and the Goals 2000 bill. The Administration's complex proposals were heavily embroidered by Bill Ford's House Education and Labor Committee, and Ted Kennedy's Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee.

Eventually, the House cranked out the most offensive piece of education legislation in memory, the Senate a somewhat milder version. The final edition was cobbled together behind closed doors during August and September in a "staff conference" dominated by Democratic congressional aides, some of them around since the days of LBJ. Lobbyists and Admin-

Mr. Alexander, a former governor of Tennessee and former secretary of education, is a Nashville attorney and a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute. Mr. Bennett, an NR senior editor and a former secretary of education, is a co-founder of Empower America. Mr. Coats is a Republican senator from Indiana.

istration officials played key roles in the process, but nobody else was allowed into the room.

The vast bill emerged from conference about 48 hours before the House voted on final passage. Senators had a couple of additional days to try to get hold of copies and examine the bill. Few did. It is likely that not a single member of either body had actually read the full text of the final version.

The teachers unions and the Washington-based interest groups quietly did their part to round up votes, rousing their memberships with the promise of federal dollars. Business groups went along, perhaps because their education staffs consist mostly of establishment fellow-travelers. Governors, state legislators, and mayors, many of whom had fussed loudly about Goals 2000, were mute about HR-6, though it will cost them substantial control over their schools.

Conservative organizations sat this one out or focused on such narrow items as the school-prayer provisions. Editorialists naively supposed that any bill labeled "education" must be a good thing. As for congressional Republicans, most donned their "damage control" garb, curbing the worst Democrat-drafted excesses without challenging the measure's fundamental premises.

What can we do now? When it comes to education, decisions made in Washington are decisions *not* made by parents, teachers, and 15,000 local school boards. Mandates shaped in Washington are programs not fashioned by the states and communities, which foot most of the bill. Regulations crafted in Washington can be counted upon to respond to the demands of special interests rather than the needs of fifty million unique children attending some 110,000 distinctive schools across this diverse land.

Education is not an endeavor where one size fits all. Perhaps we can agree on a core of voluntary goals and standards that make sense for the nation, but it's folly to prescribe a single path to them, or to suggest that Uncle Sam knows best. Worse than folly, it saps initiative and responsibility, curbs creativity, and wrongly pretends that some of the touchiest and most localized issues in American society—the way our children are taught about religion and sex, the place of education in our communities—lend themselves to



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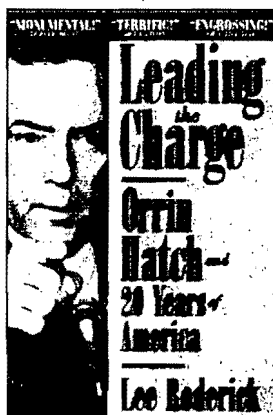
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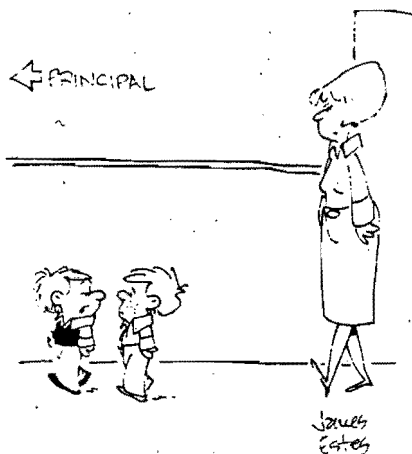
uniform national solutions. Decentralizing education policy is a way to strengthen communities, to rebuild the culture, to buttress families, and to diffuse—and perhaps defuse—volatile decisions.

Horse-Trading

IN 1986, when one of us was chairman of the nation's governors and another was education secretary, the governors proposed some "old-fashioned horse-trading," namely lifting the regulatory burden from American schools in return for better education results. In time this proposal turned into a consensus about how to reform the schools: local control coupled with gubernatorial leadership; voluntary national goals combined with responsibility for each state and locality to work toward them as it deemed best; wide-ranging choices for families among excellent schools that differ on many dimensions; the fundamental right to flee a bad, or unsafe school for a good one, (plus tests that make it possible to know which are which); and essential skills and serious content taught by talented individuals who are accountable for their results and rewarded for classroom excellence.

That's what America 2000 was all about. And that's still how the American people believe we should tackle our education problems. A recent survey by Public Agenda makes plain that a "safe, orderly environment and effective teaching of the 'basics'" head their list, joined by high standards and clear lines of accountability. But the public has serious misgivings about the trendy schemes beloved of today's education establishment—the very approaches on which money and legitimacy are lavished by HR-6 and the rest of the Clinton package. As Public Agenda reports, "the large majority of Americans are uncomfortable" with such things as "ending the 'tracking' of students, and replacing standardized, multiple-choice tests with new, more 'authentic' assessments." We also know from other surveys that the American people strongly favor school choice and are deeply mistrustful of the Federal Government's ability to improve our schools.

Today Washington is on a collision course with what the American people want and what they know to be right. The recent election results provide dra-



"Try to look at it this way: without incidents like this, your memoirs would make mighty dull reading."

matic evidence. HR-6 is a large, ugly example of what has gone wrong and what the voters are rejecting. It should be repealed. The "national school board" should be canned, and local control should be restored. Education should be sent home to states, communities, and families.

Indeed, it's time for the Federal Government virtually to withdraw from elementary and secondary education and relinquish the authority it has seized in this domain. Dozens of federal programs ought to vanish. The resources they now consume should be made available—perhaps through a federal tax cut or an expanded version of Chapter Two—to states and localities

to do with as they judge best. We're now drafting, and one of us plans in January to introduce, a short, simple bill to accomplish this. The new majority in Congress creates a more hospitable environment for such legislation than we've had since the Great Society pointed federal education policy in the wrong direction.

Insofar as any education functions stay in Washington, their guiding principles should be choice, deregulation, innovation, accountability, and serious assessment keyed to real standards in core subjects. The National Education Goals Panel, made up of governors and state legislators along with Executive Branch and congressional representatives, is where oversight responsibility should rest, not with civil servants, "experts," or the Federal Government. Today's Department of Education could be reduced to something far humbler and less costly.

That doesn't mean Presidents have nothing to say about education. In truth, they should say quite a bit. But they shouldn't try to run the nation's schools. They must not seek to control them. And they need to understand that acceptance of their education agenda depends on the power of their ideas, not on federal red tape. Bill Clinton should tell the country what he thinks a good school is. Those who agree with him can be trusted to create their own. Those who favor a different idea must be free to march to their own drummers. □

Where Do the Refugees Go?

SETTLING FOR LESS

Communities can perform functions often assumed by government—if government will get out of the way.

AMITAI ETZIONI

IN Key West, Florida, a sign facing Cuba reads: "When the last Cuban leaves Cuba, please turn off the light." Things actually happen the other way around: as Cubans find themselves without light and other es-

sentials, they leave the island in droves. So far the focus has been on the refugees intercepted at sea and detained at Guantanamo Bay. We rarely hear about the roughly 30,000 Cubans who have landed in the U.S. this year.

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To Judy Wurtzel	From Carl Kaestle
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The Federal Role in Elementary and Secondary Education, 1940-1980

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One of the central dynamics of American educational history is the long-range trend from local and parental schooling arrangements to increasing government funding and centralized control. The trend does not represent simply a benign process of modernization and improvement. Centralization has exacted costs and elicited fierce opposition. In the nineteenth century there were two key developments in this trend: the involvement of state governments in encouraging and regulating schooling, and the consolidation of small local districts into larger, townwide systems.¹ Advocates of local control and nonpublic schooling who opposed these initial steps in the creation of state school systems voiced their objections in much the same terms as opponents of federal involvement do today. Notwithstanding, town-level consolidation and increasing state involvement continued into the twentieth century. Today Americans in both rural and urban areas are accustomed to centralized school districts, detailed state supervision, and substantial state financial aid for education. Curriculum, financial decisionmaking, teacher preparation and licensing, length of the annual school session—all are subject to state regulation. Opponents may contest individual policies and decry excessive bureaucracy, but the general role of the states in financing and regulating school districts' educational practices is widely accepted.

The overriding issue in the support and control of elementary and secondary education since 1940 has been the role of the federal government. One might reason that the increasing role of the national government in public education is only an extension of

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¹ Carl F. Kaestle and Maria A. Vinovskis, *Education and Social Change in Nineteenth Century Massachusetts* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1980), pp. 214-219; Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1880* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1982), ch. 7.

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the same historical processes that led to the creation of state school systems: urgent social goals, superior revenue-raising power, an impulse to equalize resources and opportunity, and the seemingly irreversible drift to centralized administration in a technological, bureaucratic society. However, a notion persists that public educational responsibility is constitutionally reserved to the states. Many educators have considered federal aid and regulation of education not merely as a continuation of a beneficial long-term process of centralization and standardization, but rather as a qualitatively different form of educational control and a profound departure from tradition.¹

Advocates of local control, whose beliefs are diverse but whose ranks are strong, see a threat from federal funding that they do not see from state aid, partly because the federal government is even more remote than the state government, and partly because federal aid has more often been categorical (that is, limited to a specific educational purpose), while state aid has tended to be general (applicable to any public school costs). To be sure, state governments regulate specific details of local education to a remarkable degree, but this kind of regulation has the sanction of state constitutions and is not the same thing as providing optional federal dollars for specific programs deemed to be in the national interest. Furthermore, federal regulations and dollars have recently been used to initiate and maintain controversial educational programs such as compensatory education, school integration, bilingual education, and sexual parity in public school athletics. The vague anxieties that many educators and laypeople had about federal involvement in the 1940s and 1950s have been replaced by hot debate about the efficacy and desirability of the federal government's efforts to achieve equity in local school systems. Qualms about this escalation of federal efforts have increased during the Reagan administration, but, as we shall argue, the time was ripe for reconsideration regardless of the outcome of the election.

A historical perspective may help in that reconsideration; a notion of the propriety of a federal role in elementary and secondary education is conditioned by an understanding of its history. There is a host of historical stereotypes floating around, and they need to be evaluated before we embark on major shifts in policy, especially if advocates on all sides intend to appeal to history to support their points of view.

Federal involvement in precollegiate education began long before 1940, and its history since then is complex. Rather than summarize events, we shall discuss seven stereotypical views concerning the history of federal involvement, in an effort to identify some of the important questions that might govern a historical inquiry on this subject. We shall address the following stereotypes:

1. Federal intervention in elementary and secondary education after World War II was a significant departure from the tradition of state and local control.

¹ See Gordon C. Lee, *The Struggle for Federal Aid, First Phase: A History of the Attempts to Obtain Federal Aid for the Common Schools, 1879-1890* (New York: Teachers College Contributions to Education No. 957, 1949); Harry Zeitlin, "Efforts to Achieve Federal Aid to Education: Developments During the New Deal," *Teachers College Record*, 61 (1959), 195-202; Charles A. Quattlebaum, *Federal Aid to Elementary Education: An Analytic Study of the Issue, Its Background and Relevant Legislative Proposals, with a Compilation of Arguments Pro and Con* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1948); Francis Griffith and Philip Burnham, "Government and Education: Pro and Con Discussion," *Commonwealth*, 30 Jan. 1959, pp. 453-458; Joel S. Berke, "Full Federal Funding: Educational Nightmare," *Current History*, 63 (1972), 80-81, 90.

2. Programs of federal aid to education typically originate in a crisis and are then perpetuated through inertia and the creation of interest groups.
3. The launching of Sputnik led to the passage of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958, which established that federal aid would be categorical rather than general and would stress science and technology.
4. Federal aid aimed at raising basic skill levels of poor children, the effects of which were controversial for at least a decade, appear now to be effective.
5. There has been a tremendous rise in federal aid to precollegiate education in the past forty years, and this has profoundly affected local control.
6. Desegregation through federal pressure worked substantially in the South but not very well in the North.
7. During the 1970s the federal government's attempts to influence local education outstripped its bureaucratic capacity and its moral authority.

Centralization and Federal Involvement in the Good Old Days

One of the tasks of a historical analysis, we suggested above, is to determine whether the increase in federal involvement represents a continuation of a long-range process of centralization in education, the same process that led to town centralization and state involvement, a process rooted in the organizational and economic problems of mass, technological society. Or is it instead a departure, an aberration? And is it reversible?

For those who argue that federal funding is a radical departure, it might be of interest to learn that the nineteenth-century opponents of state involvement in local education used arguments remarkably similar to those we hear today against federal involvement. How modern seems this anxious complaint of an 1840 legislative committee against the newly created state board of education in Massachusetts: "The establishment of a Board of Education seems to be the commencement of a system of centralization and of monopoly power in a few hands, contrary, in every respect, to the true spirit of our democratical institutions."² Marcus Morton, governor at the time, agreed. Leave the governance of schools to "the town and district meetings, those pure little democracies," he urged. The power to recommend legislation, critics prophesied, will "be soon converted into a power of regulation."³ In 1865 advocates of local control in Wisconsin resisted consolidation of school districts as "but another step toward the concentration of power," which would place control "one step further from the people." It would "centralize, monopolize, and de-republicanize our general system of republican agencies."⁴

State involvement encountered the same resistance as district consolidation. The Hartford *Times* labeled Connecticut's state board of education "despotic" and "Prussian," and in the 1850s Ohio parents resisted state regulation "because they think its principles subversive of their constitutional and parental rights."⁵ Despite continuing

² Report of the Committee on Education, Massachusetts General Court, House Document No. 49 (Boston, 1840), p. 6.

³ Address of His Excellency Marcus Morton, Massachusetts General Court, House Document No. 9 (Boston, 1840), p. 30. See Kaestle and Vinovskis, *Education and Social Change*, ch. 8.

⁴ State Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Annual Report* (Madison, Wis., 1865), pp. 58, 62.

⁵ Hendrik D. Cideorse, "Common School Reform: Connecticut, 1838-1854," Ed.D. diss. Harvard Univ., 1963, p. 134. "Annual Report of the School Commission," in *Ohio Executive Documents* (Columbus, 1854), p. 231.

resistance, state aid and state regulation came to be accepted in principle by a majority of northerners by 1860 and of southerners by the early twentieth century. Gradually the states' regulation of curriculum, control of teacher certification, and share of local budgets have increased. State government has become a senior partner in local elementary and secondary education. Centralizers enlisted the rhetoric of progress and equality in their cause, and gradually a majority of voters appear to have agreed that a state-regulated free school system would serve not only collective goals like a democratic government, an expanding capitalist economy, and a common culture based on middle-class Protestant values, but also individuals' goals of childhood socialization and adult advancement.⁷

In one sense, federal involvement in schooling after World War II can be seen as a continuation of this trend. Many of the arguments for intervening in local educational arrangements were based on the belief that the higher levels of government could provide upgraded quality, equalized funding and opportunity, professionalization and services of experts, and superior revenue-raising powers.⁸ The ideology of centralizers was cosmopolitan. In both its nineteenth-century, state-level, pan-Protestant version and its recent, federal, secular version it stood for common values, common experiences, and common opportunities through consolidation, integration, standardization, and central direction. In both cases it violated some people's distinctive cultures, and its opponents worried about loss of control by local majorities. Federal intervention, then, has a certain thematic and ideological continuity with nineteenth-century educational systematization. However, to determine whether federal intervention after 1940 violated a tradition of exclusively state-level control, we need to consider a few well-known examples of federal involvement before 1940. Historical treatments of this topic usually mention several precedents: the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the Morrill Act of 1862 for land-grant colleges, the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act of 1917, and several of Franklin Roosevelt's programs that affected public schools.

In 1787 Congress passed a law requiring states in the old Northwest Territory to set aside a plot of land in each township and to use the proceeds from the rental of that land for common schools. The fact that the law did not work is seldom noted in educational histories. The effect of the Northwest Ordinance on common schooling was almost nil. Land-based school funding could not work in an area where unimproved land was plentiful and almost as worthless as rental property. Congress later allowed states to sell the land and invest the money in state school funds, the interest from which was to be distributed eventually to common schooling. This approach did not work either; specula-

tion, mismanagement, and fraud were rampant.⁹ The development of income-generating state school funds was not a high priority in the frontier Midwest. There, as elsewhere, free public schooling depended upon the passage of laws requiring local taxation for tuition-free schooling. When these laws came, in the 1840s and 1850s, the remnants of the land funds were added to other state-level revenues to provide a modicum of state aid to localities.¹⁰ The Morrill Act of 1862, the next federal venture into education, had real impact, but because it was designed to affect higher education, we will postpone comment upon it until we discuss the issue of war and federal education interventions.

The story of the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 is too complex to be covered fully here. For our purposes it must suffice to note that this legislation was unprecedented, and for a long time it was unique. Through it the federal government gave categorical aid to public secondary schools for vocational education programs governed by very specific structural agreements. Subsequent legislation continued to support local vocational programs, despite the absence of evidence that such programs actually resulted in effective vocational placement. Members of the Congress passed the legislation because they believed in Smith-Hughes.

Why was this program so successful and long standing in a country whose educators and legislators said they did not believe in federal aid to education? Three major factors were involved. First, aid to vocational education came after a period of publicity about manpower training for industrial progress and national preeminence.¹¹ Second, it came during a profound expansion of secondary-school enrollments: in 1890 about 7 percent of children aged 14 to 17 attended high school; by 1917 the proportion had grown to over 30 percent.¹² Third, educators and legislators promoted the idea that vocational education served a new definition of equal opportunity, a notion that high schools could serve all youth only by offering a variety of curricula.¹³ Leaders of organized labor bought the idea after being persuaded that vocational education would not undermine their control of entry to trades. These factors—international rivalry, the decline of a teenage labor force, and the educators' desire to differentiate curricula—led to the passage of Smith-Hughes in 1917. A potent and assiduous lobby, including the National Education Association (NEA), the American Federation of Labor (AFL), and the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), reinforced the federal focus of the discussion and proposals. They achieved passage not only of the original bill in 1917 but also of subsequent bills for funding vocational education in 1929, 1934, 1936, 1946, 1963, and 1968. The broad ideological and technological appeal of vocational education allowed

⁷ Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*; Louis Harlan, *Separate and Unequal: Public School Campaigns and Racism in the Southern Seaboard States, 1901-1905* (New York: Atheneum, 1958).

⁸ See National Education Association, *Education—Why the Federal Government Must Help* (Washington, D.C.: Author, 1945); John J. Callahan, "The Case for Full Federal Funding of Education," *Current History*, 63 (1972), 76-79; Edgar Fuller and Jim B. Pearson, eds., *Education in the States, Nationwide Development Since 1900* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1969), ch. 11; Edith Green, *Education and the Public Good: The Federal Role in Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1964); Sar A. Levitan and Robert Taggart, *The Promise of Greatness* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1976), ch. 6; P. Michael Timpone, ed., *The Federal Interest in Financing Schooling* (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1978); National Academy of Education, *The Appropriate Federal Role in Education: Some Guiding Principles* (Washington, D.C.: Author, 1979).

⁹ George W. Knight, *History and Management of Land Grants for Education in the Northwestern Territory* (New York: American Historical Association, 1885).

¹⁰ Howard C. Taylor, *The Educational Significance of the Early Federal Land Ordinances* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1922); Fletcher H. Swift, *A History of Public Permanent Common School Funds in the United States, 1795-1905* (New York: Holt, 1911).

¹¹ Marvin Latserson and W. Norton Grubb, eds., *American Education and Vocationalism: A Documentary History, 1870-1970* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1974), chs. 4-8.

¹² Kenneth A. Simon and W. Vance Grant, *Digest of Education Statistics*, Dep. of Health, Education and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1970).

¹³ Marvin Latserson, *Origins of the Urban School: Public Education in Massachusetts, 1870-1915* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1971); Edward A. Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School, 1880-1920* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1964).

it to survive as the only pre-World War II categorical federal aid program to elementary and secondary education despite periodic commission reports demonstrating that it was ineffective. Smith-Hughes was the major precedent for the federal government's categorical initiatives in 1958.¹⁴

Federal programs initiated in the successive national emergencies of the Depression and World War II were considered temporary and affected elementary and secondary schooling only indirectly. Some school buildings were constructed with funds from the Public Works Administration (1933), and some schoolteachers were paid from Federal Emergency Relief Funds. The Lanham Act (1941), predecessor of the federally impacted areas legislation of the 1950s, provided funds to compensate communities for domestic federal military bases that sent children to local schools but paid no property taxes. In general, federal education programs of the Depression and war years were for manpower training in nonschool or higher education settings.¹⁵

As of 1950 the only federal aid to elementary and secondary education was for vocational education (about \$28 million), school lunches (about \$92 million), federal dependents (about \$29 million), and Native American children (about \$15 million).¹⁶ Furthermore, the Congress continued to resist arguments for general aid to local school systems, despite lobbying by such groups as the NEA. The federal research effort in education was tiny, and the federal courts had little impact on local schooling. On the question of whether post-1950 federal initiatives were continuous with the past or a new departure, one must note that the financial, judicial, and regulatory involvement soon to come would surely have startled educators and the public in 1950. But those sudden increases in involvement were responses to fast-breaking developments in Cold War technology and the civil rights movement; the pace and magnitude of change in education were tied to larger dramas.

Furthermore, although the NDEA and the subsequent legislation of the 1960s marked an expansion of the federal government's provision of sustained categorical aid to elementary and secondary education, they can hardly be considered radical innovations. The long-term drift toward state-level regulation, the federal government's periodic assertions that good education was in the national interest, the sustained precedent of Smith-Hughes, and the habituation of Congress to intervention on national manpower problems during the Depression and World War II—all contributed to a context in which the NDEA and the Great Society educational programs were, in our opinion, an interesting but nonrevolutionary shift. Similarly, although the *Brown* decision of 1954 and the school-prayer and Bible-reading cases of the early 1960s were new incursions into local control of schooling by the federal judiciary, these decisions rested upon long-term, gradual constitutional progress—some would say shamefully gradual

¹⁴ Larson and Grubb, *American Education and Vocationalism*, pp. 29–41; Larry Cuban, "Enduring Resiliency: Enacting and Implementing Federal Vocational Education Legislation," in *Work, Youth and Schooling: Historical Perspectives on Vocational Education*, ed. Harvey Kantor and David B. Tyack (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford Univ. Press, 1982), pp. 45–78.

¹⁵ Hollis P. Allen, *The Federal Government and Education: The Original and Complete Study of Education for the Hoover Commission Task Force on Public Welfare* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), ch. 3; Sidney W. Tiebt, *The Role of the Federal Government in Education* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1966), ch. 2.

¹⁶ Allen, *The Federal Government and Education*, ch. 5.

—during which the Bill of Rights was brought to bear upon state activities.¹⁷ The due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment (1868) granted the federal courts authority that they rarely exercised before 1920. Then came *Gitlow v. New York* (1925), applying the due process clause to freedom of speech;¹⁸ *Pierce v. Society of Sisters* (1925), upholding parental rights to private education;¹⁹ *Cantwell v. Connecticut* (1940), applying due process protection to freedom of religion;²⁰ the higher education cases preceding *Brown* (particularly *Sweatt v. Painter*, 1950), which chipped away at the separate-but-equal doctrine as applied to education;²¹ and the bevy of lower federal court cases beginning in the 1930s, in which the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People pressed for the desegregation of elementary and secondary education, sometimes eliciting eloquent minority opinions in their favor.²²

Thus, in many respects the federal education ventures of the Cold War period were a continuation of the dynamic in American educational history between cosmopolitan centralists and resistant localists. Postwar conditions—a shrinking world and weighty national priorities involving education—have tipped the balance toward federal intervention. Such factors do not predetermine how much federal involvement will come, nor how fast, nor is the direction irreversible in the short run. Our conclusion, however, is that federal government involvement of the past twenty years is continuous with general trends in American history and is not likely to be substantially reversed in the long run, although many changes of themes and techniques are possible. It will be interesting to see what changes resurgent localism and the New Federalism accomplish in the next few years, and what long-term effects this adjustment of the dynamics of federalism may have. We now turn to a consideration of popular stereotypes about specific aspects of federal intervention, which should help us understand the widespread perception that federal intervention in elementary and secondary education has been massive, ineffective, and undesirable.

National Crises and Federal Aid to Education

At first glance, the coincidence of wars and federal intervention in education is striking. The Morrill Act, providing aid to scientific, engineering, and agricultural programs in colleges, was passed in 1862, during the Civil War. It provided the first federal aid to higher education. The Smith-Hughes Act for vocational education, the first federal aid

¹⁷ The school prayer cases (*Engel v. Vitale*, 1962; *Murray v. Curlett*, 1963; *Chamberlin v. Dade County*, 1964) and the Bible-reading case (*Schempp v. Abington*, 1963) are discussed in Sam Duker, *The Public Schools and Religion: The Legal Context* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966). On enforcement, see Kenneth M. Dolbeare and Philip E. Hammond, *The School Prayer Decision: From Court Policy to Local Practice* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1971); and on subsequent religion cases see Robert M. O'Neil, *Classrooms in the Crossfire* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1981).

¹⁸ David Fellman, ed., *The Supreme Court and Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1969), p. 25.

¹⁹ David B. Tyack, "The Perils of Pluralism: The Background of the *Pierce* Case," *American Historical Review*, 74 (1968), 74–98.

²⁰ Fellman, *The Supreme Court and Education*, p. 25.

²¹ H. C. Hudgins, Jr., *The Warren Court and the Public Schools* (Danville, Ill.: Interstate Printers, 1970), pp. 74–76.

²² Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice* (New York: Knopf, 1976), ch. 15.

to elementary and secondary schools, was passed in 1917, during World War I. The Lanham Act, providing assistance to localities affected by federal ownership of land (such as military bases) was passed in 1941 as the nation entered World War II, and was expanded by legislation in 1950 during the Korean War. Other crises that have spawned federal education legislation have also been labeled wars: the Cold War gave us the National Defense Education Act in 1958, and the War on Poverty generated the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965. Public education, considered a potent tool of social reform ever since its genesis in the early nineteenth century, seems to become an object of special concern at the federal level when the nation has declared war on someone or something.

The connection between war and national education policy seems logical. Wars both threaten and unite a nation, creating reasons for large-scale mobilization of talent and resources that tend to outweigh traditional resistance to centralized control of education. On closer examination, however, it appears that the correlation between actual wartime activities and federal education activities is often indirect, perhaps even spurious. The Morrill Act, for example, had been introduced in the 1850s but had been opposed by states'-rights Democrats and vetoed by President Buchanan. When the seceding southern Democrats left Congress, their more interventionist Republican colleagues were free to pass Morrill's bill to aid colleges of agriculture and scientific studies. The connection between war and federal aid was incidental, not instrumental.¹⁹

In the case of the Smith-Hughes Act, the coming of World War I hastened but did not alter an already existing successful reform movement to achieve federal funds for vocational education. Industrial training was part of Woodrow Wilson's preparedness program, but the 1917 bill was a faithful embodiment of the recommendations of the National Commission on Vocational Education, appointed in 1915. Its 1914 report emphasized productivity, prosperity, the problem of high school dropouts, and international competition; the Commission noted, for example, that Bavaria had far more trade schools than the United States did. Smith-Hughes was not directed at military manpower training; indeed, after its passage, the government appropriated separate special emergency funds to train skilled workers for the military, under the supervision of the Committee on Education and Special Training, appointed in 1918. This effort trained about 130,000 craftsmen, such as welders, auto mechanics, and machinists. The program was conducted, for the most part, outside the public schools.²⁰ Manpower mobilization, then, hardly touched American secondary schools during World War I. Other, more pervasive influences upon elementary and secondary public education, such as scrap-metal drives, bandage-making sessions, and dissemination of propaganda from a myriad of federal war agencies, were both trivial and short-lived. Some critics have decried the narrow nationalism promulgated in the schools during both world wars and have advocated a more international perspective.²¹ But to blame wartime propa-

¹⁹ George N. Rainsford, *Congress and Higher Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1972), ch. 7.

²⁰ Lewis P. Todd, *Wartime Relations of the Federal Government and the Public Schools, 1917-1918* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1943), pp. 186, 190.

²¹ Todd, *Wartime Relations*, p. 155; James Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words that Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information* (Princeton, N.J.: n.p., 1939); Gordon C. Lee, "Government Pressures on the Schools during World War II," *History of Education Quarterly*, 2 (1951), 65-74.

ganda for this is to mistake a symptom for a cause. All nations, in war and in peace, have used schools to inculcate nationalism. Whether schools could aid world peace by advocating peace and international government is a moot point; in this, as in so many matters, schools are more reflective of society than instrumental in causing its problems or solutions.

The two world wars seem, then, to have fostered, not caused, tendencies already present in public schools, both in the area of narrow nationalism and in the area of narrow vocationalism. Although wars per se did not have a very unique effect on elementary and secondary education, the international competition dramatized by war has had a profound impact on schools. While the coincidence of war and federal education initiatives is largely only that, the connection between perceived national crises and education is not spurious. This leads us to our next proposition for scrutiny: the idea that Sputnik led to passage of the NDEA.

The Cold War and Education for National Defense

Some analysts have rejected the notion that the American school system was jarred out of weak-minded progressive education and back to basic intellectual training by the flight of Sputnik in October 1957.²² However, that appealing and dramatic notion survives in the popular press and, one suspects, in the popular mind. Although Sputnik certainly caught the nation's attention and provided wonderful ammunition for critics of the schools, the causal connection is less than a half-truth. The myth is wrong on both sides: the Sputnik achievement was not the product of a superior school system; nor did it take a technological embarrassment to move academic critics of American progressive education into the spotlight. Still, it has taken some years to regain this perspective. At the time, the causal relationship between schooling and the space race seemed crystal clear to everyone from Dwight Eisenhower to James Conant, Hyman Rickover, and the editors of *Life* magazine. President Eisenhower declared in March 1959 that educators and parents must "abandon the path that, rather blindly, they have been following as a result of John Dewey's teachings."²³ Dewey's insistence on practical learning and children's interests, complained Admiral Rickover in his 1959 book, *Education and Freedom*, had led to inferior intellectual training in America. Sputnik had "proved" that the Soviet Union's educational system could "induce all children to stretch their intellectual capacities to the utmost."²⁴ In a sensational series on American education begun just after Sputnik, *Life* declared that "the nation's stupid children get far better care than the bright. The geniuses of the next decade are even now being allowed to slip back into mediocrity."²⁵

The United States launched Explorer I within four months of Sputnik, although the American manned-satellite program had begun years after the Soviets'. Admiral Rick-

²² Frank Jennings, "It Didn't Start with Sputnik," *Saturday Review*, 18 Sept. 1967, pp. 77-79, 95-97. Charles Burgess and Merle Borrowman, *What Doctrines to Embrace* (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, 1969), p. 125; Jeffrey Herold, "Sputnik in Education: A History and Reappraisal," *Journal of Education*, 9 (1974), 143-164.

²³ Dwight D. Eisenhower, Letter, quoted in *Life*, 15 March, 1959.

²⁴ Hyman Rickover, *Education and Freedom* (New York: Dutton, 1959), pp. 158-159.

²⁵ *Crisis in Education* (New York: *Life* reprint, 1959), p. 3.

over did not announce that this proved that the American school system stretched every child's intellectual capacity to its utmost. Sputnik's impact lingered on, however, as a vivid symbol of a fundamental American misconception, that Soviet military technology reflected a superior general education system. Only recently, through such works as Hedrick Smith's *The Russians* and Susan Jacoby's *Inside Soviet Schools*, has it become clear that Soviet parity in space and weaponry are the product of stringent and disproportionate allocation of talent and money to military affairs at the expense of other pursuits, and that Sputnik proved nothing at all about Soviet schools, which were and remain tradition-bound, privilege-ridden, and authoritarian.²⁸

James Conant, the most prestigious commentator on public education policy in the late 1950s, may have been strategically discouraged by the Russian space victory, for he had been concerned about the role of education in international rivalry since the 1930s. Still, he knew that Sputnik was incidental to the reform of secondary education, and he was tactically gratified by its timely appearance just before the publication of his book, *The American High School Today*, which advocated larger high schools, early identification of gifted students, and emphasis on math, science, and foreign languages.²⁹

Just as Sputnik boosted Conant's reform proposals, so it gave momentum to the NDEA of 1958, in truth not a product of Sputnik but of the Cold War, which spawned them both. Sputnik, *Life* magazine's near hysteria, and a flock of books with titles like *What Ivan Knows that Johnny Doesn't Know*, lent further credence to a negative assessment of public schools that had begun to gather force in the early 1950s. Traditional, academically oriented critics such as Benjamin Fine, Albert Lynd, Arthur Bestor, and Paul Woodring had assailed the public school's alleged devotion to social development, the stranglehold of second-rate education professors on teacher training, and the nation's desertion of intellectual excellence.³⁰

This view was gaining ground in the Cold War years, and the NDEA must be seen in the context of a general trend back toward emphasis on cognitive skills and on academically talented children. It was another episode in a continuing dialogue—often acrimonious—between advocates of schooling for a variety of social activities and advocates of schooling for intellectual excellence. The latter tend to prevail during periods of heightened international competition. The polarity should not be overemphasized, however; the curriculum debate has been continuous and complex. At any given time, advocates of both extremes, and those with intermediate points of view, have taken part. For example, at the very time when progressive educators were successfully advocating expanded school functions and teaching the "whole child," Ellwood Cubberley stated that "the great battles of the world in the future are to be commercial rather than military or naval. . . . Whether we like it or not, we are beginning to see that we are pitted against the world in a gigantic battle of brains and skill."³¹ Five years later, in 1914, F. E. Chad-

wick argued in the *Educational Review* that female secondary school teachers had produced an emotional, illogical manhood in America. "Men think in terms of steamships, railways, battleships, war, and finance," with which women cannot concern themselves. Prussia, he added, "the most advanced and civilized state in the world," had always provided boys with male teachers.³² Although the emphases on intellectual training for international competition and social training for diverse adult roles had coexisted throughout the twentieth century and were considered compatible by many educators, they nonetheless generated the heated debate of the 1950s over the nature of public education. During that time the claims for intellectual emphasis gained ascendancy over the claims for social functions of secondary education in the eyes of federal legislators and critics of the public schools.

During this swing toward competition and competence, Congress passed the NDEA. Although its provisions are complex, and subsequent appropriations varied in emphasis, NDEA's major impact on elementary and secondary education was in the subject areas of science, mathematics, and foreign languages. In the early 1950s advocates of increased federal education funds had urged general, not categorical, aid. Perhaps their idea that Congress would return to localities federal dollars for teacher salaries and building construction was naive, given the clear categorical interest expressed in the Smith-Hughes precedent of 1917; at any rate, NDEA put the government squarely on the side of specific educational purposes. Money was allocated on the basis of grant proposals in detailed categories. In retrospect, the amount of money provided by NDEA does not seem large; total allocations did not equal either the school milk and lunch programs or the federal aid to impacted areas program.³³

Despite the Smith-Hughes precedent, the impetus of Cold War technological anxiety, and the relatively small amounts of money involved, many educators expressed concern about NDEA's potential impact on curriculum. The legislation offered little or no aid to basic reading training or to programs in social studies, literature, or the arts. "Let's face it," said a conference participant in 1960, "the whole reason for this bill is a reaction to a form of hysteria."³⁴ New York Times Education Editor Fred Hechinger warned, "if we now pour our money into science and technical education alone, we will walk blindly into self-destruction."³⁵ In "A Second Look at the School Panic," Daniel P. Moynihan worried about the "precedent" that NDEA might establish, and warned that "calculus and thermodynamics for everyone is no more a viable education policy for everyone in the twentieth century than Latin and Euclid for everyone was in the seventeenth. And it certainly does not constitute an adequate national education policy."³⁶ Other articles warned educators not to let NDEA "unbalance the curriculum" and complained that the act emphasized fancy equipment without necessary teacher retraining. A Herblock cartoon portrayed a crumbling educational foundation tottering under the weight of new science equipment.³⁷

²⁸ Hedrick Smith, *The Russians* (New York: Ballantine, 1975); Susan Jacoby, *Inside Soviet Schools* (New York: Schocken, 1975).

²⁹ James B. Conant, *The American High School Today* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959).

³⁰ Benjamin Fine, *Our Children Are Cheated* (New York: Holt, 1947); Albert Lynd, *Quackery in the Public Schools* (New York: Crowell & Dunlap, 1950); Arthur Bestor, *Educational Wastelands* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1953); Paul Woodring, *Let's Talk Sense about Our Schools* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953).

³¹ Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Changing Conceptions of Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin 1909), pp. 49

³² F. E. Chadwick, "The Woman Peril," *Educational Review*, 47 (Feb. 1914), 115-118.

³³ "Federal Funds for Education and Related Activities, 1946-67," in *The Federal Role in Education* (Washington, D. C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1968), p. 4.

³⁴ *Nation's Schools*, 66 (Nov. 1960), p. 79.

³⁵ Fred M. Hechinger, "Has Sputnik Taught Us a Lesson?" *Parents' Magazine*, Feb. 1958, pp. 35f.

³⁶ Daniel P. Moynihan, "A Second Look at the School Panic," *The Reporter*, 11 Aug. 1959.

³⁷ "Federal Aid: Don't Let It Unbalance the Curriculum," *Nation's Schools*, 66 (Nov. 1960); the Herblock cartoon appeared in *Parents' Magazine* in February 1958.

However, NDEA also found advocates, and Congress continued its appropriations. Even among its supporters in Congress, however, there was anxiety about NDEA's emphasis on the technical. Adam Clayton Powell, chairman of the House Committee on Labor and Education, spoke in favor of the 1961 appropriations in these ambivalent terms: "I know what I am about to say will be heart-breaking for those who believe in the humanities and the liberal arts, but I believe we cannot afford to continue to spend money disproportionately in those fields. The crisis is one of science."⁴⁰ NDEA continued to be categorical and centered on science and foreign languages; studies of educators' attitudes show the resulting "imbalance" of aid to be the most common complaint against the legislation. However, separate polls of administrators in 1960, and school board members in 1962, revealed that about two-thirds of all those surveyed supported NDEA as it was.⁴¹ Local education officials seem to have been ready to rely on new federal dollars to improve science, math, and foreign-language training, while using local or state resources for the humanities, arts, and social sciences. It also seemed to make sense that more special equipment and facilities were needed in the sciences than in the "softer" subjects. Furthermore, studies do not show that either NDEA or Conant's *American High School Today* caused dramatic or rapid shifts in subject matter enrollments in high schools.⁴² Local schools, especially the great majority that are outside of the mainstream of educational innovation, are very resistant to change; shifts in program and enrollments were very gradual.

Still, to the extent that NDEA was consistent with a general and long-term trend for government to support hard, empirical, technical, and utilitarian studies and research, at all levels of education, it exemplifies a danger in federal emphasis. A free society is in trouble if it cannot afford the luxury of reflection, self-criticism, and diverse approaches to underlying philosophical and historical problems. It is difficult to maintain these activities as high priorities in the face of international crises, rapid technological change, and demands for utilitarian accountability. NDEA probably helped convey to youth the low priority of cultural and speculative activities. Curriculum "imbalance" sounds rather inane until we think of the school day as a dramatization of the kinds of activities that we valued in the adult world. American culture and international events of the 1950s generated educational reform that focused on the most technical subjects and the most talented students. From NDEA, to Conant's American high school, to the Bruner-inspired curricula, the emphasis was on training people for the nation's technological interests and on getting the most from the best students. The dramatic shifts in American society, primed by the civil rights movement, popularized by John Kennedy in the White House, and culminating in the legislation of the Lyndon Johnson years, shifted the education agenda to questions of basic skills and basic access. This brings us to the Great Society, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the War on Poverty, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, and to our fourth proposition for scrutiny: that federal aid programs aimed at raising the cognitive skill levels of particular groups

have succeeded in creating competition for funds and the illusion of reform, but have failed to achieve the purpose of raising skill levels.

Title I and the Education of Poor Children

The implementation and accomplishments of Title I of ESEA, which provided funds for the basic education of poor children, have produced a huge literature of evaluation, much of it controversial.⁴³ Because Title I allocated unprecedented amounts of federal education dollars, because social scientists believed they had the tools to measure the success of programs, and because we have placed such extraordinary faith in the power of education to equalize opportunity, massive evaluation efforts have been carried out.⁴⁴

We do not propose to summarize here the many evaluations but rather to make two generalizations. First, quite apart from the success of Title I programs in raising test scores, the premises of the evaluation effort have been tarnished. Policymakers are no longer very certain that expensive, large-scale evaluation efforts carried out by prestigious educational researchers can provide useful data on the overall effects of large educational interventions.⁴⁵ Second, although many commentators have declared that the days of ambiguous and discouraging evaluations of Title I are over and that there is a positive trend of results in recent data, the trend is at best only relatively promising.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ On the passage and implementation of Title I, see Stephen K. Bailey and Edith K. Mosher, *ESEA: The Office of Education Administers a Law* (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1968); Eugene Edenberg and Roy Morey, *An Act of Congress: The Legislative Process and the Making of Education Policy* (New York: Norton, 1969); and Julie Ray Jeffery, *Education for Children of the Poor: A Study of the Origins and Implementation of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965* (Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Press, 1978). For a discussion of the controversy over Title I evaluation results in the early Title I years, see Milbrey McLaughlin, *Education and Reform: The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, Title I* (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger, 1975). Two more recent analyses of the role of evaluation in federal education programs are Robert F. Boruch and David S. Cordray, eds., *An Appraisal of Educational Program Evaluations: Federal, State and Local Agencies* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Education, 1980); and Sena Raizen and Peter Rossi, eds., *Program Evaluation in Education: When? How? To What Ends?* (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences, 1980). These latter two reports were funded by the U.S. Office of Education, DHEW, in response to a legislative requirement (Study of Evaluation Practices and Procedures, Sec. 1526, Education Amendments of 1978, P.L. 95-561). The purpose of the studies was to recommend ways of increasing the effectiveness and usefulness of federal education evaluations. Although the Title I evaluation effort was only one of many in the Office of Education, it was by far the largest—consequently both reports refer extensively to Title I.

⁴¹ McLaughlin, *Education and Reform*, p. 118, found that by the time Title I was seven years old, over \$50 million had been spent to evaluate it. In fiscal year 1980 the Office of Education spent \$15.4 million on Title I evaluation efforts (Raizen and Rossi, *Program Evaluation*, p. 198). This did not include the funds spent by local or state education agencies on Title I evaluations.

⁴² McLaughlin, *Education and Reform*, William W. Cooley, "Effectiveness of Compensatory Education," *Educational Leadership*, Jan. 1981, pp. 298-301; Raizen and Rossi, *Program Evaluation*, pp. 62-67; Clark C. Abt, ed., *The Evaluation of Social Programs* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publishers, 1976), esp. the paper by P. Michael Timpone, "Evaluating Title I Again," pp. 415-424, and the comments on it by John W. Evans, Andrew Porter, and Marshall S. Smith, pp. 425-436. See E. Berryman and Thomas K. Glennan, Jr., "An Improved Strategy for Evaluating Federal Programs in Education," in *Educational Evaluation in the Public Policy Setting*, Rept. No. R-2502-RC, ed. John Pincus (Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand Corporation, 1980), pp. 11-40; Lee J. Cronbach, Sue Ann Robinson Ambron, Sanford M. Dornbusch, Robert D. Hare, Robert C. Morris, D. C. Phillips, Decker F. Walker, and Stephen S. Weiner, *Toward Reform of Program Evaluation: Aims, Methods and Institutional Arrangements* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1980).

⁴³ For a variety of examples of recent optimistic views on the effectiveness of Title I, see: U.S. House of Representatives, *A Report on the Education Amendments of 1978, H.R. 11*, Committee on Education and La-

⁴⁰ Adam Clayton Powell, Cong. Rec., 6 Sept. 1961, quoted in Sidney C. Saltrin, *Administering the National Defense Education Act* (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1963), p. 13.

⁴¹ Saltrin, *Administering NDEA*, pp. 41, 43.

⁴² Barry J. Teicher, "James Bryant Conant and *The American High School Today*," *Disc. Univ. of Wisconsin* 1977, ch. 6.

On the other hand, some qualifications are warranted. Although the early vision of evaluations as tools for providing hard outcome data for cost-benefit assessments has dimmed, an appreciation of the value of describing and understanding the implementation of programs has grown in its place. Especially in the environment of uncertain outcomes, clear data on who receives services is the most important issue in Congressional debates. Moreover, the growing literature on implementation and its acceptance by scientists and policymakers has created a climate of expectation very different from that prevailing in the late sixties.⁴⁷ First, few of us now expect to see positive outcomes from new education programs in less than five years. This often means that to lawmakers the educational outcomes of a program are less important to its continuation than its more immediate consequences, such as job opportunities or symbolic effects. Second, the relative precision in our ability to measure the distribution of resources and to monitor the superficial processes of implementation has focused attention on these more manageable outcomes. Federal education laws and regulations between 1970 and 1980 were continuously modified and expanded in attempts to improve their efficiency in the delivery of resources.⁴⁸ Rarely did the rationale for the modifications have any direct relation to improving the educational outcomes of the program. The evaluation of federal education programs over the past fifteen years, rather than being useless, has altered the focus and the expectations of policy analysts and policymakers.⁴⁹

hor. 95th Cong., 2nd sess., Rept. No. 95-1137 (Washington, D.C.: 11 May 1978), esp. pp. 6, 7; Iris C. Rosenberg, "Federal Policy Issues in Elementary and Secondary Education," in *The Federal Role in Education: New Directions for the Eighties*, ed. Robert A. Miller (Washington, D.C.: Institute for Educational Leadership, 1981), p. 26; *The Education Daily* 26 Jan. 1982, p. 3, quotes a report from the U.S. Department of Education that Title I "results from nationally and locally conducted evaluations suggest that a 15 year decline in educational achievement is beginning to reverse, particularly among traditionally low-achieving groups." Even the Republican Secretary of Education, T. H. Bell, testified before a House Appropriations Subcommittee that he "still believes that compensatory education under Title I is effective, 'which is why I worked so hard to keep it funded at the level it is at'" (reported in the *Education Times*, 15 Mar. 1982, p. 1). In a review of many of the studies which led to the optimistic reports William W. Cooley concluded "On balance, Title I is not producing the kind of achievement impact that people had hoped it would have" ("Effectiveness of Compensatory Education," p. 300).

⁴⁷ In the preface to a compilation of articles on implementation issues, Walter Williams writes: "For roughly a decade now, the rapidly expanding cottage industry studying implementation has been producing numerous investigations of efforts to put new policies in place" (p. vii). See Walter Williams, Richard F. Elmore, John Stuart Hall, Richard Jung, Michael Kirst, Susan A. MacManus, Betty Jane Narver, Richard P. Nathan, and Robert K. Yin, *Studying Implementation* (Charlham, N.J.: Chatham House, 1982). In this volume, see especially Michael Kirst and Richard Jung, "The Utility of a Longitudinal Approach in Assessing Implementation: A Thirteen-Year View of Title I, ESEA," pp. 119-148. A particularly useful bibliography on implementation is contained in Jeffrey Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky, *Implementation*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1979), pp. 195-203.

⁴⁸ Title I was amended in seven of the ten years of the decade of the seventies - it missed being modified only in 1971, 1973, and 1975. See *A Compilation of Federal Education Laws: Volume II—Elementary and Secondary Education and Related Programs* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1981), pp. 1-53. Along with the rest of the legislation in the ESEA of 1965, Title I was reauthorized and extensively revised in 1974 and 1978. In 1978 it more than doubled in length. For examples of the ways in which Congress tinkered with the ESEA programs, see U.S. House of Representatives, *A Report on the Education Amendments of 1978, H. R. 15*. Title I regulations were also modified regularly with extensive overhauls after the major legislation reauthorization.

⁴⁹ John Pincus, "The State of Educational Evaluation: Reflection and a Summary," in John Pincus, ed., *Educational Evaluation and the Public Policy Setting*, p. 10. Razen and Rossi, *Program Evaluation*, pp. 65-67. Robert F. Boruch, David S. Cordray and Georgine M. Pion, "How well are evaluations carried out?" in Bor-

The positive trend of achievement outcomes is another matter. To be sure, a substantial body of data indicates that some Title I programs have short-term positive effects.⁵⁰ After one year in the program, Title I students score higher than would have been expected if they were not in Title I. But even this finding does not hold across all elementary school grades and subjects. Recent reports from the Sustaining Effects Study indicate that Title I students make a "modest" improvement in arithmetic throughout the first six grades while improving in reading only during grades 1-3.⁵¹ Another element in this positive trend comes from National Assessment data on the achievement scores of 9-, 13-, and 17-year-olds.⁵² Looking across the past ten years, these data indicate a small improvement in the reading scores of students in schools eligible for Title I assistance when compared with students in ineligible schools. However, the National Assessment did not determine whether an eligible school actually participated in the federal program or isolated for analysis the students who received Title I services. Thus the apparent improvement in achievement could be due to other factors such as changes in schooling that have taken place over the past decade.⁵³

These gains, if real, are modest in comparison with the original promise of Title I to overcome disparities in achievement between the children of the poor and of the rich.⁵⁴

uch and Cordray, eds., *Appraisal of Educational Program Evaluation*, ch. V. For more general discussions of the way that evaluations have affected expectations about social programs, see Eugene Bardach, *The Implementation Game: What Happens After a Bill Becomes a Law* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977); and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding* (New York: Free Press, 1970).

⁵⁰ National Institute of Education, *Reports of the NIE Compensatory Education Study: The Effects of Services on Student Development* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Sept. 1977); Thomas C. Thomas and Sol H. Peltavin, *Patterns of ESEA Title I Reading Achievement* (Merlo Park, Calif.: Stanford Research Institute, 1976); George Mayne, *A Study of Compensatory Reading Programs Technical Summary*, U.S. Office of Education, Office of Planning, Budget and Evaluation (Washington D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Sept. 1976); Robert J. Rossi, Donald H. McLaughlin, Emily A. Campbell, and Bruce E. Everett, *Summaries of Major Title I Evaluations, 1966-1976* (Palo Alto, Calif.: American Institute for Research, 1977), p. 134; Robert M. Stonehill and Judith I. Anderson, *An Evaluation of ESEA Title I—Program Operation and Educational Effects: A Report to Congress*, Office of Planning, Budget and Evaluation (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Education, 1982), *Annual Evaluation Report FY 1980, Vol. II*, Office of Evaluation and Program Management (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Education, 1980), pp. 1-29.

⁵¹ Ming-mei Wang, Morray B. Bean, Jon Conklin and Ralph Hoepfner, *Students' Educational Development during the School Year and the Effects of Compensatory Education*, Technical Rep. No. 10, Study of the Sustaining Effects of Compensatory Education on Basic Skills (Santa Monica: System Development Corp., 1980). Also see Stonehill and Anderson, *Evaluation of ESEA Title I*, p. IV-3, for a summary of the Wang, Bean, Conklin and Hoepfner report. Stonehill and Anderson also report data from the Title I Evaluation and Reporting System (TIERS), a system designed to aggregate state data about the effects of Title I. They find quite small positive effects of Title I on reading in the early grades, larger effects in grades 5 and 6, and negative effects in grades 10 and 11. They summarize their view of the short-term effects of Title I: "Overall, it was found that compensatory services, particularly Title I services, often have positive impacts on achievement. Different patterns of achievement were found for different groups, however" (p. IV-3).

⁵² National Assessment of Educational Progress, "Has Title I Improved Education for Disadvantaged Students? Evidence from Three National Assessments of Reading," No. 54-DS-50 (Denver: Education Commission of the States, April 1981), (ERIC ED 201 995).

⁵³ One reason for the "improvement" for the 13- and 17-year-olds in the NAEP data is the decline in scores of students in non-eligible schools. In fact, the scores of 17-year-olds in Title I eligible schools actually dropped between 1970-71 and 1979-80 - they "gained," however, relative to students in non-Title I eligible schools. See National Assessment of Educational Progress, pp. 4, 5. Desegregation is a second reason which may help explain the quite large increases for 9- and 13-year-olds in the southeastern United States during the seventies.

⁵⁴ Stonehill and Anderson, *Evaluation of ESEA Title I*, report preliminary data on the longitudinal effects of Title I from the federally funded Sustaining Effects Study. They use standardized achievement scores to

Against the litany of earlier negative evaluations, the results are promising, but against national data showing that achievement scores of middle school and high school students have declined steadily for years and that the overall dropout rate has shown no improvement since the mid-1960s, the results seem insignificant.³¹

Federal educational efforts, like state and local efforts, achieve mixed results. But in terms of the development of the federal role in education, the very characteristic of the program considered by many as crucial to continued federal support may have constrained the program, resulting in weak effects at best. For years many advocates of Title I concurrently held the view that federal involvement should be limited. This dual perspective was implemented through provisions that restricted use of Title I aid to activities not covered by state and local funds. The "supplement not supplant" rule, as it was called, appeared to make a great deal of sense when applied to restricting the allocation of resources to poor or low-scoring school children.³² It also kept the federal government

contrary Title I students with "regular students who did not need and did not participate in Title I" (p. IV-11). They find that the modest short-term positive effect of Title I on reading achievement is generally sustained, but that the short-term effect on arithmetic achievement is lost after the student leaves Title I. The magnitude of the effect on reading is estimated for three groups of students. For Title I students who graduate after the first year the "effect" (gain) is four points out of a total "gap" of 18 points. The "gap" is the difference between the mean score of regular students (roughly 110 in their metric) and the mean score of Title I students at the beginning of the Title I "experience." For students who stay for two years and then graduate, the gain is three points of a total gap of 25 points; for the students who stay three years, the gain is zero points, and the gap is 50 points. In math the one-year students gain five points of a gap of 15 points and then proceed to lose the gain and additional points over the next two years; the two-year students actually lose points while in the program and then level off after they leave (the gap increases from 18 to 22 points over the three years); the three-year students stay even over the years with a gap of roughly 50 points. Clearly, the long-term effects are small at best. (The "mean scores" are estimated from a chart on page IV-12 of the Stonehill and Anderson paper.)

³¹ See Brian K. Waters, *The Test Score Decline: A Review and Annotated Bibliography*, Technical memorandum 81-2 (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Secretary of Defense, August 1981). Waters' report is summarized by Brian Waters and Janice Laurence, "Military and Civilian Test Score Decline (1950-1981)," Human Resource Research Organization. Paper presented at the 65th Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York, March 1982. Also see Nancy B. Dearman and Valena W. Pinho, eds., *The Condition of Education, 1982* (National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1982). Pages 184-189 contain relevant achievement data from the National Assessment; page 18, table 1.6 has data which show a national decline in the percentage of high school graduates from 1970 to 1980. Nationally, though, this decline appears to be offset by an increase in people who take a General Educational Development test to receive high school equivalency credentials. *Giving Youth a Better Chance: A Report with Recommendations of the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1979) also contains data showing that there has been no "progress" in reducing the dropout rate in the last fifteen years. The Carnegie Council Report goes on to point out the especially high dropout rates of the poor, minorities and inner-city youth (pp. 49-52).

³² The "supplement not supplant" rule operates in conjunction with other fiscal controls such as the "comparability" and "excess cost" rules to insure that Title I funds are only used for the provision of services to "Title I students." For a discussion of fiscal controls on federal dollars, see Stephen M. Barro, "Federal Education Costs and Policy Instruments: An Assessment of the 'Strings' Attached to Categorical Grants in Education," in Timpane, ed., *Federal Interest in Financing Schooling*. For an analysis of the effects of this approach to accountability, see Francis X. Archambault, Jr. and Robert C. St. Pierre, "The Effect of Federal Policy on Services Delivered Through ESEA Title I," *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 2, No. 3 (1980), 33-46. Archambault and St. Pierre conclude: "... districts can both comply with federal laws and regulations and still provide services that do not necessarily expand and improve the regular curriculum" (p. 33). The fiscal controls approach used in Title I is not the only way of making sure that federal dollars benefit intended recipients. For one discussion of alternatives, see Brenda J. Turnbull, Marshall S. Smith, and Alan L. Ginsburg, "Issues for a New Administration: The Federal Role in Education," *American Journal of Education*, 89 (1981), 396-427.

away from the regular school program. Implementing Title I, however, required an organizational structure for the delivery of services that was independent of the regular school program. Separate administrative structures were developed in school systems and in schools. Title I personnel were hired and paid for only with Title I funds and were required by law to work only with Title I students even in the halls and in the schoolyard. In classrooms the segregation of Title I from the regular school was almost as complete. By 1976, some 70 percent of Title I students receiving remedial reading were "pulled out" of their classes and physically moved to other areas in order to receive their supplemental instruction.³³

One consequence of this separate structure was that it may have given regular staff the sense that the federal government did not trust them to do the job. Another consequence was that it relieved the regular staff of the responsibility to ensure that their lowest-scoring students would succeed, for the Title I staff bore that responsibility. Still another consequence was the fragmentation of the school experience for Title I students, who were often expected to deal simultaneously with reading or mathematics instruction from two different textbooks taught in two different styles. A final consequence was that the creation of the separate Title I administrative structure placed no pressure on the regular structure to improve, and ensured that little of lasting importance would remain if federal dollars were withdrawn.³⁴ In the light of growing evidence about the importance of the climate and coherence of school administrative structures and the collaboration and involvement of the staff in the development of effective school programs, the Title I approach seems to have been doomed to produce mediocre results.³⁵ By maintaining an independence from the core programs of the school, the Title I effort insured that its influence and effects were marginal. After almost two decades of intervention, the Title I program stands primarily as a symbol of national concern for the poor rather than as a viable response to their needs.

³³ Gene V. Glass and Mary Lou Smith, "Pull-out in Compensatory Education," *Law of Colorado, Laboratory of Educational Research*, 1977.

³⁴ We know of no studies which directly address this issue. The closest is the recent report, Lorraine M. McDonnell and Milbrey W. McLaughlin, *Education Policy and the Role of the States* (Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand Corporation, 1982). In ch. 6, "The State in Compensatory Education," the authors conclude that Title I is seen as "an administrative, not an educational, problem"; that Title I is "administratively mature"; and that there is "weak political support for compensatory education programs" in the states. "Because compliance concerns dominate Title I practices, however, it is possible that the program's administrative maturity will be unable to serve as a foundation for additional program development" (p. 11). They go on to say that the "past exclusive focus on compliance issues displaced program quality issues at all levels" (p. 113). In their summary conclusions to the book, they state that "a reduced federal role (for compensatory education) means fewer services for these students. Although McDonnell and McLaughlin do not directly attribute this conclusion to the separate administrative structure of Title I, their data and text would support such an argument.

³⁵ For reviews of this effective school literature, see Stewart C. Parker and Marshall S. Smith, "Effective Schools - A Review," Wisconsin Center for Educational Research, Madison, 1982 and forthcoming in *Elementary School Journal*; Mortimer Rutter, "School Effects on Pupil Progress: Research Findings and Policy Implications," Paper prepared for the National Institute of Education, U.S. Dept. of Education, Washington, D.C., February 1981; Beverly L. Glenn, *What Works? An Examination of Effective Schools for Poor Black Children*, Center for Law and Education, Harvard Univ., 1981. Also see Wilbur B. Brookover, Charles Beady, Patricia Flood, John Schweitzer, and Joe Winesbaker, *School Social Systems and Student Achievement: Schools Can Make a Difference* (New York: Praeger, 1979).

The Magnitude and Impact of Federal Aid

Whatever the efficacy of the Title I programs, their history suggests a substantial federal involvement in education. This brings us to yet another conception: that there has been a tremendous rise in federal aid to elementary and secondary education in the past twenty-five years, and that it has had a profound impact on local education. At first glance the summary figures do not seem to support the generalization. The average percentage of elementary and secondary public school funds provided by the federal government rose from 1.8 percent in 1939 to 4.4 percent in 1959. In 1975 the average federal share of local budgets was 8.9 percent (see Table 1). These increases do not appear to be very dramatic, and many communities without high concentrations of poor people and/or federal property fall considerably below the national average in their reliance on federal school dollars. The increases are not very steep, and the total amounts are not very impressive. For example, the NDEA categorical funds allocated to remedying our imagined space gap did not even equal school lunch and milk programs or aid to areas with federal property. Only with the coming of ESEA in 1965 did categorical aid to instructional programs exceed the innocuous and uncontroversial aid for school food programs and for impacted areas. The former, after all, are as much agricultural policy as educational policy, and the latter, if administered properly, merely replace local taxes lost to communities with federal installations. The dollar amounts of federal aid indeed grew impressively from 1965 to 1980, but the share of federal dollars in local budgets is still very low.

TABLE 1
Revenue Receipts of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools from Federal, State, and Local Sources: United States, 1919-20 to 1978-79

School Year	Total \$ Value (x 1,000)	Percentage Distribution		
		Federal	State	Local (including intermediate districts)
1919-20	\$ 970,120	0.3	16.5	83.2
1929-30	2,088,557	0.4	16.8	82.7
1939-40	2,760,527	1.8	30.3	68.0
1949-50	5,437,044	2.9	38.8	57.3
1959-60	14,746,618	4.4	39.1	56.5
1963-64	20,544,182	4.4	39.3	56.3
1965-66	25,358,858	7.9	39.1	53.0
1969-70	40,266,823	8.0	39.9	52.1
1975-76	71,206,073	8.9	44.6	46.5
1978-79	88,056,997	9.8	45.7	44.5

Source: W. Vance Grant and Leo J. Eiden, *Digest of Education Statistics, 1981* (National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1981), table 64, p. 74.

How, then, did federal aid become so controversial? Part of the answer is that opponents saw a danger in principle that had little to do with the amount of money involved: they feared a little bit of federal aid as they feared "creeping socialism." A greater share

of the explanation, however, lies in the fact that, whereas 80 to 85 percent of most local school budgets are in fixed costs, mostly salaries, the federal share is mostly devoted to special services and to program innovation.²² Faced by economy-minded property taxpayers and increasingly successful teachers' unions, program money is hard to get at the local level. On the one hand, this makes federal funds attractive, particularly to districts with high percentages of children who have special needs. On the other hand, to districts with dwindling core budgets, the federal strings protecting the special programs are controversial because they are viewed as limiting flexibility to meet real local needs.

This federal aid has been a useful tool to the government in enforcing constitutional or other legal mandates upon local districts. Regulations tied to withdrawal of program funds, in tandem with directives from federal courts, have been the focus of resistance to federal participation in local schooling. The most controversial of the mandates has been desegregation, although the requirements for bilingual education and rules for the handicapped are not far behind. On the issue of the magnitude of federal spending, then, we conclude that the controversial nature of federal involvement in schooling does not derive from the amount of federal dollars involved—present cuts are shared by most domestic programs—nor from an abstract principle against federal involvement—though arguments are often couched in such terms—but from the particular reforms the federal government supported, the pace at which several reforms were attempted simultaneously, and the generally complex nature of social change. The past thirty years of racial desegregation underscores this conclusion.

Desegregation North and South

For fifteen years after *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) the South successfully resisted desegregation, despite congressional rhetoric, marches on Washington, and the moral and legal pressures of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Office of Civil Rights. Yet within two years—years of a Republican administration that saw its political future in terms of "southern strategy"—southern desegregation was essentially complete. The patience of the Supreme Court had been exhausted. Its equation of segregated schooling with unequal opportunity was clear, as was the segregated nature of the southern school systems. In the *Green* decision in 1968 and the *Alexander* decision in 1969 the Court mandated immediate and comprehensive action and elevated health,

²² For a breakdown of the current school expenditures, see W. Vance Grant and Leo J. Eiden, *Digest of Education Statistics, 1981* (National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Dept. of Education (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1981), table 66, pp. 76, 77. Over the past fifteen years most elementary/secondary federal education dollars have gone to categorical programs for special populations such as the disadvantaged, handicapped, or bilingual, to the school lunch program, or to vocational education. Relatively small amounts have been appropriated for the development of special curriculum areas such as metric education, career education and environmental education. The only major source of federal funds that school districts could absorb into the regular school budget is the Impact Aid program, which distributes funds to school districts with federal buildings and other federal installations to make up for lost property tax revenues. See Grant and Eiden, *Digest*, table 161, p. 182. For discussions of the nature of federal aid, see Timpane, ed., *Federal Interest in Financing Schooling* and Turnbull, Smith and Ginsburg, *Issues for a New Administration*.

Education and Welfare (HEW) Title VI guidelines to the status of legal standards.⁴¹ The southern districts, many of them expecting the Court's decision, complied.⁴²

The Court then turned its attention to the North. *Swann*, a southern decision, had approved busing as an acceptable means of desegregation in 1971.⁴³ *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver*, in 1975, laid the basis for findings of de jure segregation in the North and for district-wide remedies.⁴⁴ Faced with court-ordered busing in northern cities, the liberal coalition that had spawned the Civil Rights Act and prodded the South split apart. After a decade of confusing evaluation reports, the educational promise of desegregation was no longer clear.⁴⁵ The force of black and liberal public opinion had diminished; substantial elements of the black community believed that there were other approaches to equal opportunity and racial justice than school desegregation. The late 1960s had seen a variety of school-based policies, such as community control, compensatory education, and affirmative action, that competed with the goals of desegregation.⁴⁶ Finally, between 1954 and 1970 the nation's demography had changed—the continued migration of blacks to the North and West and into the cities had made the problem national rather than regional.⁴⁷ To the northern white urban or suburban liberal, the problem was now personal as well as moral. Some integrationists lost their enthusiasm, and tempers flared as working-class whites and blacks were forced to integrate.

Congress responded politically by regularly passing antibusing laws that set strict limits on the use of federal funds to pay for busing.⁴⁸ Spurred on by the Nixon southern strategy, they passed the Emergency School Assistance Program—later the Emergency School Assistance Act (ESAA)—which provided funds to reward districts that had already desegregated and to stimulate voluntary desegregation. This provided general funds to southern districts and aided a number of court-ordered districts in the North.⁴⁹ As in the case of Title I, however, hesitancy to interfere with the ongoing programs of local districts served to constrain the effectiveness of the law. Under the provisions of

ESAA, funds could not be used to pay for regular educational activities or court-ordered activities; they could only be used to supplement them.⁵⁰ Thus, rather than directly alleviating a financial burden brought on by desegregation, ESAA often required the development of new programs and administrative structures. This limited the application and effect of the law.⁵¹

The bureaucracy charged with enforcing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act was almost as sensitive to political pressures as Congress. Although there were notable successes, cases such as Chicago illustrated the lack of political will and strength of successive administrations.⁵² Finally, the courts, constrained by their own need to decide each case independently and to craft individual remedies, moved slowly early in the decade and imperceptibly later.⁵³

The clear national vision that linked racial desegregation with educational equity and generated *Brown* and its aftermath has dissipated. The experiment in racial justice has had only mixed success. More important, we now live in a country where huge sections of central cities are almost all-black, where desegregation is often impossible even if district borders are ignored, and where many of the central city schools do not even remotely resemble suburban schools in operation or quality. These problems are the major challenge to the nation's belief in its public school systems. So long as the federal government does not take clear and substantive action to meet the needs of the inner cities, it forfeits any claim to being a nation with racial justice.

The Build-Up of the 70s

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 contained only five titles and about a dozen program authorities: revisions in 1968 added new titles and programs, including the Bilingual Education Act. The Education for All Handicapped Children Act was passed in 1975 and embellishments to ESEA in 1974 and 1978 eventually enlarged its scope to thirteen titles and over 100 programs. As programs proliferated, so did the bureaucracy, regulations, and interest groups. Each funded program had a director, a staff, and its own procedures. By 1976 over 100 interest groups belonged to the Committee for Full Funding, a Washington-based education coalition.

Outside of the program areas the enforcement obligations of the federal government also expanded. During the 1960s and 1970s Congress enacted civil rights legislation to clarify and extend the guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment. In addition to ad-

⁴¹ *Green v. Board of Education of New Kent County* [Virginia], 391 U.S. 430 (1968); *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education*, 396 U.S. 19, 20 (1969).

⁴² For discussions of the process of southern desegregation, see Gary Orfield, *The Reconstruction of Southern Education: The Schools and the 1964 Civil Rights Act* (New York: Wiley, 1969); Beryl A. Radin, *Implementation, Change, and the Federal Bureaucracy: School Desegregation Policy in H.E.W., 1961-1968* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1977).

⁴³ *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg*, 402 U.S. 1, 29 (1971).

⁴⁴ *Keyes v. School District No. 1*, 413 U.S. 189 (1973).

⁴⁵ David Armor, "The Evidence on Busing," *The Public Interest*, 28 (1972), 90-126; Thomas Pettigrew, Elizabeth L. Lueem, Clarence Normand, and Marshall S. Smith, "Busing: A Review of the Evidence," *The Public Interest*, 30 (1973), 88-111; Nancy S. John, *School Desegregation: Outcomes for Children* (New York: Wiley Press, 1975); Meyer Weinberg, "The Relationship Between School Desegregation and Academic Achievement: A Review of the Research," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 39, No. 2 (1975), 240-270.

⁴⁶ For discussions of northern desegregation and the changing climate of opinion regarding desegregation, see Gary Orfield, *Must We Bus: Segregated Schools and National Policy* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1978); the collection of articles in "School Desegregation in Metropolitan Areas: Choices and Prospects," a special issue of *The Urban Review*, 10, No. 2 (1978); and David L. Kirp, *Just Schools* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1982).

⁴⁷ Orfield, *Reconstruction of Southern Education*, ch. 2, pp. 40-76.

⁴⁸ Orfield, *Reconstruction of Southern Education*, ch. 8, pp. 235-278.

⁴⁹ Orfield, *Reconstruction of Southern Education*, chs. 8, 9, pp. 235-318; Kirp, *Just Schools*, p. 294.

⁵⁰ Not only was the use of ESAA funds for busing excluded as permissible by Congress but HEW legal counsel interpreted activities required by court orders as falling under the "supplement not supplant" provision in the Emergency School Assistance Act: see Sec. 710 (a)(10)(A) of Title VII of P.L. 92-318 (20 U.S.C. 1609). Thus any activity ordered by the court—that is, those activities presumably critical to desegregation—could not be paid for with ESAA funds.

⁵¹ The Congress, with support from the Carter administration, modified the ESAA supplement-not supplant provision in the 1978 Amendments to ESEA: see *A Compilation of Federal Laws*, Section 610 (a)(7)(B), p. 121.

⁵² Orfield, *Reconstruction of Southern Education*, ch. 9, pp. 277-318. As Orfield points out, even when an HEW Secretary attempted to move aggressively in the area of desegregation, as Joseph Califano did in 1977-78, a lack of White House support, combined with Congressional opposition, acted together to effectively tie his hands.

⁵³ Orfield, *Reconstruction of Southern Education*, chs. 10, 12, and 13; Kirp, *Just Schools*, pp. 55-71.

dressing racial desegregation, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act led to the *Lau* decision protecting the educational rights of limited English-speaking students.¹⁴ Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 protected the rights of women, section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 ensured the rights of the handicapped, and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975, as amended in 1978, addressed the rights of older citizens.¹⁵

These were heady times for congressional education lawmakers. With the exception of the issue of northern desegregation, which faltered in the face of public opposition, the Democratic majority that prevailed in Congress from 1969 to 1977 moved ahead with the liberal agenda. Supported by Washington-based interest groups and a permanent bureaucracy that owed allegiance to its programs rather than to the Republican administration, Congress successfully repelled administration initiatives to simplify laws, and responded by passing new mandates, categorical legislation, and increasingly tighter provisions for enforcing existing laws.

To a substantial degree the overriding value was social justice. The major categorical programs and all of the civil rights mandates were directly aimed at protecting and enhancing the opportunities of needy groups of people. The problems were seen as national, requiring uniform and enforceable procedures. Little discretion was given to states; indeed, in all education service programs except vocational education, the states had no important role. Even in those states that already provided programs serving handicapped or limited-English-speaking students, the federal laws and regulations applied as if the state activities did not exist.

Except in the area of desegregation, however, federal programs operated on the periphery of local school system programs. Supplemental activities for low-scoring students in poverty areas, special classes for bilingual youngsters, new procedures for handling handicapped children, and equal levels of sports activities for girls and boys are all important issues, and they have taken much time and energy to work out. Yet they are not central to the workings of the regular school program. Taken together these activities assumed great weight because of their symbolic value; taken separately they were often seen as interfering with the real business of the schools.

To an extraordinary degree, however, local school systems have accommodated and adequately implemented these programs. Complaints about paperwork, lack of trust, and arbitrary rules notwithstanding, no school system has rejected federal dollars. The loudest complainers about red tape have often proved to be the strongest supporters, at least of the federal service programs. The Washington coalitions in support of increased appropriations for these programs have included all of the state and local education associations.

The complaints, though often dramatic, had little meaning. Visions of hundreds of federal programs interfering with state and local governments were often invoked be-

fore Congress, yet most federal education programs were very small—all but a handful were funded at less than \$50 million—and affected a very low percentage of local districts. The objection that millions of hours of useless paperwork would take professionals away from their proper educational roles was even more popular. In 1978 the Carter administration announced that through a series of vigorous administrative actions it had reduced the paperwork burden on the schools by 6 million hours.¹⁶ Impressive, perhaps, but it translated into less than three hours per teacher per year. The gain in instructional time for an educator would be on the order of five to six minutes per year for each student. To be sure, in inner city schools where multiple problems abound, the federal programs and mandates create bureaucratic and pedagogical confusion. Students are pulled out of regular classes for Title I, integrated into regular classes under ESAA and the Handicapped Act, and segregated again for bilingual education. Jackie Kimborough and Paul Hill of The Rand Corporation have supplied a sensible account of the problems of schools with multiple categorical programs.¹⁷ But these are only a few of the nation's schools and typically do not serve children of the politically powerful.

What, then, accounts for the apparently powerful outcry against federal involvement? Certainly the core antagonism of the political right, which places its trust in local governments and distrusts any federal involvement, has played a role. More important, however, may be the frustration felt by many school and laypeople about the nation's eroding confidence in its school system. Justified or not, many professional educators and analysts came to view the involvement of the federal government as a major cause of a general decline in the quality of American public schooling. They have seen federal programs at the periphery as taking resources and attention away from the central tasks of the schools.

In fact, the outcry against federal involvement has had extraordinarily little impact, even at a time of retrenchment. The Reagan consolidation of federal programs—rushed through Congress as part of an overall budget issue, without debate—went little beyond what the earlier Democratic administration had advocated, and it retained as separate pieces of legislation all of the central categorical service programs. Indeed, when the administration attempted to consolidate the handicapped and the compensatory education programs, the chief advocates of local control, the school boards, led the fight against the proposal. Although there have been many rumors about other legislative initiatives to reduce federal activity, little has actually been done. As of April 1982, the Administration was over twelve months late on its promise to dismantle the Department of Education, a symbolic move that would reflect the power of the outcry against the federal presence.

Apart from legislative activity, the Republicans have moved to reduce the enforcement capacity of the Office of Civil Rights (OCR). Yet even here the results are mixed.

¹⁴ *Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563 at 566 (1974).

¹⁵ Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972—Prohibition of Sex Discrimination (20 U.S.C. 1681); Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 as amended, Public Law 93-112 (29 U.S.C. 701); Age Discrimination Act of 1975—Title III, Prohibition of Discrimination Based on Age (42 U.S.C. 6101-6107). On the build-up of the service programs and the civil rights legislation and regulations, see Marshall S. Smith and John W. Jenkins, "Education Legislation," in *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, 8th ed. (New York: Free Press, in press).

¹⁶ Testimony of Secretary Joseph A. Califano, Jr., in *Part 21: The Administration's Proposals for Elementary and Secondary Education*, Hearings before the Subcommittee of Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 95th Congress, 2d sess., on HR 11282 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 28 Feb. 1978), pp. 33-329.

¹⁷ Jackie Kimborough and Paul Hill, *The Aggregate Effects of Federal Education Programs* (R-2638-ED) (Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand Corporation, Sept. 1981). They conclude that "the sheer number of separate programs is the source of many problems" and that "federal officials need to devise alternative programming strategies for schools with multiple categorical programs" (p. 43).

Secretary T. H. Bell, in an early move, withdrew some bilingual regulations that had been proposed by the Carter administration, leaving in place a set of guidelines that had served as the basis for over 400 agreements between local districts and the federal government and that are in some ways more restrictive than the proposed regulations. And although the number of people in OCR has been reduced and some of their authority removed, in April 1982 the federal government moved for the first time in nine years to cut off funds from a local district for a violation of Title IX.¹⁸ The picture is far from complete, but the Reagan administration's action so far does not portend a complete rout of federal involvement.

Reflections

The Reagan administration's considerable efforts to curtail and reshape federal involvement in education might appear to augur a reversal or at least a substantial change of direction in the federal role in education. But the history of the past seventeen months, as well as that of the past seventeen years, leaves room for doubt.

While the expansion in federal activity since 1965 has been criticized extensively and curtailed in some instances—most notably the desegregation effort—many initiatives continue to have sufficient moral strength and political clout to weather the current political challenge. Much of the process of expanding federal involvement has been similar to the states' slow and initially unpopular efforts to create centrally regulated common schooling in the nineteenth century. Although the federal government's role has changed distinctly since the mid-1950s—from episodic and exhortatory involvement in precollegiate education to continual, broad-gauged, and regulatory activities—the longstanding rhetorical link between common schooling and the national interest has survived. It seems unlikely that the New Federalism will substantially reverse people's use of federal courts and national legislation to pursue educational aims.

Although we view this outcome to be generally positive, recent developments indicate that the federal government will play little or no role in solving the major educational problems of the nation. The lack of confidence in public schools, the decline in attractiveness of the teaching profession, the desperate condition of inner-city schools, and continuing separation in the schooling of blacks and whites and rich and poor cannot be met by programs and policies that operate on the periphery of the regular school program. If federal involvement is to influence these issues, the strategies and authority of the federal government would have to increase in a fashion similar to the long-range historical increase in state authority.

As a historian with an interest in policymaking and a policy analyst who witnessed the expansion of federal involvement from Washington, we would like to clarify some of the connections between historical trends and possible future trends. Judging these connections is always perilous, particularly so at this point in the nation's educational history. We can do no more than filter our selective historical account through the lens of our own values to project an image of one possible strategy for the future. Our training, our ideology, and our experience during the 1960s and 1970s incline us to centrally directed

¹⁸ The U. S. Department of Education cut off all federal education funds to Percy County, Mississippi, on April 5th, 1982, for a violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

solutions in education, especially on issues of fundamental social and constitutional importance. We also believe, on the basis of recent experience, that federal education programs cannot remain peripheral to local public school activities. On the other hand, we also acknowledge, as a lesson of the past ten years, that, though desirable, local control, local initiative, and local variation constrain the number of educational issues the federal government can address and the degree of standardization it can or should impose. Our prescription to federal policymakers, then, is simple: carefully choose educational issues that focus on basic constitutional rights and social justice; use funding and regulation to integrate those goals into the central, day-to-day activities of local schools across the nation; and construct programs that will foster local decisionmaking while transcending local variation.¹⁹

¹⁹ One example of a proposed policy that attempted to meet these criteria was Title II of the ill-fated Youth Act of 1980 proposed by the Carter administration. The act was designed to address the problems of youth illiteracy, dropouts, and unemployment in high poverty parts of the nation. The funds were to be targeted to less than one fourth of the nation's school districts and to the poorest junior and senior high schools within these districts. At the school building level, teachers and administrative staff were to be given enough time and resources to develop their own goals and building wide plans to improve the way they worked with their students. Schools with the better plans were to be given sufficient resources to carry them out. The act combined a clear national problem with provisions for local initiative. Rather than operating on the margin with supplemental programs, it would have focused on changing the way that the entire program of a school operated to better meet the needs of its failing youth. See U. S. House of Representatives, HR 671, 96th Congress, 2d sess., Title II (Washington, D. C.: 5 March 1980); and U. S. House of Representatives, Youth Act of 1980, Report to Accompany HR 671, Committee on Education and Labor, 96th Congress, 2d sess., Report No. 96-1034 (Washington, D. C.: 16 May 1980).

medicaid costs enables states and localities to reduce taxes. While federal revenue rises faster than GDP, state and local revenue rises more slowly. Policy action shifts back to Washington, along with intense lobbying by myriad interest groups, including state and local governments, for a piece of the additional federal funding. Able people seeking careers in public service, whether as civil servants, political appointees or elected officials, gravitate to Washington, because that is "where the action is."

If the "back to the sixties" federal programs were well designed and executed, they might energize the economy, accelerate productivity growth, and put the United States back on the track of higher expectations and leadership in the world community. The risks, however, are large. It is not clear that the federal government has the capacity to manage new programs that intervene in so many aspects of community life. Can Congress and the president exercise leadership in initiating so many domestic reforms and oversee their execution at the same time they are dealing with all the problems of leadership in an increasingly complex and interdependent world? Can they find a way between the twin dangers of loose federal controls that invite misallocation of funds and rigid controls that are often inappropriate in local situations? Past experience suggests strong doubts.

The most serious impact of pervasive federal activism might be on the quality of state and local government and on citizen motivation to work for change. There is certainly a danger that a "back to the sixties" scenario would reverse recent trends and lead to declining energy and capability at the state and local level. Both voters and politicians in states and localities might decide to "let Washington do it."

Whatever its advantages or disadvantages, "back to the sixties" is unlikely to occur. It would take a major shift in people's willingness to pay taxes at the federal level. Given the current antagonism toward big government and lack of clarity about which level of government has responsibility for specific functions, this reversal of attitudes toward federal taxation is hard to imagine.

Dividing the Job

The third scenario is more realistic than "back to the sixties" and more workable than either of the other two. It is based on

the premise that Washington has neither the managerial capacity nor the grass-roots support to simultaneously create a federal budget surplus, reform health financing, and implement the productivity agenda—while also managing increasingly demanding international responsibilities. It would be better to divide the job, focus the energies of the federal government on the parts of the task for which it has a distinct advantage, and rely on the states for activities they are more likely to carry out successfully.

"Dividing the job" would involve five major changes in policy. First, the federal government would take charge of reforming the nation's health financing system to accomplish two objectives: firm control of medical costs and universal health insurance. Cost control is crucial, since broadening coverage without controlling costs will only exacerbate medical inflation. Fees and reimbursement rates for all medical services would be set according to a negotiated formula that all providers would have to accept. Controlling the rate of increase of these fees and reimbursement rates would gradually reduce the rate of increase in medical spending to roughly the rate of growth of the economy as a whole. Universal coverage could be achieved by full national health insurance or, more likely, by some combination of private and public insurance. The new program would supplant medicaid, relieving state and local government of an increasing burden.

Even a limited public role would require additional federal revenues. Since these taxes, like current social security and medicare taxes, would be clearly related to identifiable benefits, they would be more acceptable to the electorate than general taxes to finance unspecified spending or deficit reduction. The health taxes should be earmarked for health services and deposited in a health insurance trust fund that would take over the spending functions now financed by medicaid and other health programs for low-income people. The size of the tax increase required would depend on the type of health financing program chosen, but even a limited reform would shift public spending for health from state and local budgets to the federal one. With successful control of medical cost inflation, it would be possible to provide health insurance for the currently uninsured without increasing total government health spending above that currently projected for the end of the decade. (For a more detailed discussion of health financing options, see chapter 9.)

Second, the states, not the federal government, would take charge of accomplishing a "productivity agenda" of reforms designed to revitalize the economy and raise incomes. These reforms would address needs such as education and skills training, child care, housing, infrastructure, and economic development. Once clearly in charge, the states would compete vigorously with each other to improve services and attract business by offering high-quality education, infrastructure, and other services.

Third, the following federal programs would be devolved to the states or gradually wither away: elementary and secondary education, job training, economic and community development, housing, most highways and other transportation, social services, and some pollution control programs. Some specific programs where federal action is needed would be retained, even expanded; for example, higher education scholarships for low-income students and federal support for scientific research, including research on learning. A few transportation functions—especially air traffic control—would remain federal. Devolving these functions would reduce federal spending by at least \$75 billion. Much more important, devolution would reduce future pressure on the federal deficit. Citizens and organizations concerned about better housing, training, and education would have to lobby in their state capitals, not Washington.

Fourth, the federal government would bring its budget from deficit into surplus (including social security). It would then be adding to national saving and reducing the federal debt held by the public. The federal deficit would be eliminated by a combination of devolving domestic programs to the states, imposing health insurance taxes and transferring medicaid spending to a health insurance trust fund, and reducing other federal spending (including defense) faster than currently projected. Interest costs would also decline. General federal taxes need not rise.

Fifth, the states, with the blessing or the assistance of the federal government, would strengthen their tax systems and increase revenue by adopting one or more common taxes (same base, same rate) and sharing the proceeds. Common shared taxes would reduce border concerns and could enhance the revenues of poorer states. One version is a uniform value-added tax (VAT), shared on a per capita basis and substituted for state retail sales

taxes. Another is a single state corporate income tax, perhaps collected by the IRS along with the federal tax, and shared on a formula basis. Another one is a shared energy tax. (These possibilities are discussed in greater detail in chapter 8.)

Compared with "back to the sixties," "dividing the job" implies a smaller federal government and a larger state-local sector. Tax increases would be required under both scenarios, since the deficit is to be reduced and more services provided in both. In "back to the sixties" all the new revenue would be raised at the federal level. In "dividing the job" additional revenue would come from a combination of new federal taxes for health insurance and increased state and local taxes for the productivity agenda.

Despite its name, the "dividing the job" scenario does not involve a return to dual federalism. There are important areas in which cooperative federalism is necessary and desirable. One of those is environmental protection. Many hazards to the environment cross state lines and cannot be satisfactorily dealt with by states and localities acting alone. Others are of largely local concern.

Welfare for families with children (AFDC) also remains a shared state and federal responsibility in this scenario. Some would argue for making AFDC federal or at least for a basic federal program that the states could supplement. Joint responsibility, however, would give both levels of government incentives to try hard to reduce welfare dependency. To this end, the states should improve education, training, and child care for welfare mothers, and the federal government should adjust the income tax to increase the after-tax rewards for low-wage work.

THE RATIONALE FOR "DIVIDING THE JOB"

A major premise underlying "dividing the job" is that citizens are anxious to revive the American dream. They want to live in an economy that provides sustainable and widely shared growth in the standard of living. They are prepared to work hard and make sacrifices to that end if they see the connection between the effort and the result. People want high-quality public services—schools that teach modern skills, retraining opportunities for workers who lose jobs, efficient transportation, health care

for those who need it—but they also want to know what happens to the taxes they pay and see some evidence close to home that public efforts make a difference.

Successful economic revitalization is hard to carry out or even to comprehend on a national scale. Many of those concerned about the lagging American economy have urged the federal government to adopt an explicit industrial policy. Proponents usually envision a huge federal bank with a board allocating funds to industries and areas. Such grandiose notions founder on closer examination, however, in part because of the sheer size and diversity of the economy. Few would trust the federal government to allocate funds wisely or nonpolitically to development projects or programs. [Washington cannot mobilize the community support, business-labor cooperation, or coordination that successful development requires.]

Governors and mayors, however, are closer to the scene. They have more ways to generate business, labor, and community support for development and put together an effective program to increase investment and jobs. The best chance of having a successful industrial policy in a country this size is to have a lot of communities, states, and regions competing with each other to improve their own economic prospects.

Several scholars of federalism have argued that states are currently better suited than the federal government to undertake the economic development policies needed to ensure successful American competition in a global economy. David R. Beam has pointed out that although Americans came to rely on Washington for economic policy leadership in the Great Depression, the federal government did not have the answers when the economy began faltering in the 1970s.² The "supply-side" tax cutting of the early 1980s left the federal government with a paralyzing deficit. A national industrial policy was rejected out of fear that federal government efforts to choose and foster industrial "winners," as the Japanese supposedly do, would result in the government handing out political favors at taxpayers' expense. Meanwhile,

2. David R. Beam, "Reinventing Federalism: State-Local Government Roles in the New Economic Order," paper prepared for the 1988 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.

however, states moved aggressively to improve their own economies and revenue bases. They set up public investment and venture capital funds, fostered technology and innovation, and sent missions abroad to attract foreign investment and promote regional exports. The new state development efforts emphasized skill training, education reform, business-university partnerships, and better transportation, rather than tax concessions to business.

Beam concluded that states are likely to do a better job in the economic development role than the federal government and ventures this hypothesis:

Under conditions of global competition and rapid technological change, a large nation composed of multiple political and economic centers, each striving to secure its own economic advantage, will be better able to advance the welfare of its citizens than a large nation dominated by a single political and economic center.³

In an earlier study, Paul Peterson and his colleagues examined federal grant programs in an attempt to discriminate between types of programs for which intergovernmental cooperation was productive and those for which it was counterproductive or unnecessary.⁴ They found that "development programs" (vocational education, hospital construction, community development) were enthusiastically supported by state and local officials and easy to administer cooperatively. The federal government allowed state and local officials substantial discretion in using the money, and all parties thought the relationships were working well. ["Redistributive programs" (compensatory education, rent subsidies, health maintenance organizations; special education) were much more contentious. These programs were directed at special groups with little political clout and mandated new kinds of services. States and localities usually tried diverting the funds to more general purposes. Then federal officials tightened the guidelines. Cooperation took time and effort.]

Peterson and his coauthors concluded that federal development programs were unnecessary, except in occasional cases

3. Beam, "Reinventing Federalism," p. 16.

4. Paul E. Peterson, Barry G. Rabe, and Kenneth K. Wong, *When Federalism Works* (Brookings, 1986).

where the benefits spilled across state borders in a major way. In general, these programs would be undertaken by states and localities and run in much the same way without federal prodding. The "redistributive programs," however, accomplished national purposes that states and localities were resisting and would not have addressed without persistent intervention from Washington. The authors urged refocusing federal domestic policy to emphasize redistribution while confining federal economic development efforts to a few special cases.

This analysis suggests a major worry about "dividing the job," often expressed by traditional liberals, that states will neglect the less fortunate, particularly by retreating from federal efforts to improve the life chances of poor children. The fear has some basis, but poor and minority young people will not be left out if states play an aggressive role in economic development. Improving education, skills, and opportunities for the future labor force necessarily involves concentrating on the futures of low-income and minority young people, because they will make up such a large part of that labor force. Indeed, effective action to improve the skills and job prospects of the poor, especially young people, seems more likely if it is seen as essential to community and state economic development than if it is seen as federally funded redistribution policy.

Moreover, "dividing the job" does not involve federal abandonment of the poor. Low-income people would benefit most from universal health insurance. Most uninsured workers are in low-wage jobs, and one of the barriers to leaving welfare is fear of losing medicaid without gaining employer-provided health insurance. The federal food stamp program and joint federal-state funding of AFDC would also remain.

TWO PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS TO SORT OUT RESPONSIBILITIES

The idea of reexamining federal and state responsibilities is, of course, not a new one. In the 1970s and 1980s, concern with the proliferation of grants and the confusion of state and local roles led two presidents to propose new ways of sorting out the jobs.

Nixon's New Federalism

The administration of President Nixon, at least until it was paralyzed by the Watergate scandal and the ensuing impeachment proceedings, put unusual emphasis on improving the efficiency and effectiveness of government. Nixon's first term (1969–73) was a high watermark for White House concern with evaluation of program results, experimentation with policy innovation, and serious discussion of alternative ways of structuring responsibilities—both within Washington and between the federal and state levels—to make government work more efficiently.

Nixon's conservative ideology led him to emphasize sorting out federal and state functions more clearly, a concept he called New Federalism. He espoused a stronger role for the federal government in income maintenance and health care, although neither his family assistance plan nor his health proposals ever passed Congress. He believed in returning decisionmaking power to the states by cutting the number of categorical grants and providing federal aid to the states with fewer strings. In addition to general revenue sharing, he proposed a series of consolidations of categorical grant programs called "special revenue sharing." One hundred and twenty-nine separate programs were to be grouped into six block grants that the states could use for broad purposes such as education, transportation, and law enforcement, with relatively little interference from Washington.

The block grants had little success in Congress. Lobbyists for existing categorical programs fought to preserve their separate identity. In the end, only two of the proposed block grants were enacted, both in somewhat altered form. The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973 pulled together various manpower training programs, most enacted in the 1960s, into a single grant. The community development block grant program, which subsumed model cities and other funds for urban renewal, was passed by Congress and signed by President Gerald Ford in 1974.

The Reagan Swap Proposal

President Reagan's first year was dominated by his dramatic budget proposals (see chapter 6). Then in his second State of the