

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

1998-0004-F[1]; 2007-0107-F

FOIA Number:

S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Sununu, John, Files
Subseries: Issues Files

OA/ID Number: 29153
Folder ID Number: 29153-007

Folder Title:
Education Summit (1990) [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	15	25	1	5

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 21, 1989

21 P8:14

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*
SUBJECT: America's Investment in Education

This is the fifth in a series of background memorandums on education as you prepare for the Education Summit Conference with Governors. This memorandum details America's investment in education for the current school year, 1989-1990, and places our financial commitment in historical perspective.

A Record-Setting Financial Commitment to Education

1. The American people will spend a record \$353 billion on schools and colleges this school year, up 23 percent in real terms in just 5 years and 37 percent in real terms in the last 10 years.

The growth of spending on education has outpaced economic growth during the 1980's. By contrast, spending on education dropped as a share of GNP during the 1970's. The sharpest drop occurred between 1977 and 1981, when education spending's share of GNP dropped from 6.9 to 6.5 percent. This year it will be 6.8 percent of GNP.

Interestingly, this increased commitment to education has occurred at a time when the number of children of school-going age (5-19) has declined. This year there will be some 4 million fewer young people in the age group 5-19 than there were in 1979.

2. Spending has increased for elementary and secondary schools as well as for colleges and universities.

Total spending on elementary and secondary education is expected to reach \$212 billion this year, up 22 percent in real terms in 5 years and up 33 percent in real terms in 10 years.

Total spending on higher education is expected to reach \$141 billion this year, up 23 percent in real terms in 5 years and up 46 percent in real terms in 10 years.

Today there is a 60 percent - 40 percent split between spending on elementary and secondary schools and on colleges and universities.

3. Federal spending, while rising, remains low relative to state and local spending.

Federal spending on elementary and secondary education has risen 19 percent in the last 5 years after adjusting for inflation.

Today, the federal government provides about 6 percent of total funding for elementary and secondary education and nearly 13 percent of spending on higher education.

4. There has been a shift in recent years away from construction spending for more school buildings.

When the "baby boom" hit the schools 30 years ago, 21 percent of all spending on education was capital spending, largely for new schools. In recent years, that capital spending share has been under 8 percent.

The Link Between Spending and Performance is Weak

1. A recent report by economist Eric Hanushek at the University of Rochester concludes "there is no strong or systematic relationship between school expenditures and student performance."

The report summarized some 187 previous studies that attempted to show a correlation between school expenditures and academic performance. It concluded that higher per-pupil spending, higher teacher salaries, and greater administrative expenditures had no measurable impact on student performance.

Hanushek's report supports the view that improving educational achievement requires a commitment to accountability and excellence, not more money. He concluded, "if you're interested in improving educational performance, you have to develop management techniques and policies that are geared directly to performance."

2. The rapid rise in spending on education during the 1980's has not produced a commensurate rise in performance.

While education spending has increased by nearly one-third in real terms, SAT scores have risen only 9 points -- about 2 percent.

In short, it seems clear that doing more of the same is not likely to produce a change in performance. What is needed is a qualitative change in both the structure and the expectations of our education system.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 18, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

THROUGH: DAVID BATES

FROM: LEHMANN LI

SUBJECT: Joint Production Ventures

During last Friday's meeting, we discussed the issue of joint production ventures. This issue has recently attracted attention because: (a) some people argue that such ventures can dramatically improve the ability of U.S. companies to compete in new technologies; and (b) there have been several highly publicized proposals for joint production ventures, e.g., U.S. Memories to produce 4 megabit DRAMs.

Various congressional committees are considering a number of proposals to change the treatment of joint production ventures under the antitrust laws for both industry, in general, and certain specific industries like HDTV, in particular. Some of these proposals would build on the National Cooperative Research Act of 1984, which reduced liability for antitrust penalties for joint **research** ventures.

The Justice Department is scheduled to testify tomorrow on joint production legislation. The department will testify that the Administration has not yet decided whether legislation is needed in this area.

Proponents argue that such legislation is needed because:

- o The costs of commercializing certain technologies may be too expensive for any single company to absorb.
- o The risks of investing in production facilities may be particularly high because technological advances are shortening product cycles and, thus, raising investment costs.
- o Many of our competitors immunize joint production ventures from antitrust penalties.

Opponents argue that such legislation is not needed because:

- o By reducing competition in the production stage, joint production ventures could reduce the incentive for U.S. firms to lower production costs and/or enhance quality.

- o If joint production ventures were coupled with import protection in any given industry, the result could be excessive market concentration. At the very least, joint production ventures should be allowed only if there were no import restrictions in that market.
- o While there may be numerous joint **research** ventures in Japan, there are apparently few joint **production** ventures. In fact, many observers suggest that there is strong competition among Japanese companies in the production stage, which helps drive down production costs.

There needs to be more analysis of the costs and benefits of joint production ventures. In fact, there has not been a formal review within the Administration of the implications of changing the antitrust treatment of joint production ventures. As we discussed, we will be initiating such a review.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 21, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Education Spending

This memorandum provides some information and data on education spending, in general.

National spending

National spending on education totalled \$331 billion for the 1988-89 school year, which represents roughly an 8 percent annual increase since 1980-81. About 60 percent of national spending is on elementary and secondary education, while 40 percent is on higher education.

Federal spending

As you know, federal government education spending has historically represented a small share of national education spending. Following is the percentage distribution of revenues for public elementary and secondary education.

	<u>Federal</u>	<u>State</u>	<u>Local</u>
1976-77	8.8	43.4	47.8
1977-78	9.4	43.0	47.6
1978-79	9.8	45.6	44.6
1979-80	9.8	46.8	43.4
1980-81	9.2	47.4	43.4
1981-82	7.4	47.6	45.0
1982-83	7.1	47.9	45.0
1983-84	6.8	47.8	45.4
1984-85	6.6	48.9	44.4
1985-86	6.7	49.4	43.9
1986-87	6.4	49.8	43.9

As you can see, while the federal share has declined slightly, the federal government has always financed a relatively small proportion of public elementary and secondary education financing. The decline in the federal and local shares has been offset by an increase in the state share.

Federal spending on education and related programs is estimated to total \$46.7 billion in FY 1989. The Education Department accounts for \$18.9 billion, only about 40 percent of total federal spending on education. A variety of other departments help finance education at both the elementary and secondary education and higher education levels, for example, HHS (Head Start and NIH research funding), Labor (JTPA education programs), Defense (tuition assistance), Veterans (financial assistance), and Energy (research funding).

Education Department spending

The Education Department provides roughly the same amount of funding to both elementary and secondary education (\$8.9 billion for FY 1989) and higher education (\$9.6 billion).

Contrary to the widespread perception that the Reagan Administration slashed education spending, total Education Department funding experienced significant increases during the 1980s. However, there has been some significant variation among specific programs during this period.

	<u>FY 1981-89</u> <u>(% change)</u>	<u>FY 1989</u> <u>(\$mill)</u>
Grants for disadvantaged	+ 26	4,226
Education for handicapped	+ 81	1,872
Student financial assistance	+ 48	5,792
Guaranteed student loans	+ 30	2,259

However, the Administration is vulnerable to charges that federal spending on student aid for higher education has not kept pace with the large increases in college costs. Average undergraduate tuition, room, and board expenses increased between school years 1980-81 and 1988-89 as follows:

Public institutions	+ 85%
Private institutions	+ 92%

Critics will argue that federal student financial assistance (primarily the Pell Grants) and guaranteed student loans have failed to keep pace with these increases in college costs.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 21, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: College Student Aid

This memorandum provides some information about the new "Liberty Scholarship" program just started by the State of New York. The New York Times reported last weekend that Governor Cuomo plans at the education summit to call for a national scholarship program guaranteeing all high school graduates enough money for college. He proposes that this national plan be based on the Liberty Scholarship program in New York.

Proposals to target students in elementary or junior high school and offer the carrot of college scholarships if they graduate from high school are usually based on the "I Have a Dream" program started by Eugene Lang.

The Liberty Scholarship program has three parts. The centerpiece is Liberty Scholarships, which provides grants to students who graduate from high school and attend college. The second part is Liberty Partnerships, which provides services to students in seventh grade who are identified as at risk to drop out of school. The third part is an expansion of the New York State Tuition Assistance Program.

Liberty Scholarships provide full nontuition assistance to students from families with incomes less than 130 percent of the poverty level. For students from families with incomes more than 130 percent and less than 250 percent of poverty, the program provides partial assistance.

The program identifies potential Liberty Scholars in seventh grade. Governor Cuomo argues that by offering poor students at this age guaranteed funding for college, the program will help reduce the dropout rate.

Every Liberty Scholar will be eligible to receive up to \$4,125 annually in grants from the Tuition Assistance Program. Liberty Scholars can apply these grants to any accredited college in the State of New York.

NATIONAL GOALS FOR EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE

Education is an abiding concern of the American people. If the economic turmoil of this decade teaches us anything, it is that those nations which invest in the education of their citizens will out perform those that do not. Nothing is more important to America's future economic growth and social progress than high quality education. Education means everything.

The Democratic Party has long championed educational opportunity for all Americans. The major federal education programs were Democratic initiatives. Our leadership in education is indisputable.

At the time, education is not a partisan issue. Education initiatives in the Congress, like those in the states, generally enjoy wide bipartisan support. The partisan wrangling that characterized education policy debates during the Reagan Administration was an aberration. We recognize that education is a national concern, a state responsibility, and a local function.

State governments have always had the primary responsibility for education. In recent years, the states have taken impressive steps to improve and increase their commitment to education. In most cases, the states acted because of gubernatorial leadership. The Governors are to be commended for all they have done to improve the schools.

We must continue the progress the states have already made. We believe, as do the Governors, that continued progress depends on shared goals and common aspirations. In other words, we have to know precisely what we hope to accomplish.

Today, we propose a select number of goals to reinvigorate the American partnership in education -- to set a benchmark for the Education Summit with the Governors. Proposing specific goals is in itself a bold step forward. Never before have Congress, the White House, or the states, sought to develop performance goals for our schools and colleges. Our list is the basic minimum, but vital and necessary. These goals will, if achieved, result in enormous improvements.

1) EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT

Annually increase the number of children served by a comprehensive program of high quality early childhood development with the goal of serving all at-risk four year old children by 1995 or before.

2) BASIC SKILLS

Raise the basic skills achievement of all students to their grade level or above, and sharply reduce the discrepancy in test scores among white, black, Hispanic and Native American students, by 1993 or before.

3) GRADUATION/LITERACY

Improve the high school graduation rate every year by reducing the number of drop-outs and the number of illiterate Americans.

4) MATH, SCIENCE & FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Annually improve the math, science and foreign language performance of American students until our students exceed the performance of students from other industrialized nations.

5) ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Increase college participation by all Americans, especially minorities, and reduce the imbalance between grants and loans in financing a college education, so all high school graduates have an equal opportunity to participate in postsecondary education and training by the year 2000.

6) TEACHERS

Alleviate the impending teacher shortage, especially among minorities, by annually increasing the number of fully qualified teachers available to our schools, and take other steps to upgrade the status of the profession.

We must invest in education not only to ensure our economic competitiveness, but because it is the best possible engine of economic opportunity. Education, in Horace Mann's words, is "the great equalizer... the balance wheel of the social machinery". Education makes it possible for men and women to move far beyond the circumstances into which they are born. Our nation's single most important objective must be to ensure every child, regardless of race or family circumstances, the best possible education.

The federal government's first priority in education has always been to help improve educational opportunities for the economically, physically and educationally disadvantaged. The centerpieces of the federal efforts are the School Improvement Act and the Higher Education Act. We recommit ourselves to this focus today and pledge that we will continue to seek adequate funding for the major federal education initiatives.

Setting goals means accepting responsibilities. Establishing goals is a significant first step, but the goals will not be achieved without leadership and commitment at all levels of government. We will provide the federal leadership to ensure that American education is second to none.

before the end of this century. We call on President Bush to join us in that commitment.

Following the summit with the Governors, we would support a national conference on education that brings together teachers, parents, school administrators, education experts, business leaders, and public officials. Legislation requiring a broad-based national summit on education was approved by the Congress and became law in October 1984. Funding for that initiative remains available, and, we believe, should be used to follow up and build upon next week's summit.

We would also support an annual event in the Capitol to commend the 50 State Teachers of the Year and will work to establish a National Council on Academic Excellence (modeled after the President's Council on Physical Fitness) to recognize students who reach high levels of educational achievement.

Beyond these specific goals and other steps designed for the immediate future, the nation may need to consider even more comprehensive steps to improve America's educational performance before the year 2000. We pledge to work with the President, the Governors, and educators to continue to upgrade the schools and colleges in this country. We also urge our fellow citizens to participate in this process and call upon the schools and colleges to support education in citizenship by providing opportunities for students to serve their communities.

These goals have some financial implications. Education is expensive. Ignorance is even more costly. Education must be a fundamental priority. Consider families: Education is one of their highest priorities. The same is true of state governments. We call upon President Bush to make education one of the highest priorities in his budget.

The founder of our political party, Thomas Jefferson, was a stout defender of individual liberties and public education fully recognizing the connection between the two. "Enlighten the people generally," he said, "and tyranny and oppression of body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day."

While our challenges are different from those faced by Jefferson in his day, our commitment to educational excellence will be equally vigorous.

THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION

1. Teaching: Revitalizing a Profession

- o Identifying, recognizing and rewarding excellence in teaching.
- o Enriching the teaching profession by providing more flexible routes to certification.
- o Attracting enough qualified teachers for elementary and secondary schools.
- o Meeting our national needs with respect to science and mathematics instruction in elementary and secondary schools.
- o Increasing the number of minorities entering teaching.
- o Evaluating proposals for national certification examinations.

2. The Learning Environment

- o Providing appropriate pre-school and early childhood experiences to prepare children for primary school.
- o Identifying at-risk youth and reducing the number of student drop-outs.
- o Creating safe, violence-free schools.
- o Establishing and maintaining drug-free schools.
- o Assessing student performance and establishing appropriate goals.
- o Engaging teachers, students, parents, and the community in a partnership and a life-long commitment to education.

3. Governance: Who Is In Charge?

- o Defining the appropriate role of the Federal Government in education.
- o Defining the appropriate role of State governments in education.

- o Defining the appropriate role of local school boards in education.
- o Reforming federal and state education regulations.
- o Ensuring that schools are publicly accountable for their performance, that there is adequate scope for innovation, and that exceptional performance is recognized and rewarded.
- o Ensuring parent and citizen involvement in local school governance.

4. Choice and Restructuring

- o Evaluating the experience with choice across the nation.
- o Assessing transportation and equity issues involved in choice.
- o Considering ways of expanding choice and strengthening accountability.
- o Evaluating the experience with magnet schools across the Nation.
- o Instituting performance-based restructuring initiatives.
- o Evaluating the experience with site-based management and program restructuring.

5. A Competitive Workforce and Life-Long Learning

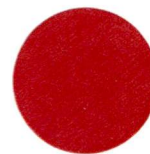
- o Ensuring that adult Americans are sufficiently literate to perform effectively as parents, workers, and citizens.
- o Determining what institutions, public and private, bear responsibility for various aspects of worker training.
- o Enhancing public-private partnerships in education.
- o Communicating the needs of the consumers of the products of our education system.

- o Creating incentive programs to produce more high school graduates.
- o Enhancing the quality of training and vocational education.

6. Post Secondary Education: Strengthening Access and Excellence

- o Enhancing opportunities for disadvantaged youth and their access to higher education.
- o Strengthening science, mathematics and engineering teaching in American universities.
- o Strengthening university entrance requirements and reducing the need for remedial courses.
- o Recruiting and retaining more minority students and faculty in higher education institutions.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



September 19, 1989

MEMORANDUM TO: ✓ GOVERNOR SUNUNU
ANDY CARD
STEVE STUDDERT
ROGER PORTER
JOHN KELLER

FROM: SUSAN PORTER ROSE

SUBJECT: Spouses Program/Education Summit

The attached letter from Mrs. Bush has been sent to each of the (33, to date) Governor's spouses and to the (14, to date) Cabinet spouses attending the Education Summit in Charlottesville. Also sent to them was the attached Spouses Schedule.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 19, 1989

Dear ,

George and I are greatly looking forward to seeing you and the Governor at the Education Summit in Charlottesville, and I am pleased there will be time for the spouses to meet separately. Many of us are actively involved in educational efforts, and all of us care about the future of American education. This is a basic issue that touches us all, not just as spouses of public figures, but as parents, citizens, and concerned human beings.

Here is what I envision. On Wednesday afternoon we will join our spouses for the welcome in Old Cabell Hall and then accompany them, as observers, to the first working session in the Rotunda. That evening, George and I will host the group at Monticello for cocktails and dinner.

On Thursday, I thought we would be interested again in sitting in as observers on the second working session at 8:00 a.m. in the Rotunda. At 9:30 a.m. I will host a separate session for spouses in Newcomb Hall. To begin our discussion, I have asked three Governors' wives to make brief presentations. I hope this session will bring us together informally to learn from each other and to be enriched by fresh perspectives on education.

After our session, we will rejoin our spouses for the convocation in University Hall, and at 1:00 p.m. I will host a luncheon for spouses at the Bayly Art Museum.

Attached is a schedule of our activities. A hospitality area will be set up nearby the various meeting sites. Coordination of activities and scheduling questions may be directed to Melinda Ferris or Amy Schwartz at (804) 980-8856.

George and I look forward to being with you and the Governor,

Warmly,

Barbara Bush

EDUCATION SUMMIT SPOUSES' SCHEDULE
September 27 - 28, 1989
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Wednesday, September 27, 1989

3:30 pm	Presidential Welcome (Governors, Cabinet, & Spouses)	OLD CABELL HALL
---------	---	--------------------

4:00 pm - 5:30 pm	Opening Session for Governors and Cabinet	ROTUNDA
----------------------	--	---------

Note: Governors and Cabinet Members attending the working sessions (4:00 pm Wednesday and 8:00 am Thursday) will be divided into three small groups. We are invited to attend our respective spouses' session as observers.

7:30 pm	Reception (Governors, Cabinet, & Spouses) (Business suit/Cocktail dress)	MONTICELLO
---------	--	------------

8:00 pm	Dinner (Governors, Cabinet, & Spouses) (Business suit/Cocktail dress)	MONTICELLO
---------	---	------------

RON CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

EDUCATION SUMMIT SPOUSES SCHEDULE

PAGE TWO

Thursday, September 28, 1989

7:00 am - 8:00 am	Continental Breakfast	ROTUNDA
----------------------	-----------------------	---------

8:00 am	Second Working Session for Governors and Cabinet	ROTUNDA
---------	---	---------

Note: Governors and Cabinet members attending the session will be divided into three small groups. We are invited to attend our respective spouses' session as observers.

9:15 am	BREAK	
---------	-------	--

9:30 am	Separate Spouse Session hosted by Mrs. Bush	NEWCOMB HALL
---------	--	-----------------

Note: Should you wish to bring materials to share, please feel free to do so.

11:00 am	BREAK	
----------	-------	--

11:30 am	Convocation (Governors, Cabinet, & Spouses)	UNIVERSITY HALL ARENA
----------	--	--------------------------

12:30 pm	BREAK	
----------	-------	--

1:00 pm	Spouses Luncheon hosted by Mrs. Bush	BAYLY ART MUSEUM
---------	---	---------------------

2:30 pm	Proceed to join Governors and Cabinet	ROTUNDA STEPS
---------	--	------------------

2:45 pm	Summit Conclusion (Governors, Cabinet & Spouses)	ROTUNDA STEPS
---------	---	------------------

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 19, 1989

MEETING WITH LEADERS OF
EDUCATION THOUGHT AND REFORM

Wednesday, September 20, 1989

11:25 a.m.

(40 minutes)

The Cabinet Room

From: Roger B. Porter *RBP*

I. PURPOSE

This is the last of the three sessions you are holding with individuals and representatives of the education community in preparation for the Education Summit. This group provides the opportunity for you to meet and exchange ideas with some of the leading thinkers on education reform.

II. BACKGROUND

This group consists of noted educators, administrators, and thinkers, many of whom have been at the forefront in education reforms during the last decade. The group includes three university presidents -- Lamar Alexander (Tennessee), Frank Rhodes (Cornell), and David Gardner (California). It also includes two of the leading exponents of choice -- John Chubb and Joe Nathan.

It includes David Hamburg (Carnegie Corporation) who has recently completed a highly regarded study of the problems and needs of our middle schools as well as Paul O'Neill and Bill Milliken who have played major roles in dealing with adult literacy and at-risk youth from the vantage point of the business community. This is a group of people I am confident you will enjoy.

III. PARTICIPANTS

Please see attached list.

IV. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

President enters Cabinet Room accompanied by Governor Sununu, Secretary Cavazos, and Roger Porter.

President makes brief remarks.

Group discussion.

President departs.

V. MEDIA COVERAGE

Photo opportunity, White House press pool.

TALKING POINTS PROVIDED BY THE OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

PARTICIPANTS

The President

Governor Sununu

Secretary Cavazos

Roger B. Porter

Lamar Alexander, President, University of Tennessee

Ernest Boyer, President, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching

John Chubb, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution

James P. Comer, Professor of Child Psychiatry, Yale University

Reverend George E. Conway, Headmaster, St. Ann's Belfield School

David Gardner, President, University of California

David Hamburg, President, Carnegie Corporation

William Milliken, President, Cities in Schools

Joe Nathan, Senior Fellow Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota

Paul O'Neill, Chief Executive Officer, Aluminum Company of America

Frank Rhodes, President, Cornell University

TheodoreSizer, Chairman, Coalition of Essential Schools, Brown University

BACKGROUND ON PARTICIPANTS

LAMAR ALEXANDER is currently the President of the University of Tennessee. He has been widely involved in education for many years and played a major role in education reform as Governor of Tennessee.

ERNEST BOYER is a visible presence in education reform and is currently President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

JOHN CHUBB is Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution and a leading advocate of choice in education.

JAMES P. COMER of Yale University is a leader in education reform focusing on intervention with families and young children, particularly in urban communities.

REVEREND GEORGE E. CONWAY is Headmaster of St. Ann's Belfield School in Charlottesville, Virginia.

DAVID GARDNER is former chairman of the National Commission on Excellence in Education and played a principal role in the 1983 report "Nation at Risk" which stimulated education reform across the country.

DAVID HAMBURG is President of the Carnegie Corporation and has directed a number of major reports on education, including a recent report on restructuring middle schools.

WILLIAM MILLIKEN, President of Cities in Schools, is a force in business involvement in education reform.

JOE NATHAN of the University of Minnesota is a recognized choice advocate and has been a primary force in Minnesota's pioneering choice initiatives and legislation.

PAUL O'NEILL has been interested in education since his days at the Office of Management and Budget and is currently involved with addressing the issue of workplace literacy as Chief Executive Officer of ALCOA.

FRANK RHODES is President of Cornell University and is a leader in higher education.

THEODORE SIZER is currently at Brown University and is author of Horace's Compromise, a seminal work on restructuring America's schools.

TALKING POINTS

- o I am glad you are here today. As you may know, this is the third in a series of meetings we have had in preparation for the upcoming Education Summit in Charlottesville.
- o The other two meetings have been valuable to me in hearing a variety of ideas and opinions on what needs to be done to move the country ahead in strengthening our educational system.

- o You are the experts, I would like to hear your thoughts as to where we should go from here, particularly what I might do as President, and what should come out of the Education Summit.

(Suggest begin discussion with Paul O'Neill.)

U.S. Senate Republican Policy Committee

William L. Armstrong, *Chairman*

September 13, 1989

ILLITERACY:

An Incurable Disease or Education Malpractice?

“Learning to read is like learning to drive a car. You take lessons and learn the mechanics and the rules of the road. After a few weeks you have learned how to drive, how to stop, how to shift gears, how to park, and how to signal. You have also learned to stop at a red light and understand road signs. When you are ready, you take a road test, and if you pass, you can drive. Phonics-first works the same way. The child learns the mechanics of reading, and when he’s through, he can read. Look and say works differently. The child is taught to read before he has learned the mechanics — the sounds of the letters. It is like learning to drive by starting your car and driving ahead. . . . And the mechanics of driving? You would pick those up as you go along.”

Rudolf Flesch, *Why Johnnie Still Can't Read*, 1981

Illiteracy in America is still growing at an alarming rate and that fact has not changed much since Rudolf Flesch wrote his best selling expose of reading instruction in 1955. Illiteracy continues to be a critical problem, demanding enormous resources from local, state, and federal taxes, while arguments about how to teach children to read continue to rage within the education research community, on Capitol Hill, in business, and in the classroom.

The International Reading Association estimates that more than one thousand research papers are prepared each year on the subject of literacy, and that is very likely a low figure. For the past 50 years, America’s classrooms have been used by psychologists, sociologists, educationists, and politicians as a giant laboratory for unproven, untried theories of learning, resulting in a near collapse of public education. It is time we begin to move away from “what’s new” and move toward “what works.”

Here Are the Grim Statistics

- As much as a quarter of the American labor force, anywhere from 20 to 27 million adults, lack the basic reading, writing, and math skills necessary to perform in today’s increasingly complex job market.
- One out of every four teenagers drops out of high school, and of those who graduate, one out of every four has the equivalent of an eighth grade education.

- According to current estimates, the number of functionally illiterate adults is increasing by approximately two and one quarter million persons each year. This number includes nearly 1 million young people who drop out of school before graduation, 400,000 legal immigrants, 100,000 refugees, and 800,000 illegal immigrants.
- Eighty-four percent of the 23,000 people who took an exam for entry-level jobs at New York Telephone in 1988, failed.
- More than half of Fortune 500 companies have become educators of last resort, with the cost of remedial employee training in the three R's reaching more than 300 million dollars a year.
- One estimate places the yearly cost in welfare programs and unemployment compensation due to illiteracy at six billion dollars. An additional 237 billion dollars a year in unrealized earnings is forfeited by persons who lack basic reading skills, according to Literacy Volunteers of America.
- The federal government alone has more than 79 literacy-related programs administered by 14 federal agencies.
- The total amount of money being spent on illiteracy by the federal government can only be guessed at, because there has never been a complete assessment prepared. A conservative estimate would place the amount at more than ten billion dollars each year, and growing steadily.

Why Does America Have A Reading Problem?

The question that must be asked is this: Why does America have a reading problem at all? We are the most affluent and technologically advanced of all the industrial nations on earth. We have "free" compulsory education for all, a network of state owned and operated teachers' colleges, strict teacher certification requirements, and more money and resources dedicated to educating our children than any other nation on earth.

Why Johnnie Can't Read Provides an Answer

Rudolf Flesch, author of *Why Johnny Can't Read* wrote the following in a letter to his daughter in 1955, after teaching his grandson to read:

"Since I started to work with Johnny, I have looked into this whole reading business. I worked my way through a mountain of books and articles on the subject, I talked to dozens of people, and I spent many hours in classrooms, watching what was going on.

What I found is absolutely fantastic. The teaching of reading — all over the United States, in all the schools, in all the textbooks — is totally wrong and flies in the face of all logic and common sense. Johnny couldn't read until half a year ago for the simple reason that nobody ever showed him how."

David T. Kearns, Denis P. Doyle, *Winning the Brain Race*, Institute for Contemporary Studies, San Francisco, CA, 1988.

Kathryn L. McMichael, *An Overview of the Adult Literacy Initiative in America*, National Commission for Employment Policy, March, 1987.

Charles J. Milcicic, "The Reading Reform Foundation: A Partner in Reason," *The Reading Reformer*, 1989.

Mary Musgrave, "From One Principal To Another," *The Reading Informer, Annual Conference Report*, July, 1987.

National Advisory Council on Educational Research and Improvement, Donald A Taylor, Amy Saltzman, and Bruce B. Auster, "The Forgotten Half," *US News and World Report*, June 26, 1989.

Lauren B. Resnik and Phyllis Weaver, Editors, *Theory and Practice of Early Reading*, New York, John Wiley, 1978.

Geraldine Rodgers, *The Case for the Prosecution*, July 27, 1981.

Time, Jan. 9, 1956.

Ron Zemke, "Workplace Illiteracy: Shall We Overcome?," *Training Magazine*, June, 1989.

Sources

R.C. Anderson, E.H. Heibert, J.A. Scott, and I.A.G. Wilkinson, *Becoming A Nation of Readers: The Report of the Commission on Reading*, 1985.

Jeanne Allen, *Illiteracy In America: What To Do About It*, The Heritage Foundation, Washington, DC, Feb., 1989.

Robert R. Arnone and Harvey J. Graff, *National Literacy Campaigns: Historical and Comparative Lessons*, Phi Delta Kappan, Nov., 1987.

Samuel Blumenfeld, *The New Illiterates: And How to Keep Your Child From Becoming One*, The Paradigm Company, Boise, ID, 1988.

Samuel Blumenfeld, *The Victims of Dick and Jane*, American Education, Jan./Feb., 1983.

Michael S. Brunner, "Reading," in *Illiteracy in America: Extent, Causes, and Suggested Solutions*, National Advisory Council on Adult Education, Literacy Committee, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1986.

Marie Carbo, *Debunking the Great Phonics Myth*, Phi Delta Kappan, Nov., 1988.

Jeanne S. Chall, *Learning To Read: The Great Debate*, McGraw-Hill, New York, NY, 1973, 1983.

Jeanne S. Chall, *Learning to Read: The Great Debate 20 Years Later — A Response to 'Debunking the Great Phonics Myth'*, Phi Delta Kappan, Mar., 1989.

Jeanne S. Chall, Elizabeth Heron, and Ann Hilferty, *Adult Literacy: New and Enduring Problems*, Phi Delta Kappan, Nov., 1987.

U.S. Congress, *Illiteracy and the Scope of The Problem in This Country*, Hearing before the Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, U.S. House of Representatives, 97th Congress, Washington, D.C., Sept., 1982.

U.S. Congress, *Illiteracy in America*, Joint Hearings before the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, and the Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities, of the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C., August 1, October 1 and 3, 1985.

Sue Dickson, excerpted from a transcript of an interview at her home in Chesapeake, VA, 1989.

Rachel Eide, "Aberdeen Children Up Reading Performance 42 Points After SSRW," *The Commercial Dispatch*, Columbus, MI, Nov. 8, 1988.

Rudolf Flesch, *Why Johnny Can't Read*, Harper and Row, New York, NY, 1955.

Rudolf Flesch, *Why Johnny Still Can't Read*, Harper and Row, New York, NY, 1981.

Samuel Stillwell Greene, *Penitential Tears, or a Cry from the Dust by the Thirty-One Prostrated and Pulverized by the hand of Horace Mann*, 1844.

Patrick Groff, Ph.D., San Diego State University, *Preventing Reading Failure: An Examination of the Myths of Reading Instruction*, National Book Company, Portland, OR, 1987.

Patrick Groff, "Colleges Fail in Training of Reading Teachers," *Education Week*, October, 1987.

Human Events, Aug. 17, 1985.

Paul M. Irwin, *Adult Literacy Issues, Programs, and Options*, Congressional Research Service, August 1989.

Time magazine called his book "the outstanding educational event of that year" and suggested that he represented "the devil in the flesh" to the education establishment.

There is an answer to "why Johnny can't read," but the answer is tough medicine to swallow. It requires education professionals, who for years have been engaged in a form of education malpractice, to admit that the methods of teaching reading they have vigorously advocated and staunchly defended ever since the 1930's are dead wrong.

If we are to seriously reverse the increasing number of illiterate adults in America and prevent the problem of illiteracy, we must swallow the medicine, as quickly as possible, and reject the instructional methods that have resulted in the widespread illiteracy we have today.

Everyone Can Be Taught To Read

Historically, all American school children were taught to read. Teachers never considered that a child "could not" be taught to read, and remedial reading was unheard of. In fact, the first remedial reading clinic opened in 1930, soon after the results of the "look and say" (the so called "Dick and Jane" program) reading methods were beginning to be felt.

Up until the early part of the 20th century, children were taught to read by first learning the alphabet, then the sounds of each letter, how they blended into syllables, and how those syllables made up words. They were taught that English spelling is logical and systematic, and that to become a fluent reader it was necessary to master the alphabetic "code" in which English words are written, to the point where it [the code] is used automatically with little conscious thought given to it.

Once a child learned the mechanics of the code, attention could be turned to more advanced content. It seldom, if ever, occurred to teachers to give children word lists to read, or to make beginning readers memorize whole words before learning the components of those words, or to memorize whole stories as today's proponents of the "whole language approach" recommend.

Based on a 1987 study funded by the U.S. Department of Education, *Preventing Reading Failure: The Myths of Reading Instruction*, 90 percent of remedial reading students today are not able to decode fluently, accurately, and at an automatic level of response. In a March, 1989, Phi Delta Kappan article, Harvard Professor Jeanne Chall (author of *Learning to Read: The Great Debate*, 1983) cites a study by Peter Freebody and Brian Byrne, that confirms the same finding. Today's students are not being taught the fundamental structure of language, but rather are engaged in what Dr. Kenneth Goodman (a proponent of "the whole language approach") has called a "psycholinguistic guessing game."

Two Ways to Teach Reading

One method is usually called "look and say" but many other labels are, or have been used to describe it, such as: the whole-word method; language experience; psycholinguistics; or whole language. The "look and say" method teaches that children should memorize or "guess" at words in context by using initial letter or picture clues. According to estimates given in one widely used "look and say" reading series, a child taught this method should be able to recognize 349 words by the end of the first grade; 1,094 by the end of the second; 1,216 by the end of the third; and 1,554

by the end of the fourth grade. Learning to read this way is supposed to be more meaningful and fun. This method is currently used by nearly 85 percent of the schools in the United States.

Another method is called intensive, systematic phonics. This method is used to teach children how to sound out and blend the letters that make up words in a specific sequence, from the simple to the complex. Today, educators call this method the “code” approach because it teaches the skills and logic children need to understand the English spelling system. When a child comes to school he/she has a spoken vocabulary of more than 24,000 words. Children taught to read using systematic phonics can usually read and understand at least as many words as they have in their spoken vocabulary by the end of the fourth grade. Less than 15 percent of the schools in the United States use this method.

Teaching Reading: A Bit of History

Teaching children to read is the most important objective educators have to accomplish. Reading is a prerequisite for everything else, not only in school but in life itself. Western civilization has taught its children to read using an alphabetic approach ever since the Phoenicians invented the alphabet and the Egyptians stopped writing in hieroglyphics. English is an alphabetic language that, when written, uses letters to represent speech sounds. When students were taught to read, they consciously identified the speech sounds and learned to recognize the letters used to represent them. They were then trained to apply this information to “decode” the names of unknown written words, understand their meaning, and comprehend the information presented as a complete thought.

The English language contains approximately half a million words. Of these words, about 300 compose about three-quarters of the words we use regularly. In schools where the “look and say” method is taught, children are constantly memorizing “sight” words during the first three or four grades of school, but are never taught how to unlock the meaning of the other 499,000 or more words. Reading failure usually shows up after the fourth grade, when the volume of words needed for reading more difficult material, in science, literature, history, or math cannot be memorized quickly enough. The damage to children who have not been taught phonics usually lies hidden until they leave the controlled vocabulary of the basal readers, for more difficult books where guessing, or memorizing new words just does not work. The result is that textbooks in the middle and upper grades are “dumbed” down to a fourth or fifth grade reading level.

This is the real reason why the SAT scores have dropped to such low levels during the last three decades.

Blaise Pascal — The Inventor of Modern Systematic Language Instruction

From the time the alphabet was invented until the time of French scientist and mathematician Blaise Pascal, reading was taught by memorizing the sounds of syllables, and then stringing them together to make words. But Pascal found that by separating the syllables into their letter parts one could learn to read more effectively and efficiently. His method was intended only to assist in the very beginning stages of reading, when a child is learning the printed syllables of his own language.

Former teacher and researcher Geraldine Rodgers puts it this way: “It was only for this purpose that Pascal invented it [phonics], to make the previously almost unending memorization of regularly

(c) **REPORTS.**—The Secretary shall prepare and submit to the Congress such interim reports of the study and listing as the Secretary deems advisable. The Secretary shall prepare and submit a final report containing the listing required by this subsection to the Congress not later than 12 months after the date of the enactment of this Act. The Secretary shall publicize and disseminate nationally the listing required by this section to the education community, parents, and to other interested persons.”

This report was due on September 30, 1987, but has yet to be submitted to Congress.

3. Education is primarily a state and local responsibility, however, in some cases the federal government provides funds directly for reading instruction. For instance: teachers providing reading instruction in the 90-day mandated literacy program for federal prisoners; federally funded reading teachers for refugees or immigrants; reading teachers in the Department of Defense dependent schools; teachers of clients in the Job Training Partnership Act basic skills programs; reading teachers in schools that are recipients of Chapter I (Compensatory Education) funds; teachers in bilingual education programs; or reading teachers in any other federally funded program where improving literacy is an objective. In these cases teachers should be required to be trained in intensive systematic phonics. Restrictions in existing legislation, that would prohibit program funds from being used for such training, should be removed.

4. Encourage the nation’s Governors to evaluate reading programs in state funded teacher training institutions, and propose legislation requiring teachers to be taught intensive systematic phonics as part of their training to teach in the public schools.

An example is the Ohio law [To Reform The States Education System and To Increase Education Accountability: Amended Substitute Bill # 140] that was enacted in 1989, and reads as follows:

“(M) [The State Board of Education shall] formulate and prescribe minimum standards requiring the use of phonics as a technique in the teaching of reading in grades kindergarten through three. In addition, the State Board shall provide in-service training programs for teachers on the use of phonics as a technique in the teaching of reading in grades kindergarten through three.”

The overwhelming evidence from research and classroom results indicates that the cure for the “disease of illiteracy” is the restoration of the instructional practice of intensive, systematic phonics in every primary school in America!

Staff contact: Robert W. Sweet, Jr. 224-2946

What Federal Programs Impact Illiteracy

According to the Congressional Research Service, Federal assistance for adult education and literacy programs is primarily authorized through the Adult Education Act (AEA). The AEA serves 3.5 million people annually, with an FY89 appropriation of \$155 million. Compensatory education (Chapter 1) is specifically targeted toward low income families, and teaching reading is a major emphasis of this program. The FY89 funding for Chapter 1 is \$4.5 billion.

Several major studies that have addressed the extent of illiteracy have been funded by the federal government over the years. These include the "National Assessment of Educational Progress," "Follow Through," the "Adult Performance Level" (APL) study, and most recently, the Commission on Reading report, *Becoming a Nation of Readers*, which provided a synthesis of reading research and the present state of the art of reading instruction.

The cumulative amount of money spent on illiteracy by the federal government over the past 25 years has been staggering. The following three programs are only the tip of the iceberg:

- Chapter I, cumulative funding from 1966 to 1989 = \$61 billion;
- Right to Read, cumulative funding from 1971 to 1981 = \$220 million; and
- Bilingual education, cumulative funding from 1967 to 1989 = \$1.7 billion.

The six government agencies that provide the most funding for the problem of illiteracy are: The U.S. Departments of Education (29 programs), Labor (3 programs), HHS (12 programs), Justice (2 programs), Defense (5 programs), and State, (2 programs).

Recommendations

1. There should be a moratorium on the establishment of new federal programs to prevent illiteracy, until an assessment is conducted to determine the effectiveness of those programs already in existence.
2. On September 30, 1986, P.L. 99-425 Sec. 901 was approved by the Congress. The law requires the following:

"(a) STUDY.—The Secretary of Education . . . shall conduct a study in order to compile a list, by name, of beginning reading instruction programs and methods, including phonics, indicating—

- (1) the average cost per pupil of such programs and methods; and
- (2) whether such programs and methods do or do not present well-designed instruction as recommended in the report of the Commission on Reading entitled "Becoming a Nation of Readers".

The listing required by this section shall be written in such a way as to be understandable to the general public.

- (b) PUBLIC COMMENT.—In carrying out the study required by this section, the Secretary shall solicit public comments on beginning reading programs and methods.

formed syllables . . . unnecessary. But phonics WORKS, and has since 1655. So it is not surprising that it was invented by one of the most towering mathematical and scientific geniuses in history, Blaise Pascal . . ."

19th Century: "Look and Say" Introduced

In 1837, Horace Mann, a lawyer and Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, proposed to the Boston School Masters the adoption of a "new method" of reading that began with the memorization of whole words rather than just learning the letter sounds and blending them into words. His "new method" was based on the work of Thomas A. Gallaudet who had developed a method to teach deaf children to read. Since deaf children had no ability to "sound out" letters, syllables, or words, the constant repetition of "sight" words from a controlled vocabulary seemed to be the most efficient way to teach them to read.

Adapting the work of Gallaudet, Horace Mann and his wife Mary developed a reading program that applied the same principles to students who had no hearing impairment. His method was tried for about six years in the Boston schools, and then soundly rejected by the Boston School Masters in 1844. Samuel Stillwell Greene, then principal of the Phillips Grammar School in Boston, expressed the views of the Boston School Masters, and the following excerpt from his essay is as relevant today as it was in 1844:

"Education is a great concern; it has often been tampered with by vain theorists; it has suffered much from the stupid folly and the delusive wisdom of its treacherous friends; and we hardly know which have injured it most. Our conviction is, that it has much more to hope from the collected wisdom and common prudence of the community, than from the suggestions of the individual. Locke injured it by his theories, and so did Rousseau, and so did Milton. All their plans were too splendid to be true. It is to be advanced by conceptions, neither soaring above the clouds, nor groveling on the earth, — but by those plain, gradual, productive, common-sense improvements, which use may encourage and experience suggest. We are in favor of advancement, provided it be towards usefulness. . . . We love the secretary, but we hate his theories. They stand in the way of substantial education. It is impossible for a sound mind not to hate them."

20th Century: "Look and Say" Established

The establishment of the normal school to train teachers at the same time Horace Mann was promoting the "new method" was not coincidental because these institutions became the vehicle by which to continue promoting the "new method." With the help of John Dewey at the University of Chicago, Arthur Gates at Teachers College Columbia, and the growing network of normal schools springing up around the country, direct, intensive, systematic phonics was debunked in favor of the whole word "look and say" method of teaching reading, with no research to support it.

The Basal Reader

In 1930-31, William S. Gray and Arthur I. Gates introduced a "basal reading" series which incorporated the methods used to teach the deaf to read. Today's basal reading books, used by nearly 85 percent of American school children, are essentially the same as the 1930-31 Gates and Gray books. Their most harmful aspect is their rigidly controlled vocabulary, and emphasis on memorizing whole words before the letter sounds are learned. Some researchers believe dyslexia is actually caused by this reversal of the normal learning sequence.

Children trained to read by the "look and say" method are made almost deaf to print if they are unable to sound out a printed new word like "gate" or "frog" by the beginning of second grade. In fact, they are almost as deaf to the sounds of the printed words as a deaf person is to the sounds of spoken words.

Research Provides the Answer

In 1967, Harvard Professor Jeanne Chall released her review of reading methods with the conclusion that:

"[The phonics approach (code emphasis) produces] better results, at least up to the point where sufficient evidence seems to be available, the end of the third grade. The results are better, not only in terms of the mechanical aspects of literacy alone, as was once supposed, but also in terms of the ultimate goals of reading instruction-comprehension and possibly even the speed of reading."

In 1973, Dr. Robert Dykstra, professor of education at the University of Minnesota, reviewed 59 studies and concluded that:

"We can summarize the results of 60 years of research dealing with beginning reading instruction by stating that early systematic instruction in phonics provides the child with the skills necessary to become an independent reader at an earlier age than is likely if phonics instruction is delayed or less systematic."

In 1973, Samuel Blumenfeld wrote *The New Illiterates*, which further exposed the history of how our children are being damaged by being taught reading with improper methods:

"In the course of researching this book, I made a shocking, incredible discovery: that for the last forty years the . . . children of America have been taught to read by a method originally conceived and used in the early 1800s to teach the deaf how to read, a [experimental] method which has long since been discarded by the teachers of the deaf themselves as inadequate and outmoded. Yet, today, the vast majority of . . . American children are still being taught by this very method. The result has been widespread reading disability."

Example #2 - Ask Charles Micciche,
former Superintendent of Schools in Groveton, NH:
[Currently Superintendent of Schools in Seekonk, MA]

When Mr. Micciche became Superintendent of Schools, in Groveton, NH, he served one of the 20 poorest counties in the country. He was charged by his School Board to "do something" about the poor reading scores, which were then averaging in the 45th percentile. Everyone, including teachers, parents, and board members, was dissatisfied. After considerable study and research, he concluded the following: "At a point in our not too distant past - some would put the time in the 1920's or '30's - a conflagration was let loose in our nation's classrooms, a bonfire of confusion in the form of a new reading method, look-say, or whole word, which devastated the reading ability of several generations of children, which blackened the landscape of reason, which has given us the scarred legacy we recognize today as illiteracy." But rather than wring his hands in despair, or ask for more money, Mr. Micciche and his teachers decided to try intensive systematic phonics. After a two-week training course, about a third of the primary teachers wanted to try the system. Within three months, the success of their children was so dramatic, all of their colleagues joined in the trial program. Another full year's trial was conducted, and the test scores climbed to, and remained at, the mid-to-high 60th percentile range. At the urging of the staff, and with the enthusiastic support of the parents, intensive phonics was in, and "look and say" was out.

The success of intensive systematic phonics was evident in the improvement of academic achievement, but another side benefit not to be overlooked was it's cost-effectiveness. The old "look and say" system was costing about twenty dollars per child per year to maintain. The cost of the new program over an eight year period amounted to an average annual cost of less than three dollars per pupil. All of this for a program that worked, satisfied the staff and community, lifted reading scores to the mid-sixties on standardized tests, and gave remarkable reading power and enjoyment to the children.

The inescapable message:
Teach Intensive Systematic Phonics!

Example # 3 - Ask Sue Dickson, Author and former first grade teacher:

"In college I had been taught that phonics doesn't work, that the English language is too complicated to be taught that way, and I swallowed that reasoning hook, line and sinker. . . . So, during my first two years as a teacher, I didn't use any phonics. But in 1954[sic], my mother bought a book by Rudolf Flesch called 'Why Johnny Can't Read.' At first Sue rejected his recommendations. After all she was "the one. . . with the teaching degree." Finally she decided that she had to do something because " . . . I was losing whole groups of students through the cracks. . . . I decided I would give phonics a try. But I was so scared. My professors had been so adamantly against it. [But the result was that] my class had scored so high on the standardized tests that the [school] administrators thought I had cheated [in reporting my test scores]!" She never went back to teaching "look and say" again.

Then she began to develop her own system of teaching reading, using the principles of phonics, but also using music to make it easier for the children to learn the letter sounds. It took her thirty years to perfect the system, but now hundreds of teachers are using her program with thousands of children, from Maine to California, Michigan to Texas! One school system in Mississippi that used the program in 1988 found that students who were first graders in 1987 improved their reading performance by 42 percentile points on the Stanford Achievement Tests. Reading comprehension improved 34 percentile points, and spelling went up 30 points.

The message is clear:
Teach Intensive Systematic Phonics!

intentions: the idea was to make learning to read more fun for our children. Today, it is almost universally used in this country.”

The results are evident in an illiteracy rate that is the highest in our history. We should not place the blame on our teachers but rather, we need a major overhaul of our teacher training institutions. We will not halt the continued spread of illiteracy in America without this critical reform.

The Reading Reform Foundation — Moving from What’s New to What Works

In the forefront of the effort to apply research findings to the teaching of reading has been the Reading Reform Foundation (RRF), organized in 1961. Since that time hundreds of teachers and thousands of children have benefitted from the practical application of the sound, proven, techniques of reading instruction RRF has promoted. Below are just a few of the success stories that can be told, and the implication for the nations’ schools should be crystal clear.

If children are taught intensive, systematic phonics at an early age, until it is automatically applied in the reading process, then illiteracy is dramatically reduced, comprehension improves, and remediation is virtually unnecessary, except for very few.

Example # 1: Ask Mary Musgrave, Principal, Gallegos Elementary School, Tucson, Arizona:

Mary was a teacher in the Sunnyside School District for fifteen years where achievement in reading, math, and writing was always last. “People would say, ‘Well, it’s these children.’ That offended me because I subscribe to the idea that ‘God don’t make no junk.’” She was appointed to a study committee to come up with recommendations on how to improve achievement levels, and one suggestion that the committee approved was to introduce “phonics.” Mary had been taught that phonics was “grunt and spit,” and that children taught phonics had no fluency in reading and, even if they could read they had no comprehension or understanding. Many other policies were adopted by the review committee, including ways to involve parents, improve discipline, and strengthen teacher training, but the most important policy was the introduction of intensive systematic phonics. After four years the results were unassailable.

The school was open to everyone in the district on a “first come, first served” basis; the capacity was 623 students; 58 percent were minority students; many children came from low-income families; no federal money came to the school other than the school lunch program; there were no learning disabilities teachers, and no need for them; there was no bilingual education because everyone spoke English, and even if children didn’t speak English when they came into the school, they did when they left; the grading system had a higher standard than the other 18 schools in the district, and yet 33 percent of students on the district Honor Roll were from Gallegos; and perhaps most important of all, 46 percent of the students in the intermediate grades were former special education students. After one year, only four students remained in the special education category.

The inescapable conclusion:
Teach Intensive Systematic Phonics!

In 1979, a three-volume collection of papers by leading researchers was published titled *Theory and Practice of Early Reading*, edited by Lauren Resnick of the University of Pittsburgh and Phyllis Weaver of Harvard. Of the 59 contributors, 53 (about 90 percent) were in favor of systematic phonics and against the prevailing “look and say” method, which they considered harmful.

Following is one quote from this study that is of particular significance:

“First, as a matter of routine practice, we need to include systematic, code-oriented instruction in the primary grades, no matter what else is also done. This is the only place in which we have any clear evidence for any particular practice.”

In 1983, Harvard professor Jeanne Chall reaffirmed her previous research findings and recommended that teacher training be changed to require the teaching of intensive, systematic phonics, essentially the same approach that had been used successfully before the “look and say” method was introduced.

In 1985, the U.S. Department of Education released a report prepared by the Commission on Reading titled *Becoming a Nation of Readers*, which once again confirmed the obvious:

“Classroom research shows that, on the average, children who are taught phonics get off to a better start in learning to read than children who are not taught phonics. . . . The picture that emerges from the research is that phonics facilitates word identification and that fast, accurate word identification is a necessary but not sufficient condition for comprehension. . . . Thus, the issue is no longer, as it was several decades ago, whether children should be taught phonics. The issues now are specific ones of just how it should be done.”

This fall, 1989, another major study will be released by the Center for the Study of Reading at the University of Illinois, titled *Beginning to Read: Thinking and Learning about Print, A Summary*, by Marilyn Jager Adams. This study will be of particular interest to teachers, because it once again reaffirms the need to teach the English language as a system, and suggests that well-developed concepts about the form and function of print, including rapid recognition of letters, awareness of sounds in spoken words, and rich experience with books and stories, are important underpinnings for children’s success in learning to read.

How Have the Reading Professionals Responded to Research Findings

Since admitting fault is not an easy thing for anyone to do, most education professionals respond to research findings that advocate the teaching of intensive systematic phonics with the following excuses: there isn’t an illiteracy problem; we do teach phonics; no one method is best; English isn’t phonetic; word calling isn’t reading; the child isn’t ready; the child has a reading disability; it’s the parents fault; it’s too much TV. But if we are to solve the problem of illiteracy in America, we must stop making excuses and take immediate action to change the methods of teaching.

In December of 1982, a survey of 1609 professors of reading in 300 graduate schools was conducted. When asked which reading authorities of all time, in their opinion, had written the most

significant, most worthy, “classic” studies in reading, the top three individuals on the list, in order, were Frank Smith, Kenneth Goodman and Edmund Huey, all well-known, vociferous, dedicated, dogmatic, enemies of early, intensive teaching of phonics. Frank Smith and Kenneth Goodman are two of today’s most influential proponents of the “look and say” or as they would term it, “whole language” method of teaching reading.

San Diego State University Professor Patrick Groff recently reviewed 43 reading texts, all published in the 1980’s and used by teachers colleges in training reading teachers, to see if they included the findings of researchers that the “code-emphasis” or phonics method of teaching reading should be used. He found that none of these books advocate phonics. In fact, only nine of these books inform teachers that there is current debate about if or when phonics should be taught.

Despite the overwhelming volume of research supporting early, intensive, systematic instruction in phonics, college textbooks used by most university departments of education fail to apply this research in the training of prospective teachers.

The National Education Association declared in the 1983-84 Annual Edition of *Today’s Education* that “the overemphasis on phonics with beginners” is now “ready for the scrap heap.”

Why Do Faulty Methods Continue to be Used? It’s Big Business!

The sale of instructional reading programs is big business today, as it has been since the 1930’s when the basal reading series for elementary schools were introduced.

Each year publishing companies compete for the adoption of reading programs in states like California and Texas where millions of dollars of expendable “look and say” workbooks are purchased every year. Many Americans will recognize Dick and Jane, Alice and Jerry, Janet and Mark, Danny and Sue, or Tom and Betty. These are the characters in the “look and say” readers that most of us have grown up with.

The 1986 National Advisory Council on Adult Education report, *Illiteracy in America* cites several examples of how the cost of reading instruction can be reduced, while at the same time improving reading scores:

“In her book, *Programmed Illiteracy in Our Schools*, [Mary Johnson] says that: ‘The workbooks to a sight method [‘look and say’] basal series soon become superfluous whenever phonics is taught by a direct method. . . the annual expenditure on workbooks was more than four times greater than that on hardcover readers [used in a phonics first program]. (The workbooks have to be replaced each year because the children write in them.)’”

The Superintendent of Schools in Seekonk, MA, hired a private sector organization to train his primary-grade teachers in intensive systematic phonics. The cost of reading materials to implement the new program was eighty-eight percent less per pupil than the “look and say” reading program previously used in the district.

“Mr. H. Marc Mason, Principal of Benjamin Franklin Elementary School in Mesa, Arizona, said that in 1978 his school spent \$23.42 per student on reading materials. In the same year his teachers were trained [to teach phonics]. By 1981, expenditures for reading materials had dropped to \$8.50 per student, [while at the same time] achievement scores . . . surpassed the national, state, and district norms in language as well as in math.”

Additional Obstacles to Reading Reform

In his book, *Preventing Reading Failure: An Examination of the Myths of Reading Instruction*, Dr. Patrick Groff devotes an entire chapter to a question that is most commonly asked: Why do the myths of reading instruction prevail? The answer is summarized below.

There is no single reason for the fact that research findings are not applied in teacher training institutions, or in the classroom. Common sense is defeated by the:

- forces of tradition;
- interlocking relationships between basal reader publishers and reading experts;
- refusal of reading experts to accept outside criticism;
- reading experts’ lack of knowledge about phonics teaching, negative biases toward phonic instruction, and fear that phonics advocacy equals political conservatism;
- negative attitudes toward phonics by teachers’ organizations;
- unsubstantiated information in educational publications;
- expectancy that research will not affect teaching practices;
- refusal to admit that there is a literacy crisis;
- lack of legal redress for malpractice in reading instruction; and
- establishment of public schools and teacher education as a monopoly.

How Do Teachers Feel About Reading Methods?

Most teachers use methods of teaching reading that their professors teach them, or they follow the teachers guide for the textbook series used in their school system, neither of which present logical and systematic instruction in phonics.

In an *Education Week* article, June 12, 1985, Rudolf Flesch concluded:

“Decades of painstaking research have shown that neither our schools nor our teachers are to blame [for the illiteracy problem in America]. Rather, the fault lies with a method of teaching reading that was first proposed for general use in 1927 and has since been adopted in most of our schools. It is called the ‘whole-word’ [‘look and say’] method because it relies on memorizing the shapes and meanings of whole words. It was introduced with the best

U.S. Senate Republican Policy Committee

William L. Armstrong, *Chairman*

August 3, 1989

SCHOOLS OF CHOICE

THE BEGINNING OF A SYSTEMIC CHANGE IN AMERICAN EDUCATION?

"It's time for a second great wave of education reform. . .perhaps the single most promising of these ideas is choice. . .Almost without exception, wherever choice has been attempted. . .choice has worked. Any school reform that can boast such success deserves our attention and effort. . .We must reward excellence, and cut through bureaucracy. . .We must give choice to parents, students, teachers and principals. And we must hold all concerned accountable. In education, we cannot tolerate mediocrity."

President George Bush, 1989

EDUCATION REFORM IS NOT NEW

Education reform has been constant since before our nation began more than 200 years ago. As the number of students needing an education has increased (to more than 41 million students at the elementary and secondary level alone), and our population has shifted from the farm to the city, so has the system of delivering education services to our children changed. During the 19th century little red school houses dotted the countryside from Maine to California—Michigan to Mississippi. We were a nation of farms and small communities then. In fact, at the turn of the century there were more than 200 thousand school districts in America—today there are less than 16 thousand. Then came the establishment of the tax supported public schools, compulsory attendance laws, large teacher unions, and government regulation creating the public school monopoly that exists today which virtually prevents parents from having the control of their children's education.

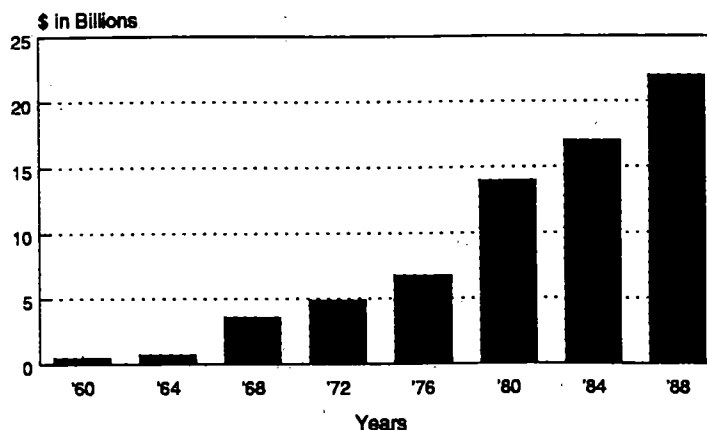
Consolidation, a reform of the 1940's and 50's was thought to be the answer to changing population patterns. But with consolidation came bigger school districts where parents felt less "ownership" of the schools, and as a consequence states were given more and more authority to determine the content of the school program with less and less attention to parents' wishes.

In the 1960's came desegregation, the demand for equal opportunity for all students regardless of race, and the beginning of a major financial investment by the federal government in the state and local education enterprise.

Federal involvement began in earnest with the passage of the National Education Defense Act of 1958, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and the establishment of a Cabinet level U.S. Department of Education in 1979.

With the plethora of federal grants came "innovative curricula" in science, math, social studies, foreign language and language arts, the "open classroom," and more intrusive federal intervention, in what has always rightfully been a local community and parental responsibility.

Education Expenditure
(U.S. Dept. of Educ.)



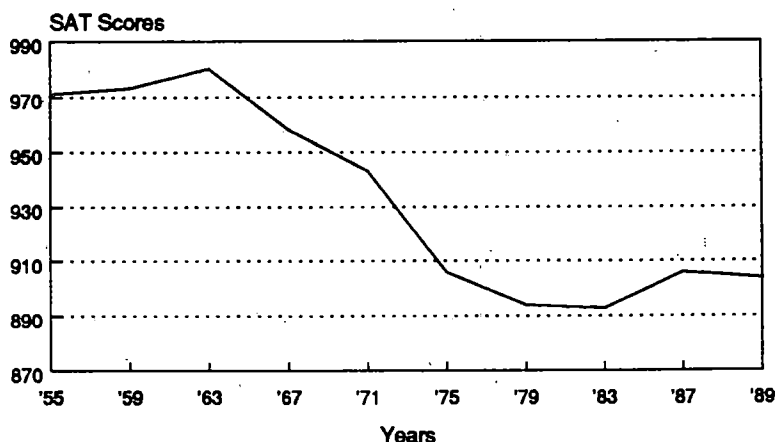
Source: US Dept. of Educ.

RPC Chart

THE DECLINE IN SAT SCORES

Beginning in the late 1960's with the precipitous decline in SAT scores, parents, educators, and politicians at all levels have been looking for new ways to restore quality education in our schools. To date, however well intentioned, those efforts have largely failed.

SAT Scores
1955-1989



Source: US Dept. of Educ.

RPC Chart

Today, the academic achievement of American students is significantly lower than it was 25 years ago. On the SAT test, the best known indicator of student ability, the average total score of college-bound seniors fell more than 90 points between 1963 and 1981, and today remains still more than 75 points below its 1963 peak. SAT scores have not risen since 1985, and in 1988 actually declined by 2 points.

HIGH DROPOUT RATES / LOW SKILLS

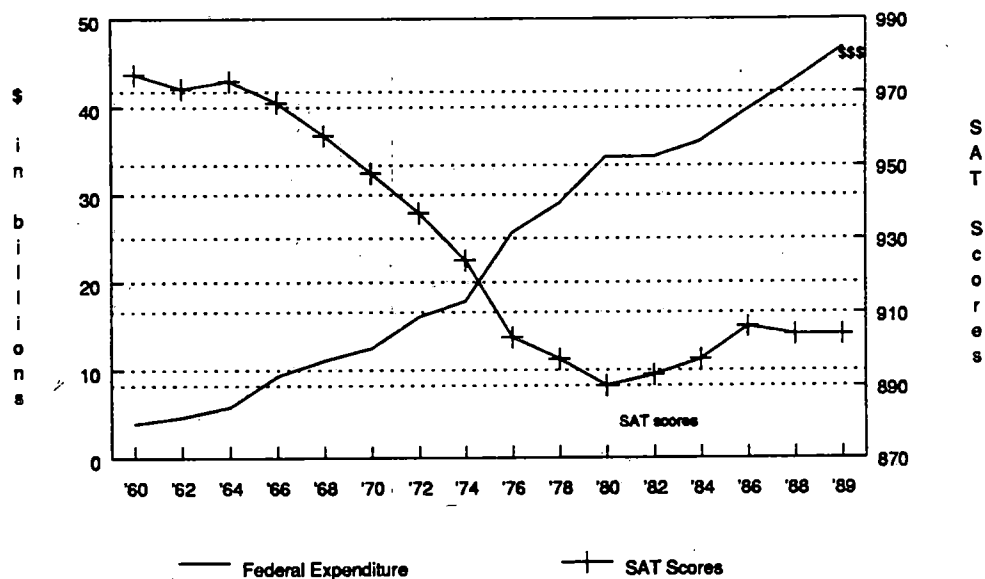
The high school dropout rate remains persistently high—currently at least 25 percent—and as much as 50 percent in some cities with a high percentage of minority enrollment.

According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) less than 10 percent of all 13 year-olds are “adept” at reading, and less than 1 percent are considered as “advanced.” Eighth grade students in the United States placed next to last on a 1981 mathematics test administered in 12 advanced industrial democracies. In a 1982 comparison of the best math students in 11 nations, including many nations with which the United States competes economically, American students came in dead last in calculus and algebra.

In a study completed in 1989 by the Educational Testing Service for the National Science Foundation and the Department of Education, American 13 year-olds performed worse or no better in science and math than students in all of the countries in the study—the United Kingdom, Ireland, Spain, Canada, and South Korea. By most measures, American students are still doing rather badly even though we spend more money on education than any other nation on earth. There is ample evidence that more spending and further regulation have not measurably improved education standards. In fact, the argument could be made that quality of education has declined in inverse proportion to the increase in federal education expenditures.

Education Expenditure

(All Federal Agencies)



Source: US Dept. of Educ.

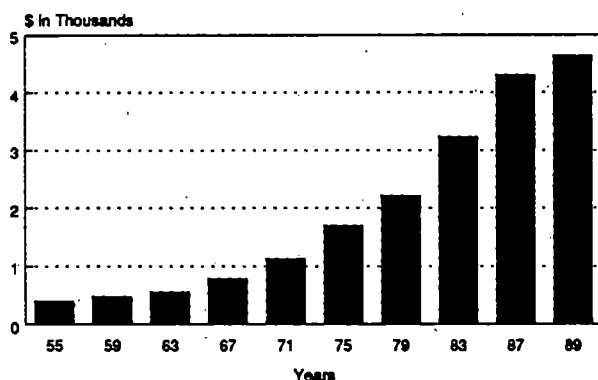
RPC Chart

WHAT REFORMS HAVE BEEN INSTITUTED IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE LAST 20 YEARS?

The public education lobby has been successful in obtaining many "reforms" and convincing the public that student academic achievement would improve if the per-pupil expenditures, teachers' salaries, and overall financial expenditures were increased; pupil teacher ratios were decreased; and more federal funds were made available. These reforms and many others have been enacted, as the following statistics indicate:

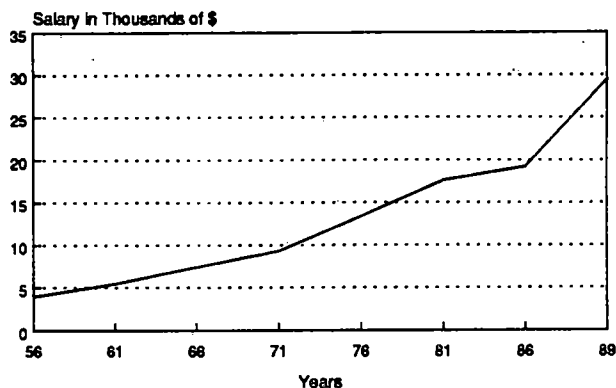
- per-pupil expenditures had a real increase of 83 percent; [U.S. Dept. of Educ.]
- the average teacher's salary increased from \$8,560 to \$29,567; [U.S. Dept. of Educ.]
- the average pupil teacher ratio fell from 22.3 to 17.6; [U.S. Dept. of Educ.]
- the number of teachers with masters degrees increased to more than 53 percent; [NEA]
- the number of non-classroom instructional personnel grew more than 400 percent;

Per/Pupil Expenditure
K-12



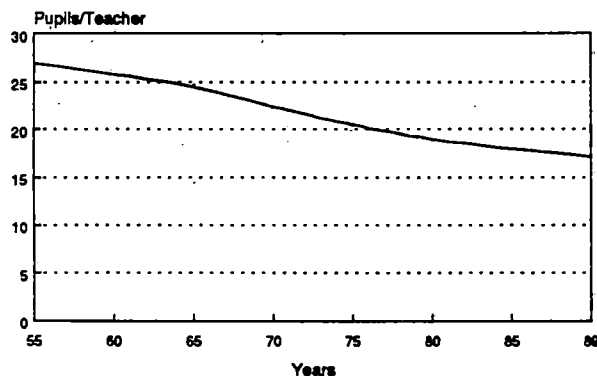
RPC Chart

Salary Trends
for Teachers/K-12



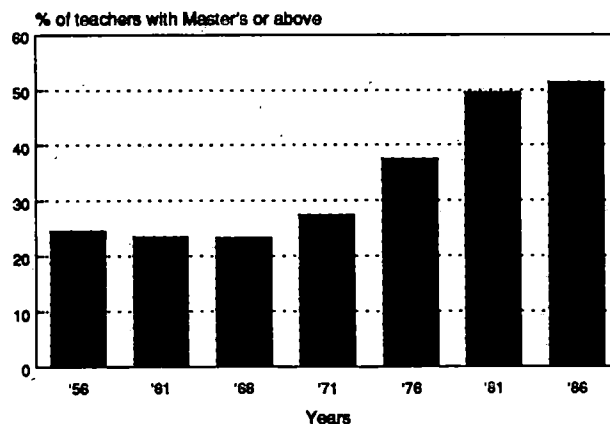
RPC Chart

Pupil/Teacher Ratio
K-12



RPC Chart

Teachers With Master's Degrees



RPC Chart

- the number of non-classroom instructional personnel grew more than 400 percent;
- classroom teachers now represent just a little more than 54 percent of all school personnel;
- administrators represent more than 13 percent of all local school personnel;
- the number of regulations with which local schools had to comply increased dramatically as a result of countless federal and state categorical programs;
- spending on public elementary and secondary education increased by \$56 billion—an amount greater than one percent of the gross national product.

Despite these reforms, a recent survey of 147 statistical analyses of school performance found no consistent relationship between student achievement and pupil-teacher ratios, teacher education, experience, salaries, or per-pupil expenditure. In fact, the evidence clearly indicates that as federal and state influence increased and the role of parents declined, student academic performance decreased.

In an article titled "The Economics of Schooling: Production and Efficiency in Public Schools," (Journal of Economic Literature, September 1986), Dr. Eric Hanushek reviews a broad range of research on the relationship between quality schooling and the reforms commonly believed to improve educational outcomes. His conclusions are consistent with U.S. Department of Education findings released in 1989.

Although no one is opposed to good salaries for teachers, or pupil-teacher ratios that allow maximum learning potential in the classroom, or higher levels of teacher education, we do a disservice to our children if we do not face the fact that the basic education reforms that have been advocated over the past 30 years have not worked. Below are some of Dr. Hanushek's findings:

- "Since the Coleman Report in 1966, some 147 studies separately estimating educational production functions, have appeared in published literature. While varying in focus, in methodology, and ultimately in quality, their estimates provide a number of insights into schools and school policy." [p.1159]
- "Schools differ dramatically in 'quality', but not because of the rudimentary factors that many researchers (and policy makers) have looked to for explanation of their differences. For example, differences in quality do not seem to reflect variations in expenditure, class size, or other commonly measured attributes of schools and teachers." [p. 1141]
- "According to conventional wisdom, each tabulated factor (from the 147 studies of educational production functions) should have a positive effect on student achievement. More education and more experience on the part of the teacher both cost more and are presumed to be beneficial; smaller classes (more teachers per student) should also improve individual student learning," but research studies show that this is not necessarily so. [p.1160]
- "Teacher experience appears to have only a marginal effect on improving quality education." [p.1162]
- "There appears to be no strong or systematic relationship between school expenditures and student performance." [p.1164]

- "The closest thing to a consistent finding among the studies is that 'smarter teachers', ones who perform well on verbal ability tests, do better in the classroom." [p.1164]
- "...expenditures are unrelated to school performance as schools are currently operated." [p.1166]

It appears that all of the popular reforms, many of which have been implemented during the past two decades, have done little to improve our schools. It is important for policy makers to objectively consider those reforms that research has proven to be effective.

CHOICE IN EDUCATION IS ONE OF THE MOST PROMISING EDUCATION REFORMS

In their study of EDUCATIONAL CHOICE, John Chubb of the Brookings Institution and Terry M. Moe of Stanford University suggest there is hope on the horizon.

"Our research suggests that the key to better schools is more effective school organization; that the key to more effective school organization is greater school autonomy; and finally, that the key to greater school autonomy is school competition and parental choice. We therefore believe that the most promising approaches to school reform are those that promote competition between schools and that provide parents a choice among schools—for example, magnet school programs, open enrollment systems, and voucher or scholarship plans. Not just any reform that increases competition and choice will do, however. To succeed, an arrangement employing competition and choice must ensure that the systemic forces now discouraging autonomous and effective school organization are fundamentally weakened. In effect, this probably means restructuring today's system of public education."

JUST WHAT DOES CHOICE IN EDUCATION REALLY MEAN?

U.S. Secretary of Education Lauro F. Cavazos, in remarks made at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. on May 19, 1989 stated: "I believe that we must first have a national commitment to excellence in education and, second, we must restructure elementary and secondary education in this nation. I consider choice the cornerstone to restructuring elementary and secondary education in this country. Whenever choice appears, commitment and involvement in education have been revitalized and that revitalization sets the scene for a leap forward in achievement."

Most public school parents are told precisely where their children will be educated, in which district, which school, which classroom. But Lindy Purdy who lives in Minnesota, can do what parents elsewhere cannot—ignore her home district assignment and choose any public school system in the state—free.

If Lindy Purdy chooses to send her two children to school away from her home district of Westonka, a suburban area with a mix of low- and middle-income families; the district will lose about \$7,500 in state aid. As a result, Westonka school officials are fighting to keep Alyssa and

Tyler Purdy and the 115 other students who have applied to leave, trying to convince their families that the best education is still available close to home.

Welcome to the free market of public education, built on an increasingly popular theory: if schools are forced to compete for students, the schools will, by necessity, improve or go out of business. Parents, for the first time, become powerful consumers of public education, able to choose between products as freely and purposefully as they do at the grocery store. [*Washington Post*, 1/2/89, p.A1]

In New York City's District 4, Harlem, the choice program has allowed residents, many of them low-income, minority families, to choose among 23 schools. School directors and teachers have been given the freedom to participate in the hiring of new faculty members, schedule courses and design programs. Parents choose among schools specializing in several different themes, including performing arts, math and science. When the program was instituted 14 years ago, students in the district ranked last in reading and math scores among New York City's 32 districts. Student scores now rank around 16th. As one of the oldest choice programs in the country, District 4 has been studied by educators in Japan, England, Germany and around the United States. Because of the popularity of the choice program in Harlem District 4, Mary Coleman, the district's assistant director of alternative schools, can't understand why it hasn't caught on in New York City's other 31 districts. [*Washington Post*, 1/2/89, p.A1]

And yet despite the apparent lack of interest in New York City, the concept of education choice is gaining support across the nation.

HOW DOES AN EFFECTIVE EDUCATION CHOICE PLAN WORK?

Minnesota has been in the vanguard of state-sponsored plans to widen parental choice. Governor Rudy Perpich approved a plan to make Minnesota the first state in the nation with a state-wide open enrollment plan. Parents are allowed to apply for a place for their child at any public school in the state. If a student transfers from one school district to another, the state's portion of the cost of educating the student "follows" the student. A school could refuse a student only if it had no more room or if the child's presence would affect the school's racial balance adversely.

In 1987, Minnesota parents used the new law to transfer 137 students to other public schools; in 1988 about 440 transferred; and in 1989 approximately 3,500 transferred.

Most other state education choice plans are being patterned after the Minnesota law and have similar features.

WILL PARENTAL CHOICE DESTROY PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

Some educators argue that education choice will affect desegregation efforts, or destroy the public schools. Others believe that poor and minority parents won't be able to make the decisions necessary to exercise choice well. But the facts to date show that the results of education choice plans are just the opposite. For example:

- a comprehensive examination of desegregation efforts by Boston University Professor Christine Roselle indicates that school districts that utilize choice to achieve desegregation produce more long-lasting results. Districts that rely on mandatory assignments are more likely to suffer more "white flight."
- in Cambridge, MA, after choice was introduced the proportion of students opting for public schools rose from 74 percent to 82 percent;
- after Minnesota began its tax credit for education expenses, the percentage of students attending private schools fell.

As Thomas Sowell has written, "Parental choice has not destroyed the public schools in high-income neighborhoods, and has in fact forced them to do a better job, in order to meet the competition of private schools. That is the basic reason for extending the same choice to low-income parents. . . School administrators have the same instinct for survival as anyone else. Public schools will not be destroyed but improved."

THE PUBLIC WANTS CHOICE IN EDUCATION

- American parents favor choice within the public schools by 68 percent to 25 percent; [*Gallup Poll*, 1988]
- 71 percent of the American people support choice in public schools; [*Gallup Poll*, 1987]
- The public supports choice plans that would allow parents to choose from public or private schools; parents with children in school support choice by 51 percent to 40 percent; minorities favor choice by 59 percent to 26 percent; the "poor" favor choice by 43 percent to 34 percent; and big city residents favor choice by 54 percent to 30 percent. [*Gallup Poll*, 1985]

STATE LEGISLATURES WANT CHOICE IN EDUCATION

- In its report, "Time for Results," the National Governors Association endorsed choice in the public schools, "We propose an idea in the great American tradition: you can increase excellence by increasing choice."
- In 1989, Governor Clinton of Arkansas, Governor Branstad of Iowa, Governor Orr of Nebraska, and Governor Gardner of Washington recommended, and their legislatures adopted, programs of public school choice;
- In Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, and Wisconsin, the governors have suggested that their legislatures take action in 1989 to expand the public school options available to families. In Arizona, Connecticut, Michigan, and Ohio business leaders, educators, and parents are encouraging their legislators to adopt some form of expanded public school choice;

- More than 20 states have adopted or are considering legislation to allow parents more choice among schools;
- In May 1989, Nebraska Governor Kay Orr signed an open-enrollment bill, making her state the latest rider on a juggernaut sweeping American education: the choice movement. [Wall Street Journal, 6/7/89]
- During the past seven years, the Massachusetts legislature has allocated more than \$40 million to promote public school choice plans. For the past five years, Cambridge, MA has allowed parents to choose any elementary school in the district. During that same period of time overall student achievement has increased significantly every year.

EDUCATORS SUPPORT CHOICE IN EDUCATION

- California State Superintendent of Public Instruction, William Honig stated that "parents should be allowed to choose any school they want, because if you give parents a choice, they get much more attached to that school. . . It's great for parent morale." [Los Angeles Times, 1/7/89]
- In a 1989 study of public opinion on choice in education, Market Opinion Research (MOR) conducted nine focus groups at four sites around the country including two groups of public school teachers. The teachers were very receptive to education choice because they believed that choice would increase parental involvement and increase public respect for the teaching profession.

ISN'T EVERYBODY IN FAVOR OF CHOICE IN EDUCATION?

- The National Education Association is not. In July 1989, the NEA passed a resolution that stated: federal or state parental choice plans "compromise the Association's commitment to free, equitable, universal, and quality public education for every student and therefore the association opposes such plans." [USA Today, 7/5/89]
- Governor Dukakis is not. He vetoed a statewide education choice program in 1988; [Los Angeles Times, 1/7/89]
- Scott Thompson, Executive Director of the National Association of Secondary School Principals is not. He thinks "its a political gimmick. Choice will not improve schools. If anything, it will take resources away from the schools that need it most." [New York Times, 6/4/89]

WHAT CAN BE DONE TO ENCOURAGE CHOICE IN EDUCATION?

"The fundamental theory of liberty upon which all governments in this Union repose excludes any general power of the state to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only. The child is not the mere creature of the state; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognize and prepare him for additional obligations."

Pierce v. The Society of Sisters, 1925

Affluent parents can already choose the schools they want their children to attend. In fact teachers choose private schools for their children at a rate of up to twice that of families in general. It is only appropriate to allow those with average income and below to choose the schools they want too.

Many middle and lower income families now choose private schools for their children, without receiving any federal or state subsidy. Nearly 15 percent of the school population already attend private schools of their choice.

According to statistics for the school year 1985-86, the average private school spent \$1,100 per student annually as compared to the average public school expenditure of \$3,752 per student. Also, 43.1 percent of the families who send their children to private schools have incomes of \$24,999 or less.

Forty-four states have passed legislation that allows parents to teach their children at home. It is estimated that up to one million families are doing just that, and with excellent results. The six states that restrict home schooling should modify their laws to allow parents the same choices as those of the other forty-four states.

James S. Coleman stated in the *U.S. Catholic*, "children from families who don't have much money are most disadvantaged by the public-education system as it exists now because their parents can't choose a school for them. These families are trapped by where they live, and they often feel very angry and frustrated that they can't make a choice."

WHAT SHOULD THE FEDERAL ROLE BE IN ENCOURAGING CHOICE IN EDUCATION?

Since education is primarily a local and state responsibility, the federal role should remain one of advocacy and limited financial assistance.

Regional Conferences on Choice in Education

- The U.S. Department of Education has established an office to coordinate information on state efforts to encourage education choice; six regional conferences will be held around the nation during the fall of 1989 to provide a forum for local educators, state legislators and parents to develop strategies on ways to expand choice in education. For more information contact Jack Klenk, Secretary's Choice Initiative, (202) 732-4039.

Education Summit

- President Bush has summoned the nations governors to a summit meeting on September 27 and 28, 1989 to discuss the most important problems facing the schools. The tentative agenda includes such issues as state curricula, student achievement levels and minimum competency testing for promotion and graduation. The two day summit is expected to produce a national agenda for education that will address ways to strengthen the schools, to enlarge opportunities and to improve the nations education performance. Governors Branstad of Iowa, Clinton of Arkansas, and Campbell of South Carolina will head a task force which will organize the summit. For more information, call the National Governor's Association at (202) 624-5300.

Magnet Schools

- In his 1990 budget the President has proposed \$100 million to establish, expand, or enhance magnet schools in order to strengthen students' knowledge of academic or vocational subject areas. A magnet school can attract students from outside their normal attendance areas and has the flexibility to experiment with teaching techniques and specialized courses of instruction. Increased federal support for magnet schools, with state laws allowing education choice, would further strengthen the growing movement.

New Ideas for Federal/State Cooperation

The Wisconsin Model

As the implementation of state education choice plans spread across America, new ideas abound. For example, Wisconsin Governor Tommy Thompson has proposed a Parental Choice Initiative which would establish the equivalent of an "Education Enterprise Zone" for poor students in the worst school districts in Wisconsin. State Representative Annette (Polly) Williams, a member of the Education Committee, has been a primary proponent of this legislation. In fact her proposal to establish Education Enterprise Zones received 44 of the 50 votes needed for the legislation to pass. She is planning to introduce the legislation again in the next session. Under this plan, parents would be issued educational vouchers which students could redeem at most public and private schools. More information about the Wisconsin Model can be obtained from William Myers, Director of the Center for State Policy (Free Congress Foundation) in Washington, D.C., (202) 546-3000, or directly from Wisconsin Representative Polly Williams, or her staff member Larry Harwell at (608) 266-0960.

Individuals from the Washington Policy Group, the Heritage Foundation, the Free Congress Foundation, the Brookings Institution, the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, and other policy groups have proposed a variety of ways for the federal government to cooperate with states who decide to establish Education Enterprise Zones. Below are some of the elements of such a federal proposal:

Possible Federal Legislation

If a state passes legislation to establish Education Enterprise Zones, such as that proposed in Wisconsin, the Secretary of Education would be authorized to make Federal Chapter I funds

available directly to the parents of students in that Enterprise Zone, who qualify for Chapter I assistance, to be used toward payment of tuition at the school of their choice, public or private.

There are other actions that the federal government could take that would offer incentives for the business community to participate in helping to improve the quality of education and provide more opportunities for parental choice.

- Allow businesses that assist in the establishment of "choice" schools a 20 cent tax credit for each dollar expended on capital costs.
- Make surplus government properties available to parents or other eligible private sector groups for the purpose of starting "choice" schools.

More information is available on these proposals from Jeff Eisenach at the Washington Policy Group, Washington, D.C., (202) 546-8242.

Alternative Schools

The School Board in Eugene, Oregon has established a policy that allows the development of alternative schools within the school district, through the cooperative efforts of educators, parents, students, and use of community resources. A series of alternative schools and an International High School program gives parents and students a range of choices. An alternative school may share the facilities, administrative personnel, and the support services of another school, or may be an autonomous unit. Some schools emphasize computer technology, others the performing arts, and still others emphasize basic skills of reading, mathematics, language, composition, and penmanship. The decision for establishing these alternative schools is a local one, but the application of this concept could be made on a district or state level as well. More information is available from Robert D. Stalick, Assistant Superintendent for Instruction, School District 4, Eugene, Oregon, (503) 687-3481.

In their report on Educational Choice, John Chubb and Terry Moe conclude:

"...No school should be entitled to students. Schools that are not chosen by students—say the first, second or third choice should be closed. No student should be forced to attend a school that is so bad that no parent would voluntarily have his child attend it."

Staff contact: Robert W. Sweet, Jr. 224-2946

SOURCES

John E. Chubb, The Brookings Institution and Terry M. Moe, Stanford University, *Educational Choice, Answers to the Most Frequently Asked Questions About Mediocrity in American Education And What Can Be Done About It*, Wisconsin Policy Research Institute Report, Volume 2, No. 3, March 1989.

National Center for Education Statistics, U. S. Department of Education, 1988.

Joe Nathan, senior fellow, Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, *Recent Developments With Choice Among Public Schools, 1987/88*, September 1988.

New York Times, June 4, 1989, p. 32.

Washington Post, January 2, 1989, p.A1.

Los Angeles Times, January 7, 1989, p.25.

The Christian Science Monitor, January 17, 1989, p.7.

The Politics of Education Choice, Market Opinion Research, March-April, 1989.

White House Workshop on Choice in Education notebook, January 10, 1989.

Wayne Riddle and James B. Stedman, *Public School Choice: Recent Developments and Analysis of Issues*, CRS Report for Congress, April 5, 1989.

Jeanne Allen, *Improving Education: Lessons From The States*, The Heritage Foundation, October 24, 1988.

Pete DuPont, *Education Enterprise Zones, The Next Great Education Initiative*, Ideas for America's Future, 1989.

U.S. Congressional Budget Office, *Trends in Educational Achievement*, April 1986, p. 43,46.

William J. Bennett, U. S. Secretary of Education, *American Education: Making It Work*, April 1988, p. 13.

Eric A. Hanushek, "The Economics of Schooling: Production and Efficiency in Public School," *Journal of Economic Literature*, September 24, 1986, p. 1141-1177.

National Governors Association, *Time For Results*, 1986, p.67.

David Barton, *What Happened in Education?*, A report prepared by Wallbuilders, Inc., 1988.

U.S. Catholic Magazine, "Why Catholic Schools Outperform All Others: The Editors Interview James S. Coleman," July, 1989.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: 9/22/89

TO: CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: JAMES W. CICONI
Assistant to the President and
Deputy to the Chief of Staff

**The attached has been forwarded
to the President.**

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 21, 1989 21 P8: 14

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*
SUBJECT: Among Schoolchildren

At yesterday's meeting with education leaders, Theodore Sizer strongly recommended that you read Tracy Kidder's latest book, Among Schoolchildren. A copy of Tracy Kidder's book is attached.

I expect that with the other demands on your time it is highly unlikely you would have the opportunity to read the entire book before the Education Summit Conference. I am also enclosing an excerpt from Among Schoolchildren that appeared in this month's issue of Teacher magazine. It is fascinating reading.

*Pulitzer Prize-winning author
Tracy Kidder went back to
the classroom for his latest book,*

Among Schoolchildren

*He found Chris Zajac, a passionate teacher who won't
give up—no matter how difficult the challenge.*

Mrs. Zajac is strict. "She is mean bro," says one of her former students. But there is no doubt she cares about every boy and girl in her classroom. There's Pedro, who tries so hard to please his teacher. And Felipe, who almost always says goodbye to Mrs. Zajac before going home—even if he is angry with her. And Claude, who can come up with the most imaginative excuses for not doing his homework. And Judith, a brilliant Puerto Rican girl with long, dark, curly hair. Mrs. Zajac even cares about Clarence, one of the most difficult students she has ever taught.

Tracy Kidder, Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *The Soul of a New Machine* and *House*, spent a year with

Chris Zajac's 5th grade class at the Kelly School in Holyoke, Mass. In this excerpt from *Among Schoolchildren*, Kidder's intimate account of that year, Zajac sits at her dining room table correcting papers. Earlier, Kidder sets the scene:

"Here many problems seemed manageable, or at least she could imagine that she had time to work on every child's problems. As the evening wore on and she felt the first wave of sleepiness, she would lift her eyes from a student's paper and the child's face would rise, too. She could see the face of the child whose paper she corrected, the child's face framed against the blackened panes of the small, many-mullioned windows of the dining room."

The house was very quiet. From upstairs came the sound of Kate, Chris's infant daughter, whimpering. Chris looked up from the shrunken pile of social studies tests. She glanced toward the kitchen. The clock on the wall there read 8:30. "She's a little late." Kate usually cried at 8:15. Chris left her class in the dining room, took a glass of water upstairs, and helped Kate take a sip. Now Kate would sleep through the rest of the night.

Chris sat down again at the table. Pedro's test lay on the top of the pile. She read,

Tory. Like a grup of sogrs.

Chris placed her hand like a visor on her forehead. She stared at the blackened window across the room and slowly shook her head. "Poor kid."

Pedro had a happy-looking walk. He was short and dark-skinned. His head and torso swayed from side to side, in a sailor's rolling gait, and he smiled with his

bulging mouth half opened, so cheerfully and perkily it made her marvel. He didn't seem to know how sad he ought to be. She recalled the end of a day when the walkers stood at the door, and Felipe was again holding forth about how he yearned to become an astronaut, and little Pedro had touched Felipe's arm and said, "Someday, Felipe, your dream will come true."

Pedro's voice was deep out of all proportion to his size, and his voice had a garbled sound, as if his mouth were full of water, but sometimes perfect lines like that came out and made Chris wonder if Pedro really was, as she'd begun to think, mildly retarded. But maybe it was just the sound of Pedro's voice, the fact that he could speak at all that was surprising. He didn't often talk. He never misbehaved. He almost always tried to do his homework. It was as another teacher had said: "Poor Pedro. He works so hard to get an F." His situation had seemed intolerable to Chris the very first day when, after assigning some simple class work, she stopped to look over Pedro's shoulder, and he looked up at her and asked, "Did I

A M O N G S C H O O L C H I L D R E N

do good, Mrs. Zajac?"

"You did very well, Pedro!" It wasn't entirely untrue; here in 5th grade, he could do some of the work expected of a 2nd grader.

Then Pedro smiled up at her. His gums were very red and his teeth were covered with braces that resembled little checkerboards. Almost every morning, he offered her that red-gummed, metallic smile, but some days, before the lessons started, she looked up and saw Pedro weeping at his desk. No sound came out. Tears dripped off his chin. She would lead him by the hand to the office, the little-man-nish boy gasping for breath, his wet eyes wide in terror. "I can't breathe, Mrs. Zajac. I can't breathe." She'd turn him over to the chief secretary, Lil, and one of the outreach workers would drive him home, and then days, sometimes a whole week or two, would pass, and his desk would sit empty, before she'd see him again, walking up Bow-ers Street toward school. Pedro would wave to her and grin when she waved back.

Chris might have gone all year without knowing much about Pedro's life away from school, but that first question he'd asked her—"Did I do good, Mrs. Zajac?"—had sent her hustling to the office the second day of school, to get the forms to start a "core evaluation" of Pedro.

A "core," as it was usually called—the student was the apple—involved a lot of paperwork and protocol, which always made the process lengthy, and an investigation of a child's background and a battery of psychological and intelligence tests. Eventually, a meeting would occur, and various administrators and teachers and experts would lay out a program for addressing a child's problems. In Chris's experience, the diagnoses were usually better than the cures. Most cores ended with an optimistic, carefully thought out "individualized ed. plan," which in practice meant that the child left his regular classroom for an hour or so each day for the Resource Room, where a specialist in learning disabilities would begin to put that plan into operation. But at Kelly, more than 40 children

with more than 40 ed. plans went to the Resource Room teacher and her aide every day, and the poor woman who ran that room simply couldn't do it all. Chris didn't know much about what went on in there, but it wasn't miracles, clearly. Three boys from her class went, and she couldn't see any effect.

Chris thought that the wrong children often got, as the saying went, "cored" and sent to the Resource Room, children whose main problem with school

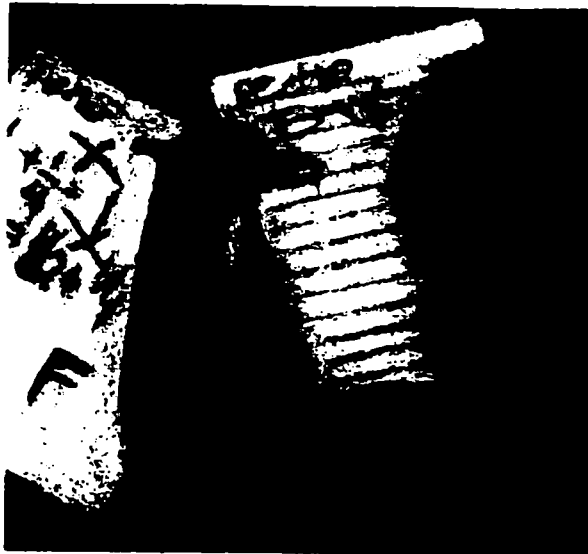
seemed to be behavior, not ability. The Resource Room teacher remarked, "It's something of a dumping ground. I hate to say it, but it is." Nevertheless, a core was the only remedy available for Pedro. At least the testing might reveal whether or not Pedro really was retarded, and maybe it would give Chris some ideas about what she could do for him. But why hadn't there been a core evaluation of Pedro already? That question really bothered her. Was it because teachers had lost faith in cores, or was it because Pedro didn't

cause trouble? Teachers had their hands full. Every class had disruptive children. It was easy enough to forget about a child like Pedro. In her time, she had forgotten some. From here in her dining room, Chris pictured this little boy sitting quietly at his desk, day after day, year after year, learning almost nothing, not even understanding half of what was said, and never complaining. She didn't like to criticize the schools, but that just wasn't right.

An administrator in the office had said that if Chris could get Pedro's mother—Pedro talked about a mother at home—to sign papers for a core, the process would be speeded up. So when the first parent conferences had come around, Chris had leaned on Pedro. Twice she gave him conference slips to take home. He brought back the first unsigned. The second slip came back with a note in Spanish on the bottom.

Chris took the note to Victor Guevara, the Puerto Rican teacher next door.

Looking at Chris gravely, Victor said, "I *think* it says, 'I am sick with high blood pressure. I can't walk



SANDI GOLD

*It was as another teacher had said:
"Poor Pedro. He works so hard
to get an F."*

much. I want to die.' "

"Oh, God!" said Chris.

Chris quick-marched to the office. She gave the note to Al Laudato, the principal. It was a story Chris would repeat at home to her husband Billy and on evening walks with her good friend Winnie and maybe would tell for years to come.

Al wasn't pleased about the note. Was his school turning into a total social service agency? But Al called the police, who told him to call the suicide prevention center, who told him they couldn't act unless the potential victim asked explicitly for help. After saying to Chris, "Now, you gotta remember who we are here," Al dispatched the guidance counselor—Kelly School had only one for about 600 students then—to Pedro's apartment house in the Flats.

Pedro lived on a littered, half-demolished street, behind an entry door with busted locks, up four flights of graffiti-covered stairwell that smelled of urine, in an apartment that was as clean as anyone could have made it, but that had unreliable heat and hot water, windowpanes that rattled in the wind, and lots of old woodwork painted dark brown, the favorite color of landlords. (One local house painter got so much call for that color that he kept large batches of it ready-mixed, in cans he labeled "Hol-yoke Brown.")

The scene in the apartment, as it was described to Chris on the counselor's return, was odd. Inside were a transvestite uncle of Pedro's and Pedro's tiny 69-year-old grandmother, the person Pedro called his mother. "I got four stepmothers," Pedro later explained. "My father never gets married with women. He don't like it. I got a whole lot of brothers. Like six. But they all from different mothers. Only three of us are Pedro—my little brother, my father, and me." It was hard sometimes to get the gist of Pedro's talk; he didn't have full command of any language; he knew less Spanish than English. Pedro said, "I was born and raised with my grandmother, because I was cryin' too much. And they took me to my grandmother, and my grandmother was takin' care of me, and my father gave my mother money, and my mother went to the circus. And sometime my mother used to come there without no shoes."

Pedro's grandmother had meant what she'd written in the note. Her husband had died at her age, so she believed her time to die had come. She said her favorite son had died some years ago of a heroin overdose and visited her bedside in the nighttime now. She spent her days cleaning, trying to scrub away years of grime from the apartment, and had left those rooms so infrequently the last four years that she could name every occasion. She had only one

friend in the building, a woman so depressed herself that she seemed bound to die soon, too.

Hearing all that, Chris permitted herself a useless thought: She'd take Pedro home with her.

But the worst didn't happen. Kelly School's counselor got a caseworker to visit the grandmother, and two days later, Pedro's uncle and grandmother got dressed up and walked over to the school to talk to Mrs. Zajac. Chris sat down with them and an interpreter in the vice principal's office, the tiny grandmother with her long gray hair tied back, wearing a simple dress with faded flowers on it, and Pedro's uncle in a leather vest, a tight white miniskirt, and black mesh stockings. Chris felt as if she were at a strange tea party, sitting on the edge of her chair and smiling brightly, and they all agreed that Pedro should bring his respiratory medicines to school, and a note requesting the core was drafted, which the old grandmother signed. She chuckled as she penned her name. The old woman seemed greatly cheered up.

But still there was no news about Pedro's core. Chris saw the boy walking in his perky way, in the mornings, up Bowers Street, ambling happily along toward another day of academic failure, and she thought that the strength of some children was amazing. Pedro just didn't know how hard his life was, but he'd be a teenager soon, and then he would, and the comfort dispensed by drug dealers would be waiting for him. Chris was afraid, if she didn't get him some help now. Chris told herself, "O.K., it's sad. Now what am I going to do about it?" But she was giving Pedro all the time she had to spare in class, and he still wasn't even spelling the spelling words right.

In her dining room, Chris wrote on her sheet of yellow note pad, where she made her lists of things to do for tomorrow: "Check on Pedro's core!!!"

"36 = F," Chris wrote on Pedro's social studies test. If she was not honest, she would never have tangible evidence of progress or decline. Judith's test came up next in the pile.

Tory. A person that didn't think we should breakaway from England. John Adams. A fellow patriot that was one of the Sons of Liberty. He was the second president of the United States. He was one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was one of the Representatives of the United States with France. He helped fight the Revolutionary War.

"100 = A+ Super!" Chris wrote across the top of the paper.

A M O N G S C H O O L C H I L D R E N

Sometimes in the classroom, when Chris was smiling surreptitiously—at one of Claude's homework excuses, say—she would look up and notice Judith, turned around in her chair and smiling, too, at Chris's efforts not to smile. Judith, usually the first to finish any assignment in class, would read while the others worked, and if while she was reading, Judith's neighbor Alice touched her arm or whispered her name, Judith would make a little jump in her seat and clap a hand to her chest. "You scared me!" Judith had great powers of concentration, but she also seemed to be aware of everybody in the room and of what everyone was feeling, including Chris.

"Oh, Clarence, I'm so tired!" Chris remembered saying one afternoon, and there was Judith, turned around in her seat, looking at Chris.

"You look tired," Judith said.

"Oh, Judith, now I have to study fractions over the weekend. It's all your math group's fault."

"Students have to do homework," said Judith. "Why shouldn't teachers?"

"Oh, Judith, I'm so tired!"

"I don't blame you," said Judith. "I'd rather go in the Army than be a teacher."

"I don't know about *that*," Chris sat up, somewhat invigorated.

"Well," said Judith, "you got a battle here every day." And Judith hunched her shoulders like Miss Hunt, the student teacher, and gave Chris a lovely grin.

That story Judith wrote about having to move to the Flats from her family's last, nice little house, and the part of the essay about her mother sitting on the porch steps and Judith sitting down beside her, and neither of them speaking but each one knowing just how sad the other felt—that was an essay by an adult. "This girl is about as mature as I am," Chris thought. "And smarter."

Judith's eyes fascinated Chris. It was possible to imagine that they were centuries old, the eyes of an ancient soul in a girl's body. In fact, Judith's eyes were

slightly myopic, a secret that Judith, who didn't want glasses, had kept from all of her other teachers and, for a while, from Chris.

Judith had moonlit skin, a thin figure, and brown curly hair, which she kept very long, because her father was an old-fashioned Puerto Rican of the countryside, a *jibaro*, and he insisted that his daughters wear their hair long, until they got married. Judith tied it up artfully with lacy ribbons. She was

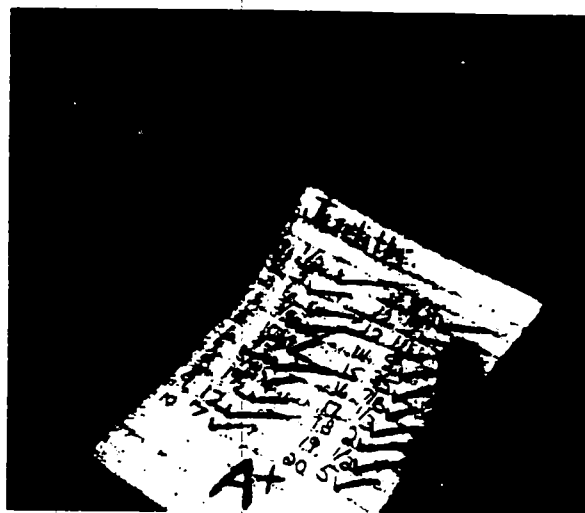
physically a year older than most of her classmates—12 instead of 10½ or 11. Judith hadn't started school until she was seven. But the main reason she seemed much older than the rest probably lay elsewhere. Judith could not remember a time when she hadn't been fluent in both English and Spanish. She had served, from the age of about eight, as her parents' main interpreter to the English-speaking world, at stores and clinics and welfare and housing offices. So she knew firsthand about the ailments, financial worries, and humiliations

of immigrant adults stuck in poverty.

Chris had noticed that praise made Judith shy. It had taken Chris a while to realize that because Judith was even smart about being smart. When she got an A on a paper, which was usually, Judith put it away in her desk before her classmates could see it. Judith felt that her teachers had always praised her too openly. "I like the way I do good in school, but I don't like overpraising. It makes me feel like, like the other kids look at me like someone else. So I try to do good in school, yeah, and I do try to be like a kid, you know?"

But Chris knew Judith's life was more confined than any child's ought to be. Judith lived down in the Flats, in a housing project of gray three-story units. Her father didn't feel free, Chris realized, to let her walk the few blocks to school, as most children did without incident. Her father drove her to and fro, carrying Judith from one safe place, as safe as he could make it, to another.

Judith read a great deal, and she knew a fair amount about politics and geography. Judith said that she did well in school because she chose to do so.



When she got an A on a paper, which was usually, Judith put it away in her desk before her classmates could see it.

SANDI GOLD

A M O N G S C H O O L C H I L D R E N

and that was because she wanted to get a good job when she grew up. But it sometimes seemed that her world was even smaller than the Flats itself. She said, for instance, thinking about her future, "I'm not gonna be livin' off welfare." She added, "Like most people."

Kelly School was right next door to what is called the Five College Area, but Judith had not yet heard of Smith, Mount Holyoke, or Amherst colleges.

From her classroom windows in the crisp, dying days of fall, Chris would watch her students at recess on the playground below. She looked out to see if Clarence was in a hitting mood, and to see which children were making friends. Through the window, about a month ago, Chris had begun to see Judith hanging around in a group that included a very tough 13-year-old 5th grader from another homeroom, a pretty girl with a dirty neck, who leered at handsome boys and was often seen sitting on the bad-boy chairs outside Al's office. One day that fall, through her classroom window, Chris saw that girl stuff some clothes under her coat at recess and promenade around, pantomiming pregnancy, while a small group of girls, which included Judith, watched. It looked as though Judith was laughing.

A while back Chris had bragged about Judith to a teacher friend. The friend had asked, "Have you considered moving her up to 6th grade?" Chris decided she should do that right away. Losing Judith from this class would be like losing an adult friend. The thought of the room without her made Chris feel bereft, and that made Chris feel it was her duty to promote Judith. She'd get Judith away from that tough girl and shorten the number of dangerous years between Judith and college.

The vice principal, Paul, talked Chris out of the idea. Wasn't Judith doing well? Didn't she seem happy? Paul asked. Chris was willing to be persuaded to keep Judith.

Every other day in Holyoke, a teenage girl was giving birth. Someone on the staff had carelessly remarked that Judith would probably get pregnant in a few years. But Chris refused to believe that.

"Judith, come here," Chris had said when class was winding up one day early in the fall. Judith came with her cheek laid against her right shoulder. "What do you want to be?"

Judith laughed.

"Do you want to go to college?"

Judith looked around her. The other children were getting their coats and weren't noticing. "Yes."

"Good," said Chris. "You should. You're a smart girl. If you keep working hard, you'll get a nice scholarship. So keep it up. O.K.?"

Chris had been feeling very optimistic about Judith since the parent conferences. Judith's father had

attended. He looked much older and less prepossessing than Chris had imagined him. He wasn't much taller than Judith. He wore rough work clothes. He spoke softly in Spanish.

Judith stood beside her father at the front table and translated into Spanish Chris's words of praise for her.

"Tell your father that you're an excellent student, Judith."

Judith obeyed. She seemed to be trying not to smile at the absurdity of it all.

Chris brought up college. Judith's father spoke. Judith said, "He says that maybe I can get a scholarship."

"Yes!" shouted Chris.

It was during that conference when Chris decided she hadn't understood the full extent of Judith's gifts. The girl had a huge English vocabulary and her parents didn't even speak the language. For Chris, there was no question now. This was the brightest child she had ever tried to teach.

When Debbie, the librarian and director of the reading program, came asking for children who could be spared to help out in the library, Chris volunteered Judith, during spelling. Judith didn't need spelling lessons. Then Chris decided to send Alice, who would certainly be going to college, along with Judith to the library, to keep Judith company. Pretty soon—Chris could have predicted it—Debbie was leaving Judith and Alice to run the library by themselves, for half an hour in the mornings. Chris was afraid that Judith might get bored with school. Chris made sure to spend some time with her every day. But it didn't feel like enough. Chris kept looking at Judith and thinking, "If only I had more time."

When was it exactly that Chris noticed something wrong with Judith's eyes? Probably that time when Chris wrote a sentence on the board and, while turning to watch Clarence, asked Judith to read it aloud. Judith made just a quick squint when she must have thought Mrs. Zajac wasn't looking. But Chris saw the squint from the corner of her eye. Chris pounced. For weeks now, Chris had been cornering Judith near the door at the end of the day, cutting her out from the herd of other walkers and saying, "Judith, you'd look so pretty in glasses!"

Judith would lift her eyes to heaven, put her hands on her hips, shake her head, and smile at Mrs. Zajac. The girl was still resisting, but the struggle was fun, and it seemed worth the effort, if only for its symbolism. It was something Chris could do for Judith, who was always doing something for Chris. ■

From Among Schoolchildren, to be published by Houghton Mifflin in September. Copyright © 1989, by Tracy Kidder.

For the President

From: Lamar Alexander
Date: September 20, 1989
Subject: The Education Summit

The Summit should be about goals and brand new school systems.

Specifically, the summit should:

(1) Produce a Presidential "go-to-the moon" goal, such as: every American should possess the basic skills, computer skills, and job skills necessary to earn a good living in the new century--a sort of jobs literacy. One main difference between the American and Asian education systems--and therefore America's ability to compete--is that Asians educate almost everyone to this level; we educate maybe two-thirds.

(2) Encourage community-by-community goal-setting. The President should challenge and help every community in the USA--all 100,000--to decide what kind of schools they want, to set their own goals and to make their own report cards. Empowering citizens to take charge of their own schools has been the hardest part of the better schools movement.

(3) Call for brand new school systems. These systems would at least give parents a choice of their children's public schools (e.g., Minnesota) and pay teachers more for teaching well (e.g., Tennessee). On this the President and the Governors already agree--which is fortunate, because they are the only ones who could ever overwhelm the opposition to such frame-breaking change. Without such brand new systems, other good ideas--such as making it easier for career-switchers to teach, opening schools all day and all summer--won't make as much difference (just as putting good managers in charge of the Soviet economy won't change much.)

Then the President, arm-in-arm with Governors, should launch a crusade in support of these goals and of brand new school systems and throw everything he can into it for as long as he is in office.

This crusade doesn't need sermons, show and tell conferences, more of the same, much central goal setting, the tests we now have, the President as program-proposer.

The crusade does need inspiration, the "go-to-the-moon" goal, lots of local goals and report cards, frame-breaking changes, the President giving one day a month and the Governors half their time--soul brothers and sisters committed for the long haul.

This would be movement leadership, prairie-fire politics. It is not the preacher with the answers, announcing you are saved. It is more the preacher with the Word, inspiring you to save yourself but always helping. ("Your schools can be just as good as you want them to be--but I'll walk with you every step.")

This would be leadership that understands that Washington should handle war, welfare, social security and debt but can't fix other problems that worry us more--drugs, family, schools.

This kind of leadership would make it harder to produce Presidential report cards, TV soundbites and short-term fireworks--but this leadership will work, and it is about all that will work in this complicated country of 100,000 places with names we call home.

Such leadership would transform America's schools by the end of this century.

The President's first five steps toward these goals, plus one:

1. THE "GO-TO-THE-MOON GOAL--Appoint a group to refine your "Go-to-the-moon goal." Then, at the Governors' February

meeting in Washington launch a crusade to reach this goal. Mrs. Bush should be part of this because we are talking about literacy.

2. **COMMUNITY GOALS**--Appoint a group to help Governors define appropriate goals for communities. The best bet is the National Assessment of Educational Progress, "The Nation's Report Card."

3. **BRAND NEW SCHOOL SYSTEMS**--Set aside a day a month (call them your "School Days") for visiting states making the most progress in building brand new school systems, i.e., those that offer choice for parents and rewards for outstanding teaching.

4. **PAYING GOOD TEACHERS MORE**--Hold a single event that raises \$25 million (from foundations and corporations) for the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards and ask the board to speed up its timetable--the point here is that once this group agrees how to evaluate good teaching and create board-certified teachers, school districts everywhere will start paying good teachers more. Evaluation has been the roadblock. Raising the money privately would break a second roadblock going on now about how to give the Board the government money.

5. **CAREER-SWITCHERS**--Push your plan for Alternative Certification of Teachers and Principals. This feeds more good people into the brand new systems.

...PLUS IN HIGHER EDUCATION--

6. GRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS--The single most important thing the President could do to help higher education keep America competitive would be 10,000 annual fellowships (\$15,000 each) for graduate students, especially in the sciences, engineering and mathematics. This would be surprisingly important, helpful and inexpensive. (At our best campuses half of our graduate students in sciences, engineering and math are foreign students.)

A Fable, for the President's Education Summit

Once upon a time Federal Express packages began arriving absolutely positively in three days.

Everyone sensed it. Something was wrong.

The President (of Federal Express) was in Asia, chasing Flying Tigers. So his top managers handed the problem over to the National Committee on Urgent Education Reform which was always in session looking for crisis.

The Committee set out to fix Federal Express in the same way it had been fixing America's schools. First, conferences. Then, bold ideas: paint the planes a different color; adopt-a-truck; adopt-a-driver. Merit pay for everyone!

Then came reports and conferences to consider reports. The union of delivery truck drivers warned its members, "You'll be made scapegoats. Demand real solutions: bigger trucks, across-the-board raises--a new ad agency."

The drivers replied, "We've sure got problems. Packages aren't what they were. Streets are crowded. You need an armored truck to get through Washington, D.C. Some subdivisions aren't

even on maps. Senders are grumpy. No one can write an address anymore."

This encouraged the spokesperson for the National Committee for Urgent Education Reform who announced, "If Americans can go to the moon, Americans can deliver a package," and scheduled new conferences to consider: "Why we're lousy." At these, committee members thrilled one another with statistics about late deliveries and ways to deliver packages and demands for national standards. Then someone reported that the Japanese had figured out how to deliver a package the day before it was sent. Everyone became worried.

The Japanese threat stirred the White House so, the next day at noon, the President (of the United States) went to Manhattan and stood in gridlock at 42nd Street and Fifth Avenue and amidst honks and shouts (and in time for the evening news) declared, "I am the Federal Express President!"

This brought home from Asia the real President (of Federal Express). He summoned his managers. "Hey! What's this about three days? We have to go overnight, absolutely, positively overnight--or DHL or some Japanese or even the U.S. Post Office will eat our lunch and I'll be broke and you'll be out of a job." What the President said about jobs concentrated the minds of the managers who rushed home to concentrate the minds of the delivery truck drivers: "You guys forgotten what we do? You want

to be sitting on your flat tires flapping your gums while the post office and a bunch of Koreans deliver your packages? Hunh?!"

Little miracles began to occur. One driver discovered a safe route through Washington, D.C. Another found a map with all of San Diego's subdivisions. Others bought spectacles to read sloppy addresses. All America Federal Express drivers drove early and late, endured gridlock and sleet and rude senders. They tried anything that would deliver those packages absolutely, positively overnight.

Of course, once their President had reminded them of their goal, they soon reached it. And, along the way, they found senders friendlier, taxi drivers letting them through, top managers asking what could be done to make life easier.

The moral of this fable is something like a Tennessee guitar player named Chet Atkins said when the Federal Express President was just a little boy: "In this life you have to be mighty careful where you aim because you might get there."

--Lamar Alexander

Tag: POOL REPORT UVA SUMMIT
Source: murray
Story: twt.nation.murray.M0012720
Depth: 49.9

{q1}
{q1}
{q1}
OFF THE RECORD{q1}
NOT FOR PUBLICATION OR BROADCAST{q1}
{q1}

POOL REPORT{q1}
"Education Summit" Pre-Advance{q1}

{q1} University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Sept. 15, 1989{q1}

{q1}
Rare as it may be to pre-advance a nearby domestic trip, the White House set up this one primarily for visual media because of special logistics circumstances surrounding the meeting called by President Bush with the nation's governors and the entire Cabinet. Like everything else in Charlottesville, and the historic university that was founded in 1819, the situation is best understood in the context of Thomas Jefferson. As one pre-advance official said, "Mr. Jefferson had a great vision -- for the 1850s." {q1}

{q1}
That translates to small rooms, lighting problems, no air conditioning, an undersupply of electricity, and a series of meetings that will be reported virtually entirely by pools of all sizes and descriptions. (This is contrary to what some may have heard at White House briefing announcing the meeting.) As of now, the only truly "open coverage" events are the president's welcoming remarks on Wednesday, a one-hour convocation on Thursday, and the president's departure comments on Thursday. {q1}

{q1}
In addition to 150 White House press, estimates of the National Governors' Association and education press corps range from 450-650. As always, there is a separate White House filing center [located in Cavalier Room of Newcomb Hall] as well as "Summit Press Center" in the Old Gym. This room was described as "not ideal but it will work." It is a low-ceilinged room that appears suitable to accommodate tables, telephones, etc., but perhaps not a press conference or major briefing. Hotel space also is at a premium. White House press are to be centered at Holiday Inn Monticello where 106 rooms had been committed at this writing. Other hotels reportedly are filled up. [Complicating things is the fact that university life will continue apace, reportedly at the instruction of Mr. Bush who is quoted as saying, "It makes no sense to go to a university to talk about education and disrupt classes for two days." This effectively eliminated more commodious space and facilities. {q1}

{q1}
Arrangements at UVA campus, which is called The Grounds (with caps), are in the hands of the host Summit committee headed by Kevin Moley with Dave Frederickson coordinating press. Their main number is (804) 980-8856. They will handle credentialing for non-White House press. {q1}

{q1}
Except for the dinner on Wednesday night at Monticello, all events are on The Grounds of UVA. Campus p.r. is headed by William Fishbach and Tom Doran (924-7116) heads the news bureau. The Governors' Association also is expected to have a press office (details not available), but Summit office is the place to contact on logistics, etc. Substantive inquiries about the meeting are directed to Deputy White House Press Secretary Steve Hart. {q1}

Following is the tentative presidential schedule followed by brief notes on venues marked with a *:[q1]

[q1]

Wednesday, Sept. 27[q1]

[q1]

3 p.m. President arrives by copter from Washington at landing zone to be determined and motorcades to Old Cabell Hall*. Expanded pool will accompany by chopper with remainder of White House press to be bused down (about two hours). "Sizeable" expanded pool.[q1]

[q1]

3:30 p.m. Welcoming remarks, Old Cabell Hall (president to speak about 5-7 minutes). Open coverage.[q1]

[q1]

3:45 (approximate) President, governors, Cabinet members and spouses walk about 400 yards northeast on the grassy, ash- and maple-lined Lawn* (cap L) to the Rotunda*, the most famous structure at UVA. Press restricted to fixed positions, probably at two platforms, along the way. No pool walking alongside. As is done at commencement, wooden stairs will be in place at five steep terraces along the rectangular Lawn. (FYI, Queen Elizabeth II also made this walk on her 1976 visit.)[q1]

[q1]

4-5:30 p.m. Working session in Oval Rooms of Rotunda (two on main floor and one in basement). Governors and Cabinet will divide evenly among three meetings. President to visit each for about 20 minutes each. NOTE: Governors' spouses to attend these sessions, seated along wall rather than at oval tables with conferees.[q1]

[q1]

5:30-7:15 p.m. Break[q1]

[q1]

7:15 p.m.: President and Mrs. Bush arrive at Monticello*, probably by helicopter weather-permitting, to host dinner (not black tie). Travel pool accompanies. Expanded pool in place outside front door.[q1]

[q1]

7:30-8 p.m.: Guests arrive, walk along brick path (past press pool on one side and fife and drum corps on other) to main house at Monticello where they will be greeted by the Bushes and swept away for a house tour, drinks and then onto a wooden deck on the north side of the building. No coverage inside house.[q1]

[q1]

8 p.m.-10 p.m.: Dinner in 60 x 60 tent on magnificent rear lawn of Monticello. As of now, toast is set for later in the dinner but press advance, etc., trying to move it to earlier in the dinner. Poolers to be inside only until toast is given. About 150 guests are expected. A military combo will serenade during dinner. No decision yet on after-dinner entertainment.[q1]

[q1]

[q1]

Thursday, Sept. 28[q1]

[q1]

7-8 a.m.: Informal coffee in Rotunda, president and all Summit participants.[q1]

[q1]

8-9:30 a.m.: Second working session in Oval Rooms of Rotunda.[q1]

[q1]

9:30-11 a.m.: Plenary session on top floor of Rotunda. NOTE: Spouses to hold separate plenary session at Alumni Hall, hosted by Mrs. Bush.[q1]

[q1]

11-11:30 a.m.: Break to shift scenes to University Hall, the school's basketball arena.[q1]

[q1]

11:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m.: Convocation with president's "major remarks" at

University Hall. This will include all governors, Cabinet, full press corps with remainder of seats to be filled by several thousand UVA students. Governors will be announced individually, leading to an estimated 20 minute ceremony just to get them seated. President enters from side at what would be half-court, then turns right and walks to about where the basket would be. He will give 20-minute speech.{q1}

{q1}

12:30-1 p.m.: Break to move to Newcomb Hall*.{q1}

{q1}

1-2:30 p.m.: Working lunch in Blue Ballroom, Newcomb Hall.{q1}

{q1}

2:30 p.m.: Move to Lawn outside Rotunda for closing statement of Summit and, possibly, some kind of presidential Q&A session, either a press conference or informal ropeline questions.{q1}

{q1}

Conference Adjourns.{q1}

{q1}

It is not clear whether the conferees will issue a formal final communique, but we are told some kind of a statement should be expected.{q1}

{q1}

VENUE NOTES{q1}

{q1}

OLD CABELL HALL: A steeply pitched theater built in 1899 that seats about 1,500 persons before removing some seats for this event. A huge painting covers the entire wall behind the stage. It is a copy of Raphael's "The School of Athens," painted by George Breck in Rome and given to the university in 1902.{q1}

{q1}

ROTUNDA: Keystone of Jefferson's original Academical [cq] Village. This is the last building designed by Mr. J and is a one-half scale, somewhat modified copy of the Pantheon in Rome. The drumlike cylinder has three floors capped by a dome with a glass skylight at its crest. It is 77 feet in diameter and 77 feet in height. The first two floors each house three oval shaped rooms where working sessions of the meeting will be held (one on ground floor and two on main floor). See first floor plan attached.{q1}

Plenary session Thursday morning to be on the third floor, a bright domed room (dome is 120 degrees of a sphere) that housed the original library. Stocked bookshelves are in place. Because Jefferson wanted the room also to be used for social activities, the stacks are arranged perpendicularly to outside wall all the way around in such a way that the books are not visible to a person anywhere near the center of the room. As of now, it is intended that participants (about 65 people) sit around a circular table that is open at the center like a giant donut. Two balconies extend completely around the room's circumference but are said to be unable to support more than a few people so are not available for coverage, except possibly a small pool.{q1}

The Rotunda, finished in September 1826 at a cost of \$60,000 (cq) was burned in 1895 and the interior rebuilt in a different manner, but Jefferson's design was restored in a three-year, \$2.3 million project dedicated on April 13, 1976, the 233rd anniversary of his birth.{q1}

{q1}

LAWN: Central vista of Jefferson's original Academical [cq] Village. University says it is 600 feet from Old Cabell Hall to the Rotunda and 200 feet wide. Television people who measured it say length is over 1,000 feet. The Lawn is flanked by Ranges, long rows of rooms assigned to individual honor students and campus leaders. The only item the procession will encounter other than grass and a little doggy-do is a statue of Homer and His Young Guide by Sir Moses Ezekiel. The statue shows a seated Homer with the Young Guide on the ground at his feet. It was a World War I memorial to the first university student killed in that conflict (James R. McConnell).{q1}

{q1}

NEWCOMB HALL: Student center, houses shops, Post Office, theater, and cafeteria (which is open to public).[q1]

[q1]

MONTICELLO: It would be gratuitous to explain Jefferson's home, except to mention a few points for those who haven't visited. The house is virtually invisible until you're right there, sheltered by trees although it commands a hill southish of Charlottesville. The house is largely brick with a dome like just about everything else Jefferson was associated with. Currently restoration is under way on the gardens, blacksmith shop and artisan shops. The Bushes will receive guests in a two-story foyer which has a railed balcony around three of its four sides. Several of Jefferson's inventions were visible in the foyer including a clock that also keeps track of the day of the week (accurately when we were there) and French doors that move in tandem when one is adjusted. His natural air conditioning still keeps the place cool on a sweaty hot day. (The university is not air conditioned.)[q1]

[q1]

SEVERAL COMMENTS[q1]

[q1]

Parking on campus is virtually non-existent although Tom Doran said the question of providing press parking is being explored. White House buses will be available from the press hotel to campus and open events, with White House transportation for pools as is customary.[q1]

[q1]

Press coverage and pools to be based on "parity" among White House press corps, governors and education press, and "local press." [q1]

[q1]

Questions raised by your pool about access to deliberations (through such means as audio-video to plenary and/or working sessions in rooms too small for coverage) and material other than president's speeches received no direct response, but reporters were advised to seek information on these aspects from Steve Hart. Gary Fendler said the White House press would have "access to the president." [q1]

[q1]

Frank Murray, The Washington Times[q1]

Friday, September 15, 1989[q1]

[q1]

OFF THE RECORD[q1]

NOT FOR PUBLICATION OR BROADCAST[q1]

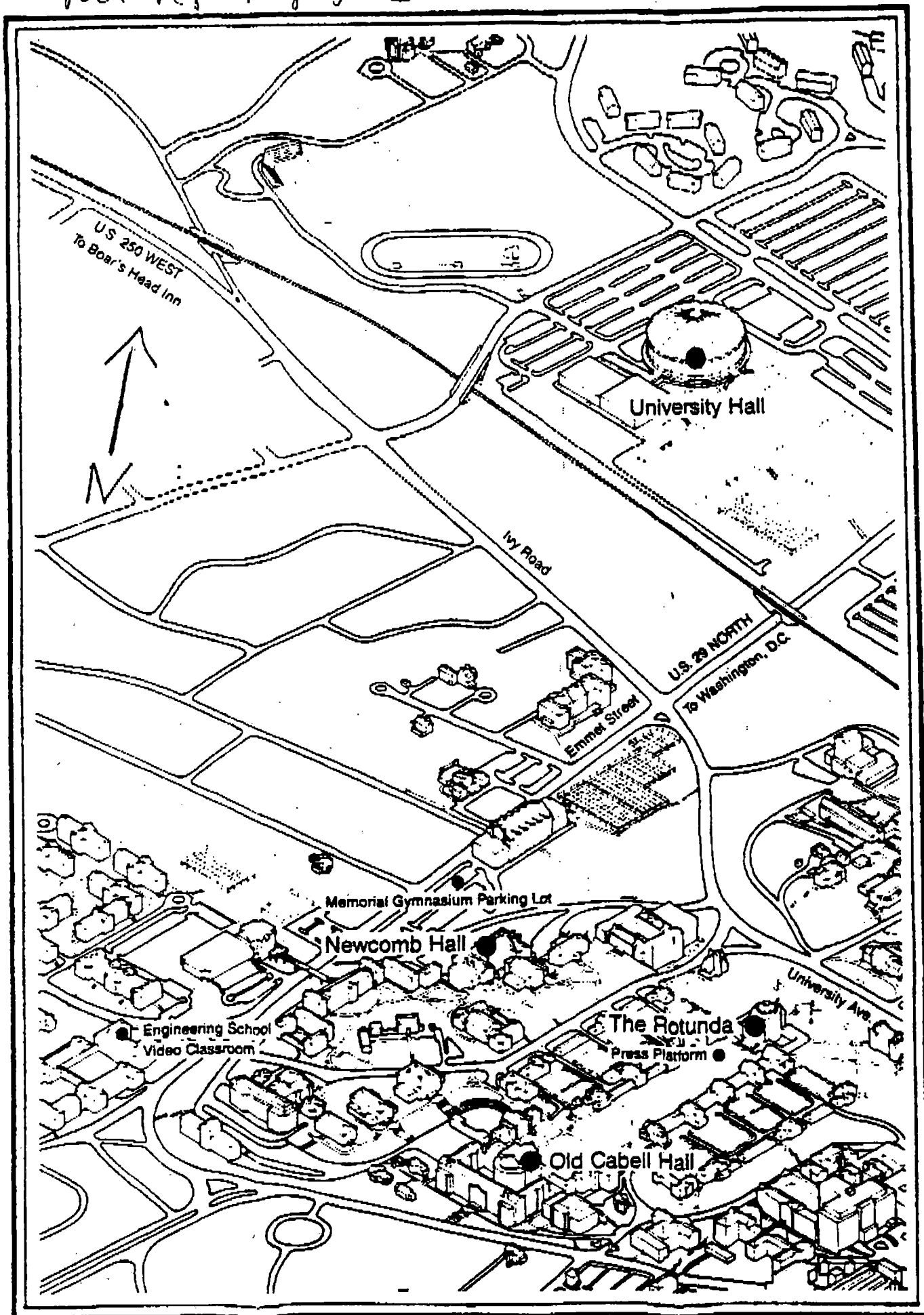
[q1]

[q1]

④

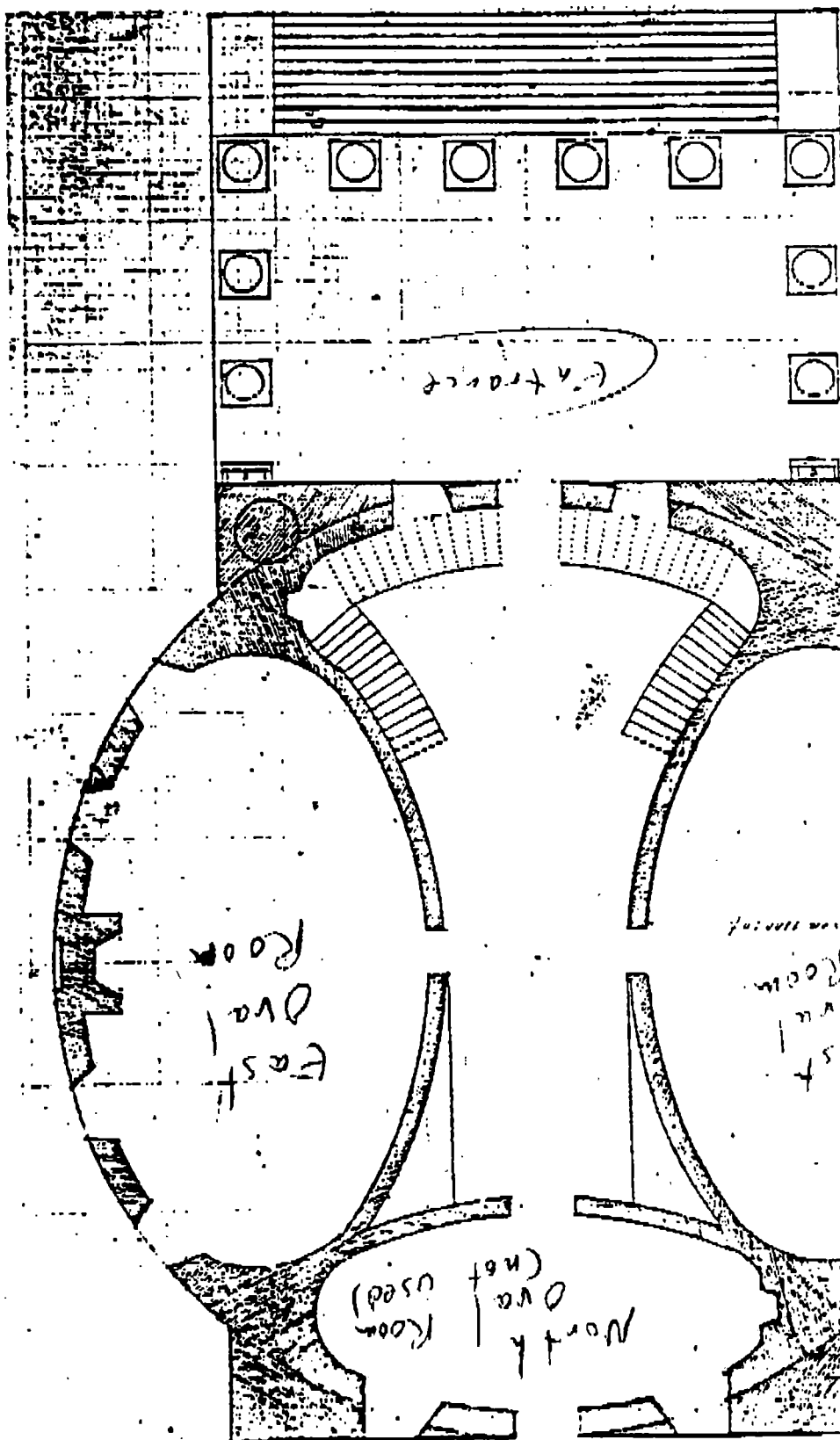
Attached is map of campus
and floor plan of Rotunda oval
rooms where working sessions to be held





9

38. First-floor plan, the Rotunda



Basement is identical to one meeting to be there.

Diameter = 77'

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 20, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Cabinet Members Participation in the Education Summit Conference

One of the distinctive features of the Education Summit is that the President has invited both the Nation's Governors and his Cabinet. There are three principal reasons for including the entire Cabinet:

1. Doing so demonstrates the Administration's commitment to education.
2. It provides a welcome opportunity for a new Cabinet to meet the Nation's Governors for relaxed discussions in an informal setting.
3. Cabinet members also will be able to contribute to the discussions at the Summit from their unique perspectives.

Cabinet members will participate in all aspects of the summit, including the two working group sessions and the two plenary sessions.

Working Group Sessions

Attendance at the working group sessions is limited to Governors, Cabinet members, and their spouses. A Cabinet member has been designated to serve as the moderator for each working group. His role will be to facilitate discussion so that the working group is able to cover the topics agreed upon with the Governors for that working group.

Two Governors, a Republican and a Democrat, will serve as co-chairmen of each working group. They will have the responsibility of reporting on behalf of the working group at a plenary session. The administration will provide a rapporteur for each working group. The rapporteur, working with the moderator and the two co-chairmen, will produce a written report, of approximately two to three pages in length, that will be distributed to Governors at the plenary session.

The President will spend up to 30 minutes with each working group, dividing his time roughly equally between the three simultaneous working groups. The working groups will be encouraged to focus their discussions on where we currently stand as a nation with respect to the particular issue under discussion, what needs to be done, what is taking place now that seems to be working, and what goals or objectives are appropriate in this subject area.

It is anticipated that most of the discussion in these working groups will be carried by the 16 or 17 Governors in attendance. Obviously, with limited time, participants will need to keep their remarks brief to maximize participation. Cabinet members should not anticipate needing to make presentations to the working group sessions. These are relaxed, informal discussions in which Administration officials principally will listen.

The President has no interest in assuming responsibility for the Nation's education system. The conference, however, is an opportunity for Administration participants to emphasize the themes that the President has articulated -- recognizing and rewarding excellence, targeting resources on those most in need, providing for greater choice and flexibility in our education system, and greatly enhancing accountability.

Plenary Sessions

The two plenary sessions will receive reports from the six working groups. Approximately half an hour will be devoted for the discussion of the subject matter covered by each working group. At the beginning of these half-hour segments, the two Governors who serve as co-chairmen of each working group will deliver a 5-10 minute report, which will be followed by a 20-25 minute general discussion. The President, the Governors, and Cabinet members will attend the plenary sessions, along with their education advisors.

Once again, it is not expected that Cabinet members will make any formal presentations. The Governors will carry the burden of the discussion.

Other Events

Cabinet members are also expected to attend the opening ceremony on Wednesday afternoon, the State Dinner Wednesday evening, the informal breakfast Thursday morning, the general convocation Thursday morning, and the closing event Thursday afternoon.

Throughout the Summit, there will undoubtedly be many opportunities for administration officials to respond to press inquiries. In particular, the break between the conclusion of the Wednesday afternoon working group sessions and the state dinner will be a time of intense press activity. The White House Press Office and Communications Office will be in close contact with Cabinet officers to coordinate their interactions with the press.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 20, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR SUNUNU

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Education Summit Conference Objectives

The discussion at our Summit Steering Group meeting this afternoon produced general agreement on the following objectives for the President's Education Summit Conference with Governors. The President has invited the Nation's Governors to meet with him in Charlottesville:

1. To demonstrate the importance of education and of strengthening our Nation's educational system while recognizing that it is at the state and local levels where education is provided and where reforms and change must occur.

This is an opportunity for the President, his Cabinet, and Governors to have a candid and constructive discussion about the current state of our educational system, and what is needed to make necessary improvements.

2. To illuminate that the great need of our education system today is a much greater emphasis on results.

The large increase in resources that the Nation has devoted to education in recent years has not yet been reflected in the results that system is producing. One aspect of securing a more results-oriented system is to clearly define the goals we have as a nation for education.

Given that the solution is national rather than federal, the President is committed to engaging the Governors in a process for establishing these goals. The President has no interest in federalizing our Nation's education system.

The Education Summit can serve as the first step in defining these goals. Administration officials and Governors representing the National Governors Association are having discussions regarding establishing a process following the Summit to refine national education goals that can be announced early in 1990.

3. To identify ways in which we can produce both greater flexibility and greater accountability in our education system.

Many Governors have indicated their desire for greater flexibility in the use of federal funds for programs such as early childhood education, vocational education, and job training. The Administration is prepared to discuss constructively with the Governors the opportunities for greater flexibility, while at the same time emphasizing the need for greater accountability for results in the use of these funds.

The discussion involving greater flexibility and enhanced accountability is separate from the question of funding levels. Our interest in greater flexibility does not entail any funding level commitments, but will concentrate on how we make the most efficient use of the resources devoted to education.

In short, the focus of discussion at the summit should concentrate on the need for a more results-oriented, flexible, and accountable education system.