

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	Notes (partial) (1 page)	n.d.	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Domestic Policy Council
Andrew Rotherham (Education)
OA/Box Number: 21293

FOLDER TITLE:

Hispanic Conference 05/20-05/25

2011-0103-S

rc144

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

TO: Maria Echaveste

FROM: Julie Anderson (OPL), Irma Martinez (Cabinet Affairs), Jackie Lain (IGA)

RE: **UPDATE #1: Deliverables for the White House Conference on Hispanic Education**

DATE: May 23, 2000

Attached is an action list of resources to tap for "commitments" or deliverables from the public and private sectors for the White House Conference on Hispanic Education on June 15. These commitments will include new initiatives, programs, publications or research for each goal that can be used to improve the state of education for Hispanic students. **This will be updated with new resources and contacts on a daily basis.** If you have any questions or require additional information, please contact Irma (67025), Julie (63771) or Jackie (65084).

1. Ensure that all Hispanic American children have access to high quality early childhood education and development programs and enter school prepared to succeed by eliminating the gap between the Hispanic participation rate and the national participation rate in high quality programs by 2010. NOTE: Julie Anderson of OPL is taking the lead on securing commitments from the organizations listed below.

COMMITMENTS:

- **American Association of Museums (AAM):** Jason Hall of AAM is interested in providing a deliverable for the conference by partnering schools with large Hispanic populations with representatives from local museums. Hold for Barry Szczesny to finalize specifics of commitment on May 29.
- **American Library Association (ALA):** Emily Sheketoff of the American Library Association has made the following commitments on behalf of her organization:
 - (a) Offer model programs on how to provide excellent service to the Hispanic community;
 - (b) Establish an award which promotes excellence in children's literature that reflects the Latino culture, and by 2010, elevate the award's prestige to the level of the Newberry or Caldecott awards; and
 - (c) ALA members will appear and speak at other organization's meetings and conferences to demonstrate how to create similar programs in their organizations.

- **National PTA:** Maribeth Oakes of the National PTA suggested two publications that are already in print and are available in Spanish—*Parent Involvement Quality Indicators* and the tip sheet *Ten Ways Parents Can Be Involved*. The National PTA was also open to the suggestion of a public awareness campaign that targets Hispanic parents in New York, Florida, Texas and California. Maribeth suggested that a senior White House official contact PTA President Ginny Markell at (312) 670-6782 to discuss this possibility.

RESOURCES:

- **Department of Education's America Reads Challenge (literacy initiative):** 40,000 Read*Write*Now! posters are available in Spanish. The poster includes a colorful illustration on the front and a set of fun reading activities for children in grades K-6 on the back. A flyer with instructions on how to order this year's version of the poster will also be available for distribution.
 - **Department of Education's Partnership for Family Involvement in Education (PFIE) initiative:** PFIE's publication *Questions Parents Ask About Schools* is available in Spanish. This publication highlights teachers' expectations and student workload at each grade level, as well as how parents can help their children succeed in the classroom and prepare for college.
2. With respect to the importance of multilingualism, age-specific learning needs, and different instructional approaches, by 2010 states and school districts will ensure that all students graduate from high school having demonstrated proficiency in English.
 - **Contact a major Union, AFL-CIO, Dennis Rivera's Union, etc. and have them partner with a business in order to provide ESL classes for parents and their children.** (Irma Martinez and Jackie Lain. Maria Echaveste will contact AFL-CIO.)
 3. Eliminate the achievement gap between Hispanic students and other students on state assessments by 2010 by providing the high quality education with the resources and systems that ensure equal opportunities for all.

COMMITMENTS:

- **Department of Education's America Counts Challenge (math and science initiative):** The publication *Improving Mathematics Achievement: What Parents and Families Can Do* will be translated into Spanish and printed for distribution by June 15. (Julie Anderson)
- **Contact Henry Cisneros about his ideas on bridging the digital divide.** On two occasions, during the New Economy conference and during the President's visit to East Palo Alto on the New Markets tour, Mr. Cisneros has expressed concern that the federal government must partner with the private sector to provide internet content relevant to the Latino community. Mr. Cisneros has issued the challenge to us and we should speak to him about what Univision can do to fulfill these goals. (Irma Martinez and Jackie Lain. Maria Echaveste will contact Henry Cisneros.)

RESOURCES:

- **Department of Education's Office of Educational Technology** is hosting a meeting with faith and community leaders on June 12 to address digital divide issues. LULAC and La Raza are invited to participate. The meeting will conclude with a list of commitments to education and bridging the digital divide. Some of these commitments may be used for our June 15 conference. Still pending. (Julie Anderson)
4. Eliminate the gap in the high school completion rate between Hispanic students and the national average by 2010. NOTE: James Kvaal of DPC is working with Audrey Choi on identifying drop-out rate within Latino community and its cost to our countries' productivity. This data should help us in attracting potential private sector partners.

COMMITMENTS:

- **Lightspan** is interested in partnering with HUD's Neighborhood Networks. This initiative creates opportunities for education and training to low-income residents, and we could highlight a Neighborhood Network in a predominantly Latino housing project. NOTE: Brian Barreto and Irma had an initial meeting with Eileen Rosenthal of Lightspan. The company is eager to be part of the June 15 conference as its founder is already heavily invested in helping the Latino community. They are researching other possible deliverables. (Irma Martinez and Jackie Lain and Brian Barreto)

RESOURCES:

- **Department of Education's 21st Century Community Learning Center (after-school) program:** Still pending. (Julie Anderson)
5. Double the percentage of Hispanic Americans who earn Associate's and the percentage of Hispanic Americans who earn Bachelor's degrees.

COMMITMENTS:

- **Contact Sarah Martinez Tucker**, President of the National Hispanic Scholarship Fund regarding her ideas of who within the Foundations/Private Sector we can tap for additional resources in order to facilitate NHSF's plan to set up satellite offices through-out the country. In addition to rewarding scholarships, NHSF also plans to do more with local schools to prepare Latinos for college from an early age. (Irma Martinez and Jackie Lain. Maria Echaveste will contact Sarah Martinez Tucker.)

RESOURCES:

- **Department of Education's "Think College Early" flyer** *Charting a Course for College is available in Spanish*. This flyer provides financial aid information for students and their parents. The Department's publication *Getting Ready for College Early* is also available in Spanish. (Julie Anderson)

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National Goals for Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans

- Ensure that all Hispanic American children have access to high quality early childhood education and development programs and enter school prepared to succeed by eliminating the gap between the Hispanic participation rate and the national participation rate in high quality programs by 2010. *TO AT THE RE NNN*
- Respecting the importance of multilingualism age-specific learning needs, and different research-based instructional approaches, and the variety of developmental levels at which limited English proficient (LEP) children enter school, by 2010 all states and school districts will provide appropriate language instruction to ensure that all students graduate from high school having demonstrated proficiency in English.
- Provide a high quality education with appropriate resources and support to ensure equal opportunity for all students in order to eliminate the achievement gap between Hispanic students and other students on appropriate state assessments and other indicators by 2010.
- Increase the high school completion rate for Hispanic students to the national average by 2010.
- Double the annual percentage of Hispanic Americans who earn Associate's and Bachelor's degrees by 2010.

Examples of key strategies by sector:

Federal, state and local governments:

- Increase investment in educational programs that work for Hispanic children.
- Allocate and target resources more effectively.

Private sector:

- Partner with schools and institutions of higher education to provide mentors, tutors, internships, scholarships, part-time jobs, continuing education courses and other educational supports.
- Support adult involvement in education with flexible schedules, leave for parent-teacher conferences, worksite schools, childcare centers and other supports.

Foundations:

- Support cohesive, collaborative and comprehensive research on "what works" for Hispanic children.
- Support replication of successful programs supporting education and success for Hispanic children and families.

Educators:

- Insist on high expectations for every child, and offer every child the support to achieve academic and other success.
- Ensure a qualified, well-prepared, talented, supported and committed teacher in every classroom.

Nonprofit organizations:

- Use networks to communicate important information about the value of education, the possibilities for long-term academic success and effective practices for supporting Hispanic students.
- Partner with schools, businesses and others to support networks and activities that help Hispanic students succeed.

Individuals:

- Get involved with children's learning as a parent, tutor, mentor, educator, employer, or community partner.
- Lobby educators, businesses, legislators and nonprofit organizations to adopt, invest in, expand or continue practices that successfully support Hispanic students.

PRESIDENT CLINTON VISITS NATION'S FIRST PUBLIC CHARTER SCHOOL, ANNOUNCES NEW STEPS TO SUPPORT CHARTER SCHOOLS

May 4, 2000

Today President Clinton will visit the City Academy public charter school in St. Paul, Minnesota, to highlight the success of the charter school movement and to unveil new steps to help charters. City Academy is the nation's first charter school and was the only charter school in operation when the President was first elected in 1992. Thanks in part to the Administration's leadership, there are now over 1,700 charter schools. Today the President will meet with students from City Academy, release an Executive Memorandum directing the Secretary of Education to develop guidelines for businesses and faith-based organizations to help charter schools succeed, announce the release of \$16 million in new grants and \$121 million in continuation grants for charter schools, and participate in an online webside chat with students from around the country. May 1-5 is National Charter Schools Week and the President will take this opportunity to challenge communities to create more high quality public charter schools to increase choice and competition in public education.

CHARTER SCHOOLS: IMPROVING PUBLIC EDUCATION AND EMPOWERING PARENTS.

Public charter schools exemplify a standards-based approach to education. Every charter school works with a public authority to establish clear performance standards. A charter school that fails to meet the terms of its charter is closed down. The federal government helps fund charter schools through the Department of Education's Public Charter Schools Program. The program, reauthorized with the President's leadership in 1998, gives priority to states that have strong standards for academic accountability. Charter schools receiving funding from the federal government must be measured by the same state assessments as any other public school. A recent national survey found that 65 percent of parents rated their child's public charter school as better than their former public school (only 6 percent rated them worse), and the Education Department reports that seven out of ten charter schools have a waiting list of students who want to enroll.

AWARDING NEW GRANTS TO EXPAND THE CHARTER SCHOOL MOVEMENT. President Clinton has long been a champion of charter schools. When he was first elected, there was only one public charter school open in the United States. Now, thanks in part to almost \$400 million in federal funding and efforts to disseminate effective strategies, there are now 1,700. Thirty-six states, Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia now have laws on the books that enable the creation of charter schools. The President's FY 2001 budget includes a \$30 million increase in funding for charters, bringing total funding to \$175 million annually. Today, the President will announce the release of \$16 million in new grants to charter schools and \$121 million in continuation grants. Local charter schools use federal funding for planning, development, and start-up costs.

DRAWING SUPPORT FROM BUSINESSES AND FAITH-BASED GROUPS. The President today will also release an Executive Memorandum that calls on the Secretary of Education to develop guidelines explaining how business groups and faith-based organizations can be involved with charter schools. The President believes that employers can play a key role in helping launch and sustain charter schools, and the proposed guidelines will help local businesses understand how they can be involved. There are now more than 100 employer-linked charters nationwide. Likewise, although charter schools must be non-sectarian in their admissions and practices, faith-based groups can play a positive role in creating and supporting public charter schools. There are successful partnerships between public schools and faith communities across the nation in after-school programs, school safety, discipline and student literacy.

ONLINE WEBSITE CHAT WITH STUDENTS FROM AROUND THE COUNTRY. While at City Academy, the President will participate in a live "Webside Chat," hosted by ChannelOne.com, with middle school and high school students from across the country. In the tradition of President Franklin Roosevelt's Fireside Chats, the President will use the latest technology to communicate directly with students on a range of topics. Last fall, the President conducted his first live Internet chat. He plans to host other "Webside Chats" on other vital issues.

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

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Fri A.M.



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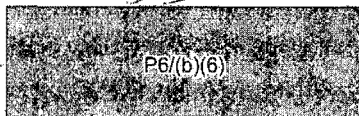
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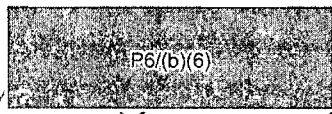
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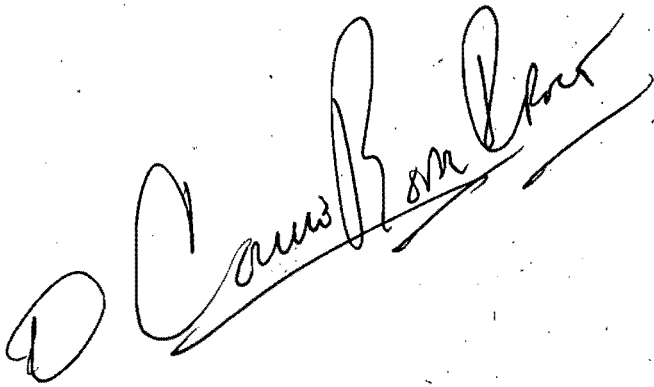
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DRAFT

National Goals for Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans

- Ensure that Hispanic American children have access to high quality early childhood education and development programs and enter school prepared to succeed by increasing the Hispanic participation rate to the national participation rate in high quality programs by 2010.
- Respecting the importance of multilingualism, age-specific learning needs, different research-based instructional approaches, and the variety of developmental levels at which limited English proficient (LEP) children enter school, by 2010 all states and school districts will provide appropriate language instruction to ensure that all students graduate from high school having demonstrated proficiency in English.
- Provide a high quality education with appropriate resources and support to ensure equal opportunity for all students in order to eliminate the achievement gap between Hispanic students and other students on appropriate state assessments and other indicators by 2010.
- *Increase the high school completion rate for Hispanic students to 90 percent by 2010.
[PENDING ECHAVESTE CONVERSATION WITH HINOJOSA]*
- Double the percentage of Hispanic Americans who earn Associate's and Bachelor's degrees by 2010.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Carlos Romo", is written over a horizontal line. The signature is stylized and cursive.

GOALS
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GOAL MEETING

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— RESUME / PROMISE PARTNERS
— GOALS STRATEGIES

COMMITMENTS — WHO THE
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FUNDING

NAVIGATING / PARTS / SILENT ETC...

MSU FORKS

5-18-00 7:23AM REP. RUBEN HINOJOSA
RUBÉN HINOJOSA
15TH DISTRICT, TEXAS

COMMITTEES:
EDUCATION AND THE WORKFORCE

POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION,
TRAINING, AND LIFE-LONG LEARNING

EARLY CHILDHOOD, YOUTH AND FAMILIES

SMALL BUSINESS

TAX, FINANCE, AND EXPORTS

GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS AND OVERSIGHT

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-4315

Congressman Rubén Hinojosa
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Fax: 202-225-5688

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PHONE: (956) 682-5545
FAX: (956) 682-0141

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BEEVILLE, TX 78102
PHONE: (361) 358-8400
FAX: (361) 358-8407

Facsimile Cover Sheet

Date: 5/18/00 Time: _____

Total number of pages: 4

To: Kindra

Fax: 456-5581 Phone: _____

Congressman Rubén Hinojosa _____

Rita Jaramillo _____
Diana Rodriguez _____
Jason Roth _____
David Gruber _____
Intern _____

Anton Papich _____
Carla Buckner ☒ _____
Dori Travieso _____
Melissa Maldonado _____

Comments: Kindra - here is the revised goal language,
per Cong. Hinojosa. Please call me to let me know
where we are on the redrafting. I'm also sending this
to Mark Magaña.

Original White House Draft Goals	White House Revised Goals	My Recommendation for Changes
Ensure that all Hispanic American children have access to high quality early childhood education and development programs and enter school prepared to succeed by eliminating the gap between the Hispanic participation rate and the national participation rate in high quality programs by 2010.	No changes. <i>Focus on Hispanic</i>	Ensure that all Hispanic American children have access to high quality early childhood education and development programs and enter school prepared to succeed ~~by eliminating the gap between the Hispanic participation rate and the national participation rate in high quality programs~~ by 2010. <i>Rationale: We should not "peg" Hispanic participation to anyone else's performance. We want to focus on raising Hispanic participation in and of itself, regardless of anyone else's participation rate.</i>
Respecting the value of multilingualism, different learning styles, and different instructional approaches, by 2010 states and school districts will ensure that all students graduate from high school demonstrating proficiency in English.	No changes. <i>Remove the immersion</i>	With respect to the value of multilingualism, ~~different age-specific learning styles capabilities, and different instructional approaches,~~ by 2010 states and school districts will ensure that all students <u>graduate from high school demonstrating proficiency in English are provided age-appropriate language instruction.</u> <i>Rationale: This shifts the focus away from simply learning English, and places it on appropriate instruction, which if achieved, will result in proficiency in reading, writing, and speaking English. It also leaves room for immersion programs, dual language instruction, and special needs children. It further shifts the burden from children to the schools.</i>

Original White House Draft Goals	White House Revised Goals	My Recommendation for Changes
Eliminate the achievement gap between Hispanic students and other students on state assessments by 2010 by providing a high-quality education with resources and systems that ensure equal opportunities for all.	No changes.	No suggestions. <i>Rationale: I think it is OK to make a comparison here because how a student scores on state assessment examinations directly relates to how the school is ranked. We should not eliminate state assessments, and since we cannot do that, we should work toward eliminating any achievement gap between Hispanic students and other groups.</i>
Eliminate the gap in the high school completion rate between Hispanic students and the national average by 2010.	No changes. <i>100%</i> <i>100%</i>	Eliminate the gap in <u>Increase</u> the high school completion rate between <u>for</u> Hispanic students <u>and the national average to 90 percent</u> by 2010. <i>Rationale: Simplifies the goal into a quantifiable one that sets a specific, reachable goal. Note that no one population has 100% high school completion rate, so setting it at 100% is unrealistic and unobtainable. Further, it can be revised at 2010 if we have reached the goal.</i>

Original White House Draft Goals	White House Revised Goals	My Recommendation for Changes
Make progress toward eliminating the gap between the average rate of college completion for Hispanic Americans and the national average by 2010 by at least doubling both the percentage of Hispanic Americans who earn associates degrees and the percentage of Hispanic Americans who earn bachelors degrees.	No changes.	~~Make progress toward eliminating the gap between the average rate of college completion for Hispanic Americans and the national average by 2010 by at least Doubling~~ both the percentage of Hispanic Americans who earn associates ~~degrees~~ and the ~~percentage of Hispanic Americans who earn bachelors degrees by~~ <u>2010</u>. <i>Rationale: It is much simpler to measure, and again shifts the focus away from competition with "others" and to Hispanic performance. This adds a positive message that it doesn't matter what other groups do, we need to focus on our own performance in and of itself.</i>

2 ISSUES

o Quantitative

o Qualitative to what?

April 2000						
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Calendar

Time	Monday 22	Tuesday 23	Wednesday 24	Thursday 25	Friday 26	Saturday 27	Sunday 28
8:00				Weekly DPC memo due tonight	DELEWARE		
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8:45							
9:00							
9:15		DPC staff meeting	Bethany/JB/Kendra	DPC Staff Meeting 211	maria meeting		
9:30							
9:45							
10:00	Team Leaders Meetings in Bruce's Office	Stinson's group here (KB)	panelist meeting in my office				
10:15			Eileen Rosenthal				
10:30							
10:45							
11:00					Hisp. Conf meeting		
11:15							
11:30		conf. meeting my office	Scott Palmer from OCR				
11:45			Alex Medler				
12:00 PM			Hinojosa Meeting				
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June 2000						
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25	26	27	28	29	30	

Calendar

Time	Monday 29	Tuesday 30	Wednesday 31	Thursday 1	Friday 2	Saturday 3	Sunday 4
8:00				Weekly DPC memo due tonight	Joe O here		
8:15							
8:30							
8:45							
9:00							
9:15		DPC staff meeting	Bethany JB/Kendra	DPC Staff Meeting 211			
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10:00	Team Leaders Meetings in Bruce's Office						
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High School Completion Rates of 18 to 24-year-olds not currently enrolled
in high school or below, by race-ethnicity: October 1972-October 1998

Year	Total (%)	% change	White, NH	% change	Black, NH	% change	Hispanic	% change
1972	82.8		86		72.1		56.2	
1973	83.7	1%	87	1%	71.6	-1%	58.7	4%
1974	83.6	0%	86.7	0%	73	2%	60.1	2%
1975	83.8	0%	87.2	1%	70.2	-4%	62.2	3%
1976	83.5	0%	86.4	-1%	73.5	5%	60.3	-3%
1977	83.6	0%	86.7	0%	73.9	1%	58.6	-3%
1978	83.6	0%	86.9	0%	73.4	-1%	58.8	0%
1979	83.1	-1%	86.6	0%	72.6	-1%	58.5	-1%
1980	83.9	1%	87.5	1%	75.2	4%	57.1	-2%
1981	83.8	0%	87.1	0%	76.7	2%	59.1	4%
1982	83.8	0%	87	0%	76.4	0%	60.9	3%
1983	83.9	0%	87.4	0%	76.8	1%	59.4	-2%
1984	84.7	1%	87.5	0%	80.3	5%	63.7	7%
1985	85.4	1%	88.2	1%	81	1%	66.6	5%
1986	85.5	0%	88.8	1%	81.8	1%	63.5	-5%
1987	84.7	-1%	87.7	-1%	81.9	0%	65.1	3%
1988	84.5	0%	88.7	1%	80.9	-1%	58.2	-11%
1989	84.7	0%	89	0%	81.9	1%	59.4	2%
1990	85.6	1%	89.6	1%	83.2	2%	59.1	-1%
1991	84.9	-1%	89.4	0%	82.5	-1%	56.5	-4%
1992	86.4	2%	90.7	1%	82	-1%	62.1	10%
1993	86.2	0%	90.1	-1%	81.9	0%	64.4	4%
1994	85.8	0%	90.7	1%	83.3	2%	61.8	-4%
1995	85.3	-1%	89.8	-1%	84.5	1%	62.8	2%
1996	86.2	1%	91.5	2%	83	-2%	61.9	-1%
1997	85.9	0%	90.5	-1%	82	-1%	66.7	8%
1998	84.8	-1%	90.2	0%	81.4	-1%	62.8	-6%

Source: US Census Data

High School Completion Rates of 18 to 24-year-olds not currently enrolled
in high school or below, by race-ethnicity: October 1972-October 1998

Year	Total (%)	White, NH	Black, NH	Hispanic
1972	82.8	86	72.1	56.2
1973	83.7	87	71.6	58.7
1974	83.6	86.7	73	60.1
1975	83.8	87.2	70.2	62.2
1976	83.5	86.4	73.5	60.3
1977	83.6	86.7	73.9	58.6
1978	83.6	86.9	73.4	58.8
1979	83.1	86.6	72.6	58.5
1980	83.9	87.5	75.2	57.1
1981	83.8	87.1	76.7	59.1
1982	83.8	87	76.4	60.9
1983	83.9	87.4	76.8	59.4
1984	84.7	87.5	80.3	63.7
1985	85.4	88.2	81	66.6
1986	85.5	88.8	81.8	63.5
1987	84.7	87.7	81.9	65.1
1988	84.5	88.7	80.9	58.2
1989	84.7	89	81.9	59.4
1990	85.6	89.6	83.2	59.1
1991	84.9	89.4	82.5	56.5
1992	86.4	90.7	82	62.1
1993	86.2	90.1	81.9	64.4
1994	85.8	90.7	83.3	61.8
1995	85.3	89.8	84.5	62.8
1996	86.2	91.5	83	61.9
1997	85.9	90.5	82	66.7
1998	84.8	90.2	81.4	62.8

% change for White Non-Hispanics

1978-98=	4%
1978-88=	2%
1988-98=	2%
1980-90=	2%
1990-98=	1%

% change for Black Non-Hispanics

1978-98=	11%
1978-88=	10%
1988-98=	1%
1980-90=	11%
1990-98=	-2%

% change for Hispanics

1978-98=	7%
1978-88=	-1%
1988-98=	8%
1980-90=	4%
1990-98=	6%

Percentage of 25-to 29-year old high school graduates who have completed 4 or more years of college (Bachelor's Degree or higher), by race/ethnicity. March 1971-1996.

	ALL		WHITE		BLACK		HISPANIC	
March	Total	% change	Total	% change	Total	% change	Total	% change
1971	22	0.077273	23.1	0.077922	11.5	0.13913	10.5	-0.257143
1972	23.7	-0.004219	24.9	-0.004016	13.1	-0.030534	7.8	0.384615
1973	23.6	0.0720339	24.8	0.096774	12.7	-0.094488	10.8	-0.064815
1974	25.3	0.0395257	27.2	0.011029	11.5	0.278261	10.1	0.643564
1975	26.3	0.0646388	27.5	0.065455	14.7	0.197279	16.6	-0.23494
1976	28	0.0035714	29.3	0.017065	17.6	-0.039773	12.7	-0.094488
1977	28.1	-0.02847	29.8	-0.030201	16.9	-0.100592	11.5	0.486957
1978	27.3	-0.010989	28.9	-0.010381	15.2	0.092105	17.1	-0.245614
1979	27	-0.025926	28.6	-0.020979	16.6	-0.096386	12.9	0.023256
1980	26.3	-0.060837	28	-0.060714	15	-0.006667	13.2	-0.05303
1981	24.7	0.0202429	26.3	0.015209	14.9	0.04698	12.5	0.272
1982	25.2	0.0396825	26.7	0.026217	15.6	0.038462	15.9	0.119497
1983	26.2	-0.026718	27.4	-0.014599	16.2	-0.08642	17.8	0.016854
1984	25.5	0.0078431	27	0.011111	14.8	-0.027027	18.1	0.005525
1985	25.7	0.0116732	27.3	0.029304	14.4	-0.013889	18.2	-0.159341
1986	26	-0.015385	28.1	-0.017794	14.2	-0.028169	15.3	-0.052288
1987	25.6	0.03125	27.6	0.014493	13.8	0.072464	14.5	0.248276
1988	26.4	0.0340909	28	0.053571	14.8	0.040541	18.1	-0.088398
1989	27.3	-0.007326	29.5	-0.00678	15.4	0.064935	16.5	-0.151515
1990	27.1	0.00369	29.3	0.013652	16.4	-0.182927	14	0.164286
1991	27.2	0.0036765	29.7	0.010101	13.4	0.022388	16.3	-0.042945
1992	27.3	0	30	-0.006667	13.7	0.175182	15.6	-0.128205
1993	27.3	-0.010989	29.8	-0.003356	16.1	0.006211	13.6	-0.022059
1994	27	0.0518519	29.7	0.050505	16.2	0.098765	13.3	0.165414
1995	28.4	0.0950704	31.2	0.092949	17.8	-0.044944	15.5	0.058065
1996	31.1		34.1		17		16.4	

Source: The Condition of Education
1996

Percentage of 25- to 29-year-old high school graduates who have completed 4 or more years of college, by race/ethnicity and sex: March 1971-96 (Bachelor's Degree or higher)

March	All			White			Black			Hispanic			F
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	
1971	22.0	25.8	18.1	23.1	27.0	19.1	11.5	12.1	10.9	10.5	15.4	5.8	
1972	23.7	27.3	20.2	24.9	28.6	21.1	13.1	11.6	14.3	7.8	9.5	6.4	
1973	23.6	26.8	20.5	24.8	28.3	21.3	12.7	11.3	13.8	10.8	12.4	9.7	
1974	25.3	28.7	21.8	27.2	31.1	23.2	11.5	12.3	11.0	10.1	8.9	11.2	
1975	26.3	29.7	22.9	27.5	31.1	23.7	14.7	15.3	14.2	16.6	19.7	13.4	
1976	28.0	32.0	24.1	29.3	33.5	25.0	17.6	16.5	18.6	12.7	17.9	8.2	
1977	28.1	31.2	25.1	29.8	33.4	26.3	16.9	16.5	17.3	11.5	11.3	11.7	
1978	27.3	30.2	24.4	28.9	32.6	25.3	15.2	13.6	16.5	17.1	16.4	17.9	
1979	27.0	29.9	24.2	28.6	31.6	25.5	16.6	17.8	15.7	12.9	14.2	11.4	
1980	26.3	28.1	24.5	28.0	30.1	26.0	15.0	14.0	15.8	13.2	15.0	11.8	
1981	24.7	26.6	22.8	26.3	28.4	24.2	14.9	15.4	14.5	12.5	14.4	10.9	
1982	25.2	26.9	23.4	26.7	28.8	24.6	15.6	14.6	16.4	15.9	17.8	14.2	
1983	26.2	27.8	24.6	27.4	29.4	25.4	16.2	16.5	15.9	17.8	16.8	18.8	
1984	25.5	27.1	24.0	27.0	28.5	25.4	14.8	17.1	13.0	18.1	17.0	19.2	
1985	25.7	26.9	24.6	27.3	28.6	26.0	14.4	12.9	15.6	18.2	18.6	17.7	
1986	26.0	26.7	25.3	28.1	29.1	27.1	14.2	11.9	16.3	15.3	15.4	15.2	
1987	25.6	26.1	25.2	27.6	28.0	27.1	13.8	14.0	13.6	14.5	15.7	13.4	
1988	26.4	27.6	25.2	28.0	29.1	26.9	14.8	15.3	14.4	18.1	19.8	16.3	
1989	27.3	28.3	26.5	29.5	30.5	28.5	15.4	15.0	15.6	16.5	15.7	17.2	
1990	27.1	28.0	26.2	29.3	30.0	28.6	16.4	18.6	14.5	14.0	12.9	15.2	
1991	27.2	27.0	27.3	29.7	29.7	29.8	13.4	13.7	13.1	16.3	14.4	18.1	
1992	27.3	26.9	27.8	30.0	29.5	30.4	13.7	14.2	13.2	15.6	14.3	17.0	
1993	27.3	27.2	27.4	29.8	30.0	29.5	16.1	14.8	17.2	13.6	12.1	15.3	
1994	27.0	26.6	27.4	29.7	29.8	29.6	16.2	14.0	17.9	13.3	11.3	15.5	
1995	28.4	28.4	28.5	31.2	30.9	31.4	17.8	19.7	16.1	15.5	14.0	17.1	
1996	31.1	30.2	32.0	34.1	33.6	34.7	17.0	13.9	19.6	16.4	17.1	15.6	

Addressing the Future of Hispanic Education

"Excelencia Para Todos—Excellence for All: The Progress of Hispanic Education and the Challenges of a New Century" is the title of Education Secretary Richard Riley's groundbreaking address on March 15 at Bell Multicultural Senior High School. Excerpts of the speech follow:

[W]hen we talk about Hispanic Americans we are speaking about individuals from more than 20 different nations, with countless dialects, different skin colors, and varying tastes in food and music....

Regardless of these differences, there is one unifying factor in their lives: education, the primary and shared source of hope, opportunity and success. It is our duty as a nation to ensure that the Hispanic community has every opportunity to achieve a quality education and the success that can accompany it....

There are no simple solutions. It will require a comprehensive focus on education from pre-K to postgraduate levels; from childhood to adulthood; in school, after school, and at home; and all the time with the support of the community....

It is high time we begin to treat language skills as the asset they are, particularly in this global economy. Anything that encourages a person to know more than one language is positive—and should be treated as such. Perhaps we should begin to call the learning of a second language what it truly is—"bi-literacy"....

That is why I am challenging our nation to increase the number of dual-language schools to at least 1,000 over the next five years, and with strong federal, state and local support we can have many more....

[However]... 54 percent of all teachers have limited English proficient (LEP) students in their classrooms, yet only one-fifth of teachers feel very prepared to serve them....

We need teachers who not only know more than one language but also have the background and training to maximize the learning potential of students with diverse backgrounds. We need teachers who, when they see a Latino child—or any minority student—have high expectations and visualize great achievements for that child....

While the achievement gap between Hispanic and white children remains high, progress is

[nonetheless] evident... Hispanics have made significant gains on NAEP math assessments at all levels and greater gains in science than their white peers. And Hispanic Americans have more than quadrupled their enrollment in higher education over the last two decades, although they are still vastly underrepresented....

The best schools are those that operate as centers of the community for both children and adults. They are schools that are supported by community centers, and after-school programs that enhance educational opportunities....

The heart of the Latino community is the family. Parents must be supported in guiding their children to take challenging courses and in providing them the support to stay in school and go on to college....

To be fully engaged in learning in the 21st century, all students need access to the most modern learning tools—the computer and the Internet—and every teacher needs to be well trained to use and teach them effectively....

Technology is not a substitute for solid teaching and learning of the basics like reading and writing, science and math. But it does offer a way to enhance traditional learning; to open the doors to the best libraries and museums, particularly for students in disadvantaged schools, and to raise achievement levels....

...In closing, I would like

to mention a recent comment by a Latino educator who noted that "young children learn from the very beginning that they have the power to influence their world." I suspect it is education that gives them this power.

This year, the administration committed more than \$8 billion to programs that support the Hispanic Education Action Plan (\$800 million in new dollars).

We must forge solutions and create opportunities for Hispanic Americans for the new century, just as we have done for so many other groups pursuing the American Dream throughout our history.

When we achieve this, when we transcend stereotypes and overcome the tyranny of low expectations, then we will be able to guarantee everyone the key civil right for the 21st century—a quality education.

A full copy of the speech is available at <http://www.ed.gov/Speeches/03-2000/000315.html>. 

Five Challenges for Hispanic Education

1. Learning English and at least one other language to become bi-literate in the 21st century
2. Finding new ways of teaching including hiring quality teachers and implementing small classes and small schools
3. Lowering the dropout rate through early intervention
4. Increasing community and family involvement
5. Constructing a future with modern buildings and technology in every classroom

In just five years, Hispanics will be the largest U.S. minority. By 2050, nearly one-quarter of our population will be Hispanic.

EMBARGOED UNTIL JUNE 15, 2000 10AM

National Goals for Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans

- Ensure that Hispanic American children have access to high quality early childhood education and development programs and enter school prepared to succeed by increasing the Hispanic participation rate to the national participation rate in high quality programs by 2010.
- Respecting the importance of multilingualism, age-specific learning needs, different research-based instructional approaches, and the variety of developmental levels at which limited English proficient (LEP) children enter school, by 2010 all states and school districts will provide appropriate language instruction to ensure that all students graduate from high school having demonstrated proficiency in English.
- Provide a high quality education with appropriate resources and support to ensure equal opportunity for all students in order to eliminate the achievement gap between Hispanic students and other students on appropriate state assessments and other indicators by 2010.
- Increase the high school completion rate for Hispanic students to 90 percent by 2010.
- Double the percentage of Hispanic Americans who earn Associate's and Bachelor's degrees by 2010.

National Goals for Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans

This draft is an attempt to articulate national goals that could be used to hold policymakers and educators accountable for progress over the next decade. To that end, each goal is stated according to a readily quantifiable measure. The Department of Education is preparing a "report card" that will present a snapshot of current status on indicators relevant to these goals, and where possible, status in 1990. Following each goal are examples of strategies that could be used to reach the goal. This is not meant to be an exhaustive list of strategies, but should offer a point of departure to facilitate breakout discussions to identify priorities. These priorities will create a framework that can be used to develop a national action agenda for achieving educational excellence for Hispanic students.

- 1) Ensure that all Hispanic American children have access to high quality early childhood education and development programs and enter school prepared to succeed by eliminating the gap between the Hispanic participation rate and the national participation rate in high quality programs by 2010.
- 2) Respecting the importance of multilingualism age-specific learning needs, and different research-based instructional approaches, and the variety of developmental levels at which limited English proficient (LEP) children enter school, by 2010 all states and school districts will provide appropriate language instruction to ensure that all students graduate from high school having demonstrated proficiency in English.
- 3) Provide a high quality education with appropriate resources and support to ensure equal opportunity for all students in order to eliminate the achievement gap between Hispanic students and other students on appropriate state assessments and other indicators by 2010.
- 4) Increase the high school completion rate for Hispanic students to 90 percent by 2010.
- 5) Double the percentage of Hispanic Americans earning Associate's and Bachelor's degrees by 2010.

Accomplishing these ambitious goals will require a significant investment of resources and energy by governments, educators, businesses, foundations, nonprofit organizations and individuals. Following are some of the key strategies each sector can undertake to do its part in advancing educational opportunities for Hispanic Americans. Ultimately, this battle for our country's future success will only be won with partnerships among all stakeholders, innovation at all levels and a serious commitment to excellence.

Federal, state and local governments:

- Increase investment in educational programs that work for Hispanic children.
- Allocate and target resources more effectively.

Private sector:

- Partner with schools and institutions of higher education to provide mentors, tutors, internships, scholarships, part-time jobs, continuing education courses and other educational supports.

- Support adult involvement in education with flexible schedules, leave for parent-teacher conferences, worksite schools, childcare centers and other supports.

Foundations:

- Support cohesive, collaborative and comprehensive research on “what works” for Hispanic children.
- Support replication of successful programs supporting education and success for Hispanic children and families.

Educators:

- Insist on high expectations for every child, and offer every child the support to achieve academic and other success.
- Ensure a qualified, well-prepared, talented, supported and committed teacher in every classroom.

Nonprofit organizations:

- Use networks to communicate important information about the value of education, the possibilities for long-term academic success and effective practices for supporting Hispanic students.
- Partner with schools, businesses and others to support networks and activities that help Hispanic students succeed.

Individuals:

- Get involved with children’s learning as a parent, tutor, mentor, educator, employer, or community partner.
- Lobby educators, businesses, legislators and nonprofit organizations to adopt, invest in, expand or continue practices that successfully support Hispanic students.

- 1) **Ensure that all Hispanic American children have access to high quality early childhood education and development programs and enter school prepared to succeed by eliminating the gap between the Hispanic participation rate and the national participation rate in high quality programs by 2010.**

Strategies

- *Improve access to early childhood education programs:*
 - Work with states, local governments and employers to encourage proliferation of early childhood education; and
 - Increase state and federal investment in early childhood education, including Head Start and the Child Care and Development Block Grant; and
 - Ensure that both Head Start and the federal child care subsidies are targeted to Hispanic families.
- *Increase participation of Hispanic children in early childhood education program:*
 - Encourage intergenerational approaches that involve grandparents, parents and siblings in children's development;
 - Reach out to expecting parents and new parents through non-education institutions like hospitals, faith based organizations, health clinics, employment offices and community based organizations; and
 - Improve outreach efforts (including through Hispanic media) that underscore the value of early childhood education and provide information on how to access childcare subsidies, tax relief, and childcare or pre-K programs.
- *Improve quality of early childhood education programs and services serving Hispanic children:*
 - Improve data collection and invest in research focused on serving Hispanic families;
 - Reach out to educate parents and other family caregivers in homes;
 - Invest in Early Learning Fund;
 - Invest in professional development for early childhood educators; and
 - Increase the numbers of bilingual and/or bicultural staff in early childhood centers serving Hispanic children.
- *Encourage parental involvement in children's development:*
 - Reach out to parents through a variety of means, including non-education organizations;
 - Reach out to stay at home families to encourage participation and reading at home to supplement school activity;
 - Target Early Head Start and Even Start to further work on outreach to Hispanics through home visits;
 - Invest in parent education and literacy; and
 - Offer resources and motivation to parents to read to young children.

- 2) **Respecting the importance of multilingualism age-specific learning needs, and different research-based instructional approaches, and the variety of developmental levels at which limited English proficient (LEP) children enter school, by 2010 all states and school districts will provide appropriate language instruction to ensure that all students graduate from high school having demonstrated proficiency in English.**

Strategies

- *Work with schools to develop effective programs to educate students who enter U.S. schools with limited English proficiency.*
- *Work with schools to develop effective programs to educate students who enter school with limited English proficiency, especially those who enter U.S. schools in the later grades:*
 - Disseminate effective, research-based practices for educating LEP students to achieve proficiency in English and other core academic subjects;
 - Foster the expectation that children entering our public schools at any time are capable of learning to high academic standards, and the understanding that it is the responsibility of educators to ensure they are offered the opportunity to do so;
 - Encourage businesses, community based organizations, schools and governments to offer more English as a Second Language (ESL) courses in the after school and evening hours for students and their families; and
 - Offer more supports to address limited English proficiency, illiteracy and prolonged reading difficulties in older students.
- *All LEP students will receive appropriate language services:*
 - Ensure that schools are offering sufficiently intensive English language services to LEP students, including more extended learning time; and
 - Recruit and train more teachers to use research-based approaches to teaching LEP students English and other academic subjects.
- *Ensure all teachers who teach LEP students have appropriate training and skills:*
 - Work with schools of education to ensure all new teachers are trained in effective, research-based approaches to teach LEP students English, while also ensuring progress in other academic areas; and
 - Ensure relevant and standards-based professional development is available to all teachers, especially those in areas with growing populations of LEP students.
- *Recruit and train more high-quality teachers bilingual ability:*
 - Increase federal investment in teacher recruitment and training;
 - Encourage talented, Hispanic mid-career professionals to use alternative routes to certification to become teachers; and
 - Encourage more Hispanics to serve as English tutors and mentors for LEP students.
- *Encourage all students to become proficient in both English and a second language:*
 - Promote the use of effective dual immersion programs;
 - Help students and educators appreciate the value of multilingualism; and
 - Recruit and train more foreign language teachers.

3) Provide a high quality education with appropriate resources and support to ensure equal opportunity for all students in order to eliminate the achievement gap between Hispanic students and other students on appropriate state assessments and other indicators by 2010.

Strategies

- *Ensure states are fully in compliance with Title I and other ESEA provisions.*
- *Involve parents in children's learning.*
- *Ensure schools are offering curricula aligned with state standards:*
 - Encourage school districts to work collaboratively with teachers to implement standards-based reform; and
 - Ensure schools do not only "teach to the test", but impart content knowledge and skills.
- *Ensure states are using sound testing practices:*
 - Encourage the use of multiple measures in assessing students;
 - Develop appropriate assessments and accommodations for assessment;
 - Ensure LEP students are effectively included in state assessments;
 - Disseminate and promote guidance on appropriate testing and valid measures; and
 - Use disaggregated testing data and other strategies to help educators use assessment results to inform practices and allocate resources.
- *Ensure that teachers are prepared to teach to high standards:*
 - Train teachers in effective instructional practices for teaching all students including LEP students;
 - Align teacher preparation programs and schools of education with standards;
 - Provide more, long-term and sustained, research-based professional development aligned with state standards; and
 - Raise standards for all teachers by rigorously testing all new teachers (including testing middle and high school teachers in the subject they will teach, and elementary school teachers in their knowledge of teaching reading), ensuring all teachers are qualified according to state standards and have a major or minor or demonstrated knowledge in the subject they teach, and offering mentoring and other support to new teachers.
- *Encourage educators to have high expectations for all students:*
 - Offer professional development that promotes cultural understanding;
 - Inform educators on the importance of expectations in children's success; and
 - Eliminate the use of "tracking" and ensure all students have access to a challenging curriculum.
- *Ensure that all Hispanic students at all levels have high-quality teachers in their classrooms:*
 - Disseminate effective, research-based practices for educating LEP students to achieve academic excellence;
 - Work with schools of education to ensure all new teachers are trained in effective, research-based approaches to teach LEP students English, while also ensuring progress in other academic areas; and
 - Ensure relevant and standards-based professional development is available to all teachers, especially those in areas with growing populations of LEP students.
- *Recruit and train more high-quality teachers with bilingual ability:*
 - Help colleges and universities produce larger numbers of high-quality Hispanic teachers for the nation's K-12 schools;
 - Increase federal investment in teacher recruitment and training; and

- Encourage Hispanic mid-career professionals to use alternative routes to certification to become teachers.
- *Allocate resources effectively to address the learning needs of Hispanic students:*
 - Ensure that state resources are aligned with need;
 - Improve targeting of and access to federal investments and programs; and
 - Increase investment in programs that are effectively addressing the educational needs of Hispanic students, including HEAP.
- *Offer supports for migrant and other at-risk Hispanic children:*
 - Develop systems to transfer or share student records and achievement information; and
 - Implement practices of assessing students and using assessment to ensure appropriate learning opportunities.
- *Invest in closing the digital divide:*
 - Ensure teachers are trained in effective use of technology; and
 - Offer disadvantaged communities more access to technology through Community-based Technology Centers, school computer labs and other public resources.

4) Increase the high school completion rate for Hispanic students to 90 percent by 2010.

Strategies

- *Fund more research and data collection on effective practices for ensuring Hispanic students complete high school.*
- *Encourage partnerships among schools, community-based organizations and businesses to maximize efforts and resources designed to benefit Hispanic teenagers.*
- *Offer a curriculum that helps Hispanic students succeed:*
 - Ensure all students have access to challenging coursework including Advanced Placement courses and honors courses;
 - Offer more supports to address limited English proficiency, illiteracy and prolonged reading difficulties in older students;
 - Develop programs to educate students who enter U.S. schools with limited English proficiency in the later grades; and
 - Disseminate effective, research-based practices for educating LEP students to achieve academic excellence.
- *Offer programs and instruction that meet the needs and interests of students:*
 - Invest in programs that combine rigorous academic standards with useful skills and professional experience.
- *Offer more mentoring, tutoring and individualized instruction:*
 - Encourage business and community based organizations to establish mentoring, tutoring and internship programs; and
 - Create smaller schools and learning environments to foster connections and individual attention.
- *End the unsound practices of social promotion and ineffective retention in grade:*
 - Ensure all students have the support necessary to reach high standards; and
 - Align curriculum and learning expectations among grades and school levels (i.e. elementary, middle and high school).
- *Address out of school factors that contribute to high dropout rates, including alienation, poverty and the need to support family, malnutrition and other health problems, pregnancy, gang involvement, and juvenile crime:*
 - Involve parents in their children's education;
 - Provide for student counseling needs and social service access;
 - Invest in high-quality alternative schools for at-risk kids and dropout recovery, including charter schools;
 - Support dropout recovery and high-quality GED programs; and
 - Ensure that standards and content for flexible time, distance and other alternative learning systems are aligned with traditional high schools.
- *Expand programs that help Hispanic students see the potential benefit of high school completion and higher education:*
 - Increase federal investment in GEAR UP;
 - Expand TRIO to serve more Hispanic students;
 - Promote School-to-work and other career awareness efforts;
 - Encourage businesses and the federal government to offer more internship opportunities to Hispanic students; and

- Provide more college counselors and curriculum advisors that reach out to Hispanic students.
- *Recruit and train more Hispanics to diversify the teaching force and increase cultural and linguistic understanding and offer positive role models.*
- *Develop different ways to access learning including distance learning and flexible schedules.*
- *Encourage educators to have high expectations of all students:*
 - Offer professional development that promotes cultural understanding; and
 - Inform educators on the importance of expectations in children's success.
- *Help states, districts and schools to undertake productive systemic change so that it is not only problems that are addressed, but also the systemic causes of those problems:*
 - Develop stronger systems to train and recruit high-quality, diverse principals, superintendents and other administrators.

5) **Double the percentage of Hispanic Americans earning Associate's and Bachelor's degrees by 2010.**

Strategies

- *Work with families of Hispanic students to encourage college attendance:*
 - Invest in programs that reach out to families throughout a student's education to inform them of the importance of higher education, and the requirements and possibilities for attaining undergraduate and graduate degrees; and
 - Promote "Community Days" and "Family Days" at institutions of higher education that bring families onto campuses and familiarize them with the lifestyle and opportunities.
- *Increase amount and use of financial aid for Hispanic students:*
 - Undertake proactive outreach strategies to promote greater understanding and use of financial aid among Hispanic families;
 - Address the issue of lost income (reconsider income limits on federal grants and loans?);
 - Increase federal investment in Pell grants, work study and other financial aid programs;
 - Increase private and foundation investments in scholarships for Hispanic students; and
 - Address age limits in availability of financial assistance.
- *Encourage Hispanic college students to pursue graduate degrees:*
 - Intensify efforts to recruit and hire more Hispanic faculty at Institutions of Higher Education;
 - Encourage businesses, nonprofits and government to offer more professional internships and part-time or summer jobs; and
 - Enact the President's Dual Degree Program for Minority Serving Institutions to increase opportunities for an estimated 3,000 students at minority-serving institutions that offer four-year degrees. Eligible students in participating schools would receive two degrees within five years: one from a minority-serving institution, and one from a partner institution in a field in which minorities are underrepresented.
- *Strengthen Hispanic Serving Institutions:*
 - Increase state, local and federal investment in high-quality programs and faculty.
- *Increase cooperation between the K-12, community colleges and four-year colleges and universities in the areas of course credits and transfers.*
- *Increase support for local, state and federal programs that focus on college preparation and retention:*
 - Increase access to financial aid and support services to students at risk of dropping out;
 - Encourage the private, nonprofit and public sectors to partner with institutions of higher education to create more orientation programs, and offer more programs that help Hispanic students find caring communities and cultural affinity;
 - Enact the President's proposed College Completion Challenge Grants Program; and
 - Increase investment in GEAR UP and TRIO.

Suggested Panelists
Hispanic Conference
May 23, 2000

Goal 1-Early Childhood

Chairperson: Secretary Shalala

Panelists:

Gloria Rodriguez

Recommended by: WHI

Commissioner

CEO and Founder of AVANCE family support and education programs.

301 South Frio Suite 310

San Antonio, TX 78207

Phone – 210-270-4630

Fax – 210-270-4612

Linda Espinosa, Ph.D

University of Missouri – Columbia

6396 South Sabine

Columbia, Missouri 65203

Dr. Espinosa specializes in studies related to the learning and development of young children from diverse background. She also is a member of the National Research Council's committee that is conducting the Study of Early Childhood Pedagogy.

HOLD FOR NAME OF DIRECTOR

Family Resource Agency of Northern Georgia

1217 Lafayette Road

Rossville, Georgia 30741

Phone – 706-861-0105

This program is located in an area of Georgia where there is a large carpet making industry. While at one time there were hardly any Hispanics in the area, starting in 1995, there was an influx of Central American Hispanic families immigrating to the area. In the last year alone, the Hispanic population has risen from 40% to 50-60%. The Family Resources Head Start program took note of the changing demographics and worked to proactively hire bilingual teachers, staff and other coordinators, and to provide more home visits for families that were not immediately comfortable with coming to the center.

Goal 2 - Language

Chairperson: TBD by Mark Magana

Panelists:

Migdania Vega

Recommended by: Department of ED

1950 Southeast 13th Avenue

Miami, Florida 33145

Phone – 305-854-0515

Fax – 305-285-9632

Principal

Coral Way Elementary Bilingual School, Miami (the ground-breaking and successful dual immersion school); she's also on the National Assessment Governing Board which provides guidance on NAEP--so she knows a few things about testing and the inclusion of LEP students. (Florida)

Maria Calderon

Johns Hopkins

Adeline Becker, Executive Director

Recommended by: DPC

The Education Alliance

Brown University

222 Richmond Street, Suite 300

Providence, Rhode Island 02903-4226

Phone – 401-274-9545 x245

Fax – 401-421-7650

Goal 3 - Achievement Gap

Chairperson: TBD by Mark Magana

Panelists:

Dan Domenech

Recommended by: DPC

Superintendent Fairfax County School

10700 Page Avenue

Fairfax, Virginia 22030

Phone – 703-246-2631

Fax – 703-691-2876

Dr. Daniel A. Domenech currently serves on the U.S. Department of Education National Assessment Governing Board, The Advisory Board to the Department of Defense Schools, and on the Board of Directors of the Fairfax County Chamber of Commerce. Dr. Domenech has been active professionally and was elected president of the American Association of School Administrators and is past president of the New York State Council of School Superintendents.

Aida Hurtado

Recommended by: Department of ED

Department of Psychology, UC Santa Cruz

Aida served as research director of the UC-wide Latino Eligibility Study.

Paul Ruiz

Recommended by: DPC

Principal Partner, Education Trust

1725 K Street NW

Washington D.C. 20006

Phone – 202-293-1217

Fax – 202-293-2605

Paul Ruiz has spent over 25 years of professional work to the education success of poor, minority and immigrant students, especially those from Hispanic background. Paul has worked at both the college and school district level as an administrator, counselor, teacher and school principal in Michigan, where he was selected Educator of the Year by the Michigan Department of Education

Goal 4 - High School Completion

Chairperson: Secretary Louis Caldera

Panelists:

Sam Halperin-

Recommended by: Department of Education- OCR

American Youth Policy Forum.

1836 Jefferson Place, N.W.

Washington, DC 20036

Phone – 202-775-9731

Fax – 202-775-9733

An academic who can speak to the role that alienation and tracking play in increasing the Hispanic dropout rate. Founder and Senior Fellow, has held leadership positions in academia, the federal government, a foundation and non-profit organizations for over 30 years. He has served as Study Director of Youth and America's Future: The William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship (responsible for two major studies: *The Forgotten Half: Non-College Youth in America* and *The Forgotten Half: Pathways to Success for America's Youth and Young Families*); the President of the Institute for Educational Leadership; a Deputy Assistant Secretary at the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; and a Congressional Fellow of the American Political Science Association, where he worked on U.S. Senate and House of Representatives committees dealing with major education legislation.

Patricia Gandara

Recommended by: LULAC

(Department or Program name)

Division of Education

University of California, Davis

One Shields Avenue

Davis, CA 95616

Phone – 530-752-8262

Fax – 530-752-5411

Patricia Gandara is a professor in the UC system who edited a recent pub from the College Board, *Priming the Pump: Strategies for Increasing the Achievement of Underrepresented Minority Undergraduates*. She is president of the Sociology of Education Association and program chair for Division G, the Social Context of Education for the American Educational Research Association. She is the director of the Education Policy Center of the Linguistic Minority Research Institute (LMRI). She teaches in the areas of psychological and sociocultural studies. Specific courses include Educational Testing and Evaluation, Education and Social Policy, and Educational Research.

Manuel Isquirdo

Recommended by: DPC

Founder and Executive Director

Latino Leadership Project
(Illinois)

Goal 5 - Higher Education

HOLD FOR INFORMATION FROM JAMES KVAAL (NEC)

Chairperson: Secretary Richardson

Panelists:

Juliet Garcia

Recommended by: WHI

University of Texas-Brownsville

80 Fort Brown

Brownsville, Texas 78520

Phone – 956-544-8201

Fax – 956-548-0020

President of University of Texas at Brownsville (Hispanic Serving Institution) and

Chair of the WHI Commission Higher Education Committee.

Dr. Juliet V. Garcia, chair of the Advisory Committee on Student Financial Assistance, was appointed by the Secretary of Education to serve a three-year term that expires in September 2002. Dr. Garcia has 25 years of teaching and administrative experience in higher education.

Since 1992, Dr. Garcia has been the president of the University of Texas at Brownsville in partnership with Texas Southmost College. Prior to her current position, she served as dean of arts and sciences. She is a board member of the White

House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans, the Ford Foundation's Campus Diversity Initiative, and the Carnegie Foundation for the

Advancement of Teaching. Dr. Garcia received her B.A. and M.A. degrees in Speech/English from the University of Houston, and her Ph.D. in communications and

linguistics from the University of Texas at Austin.

Alex Saragoza

Recommended by: WHI

Vice President-designate

UC Office of the President, VP for Outreach

Professor of Ethnic studies at UC Berkeley. He will be leading UC's \$100m outreach effort to increase the number of Latinos and other under-represented groups in the UC system's undergraduate and graduate programs.

(California)

Jacqueline Woods

Recommended by: DPC, NEC

U.S. Department of Education

Office of Vocational and Adult Education

Mary E. Switzer Building Room 5070

Washington, D.C. 0020

Phone – 202-205-3039

Fax -

Jacqueline E. Woods has more than 25 years of experience as an educator. Ms. Woods' professional experiences range from classroom instruction in speech pathology and special education to program development and management activities in early childhood education, adult and vocational education and higher education administration and governance. Ms. Woods' currently serves as the Liaison for Community Colleges at the Department of Education.

Watson Scott Swail is associate director for policy analysis of the College Board. Swail provides data and analysis on issues of academic preparation, access to college, and postsecondary success, with particular focus on educational opportunities for low-income, disadvantaged students. His work has been published in the College Board Review, Technology Teacher, and Higher Education Management. In addition to policy research, he directs and produces The College Board's annual Trends reports on student aid, college pricing, and academic preparation. Swail is a former classroom teacher and received his doctorate in educational policy from The George Washington University.
(Washington D.C.)



LEAGUE OF UNITED LATIN
AMERICAN CITIZENS

National Office

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2000 L Street, NW, Suite 610

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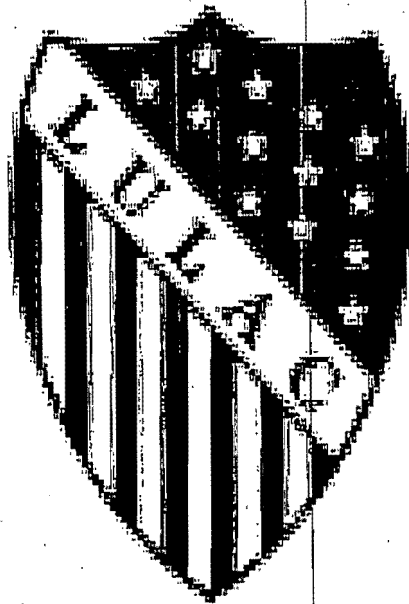
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From: *GABRIELA LEMUS*
Date: *5/30/00*
Subject: *LATINO SUMMIT*
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DRAFT

LEAGUE OF UNITED LATIN AMERICAN CITIZENS



TEXAS EDUCATION INITIATIVE 1999-2000

Philosophy

We believe in the democratic principle of individual political and religious freedom, the right of equality of social and economic opportunity, and in the cooperative endeavor toward the development of an American Society wherein the cultural resources, integrity and dignity of every individual and group constitute basic assets of the American way of Life.

We believe that as American Citizens we must assume our duties and responsibilities and assert our rights and privileges in pursuit of a fuller and richer civilization for our country.

We believe that education is the foundation for the cultural growth and development of this nation and that we are obligated to promote, protect and assure the right of our people to an education that is in accordance with the best American educational principles and standards; that we must deplore any infringement of this right wherever it may occur and regardless of whom it may affect.

We accept that it is not only the privilege but the obligation of every member of this organization to uphold and defend the rights and duties vested in every American Citizen by the letter and spirit of the Law of the Land.

Aims and Purposes

Based on the spirit of the philosophy of our League and having unequivocal faith in its righteousness, we propose:

1. To use all constitutional means at our disposal to implement with social action the principles set forth in our philosophy;
2. To foster the learning and fluent use of the English language that we may thereby equip ourselves and our families for the fullest enjoyment of our rights and privileges and the efficient discharge of our duties and responsibilities to our country, but at the same time, exerting equal effort to foster the fluent mastery of the Spanish language which is part of our heritage and a means of extending the cultural horizons of our nation;
3. To constitute the League into a service organization to actively promote and foster suitable measures for the attainment of the highest of our American society, and to establish cooperative relations with civic and governmental institutions and agencies in the field of public service;
4. To exert our united efforts to uphold the rights guaranteed to every individual by our state and national laws and to assure justice and equal treatment under these laws;
5. To combat with every means at our command all un-American tendencies and actions that deprive American citizens of their rights in educational institutions, in economic pursuits and in social, civic and political activities;
6. To maintain the League free of all involvement in partisan politics as an organization; however, we shall oppose any infringement upon the constitutional political rights of an individual to vote and/or be voted upon at local, state and national levels;

7. To oppose any violent demonstrations or other acts that defy constituted law and authority, desecrate the symbols of our nation, and threaten the physical and spiritual welfare of individuals or institutions;
8. To promote and encourage the education of youth and adults through scholarships, the constant vigilance of administrative and instructional practices in schools which deprive persons of educational opportunities, the sponsorship of classes in citizenship and other areas, and through the dissemination of information about available training opportunities;
9. To make use of every medium of communication at our disposal and to exert our combined efforts to promulgate and propagate the principles of the League, and augment its influence and numerical growth;
10. To undergird the efforts postulated in our Aims and Purposes with the overall objective of creating among our fellow citizens, through example and a mutual exchange of concepts, an understanding and recognition of and an appreciation for the dignity, worth and potential of the individual.

MISSION

The Mission of the League of United Latin American Citizens is to advance the economic condition, educational attainment, political influence, health and civil rights of the Hispanic population of the United States.

DRAFT

**LEAGUE OF UNITED LATIN AMERICAN CITIZENS
EDUCATION INITIATIVE
1999-2000**

Introduction

Unfortunately many Hispanic children who are considered at-risk grow up in low-income households. According to the latest U.S. Census Bureau, forty-percent of Hispanic children in Texas fall under the poverty line. These children typically come from families that are highly mobile, undereducated and economically disadvantaged. Normally, these children's lives are further complicated by some educators' low expectations and the lack of access to the most qualified and experience teachers. High expectations and qualified educators are two essential components driving students' success and academic achievement (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968; Rose and Smith, 1992). When students are perceived as high achievers, they perform accordingly and become successful in school. On the other hand if they are perceived as low achievers, some teachers tend to expect less and demand less from them (Good, 1981). Students tend to respond to teacher expectations accordingly, and will perform only to the level of teacher expectation.

The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) strongly supports advocating high expectations, quality programs and the utilization of qualified and experienced educators delivering instruction to Hispanic students. The establishment of the aforementioned can be utilized, as a vehicle to prevent Hispanic students from dropping out of school which is a mammoth problem. According to the latest attrition study, by the Intercultural Development Research Association (IDRA), 53 percent of Hispanic students and 48 percent of Black students were lost from public school enrollment, compared to 31 percent of White students, between 1995-96 and 1998-99 in Texas. The attrition rate is the percent of students lost from enrollment.

The dramatic demographic shift in the state of Texas and the need for more skilled workers call for urgent solutions to the problem of Hispanic school dropouts. Texas must adapt its public schools to a truly opportunity-based system in which Hispanic, African-American or White students from South Texas or East Texas can become productive citizens within the professional, labor, or business community.

Lately, charter schools and private school vouchers have been proposed as a measure of

correcting the problems that face the Hispanic population in our school system. However, the Hispanic community is aware of the intricacy of the situation and strongly believes that it takes more than charter schools and school vouchers to remedy the existing problem. It takes hard work and substantial investments to educate children and prepare them for the next century.

Being cognizant of the situation and acknowledging the problems which Hispanic students' face in the public school system, LULAC introduces the following education initiative with special emphasis on school dropout prevention.

Pre-School Years

Children of families in poverty usually lack the pre-school learning and literacy experiences afforded to middle and upper income children. Pre-kindergarten programs such as Head Start have been effective in preparing young children for learning on grade level as they enter kindergarten and first grade. In addition, after-school programs can keep children engaged in learning activities. In order to remain focused on the learning process, children should never lack a warm meal or access to health care.

Recommendation # 1

The federal and state government should support, expand and increase funding for pre-school programs such as Head Start.

Recommendation # 2

The public and private sector should make health insurance and immunizations readily available to children. The federal and state Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) should be widely marketed in the Hispanic community.

The Elementary School Years

Children Need A Stable Learning Environment

Children need stability and continuity in their family and school environment. Unfortunately, too many children whose parents cannot afford to buy a home will move as many as two or three times in one school year, especially in urban settings. These highly mobile students lose the valuable relationships and knowledge that they and their parents develop with teachers and other school personnel. While stable, well-educated parents can offset the disadvantages of an unstable school environment, most at-risk children do not have the aforementioned luxury because they lack both a stable family and school environment.

Recommendation # 1

Public school districts should change school boundary, attendance and transportation policies allowing schoolchildren to remain at the same school as much as possible.

Recommendation # 2

School districts should enforce student and teacher class assignment policies in a manner that aims to keep the same students with the same teachers at the elementary grade levels.

Recommendation # 3

The State of Texas should continue enforcing a standard curriculum statewide so that a child who moves from one school to another may continue along similar academic paths.

Quality Teachers

Low-performing schools are often staffed with a large percentage of uncertified teachers. Urban schools usually experience a loss of half of their new teachers within three to five years due to teachers' stress, long hours, poor salaries and working conditions. Some educators quit teaching altogether, while others move to suburban schools. Children deserve certified teachers and role models that can deliver instruction and motivate them to learn. Teacher qualifications, experience and training are usually the key in effective teaching.

Recommendation # 1

A school district should improve working conditions and salary incentives for the recruitment and retention of certified, experienced teachers at public schools with academically at-risk student populations, especially in the fields of math, science, language arts, reading and bilingual education.

Recommendation # 2

A school district should not be permitted to hire an inexperienced and uncertified person at a lower salary rate, if an experienced, certified teacher has applied for the same position especially for Bilingual education programs.

Recommendation # 3

State Legislation and the Texas Education Agency should mandate school districts to recruit and retain professional staff, which reflect the diversity of the student population served.

Recommendation # 4

State and local school districts should expand the "Grow-Your-Own" teacher recruitment programs, whereby tuition is paid and time is made available for teacher assistants seeking teaching certificates. The teacher assistant's population more closely resembles the demographic characteristics of the local student population.

Recommendation # 5

The State of Texas should propose and enforce laws that require school districts to notify parents when an uncertified or inappropriately certified teacher is assigned to their children at any grade level. A school district should also tell parents the reasons their children have been assigned an uncertified teacher and the efforts the school is making in getting a better-qualified individual. Reports to parents should also include the percentage of uncertified teachers in surrounding school districts and other campuses within the same school district. If a school district assigns an uncertified teacher to a classroom, the school should make options available to parents allowing the transfer of a child into a different classroom or school campus with better qualified teachers.

Bilingual Education

The goal of bilingual education is to instruct students in their primary language and to transition them into a second language acquisition notably English. This is accomplished by teaching all academic areas in their native language first, to develop communication, reading, listening and comprehension skills in their primary language. When the student has mastered the first language the second language is introduced and presented in all academic areas.

In Texas most bilingual education students are Spanish-speaking. Unfortunately, too many bilingual and English-as a-Second Language (ESL) teachers in Texas are uncertified in the subject of bilingual education. In some cases, teachers assigned to bilingual education classrooms cannot even communicate with Spanish-speaking students in their native language.

Recommendation # 1

State legislators and school board members should preserve and strengthen bilingual and dual-language programs. Policy makers, building principals and school administrators should not set up bilingual education programs for failure by assigning to them uncertified bilingual education teachers.

Recommendation # 2

Education policy makers in Texas should encourage bi-literacy in English and another language, preferably Spanish. This will prepare future laborers and business people to work with expanding Latin American and U.S. Hispanic markets.

Recommendation # 3

Federal, state and local education-policy-makers should become knowledgeable about bilingual education programs before they make policy recommendations in this field of teaching.

Curriculum

Texas public school curriculum should provide more instruction on the history, culture and geographic development of the countries south of the U.S. - Mexico border. Knowledge of the Hispanic culture will be beneficial to all American children as they become adults and interact with Latin American customers and business people.

Recommendation # 1

The state of Texas should adopt textbooks, which depict the Hispanic Community in a positive manner and should be culturally sensitive.

Computer Technology

Modern day computer and software technology can provide the tools for children to learn at a rapid pace. Too many classrooms lack these modern education tools. Even when computers are available, teachers may not be trained to use them adequately.

Recommendation # 1

The State of Texas should increase funding for computers, computer software and teacher training. School districts should be required to use this funding in the classroom instead of the administration office.

Small Class-size

A smaller class size is more conducive to learning than an overcrowded classroom. Furthermore, maintaining discipline and individualized student attention can be accomplished more effectively in a classroom with fewer students. The most significant education reform to date has been the 22-pupil limit in grades K-4 implemented in 1985. Yet, school districts continue to request and receive waivers from the Texas Education Agency. Most recently, the number of waivers granted by TEA increased 50 percent in

the past five years.

Recommendation # 1

Prohibit the Texas Education Agency from issuing waivers from the 22 to 1 class-size law in grades kindergarten to fourth grade. Extend the pupil-teacher ratio of 22 to 1 to include the 5th grade.

The Texas Assessment of Academic Skills (TAAS) Test

Children of all ethnic backgrounds will rise to higher academic expectations, if given opportunity and support. One of the most effective ways to show students that they are not held to inferior standards is to require them to pass the same, standardized test. While any standardized test has a degree of cultural bias, the TAAS test measures such low level skills that a Hispanic child should master it, if that child is provided adequate support. Nevertheless, despite its many flaws, the TAAS test is the best mechanism to hold public schools accountable to parents and children. In addition, the stress and worry caused by such tests in no way compares to the stress and problems related to low wages, unemployment, and other economic and social ills that at-risk children will experience in the future if they remain illiterate and academically low-performing.

Recommendation # 1

Support the use of the TAAS and other standardized test so long as the test reflects knowledge of a curriculum needed to succeed in our community and our workforce and as long as public schools with at-risk student populations show that it is possible for their students to master that test.

Recommendation # 2

Require school districts to emulate the successful strategies used in schools with at-risk children who have mastered the TAAS test. School districts and campuses that fail to replicate successful strategies should report to their community the reasons for not replicating successful programs in other schools.

Second Grade Level School Dropout Prevention

Scheduling Flexibility

According to IDRA, over 53 percent of Hispanic students drop out of school. Some students drop out of school because they are so far behind academically that they see no hope in catching up or because they are bored with school. The recommendations above will push those students to succeed academically. Other students, however, drop

out for non-academic reasons. For example, an adolescent female may drop out due to her pregnancy. Many low-income Hispanic students drop out of school because they feel they have to join the workforce to help their family with their earnings. These students should not be referred to lower-quality, GED programs. These at-risk students need flexible scheduling in order to stay in school, while working or caring for an infant.

Recommendation # 1

State law and school district policies should move away from the traditional daily school schedule. High school students' at-risk of dropping out of school due to the real or perceived need to join the labor force should be able to work part-time while attending school. School districts should incorporate part-time and night school schedules leading to a high school diploma for students who would otherwise drop out of school.

Recommendation # 2

Funding should be made available to keep and expand after-school tutoring and athletic programs in order to keep children away from non-academic and delinquent activities.

Drop-Ins Should Replace Dropouts

Some students drop out of school because they simply make bad choices or emulate the wrong role models. If, and when, these dropouts realize they made a mistake, the public schools, colleges and universities should be ready and willing to receive these students back into the education system.

Recommendation # 1

The State of Texas and local school districts should eliminate public school policies that steer at-risk students into GED and other alternative education programs with inferior academic standards.

Recommendation # 2

Public school policies should adopt and enforce admission policies in order to welcome school dropouts back into school, as soon as these students attempt to return. Colleges, universities and federal laws should change admission, scheduling, and financial aid policies so that students can more easily return to school.

Recommendation # 3

Adult education courses should be provided free of charge to U.S. residents who wish to learn English and improve their literacy skills.

Accurate School District Information

The best way to solve a problem is first to admit that there is a problem. The State of Texas and many school districts, unfortunately, try to hide statistics related to school dropouts and uncertified teachers in low-performing schools. By hiding such problems, public school districts suffer a loss in public confidence.

Recommendation # 1

Public school districts should accurately report to the state and the community the real dropout figures based on a longitudinal (9th - 12th grade) basis, rather than the "more favorable" annual basis.

Recommendation # 2

The state of Texas should use statistical sampling and other survey techniques to determine school dropout figures on a statewide and regional basis. These figures should be compared with school dropout data to determine accuracy.

Colleges and Universities

Colleges and universities should recruit and retain Hispanic students. An increase in minority enrollment of Texas colleges and universities can be accomplished through effective outreach and revised entrance standards.

Recommendation #1

Abolish the use of standardized entrance exams as the sole means to determine eligibility for college and university admission, since these tests have proven to be culturally biased. Entrance requirements can be expanded to include academic achievement, socio-economic status, leadership qualities (participation in clubs and organizations) as well as community involvement.

Recommendation #2

Colleges and universities should develop effective outreach programs to ease the transition from high school to college and universities for minority students. Effective models, such as the LULAC sponsored Youth Leadership Academy, are available for duplication across the state.

College Financial Aid

Students who do not enroll in college or those who drop out of college do so for many reasons. The main reason, however, is the need for financial support. Children of middle and upper income families tend to have financial as well as family social support. Since

Hispanic families usually fall in the low-income category, their children lack the same support to attend and stay in college.

Recommendation # 1

Raise the level of state and federal financial aid grants for low-income students. Also, provide student incentives such as jobs, loans, scholarships and other forms of financial assistance for college students.

Vouchers and Charter Schools

Educating the next generation of Texans will require hard work, real resources, and true commitment. Private schools and most charter schools enforce policies contrary to the needs of Hispanic children. Past experience has shown that the typical charter school will have fewer certified teachers, inadequate classroom facilities, and limited transportation services. Private schools are not equipped to teach at-risk Hispanic youth as they provide no bilingual education programs and use a different admission criteria.

Recommendation # 1

The Texas Legislature and the U.S. Congress should not establish any school finance system using vouchers, tax credits or other mechanisms to transfer public school funds to private schools, public funds which should instead be used to reduce class size, hire qualified bilingual education teachers, pay for adequate classroom facilities and establish innovative programs.

Recommendation # 2

The Texas Legislature and the State Board of Education should carefully evaluate the performance of open-enrollment charter school before granting additional funds to existing and new charter schools.



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Uncovering the real story of No Gun Ri



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In plain English

Bilingual education flunks out of schools in California

The character of American life 50 years hence will be determined not only by decisions in the White House or speeches on the campaign trail but by what happens in elementary school classrooms where immigrants' children are learning—or not learning—English. So leave the campaign behind and visit Suni Fernandez's second graders in Laurel Elementary School in Oceanside, Calif., a modest-income town just south of Camp Pendleton and 35 miles north of San Diego. Sixteen of the 18 pupils there have parents who are immigrants from Mexico or elsewhere in Latin America; two arrived from rural Mexico during the school year; in most of their homes the only language spoken is Spanish. But these second graders are reading and writing in English.

It was not always so: Two years ago most of the instruction would have been in Spanish. As one boy reads from an unfamiliar text with the fluency and comprehension one would expect in an upscale suburb, Fernandez says he could not have done as well until sixth grade under the old system. At the end of the school year, 13 of her 18 kids are rated as fluent by the state LAS test. "Up to two years ago," she says, "only one student would have been rated as fluent." Many families hand down stories of how immigrant grandparents learned English in school and then moved on to success. The same thing is happening today in schools like Oceanside's.

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But for many years, Latino kids failed to learn enough English to score well on tests and qualify for good jobs, thanks to "bilingual education," which in most cases was neither bilingual nor education. Latino politicians and foundation-funded activist groups gave loud public support to it while often admitting privately that it wasn't working. Education schools spun theories of how kids would learn English better by learning in Spanish, and teachers' unions pocketed dues from "bilingual" teachers who got \$5,000 bonuses. Democrats reflexively voted for it, and Republicans paid it no heed: It wasn't their kids.

Test scores up. Then Palo Alto entrepreneur Ron Unz sponsored Proposition 227, which limited Spanish-language instruction to one year in most cases. It passed by a wide margin in June 1998. Oceanside Unified School Superintendent Ken Noonan, who is of Mexican descent and was once a bilingual teacher, opposed 227. But when it passed, "we decided to implement the law as written," despite a protest march and candlelight vigil. Oceanside went from more than 150 to zero bilingual classes and also moved to phonics and basic math. Many teachers were very skeptical. "The first one or two months are the hardest," Noonan says. But then "immersion seemed to work. When parents saw the progress the kids were making, they were overjoyed." Test scores show Oceanside's immersion is working: The May 1999 state-required Stanford 9 test showed scores for the early grades—those most affected by the switch from bilingual—rose from the 35th percentile to the 45th in just one year. The *San Jose Mercury News* found similar sharp rises in test scores for Latino children in immersion all over California.

Not all the news is good. At least 12 percent of California Latinos are still in bilingual instruction, and the Los Angeles Unified district, the nation's second largest, has tens of thousands in its "Model B" program, which, a grand jury ruled last year, does not comply with 227. And Alice Callahan, a longtime activist who runs Las Familias Del Pueblo community center in L.A.'s garment district, says that older students who went through bilingual programs lack the language facility needed for standardized tests. "Kids go to high school and get A's and B's and get visions of college in their heads. Then they get a 350 on the verbal SAT, and for the first time they learn they aren't on the playing field," she says.

Callahan criticizes "professionals who say these kids can't learn" and praises Gov. Gray Davis, who opposed 227 but has insisted that the law be carried out and has vetoed bills passed by the Democratic legislature to undermine it. He has

called for extending 227's adult English-learning classes from \$50 million to \$400 million, with an 8-to-12-week immersion program modeled on one in Israel. The glaring contrast between California's high-tech success and its near-bottom-level student test scores jarred Davis when he learned in 1995 that most Cal State University students needed remedial reading or math. "My No. 1 concern is improving student achievement, and I will not run again if test scores don't go up," he says. He appointed to the state school board Nancy Ichinaga, a 26-year elementary school principal, who never allowed bilingual programs and whose tightly structured immersion and phonics programs have produced near-top test scores in modest-income, heavily black and Latino Inglewood. Ichinaga, Davis, Noonan, Fernandez, Callahan, Unz, for different reasons, all believe that, as Davis puts it, "every kid can learn, can do better." After a lost generation, Latino kids in California are finally learning, in plain English, like immigrant children did a century ago. Will other states follow?

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White House Strategy Session on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Students

Draft Agenda

10:00 am – 10:30 am

Registration
Old Executive Office Building 450

O Intro
O Cruz
O Calkins
O Lujan

10:30 am – 11:00 am

Welcome
Old Executive Office Building 450
Maria Echaveste*

National Goals and Report Card for Academic Achievement of Hispanic Students

Secretary Riley

11:15 am – 1:15 pm

Break-out Sessions:

- ~~Eliminating the Gap in Early Childhood Education~~
Old Executive Office Building 100 (First Lady's Office)
- Ensuring that Hispanic Students Achieve English Proficiency**
Vice President's Ceremonial Office
- Eliminating the Achievement Gap**
Old Executive Office Building 476
- Increasing the Rate of High School Completion**
Old Executive Office Building 180
- ~~Eliminating the Gap in College Completion~~
Old Executive Office Building 472

1:30 pm – 2:15 p.m.

Buffet Lunch
Indian Treaty Room
Introduction by Mickey Ibarra
Remarks by Lt. Governor Cruz Bustamante

2:30 pm – 4:30 pm

White House Strategy Session – Working with the Public, Private and Non-Profit Sectors to Meet our National Goals

East Room

Introduction by Guillermo Linares (3 minutes)

- Remarks by President Clinton (5-7 minutes)
- Breakout Chairs Report Out to President Clinton (15 minutes)
- Discussion on Strategies, Commitments and Next Steps Moderated by President Clinton (90 minutes)

4:30 pm – 6:00 pm

Commissioner's Reception
State Dining Room

* Names serve only as examples.

THE ANNENBERG
PUBLIC POLICY CENTER
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
W A S H I N G T O N

May 23, 2000

Mr. Andrew Rotherham
Special Assistant to the President, Domestic Policy
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
224 R, EEOB
Washington, DC 20500

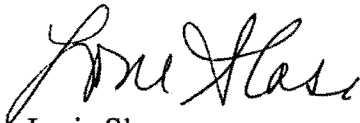
Dear Mr. Rotherham:

Attached is a draft transcript from the "School Vouchers: Breaking the Stalemate" conference. I want to thank you for your participation in the conference and ask you to look over the edited transcript to ensure we have accurately reflected your comments.

Please give me a call if you have any changes or corrections to the transcript. We would like to finalize the document by June 15. If I don't hear from you by then, I will assume the transcript meets with your approval. If you have any questions or if you need more time to review the materials, please give me a call at 202-879-6701.

Thanks again for your participation in the voucher dialog. The discussion was a lively one, and we believe distribution of the conference transcript to reporters and key policymakers can help inform the education voucher debate.

Sincerely,



Lorie Slass
Director, Washington Office



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FORWARD

The Annenberg Public Policy Center was established by publisher and philanthropist Walter Annenberg in 1994 to create a community of scholars within the University of Pennsylvania which would address public policy issues at the local, state and federal levels. Consistent with the mission of the Annenberg School for Communication, the Center has four ongoing foci: Information and Society; Media and the Developing Mind; Media and the Dialogue of Democracy; and Health Communication. Each year, as well, a special area of scholarly and social interest is addressed. The Center supports research and sponsors lectures and conferences in these areas. This series of publications disseminates the work of the Center.

Kathleen Hall Jamieson
Director

INTRODUCTION

Vouchers take up much of the oxygen in today's school reform debate while serving less than one percent of K-12 students. Even in an age of heated rhetoric the issue is unusually polarizing. Advocates view vouchers as an indispensable way to shake up troubled school systems; foes see them as a dangerous sideshow, an assault on the very notion of public schooling. As the issue heats up, and the fate of millions of urban schoolkids is affected by the evolving Republican and Democratic agendas, it is timely to explore whether there's a way to move beyond the traditional positions of left and right toward some "grand bargain" on vouchers that might help kids most in need – and offer lessons from which reformers and policy analysts could learn.

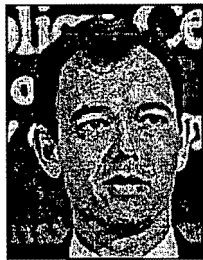
To promote this dialogue, The Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania hosted an innovative forum entitled *School Vouchers: Breaking the Stalemate* at the National Press Club on February 29, 2000. The first of two panel discussions featured newer voices in the debate over school choice: the Pro-Voucher Left and the Pro-Equity Right. The second panel brought together prominent leaders from education, government and the advocacy community to discuss potential bargains between traditional "sides" of the issue.

The following is a distillation of the conference proceedings. It is our hope that the salient points have been preserved.

OVERVIEW OF THE VOUCHER ISSUE

Moderator: MATT MILLER

Matt Miller is a senior fellow at the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania. Recently Matt authored an article for the *Atlantic Monthly* entitled "A Bold Experiment to Fix City Schools." Miller is a nationally syndicated columnist, and contributor to the *New Republic*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, among others. He is also a commentator for National Public Radio's "Morning Edition" and co-host of the political talk show "Left Right and Center" on KCRW-FM in Santa Monica.



MATT MILLER: Thanks to all of you for being here this morning. Thanks especially to Annenberg and to Pew and to the Academy of Political Science for helping us explore these issues. I'm delighted we could all be here for a discussion of one of those quiet little issues that doesn't generate much controversy, and about which all reasonable people can agree. (laughter)

Obviously the truth, of course, is that the subject that we're talking about today, school vouchers and school choice, is not an issue like that. In fact, it's something that very often can quickly degenerate into a food fight. The passions on both sides run high, the blood is quick to boil on these issues in ways that, if nothing else, make TV producers very happy.

You know there's the old story about TV producers on political shows when they see a calm reasoned debate unfolding, shouting into the contestants -- which is what they should be called -- 'get mad, get mad.' This issue is something where that kind of egging on from TV producers is not usually required.

With all due respect to those kind of shout fests or food fights, we're going to try and do something a little bit different today. We will try to shed a little more light than heat and have a reasoned discussion with some fresh perspectives that you may not always hear on this topic. With a view to seeing whether there may be some grounds to break the stalemate on an issue that seems to take up so much of the oxygen in the school reform debate nationally.

I think a premise of this session this morning is that leaders on both sides of this debate usually only confront each other through televised sound bites, through dueling quotes in newspapers, forums like that. They spend much of their time huddled understandably with like-minded allies trying to plot and plan against the other side's moves.

What we're hoping is that this is a chance for some of those leaders to think out loud a little bit with you all and with each other in a way that lets them hear not just the arguments, which sometimes can be well-worn, but get some insight into why each of them thinks the way they do, how they've come to the positions they hold, and hopefully then increasing a little bit of the understanding across what can sometimes be a very serious chasm.

As all of you know, the issue couldn't be more timely. The general election that we're about to head into is going to feature vouchers as a major issue. Education is topping voters' concerns in most national polls. Both of the Republican candidates have voucher proposals, different kinds of voucher proposals, but voucher proposals that are sure to spark controversy, and Al Gore, the likely Democratic nominee, will fiercely resist them. So this is sure to be atop the news, for those of you who are helping shape coverage of this.

At the same time, there is lots of public confusion about vouchers. This means that especially for reporters and editorial writers and for analysts who help shape the terms of debate on this issue, there's a real role to try and clarify the stakes and help dispel some of the confusion. As Kathleen Hall Jamieson would have said this morning -- she has the flu, so unfortunately she could not be with us today. She's the dean of the Annenberg School for

Communications, as you all know, as well as head of the public policy center. But as she would have told you this morning, and I'd like to remind you on her behalf, it is not true that a voucher is a voucher is a voucher. The specific details of the voucher program's design has a huge impact on both the way the public perceives it, as well as its likely impact on different kinds of students.

Who's eligible for a voucher, how much of the tuition a voucher is going to pay for, how it's funded, who funds it, whether it comes out of money that's currently allocated to the public schools, all of these things have an enormous impact on how the public perceives it. Being pro or anti-voucher on those terms doesn't really say very much without the details.

Our plan this morning, with our terrifically distinguished panels, is to get at these issues, hopefully in a fresh way, through two themes. The first panel is going to feature some fresh voices that tend not to be heard as often in the very loud and often divisive debate -- the pro-voucher left and the pro-equity right. The second panel, then, will try and explore whether there is some kind of grand bargain between left and right possible on these issues, and if so, what the shape of that might be and if not, where there are areas of consensus and possibilities that might lead to some bridging of the divide down the road.

Let me quickly offer you at least one man's quick guided tour to the leading charades of the traditional left and right on vouchers. The truth is, as it turns out, I think the left actually has more charades that it offers on vouchers, but the right, even though they have fewer charades, make up for it by having each one pack a bigger deceptive punch. So there is an even-handedness to this inventory.

Those on the left who tend to be anti-voucher offer these kind of arguments, and let me tick them off:

- First they'll say, there's no evidence that vouchers work.

"The specific details of the voucher program's design has a huge impact on both the way the public perceives it, as well as its likely impact on different kinds of students."

Matt Miller

To that I would suggest that experiments that we have under way now are so tiny, for all the air time and passion that the voucher debate takes up, they serve far less than one percent of K-12 schoolchildren today. Tiny experiments in a few cities. One getting underway in Florida, a set of privately funded plans that still amount to just a tiny, tiny fraction of schoolkids. And then both sides come in with dueling studies purporting to prove that vouchers either did or did not improve student performance.

It seems to me at least, as a journalist trying to make sense of this stuff, that the studies seem to be based on such small samples that it's very hard to make sense or make any conclusions of this one way or another. Anyway, the argument is there's no evidence yet. It's just too soon and not persuasive.

- The second one is that vouchers drain dollars from public schools.

Now this is possible, of course, but it's not necessary. Cleveland's program, for example, added an additional \$10 million in terms of funding their voucher trial and it's unfair, I would argue, in cases where new money is added to the budget for these experiments for voucher foes to then come back and say, this money would be better used within the current system because one of the ways the political compromises have been struck where there are new voucher trials is precisely to add that new money. So it's not true that vouchers have to drain money from current public schools.

- The third argument is that vouchers are unconstitutional, that the use of them to attend religious schools, with Catholic schools now being the biggest sector of the private school system, means that they violate the prohibition against the establishment of religion in the Constitution.

I understand that's a very serious argument that legal scholars debate quite seriously, and many voucher advocates have concerns about it as well.

My own view, the view I would offer you all today on this, is that it shouldn't be the trumping argument. No one complains at the post-graduate level, past K-12, when kids use their Pell grants to go to Notre Dame. While there are arguments that some make that K-12 is different, it seems to me. We can't be in a situation where we are constitutionally obliged to imprison kids in schools that don't work.

- The fourth argument that the left makes is that the capacity isn't there, that if we do have a voucher system, where will the schools be? Where will these kids go?

To that I would answer, what's the problem then? If we think as a practical matter that a voucher system in a city or a state will not prompt a supply of new schools to accept students with these vouchers, then it's hard to see what the down side is to an experiment. If you don't think that there will be new schools cropping up then 98.9 percent of the kids are going to be where they are now, perhaps with more money, if the voucher included additional resources to the school. So it seems to me that's not a trumping argument, and also ignores the fact that, as we've seen in so many different sectors, when there is a kind of market created there's a huge response from the supply side. Internet sales were pennies a few years ago. Now it's multi-billions of dollars. Things can happen quickly if there's a chance given to some of these experiments.

- Charade number five, I would argue, from the left is that profit is bad, that somehow there's something venal about letting for-profit operators in a privatized system operate schools for profit.

Now the charade there, I think, is that right now K-12 public education is a huge business, as everyone knows. It's over \$300 billion going from government at all levels to K-12. It is lusted after by textbook publishers, software companies, janitorial services, cafeteria services, you name it. Every public sector that is big -- defense, health, education, you name it -- will always be a big business. There's no reason to believe, I think, that the inevitable abuses under a voucher system would be any different than the inevitable abuses we have today in any large public sector where big business is involved.

- A few others, just to tick off quickly in this inventory on the left. The argument that vouchers cream off the best and the brightest students, the most motivated parents, take them out of the school system, leaving those parents and families who are less active in the public school so that the public school then deteriorates without the useful influence of those highly motivated parents and kids.

There I think that's partly a function, this creaming argument, of the fact that the voucher experiments today are so tiny. If there were more widespread use of vouchers in one town or city, for example, it wouldn't be a matter of just taking -- even to the extent people think it's true, it wouldn't be a matter of just taking off a handful of those folks who are most motivated, and in fact would actually reach much deeper into the population of students. I think there's also little evidence right now that that creaming is occurring, even in the places where vouchers are being tested.

- There is the argument made by voucher foes that private schools can pick and choose who they want. They don't have to deal with troublemakers, difficult kids, the way the public schools do.

This is true. Undoubtedly. Public schools have to take all comers. But the idea that kids can be disruptive in class and ruin learning for lots of other kids is an argument for trying to figure out how to get those troublemakers out of the public school classes where they're disrupting learning. But it's not an argument against trying something different in terms of options for kids who want a choice, I think. So it's a real issue, but again, not one that should trump, or that directly takes on the voucher argument.

- Voucher foes argue that the oversight that would eventually come with public money going to private schools would become so great, the regulatory regime would become so great that these private schools before long would end up being just as bureaucratic and stifled as public schools.

That's an argument, to be sure. I think, however, at least most of the analysts and experts that I've talked to on all sides of this debate, think that at the end of the day there will be far more flexibility in terms of hiring and firing, in terms of resource allocation, in terms of curriculum design, in schools that are using vouchers as opposed to the very highly regulated public school system we have today. So there's still a difference, and it's hard sometimes not to suspect that the argument about oversight and regulation isn't a tactical attempt by voucher foes to scare off, for example, the private schools, the Catholic schools that are very sensitive to the idea of having too much government intrusion.

- Finally, there's the argument which at first blush is very powerful, that vouchers are a scheme to subsidize richer people who are already choosing private schools.

They're already paying their own money to send their kids to private schools that are often quite expensive. Why would we now come in and offer \$1,500, \$3,000, \$5,000, and in effect subsidize all that money from wealthier Americans who are making that choice today? At first blush that's a powerful argument.

What I'd say in response to that or have you consider is that on the one hand those better off citizens who are already paying twice in effect today -- they're paying through local property taxes and other taxes for the school system they're not using, plus the other school that they are choosing. The more compelling argument, I think, is that if you target vouchers toward low income populations, which is obviously one option, that issue goes away altogether. So that subsidy to the better off argument, I think, again is not something that's ultimately trumping.

That's my brief inventory of what I call the dubious arguments from the left. Here are the three dubious arguments that are big ones, I think, that the right makes, or those who are pro-voucher, that also can be usefully pierced.

- The first is that vouchers invariably save us lots of money.

It's very clear that a lot of voucher proponents feel that going to vouchers is something that can save lots of money, be accompanied by tax cuts, and that's something that raises fears obviously in the hearts of those who care about the public school system.

"We can't be in a situation where we are constitutionally obliged to imprison kids in schools that don't work."

Matt Miller

It is true that private schools now spend half or less on average per pupil than public schools do. The reason that's so is the Catholic schools spend much less than public schools and they are the bulk of the private school seats we have today. But Catholic schools also have -- it is true they have less bureaucracy, less administrative per pupil, et cetera, which is a favorable comparison with the public schools. They also pay teachers less, which does raise the question, because public school teachers are already paid very shabbily, at least in my view, today so that Catholic schools are relying largely on a missionary spirit. If less on actual nuns today than they did in the past, they are relying a lot. Anyone who has reported in Catholic schools, as I have, at least in Los Angeles,

knows that there is a tremendous religious spirit of service that is imbuing teachers in Catholic schools. I think it's hard for us to expect that a missionary spirit is going to be the answer to all of what ails urban education.

But the other thing that's true in Catholic schools is they have far less amenities, less theaters, gyms. Catholic schools aren't happy that they spend this little. I've talked to folks in these dioceses who are desperate for more money and who in fact view vouchers, as I'm sure we'll get into later, as one way to actually inject some cash into their system in a way that would help them improve the service they offer to existing students. So it's a complex issue, but they're not happy about spending so much less necessarily.

They also don't have to take special education students, disabled kids. They don't have to take a lot of the kids that public schools must take by law. They don't have to offer bilingual programs necessarily, transportation, various breakfast and lunch programs, all of which add up cost. Pretty fair-minded economists who've looked at these things say that when you sort of take away the implicit subsidies from church grounds and the lower teaching costs, and compare some of the other costs that public schools have, that some of the differences go away. I think Jack

Coons may share with us this morning the notion that others have that if a voucher is not set at the level of something like 80 percent of the current per pupil spending in a town, you'll end up with something that is so low as to only fill up empty Catholic school seats, but not enough to actually attract new capital investment that's needed for any kind of supply response to come in the form of new schools. The idea that you can save tons of money, as Milton Friedman tends to argue, I think is wrong.

- The second charade on the right, I think, is, "the freer the market, the better the result."

Now the debate is commonly cast in sort of TV style between the free market on the one hand and government on the other. We all know in reality that that's a false dichotomy, and we're always talking about what gradations of government regulation, or what government role will be involved with what level of harnessing private market forces, which are very powerful in terms of getting results and efficiently allocating resources.

Anyone who thinks for a minute about health insurance or insurance in general, for example, knows that free markets do not provide the best possible result. If it's left only to free markets, you will not have sick people or old people with health insurance. It's a problem today. It was a problem in the 60s, which is why the federal government designed Medicare. So we need to pierce the idea that's often common that the market is the only thing and the best result.

- Finally, the last charade on the right, I would argue, is the notion somehow that's implicit in a lot of the right's arguments that the problem with urban schools is all the schools' fault, that there is something just dysfunctional in these systems and that the schools themselves are entirely to blame for what ails urban achievement and what ails the systems.

Anyone who saw James Traub compelling cover story in the New York Times magazine not long ago knows that this simply isn't true. Anyone who's reported in urban schools or been in there knows that these kids are coming to school with enormous problems -- family problems, social problems, difficulties that most middle class families would have a hard time imagining. And to expect the schools to be the answer to all of those problems is crazy. And to blame the schools for the lagging achievement of those kids is equally wrong-headed, I think. You can't report in urban schools or spend time in urban schools without developing a tremendous empathy for the teachers who are trying to make a difference in the lives of these kids there.

I know from just doing the reporting I've done both on vouchers and on teachers in general that spending time in urban schools makes you understand why the teachers who feel so under siege there view the voucher movement as a real poke in the eye, as a way -- because the way the debate is so often short-handed, it's a way of saying, you guys failed. You guys stink. So we've just got to get these kids out of there. It's an understandable sentiment on the part of parents from systems that are failing, but at the same time it's important to empathize with teachers and understand that it is not all the schools that are the problem.

PANEL 1: PRO-VOUCHER LEFT AND THE PRO-EQUITY RIGHT

PANELISTS

JOHN E. COONS

Jack Coons, Emeritus Professor of Law, UC Berkeley, has spearheaded constitutional challenges to school finance inequity since the 1960s and has called for progressively designed vouchers as part of the answer to that problem. Professor Coons has co-authored several books on the issue of school choice, including *Private Wealth and Public Education*, *Education by Choice*, *Scholarships for Children*, and, most recently, *Making School Choice Work for all Families* (1999).

T. WILLIARD FAIR

T. Willard Fair is President and Chief Executive Officer of the Urban League of Greater Miami and a vocal supporter of the Florida voucher program. He has contributed articles to the *Miami Herald*, *Miami Magazine*, and *Tropic Magazine*, has hosted both radio and television programs, and is listed in *Who's Who Among Black Americans*.

LISA GRAHAM KEEGAN

Lisa Graham Keegan is the Superintendent of Education for the state of Arizona. She has called the property tax basis for school finance is unfair, and argues that conservatives need to support financial equity in exchange for choice. She has also has presided over growth in charter schools in Arizona. Keegan formerly chaired the Education Committee in the Arizona House of Representatives, authoring much of the reform legislation she now oversees. In 1999, she was presented with the Milton and Rose D. Friedman Foundation Award for Leadership in Educational Choice.

MILLER: Let us proceed to our first distinguished panel of the morning, which is going to offer fresh voices on the voucher issue, the pro-voucher left and the pro-equity right. I am delighted to have this wonderful panel. I'm going to introduce them in turn, ask them to make some opening remarks, and then we'll move on to debate and discussion.

Jack Coons, to my left, is an Emeritus Professor of law at UC-Berkeley. He spearheaded in the late 1960s the movement for constitutional challenges to the inequities in school finance that began with the Serrano case in California. He has led to the challenge of the system in 40-some states, the overturning of it in 16 or 17 states, and I suppose Jack would be either praised or cursed, I guess, by various folks in this debate for having set in motion these things. He has written numerous books, both on school choice, on education reform, on law, obviously, and has an interesting and different perspective than one usually hears in terms of the voucher movement. So Jack Coons, we're glad to have you.



JACK COONS: The problem for us really in the United States is the problem of never having had public education. We have education of all sorts, but none of it is public, at least if you mean by public that ordinary people have access to the institutions, such as the library, the museum, the streets, the courts, the golf courses, the stadia, and so on:

What we have instead is a system in which people like you and me who come from old Vienna or whatever the appropriate parallel suburb would be in New York or Detroit, out my way Yorba Linda or Beverly Hills, we buy our way in. We have our voucher. It's called our deed to our house and we get our way into a good school. Or we go to a private school. We go to the city and we go to a private school or whatever. And that's fine. So we have a market already for you.

For the poor we have conscription. They are picked up according to their address and sent off to a school not of their choosing. So the idea that our state institutions must take all people is of course nonsense. They take the people who can afford to live in their neighborhood and they don't take people who live outside. If you try to get into a school in Yorba Linda or Beverly Hills and live in Los Angeles, let me tell you it's not so easy. In fact, our private sector schools are in that respect much more open.

My assumption is that this is not necessarily a good thing, even for people who have historically been great supporters of what they call the public sector, the public schools. They would indeed, if pressed, say that they'd like to create access to all these institutions for all kinds of people, irrespective of their wealth. That's my first assumption, that we all want to create a public system.

My second assumption, and one I'm going to talk most about, has to do with the means. The means involve subsidies in one form or another for people who can't afford to buy their way in to Beverly Hills or wherever you live. We've got to be careful about democratic values and the means that we choose, the scholarships or the vouchers or whatever we call these things that we're going to give to them.

So we're going to prefer the poor. How do we go about this? First of all, if you give whatever it is you give only to the poor, or only to the targeted class (for example, children in special education), you don't have much of a problem about regulation. You haven't done any harm anyway. I'm over-simplifying. Certainly in Milwaukee and Cleveland and in Florida, although these are targeted programs, the states and the cities in these cases have been very careful to protect the poor with various kinds of additional, perhaps even unnecessary regulations.

If, on the other hand, and this has heuristic value to talk about it this way, if you talk about a general system in which all children are ultimately to receive subsidies from the state for parental choice, then you have to think about regulation. I will offer you seven criteria for such a system, which now seem to be more or less agreed among a lot of people who have thought a little bit about vouchers.

First of all, any general system is going to have to empower state institutions to participate in a way which opens them up to compete with the private providers in an open market. So school districts, museums, cities, counties, libraries, public universities and so on, can all form their own schools, which could operate to the extent that they choose. Their freedom would be, as much as they like, to operate in the manner of private institutions, but in management and in mission, choosing all sorts of variety in the public sector. The public sector would become as open as the public sector chose to be.

Secondly, the private sector should not be regulated out of its own identity, and that individual schools be permitted to keep their special qualities which makes them worth choosing in the first place. You can make your own list of identity-specific things. My own three have to do with curriculum. In other words, not any more restraint on the curriculum than is presently respected by the states for private schools. Secondly, with respect to hiring personnel, and third, with respect to discipline.

On the other hand, if you're going to take public money, private participants are going to have to -- remember we're thinking about the poor -- are going to have to set aside spaces for participation by those who are the object of this program in the first place. There are many different ways to do this. We can talk about that if you're interested. But one thing is admissions policy, where the public sector too, now. Yorba Linda can't do what it used to do, and Beverly Hills. So this is for everybody now. Opening up to the disadvantaged.

With respect to those schools, if we allow them to add on tuition, we have to be careful so we don't price the poor out. So we'll need some kind of add-on control. In Cleveland and Milwaukee and Florida they don't allow you to

"The problems for us really in the United States, it is the problem of never having had public education... What we have instead is a system in which people like you and me ... buy our way in. We have our voucher. It's called our deed to our house and we get our way into a good school... For the poor we have conscription... They are picked up according to their address and sent off to a school not of their choosing."

Jack Coons

add on at all. You can't charge anybody any tuition over and above the voucher, and that's one way to do it. If, what? If the voucher is big enough. As Matt said, it's got to be big enough to give incentive to new providers so we don't just wind up filling up all the Catholic schools, though certainly that would be an advantage for those children. We need more providers, and thus it must be a subsidy which is large enough to attract new entrepreneurs, public and private.

Now fifthly, we need to watch out for children in special education, perhaps give them, in addition to their IEP -- their individual educational program, decided upon by bureaucracy. We attach a value to it and then give the family 80 percent of that with which to choose their own school.

Sixth, transportation, and seventh, information.

You can imagine your own systems, and we'll talk more about it.

I've already exhausted my time without getting to the question of why is conscription bad in the first place? Plato, after all, thought it was a marvelous thing. His republic would have conscripted everybody, including the rich. But for two factual reasons I want you to think whether these are, A, true, and whether they're relevant.

One is the fact that educators know 20 different wonderful ways to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, and the rest of whatever it is, the basics that we want to teach, and they're all in conflict. And so if you have indeterminate methodologies, it seems to be very hard to justify a system in which the poor get conscripted for one of them because you happen to live on 38th Street and PS 99 is down the street and uses Montessori.

Secondly, and much more important, is the value of pluralism in this country, in which we have a minimum consensus for education, certainly. Children should learn the basics, and they should learn science and they should learn to respect the law. That's it. Now above that what have we got? We've got abortion. We've got gender roles. We've got environmental questions. We've got just about anything you can think of in an array of 25 deep-set moral issues on which we disagree, and that's great as far as I'm concerned. But it does raise a rather serious question about whether you want to allow me and you, who can afford to do it, to choose our value system as representative at a particular school, but conscript the school for your value system because you're running the schools.

All value systems in the schools in this country are private, whether the school is private or whether it's a public school. Because there is no agreement on all of these issues, and something will be taught. It will either be taught in conservative terms and liberal terms or, God help us, in something called neutrality or value clarification or some other vapid nonsense. There will be something taught, and the poor will be conscripted for your morality, if you're running the school.

Now is that what you want? It seems to me that is the least democratic of all imaginable politics for education. It is a perfect recipe for hostility among the poor. If you want Nazis, force people to study stuff that violates their family's identity.

It seems to me, finally, that all of this is about the worst thing you can do to the human family, the institution upon which we must ultimately repair for our stability. If you're a five-year-old kid and you find out at age five that the person who has represented you for five years and been your one hope and your one leader and your lawyer and everything else, and then that person is a wimp when it comes to the most important experience of your life, there is no more destructive instrument that you could find.

I think that's more than I really can justify in terms of time, so I'll quit. Looking forward to the food fight.

MILLER: Thanks, Jack. Up next is Lisa Graham Keegan. Lisa is currently serving her second term as Arizona's superintendent of public instruction, an elected position. In this capacity she has oversight of Arizona's \$4.5 billion public education efforts for K-12. Also serves on the state boards of universities, colleges and charter schools. She's

developed a real national reputation as an innovator and a creative thinker, both on school choice, on equity, and on how all these things might merge. Lisa, welcome.



of places where we disagree.

LISA GRAHAM KEEGAN: One of the things that fascinates me about education debates is that oftentimes we don't care what the issue is, we care who is espousing it, so we align ourselves with people and not ideals. Unfortunately I think that happens way too often, and I appreciate this opportunity to talk about ideals. I also appreciate the opportunity to discuss this with Sandra Feldman and the AFT. We were speaking earlier and Gregory wanted me to make sure that I said what is absolutely true, that we relied very heavily on the AFT when we went to reorganize our state standards because they were doing some of the best work in the country on academics. So there are all sorts of places where we agree, and there are all sorts

What I really want to talk about is why I think fundamental philosophy leads you into school choice, but also why my own party, and I guess the right side of this argument has been wrong on occasion. That is in terms of equity. Matt hit on it briefly, and certainly Jack has done more work on this than most people in the country and we owed him a great debt of gratitude when we went about this issue in Arizona because of the work that he's done on the inequities of public education.

If you buy an argument, and I'll give you one -- you don't have to buy it, but it is mine -- that public education is an education in the interest of the children. It is paid for by the public, it ought to be equally supported no matter who you are, where you live, what the geographic tax base is in your neighborhood, and it also ought to be accountable to the public in terms of academics. That leaves you a whole lot of governance in there. If those principles are met, they can be met in any number of ways, but you need that basic infrastructure.

Before I started to study the inequalities of public education, I was in the House of Representatives and I'm sorry to say I did not realize the extent to which our own system in Arizona was quite unequal along the lines that Jack has been talking about. But I had also proposed, at that time, school choice and vouchers: partial payment vouchers which we'd have to add to, similar to what goes on in the private sector with some of the trust grants that are out there. [I think these] are marvelous and are extremely helpful and poor families do find a way to pay the difference. But in a public system, I do not believe what we should be looking for is a way to fully support some students and partially support others based on the fact that some would choose a private school and some would choose one of the government-run schools. I think that is inherently unequal and I have changed my mind, mostly out of study of what the system really looks like. What the system looks like is very closed, a traditional public system.

What local control originally was, the old policy of how we raised money for schools, was that you would have a school in a neighborhood where there would be children. All of a sudden we realized if we need a school and you didn't have one before, then sort of the folks around would generate a way to pay for that. That evolved into property taxes for a particular school, or one, two, three schools, to the point that we expanded that -- and the numbers on that are all over the place, but roughly towards the end of World War II we're looking at 115,000 school districts, very small school districts. Today we have about 15,000 school districts and twice the children. We have centralized greatly.

What that means is that you now have these huge school districts. Property tax bases for education, and huge inequities because of that. I think right now, Jack, you'll know better than I, but I think there are fully half of the states in the nation are engaged in some sort of lawsuit about inequities in public education.

The property tax basis works in the following way. You tax your own properties for schools. If you have a lot of value in the area that you live in, you can levy a fairly low tax, get a fairly high return for your students. That's great. You have a very well-functioning school system. If you live in a property-poor area then your taxes are quite high, in fact, and you get a fairly low return for your students.

Most states have gone about the business of trying to mitigate this somehow. They'll say, well, there will be a minimum and then you can go above and beyond if you want to, if you live in a wealthy area. The impression that persists, however, is that these systems are unfair. Yes, but they're unfair because wealthy people tax themselves more and they are willing to do that, and they raise more money and that's just fine. That is not what happens.

My party has been unwilling to deal with this. As a matter of fact, my father, who we lovingly call Eyore, came to my office one day when I proposed that we do a complete equity in the state and that we basically get rid of local property taxes that are individually assigned. In other words, you had to have statewide property taxes that would be for the benefit of all students. He came to my office and showed me that the top 10 wealthiest school districts were also the most Republican in the state. He said, enjoy this, dear. It's the last thing you'll ever do politically. I appreciate that. That was very helpful and uplifting.

Well, the fact of the matter is he was right. My party does not want to hear this. This has been very difficult for us. I will tell you we have succeeded in this in Arizona at the end of the day. We did succeed and our formula is now philosophically based on students. We have statewide property tax. We have done away with bonding for construction of schools and replaced that with what I see as just a horrible sort of centrally planned transitional program right now. I hope we will evolve out of that. Its basis, however, is philosophically sound and it's based on individual students. We're going to limp along as we get to that solution.

The point is, however, is that all students merit the same financial support and that we have got to deal with this as a nation, on both sides of the aisle. Quite frankly in this debate in Arizona, Republicans and Democrats, I don't think that was really the debate. It was a matter of who had the school district that they liked and who did not. And that it basically devolved into those who did have and those who didn't, and I will tell you that the parties had nothing to do with this at the end of the day.

"(A)ll students merit the same financial support ... We have systems in place that are so entrenched with inherent inequalities that can only be solved by saying, look, the fundamental principle ought to be every child deserves to be supported by an amount of money that ... is based on that child's need."
Lisa Graham Keegan

What we don't want to deal with is the fact that we have systems in place that are so entrenched with inherent inequalities that can only be solved by saying, look, the fundamental principle ought to be every child deserves to be supported by an amount of money that we say is based on that child's need. I don't think absolutely equal amounts of money really make sense when you have special education, et cetera. But there ought to be a formula that applies to any child regardless of where she is, and there ought to be a tax formula that applies to all members of this citizenry, regardless of where they live and not based on the property wealth of the property next to you. If I've got a nice commercial building sitting next to me somewhere, my tax rates are going to be lower because just by virtue of the fact that that's a very wealthy building next door. I don't think the systems make sense. I think we ought to do away with them.

The fact of the matter is Howard Fuller said it best at a conference a few years ago, that "if money did not matter in education, the people who had it wouldn't be trying to hang onto it." We love to say money doesn't matter, and you will only hear that from people who have it. So I think we have to challenge that just a little bit. That just does not make sense to me.

I was advised not to speak in terms of equality, in fact. It sounds so socialist. I'm not kidding. We don't want to hear about equality. That has just kind of a nasty ring to it. I said, well, how far we've come. Well, that's not the party I belong to, I think that anybody belongs to, Republican or Democrat, that we can't broach a topic that is, our kids need an equal opportunity. This is crazy.

The problems that I have had in terms of trying to deal with this issue, though, is that when you talk about equality of access, and then you say we want equal access into schools that may not be the traditional local district schools, that's when you lose the community that's been with you so far on equality. We want equality into a closed system. That doesn't make sense either. I mean, choice, opportunity, and the ability to exercise the values that you think are important to you with the resources that the state backs your child with, to me those cannot be separated.

While on the one hand we have this difficulty in agreeing that kids have had unequal opportunity, the other side has not been willing to say that that opportunity ought to extend to a school that works for a child. I believe that in here somewhere there is a great compromise, one that so far we have not actually been able to come to.

The other thing I want to talk about briefly is this whole question of accountability, and our state has been particularly strong in the public charter school movement. As we develop public charter schools in Arizona, we're a little bit more freewheeling than other states and we allowed a lot of providers in, and we immediately began to see some of those are outstanding. The majority of them in fact are quite good, and we have some that are not doing well, and in fact should be closed. This accountability issue is critically important. I do not believe that a pure marketplace, if you will, solves the educational problem, but if there is no feedback to the public about the quality of schools, there are no good choices to be made.

"Howard Fuller said it best at a conference a few years ago, that 'if money did not matter in education, the people who had it wouldn't be trying to hard to hang onto it.'"

Lisa Graham Keegan

Having the opportunity to choose any one of a number of terrible schools is not an improvement in public education so far as I'm concerned. So it is absolutely fundamentally important to get to accountability, but lest we forget, the system that we're currently operating in does not have those structures in place. It is not the case that you can simply take that really sound accountability program that we've been applying to the traditional system forever and judge the quality of these new schools. There are no accountability systems per se. Ours in Arizona is quite new. For three years now we've tested every child every year with a Stanford 9, and we'll come in now with a state test as well. The beauty of an annual test is that you can measure progress of students and not just look at absolute scores, which I think is critically important, especially in evolving school markets.

So that whole question of accountability is going to continue to be critically important, and we ought not expect that we will be able to inspect new schools and private schools and immediately know how effective those schools are. We've never done it in the traditional system. The accountability measurement has got to apply to the entire system so that we can say to the public at large – 'this is a school that works in the following way and you should choose it or you should not choose it'. We can tell you that this is what happens [in that school]. I simply believe that once you can do that, or even if you could, quite frankly, I think it is morally compelling to say that all students have the right to expect equal support and also equal opportunity to choose where they go to school.

MILLER: One of the wonderful things in American politics, that someone could be, like Lisa, be a rising star in Barry Goldwater country, and on some of the equity issues sound a lot like Ted Kennedy.

Our last distinguished panelist on our first distinguished panel is T. Willard Fair. Mr. Fair is President and Chief Executive Officer of the Urban League of greater Miami. He's been a powerful voice in the effort to improve his community, working for the Urban League since 1963. He hails from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and one of his many interesting roles or achievements over the years is that he most recently has, in a disagreement with the national Urban League, who has been a supporter of Jeb Bush's statewide voucher plan in Florida, which I'm sure he'll tell us about.



T. WILLARD FAIR: Good morning, and thanks very much, Matt, for making it public that I am in disagreement with Hugh Price. I hope that that does not translate into being in disagreement with the national Urban League, for I have not been able to find any place where the delegate assembly, which is the policymaking body, has adopted a resolution regarding the issue of vouchers. But it wouldn't matter if they had, for I would also be in disagreement with them.

Let me suggest that down in Miami, unlike in other places where there are Urban League affiliates, we decided way back in 1980 to get out of the service delivery business. We

decided that we would spend the rest of our time attempting to prepare children in Liberty City to be competitive. We thought that we would be the leaders of what we defined as the final revolution for us. We felt that given the impact and the benefits from the legal revolution and the civil rights revolution that we could afford a significant amount of our time, not all of our time, on development. We needed to make sure that children today were being prepared to be competitive with their counterparts in Miami, in the state, in the country and in the world.

As we moved away from the whole issue of service delivery, it then forced us to begin to look at things that were working and things that were not working. If we're talking about development then we must be very clear as to how each institution begins to make a negative or positive contribution towards the development of children. So if you come to Miami and look at the things that we're doing, we're doing a variety of things, all related to preparing children to be competitive with their counterparts, be they Hispanic, be they Haitian, be they non-Hispanic, non-Haitian.

If you come, you will see that we are doing significant things in terms of drug trafficking. We've taken the drug process head-on because we understand that you cannot talk about development in an environment where there is a value system that says that the way you make money doesn't matter, that money's the most important thing. If you're going to talk about kids staying in school, if you're going to talk about kids achieving, then you have to take those things away, those temptations away from them as they go to and from school, as they play in the environment. Some of them are very aggressive campaigns, designed to deal with the whole issue of getting rid of drug trafficking and other illegal pursuits that make educational achievement insignificant.

If you come, you will see that we've done a lot of affordable housing development whereby we made sure that families now have enough space that is according to their needs and desires. You really can't suggest that inner city kids get excited about education and doing homework if, like in some instances you have one mother at one time who had 13 children living in one bedroom. Where is she going to do any significant homework? So part of what we've done is to recognize that there's a direct correlation between affordable housing development and the configurations of the families. We've made sure we began to give the whole issue of creating affordable housing in the community.

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If you look at those things and then begin to look at the thing called public education in Dade County, then it's no accident that we would be supporting those things that are going to challenge the system to deliver quality education to all of the children in Dade County. We're the fourth largest school system in the country. If you looked at us in terms of our capacity, as relates to language spoken and as it relates to demographics, there's no doubt in my mind that there's a tremendous challenge on behalf of those who administer and on behalf of those who are in charge of the instructional methodology for the system.

But if you look at the system in a sort of a segmented fashion, you will find that if you come to my side of the community, according to all of the most recent data, all of the kids that are failing seem to be in my community. If you look at those kids who are dropping out, disproportionately the number of kids who are dropping out are in my community. The list goes on and on, and it does not speak uniquely to Dade County. It probably speaks to what happens in the country, but I'm only concerned limitedly about what happens in Dade County.

So we're about the business of making sure that we participate in the discussion about what has to be done differently in those public schools in order to assist us as we prepare kids to be competitive. It seems to us that as we talk about education reform, schooling reform, then it was appropriate for the Miami affiliate to be an active, aggressive player in that discussion. We could not sit on the sideline and allow others to make a definitive conclusion about how we're going to make sure that all children get a quality education, especially as we talk about who would be "the ones most likely to take advantage of the vouchers." We're talking primarily the black and brown and yellow children.

As a result, it did not make any good sense to talk about moving the stalemate if we're not going to seek out ways to aggressively involve them in the argument, in the debate. So part of what we've got to do in this whole conversation is to make sure that there are those who live in these communities who share a similar kind of concern about what's happening to their children that they participate.

What we've attempted to do is to make sure that we make that happen. We will not allow the discussion, the debate, to be one-sided as relates to ethnicity, as relates to the political ideology. We will force ourselves to make sure that we participate in that dialogue and that discussion, and that the arguments that are brought forth are arguments that we will also make very vociferously. What we will not do, however, is not stand idly by and allow persons who look exactly like us to take positions which in our judgment are not in the best interest of all of us. So we have no qualms about taking the risk that will allow us to disassociate, if you please, ourselves from Hugh Price. To say to the NAACP that you may speak for the membership of the NAACP but you don't, in 1999, speak for all people. I think that is part of what we've got to deal with.

As we talk about these discussions that are important to all of us, there's a tendency on behalf of some of us, in the interest of not being allied with certain kinds of things, to give more credence to the importance of positions of some of us than we ought to give to them. When that happens then we never really get the true involvement of most of us in the process.

So I think what we have said very clearly is that we will also challenge ourselves to be very aggressive in making sure that those who are in our community, who are called upon by others outside of our community to give their position on vouchers (as they are important to our community) that we strip them of what is intuitiveness versus the fact. The fact is that all of the arguments that you made this morning are great, but once you get through the arguments, the real fact is that children in Liberty City are not learning. And the real fact is that if we're going to do something about that then we've got to be part of the reform movement that makes that happen.

The fact is that we can talk about the need for us not to do anything, but the reality says to us that we've got to do something. So as we listen to all of the arguments, at the end of the day we know clearly that we have got to move clearly beyond the arguments and move beyond the stalemate. We think you do that by simply making sure that the facts are given out correctly to the community.

The most recent piece is a campaign in our state now called OUCH [holds up flyer]. They say voucher without saying ouch. This is a group of persons that have decided that they're going to come together and make sure that the facts are given out to the people so that they cannot support the issue of vouchers. We've done an analysis of the persons who are behind the campaign. That's important to us. Because they are now hiding behind the cloak of their liberalness and their blackness. If you look beyond their liberalness and their blackness, you will see that they clearly do not support those things that are in the best interest of the children. It's not popular, it's not ethnically correct for us to be attacking each other, because there's something called ethnic solidarity, and therefore we don't want to give anybody the impression that all of us don't think the same way about everything.

Well, in Miami that's not true. Some of us think the correct thing about the right things, and the less correct thing about everything that everybody else thinks. But here is a very interesting piece. Let's look at it. For example, the opponents have come together and the proponents don't often do that. That is why I'm pleased that we're here today to talk about this issue because we often have our own individual agendas and individual directions, and we really never show the power of us coming together.

The second piece is I'm so glad you invited me because it adds some coloration to this process that is missing in the discussion nationally.

The third thing about this [flyer] is that there's a foundation that has agreed to fund this anonymously. I find that to be surprising, that somebody would give their money away for such an important issue and not give their name to it as they go forward. I'm trying to find out who that person or persons are so they too can be exposed. Because we need not have anybody coming under the hood of foundation about those things that are important to us as we go into the 21st century. So I suggest to you that part of what we see as important in this issue, moving beyond the

stalemate, is to begin to talk about how we make sure that the truth is told in a true capacity. If that happens then I think we move beyond the stalemate.

The key to this whole discussion, moving beyond the stalemate, is for us to make Hugh Price, Al Sharpton, Mfume and others say what they know to be correct. That part of the delivery system for quality education, for the children that they profess publicly to be concerned about, is to support and embrace the voucher movement. I read with interest the proposition that was made about a possible compromise. I wait today for him to say publicly that it's the right thing to do. Thank you.

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MILLER: Thank you very much. Well, with those stimulating remarks as our kickoff, let me tee off the discussion with a couple of questions. First, Jack, one of the things that I think people don't get a sense of as much is how long-standing the pedigree is on the left intellectually for vouchers. A lot of folks think it's a Milton Friedman idea from the 50s and it's been passed on through his libertarian devotees over the years. You, I recall, have been debating these issues with Friedman since, what, in 1960 you had a radio show in Chicago about this?

COONS: I did. You, I understand, have a radio show in Los Angeles.

MILLER: That is true. I didn't mean that as a slur. But it was funny, Jack once told me a funny story, which is that Milton Friedman, with whom he's debated these issues now for more than a century, it turns out -- they're into their second century of this debate -- actually got a letter from Friedman at one point because Milton Friedman was trying to scare off one of the conservative pro-voucher funders from being involved with Jack, and as a courtesy cc'd Jack on the letter, which warned the man off against involvement with Jack Coons because he was an egalitarian, which was the worst thing someone could say, I guess, about Jack.

When I asked Friedman about that one time, he said, it's true. Jack Coons is an egalitarian, but he's a nice egalitarian.

Can you share just a little bit, Jack, of what the sort of major contours are of the debate between your camp in voucher design, and Friedman's, the way it's played out, say, in California and elsewhere so folks have a concrete understanding of it.

COONS: Well, just a brief historical run at it. In the late 60s I exploited my former students mercilessly to produce a whole spate of books and articles and models of what we thought of as the necessary books, the scholarships, the vouchers and the protections necessary to the people for whom they were really intended. These produced some interest. The late, lamented Leo Ryan, Congressman Leo Ryan, called in the late 70s, in the summer of 1978 and said, let's get going, let's do an initiative in California. He said, we'll start as soon as I get back from my trip. I have to make a trip. Well, of course he didn't come back. You recall the Guyana incident. Leo died in Guyana.

But a movement went forward in California with an initiative that never got enough signatures because it didn't get enough money. Of course, it looked as if it would have great support, both left and right. The right liked the market, the left liked the focus on the poor. But in the end, both withdrew. The unions found it unappealing in terms of its competitive aspects, and the right found it too regulated for their taste. As I say, we've been standing between the trenches ever since. Damned to the left, damned to the right. And maybe properly so, but in any event, that has been the history.

"this really has nothing to do with either party or simply the self-interest of individual groups. But it has a broad appeal to all people who would like to help those who are disadvantaged and who have interest in the family."

Jack Coons

The rhetoric for vouchers has been largely captured since the 70s by libertarian formulas, as you know. The

libertarians, God bless them, like to talk this way. They like to talk this way about the market and how it's going to fix everything. And the unions were only too glad that they did because they knew they couldn't get more than 30 percent of the vote as long as they talked that way. As long as your rhetoric is exclusively on free market and damn the regulation, you're not going to win anything.

So at last, out of the forest has come the coalition of people like Tommy Thompson and Polly Williams and the gangs in Florida and Ohio and elsewhere to show that this really has nothing to do with either party or simply the self-interest of individual groups. But it has a broad appeal to all people who would like to help those who are disadvantaged and who have interest in the family.

MILLER: Lisa, can I ask you a question. The mantra of local control is this stable -- really for almost every candidate, presidential candidate, you have to honor local control. And yet as you point out, people don't distinguish between sort of local control over curriculum text, those kinds of things, and this financial aspect of local control that you stressed. Do you see this becoming something that anyone at the presidential level is going to talk about? Is John McCain going to talk about this? How does this financial aspect of it, which is just, as you point out, gets into the mainstream debate in a way different than what it is today?

KEEGAN: You know, candidly, Matt, I'm not sure that it does because local control is such a wonderful term because nobody knows what it means, but it certainly feels good. And so we throw it around all the time. I'm guilty of it myself, I do it with great fervor when it's necessary and denounce it when it's necessary. I mean, it's just one of those catch phrases.

The reason I don't think that local control, the financial issues of that are going to catch fire in a presidential debate is because it is counter-intuitive to what everybody believes is true about public education. People believe that it is true that they are taxing themselves at the same effort level, that whatever effort they are exerting on their taxes is resulting in the same amount, if you will, of the same amount of money for kids. They do not believe it is true that in lower income communities their taxes are higher. They just don't even believe it-- you can't get there from here. So it takes a huge educational process.

Under this marvelous debate structure where you get 30 seconds to espouse on the most important issues of the day to the nation, I just cannot see raising this issue and putting it out there in its fullness. You have a lot of people who say, that's true, there are inequities, but there is Title I money for the poor, and so that more than offsets it. To which I would respond, actually it does not offset it because what you get are legislators who say, well, we have this state aid portion, but if the local schools want to do something with their local control money that doesn't cost us anything at the state level. Let's just let them go ahead. What you get is this creep, and a bigger and bigger disparity.

The important issue, Matt, is that you have to be able to connect that. There is no morally compelling vision for me in equalizing school districts to each other. I think school districts are not only unequal, they are monopolies. So what you get is you've got states where even if you say, we're going to have open enrollment -- I love Jack's statement. You try to be a student from Los Angeles to walk into Beverly High, even though at the margins California says they have open enrollment and one could do so if one wanted to. Baloney. You can't do that.

Some of the nastiest debates I ever had to engage in was in this issue of where those kids get to go to school, quite frankly. So I think you have to discuss the larger issue, which is what I think the candidates are attempting to do, which is the system ought to be based on the individual needs of students, it ought to be driven by parent choice of school, and it ought to be fair in its support of students. That's about as far as you can go, and I think the local control issue, even though it needs serious policy work at the state level, I just don't think most people are ready to hear the facts about it. Their initial reaction is that's not true, and it takes them a long time to get there.

MILLER: I know in Vermont, where they just have this court-ordered state equalization plan, one of the strange spectacles about the property tax in this regard is that the wealthier communities are engaged in civil disobedience now, taking to the streets because they're being asked to raise the tax themselves on their property at levels that are

"(L)ocal control is such a wonderful term because nobody knows what it means, but it certainly feels good. And so we throw it around all the time."

Lisa Graham Keegan

still lower than the levels that the poor communities have taxed themselves for decades.

KEEGAN: Right. And we call that a Robin Hood scheme.

MILLER: Right. And they are ironies that I think aren't well understood sometimes by the press even, and others.

Willard, let me ask you a question before we turn to our audience to continue the discussion. What will it take, do you think, or what do you see in terms of the political dynamic that would make minority leadership decide to take a different public view of

these issues? What would have to happen?

FAIR: Those who are part of their cadre of constituencies would have to begin to say to them that we think you are wrong. It's amazing that all the polls show that in Liberty City and in other inner cities the parents support vouchers. It's amazing that the leadership nationally would say that it's bad. Is that a pathology associated with the ism called racism? That we know what's good for us and they think they know what's good for us, what they think is good for us is not good for us?

The mere fact that those of us of color who are standing up with Jeb Bush, for example, for the initiative makes the initiative more believable. Many people are silent. It is no longer viewed just as another Republican gimmick being perpetrated on black people. So what's going to take it to the next level is that I've got to multiply this voice of outrage toward the leadership. As soon as we stand up and say that what they're saying is incorrect, inappropriate, is not validated by any facts, then it also frees you up because part of your reluctance is that you don't want to get caught up in our fight.

You know that there should be a tide and you're waiting for me to do. I'm going to do it and now I dare you not to do it.

MILLER: Just to be fair to today's minority leadership -- and we had asked, by the way, Kweisi Mfume to appear. He had a conflict and we're sorry he couldn't be with us. But isn't it fair from their point of view, from the point of view of the current leaders of these groups, that so many of the proposals are so tiny and affect so few kids, such a small percentage, that just as a matter of political strategy or tactics it's not unfair for them to say, why should I split with traditional allies, like the teachers unions, like other groups that have been walking with us shoulder to shoulder on a lot of issues on a broader agenda that matters for us, for programs that seem so token and that are going to leave basically almost all the kids out?

FAIR: Well, I would think that that's a very valid and real concern. But if you've just said to me before making that observation that you are really concerned about children, then I'd expect you to make that valid concern public, and then I expect you no longer to be a critic but a creator of something that's going to do something about the children. So if they want to say that I'm not prepared to support it because of these sentimental circumstances, then it would seem to me if they have a commitment and a concern about the children, they would put on the table their plan.

All I've heard is criticism. I've heard complaining, I've heard whining. I've yet to see anyone come forward and say the voucher plan is no good. We agree that something has got to be done, and this is what we propose. Just to criticize and be allowed to do that and do nothing else I think is unfair and irresponsible leadership.

MILLER: Let's open this up to questions and discussion from the group. We have microphones. When you do ask your question, please identify yourself and your institutional affiliation.

QUESTION FROM THE AUDIENCE: We're looking for ways of creating a compromise here. We've had success with tax credits rather than vouchers. Would that be a better way to try to move forward?

KEEGAN: It seems to be in Arizona, but that doesn't mean that we've given up on also wanting to have the option for parents to take the amount of money that's allocated to their kids and go directly into a school. I have to tell you at this point, I am up for all options that move towards more availability of school choice for students. I think wherever a school works, with traditional public district school, public charter schools, the tuition tax credits -- which incidentally in Arizona mean that our family gets \$500 a year direct tax credit to a scholarship organization that funds a private school. It cannot be for the benefit of my own child. So you're basically just funding scholarship organizations. It creates a great deal of space, if you will, between government and private schools. That was one of its biggest selling points, quite frankly.

I would propose that in states that want to add these additional options. What it's done is it's given millions of dollars to scholarship organizations that can then fund kids into private schools. So yes, I think that's one opportunity.

Having said that, we were contested in court by any number of groups. The teachers union and folks who ordinarily oppose vouchers also opposed that tax credit. We had to fight them in court and ultimately prevail.

FAIR: What we've done in the state of Florida, as Matt said, a voucher is a voucher is a voucher. Clearly there is some benefit in making sure that what you call it is important. So we call ours an opportunity scholarship, but it still serves the same purpose as a voucher. It allows kids who have been in a school that has received an F grade for two consecutive years to apply for an opportunity scholarship and to move to another school.

We think that just by changing what we call it makes it much more palatable to many folks who think they ought to oppose it.

COONS: I want to register my unswerving admiration and my unswerving resistance. The admiration for Lisa Keegan, my resistance to tax credits. Tax credits are largely useful for the rich, unless they're refundable. And the Arizona system is among the most peculiar that I have met. You don't need a speech on this, but if you want to get the details, we'll try.

QUESTION FROM THE AUDIENCE: What about families that would use vouchers to go to a school that teaches hate/racism?

KEEGAN: Let me start, and I'm sure both of the gentlemen will want to answer that. First of all, it's important for me that the issue of where a parent chooses to send their child is respected. What Jack said before about values will be taught is absolutely true. I have to believe that hateful though I might find some of what gets taught in a lot of places, I recognize that it happens.

I don't believe in voucher programs that would allow private schools to determine, quite frankly, who they will take, do selections. Our voucher programs have always said there have to be a set aside of so many spaces and you basically take the kids by lottery, et cetera. If a family is choosing to send their child into a school where you deem that the material, or I deem that the material that they are teaching is contrary to our values, I guess my answer to that would be that in fact those values are being taught to that child, regardless of where they are, in school or otherwise. I find it greatly regrettable. I find it hateful in some instances.

But I find it more hateful and more repressive the idea that says that my values are the ones who will absolutely be taught to your child and you will not have a choice about that. I believe at the end of the day that the vast majority of Americans denounce that kind of hatefulness. You will not see it in most schools, but where you do see it, a child absolutely has the opportunity to get out. And it does not just happen in private school.

FAIR: I think also when we define the rules, we also define them in the context of the value system that's prevalent at the time. If in our judgment as definers of the rules we think that there is a tendency for those kinds of institutions to exist, then we will define the rules so that they cannot exist and be involved in the process. Any hospital cannot be involved in an HMO process. There are qualifications, there's an accountability process that says that you must use certain standard criteria.

As we talk about vouchers, we want to make sure that those who are in a position to accept the vouchers have at least the minimum things that they must do and cannot do if they're going to be part of the process. I think we're smart enough to do that. Our history tells me that we are.

MILLER: Next question?

QUESTION FROM THE AUDIENCE: Jane Hannaway of the Urban Institute. This is a question of clarification for Jack Coons. I believe you made a statement that schools must set aside places for voucher children. Could you expand on what your thinking is on that? Is it public and private schools? What are the details?

COONS: In every voucher scheme, every scholarship scheme you have to make some decision about who can participate and the rules of participation. The proponents have felt that if you're going to take the money for either a charter school, a public charter school, or a private institution, if you're going to take the public money that you ought to be playing by rules which are more democratic than the very undemocratic rules which now govern the public sector. That is, you can't exclude people by the fact that they live outside the boundaries, or they're poor or whatever.

Now how do you make sure -- you have conflicts because on one hand you have the identity of the school to preserve to make it worth choosing. On the other hand you have the importance of the accessibility for the people who need to get in the school. So you have two problems. One is about admission. How to regulate admission so that kids have a reasonable chance of getting in. There are various ways to do it. In the 1978 proposal in California it was to be random selection among all who applied. That's okay by me. Random selection of half is okay. We prefer over the long run, Steve Sugarman and others who have worked on these things have preferred a regulation which would make the school set-aside 20 percent or something like that, new spaces each year for low income families. That isn't perfect but it works. It seems to work, and it satisfies the culture of almost all of the private schools. They don't have to participate, of course, but they do this now, as a matter of fact. Most private schools do this as a matter of their own preference.

The other question in addition, very important, is that the kids not be priced out. So the schools say, come on in, we love you, but by the way, we need an extra \$5,000 over your voucher. That's a problem. It's another form of the present system. It's the Beverly Hills system in a new way. So what you do is either have no add-ons, have a voucher big enough so you have no add-ons at all. Or you have it as big as you like, big enough to provide new schools but say you can add on, but only according to the capacity of the family that has to pay. In other words, price control. You can imagine how Milton Friedman feels about that.

MILLER: Let's take one more question before our break. Paul Peterson from Harvard. A heckler from Harvard, I describe him.

PETERSON: I thought the analogy to trench warfare that Jack raised earlier was accurate, that there are two sides out there, one political party against another, conservatives against liberals. But there's one dynamic element in the story. There's only one force out there that's probably going to change the story, and that's black families. Because if black families say that this is something that's really important to them, it's going to change the calculations of all the politicians who have lined up on one side or another. They're going to have a lot of difficulty dealing with that reality and not doing something about it.

We already see that. I mean, there is much more support in the black community, especially among families with children in schools for vouchers than there is in the white community. There's much more in the center city than there is suburban areas. Just yesterday we released a study which showed that it was the black kids who benefited from vouchers, in Dayton, Ohio, and here in Washington, D.C. It was the black kids who benefited from the vouchers.

If this finding repeats itself in other places, and if it penetrates into the consciousness of the civil rights community then the grand bargain becomes a possibility. I don't think it becomes a possibility until we reach that point.

MILLER: Any comment?

FAIR: He's absolutely correct. We just got a three-year grant from a foundation to make parents consumers of education. I've got a workshop next week and I can't wait to get back to tell them I've got some new evidence that it works.

MILLER: Let me thank our distinguished panel for starting off a very stimulating discussion.

PANEL 2: IS A GRAND BARGAIN BETWEEN LEFT AND RIGHT POSSIBLE?

PANELISTS

LAMAR ALEXANDER

Lamar Alexander was Secretary of Education under President George Bush, where he spearheaded an effort to enact voucher test at the federal level called the G.I. Bill for Kids. The plan would have spent \$500 million in new federal dollars to give the parents of half a million low-and middle-income children each a \$1,000 voucher to use at the schools of their choice. Alexander is also the former Governor of Tennessee and a two-time candidate for President.

CLINT BOLICK

Clint Bolick is Vice President and Director of Litigation at the Institute for Justice, which he co-founded in 1991. Bolick is a leader in the litigation effort to defend school choice programs, and recently won a landmark ruling in the Wisconsin Supreme Court upholding the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program. He has also successfully defended school choice programs before the state supreme courts of Arizona and Ohio and is currently defending choice programs in Florida and Illinois.

SANDRA FELDMAN

Sandra Feldman is President of the million member American Federation of Teachers and an outspoken critic of voucher programs. Prior to joining AFT, Feldman was president of the United Federation of Teachers in New York City, the largest union local in the United States. She has been appointed to numerous commissions and task forces tackling educational, economic, child-welfare, labor and other social issues. Feldman was selected as one of New York City's "75 Most Influential Women" by *Crain's New York Business*.

ANDREW ROTHERHAM

Andrew Rotherham is the Special Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy. He coordinates education policy activities at the White House, leads the White House Domestic Policy Council education team, and advises President Clinton on educational issues. Rotherham works with policymakers in academia, government, and the non-profit sector to develop and advance policy initiatives aimed at raising standards and student achievement, increasing accountability in education, and increasing flexibility and innovation in public schools.

HILARY SHELTON

Hilary Shelton is Director of the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, where he is responsible for providing legislative advocacy to the issue agenda of the oldest and largest civil rights organization in the United States. Shelton's govern affairs portfolio includes work on improving access to quality education. As Assistant Director of Government Affairs for the United Negro College Fund, Shelton helped secure the survival, growth and educational programming excellence of the 40 private historically black colleges and universities throughout the United States.

MILLER: Welcome back. For our second panel, which is going to ask the question, is a grand bargain between left and right possible, we have a very distinguished panel. Let me just introduce them all to you quickly so they can offer their remarks and we can get into debate and discussion. We've got a litigator on this panel we've got a labor negotiator. This means we could end up with quite a vocal debate, but we're still going to try to disagree without being too disagreeable.

On our panel today we have folks you know very well. Lamar Alexander needs no introduction. He is a former secretary of education under George Bush, a former governor of Tennessee, a former presidential candidate in the last race and in this race. I asked Lamar the other day if he thought maybe he didn't drop out too soon, considering what's been happening these days.

We have Clint Bolick from the Institute of Justice. He's the vice president there, and is perhaps the leading litigator in the country on behalf of school choice programs that are facing constitutional challenge. We have Andy Rotherham, who is a special assistant to the president for domestic policy. Andy was formerly with the DLC and the Progressive Policy Institute and he's now at the White House where he coordinates education initiatives and advises the president on education policy.

We have Sandra Feldman, who is the well-known president of the American Federation of Teachers and has been active for many years as a leader in the teaching movement and the union movement, both domestically and internationally.

And we have in addition to the panel, which is wonderful because we had invited Kweisi Mfume, and it was not, by the way, that we invited him and he turned us down in a huff. I don't want to leave that impression. But he's a very busy man. He's been able to send Hilary Shelton, who's the director of the Washington bureau of the NAACP. So I think we should have a very interesting mix.

I'll ask everyone to speak, I would say again, for the same kind of seven or eight minutes if you can, laying out your thoughts on whether a grand bargain somehow is possible between left and right. In a nutshell, one that I proposed in the *Atlantic* monthly was to raise -- take a handful of towns where everyone agrees that the school system is not producing the results we want, it's dysfunctional for various reasons. Don't pick cities that are outliers in school spending, like Washington, D.C. and Newark, where spending is excessive and seems to be very ineffective. But take one of the many cities where per pupil spending is actually lower than the surrounding suburbs, substantially lower, and do this. Raise per pupil spending, say 20 percent, giving the left the resources it says are needed for kids in districts that come with many more troubles, many more needs, more dilapidated schools, et cetera. Raise per pupil spending, but implement that higher spending only via something like a universal choice program in that town. Or at least one that would give this higher voucher to poor kids, which sadly, as you know in our urban districts, may average about two-third of the kids are actually on the federal school lunch program.

That's an idea which when shopped at least through my *Atlantic* piece seemed to draw some interest from some differing points on the political spectrum. I just talk to that as one option. I'm sure we'll hear about others and then we'll have a debate. Let me start first with Lamar Alexander.

"I'd like to up the ante, in the spirit of the day. Instead of a \$500 million new federal program, let's make it a \$5 billion new federal program, ten times as much. Instead of \$1,000 for 500,000 American schoolchildren, let's make it \$1,000 for each of 5 million American schoolchildren. That's one out of every ten American children."

Lamar Alexander



LAMAR ALEXANDER: Thank you, and thanks for the opportunity to be here. I'd like to pose a question, recall a little history, and make a specific proposal in my seven or eight minutes. Here's my question. Why don't we try an idea that worked spectacularly well to help create the best colleges over the last 50 years and see if it will help create the best schools? And a little history to this.

About eight years ago, almost exactly, it was a beautiful spring day and I was walking with the president of the United States on the south lawn, where he was about to make an important announcement, when his wife, Barbara Bush, sent him back inside because his coat didn't match his pants. So he went back, changed his clothes, came out and made an important announcement.

Let me be specific in what President Bush said in April of 1992. This was a result of about a year of work and a broad coalition of support was behind it. He proposed a GI bill for children. The GI bill for kids would give \$1,000 annual scholarships in new federal dollars to each child of a middle and low-income family in a participating state or locality. In other words, you had to want to be a part of this to do it. Families could spend the scholarships at any lawfully operated school, public, private or religious. Up to \$500 of each scholarship could be spent on "other

academic programs." For example, a Saturday program to learn more math, an afternoon program for children with speech disabilities, or a summer accelerated course in language or the arts.

Let me emphasize here the president said what most people miss with this proposal. These are \$1,000 scholarships, new federal dollars that may be spent at any school. That means most of the dollars -- I would expect, he said, more than 75 percent would go to public schools. Now let me underline that one more time. This is a different way, a different proposal. It would mean that if you were a principal of a middle school with 600 kids in that school, and let's say it was an inner city school and 80 percent of the kids qualified for this scholarship, they would show up at that public school, if they chose to go there, with \$1,000 pinned to their blouses or their shirt. That would be approximately a half million new federal dollars for that school, to be spent the way that faculty, under the supervision of that local school board thought it ought to be spent.

These were not dollars to be taken away from that school to go to some private or religious school. Now those children could have chosen to go to other schools. Actually the proposal gave them a series of five new choices. They could have taken their \$1,000 to a different public school, or to the Catholic school down the street. Or to the same public school, as I just mentioned. If there was something about it that dissatisfied them, the moms could go in and say, we don't want to go down the street. We want to go here, but can you stay open until 5 o'clock because we all work? With that new money, perhaps they could.

It could go to a new school, one that might be at the hospital where a mom worked, as an example. Or the money could be spent for other academic programs. That was the proposal.

Now what happened? What happened was the bill never got out of committee. The usual voices arose. They said it wasn't enough money, even though it was a half billion dollars. It was the largest new dollar program in the federal budget that year. It was more money than was used to start the Head Start program in 1965. They said it would hurt public schools, even though we've had 50 years of experience that it helps public universities, the idea. They said it would help the rich, when it was really for the poor and middle income; those who would be eligible would be anyone with less than a median income, which then was a little under \$50,000 a year.

They said it was unconstitutional, even though tens of thousands of veterans went to Catholic high school after World War II on the GI bill for veterans. They said the poor can't make wise decisions, even though we allow them to do that with food, with hospital and with day care vouchers. And they said it would discriminate, even though there were anti-discrimination provisions in the law. That's what happened to that specific idea.

I believe our nation missed a terrific opportunity in 1992 by not recognizing the difference between President Bush's GI bill for children, and a typical state voucher proposal. So this morning, this is my specific proposal. I'd like to up the ante, in the spirit of the day. Instead of a \$500 million new federal program, let's make it a \$5 billion new federal program, ten times as much. Instead of \$1,000 for 500,000 American schoolchildren, let's make it \$1,000 for each of 5 million American schoolchildren. That's one out of every ten American children. That's one out of every six children that would be eligible if the eligible children are those who come from families with less than the median income, which today is more than \$50,000 a year.

Instead of enough money to make it available for 24 cities the size of San Jose, which President Bush's proposal was, this would make it available for all the eligible children in 240 cities the size of San Jose. Or instead of 30 cities the size of Little Rock, it would be 300 the size of Little Rock. Or instead of seven cities, all the children in seven cities the size of Milwaukee, it would be 70 cities the size of Milwaukee.

And all the participating school districts of states would have to do is what Arizona does in this sense. It would have to allow parents to choose among the schools. If they chose among all the public schools, that would be all right with me. I would not have a federal requirement that state money must be spent at a private or religious school. But the federal money would have to go to any lawfully operated school if the parent chose that.

Now what would have happened if the Congress and the nation in its wisdom had adopted President Bush's proposal in 1992? Well, it was a five-year demonstration proposal. We would have known by 2000 that it didn't

work, that it actually hurt public schools, or it hurt poor children, or that it wasn't enough money, or it was something unanticipatedly wrong with it. Or, as I suspect, we would have found out another answer, that it did work. That it worked just as well as the GI bill for veterans and as the Pell grants.

I was president of a university. I sat there at the University of Tennessee every day knowing that a great many students could go to Vanderbilt or Notre Dame or Yeshiva or nonprofit institutions. It never occurred to me to come to Washington and say, please don't give any more Pell grants to students who might go to Notre Dame, or even to a poor private institution. I knew they were bringing new dollars to our university, and the choice and the change helped us as well as the money.

So we would have, after five years, I would think, a successful program. And then today we would be competing with this GI bill for kids with all the new money in our economy, to broaden the program, to fund it. We would be getting poor parents more choices, we would be funding the change. We would be finding a more equitable way to help pay for the extra cost of educating children who come often from poor families.

We are spending, you might say, \$5 billion -- that's an unreasonable, unrealistic amount of money. I just checked. We're spending \$5 billion new, federal dollars this year, just on technology in the schools. If you add up all the federal programs that have to do with computers, that's \$5 billion. We could easily fund \$5 billion for a demonstration program.

Then I would end where I started. Why not try the idea that helped create the best colleges in the world, to see if over a five-year period it will help to create the best schools in the world for our children.

MILLER: Mr. Clint Bolick, Vice President of the Institute of Justice.



CLINT BOLICK: It is a pleasure to be here today. Thanks, Matt, and to the Annenberg Center for putting together a very provocative forum. I do think that the question of the day really does bring people out of the woodwork to really determine whether a person supports the goals of public education, or is really out to preserve the status quo. I think that the responses today, when you really get down to the question, would you support the grand compromise, will really I think bring people out of their facades.

I am very skeptical about greater spending in education. If spending were the answer, the Newark, New Jersey school system, which is now spending close to \$14,000 per student, would be one of the finest school systems in the country. It is not. More money in recent years has tended to buy more bureaucracy. While over the last decade or so the number of school teachers has risen slightly, the number of administrators has risen dramatically. That has made the educational mission in many instances harder, not easier.

I'm also skeptical because this is how the grand bargain often works. You say lots more money, and we also get some school choice. And then the other side says, okay, we're going to go halfway with you. We'll compromise on the more money part, but we'll get rid of the school choice part. So we have a compromise that just looks like more of the same.

I think it is far more important who has control over the money than how much money is actually being spent. That's why I favor Lisa Graham Keegan's proposal to put an equal amount of money on the backs of every school child, and that is the way every school would be funded. Not through a local bureaucracy that shaves off a tremendous amount of money. That money is spent by the consumer and then it is controlled by the school, whether that school is public or private.

Nonetheless, I do think that the grand bargain is possible. We have never had a school choice plan without substantial liberal and minority support, whether it was Polly Williams and John Norquist, the mayor of Milwaukee

in Milwaukee, Fannie Lewis, the Democratic council member from Cleveland, and T. Willard Fair and many black Democratic members of the legislature in Florida. Here in the United States Congress, where Congress has passed school choice programs only to have them vetoed by President Clinton, who, Fannie Lewis has often quipped, is an example of the only person in public housing who gets to send his child to private school.

Here in the District we've even supported it with people like Joe Lieberman, Pat Moynihan, and others. But Florida is a concrete example of an aspect of the grand compromise in practice. The Florida opportunity scholarship program is a tiny part of a much larger school reform program that delivers as much as \$1 billion of new money to public schools. But Jeb Bush insisted that accountability and choice be a part of that system. So that we now have the first state in the nation that offers a money-back guarantee on public schools. If the public schools fail, the kids are no longer held hostage there. While we're fixing the school with a bailout program, the kids get to go to either a better public school, or to private schools.

"We have never had a school choice plan without substantial liberal and minority support."

Clint Bolick

One of the things that I love about this program is that the people who are shrieking so loudly about vouchers have it within their power to prevent a single voucher from ever being issued in the state of Florida. The way they do that is by doing their jobs. If they don't fail, there are no scholarships. If they do fail, there is no argument against scholarships.

Nonetheless, I do think that this grand compromise is possible, and elsewhere other than Florida, but I don't think that this panel is reflective of the left-right debate. The

American Federation of Teachers gives lip service to reform, and it actually has supported some positive reforms in the public schools. But when it comes to school choice, they have built a Berlin Wall around it, and they have blocked the schoolhouse doors in state after state, going to court in Ohio, in Wisconsin, and in Florida. In fact in Florida they are not supporting the grand compromise there. They are vigorously litigating that issue.

The NAACP shamefully, shamefully is opposing school choice everywhere in unholy alliance with People for the American Way. In Milwaukee the NAACP litigated the issue of school choice despite the fact that the *Milwaukee Community Journal*, the largest African-American newspaper in Milwaukee, found that 90 percent of the black community supported the program. Those numbers of support for the Milwaukee program continue to grow. And the Clinton administration is emblematic of the Democratic Party at the national level being totally beholden to their special interest constituency. The debate between Al Gore and Bill Bradley is a perfect example of the fact that Bill Bradley at one time voted for school choice programs is apparently a part of the disqualification, at least in the eyes of Al Gore, for ever being president of the United States.

I agree with Senator John Kerry, not exactly a raving conservative, that the Democrats are in real danger of losing the crown jewel of their policy arsenal by being so militarily opposed to school choice programs and to other systemic education reforms. They are in danger of ceding that issue to the Republicans, if we ever have a Republican presidential candidate who is capable of articulating a rational position on educational policy. It may be high on a wish list.

"He [Kweisi Mfume] says that he has no problems with school vouchers, a plan that includes school vouchers. But you have to listen to the second part. The second part is, as long as those dollars don't come out of our public coffers. That is, as long as they don't come out of tax dollars that are spent either locally, on a state level, or federally.

Hilary Shelton

My bottom line is, yes, it is possible. It happened in Florida. And not only that, I predict that it will happen. Once we get to the point in our society where we recognize that the goal of public education is not about preserving a particular system at all costs. That system exists to serve the needs of all children, and that education can take place outside of the public school system, we will make it happen. As Kurt Schmoke, the former mayor of Baltimore said, he said that over time and through dialogue, "Critics of school choice will come to see this movement for what it is - part of an emerging civil rights battle for the millennium, the battle for educational equity." Thank you very much.

MILLER: Thank you, Clint. Up next, let's hear from Hilary Shelton, who is the director of the Washington bureau of the NAACP. Hilary, thanks for being with us this morning.



HILARY SHELTON: Good morning. I got a call this morning from my boss, Kweisi Mfume, who is very concerned about the issues that are going to be discussed today, and asked if I would come over, and so I did. I'm happy to be here. I head the Washington bureau, which is the legislative and public policy division for the NAACP. Let me just lay out a couple of things.

One, just for clarity, and not to spend very much time on it, my boss is quoted in the article in the Atlantic monthly as saying that he supports this grand plan, which he doesn't. But I'm not going to spend a lot of time talking about that, but just to say that there was a misunderstanding about what his position is.

MILLER: Just for the record, I'll note that I reflected accurately and fairly what he said to me, and have my notes. I think we'll have to agree to disagree on that.

SHELTON: Sure. I can just tell you what he said to me, and I'll tell you what the NAACP's policies are. The NAACP's policies, and you talked to him at one time, and I work with him. I talk to him all the time about this issue and other issues. I was in Pennsylvania when the NAACP debated this issue and many other concerns and took the position we did to oppose the utilization of school vouchers.

One of the things he does say that if people don't listen closely they could very well misunderstand. He [Kweisi Mfume] says that he has no problems with school vouchers, a plan that includes school vouchers. But you have to listen to the second part. The second part is, as long as those dollars don't come out of our public coffers. That is, as long as they don't come out of tax dollars that are spent either locally, on a state level, or federally. That is what he says all the time but as you say, we won't have that match.

Let me just lay out a couple of things that are extremely important to us as we talk about the issue of choice. The issue of choice today in the year 2000 really and truly has to be based on the concern that there are real options. That is, to suggest to someone that does not have the opportunity to train, does not get the resources into their community, that does not get a program of training in preparation for the race, and all of a sudden you say, okay, everything is equal now, you can now come up to the starting line and start running because everything is as it ought to be, is absolutely unfair.

We know that federal dollars that provided matching funds in local communities were basically withheld during the Reagan administration. We know that for the first time in the history of the United States Bill Bennett was appointed to serve as secretary of education. And we also know that Bill Bennett was the first secretary in the history of the United States to actually call for cutting of his budget, and behind the scenes ask for the elimination of the Department of Education. That's understand as we look at where we stand today on the issue of school choice.

"(M)ost of the proposals on the table are not there to support public schools but are actually there to pull the rug out of our funding, out of an already-strapped tax base in our public school system. That's unfair and unacceptable."

Hilary Shelton

To suggest that now today we have a president that is pro-education and that things are looking in terms of resources that are available today, that we are prepared to make that step in an effort misses the point. We support proposals in the grand scheme of this particular compromise certain criterion. The criterion would have to fall into these perspectives.

Number one, any proposal that is going to be discussed seriously has to presuppose support for public schools. I mean, let me say that again. Any proposal has to presuppose support for public schools.

One of the biggest problems we have now is that most of the proposals on the table are not there to support public schools but are actually there to pull the rug out of our funding, out of an already-strapped tax base in our public school system. That's unfair and unacceptable. We have to make sure the dollars are there for everyone.

I grew up in St. Louis, Missouri, inner city St. Louis. We are struggling even today in St. Louis as we go from north to south, having a school system that includes the entire city yet fewer dollars being spent in north St. Louis per child on public education than in south St. Louis. Let me also say St. Louis is always divided north and south, black and white. People always had those problems. Any proposal on the table that requires serious consideration must make sure that the dollars are equal for all of our children everywhere within the public school system.

Number two, because we know that for at least 12 years straight in our society, in our nation, we know monies were being withheld from the federal government to provide support in local communities that were strapped. That is, we know that the way our public schools are paid for is that our public schools are paid for 90 percent by local tax dollars. That means approximately only 10 percent comes from the federal government. If you live in a community that's poor, you have fewer dollars going to your public school system. If you live in a community that's doing very well, you have more money going to your public school system.

Someone said on the panel earlier that suburbanites are not as concerned about this issue. Well, the reason they're not as concerned is because they don't have a strapped tax base. The reason they're not as concerned is because they're convinced that their public schools are working because they have the resources and the local control of those public schools to make sure all these issues are met. That is, to make sure that parents have direct involvement, and any changes that need be made in the public system won't have to go through a huge bureaucracy. What we should talk about continuously is how to strengthen the public schools.

Any proposal must also meet that community-driven strengthening proposal, we have to address the \$112 billion that the GAO says is necessary to be able to strengthen our existing public school infrastructure.

GAO says \$112 billion are needed. We have to make sure that even the bills that are before the Congress right now -- Senator Daschle has introduced a piece of legislation that creates \$50 billion in school construction bonds and Congressman Rangel from New York has a bill before the Congress that creates another \$50 billion in public school construction bonds. Local communities must have access to dollars to address the infrastructure problems within their local schools.

When we start talking about issues like school vouchers, we must also look at some of the examples we've had even right here in D.C., since we're standing in D.C. In D.C. a couple of years ago Newt Gingrich, before he took that midnight train back to Georgia, decided that he wanted to bring forth a school voucher program. In that school voucher program he said, I just want \$22 million to send a few public school students to private school. Well, let's look at that in context. Most parents who are struggling, like I am -- I don't know if I'm the only person on this panel, but I'm one of the few that actually have school aged children that are in public schools, a wife that is committed and teaches in those public schools, with a masters degree, by the way. And all our other commitments to the public schools.

When he decided he wanted to do this, the schools opened three weeks late. They opened three weeks late because the local schools didn't have \$11 million that were needed to pay for new roofs and some infrastructure problems within those schools. Yet he said out of the air, I've got \$22 million that I'd like to spend giving school students the opportunity to get out of those public schools.

If we'd been smart, if we'd been reasonable and rational and addressed the issue of actually creating a system in which our public schools offered some options, we would have made sure that we spent half of that money to fix the buildings and infrastructure of those schools. We could have had \$11 million more to expand those schools, to put new infrastructure in place, new technology and other things. If we're going to offer real choice, real choice means real options, and real options have to be on the table.

I know I'm going to have to stop and sit down and be prepared to have this debate and this discussion, but let me just say this. No one that has opposed our public schools has a real commitment to our public schools, at least in my opinion. They are looking for ways to bail out when we should be looking for ways to strengthen what we have.

In Florida, if Jeb Bush wanted to be truly helpful to providing school choice, instead of saying, we're going to give you an out where schools don't do very well and you are going to be able to go to private schools. What he should be saying is, I'm going to create a task force within our state government and I'm going to bring the greatest minds and the finest universities that we have in our state. And whenever a school does not meet the criteria it's supposed to, we're going to go in with the technology, the expertise, and the resources to see to it that those schools are successful and that those children are able to matriculate as they should.

MILLER: Thank you very much, Hilary. Up next is Andrew Rotherham, the education advisor to President Clinton at the White House. Andy.



ANDREW ROTHERHAM: Thank you, Matt. There have been a number of great viewpoints already presented today, and I think we'll hear some more which illustrate that vouchers are obviously a contentious public policy issue that honest people with good intentions can disagree on. Something Dr. Peterson said earlier I think is really worth heeding, that it's unfortunate, since we're debating something that's as important as what's the best thing for our kids, it's unfortunate in many cases how toxic this debate has become, and it's not productive. The blame for that can be shared on all sides.

I'll be brief in my remarks. I think we'll get to a lot of this stuff in the Q&A. I think brevity is the soul of wit, and so hopefully you'll think I'm pretty witty by the time I sit down.

There is a division in our schools in this country. There's no doubt about that. But rather than divide between public and private, as the lines in the voucher debate are commonly drawn, it's a division between good schools, the kind that the people in this room would want to send our kids to, and mediocre or low-performing schools which we would not. However, these schools are not delineated by their governance, public or private, but rather by their performance.

As we think about vouchers, I'd really encourage you all to look at them through this lens. A private school is not by default a good school, nor is a public school by default a bad school. The reality, as in many things in education, is a lot more complicated than that but that often gets lost in the crossfire of this debate.

Two principles, access and accountability, should define public education. For a school to be considered a public school, part of our system of public education, it should have to be open to all students, and publicly accountable for its performance. It's important we look at public schools in this light. Are they open to all and publicly accountable for performance. For the past 40 years we've made great strides on access in public schools. They now serve a more diverse population than ever before. Students with disabilities, minorities, exceptional needs, and other groups that were previously excluded now have access to elementary and secondary education. It's really important we recognize this reality in all the hand-wringing over what's happened to schools in the past 40 years, that we not lose sight of these important accomplishments.

We have not, however, made the strides that we must in terms of accountability. Too many children, especially in our poorest communities, are not receiving the education that they need to be competitive in our new economy. I think there's general consensus about that. As Hugh Price, president of the Urban League, who was discussed earlier, has written eloquently, in the past we had a public school system that did a very good job of educating a sufficient number of children with really strong minds to support the economy, but for most Americans a strong back was a more important attribute than a strong mind. That is not a luxury that we have in the new economy. Our economy is changing, and we cannot afford for any children to come out of our schools without the skills they need

to succeed.

So our challenge as policymakers and policy leaders is to figure out how to replicate success, analyze what works, and foster and replicate it, or quite possibly foster the conditions that allow excellence to thrive. In terms of vouchers, continue to look at this debate, look at the issues simply as how we finance schools. And make no mistake about that. That's all vouchers are at their core. It is a discussion of how we finance our schools. To only look at that fails to address the core issue of fostering excellence, and in the process it fails our children. The issue of achievement of excellence is not as simple as just taking kids from public schools and putting them into private ones. Defining excellence, though, is an area we've made tremendous progress in the past few years. Forty-eight states now have standards in at least math and reading. Not every state is where they should be in the process, but overall we've made real progress.

Standards enjoy bipartisan support. It's worth noting that President Bush and Governor Clinton in 1989 came together on this. They enjoy bipartisan support, and they also enjoy support from all across the education community. Al Shanker, Sandra's predecessor at the AFT, was a leader in the standards movement. However, vouchers, without accountability, without a link to standards, would move us away from the progress we've made rather than closer to it. We have finally reached the point where educational resources are being invested in schools that are being held accountable to meeting standards. Why would we want to walk away from that by allowing public funds to be invested in schools that aren't accountable to meeting a state's agreed-upon content standards.

So I think the grand bargain that we should be assessing, and one that's been alluded to this morning in various ways, is not one about public and private or more money in exchange for vouchers, but rather one that recognizes access and accountability, increases choice for parents, makes education more competitive, but includes accountability. We have this bargain already, though. It's not as sexy as vouchers, not as controversial, but it's more widespread, also has bipartisan support, and rather than impacting just a few thousand kids around this country, it's impacting more than a quarter million. I'm talking about charter schools. Charter schools and the charter movement.

"A private school is not by default a good school, nor is a public school by default a bad school. The reality, as in many things in education, is a lot more complicated than that but that often gets lost in the crossfire of this debate."

Andrew Rotherham

Charter schools are public schools open to all students and held accountable to a public authority for results. They are free from many of the regulations that govern traditional public schools in exchange for meeting defined performance goals and staying open as long as they do. And unlike traditional public schools, public entities including museums, universities, community groups, parents, teachers can open charter schools, not only the local school district. This increases the range of options for parents, increases competition among schools, but at the same time increases accountability for performance in public education.

When they first appeared on the education landscape, the common assumption was that charter schools are just a compromise on the way to vouchers, something that Democrats were doing to compromise. That view has been proven clearly wrong. Charter schools are proving to be a dynamic reform in states across the country and a means to better schools, not a way station on the way to anything. As I said, more than a quarter million students now attend charter schools in 36 states and the District of Columbia. There are more than 1,700 charter schools operating right now. In 1992 there was only one, in Minnesota.

Already evidence of a positive, competitive dynamic is emerging. Parents in charter schools are satisfied. Seven of 10 have a waiting list. Overall charters are working. Charters increase choice in competition, which is something that voucher proponents purport to want, but at the same time they increase accountability both to parents -- schools without students don't tend to stay open very long -- and also to the public because charter schools are accountable for meeting performance [goals] and those that don't are shut down.

In terms of the whole public-private debate, it's also worth noting that one in 10 charter schools are former private schools that have converted to charter status by agreeing to stay open to all kids and be accountable for performance. So rather than unproven theories, politically catchy ideas, we ought to be replicating what is working

in communities across the country by encouraging this grand bargain.

In terms of the one Matt laid out, let me say a few words about that. Increasing funding in exchange for vouchers, I would argue that's a grand bargain on both ends that is not good for kids. Simply increasing funding without a link to standards and a link to demanding more is not an answer. That's not going to do anything for kids that are currently in dysfunctional school systems. On the other hand, without a link to standards, vouchers themselves are meaningless.

Now don't take my word for this. E.D. Hirsch, one of the fathers of the standards movement in this country, has written that we have to be careful that if choice is not linked with standards, we're not going to get the results we want. Checker Finn wrote a fascinating paper for the national education summit getting into the same issues. Just spending more is not the answer and won't improve the schools or kids in them, and the kids that don't receive a voucher under the model we're talking about, that would be a real issue; they would still be in those schools. And for the kids that do get vouchers, the parents don't care about a public school versus a private school. That's not their issue. They want a good school for their kids.

I'd also note that in terms of creating new schools, something people are talking about, if you look at where we've had vouchers and where we have charters, charter laws have been incredibly more effective in increasing the number of high quality options and opening schools, something that Ms. Keegan talked about. The resources that are available for entrepreneurs who want to get into this field under charter schools are much greater than under any voucher proposal being discussed, including the ones today.

So let me close by saying we should not tolerate failing schools. The president has been very clear on this. We just had a radio address on it the other day where he talked about this issue. And he's enacting the accountability fund. For the first time states and localities are being given resources specifically dedicated to addressing the needs of failing schools, overhauling them and getting them back on their feet.

We've also invested in charter schools, more than \$375 million over the past three years, and our budget this year includes a \$30 million increase. So while the American public is much less familiar with charter schools than they are with vouchers, they tend to support them upon learning what they are. I'm always reminded of a story a couple of months ago. I was on a fishing trip and we were at this diner out in central Virginia and there was a guy sitting next to us having pie. The waitress asked him, would you like your apple pie a la mode? And he looked at her and he said, no, but I would like it with some ice cream.

The American public very often doesn't know what charter schools are under that moniker. When you describe what they are, open to all, publicly accountable, the American people support charter schools. Is every charter school perfect? No. As Ms. Keegan alluded to, there are issues in a lot of states, but overall the formula of public money, public accountability and public access, that's proving to be a grand bargain for kids. Thank you very much.

MILLER: Thank you, Andy. And now we'll hear from Sandra Feldman, the president of the AFT.



SANDRA FELDMAN: Thank you very much. I'd say that I'm coming at this subject really from my own experience. I sort of take it very personally as someone who not only grew up poor in Coney Island, which was a slum then, is a slum now. I consider myself saved by the public school system. Have a grandson and a nephew in the public schools in New York City. In fact, my nephew goes to the very same public school that I attended in Brooklyn, New York. I've been fighting all my life to do something about providing the sources of excellence to children, particularly in urban schools because that's where I spent my life.

I've been a plaintiff in cases that Jack Coons was probably the architect of. I'm a plaintiff right now in a case that's trying to get some funding for rebuilding the infrastructure of schools in New York. I've stood in front of my members in failing schools and urged them to support the closing down of their very own school because it had

been failing for years. So I come at this with fundamental concern, which is, how do we improve the education of poor children. That's what I care about. I care about a lot of things, but that's my major concern.

I have to say that both my mind and my heart shrink at the idea of doing this theoretical bargaining between the so-called right and so-called left over real children and over their real educational needs. We shouldn't be talking, bargaining over vouchers or even about money because what I want to discuss is how do we get the best possible education for poor children because they're children that we all say that we're very concerned about. But really, while this panel is refreshing in that respect, unfortunately there's really precious little of that kind of discussion that takes place because it's really not politically correct these days to talk just about how you're going to provide more resources to better the education of poor children.

"I am not ideological about vouchers. If I thought they would work, I'd be for them. But they haven't worked."

Sandra Feldman

I am not ideological about vouchers. If I thought they would work, I'd be for them. But they haven't worked. They haven't worked in Cleveland. They haven't worked in Milwaukee. They haven't worked in Chile, which tried them in their entire country and which has left the poorest children of that country bereft educationally. They haven't worked in the Netherlands, which has a program of vouchers that probably would warm Jack Coons' heart, with all the things in place that supposedly create equality. But it hasn't, and now that country, coming from the liberal side of things, versus Chile, is trying to figure out a way in their voucher system to provide better education and equality for poor children because it hasn't worked there. So when all the smoke is cleared and with voucher research debates, the case for vouchers just isn't there.

The discussion of vouchers, even the fact that we're talking about trying to create a bargain between right and left here over the education of poor schools, the very discussion of vouchers is divisive, and it's a diversion from what needs to be done to educate poor children. It's also a diversion from the very real progress that's being made.

I'm not even ideological about money, even though I've spent a lifetime fighting for adequate resources for poor kids. I can't just grab at a 20 percent increase -- it's attractive, even if it's only theoretical -- without asking what that money would go for. And I have to confess that I find it almost immoral that the theoretical possibility of spending 20 percent more on poor children whose education is so under-funded by any reasonable measure, would have to come at it embracing a voucher system that is radical, that does threaten the progress that we're making in public schools and public schooling itself, and also just doesn't work.

Does anyone talk about extracting that kind of price when it comes to the education of the damaged kids? In New York City alone it would take a 50 percent increase -- not the 20 percent on the table but a 50 percent increase -- to have the same resources as the highest achieving district in New York State has. Not highest spending, mind you. I'm saying highest achieving. And if you wanted to factor in all the special needs of the special children that New York City public schools are educating, have to educate -- kids that no ordinary private school would take in -- it would take you up to an additional 33 percent for a grand increase of more than 80 percent.

Now in the end vouchers would be more expensive because ultimately everyone would have to participate, inflation would take hold, and so on. So rather than bargaining over -- and I'm a bargainer -- over vouchers and abstract sums of money, I want to talk about the things that I know need to be put in place that we know work for the education of poor children. I have seen it, and I'm sure there are many in this audience who've seen it. I have seen schools that work in the most devastated of environments. I've spent a lot of time in those schools. We have to put policies and programs in place that make the schools that work in the poorest communities the norm, and not the exception. Make a system so that the schools that work are not just the achievement of extraordinary people doing extraordinary things.

Things like, social policies like high quality preschool education, early childhood education. Now you probably all saw that kindergarten study that came out two weeks ago, done by the National Center for Education Statistics. There's no question in that study and in many other studies that because of the effects of poverty, poor children start kindergarten way behind advantaged children. Any teacher in an inner city urban school will tell you that kids who come in school -- talk to kindergarten and first grade teachers -- they're coming to school -- just take the issue of

vocabulary. They are so far behind when they get to school compared to more advantaged kids.

So let's provide high quality early childhood preschool education, real education, for 4 year olds, maybe for 3 year olds. Poverty cannot be an excuse, but neither can its effects be ignored. Especially today, surrounded by the unprecedented prosperity that poor kids see every night on television and with the particularly brutal aspects of the poverty that so many of them live in in America.

Our public schools have done a terrific job. They've done an amazing job of narrowing the gap between rich and poor, and they're doing an even better job as we speak. But we know that with quality preschool that gap is far narrower when children start school because they start out at least in the same place, and the gap practically closes as they go on. Other countries have done this. France, which has a large immigrant population, put universal high quality early childhood education into their schools. They have a national system, a core curriculum, they have lots of other things, but that early childhood education closed the gap between poor immigrant kids -- mostly kids of color, by the way, in France -- and middle class French kids. I think we ought to do that.

How about guaranteed class size reduction in the early grades? From kindergarten to grade three at a minimum, which the President is trying to get down and made a big down payment on. The research evidence is crystal clear. This isn't pie in the sky, it isn't a question. Crystal clear research evidence that smaller class size especially in the early grades, thanks to your state, Governor, because that's where the most telling research was done, that the benefits of doing all that last all the way to high school graduation. Why not do that for poor kids? Lower their class sizes to what it would take to make that happen, as the study in Tennessee showed us.

How about ensuring that every poor child has a highly skilled, highly educated, qualified teacher? Let's face it, since it's so fashionable to talk about markets in education these days, that does mean ensuring competitive salaries and professional conditions and other incentives that are necessary to attract and retain such teachers to work in our schools and our most poor and difficult neighborhoods.

How about being able to offer poor children an extended day and an extended year, which we know works, so they can get the kinds of things that more advantaged parents pay for their children, like tutoring if they're falling behind, or enrichment if they need it, or extra support meeting higher standards, which we have strongly supported and which most states are putting into place. Or maybe just an educationally sound place to be after school. Why can't we support that for our poorest children in America in the year 2000?

How about upgrading the deplorable school buildings that so many of our really poor children go to school in in the year 2000 in the United States of America, the richest country in the world? So that poor children don't have to constantly get the message -- because they may be poor but they're sure not dumb -- they don't have to constantly get the message that they're second class citizens, and so that they don't have to be continuously left behind in the technology revolution because the wiring in their schools is so ancient that their schools can't even be connected.

I could go on, but the fact is, even if I didn't add to this list that I just gave you, and I think it's a reasonable, commonsense list based on what advantaged kids have and what we know works for poor kids, but even if I didn't add to it, the 20 percent increase in spending on education for poor children that's being offered in return for buying into a failed and risky experiment of vouchers might or might not cover what needs to be done, depending on the community, and we've heard a lot about the inequities of funding here this morning. I agree with all of it.

So I would like to make a counterproposal, a proposal for a much safer experiment, but one that has never been tried before on behalf of poor children in this great wealthy nation of ours. And it's a good time for this proposal because we're in a period of unprecedented surpluses at every level of government. So let's do an experiment in educational adequacy for poor children. Let's try doing what is needed and what works, and paying what it costs. And let's do that for at least the same amount of time that the voucher experiment in Milwaukee has been going on, which is 10 years. It's not a fly-by-night experiment. And let's evaluate the results of that experiment in educational adequacy for poor children for the full 10 years, and not do what they did in Milwaukee, which is to stop all evaluation and accountability for the citizens who foot the voucher bill, when the results show that the voucher system was failing to improve poor children's achievement. Let's keep the study going for the full 10 years. Let's have real

accountability.

If we're going to experiment or bargain over the education of poor children, then my starting proposal is this. Provide educational adequacy. Not just more money turned over to a school management in Newark or elsewhere that hasn't done the job, but money targeted on what works. Then we'll have a level playing field that puts us in the game.

Now will my colleagues be willing to bargain about that, about what poor children really need, rather than abstract rhetoric about choice or competition?

MILLER: Thank you, Sandra Feldman. Now if you were listening closely, you're probably wondering, do we have a deal yet out there. And let me try during the discussion period to actually suggest -- let me suggest, taking from what everyone has said, the possibility that would move this discussion. I'm a hopeless optimist.

Let me ask Sandra Feldman and Hilary Shelton. What is wrong with -- let's start with Lamar Alexander's proposal, which is a fresh \$5 billion a year. He would do it, he said, with five million vouchers of \$1,000. Lamar, if I could offer just another option possibly, maybe a million vouchers of \$5,000 each, which --

ALEXANDER: Before you do that, remember that's on top of what they're already getting. So if you're getting \$6,000, your proposal would be-- you'd suddenly jump up to \$11,000 a year and I don't think there's any justification for that.

MILLER: Okay. If it's on top of so that they can take the money --

ALEXANDER: That's the point that people missed in 1992, and probably missed this morning. What I proposed was a 20 percent increase on the average in funding for every child who received this scholarship, and the only children who would be those who were poor and those who were middle income. So that is a 20 percent increase.

MILLER: Let me throw one other thing into it, though, because I wanted to address what Sandra and Hilary were talking about. This is an era of surplus. I'm, at least for purposes of discussion, willing to spend money so I want to posit that as part of this -- and Lamar, I don't know if you join this -- I'm willing to say, let's enact Al Gore's \$110 million over 10 year education agenda, which is about \$10 billion a year, which is nothing in terms of the amount of resources that we're looking at now in these surpluses.

What if we, and I'm not saying that you're signed on to that, Lamar, but what if we, just for purposes of discussion say, let's enact that Al Gore agenda and do this \$5 billion a year experiment of new fresh money that involves choice.

FELDMAN: Well, first of all, I don't have a problem with choice in the public school system. I just want to put that aside. But I think we should enact Al Gore's program. It's a very good idea. And let's take Governor Alexander's program and provide -- how about providing over \$8 billion that goes on a need-based formula to the poorest children, including the poorest children who have needs, who are in private and parochial schools, called Title I. We have a federal program that already does this in a much better way, and it's the result, by the way, of a truly grand compromise.

You want to talk about grand compromises? We had not had federal funding for education until we were able in the Johnson administration to get a grand compromise between the people who cared about public schools and the people who cared about Catholic schools and other private and religious schools, and a grand compromise called the child benefit theory was developed. And today we have over \$8 billion going to supplement the education of poor children, mostly inner cities, and it is going to public schools, it's going to private schools, it's going to religious schools, and it gets the support of all of the people on the scene because it works to provide help to the poorest

children, extra help that they need to meet standards.

It's also been revised since 1995 so that it's part of the high standards program. It has been working -- Title I has helped to close the gap between rich and poor over the life of its existence, and in the past several years as it's become part of the higher standards movement kids have actually made a full grade of progress in reading. So why don't we put 20 percent more into Title I?

ALEXANDER: That would be fine as long as it attaches to each child. That is obviously the way to fund -- for the federal government to help pay for local schools is to let it follow the children who need help the most. So as long as we -- I hear all this -- I've listened to years for this and I'm really trying to think about this in the simplest way. If you're a single mom and your kid is stuck in a school where you wish he weren't, what would you want to do? I think she would want some options. All I'm trying to say in your proposal about Title I is it actually follows the school. You could say, one, you could go to another public school, two, you could go to the Catholic school, three, you could team up the other moms and go to the school where you are now and say, if this school doesn't get safe, or if it doesn't stay open until 6pm, we can't come here any more. Or they might start a new public charter school at the place where you work, or you might take half the \$1,000 and go to an after-school program somewhere.

So I think the real difference that I hear on the panel is that some people think they know what's best for the children, and they have good ideas. Sandy, I think you're on that side and you want what's best for the children, but you want to tell them what that is. I want to give the mom or dad more of a choice in deciding what that is. So let's take Title I. Let's increase it radically, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60 percent and let's just say the money will follow the child to any school the parent puts the child in. That could be part -- I'm glad you came round at the end of your comments to being in favor of bargaining. I was beginning to wonder if the head of the AFT was offended by the idea of a bargain, which is your business. I mean, that's what you do.

MILLER: Would you like to respond?

FELDMAN: Well, I'll sit at the table with you any time you really want to, Governor. But look, parents ought to have choice. I am totally in favor of parents having choice within the public school system, and get into the whole discussion about making sure that schools are accountable and there's a level playing field and that all the schools are good schools. I'm for closing down public schools. I'm a participant in the closing down of public schools. But what the child benefit theory does is provide the extra resources that schools that are serving poor children in very different ways. Provide them with the extra resources that they need, without it being a voucher. And it works.

And in fact, we have --

ALEXANDER: If you put the money where the poor people --

FELDMAN: It's very interesting that in the discussion over whether or not Title I should be voucherized, we had an agreement among all of the public education organizations, the Catholic Educators Association, the Association of Independent Schools, and a number of other denominational associations of private and religious schools not to voucherize Title I, but to leave Title I as the program that it is, which is a program which supplements and supports the schools that are educating poor children. There is absolutely no support for the notion of --

ALEXANDER: What you're saying is that the schools, which in their opinion are educating poor children. But if the mother of that poor child believes the child is stuck, she can't wait five years for a great political revolution. She needs to do what my mom could do, or anybody who has any money, and that's take them to some other schools.

ROTHERHAM: The other day the President announced again that we now take low-performing schools and you have an option to transfer to high-performing public schools. You look at Title I --

ALEXANDER: The mother could send them to a Catholic school because she didn't believe in the public school that was available. It worked well for him.

"Let's do an experiment in educational adequacy for poor children. Let's try doing what is needed and what works, and paying what it costs. And let's do that for at least the same amount of time that the voucher experiment in Milwaukee has been going on, which is 10 years."

Sandra Feldman

ROTHERHAM: Title I has been a mixed bag throughout its history. No one denies that. However, in 1994 standards were embedded into Title I. It was something that President Bush tried to do and he was unsuccessful. It fell prey to the political crossfire in Congress. After the President was elected, we were able to get it enacted. We now have standards in Title I, and you're seeing tremendous gains. As Sandy said, poverty is not destiny. One of the real reasons impoverished kids have not done so well in our urban cities is we're teaching them different things than we're teaching our kids in the suburbs. There is watered-down curriculum, they aren't getting the same kind of high-quality content and so forth that other kids have gotten.

Through Title I we finally eliminated that. You have to hold all your kids to the same standard. You have to ensure there are kids, regardless of where

they live, are being held to the same high standards and have the resources they need. Why, in face of that, when we're finally making progress (off mike) turning back a lot of hard-earned progress. It doesn't make sense.

MILLER: Let me, because I want us to be able to go to our audience, I want to get Hilary into this. Hilary, what is wrong with Lamar Alexander's idea, and assume we're doing Al Gore's education agenda already.

SHELTON: I think again it's what you presuppose going in. That is, as a parent, as someone who's concerned about the welfare of my children, I want to have real options as we talk about choices. I want to have quality options within our public school system, if you talk about choice. We want to make sure that we have a number of things that actually work. The things that work in our communities is when the local school -- when the school board isn't too large or fractionalized. When each school has a system that watches very closely what that school needs and has the flexibility to be able to address the concerns, but a high level of normal standard in place to make sure that the teachers are qualified. One of the problems we have when we talk about a number of the charter schools is that we give a lot of flexibility in the charter schools, but there are many charter schools that are so flexible that again, I'll use D.C. as an example since this is my home town. We have a woman who got a charter to give kids K-8 diplomas and decided to give herself a Ph.D.

Now that's a problem when we talk about who is adequately qualified to run schools. A certain level standard has to be met.

MILLER: Why is any of that inconsistent with doing something like what Lamar Alexander is talking about? That's what I'm missing in the discussion. Why are they considered mutually exclusive agendas? Is it because a focus on what Lamar is talking about drains the finite amount of political energy there is to deal with this issue? Why are they inconsistent?

SHELTON: The reason they're inconsistent, at least in my opinion, is that we want to fix the public schools first. We want to fix the public schools first. We need to save Social Security first. We need to fix the public schools first.

FELDMAN: Is the governor going to then support -- you know, if he put some money on the table, is he going to support high quality preschool education? Is he going to support smaller class sizes, which in his own state the most definitive study was done to prove that the lower class sizes in the early grades do provide tremendous support for the education of poor children all the way through their school years? Is he going to support fixing the infrastructure of schools, making sure that all children, especially poor children have highly educated, highly skilled teachers? If

we're going to talk about a grand bargain here, why are we talking about only --

ALEXANDER: No, I say yes, yes, yes, yes, yes. But what the difference between you and me is, if you're going to tell the middle school in Maryville, Tennessee they should do these things, I'm going to say here's a half million more dollars brought to you by your poorest kids and you decide if you want to fix the roof, if you want to lengthen the school day, if you want a smaller class, if you want a higher paid teacher. You don't have to have someone in the distance making that decision for you. I think that's the real --

"But Sandy, I'm putting money in the hands of the poorest people and giving them an opportunity to have more of the same choices people with money have."

Lamar Alexander

FELDMAN: All I'm talking about is leveling the playing field. That's all.

ALEXANDER: But Sandy, I'm putting money in the hands of the poorest people and giving them an opportunity to have more of the same choices people with money have.

FELDMAN: I hope you're also then going to give them better jobs, better housing, better police protection, better sanitation in neighborhoods.

BOLICK: Two points. First, I have to respond to Sandra Feldman. She said the reason we can't do vouchers is because they don't work, and when I was waiting for her abundant evidence, she gave it to me. She said, "they just don't work." I was persuaded.

Every single study or person who has researched the programs in Milwaukee and Ohio has either had a positive reaction or a very positive reaction, including John Witte whose new book -- and he's always been waved around as the major opponent or the major source of negative research on school choice -- is now saying that he thinks that it was a good idea.

But I agree with Lamar Alexander, that what we ought to worry about is this issue at the level of individual kids. And when Sandra Feldman's organization on August, Friday the 13th of 1999, asked the federal district court in Cleveland, Ohio to take 4,000 low income kids out of the only good schools they had ever attended and to place them back into a school system that has met exactly zero out of 27 performance criteria -- and then the judge did that 12 hours before the start of the school year -- it makes her concerns about these kids ring extremely hollow.

We have systems that are not only working for these kids but are inducing positive education reforms. In Florida the kinds of reforms that Sandra Feldman is talking about are beginning to happen. We have the school district responses to the school voucher system. It is the threat of choice, the threat of low income kids finally being able to walk out the door and taking some of their money with them that is making the kinds of reforms that Sandra Feldman is talking about finally happen.

MILLER: Obviously a lot of these issues could be debated all day. I want to go to our audience and at least plant a seed, Lamar. I didn't hear in the discussion whether you would actually go beyond the \$5 billion to support some of the things like universal preschool, etc., that I think I hear Sandra and Hilary talking about as important. Not just through the extra \$1,000 per kid but above and beyond that.

MILLER: We've got another question from this gentleman over here. And I'm going to play schoolmarm. I realize there's a private debate going on in this corner between Clint and Hilary over here.

QUESTION FROM THE AUDIENCE: My name is Patrick Armijo. I'm with the Albuquerque Journal. The question I have, it seems to me once I hear the people against vouchers, what they have not looked at is that to fail is quite natural and human. It happens all the time. That's why there's only going to be one president while a dozen

candidates started out looking for the presidency. What it seems to me is that appealing to vouchers is that it clearly identifies failure for everyone to see because people stop going to the school and it has to close down. The public institutions, what they essentially do is they protect failing schools. I think that's some of the appeal that vouchers have.

I think if there was a way to do that in public schools. People have talked about accountability but I don't think people buy it. There are always new ideas and accountability and standards, but when you have a public school that's run without competition, I don't think the way America is organized, people's natural way of living every day, they're not going to buy -- they're going to believe that a competitive system is just far better at identifying successes and failures.

QUESTION FROM THE AUDIENCE: Are charter schools a step in the right direction?

SHELTON: I'll start. We have a subtle disagreement about charter schools. One of the biggest problems for us right now is that most charter schools, as they relax regulations so they can have more flexibility to develop their own identities, most charter schools relax it so much that even the basic standards that we want to make sure that teachers have degrees in education, and are certified, that principals are trained as principals. A lot of that is missed. There are some charter schools that work very well. Don't get me wrong. And those charter schools should be lifted up as perhaps examples.

But right now, as we have this fluctuation in the quality of charter schools, we're in a position with the NAACP has said we're going to have to oppose charter schools until we're able to work out these problems. Again, putting the emphasis on the need to look at the quality of the teachers, of the curriculum, and of other things that would help make charter schools work well. But for every concern that I have with charter schools, like the one I described in D.C., where the principal gave herself a Ph.D., we have charter schools that have a tendency to work extremely well and we'd like to be able to utilize more of that. So we're torn over charter schools right now.

MILLER: You're leaning forward, Lamar. Did you want to say something?

ALEXANDER: Well, the answer is yes to your question. I think real charter schools are step one. What Andrew is really saying, with respect, he's not for charter schools; he's for more restrictions. I'd be for fewer. I think the whole idea -- I don't think we really have an education problem in this country. We just have a political problem and we know exactly what to do and a lot of people are doing it. We've just got schools that are smothered with overhead. Charter schools gets rid of that. And then we need to give -- every school board really ought to just write every parent in February and say, where would you like for your child to go to school next September and do their best to see that they go there. There are just those two things alone would do it.

Charter schools is step one, but the more freedom teachers and principals have to use their own common sense, the more likely they are to succeed. Of course there are going to be mistakes, but I mean, go to Berkeley and Brown, two of the best universities in the world. There are more weird things going on there that we wouldn't all exactly approve of, but we don't want to close them down or stop people from going there with their vouchers.

FELDMAN: I think that the whole notion of just having a total free-for-all in education is so totally radical it's hard to respond to. I mean, there is no country in the world among the countries that we're competing with, whether it's Japan or France or Germany or any advanced industrialized country that has a free-for-all for its education system. In fact, most of them have core curricula, they have national tests, they really do have much more accountability than we have in the United States.

So I just can't respond to this free-for-all idea. I think not only is it not workable, but charter schools, I participated in the development and establishment of a number of charter schools in my school district in New York, and I think that charter schools that are accountable and that do adhere to the same standards that are required of all other

schools, can be a way for teachers and parents to work with each other and be creative. I am in favor, in fact it was my predecessor, Al Shanker, who actually proposed the idea of charter schools. But I have to agree also with Hilary Shelton when he says that unfortunately there are a lot of charter schools, and I know that the superintendent of Arizona just actually found this. There are charter schools that are not adhering to the appropriate standards. I think that if they're not then they ought to close down.

I think any failing school, whether it's part of a public school system, whether it's a voucher school like the Hope Academies, which were disastrous in Cleveland, in that place where allegedly vouchers worked -- failing schools, schools that are not working for children ought to be closed down. I think that's true with charter schools. It's true with any public school. It certainly ought to be true with voucher schools, even though I don't want to see them in existence at all.

So my answer is, yes. We're in favor of good charter schools that adhere to high standards, that are accountable in the way that public schools have to be accountable. And we're not for charter schools that can just go off and do their own thing without being transparent in their curriculum, in the way they spend their money, and in the way that they teach the children.

ROTHERHAM: We have Ms. Keegan here who, of everybody here, is uniquely qualified to comment on this because she's actually going to be charged with the task of, as schools start to run, what do you do. I thought the question from Mr. Parker from the Albuquerque paper really hit the nail on the head. What are you going to do with low performing schools, regardless of whether they are traditional public or charter schools. I'd be very interested in hearing from her what she thinks. That's going to be the crux, if that's the bargain. Can we shut these schools down. Not to put you on the spot.

KEEGAN: No, you didn't put me on the spot. I appreciate the opportunity. First of all, the generation of charter schools is the first time I think this nation took very, very seriously our responsibility to know how every school is doing because now you have a series of schools out there, as in the voucher programs, that people want to say are working or not working. The fact of the matter is, you didn't have evaluative systems in the whole public school sector.

But we know now -- what we did in Arizona, perhaps there are states that have had fabulous systems by which to track every student's academic achievement every year, but quite frankly I don't know about those if they're out there. I don't think there has been good information. Thus, the standards and accountability movement. There may be states that I'm unaware of that are in existence.

The fact of the matter is, public charter schools in Arizona in our studies as a class in K-8 moved more quickly than the traditional public schools. In the last assessment that we had, they progressed further. That was not true in 9-12. It was just the opposite. More to the point, a school is not a school is not a school. Governance does not dictate quality of education. The school itself will dictate quality of education. I will make a proposal at the end of this year after three years of evaluation of traditional public schools and public charter schools for which of those have not progressed year to year, and which have abysmal scores and which we should recommend for closure.

It is important to know the vast majority of the public charter schools are extremely successful and should not be cast as a failure because a few of them fail when in fact in a traditional system you have a vast number of those schools that fail. Those schools should be closed.

MILLER: Let me thank you, Lisa. Because we are running long and we do have panelists who have to be somewhere else, I'm going to have to shut this down. Obviously we could debate it all day. There may be some folks around, the panelists, you could make yourselves available to the curious and interested in the audience.

Let me just offer everyone, let me just give everyone a sort of 10- or 15-second shot to offer a last thought you want people to take away, starting down on the far right.

BOLICK: You put a lawyer on the spot to talk really quickly. Basically I have not heard -- we do have a 3-2 vote here. Two of us, Lamar Alexander and I, are willing to invest more in public education, provided that the broadest possible range of options is provided to kids. Why you would say this good school down the street cannot serve your child, we will not let you use public funds there even though it may be the best school for your child -- to me that is antithetical to public education.

SHELTON: The NAACP would very much like to see the highest level of standards set for public education in our nation, but to meet that standard requires resources. Not just dollars, but actual technical resources to provide assistance to help kids meet those high standards. So we want to make sure that every kid has the opportunity. Let's look in our nation. Ninety percent of America's children are educated in public schools, so we have to make sure we take care of the vast majority to see that they have those high standards and the resources necessary.

ALEXANDER: I propose that the federal government appropriate \$5 billion new dollars per year and give 5 million children \$1,000 scholarships, that the money would go to the poorest and middle income children. It would follow them to the school that their parents think is best, and by doing that we would see whether the most successful social program we've ever enacted, the GI bill and its successors, the Pell grant, works in schools as well as it did to help create the best colleges in the world.

FELDMAN: I would propose that we experiment in a way that we absolutely just never have done before in the United States of America, an experiment in educational adequacy for poor children. Provide our poorest children with what they need, with what we know they need. Give them high quality early childhood education. If the parents don't want it, they don't have to. They can go to a school without it. Give them smaller class sizes in the early grades. Give them a school that is staffed by the highest quality, best-prepared teachers. Give them a building that is wired for technology and the ability to have access to that technology.

Let's provide whatever resources are needed, whether it's more or less than what you propose. Provide a level playing field. Give our poor kids what they need in the United States of America in the year 2000 when we're the richest country in the world, when there are surpluses all over the place. And let's experiment with doing that because we've never done it before.

MILLER: Before we get to Andy Rotherham, the last word from the White House, do you notice that whatever divides left and right on this issue, no matter what ideology you offer 15 seconds to, it usually takes about 45 seconds to a minute.

Andy Rotherham, with the last word from the White House.

ROTHERHAM: Money does matter. Money does matter, and it's important we're talking about investment. At the same time, choice and accountability, accountability and performance. We've made great strides in improving the educational opportunity for poor kids through the standards movement. We ought not walk away from that. Schools that are innovative, open to all and publicly accountable, that's the grand bargain. The president said we should institutionalize charter schools and that's a bargain, a good bargain for our kids and a good bargain for our society.

MILLER: Thanks to our panel and our audience for a great discussion.

Suggested Panelists
Hispanic Conference
May 23, 2000

Goal 1-Early Childhood

Chairperson: Secretary Shalala

Panelists:

Gloria Rodriguez

Recommended by: WHI

Commissioner

CEO and Founder of AVANCE family support and education programs.
(Texas)

Betty Ansin Smallwood, Ph.D.

Recommended by: CAMP

Dr. Smallwood has been named Co-director, responsible for training, curriculum, and instruction for CAL, Center for Applied Linguistics, started the Multicultural Preschool Language Initiative.
(Washington D.C.)

Goal 2 - Language

Chairperson: Congressman Hinojosa

Panelists:

Ken Hunt

Recommended by: WHI

General Manager of Longo Toyota in California. Longo Toyota is the most successful Toyota dealership in the world and they believe it is because they have a sales force that speaks the language of the customers.
(California)

Migdania Vega

Recommended by: Department of ED

Principal, Coral Way Elementary Bilingual School, Miami (the ground-breaking and successful dual immersion school); she's also on the National Assessment Governing Board which provides guidance on NAEP--so she knows a few things about testing and the inclusion of LEP students.
(Florida)

Ken Milbrodt

Recommended by: Gabriela Lemus

Director of Training, Education and Development

Iowa Beef Packers (IBP)

Recommended by: Gabriela Lemus

(South Dakota)

For three years, Ken Milbrodt has been an active partner in the Consortium Arrangement for Identification and Recruitment (CAIR), an organization fostering agri-business and education partnerships to develop model migrant education models for the identification and recruitment of migrant students. Under Mr. Milbrodt's direction, IBP has taken a leadership role in CAIR. Over

a two-year period IBP conducted 20 plant surveys, identified approximately 10,700 children, and raised \$3.5 million for the school districts in their plant communities.

Catherine Snow, Professor of Education
Harvard University
(Massachusetts)
phone: 617-495-3563

Adeline Becker, Executive Director
Recommended by: DPC
The Education Alliance
Brown University
(Rhode Island)

Goal 3 - Achievement Gap

Chairperson: Congresswoman Roybal-Allard

Panelists:

Dan Domenech
Recommended by: DPC
Superintendent Fairfax County School
Recommended by: Andy
(Virginia)

Aida Hurtado
Recommended by: Department of ED
Department of Psychology, UC Santa Cruz
Aida served as research director of the UC-wide Latino Eligibility Study.
(California)

Katy Haycock
Recommended by: DPC
President, Education Trust
(Washington D.C.)

Goal 4 - High School Completion

Chairperson: Louis Caldera

Panelists:

Expert on tracking:
Sam Halperin-
American Youth Policy Forum.
Recommended by: Department of Education- OCR
An academic who can speak to the role that alienation and tracking play in increasing the Hispanic dropout rate. Founder and Senior Fellow, has held leadership positions in academia, the federal government, a foundation and non-profit organizations for over 30 years. He has served as Study Director of Youth and America's Future: The William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship (responsible for two major studies: *The Forgotten Half: Non-College Youth in America* and *The Forgotten Half: Pathways to Success for America's Youth* and

Young Families); the President of the Institute for Educational Leadership; a Deputy Assistant Secretary at the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare; and a Congressional Fellow of the American Political Science Association, where he worked on U.S. Senate and House of Representatives committees dealing with major education legislation.

Retention expert: Patricia Gandara is professor in the UC system who edited a recent pub from the College Board, *Priming the Pump: Strategies for Increasing the Achievement of Underrepresented Minority Undergraduates*.

Manuel Isquirdo
Recommended by: DPC
Founder and Executive Director
Latino Leadership Project
(Illinois)

Goal 5 - Higher Education

Chairperson: Secretary Richardson

Panelists:

Juliet Garcia
Recommended by: WHI
President of University of Texas at Brownsville (Hispanic Serving Institution) and
Chair of the WHI Commission Higher Education Committee.
Dr. Juliet V. Garcia, chair of the Advisory Committee on Student Financial Assistance, was appointed by the Secretary of Education to serve a three-year term that expires in September 2002. Dr. Garcia has 25 years of teaching and administrative experience in higher education. Since 1992, Dr. Garcia has been the president of the University of Texas at Brownsville in partnership with Texas Southmost College. Prior to her current position, she served as dean of arts and sciences. She is a board member of the White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans, the Ford Foundation's Campus Diversity Initiative, and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Dr. Garcia received her B.A. and M.A. degrees in Speech/English from the University of Houston, and her Ph.D. in communications and linguistics from the University of Texas at Austin.
(Texas)

Alex Saragoza
Recommended by: WHI
Vice President-designate
UC Office of the President, VP for Outreach
Professor of Ethnic studies at UC Berkeley. He will be leading UC's \$100m outreach effort to increase the number of Latinos and other under-represented groups in the UC system's undergraduate and graduate programs.
(California)

Jacqueline Woods
Recommended by: DPC, NEC
Jacqueline E. Woods has more than 25 years of experience as an educator. Ms. Woods' professional experiences range from classroom instruction in speech pathology and special education to program development and management activities in early childhood education; adult

and vocational education and higher education administration and governance. Ms. Woods' currently serves as the Liaison for Community Colleges at the Department of Education. (Washington D.C.)

Watson Scott Swail is associate director for policy analysis of the College Board. Swail provides data and analysis on issues of academic preparation, access to college, and postsecondary success, with particular focus on educational opportunities for low-income, disadvantaged students. His work has been published in the College Board Review, Technology Teacher, and Higher Education Management. In addition to policy research, he directs and produces The College Board's annual Trends reports on student aid, college pricing, and academic preparation. Swail is a former classroom teacher and received his doctorate in educational policy from The George Washington University. (Washington D.C.)

DRAFT

National Goals for Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans

- Ensure that Hispanic American children have access to high quality early childhood education and development programs and enter school prepared to succeed by increasing the Hispanic participation rate to the national participation rate in high quality programs by 2010.
- Respecting the importance of multilingualism, age-specific learning needs, different research-based instructional approaches, and the variety of developmental levels at which limited English proficient (LEP) children enter school, by 2010 all states and school districts will provide appropriate language instruction to ensure that all students graduate from high school having demonstrated proficiency in English.
- Provide a high quality education with appropriate resources and support to ensure equal opportunity for all students in order to eliminate the achievement gap between Hispanic students and other students on appropriate state assessments and other indicators by 2010.
- Increase the high school completion rate for Hispanic students to 90 percent by 2010.
- Double the percentage of Hispanic Americans who earn Associate's and Bachelor's degrees by 2010.

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January 5, 2000

Educating All of America – Educational Excellence for Hispanic Americans

Hispanic Education Meeting Policy Goals

Public-Private-Community-Based Organizations will work together to achieve goals in the following areas over the next 5 years through public sector initiatives, private sector activity, and grassroots local organizations:

- Access to Quality Early Childhood Education
 - *Subsidies for childcare*
 - *Improved quality of childcare to support cognitive development*
 - *Helping LEP children progress toward English acquisition*
- Closing the Achievement Gap
 - *Expectations of educators, parents, and students*
 - *Good assessment practices for all students and LEP students and using data to help students*
- English-Language Acquisition
 - *Benefits of multilingual skills*
 - *Possible consequences of limited-English skills*
 - *Teacher preparation*
- Addressing the Dropout rate
 - *Expectations*
 - *Academic preparation*
 - *Reforming American high schools*
 - *Outside factors (economics, etc)*
- Success in higher education
 - *College completion – financial aid, support systems*
 - *Graduate education*
 - *Lifelong learning*

<u>Name</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Expertise</u>	<u>Recommended by:</u>
Juliet Garcia Alex Saragoza	U. Texas-Brownsville UC-Berkeley	college president outreach (practitioner)	WHI, Education WHI
Laura Rendon Patricia Gandara Marcos Sanchez Deborah Saldana Jackie Woods Amaury Nora ?? -- Sarita checking W. Scott Swail	CSU-Long Beach UC-Davis CSU-Sacramento St. John's Univ Dept. Education U. Houston Chair, Hispanic Council, AACC formerly The College Board	retention, articulation author of Priming the Pump, director Puente CAMP GEAR UP Community College articulation retention (academic) Community College articulation college preparation	Garza, HACU WHI Education Education WHI HACU WHI



WHITE HOUSE INITIATIVE ON EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE FOR HISPANIC AMERICANS

May 17, 2000

TO: Maria Echaveste and Members of the WH Planning Committee

FROM: Sarita E. Brown

RE: Ideas for the June 15 Conference

This memo consolidates the feedback we have received from Commissioners over the past several weeks on the White House event focussed on Latino educational excellence. This is not elegant prose but rather ideas, names of programs, people, and issues of concern that may be helpful. Please feel free to call with any questions or to receive additional information.

First, a couple of issues Commissioners advise the conference planners to consider:

- The conference must address the **federal role** in improving education for all young people. While Commissioners understand that conference planners want to emphasize looking beyond government, there must be a clear articulation of the federal role.
- To blunt the criticism that this conference is coming too late in the life of the Administration to make a difference, Commissioners encourage planners to explain, in the opening session of the conference, why the White House has chosen to commit its resources now to this issue.
- Commissioners hope that the conference will make reference to last August's White House Convening on Latino Youth and include one or two speakers from the programs to describe their continued progress since last summer.
- Commissioners hope that members of the Administration who speak will reference the body of work created in response to Executive Order 12900 which includes:

- Our Nation on the Faultline**, 1996 Commission Report
- The creation of the Interdepartmental Council on Hispanic Educational Improvement
- The FY98 Annual Performance Report (attached) and pending FY99/00 Report
- The conference series, **Excelencia en Educación: The Role of Parents in the Education of Their Children** (San Antonio, Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Miami and on September 9, Washington, DC) (description attached)
- Policy Briefs on assessment and higher education
- Hispanic Serving Institutions (federal support, information kit)
- Commission's Final Report, tentatively titled, **How to Get from Here to There: Latino Educational Excellence**

Beyond these issues, we present the Commissioners' suggestions by following the five issue areas identified for the conference. We also encourage conference planners to consider the one page fact sheets prepared by the White House Initiative (early childhood, K-8, 9-12, undergraduate, and graduate and professional) as you make your strategic decisions about the conference content.

Early Childhood

In addition to strengthening federal support particularly in Head Start, the Commission suggests framing the discussion/message so that it includes practical information on practices in the home and employer support for parenting.

Commissioner Gloria Rodriguez, CEO and Founder of AVANCE, is an expert on early childhood programs and her comments from last August's Convening on Latino Youth offer good information about the topic. You may also wish to select representatives from programs from the 1st edition of What Works for Latino Youth.

Patricia Montoya, Commissioner for Children and Families, chairs the Interagency Working Group on Early Childhood that is part of the Interdepartmental Council for Hispanic Educational Improvement. This working group is developing a pilot project to expand quality early childhood programs in selected federal public housing facilities. Last month, Pat and I met with Saul Ramirez, Deputy Secretary from HUD on the proposed pilot and there may be something to report by the June conference.

Language

Commissioners recommend that the discussion/message make clear that proficiency in English is important and well-implemented bilingual education programs have accomplished this for years while not sacrificing grade level academic achievement.

Additionally, in today's global economy, language is an asset and research has long ago established that language acquisition is easier at early stages in life. Therefore, promoting dual immersion programs makes sense. The Commission fully supports Secretary Riley's message on the topic from his March 15 speech.

The Commission has offered two policy seminars addressing the private sectors support for multiple language skills among employees (see enclosed materials). Among the speakers are two that they recommend for the conference. Professor Sandra Fradd, University of Florida, has documented the positive effects of multiple language skills to employee salaries. Her work played a key role in the school district of Miami Dade adopting its English-plus-one curricula. The other speaker to consider is Ken Hunt, the General Manager of Longo Toyota in CA. Longo Toyota is the most successful Toyota dealership in the world and they believe it is because they have a sales force that speaks the language of the customers.

Commissioner Miriam Cruz (President, Equity Research, DC) has been very active in promoting efforts to strengthen dual immersion programs and the K-12 level (like in Chicago) and at the post secondary (University of Texas at Brownsville and the University of Puerto Rico).

Assessment

The Assessment Committee of the Commission focused attention on the impact of standards, assessment and accountability on Latino students, and particularly English language learners. Their report, **A Report to the Nation: Testing Hispanic Students in the United States** (enclosed) includes recommendations and offers a thorough delineation of the issues and proposed solutions. Commissioners would want the discussion/message to reflect that state and local accountability practices have not adequately addressed the needs of English language learners.

Commissioner Sonia Hernandez, Deputy Superintendent for the State of California's Department of Education is a national expert on this topic and Co-Chairs the Commission's Assessment Committee with Erlinda Archuleta from the State Department of Education in Colorado. Commissioner Hernandez served as Texas Governor Ann Richards educational advisor before moving to California and has significant classroom, administrative and policy experience.

High School Completion

Commissioners conclude that the most important factor in combating the current high school drop out rate is changing the expectations of school personnel. Once principals, teachers, and counselors act as if they expect all Latino students to succeed there will be a sea change in the success rate of students. **No More Excuses: The Final Report of the Hispanic Dropout Project** (Feb. 1998) provides important data and references on this point. The Secretary's response, **Improving Opportunities** is also a good resource.

Commissioners are quite concerned about how the President will address the Hispanic drop out rate. As recently as the White House Conference on Teens the President stated:

The drop out rate among Hispanic young people is still too high, but that's largely explained, I think, by the fact that we still have a very large number of Hispanic children in our schools who are first-generation immigrants whose first language is not English, and they come from families that are struggling to make ends meet, and very often drop out to go to work still.

Later during the Teen conference, Professor Katherine Newman from Harvard's Kennedy School discussed the results of her research on working class and immigrant students, many of them Latino. Her findings were that students who hold a job actually have higher academic achievement and graduation rates than their non-working counterparts. Commissioners recommend the President's message emphasize talent development and focus on the dramatic results achieved by schools that actively pursue better graduation rates.

One other aspect of the drop out discussion is the loss to the nation of human capital, or saying it in positive terms—what the nation will gain with more Latino students receiving at least a high school degree. Commissioners hope that the President's message will focus on how the economy will be enhanced by the addition of new Latino high school graduates. Perhaps with all this deliberation over social security, the President's message might indicate the potential positive impact of the increased Latino percentage in the workforce and the country's resources to support social security and its beneficiaries.

Commission Chair Guillermo Linares can speak to the entire agenda proposed for the conference. Over the past 18 months he has served as a Commission a leader on their work to support Latino parents efforts to secure a quality education for their children. Co-chairing with Commissioner Gloria Rodriguez the Committee on Children, Youth and Families, Chair Linares catalyzed the development of a 5 city conference series that modeled the cross sector partnering and pragmatic discussion about excellence that the Commission wants to see grow across the country.

College Going

Attached is the draft policy brief on higher education which Commissioners hope will inform the discussion on this topic. Commissioners also recommend that graduate and professional education be included the point be made that today's Latino doctoral students are tomorrow's faculty.

Commissioner Juliet Garcia, President of the University of Texas at Brownsville and Texas Southmost College is the Chair of the Commission's Higher Education Committee. Her campus is a Hispanic Serving Institution, she currently serves on the Student Financial Aid Advisory Commission, and she is the past Chair of the Board of the American Council on Education.

Next week, the Educational Testing Service will release a report tentatively titled, **Crossing the Great Divide: Can We Achieve Equity When Generation Y Goes to College?** Through our

collaboration with the DC office of ETS, a special report on Latino Gen. Y students will also be released and might be a good resource for the conference.

Strategies

Rather than offer advice in a vacuum, Commissioners would prefer to wait until the conference planners make their strategic decisions about the conference content to then offer additional suggestions about the proposed strategies.

Participants

Beyond the Commissioners (list attached) the following includes the suggestions from the Commission:

Tomas Arciniega, President, California State University, Bakersfield
Douglas Patiño, Vice President, California State University, Bakersfield
Ricardo Romo, President, University of Texas at San Antonio
Maria Vallejo, Chancellor, Palm Beach Community College
Ricardo Fernandez, President, Lehman College, New York
Raymond Paredes, Vice Chancellor, UCLA
Esaul Rodriguez, President, California Hispanic School Board Association
Harry Valenzuela Garewal, Chair, Hispanic Caucus, National Association of School Boards
Ellen Moir, Executive Director, New Teachers Center, UC Santa Cruz
Richard Elmer, Colorado Deputy Superintendent
Sara Martinez-Tucker, Hispanic Scholarship Fund
Lorraine Cortes-Vasquez, Hispanic Federation, New York
Ernesto Cortes, Industrial Areas Foundation
Barbara Taveras, President, Hazen Foundation, NY
Blandina Cardenas Ramirez, Professor of Education, University of Texas at San Antonio
Arturo Pacheco, Dean, College of Education, University of Texas at El Paso
Maria Casillas, LAAMP Director, Los Angeles

Hector Cordero-Guzman, Professor, New School University, NY (speaker at last Aug. convening)

Carlos Rodriguez, DC area consultant and adjunct professor at American University NY (speaker at last Aug. convening)

Ana Maria Fernandez-Haar, President, IAC Group, Chair of the Human Capital Committee of the New America Alliance-An American Latino Business Initiative

Daisy Exposito, Bravo Group and Chair, Association of Hispanic Advertising Agencies (Ahaa)

Ivelisse Estrada, VP Community Affairs, Univision

Art Ruiz and Tony Waller, State Farm Insurance

Orlando Padilla, GM Motors

John Guerra and Roberto Cruz, AT&T

Ingrid Rivera, Proctor and Gamble, Director, Public Affairs and Corporate, Puerto Rico, US Hispanic and Caribbean Markets

Diane Medina, Walt Disney Company

Rafael Fantauzzi, American Airlines

Antonia Jimenez, Judge Luis Perez, and Reverend Wesley Williams, Steering Committee of the MA Education Initiative for Latino Students (a state wide effort involving 18 communities and inspired by EO 12900)

Frank Reyes, San Bernardino Community College

Erlinda Torres, Director of Inter-Institutional Relations, University of Arizona Leader in the National Assembly of Hispanic Higher Education Associations-NAHHEA)

Identify key representatives from the state higher education system and LEAs in California, Texas, Illinois, New York, and Florida

Select 3 "emerging communities" (e.g. Arkansas, Iowa, Georgia)

The Commission assumes that the White House will invite representatives from the constituent organizations already solicited for input and feedback.

Cc: Guillermo Linares, Commission Chair

Sonia Hernandez, Commission Vice Chair

TO: Maria Echaveste

FROM: Julie Anderson (OPL), Jackie Lain (IGA)

RE: **UPDATE #1: Deliverables for the White House Conference on Hispanic Education**

DATE: May 23, 2000

Attached is an action list of resources to tap for "commitments" or deliverables from the public and private sectors for the White House Conference on Hispanic Education on June 15. These commitments will include new initiatives, programs, publications or research for each goal that can be used to improve the state of education for Hispanic students. **This will be updated with new resources and contacts on a daily basis.** If you have any questions or require additional information, please contact Julie (63771) or Jackie (65084).

1. Ensure that all Hispanic American children have access to high quality early childhood education and development programs and enter school prepared to succeed by eliminating the gap between the Hispanic participation rate and the national participation rate in high quality programs by 2010. Julie Anderson of OPL is taking the lead on securing commitments from the organizations listed below.

COMMITMENTS:

- **American Association of Museums (AAM):** Jason Hall of AAM is interested in providing a deliverable for the conference by partnering schools with large Hispanic populations with representatives from local museums. Hold for Barry Szczesny to finalize specifics of commitment on May 29.
- **American Library Association (ALA):** Emily Sheketoff of the American Library Association has made the following commitments on behalf of her organization:
 - (a) Offer model programs on how to provide excellent service to the Hispanic community;
 - (b) Establish an award which promotes excellence in children's literature that reflects the Latino culture, and by 2010, elevate the award's prestige to the level of the Newberry or Caldecott awards; and
 - (c) ALA members will appear and speak at other organization's meetings and conferences to demonstrate how to create similar programs in their organizations.
- **National PTA:** Maribeth Oakes of the National PTA suggested two publications that are already in print and are available in Spanish—*Parent Involvement Quality Indicators* and the tip sheet *Ten Ways Parents Can Be Involved*.

RESOURCES:

- **Department of Education's America Reads Challenge (literacy initiative):** 40,000 Read*Write*Now! posters are available in Spanish. The poster includes a colorful illustration on the front and a set of fun reading activities for children in grades K-6 on the back. A flyer with instructions on how to order this year's version of the poster will also be available for distribution.
 - **Department of Education's Partnership for Family Involvement in Education (PFIE) initiative:** PFIE's publication *Questions Parents Ask About Schools* is available in Spanish. This publication highlights teachers' expectations and student workload at each grade level, as well as how parents can help their children succeed in the classroom and prepare for college.
2. Respecting the importance of multilingualism age-specific learning needs, and different research-based instructional approaches, and the variety of developmental levels at which limited English proficient (LEP) children enter school, by 2010 states and school districts will provide appropriate language instruction to ensure that all students graduate from high school having demonstrated proficiency in English. Jackie Lain will take the lead on working with unions.
- Cur ska*
- **Contact major unions to discuss potential partnerships with businesses in order to provide ESL classes for parents and their children.** (Maria Echaveste will contact AFL-CIO.) Other ideas for partnerships include: UAW with GM, CWA with AT&T and / or U.S. West. Jackie Lain will work with unions on potential partnerships.
3. Provide a high quality education with appropriate resources and support to ensure equal opportunity for all students in order to eliminate the achievement gap between Hispanic students and other students on appropriate state assessments and other indicators by 2010.

COMMITMENTS:

- **Department of Education's America Counts Challenge (math and science initiative):** The publication *Improving Mathematics Achievement: What Parents and Families Can Do* will be translated into Spanish and printed for distribution by June 15. We could create a partnership with the Department of Agriculture's WIC program and Department of the Army for distribution of this publication. (Julie Anderson)
- **Lightspan** is interested in partnering with HUD's Neighborhood Networks. This initiative creates opportunities for education and training to low-income residents, and we could highlight a Neighborhood Network in a predominantly Latino housing project. NOTE: Brian Barreto and Irma had an initial meeting with Eileen Rosenthal of Lightspan. The company is eager to be part of the June 15 conference as its founder is already heavily invested in helping the Latino community. They are researching other possible deliverables. (Brian Barreto)

- **Contact Henry Cisneros about his ideas on bridging the digital divide.** On two occasions, during the New Economy conference and during the President's visit to East Palo Alto on the New Markets tour, Mr. Cisneros has expressed concern that the federal government must partner with the private sector to provide internet content relevant to the Latino community. Mr. Cisneros has issued the challenge to us and we should speak to him about what Univision can do to fulfill these goals. (Maria Echaveste will contact Henry Cisneros.)

RESOURCES:

- **Department of Education's Office of Educational Technology** is hosting a meeting with faith and community leaders on June 12 to address digital divide issues. LULAC and La Raza are invited to participate. The meeting will conclude with a list of commitments to education and bridging the digital divide. Some of these commitments may be used for our June 15 conference. Still pending. (Julie Anderson)
4. Increase the high school completion rate for Hispanic students to the national average by 2010. Jackie Lain will take the lead on the organizations listed below.

COMMITMENTS:

- Good*
- ✓ • **Establish a partnership between CCSSO's National and State Teacher of the Year program and the private sector (ASPIRA?) to focus on teacher quality issues.**
 - **Contact American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education and National Council for Accreditation for Teacher Education to discuss possibility of creating a model teacher preparation curriculum for teaching LEP students.**
 - **Contact Federal Agencies about developing federal internships for Hispanic college students.**
 - **Contact U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Workforce Development Committee re: status of and ideas for new private sector internships for Hispanic college students.**

RESOURCES:

- **Department of Education's 21st Century Community Learning Center (after-school) program:** Still pending. (Julie Anderson)
5. Double the annual percentage of Hispanic Americans who earn Associate's and Bachelor's degrees by 2010.

COMMITMENTS:

- **Contact Sarah Martinez Tucker**, president of the National Hispanic Scholarship Fund, regarding her ideas of who within the foundations/private sector we can tap for additional resources in order to facilitate NHSF's plan to set up satellite offices through-out the country. In addition to rewarding scholarships, NHSF also plans to do more with local schools to prepare Latinos for college from an early age. (Maria Echaveste will contact Sarah Martinez Tucker.)

RESOURCES:

- **Department of Education's "Think College Early" flyer *Charting a Course for College* is available in Spanish.** This flyer provides financial aid information for students and their parents. The Department's publication *Getting Ready for College Early* is also available in Spanish. We could create a partnership with the Department of Agriculture's WIC program and Department of the Army for distribution of this publication. (Julie Anderson)

May 22, 2000

Memorandum

TO: Brian Barreto

FROM: Wil Luna

RE: White House Summit on Latino Education: June 15, 2000

The following individuals are recommended by NEA President Bob Chase to participate in or to make presentations at the White House summit on Latino Education.

Elected Association/Education Leaders/Participants: Individuals able to articulate ideas and concerns on the five goal areas. They can serve as discussion leaders or panelists also.

Name	Position	Expertise
1. Lily Eskelsen	NEA Executive Committee	Closing the Achievement Gap K-12 Dropouts
2. David Hernandez	NEA Board Member	K-12 Dropouts Language Proficiency
3. Eduardo Holguin	Vice President NEA New Mexico	Language Proficiency Closing the Achievement Gap
4. David Sanchez	Secretary-Treasurer California Teachers Association	Early Childhood Education Closing the Achievement Gap
5. Eva Gonzalez	NEA Board Member	Early Childhood Education Language Proficiency

Practitioners/Experts: Educator practitioners/Association staff with expertise in goal area topics who can serve as discussion leaders or panelists.

May 22, 2000

Memorandum

White House Summit on Latino Education: June 15, 2000

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Name	Position	Expertise
1. Mary Ann Pacheco	College Teacher Whittier, California	Higher Education Higher Education Dropouts (Puente Project)
2. Segun Eubanks	NEA Teaching and Learning Staff	Recruitment and Retention of Educators Student Achievement
3. Ruben Ceden0	NEA Teaching and Learning Staff	School Reform Teaching and Learning Closing the Achievement Gap Dropouts
4. Wil Luna	NEA Human and Civil Rights Staff	Human and Civil Rights Student Achievement Language Proficiency
5. Diane Shust	NEA Government Relations Staff	Government Relations Lobbying Political Issues

There may be others who President Chase will recommend. I will make every effort to get these to you as quickly as I receive his suggestions.

We hope you and Andy Rotherham will make every effort to invite the individuals that we have suggested. I am prepared to give you more information on each person.

Thank you for your consideration and effort to involve the National Education Association in the summit program.

cc:

Bob Chase

Beverly Glenn

Lynn Coffin

Mary E. Teasley