

Draft 1/23

*Ed  
Class size*

### CLASS SIZE REDUCTION INITIATIVE: SMALL CLASSES WITH QUALIFIED TEACHERS

*To have the best schools, we must have the best teachers ... we must do more to help all our children read.*

President Clinton, 1997 State of the Union Address

**Small Classes with Qualified Teachers to Improve Reading in Grades 1-3.** Today President Clinton proposed a \$12.4 billion initiative over 7 years (\$7.3 billion over 5 years) to help local schools provide small classes with qualified teachers in the early grades. This will help make sure that every child receives personal attention, learns to read independently and gets a solid foundation for further learning. The new initiative will reduce class size from a nationwide average of 22 in grades 1-3 to an average of 18, by providing funds to help local school districts hire an additional 100,000 well prepared teachers. In addition, the President's initiative will provide funds to states and local school districts to test new teachers, develop more rigorous teacher testing and certification requirements, and train teachers in effective reading instruction practices. Schools districts will be accountable for demonstrating gains in reading achievement. These steps will help ensure that first through third grade students are receiving high-quality reading instruction in smaller classes from competent teachers.

*Requires testing*

**Investing in Teacher Quality.** For reductions in class size to result in improved reading performance, <sup>Testing and</sup> teachers must have the knowledge and skills to teach reading effectively in small classes. The President's initiative would accomplish this by:

**Providing funds for teacher testing and training:** 10% of the funds in this initiative can be used to promote high quality teaching by (1) testing new teachers before they are hired and to develop improved tests for teachers; (2) training teachers in effective reading instruction practices and/or in effective practices in small classes; (3) providing mentors or other support for newly hired teachers; and, (4) providing incentives to recruit teachers to high poverty schools.

**Requiring Teachers to Meet State Certification Standards:** States and school districts would be required to ensure that individuals hired to fill these new positions be either fully certified or are making satisfactory progress toward full certification. School districts could use the funds described above to provide teachers with the additional training needed to meet certification requirements.

**Requiring state basic skills testing for new teachers.** States would be

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*Why mention? sentence in testing graph*

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required to implement basic skills testing for new teachers, to ensure parents that new teachers have basic reading and math skills. Each state would select the test it determines is most appropriate for this purpose. ~~Nearly 40 states already require basic skills testing for teachers.~~

Nearly 40  
most states have  
such tests.

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**Encouraging States to Adopt Rigorous Professional Tests and Upgrade Teacher Certification Requirements.** Teachers should be able to demonstrate that they know the subject they are expected to teach and have the necessary knowledge and skills to help their student reach the challenging academic standards adopted by the state. States would be encouraged to use a portion of their funds to toughen their teacher certification requirements and to require new teachers to demonstrate competence. For example, states could use these funds to develop rigorous tests of subject matter expertise and professional knowledge that prospective teachers would be required to pass before they start teaching, and to develop ways of assessing whether beginning teachers can demonstrate that they have met rigorous standards of classroom teaching before achieving full certification.

**Holding Schools Accountable for Results.** School districts receiving these funds would be required to make measurable progress in improving reading achievement within 3 years, or take corrective actions. School districts could lose funding if there is no subsequent funding. School districts would also be required to publish an annual school report card for parents and taxpayers, show reading achievement, class size and teacher qualifications.

**Targeting Funding.** Funds for the President's class size reduction initiative will be distributed to states on the basis of the Title I formula. Within states, each high poverty school district would receive the same share of these funds as it receives under Title 1, and the remaining funds would be distributed based upon class size within the state. Matching funds would be required from participating school districts, on a sliding scale. Once a state has reached an average class size of 18 in grades 1-3, it could use these funds to further reduce class size in those grades, or it could extend its efforts to other grades.

**Providing Facilities for Additional Classrooms.** In order to help school systems meet the need for additional space for smaller classes, the President has (1) proposed a \$10 billion school modernization bond initiative to provide incentives for communities to invest in local school facilities; (2) made facilities changes to accommodate class size reduction an allowable use of funds; and (3) allowed for phased-in implementation of the class size initiative to enhance state/local facilities planning.

**Small Classes Make a Difference.** A major research experiment in Tennessee

(Project STAR), and other studies have shown that young students benefit from smaller classes with well-qualified teachers. For example, Project STAR students showed improved achievement and behavior, higher test scores, and gains lasting through their later years of schooling. Economically disadvantaged and minority students, in particular, showed the greatest gains in achievement. However, these findings demonstrated that all children in early grades benefit from small classes -- especially in reading. Having smaller classes allows teachers to devote more time to individualized attention, engage in more in-depth instruction, and to identify and remedy learning problems before students fall too far behind. *oe*

**COPY**  
**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
WASHINGTON

January 21, 1998

**MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT**

**FROM: BRUCE REED**  
**MIKE COHEN**

**SUBJECT: Class Size Design Issues**

Over the past several weeks, we have worked with the Vice President's Office, OMB, and the Education Department to develop recommendations on the design of your class size initiative. This memorandum explains our consensus recommendations and asks for a decision on the single issue on which we have not reached agreement -- whether to require basic skills testing for new teachers.

**I. Background**

The purpose of this initiative is to reduce class size and provide qualified teachers in the early grades, so that all 8 year olds learn to read. More specifically, this initiative will help bring down class size across the nation from an average of 22 to an average of 18 in grades 1-3. In designing the initiative, we have been guided by several considerations.

First, as you know, the best research suggests that the benefits of smaller classes accrue especially to the most disadvantaged students, and occur most powerfully when classes are no larger than 15-18 students. To be both credible and effective, the initiative must get the majority of classes into that range, especially in high-poverty schools. Second, California's recent experience demonstrates that programs to reduce class size lead to the hiring of unqualified teachers, particularly in urban areas, if safeguards are not built in. Third, efforts to reduce class size can exacerbate and be frustrated by shortages of space. Fourth, because this is a new area of federal involvement in education, the requirements placed on state and local grant recipients in order to ensure effective use of the funds must be especially well justified.

There are a number of other proposals to provide federal support to recruit or hire teachers, primarily to respond to the need to hire an estimated 2 million teachers over the next decade. Senator Kennedy proposes to help recruit 100,000 teachers per year over the next decade by forgiving up to \$8,000 in loans for each person who becomes a teacher. Rep. George Miller has also advanced a proposal to provide loan forgiveness for an-as-yet unspecified number of individuals who enter teaching.

In contrast to the Kennedy and Miller proposals, your proposal provides funds to hire teachers rather than forgive loans, since the primary cost of reducing class size is salaries for additional teachers. There is little evidence that loan forgiveness is an effective tool for attracting additional people into the profession. Moreover, you have already proposed a scholarship program (not loan forgiveness) to steer people who have decided to enter the profession toward high poverty schools.

Rep. Bill Paxon has also announced a proposal to help school districts hire 100,000 teachers, by funding teacher salaries. His proposal would pay for these new teachers by eliminating Goals 2000, Americorps, the National Endowment for the Arts, and a number of other programs. While these additional teachers could be used to lower class size, Paxon does not require that funds be used for this purpose. In addition, Senate Republicans announced an education package yesterday which they claim would fund 50,000 new teachers by block granting other programs.

We believe the existence of Republican proposals for the federal government to pay teacher salaries -- a proposal that both attaches conditions (under Paxon's plan, teachers hired with these funds could not be tenured) and requires states and local school districts to share the total cost of the initiative -- provides some protection for your proposal against charges of federal intrusion. It may also form the basis of a bipartisan achievement.

## II. Funding Issues

Your budget will include \$12 billion over 7 years to hire 100,000 teachers, enough to reduce class size in grades 1-3 to an average of 18 nationwide. The table below shows the annual budget, number of teachers communities would hire each year, and the impact on class size.

Fiscal Year	Budget (in billions)	Number of Teachers Hired	Average Class Size in Grades 1-3
1998			21.9
1999	\$1.1	35,714	20.3
2000	\$1.3	42,208	20.1
2001	\$1.5	48,701	19.8
2002	\$1.7	55,195	19.6
2003	\$1.74	56,331	19.5
5 Year Total	\$7.34		
2004	\$2.3	82,143	18.6
2005	\$2.8	100,000	18.1
7 Year Total	\$12.4		

## **A. Distribution of Funds to States**

We would distribute funds to states on the basis of the Title 1 formula, which is based on the number of students in the state, weighted by poverty and the cost of education. We also considered distributing the funds based on the number of new teachers needed to reduce class size to the target of 18, also weighted by poverty and cost. Although this formula is somewhat more efficient in targeting funds for the program purposes, it would penalize California because of that state's own class size reduction initiative. Further, while a handful of states receive either "windfalls" or "shortfalls" under the Title 1 formula when measured against the number of teachers they need to reach the class size target, most states receive a comparable percentage of the total funds under either formula.

With this formula, we will be able to reduce average class size in grades 1-3 to 18 nationwide. Once a state has reached an average of 18 in grades 1-3, it could use these funds to reduce class size in those grades still further, or to reduce class size in other grades.

## **B. Targeting Funds Within States**

Though this proposal is universal in scope, we want to drive the funds to school districts with the largest class sizes, and to give priority to high-poverty districts. To accomplish this objective, we would require states to guarantee high-poverty school districts at least the same share of the state's class size funds that they receive of the state's Title 1 funds. States would allocate the remaining funds on the basis of class size within the state.

This approach ensures that major urban school districts and other high-poverty areas will receive their fair share of the funds, while still leaving states with the ability to target funds to school districts with large classes, regardless of their income levels.

## **C. Cost-Sharing Requirements**

We would require matching funds from participating school districts on a sliding scale that would average 80% federal and 20% local. High-poverty school districts would be required to provide a 10% match, while the wealthiest would be required to provide a 50% match. School districts could use other federal funds for the match, which would primarily benefit high-poverty school districts that receive substantial amounts of Title 1 funds. This approach would encourage districts to use Title 1 funds for class size reductions, rather than continuing to hire classroom aides or resource teachers who pull Title 1 students out of the classroom.

## **D. Duration of Program**

Because we will be presenting a five year budget, many will assume that we expect this initiative to end after five years. This expectation will heighten concerns that local school districts will be stuck with higher personnel costs once the program ends. (Rep. Paxon's proposal would end federal funding after 5 years.) We believe that the best way to deal with this concern is to make clear that we see this initiative as a continuing part of federal aid to education -- not a one-time effort.

This longer approach will also be necessary in order to fund 100,000 teachers; the funding levels in the first five years will pay for approximately 56,000 teachers. Because we are paying for this initiative through tobacco legislation, we will have a revenue source that can support a long-term program.

## **III. Teacher Quality**

For reductions in class size to result in improved reading performance, we need to ensure that both newly hired and existing teachers are fully qualified, and have the knowledge and skills to teach reading effectively in small classes. Considerable research and recent experience in California demonstrate that many existing teachers need help to alter their teaching practices to capitalize on small classes. In addition, many school districts in California, particularly in high-poverty areas, have hired teachers on emergency certificates, who lack even basic preparation for teaching. We propose a number of steps to deal with these challenges.

**A. 10% Set-Aside for Teacher Testing and Training:** The overall budget for this initiative is based on the average cost of newly hired teachers (assuming that 75% are beginning teachers and 25% are experienced teachers returning to the classroom or moving between districts) plus a 10% increment in the first 5 years to address teacher quality issues. This increment will give every school district funds that can be used for a number of purposes, including (1) testing new teachers before they are hired and developing improved tests for teachers; (2) training existing teachers in effective reading instruction practices and/or in effective practices in small classes; (3) providing mentors or other support for newly hired teachers; (4) providing incentives to recruit teachers to high poverty schools; and (5) providing scholarships or other aid to paraprofessionals or undergraduates and to expand the pool of qualified teachers.

We will permit districts to carry over unspent funds, which will enable them to invest in the first couple of years in recruiting and training qualified teachers, before reducing class size on a large scale. In addition, we will require districts to develop an overall strategy for improving teacher quality including a plan to use other funds, such as those from Title 1, the Eisenhower Professional Development Program, America Reads, and Goals 2000.

**B. Require Teachers to Meet State Certification Standards:** We would require states and school districts to ensure that individuals hired to fill these new positions must be either fully certified or making satisfactory progress toward full certification. School districts could use the teacher quality funds to provide teachers with the additional training needed to meet certification requirements.

**C. Encourage States to Adopt Rigorous Professional Tests and Upgrade Teacher Certification Requirements:** As part of this initiative, we would allow states to use some of the teacher quality funds to make their teacher certification requirements more rigorous and performance-based, reflecting what beginning teachers must know and be able to do. There is widespread agreement that current teacher certification requirements are not a good indicator of teacher quality and need to be upgraded. The National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, chaired by Gov. Hunt, has recommended that states toughen their licensure requirements. The Commission recommended that prospective teachers be required to pass rigorous tests of subject matter expertise and professional knowledge before they start teaching, and that beginning teachers not be fully certified until they have taught for several years and can demonstrate that they have met rigorous standards of classroom teaching, through classroom observations and other forms of performance assessment.

Twenty states have already adopted performance-based standards along these lines. Sixteen states are working together to develop common assessments for beginning teachers, and additional states are likely to join this effort over time. Permitting states to use a portion of their funds to improve their licensure systems is likely to accelerate these trends and to improve the quality and preparation of people entering the profession. In addition, performance-based certification will make it easier to promote "alternate route" programs that do not require prospective teachers to attend teacher education programs.

**D. Teacher Testing:**

All of your advisors agree on the three steps outlined above. There is disagreement about one additional component -- requiring new teachers to pass state basic skills tests. All of your advisors feel strongly that the above measures are not sufficient to persuade the public that new teachers would be able to measure up in the classroom. Existing teacher certification requirements are generally not viewed as an effective means of ensuring quality, and the tougher standards and testing requirements we are encouraging states to adopt will not be implemented for some time. Many of your advisors believe that this initiative also should require states to use basic skills testing for new teachers, with the particular test selected by each state.

The argument for a teacher testing report is that it will give parents the confidence that new teachers in the elementary grades have basic reading and math skills. It also

builds on your landmark efforts on teacher testing in Arkansas. A tough, clear message on teacher competency would make it difficult for Republican opponents to paint this initiative as simply a way for the Administration to help teachers' unions expand their memberships. The Paxon proposal takes a "tough on teachers" approach by prohibiting the teachers hired from gaining tenure. The Senate Republican education package announced this week encourages states to test elementary and secondary teachers, and allows them to use federal funds for teacher testing ( activities already permitted under Goals 2000). The proposal, however, does not make this testing mandatory.

Under this proposal states would give prospective teachers basic skills tests at some point before they enter the classroom. Approximately 40 states already have such a requirement in place.<sup>1</sup> States would retain the ability to let teachers who fail the test teach with an emergency certificate. We considered and rejected a stronger proposal, which would require all prospective teachers to pass a test before they could do any teaching. We decided, however, that such a requirement, might well have too great an impact on poor districts, which already have a hard time finding qualified teachers. It could also drive states to lower the passing score on the tests.

The Education Department opposes this proposal, and recommends that we limit ourselves to encouraging states to adopt tough new state tests of subject matter and professional knowledge for beginning teachers, as part of our effort to upgrade teacher certification requirements. Education would be willing to require states to implement these new tests by 2003.

You are quite familiar with the arguments against a teacher testing requirement. The Education Department argues that a basic skills test is no assurance of teacher quality, and sets the bar too low for teachers, undermining your long-standing push for higher standards for both students and teachers. The Education Department believes such a test will send the wrong message to the public about teachers, reinforcing the notion that academically weak people go into teaching. Education also points out that states will be able to get around a testing requirement by granting emergency licenses.

Finally, you should know that many in the civil rights community are likely to raise concerns that any new testing requirements, especially without proper validation, are likely to have disparate impacts on minorities.

\_\_\_\_\_ Require Teacher Testing in Basic Skills    \_\_\_\_\_ No requirement    \_\_\_\_\_ Discuss Further

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<sup>1</sup> According to the most recent state-by-state data, the following states would have to institute basic skills testing for teachers under this proposal: Alaska, Georgia, Idaho, Iowa, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Utah, and Vermont.

#### **IV. Facilities**

The need to find additional classrooms to reduce class sizes will increase existing facilities needs. This impact will not be evenly distributed. Some areas, particularly cities with increasing immigrant populations (e.g., Los Angeles, South Florida) have schools that are already extremely over-crowded, while other cities, particularly in the Northeast (e.g., Baltimore, Washington, D.C.) have more capacity than the student population demands.

We propose several steps to address facilities issues, including (1) Use our \$10 billion school construction initiative to provide incentives for communities to invest in local school facilities; (2) Make facilities changes needed to reducing class size an allowable use of school construction funds; (3) Phase in implementation of the class size reduction proposal to allow for enhanced state/local facilities planning; and, (4) Allow districts that have no space available for additional classes to use some of their class size reduction funds to implement proven reading instruction practices.

#### **V. Accountability**

School districts receiving these funds will be held accountable both for using them to reduce class size, and for improving student performance in reading. We propose three forms of accountability.

First, a school district receiving these funds must show it is actually reducing class size, by reporting class size in grades 1-3 to parents and to the state each year. Second, as is the case with other federal education programs, we will incorporate a "maintenance of effort" provision, requiring states to keep up their overall investments in K-12 education. Third, we will use existing Title 1 accountability and reporting requirements to ensure that every school district and individual school makes measurable progress in improving reading achievement within three years. If a school fails to make adequate progress, it must develop and implement a corrective action plan. If the school fails to show improved reading achievement after implementing the corrective action plan, the state could withhold the equivalent of the school's share of the district's funds.

#### **VI. Rollout**

Over the next few days, we will begin more extensive discussions with possible allies on this initiative. So far, Congressional Democrats have been enthusiastic.

## Class Size Q's and A's

**1. How much does this proposal cost, and how will it be paid for?**

This initiative will cost \$12 billion over 7 years, and \$7.3 billion over 5 years. It fits within the President's commitment to send Congress a balanced budget. Funding for this initiative will come from funds provided to states as part of comprehensive tobacco legislation.

**2. What is class size in grades 1-3 now?**

The nationwide average is 22, though many communities have classes much larger than that.

**3. How does this proposal to hire 100,000 teachers compare with other Congressional proposals to hire additional teachers that have recently been announced?**

A number of members in both Houses and both sides of the aisle have developed their own proposals to help school districts recruit or hire additional teachers. The President's proposal is the only one that is specifically aimed at providing smaller classes in the early grades. We do note that Rep. Paxon has announced a proposal that would also hire 100,000 teachers. While there are important differences between the President's proposal and Mr. Paxon's (Paxon's is not focused on reducing class size, and it is funded by eliminating Goals 2000, Americorps, the NEA), we hope that Paxon's proposal indicates that this is an area in which we can achieve bipartisan cooperation.

**4. Gov. Wilson in California has launched his own initiative to reduce class size. Does the President's duplicate California's effort?**

No. First, the President is proposing to reduce class size to an average of 18, whereas California's objective is 20. So this initiative can help California go further. Second, participating states like California will need to maintain their own efforts, and not simply use federal funds to substitute for state dollars. Third, we've learned from the experience in California in designing our proposal-- school districts need qualified teachers, adequate space for smaller classes, and the time to plan for lowering class size. The President's proposal takes care of all of these requirements.

**5. Gov. Gilmore in Virginia ran on a platform of hiring more teachers. Has the President stolen Gov. Gilmore's idea?**

No. In 1983 when he was Governor of Arkansas, Bill Clinton reduced class size in kindergarten to 20 and in grades 1-3 to 23. He also instituted teacher training programs in reading, and teacher testing. This national initiative to reduce class size draws on the



President's decades-long leadership and experience in education; not from recent initiatives of any governor.

**6. Will the teachers unions oppose the President's call for competency tests for teachers?**

We hope not. Teachers have as great an interest as anyone in making sure that new teachers are well prepared to teach, and the unions have expressed a strong commitment to making sure new teachers are prepared to teach well.

**7. This is a massive new funding program. Is this an effort to "buy" the support of the education establishment for the President's testing program?**

This program is a significant new investment in education, as are his School Modernization and Education Opportunity Zones initiatives. Together they reflect his deeply held view that education is his top priority, and must be the top priority for the nation. His budget reflects his priorities. They are part of an overall strategy to set very high standards and give students, teachers and schools the support they need to reach those standards.

## **EDUCATION OPPORTUNITY ZONES QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS**

January 25, 1998

### **What is the purpose of the Education Opportunity Zones?**

This initiative will help accelerate and expand progress in high-poverty urban and rural school districts that are on the right track, and highlight models of success. Education Opportunity Zones will demonstrate how a serious approach to high standards benefits all students. Funds will be targeted to improve low performing schools, expand opportunities for student achievement, broaden choices for families, and hold schools, teachers, and students accountable for results.

### **How does the Zone initiative relate to the President's other new initiatives?**

Education opportunity zones are part of a broader set of initiatives to help strengthen urban and rural schools. President Clinton has also proposed new initiatives to reduce class size in the primary grades, modernize school buildings, recruit and prepare teachers for underserved urban and rural areas, and dramatically expand the availability and quality of child care and after-school learning opportunities. These and other proposals still to be announced will have a powerful impact on improving the prospects of children in some of our poorest communities.

### **Are you proposing this initiative as an alternative to respond to Republican calls for vouchers?**

The President is committed to strengthening public schools, not abandoning them. Along with other new initiatives that will help raise achievement for urban and rural students, like school construction and teacher recruitment and preparation, we are proposing Education Opportunity Zones in response to the clear need for sharp improvements in the nation's poorest school districts and to encourage and expand promising school reform efforts that are taking a disciplined, effective approach centered on high standards. The fact is that 90% of our students attend public schools, and our primary responsibility, especially with limited federal resources, is to make sure that the public schools they attend are among the best in the world. This means concentrating our time and money on raising academic standards, improving teaching, providing schools with technology and other up-to-date learning tools, and creating charter schools and other forms of choice within the public school system. In contrast to vouchers, the Education Opportunity Zones will support effective local efforts to improve education for all students in participating districts, rather than just a few.

### **This initiative clearly encourages districts to discontinue social promotion. How do you respond to criticisms of that approach?**

The President strongly believes that we shouldn't promote kids who are not ready because it will hurt them over the long term. This initiative is designed to hold teachers and schools accountable, as well as students. Rather than punishing kids, this initiative attempts to create the conditions under which districts take steps to ensure that students are ready to meet standards the first time, rather than falling behind and needing remediation.

**What communities will be eligible for the Zone initiative? How many school districts will be eligible to participate?**

This initiative will target urban and rural school districts with a significant percentage or a large number of students in poverty. In order to be selected as Zones, districts will have to show that they have already begun to raise student achievement, or that they have begun to put into place credible and effective improvement policies. Well over a thousand districts will be eligible, including districts in every state.

**How many grants are expected to be awarded and what will be their size?**

The Zone initiative would invest approximately \$200 million in FY 99, and \$1.5 billion over five years. We expect to fund over 50 grants to urban and rural communities. Urban school districts will receive grants of \$10-25 million per year (depending on the size and proposed activities). Rural communities will receive grants of \$250,000 to \$3 million (for consortia) per year.

The Zones will be selected in two rounds, the first in FY 1999, and the second in FY 2001.

**How do these new Zones differ from Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities?**

The Education Opportunity Zones initiative and the EZ/EC initiative support one another, but are distinct. Education Opportunity Zones will consist of entire school districts or consortia of school districts. Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities are specific neighborhoods or regions that may or may not be contiguous with school districts. While both are in the spirit of bringing the community together behind focused efforts to address local challenges, Education Opportunity Zones are especially designed to address the educational needs of their communities and school districts, whereas the EZ/EC initiative is aimed at broader community revitalization strategies, which can include education but also extend to economic development, community development, and job training.

**Do Zone districts have to participate in the national tests?**

No. We are pleased that 15 major city school districts have already made a commitment to take part in the national tests of 4th grade reading and 8th grade math, but participation in these tests is voluntary. However, successful Education Opportunity Zone applicants must show that they have firmly integrated challenging standards and tests (which could include state, local, or national assessments) into their strategies for raising student achievement.

**What kind of support do you expect to receive in Congress?**

Improving public schools in our most disadvantaged communities should be a bipartisan national priority. Lawmakers in both parties are keen on finding tough, effective ways to address low achievement in some of our largest cities, and we expect this proposal to gain strong bipartisan support. We have been working with Congressman Bill Clay of St. Louis, Ranking Democrat on the House Education and the Workforce Committee, who has submitted urban education renewal legislation which has helped to shape our own proposal.

## **EDUCATION OPPORTUNITY ZONES: STRENGTHENING URBAN AND RURAL SCHOOLS**

January 26, 1998

*I challenge every school district to adopt high standards, to abolish social promotion, to move aggressively to help all students make the grade through tutoring, and summer schools, and to hold schools accountable for results, giving them the tools and the leadership and the parental involvement to do the job.*

*-- President Bill Clinton, October 28, 1997*

**HELPING RAISE ACHIEVEMENT FOR STUDENTS IN HIGH POVERTY COMMUNITIES.** President Clinton's Education Opportunity Zones initiative will strengthen public schools and help students master the basics where the need is the greatest: in high poverty urban and rural communities where low expectations, too many poorly prepared teachers, and overwhelmed school systems create significant barriers to high achievement. The Education Department will select approximately 50 high poverty urban and rural school districts that agree to: (1) use high standards and tests of student achievement to identify and provide help to students, teachers and schools who need it; (2) prevent students from falling behind by ensuring quality teaching, challenging curricula, and extended learning time; and (3) end social promotion and turn around failing schools. Added investments in these communities will accelerate their progress and provide successful models of system-wide, standards-based reform for the nation. The President's initiative will invest \$200 million in FY99, and \$1.5 billion over 5 years, to raise achievement and share lessons learned with school districts around the country.

**ENDING SOCIAL PROMOTION, AND GIVING SCHOOLS THE TOOLS TO HELP EVERY CHILD MEET HIGH EXPECTATIONS.** To be selected as Education Opportunity Zones, school districts will have to demonstrate that they are using their existing funds effectively to raise student achievement by: ■ holding schools accountable for helping students reach high academic standards, including rewarding schools that succeed and intervening in schools that fail to make progress; ■ holding teachers and principals accountable for quality, including rewarding outstanding teachers, providing help to teachers who need it, and fairly and quickly removing ineffective teachers; ■ ensuring students don't fall behind, by providing a rich curriculum, good teaching and extended learning opportunities; ■ ending social promotions and requiring students to meet academic standards at key transition points in their academic careers; and ■ providing students and parents with school report cards and expanded choice within public education.

**EXTRA RESOURCES TO IMPROVE TEACHING, LEARNING, AND LEADERSHIP.** School districts will use Education Opportunity Zone funds to support standards-based, district-wide reforms such as: ■ rewarding schools that make significant gains in student achievement; ■ turning around failing schools by implementing proven reform models, or closing them down and reconstituting them; ■ providing extra help to students who need it to meet challenging standards, through after-school, Saturday, and/or summer school programs; ■ building stronger partnerships between schools and parents, businesses, and communities; ■ implementing sound management practices and accountability systems; ■ providing intensive professional development to teachers and principals; ■ helping outstanding teachers earn master teacher certification from the National Board

for Professional Teacher Standards and giving them bonuses when they do; and ■ implementing programs to identify low performing teachers, assist them to improve, and remove them if they fail to do so.

**COMPETITIVE GRANTS TO SUPPORT PROMISING MODELS.** Districts will be selected as Education Opportunity Zones under a competitive, peer-review process. A mix of large and smaller urban areas will be selected to participate, as well as rural school districts and consortia. Each urban Education Opportunity Zone will receive a 3-year grant of \$10-25 million per year (depending upon size and proposed activities), and each rural Zone will receive from \$250,000 to \$3 million (for consortia). Zones will be selected in two rounds, the first in FY 1999, and the second in FY 2001. Successful applicants will have broad-based partnerships to support their reforms -- including parents, teachers, local government, business and civic groups, institutions of higher education and other key stakeholders. Successful applications will show how the district will use all available resources -- federal, state, and local, as well as any business or foundation funds -- to carry out its reform strategy and maintain it once these federal funds are no longer available.

**REWARDS FOR DEMONSTRATED STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT GAINS.** Each Education Opportunity Zone will agree to specific, ambitious, benchmarks for improved student achievement, lower dropout rates and other indicators of success, for districtwide performance and specific student subgroups. Districts may receive further support in years 4 and 5 only if they have demonstrated success in reaching those benchmarks.

**GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN USING OTHER FEDERAL RESOURCES.** All schools in an Education Opportunity Zone school district -- regardless of poverty level -- will become eligible for schoolwide flexibility in the use of federal education funds. Requirements pertaining to school accountability, as well as special education, health, safety, and civil rights, will continue to be met.

**ASSISTANCE TO HELP DISTRICTS FIND AND SHARE WHAT WORKS.** The Department of Education will offer technical assistance, use technology to help districts consult with each other, and disseminate lessons learned to communities nationwide. Special attention will be given to helping school districts design and implement strategies for providing students who need it with early intervention and extra help to enable them to meet promotion standards. In addition, a national evaluation of the Education Opportunity Zones will be conducted, with the results helping to inform the next reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

**BOLD ACTION TO HELP CHILDREN IN OUR CITIES AND RURAL AREAS.** Education Opportunity Zones are part of a broader set of initiatives to help strengthen high-poverty urban and rural schools. President Clinton is also proposing new initiatives to reduce class size in the primary grades, modernize school buildings, recruit and prepare teachers for underserved urban and rural areas, and dramatically expand the availability and quality of child care and after-school learning opportunities. These and other proposals will have a powerful impact on improving the prospects of children in some of our poorest communities.

## **A NATIONAL EFFORT TO REDUCE CLASS SIZE: SMALLER CLASSES WITH QUALIFIED TEACHERS**

January 26, 1998

**REDUCING CLASS SIZE IN GRADES 1-3 TO NATIONWIDE AVERAGE OF 18.** In his State of the Union address, President Clinton will propose a \$12 billion initiative over 7 years (\$7.3 billion over 5 years) to help local schools provide small classes with qualified teachers in the early grades. This will help make sure that every child receives personal attention, gets a solid foundation for further learning, and learns to read independently by the end of third grade. The new initiative will reduce class size in grades 1-3 to a nationwide average of 18, by providing funds to help local school districts hire and pay the salaries of an additional 100,000 teachers. States will receive funds for teacher training, and new teachers will be required to pass state competency tests.

**Small Classes Make a Difference.** Studies confirm what parents and teachers know from experience--small classes promote effective teaching and learning. In a landmark four-year experimental study of class size reduction in grades kindergarten through 3 in Tennessee, researchers found that students in smaller classes earned significantly higher scores on basic skills tests in all four years and in all types of schools. The effects of smaller classes were largest for students in inner-city classes. Follow-up studies have shown that these achievement gains continued after the students returned to regular-size classes after third grade. Teachers in the study reported that they preferred small classes in order to better identify student needs, provide more individual attention, and cover more material effectively.

**A Competent Teacher in Every Classroom.** To master the basics and learn to read well, students need teachers who are qualified to teach. President Clinton's class size reduction initiative will help provide qualified teachers in grades 1-3 by:

**Requiring State Basic Skills Testing for New Teachers:** States would be required to implement basic skills testing for new teachers, to ensure parents that new teachers have basic reading and math skills. Each state would select the tests it determines is most appropriate for this purpose. Most states have such tests. Participating states and school districts would also be required to ensure that individuals hired to fill these new positions be either fully certified, or making satisfactory progress toward full certification. School districts could use funds to provide teachers with the additional training needed to meet certification requirements.

**Providing Funds for Teacher Training and Testing:** 10% of the funds in this initiative can be used to promote high quality teaching by (1) training teachers in proven practices for teaching reading and in effective practices in small classes; (2) providing mentors or other support for newly hired teachers; (3) providing incentives to recruit qualified teachers to high poverty schools; and (4) testing new teachers before they are hired and developing more rigorous tests for beginning teachers.

**Encouraging States to Adopt Rigorous Professional Tests and Upgrade Teacher Certification Requirements.** Teachers should be able to demonstrate that they know the subject to be taught and have the necessary knowledge and skills to help their students reach challenging state academic standards. States would be encouraged to use a portion of their funds to toughen teacher certification requirements and to require new teachers to demonstrate competence. For example, states could use these funds to develop rigorous tests of subject matter expertise and professional knowledge that prospective teachers would be required to pass before they start teaching.

**Holding Schools Accountable for Results.** School districts receiving these funds would be required to show that each school is making measurable progress in improving reading achievement within 3 years, or take necessary corrective actions -- such as providing additional teacher training, revising the curriculum, or implementing proven practices for teaching reading. School districts could lose funding if there is no subsequent improvement in reading achievement in those schools. School districts would also be required to publish an annual school report card, providing parents and taxpayers with clear information on student achievement, class size, and teacher qualifications.

**Targeting Funding.** Funds for the President's class size reduction initiative will be distributed to states on the basis of the Title 1 formula. Within the state, each high-poverty school district would receive the same share of these funds as it received under Title 1, and the remaining funds would be distributed within the state based on class size. Matching funds would be required from participating school districts, on a sliding scale ranging from 10-50%, with high-poverty districts contributing the least. Once a state has reached an average class size of 18 in grades 1-3, it could use these funds to further reduce class size in the early grades, or it could extend its efforts to other grades.

**Providing Facilities for Additional Classrooms.** In order to help school systems meet the need for additional classroom space, the President is (1) proposing a \$10 billion school modernization initiative over 10 years, that will provide incentives for communities to invest in local school facilities by leveraging \$22 billion in bonds during 1999-2000; (2) ensuring that changes to facilities in order to accommodate class size reductions is an allowable use of school modernization funds; (3) allowing for phased-in implementation of class size initiative to enhance state/local planning.

**Building on Successful Reforms in Arkansas.** As part of his comprehensive education reforms while Governor of Arkansas, Bill Clinton reduced class size in Arkansas to 20 in kindergarten and 23 in grades 1 through 3. His 1983 education reform plan also included a statewide intensive training program for elementary teachers and principals to improve teaching of reading, as well as basic skills testing for new teachers and basic skills and subject matter testing for experienced teachers.

## Class Size Q's and A's

**1. How much does this proposal cost, and how will it be paid for?**

This initiative will cost \$12 billion over 7 years, and \$7.3 billion over 5 years. It fits within the President's commitment to send Congress a balanced budget. Funding for this initiative will come from funds provided to states as part of comprehensive tobacco legislation.

**2. What is class size in grades 1-3 now?**

The nationwide average is 22, though many communities have classes much larger than that.

**3. How does this proposal to hire 100,000 teachers compare with other Congressional proposals to hire additional teachers that have recently been announced?**

A number of members in both Houses and both sides of the aisle have developed their own proposals to help school districts recruit or hire additional teachers. The President's proposal is the only one that is specifically aimed at providing smaller classes in the early grades. We do note that Rep. Paxon has announced a proposal that would also hire 100,000 teachers. While there are important differences between the President's proposal and Mr. Paxon's (Paxon's is not focused on reducing class size, and it is funded by eliminating Goals 2000, Americorps, the NEA), we hope that Paxon's proposal indicates that this is an area in which we can achieve bipartisan cooperation.

**4. Gov. Wilson in California has launched his own initiative to reduce class size. Does the President's duplicate California's effort?**

No. First, the President is proposing to reduce class size to an average of 18, whereas California's objective is 20. So this initiative can help California go further. Second, participating states like California will need to maintain their own efforts, and not simply use federal funds to substitute for state dollars. Third, we've learned from the experience in California in designing our proposal-- school districts need qualified teachers, adequate space for smaller classes, and the time to plan for lowering class size. The President's proposal takes care of all of these requirements.

**5. Gov. Gilmore in Virginia ran on a platform of hiring more teachers. Has the President stolen Gov. Gilmore's idea?**

No. In 1983 when he was Governor of Arkansas, Bill Clinton reduced class size in kindergarten to 20 and in grades 1-3 to 23. He also instituted teacher training programs in reading, and teacher testing. This national initiative to reduce class size draws on the

## **Class Size Reduction Initiative**

### **Purpose**

To reduce class size and provide quality teachers in the early grades, so that all students learn to read independently and well by the end of the 3rd grade. In particular, the initiative will help reduce class size in grades 1 and 2 from a national average of 22.5 to a national average of 18.

### **Distribution of Funds**

- **To States:** Title 1 Formula
- **Within States:** Discretionary, with priority to school districts with the largest class sizes and highest poverty rates

### **Cost Sharing Requirements**

Feds provide 80% of funds on average, with a sliding scale of 90% to 50% depending upon the wealth of the school district.

### **Providing Qualified Teachers in Every Classroom**

- **Teacher Quality Fund**
  - Budget provides 20% above teacher cost (salary + benefits) for a "teacher quality" fund.
  - Funds can be used to (1) train existing teachers in effective reading instruction practices and/or in effective teaching practices in small classes; (2) provide mentors of other support for newly hired teachers; (3) provide incentives to recruit teachers to high poverty schools; (4) provide scholarships or other aid to undergraduates, paraprofessionals, etc. in order to expand the pool of qualified teachers

### **Limits on Hiring Unqualified Teachers**

- Prohibit school districts from increasing the proportion of teachers on emergency certificates, and require them to provide training that would lead to certification within a specified period of time for any emergency teachers in grades 1 and 2.

### **Require Performance-Based Teacher Licensure Standards (Teacher Testing)**

- Require states to implement performance-based teacher licensure standards, which would require prospective teachers to pass tests demonstrating they have the subject matter and pedagogical expertise necessary to begin teaching.  
[Approximately 16-20 states have adopted and are in the process of implementing such an approach]

### **Accountability**

- School districts must reporting class size information annually
- School districts must show reading achievement gains after 3 years, based on Title 1 standards, testing and reporting requirements. Districts lose funds for each school not making adequate progress.

### CLASS SIZE REDUCTION INITIATIVE

<b>Fiscal Year</b>	<b>Fed Funds Available</b>	<b>Total funds (incl. 20% match)</b>	<b>Incremental # of teachers</b>	<b>Total # of teachers hired</b>	<b>Average Class Size in Grades 1 and 2</b>
FY 98					22.5
FY 99	\$1.1 billion	\$1.4 billion	31,741	31,741	20.2
FY 00	\$1.3 billion	\$1.6 billion	5,771	37,512	19.9
FY 01	\$1.45 billion	\$1.8 billion	4,328	41,841	19.7
FY 02	\$1.65 billion	\$2.0 billion	5,771	47,612	19.3
FY 03	\$1.7 billion	\$2.1 billion	1,443	49,055	19.3
FY 04	\$2.2 billion	\$2.75 billion	14,428	63,483	18.5
Fy 05	\$2.7 billion	\$3.4 billion	15,005	78,487	17.8

## 68. The San Francisco Chronicle

01/04/98; Edition: SUNDAY; Section: EDITORIAL; Page 6

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Class Size*

### *Initiatives — Bad Way To Reform Education*

JUST WHAT we don't need: two politicians using the already-problematic initiative process for their own ends.

Both Governor Wilson and Senator Dianne Feinstein have announced plans to put education reform initiatives on the November ballot. An inflexible initiative is not the route through which education policy should be made. But even if it were, criticism of the governor and U.S. senator would be more than justified because they have agendas other than simply winning initiative backing.

That they want to get on the school reform bandwagon is not surprising, and initiatives offer a showy way to communicate concern. Wilson has won widespread praise for directing unexpected state revenues to class size reduction. And he was frank in his end-of-year conversations with reporters in saying that his gubernatorial legacy will focus on education.

Even as she teases voters about whether or not she will run for governor, Feinstein, too, has put education at the top of her agenda. She no doubt is mindful, as is Wilson, that education consistently ranks as the No. 1 concern of California voters.

But each also is exploiting the initiative process. Wilson has admitted that he is using the threat of an initiative to prod the Legislature to pass parallel legislation. Feinstein, while no doubt sincere about her desire to change the system, can use the initiative to bypass campaign contribution restrictions on candidates because initiative campaigns do not have contribution limits.

Even if every provision in their proposed initiatives were academically sound — and they aren't — the initiative process is a bad way to go because it is so inflexible and because it assumes a monolithic statewide education program. In fact, successes and failures are usually due to local commitment and expertise. Any change in an initiative's provisions requires either a new vote of the people or a hard-to-get four-fifths vote of the Legislature. In the fluid world of education policy, that inflexibility can mean real harm to real students.

Wilson's proposal would give parents greater control at schools, test teachers for subject matter competency, guarantee funding for class size reduction, create an office to evaluate California schools, require expulsion of students caught with illegal drugs and give principals power to fire and hire teachers.

Feinstein's plan, which she is sponsoring with Los Angeles Republican Mayor Richard Riordan, would impose a \$1-a-pack cigarette tax to pay for education improvements and tougher standards, reduce the requirement for voter approval of school bonds from two-thirds to a majority and require students in grades 4, 8 and 12 to pass an achievement test before advancing or graduating.

It also would extend class size reduction to fourth grade, lengthen the school year, rank schools according to academic performance and teacher qualifications and provide scholarships to prospective teachers.

A number of those proposals, such as longer school year and majority vote for school bonds, deserve to be made law. Others already are realities in many school districts and reflect the value of local autonomy.

But bunching such a broad range of weighty and complicated education issues in one package in an unyielding initiative is irresponsible. Each provision needs to be considered individually on its merits. And even the good ideas do not necessarily need a legislative outlet. Some of the better reform ideas already have been proposed by state Superintendent of Public Instruction Delaine Eastin.

Many school districts already include parents in governing schools, and Wilson himself reflected a bill mandating such inclusion on the grounds such a law would intrude on local control. Desirable as class size reduction is, schools may reach the point where it would make more sense to direct money toward a different use.

Just as the misguided June ballot initiative that essentially eliminates bilingual education unnecessarily ties the

hands of schools at which bilingual education is working, the initiatives of Wilson and Feinstein could hamper progress already being made.

INITIATIVES AT A GLANCE Here are key features of the education initiatives proposed for the June and November ballots:

Governor Wilson's education plan would:

- Create parent-controlled boards at each school.
- Require that teachers be tested for subject-matter competency.
- Name a chief education inspector to oversee schools.
- Guarantee funding for class-size reduction.
- Give principals power to hire and fire teachers.
- Require expulsion of students caught with illegal drugs.
- Evaluate teachers by student test scores.

Senator Dianne Feinstein's proposed "Excellence and Accountability in Education Act" would:

- Impose a \$1-a-pack cigarette tax for education.
- Allow school bond measures to be passed by a simple majority.
- Require students to pass tests to be promoted.
- Extend class size reduction.
- Lengthen school year.
- Rank schools by performance and teacher qualifications.
- Give scholarships to prospective teachers. A bilingual initiative by businessman Ron Unz has qualified for the June ballot. It would:
  - Provide intense English language instruction for one year to children under 10.
  - Offer bilingual instruction only if 20 parents of children in the same grade level in the same school received a waiver. Otherwise a child who wanted bilingual instruction would go to a different school.
  - Take \$50 million in state money to pay for English lessons for adult immigrants. ■

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Access No: 66952019970818 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc  
Title: Smaller Classes Aren't a Cure-All  
Authors: Michael Kirst  
Source: New York Times, Late Edition (East Coast)  
Date: Aug 18, 1997 Sec: A Editorial Desk p: 19  
Length: Medium (649 words) Type: Commentary  
Memo: [Op-Ed]  
Subjects: Class size; Academic achievement; Education reform;  
Education & Schools; Law & Legislation; States (US);  
Teachers & School Employees

Abstract: Michael Kirst Op-Ed questions efforts in 18 states to legislate smaller classes as way to improve public schools; says it is not clear whether cutting class sizes improves academic performance (M)

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Article Text:

PALO ALTO, Calif. -- Eighteen state legislatures have passed, or are considering passing, bills dictating smaller classes as a way to improve the public schools. In New York, the Legislature authorized \$142 million solely for the hiring of some 3,600 new teachers by 1999 to relieve overcrowding in New York City schools.

In many places, reducing the number of students per class is an end in itself, valued above many other educational goals. But so far the research about the effectiveness of cutting class sizes is inconclusive. It's not clear whether it improves academic performance, as measured in test scores.

Class size reduction is overwhelmingly popular with parents and teachers. In California, where legislation has recently gone into effect, teachers believe they have more time to help lagging students and to cover more material. Parents feel that decreasing the number of children in classrooms is worth doing no matter what, even though it creates many new problems. About 30 percent of the new teachers in California are uncertified and schools have given up libraries, computer labs and pre-school centers to create more classroom space.

New York City schools already don't have enough space; classes are taught in closets and hallways. That squeeze, plus the logistical nightmare of hiring 3,000 more teachers for the school year that begins shortly, prompted the state to delay carrying out the new class-reduction policy for another year.

Researchers have had difficulty finding out whether smaller classes affect students' test scores because there has never been a national evaluation. Studies have had to rely on scattered samples of class reductions in a few school districts.

But a 1989 Johns Hopkins study that did a larger analysis of 14 different studies from around the country found that even when classes were reduced to 15 students, the effects were minimal. Students in the smaller classes only gained about four points on a 100-point test.

Urban parochial schools have proved that smaller classes may not be necessary. They tend to have large classes, but their students have higher achievement scores than their counterparts at many public schools.

Despite the studies questioning the effectiveness of reducing class sizes, policy makers keep pointing to one study in Tennessee that showed about a 10-point gain in test scores when classes were shrunk from 22 to 25 students to 13 to 17 students.

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Granted, the study was well-designed. It followed more than 10,000 students from 75 schools for 10 years. But this was one study in one state and may not apply to schools in urban areas. Tennessee already had ample facilities with licensed teachers, and the students were mostly white and African-American. In California, half the students are either Hispanic or Asian, many of whom speak limited English, so the schools would have difficulty finding enough bilingual teachers. Moreover, the effectiveness of teachers depends on their ability to change instruction styles when moving from a large group to small group.

Cutting class sizes is expensive. In California, it is costing an extra \$800 or so per pupil per school year (not counting the cost of new classrooms). Portable classrooms cost more than \$50,000 each for cities like New York City and Los Angeles. National studies report increasingly tight labor markets for teachers because of rising enrollment and a large number of retirements.

Despite these pressures, politicians are taking advantage of the national economic boom to adopt strict rules on class sizes. In so doing, they are committing their states to one of the most expensive educational reforms possible and neglecting lower cost, effective alternatives like intensive teacher training, expansion of summer school, tutoring and investing in technology.

When the good times end, states won't have the luxury to adopt sweeping, unproven reforms. And parents and politicians alike may discover that reducing class sizes was not the magic bullet they thought it would be.

Caption:

Michael Kirst is a professor at the Stanford University School of Education.

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Access No: 05014819970911 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc  
Title: At Fire Island School, the Classes Are Tiny and the Test Scores High  
Authors: Jacques Steinberg  
Source: New York Times, Late Edition (East Coast)  
Date: Sep 11, 1997 Sec: B Metropolitan Desk p: 1  
Length: Long (1469 words) Type: News  
Subjects: Academic achievement; Public schools; Class size; School finance; Property taxes; Education & Schools; Fire Island (NY); Finances

Abstract: Article discusses success of Woodhull School on Fire Island; elementary school, whose 54 students receive individual attention, spends nearly \$30,000 a year on each student; photo (M)

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Article Text:

CORNEILLE ESTATES, N.Y., Sept. 7 -- Only 40 miles east of the crowded classrooms of New York City, there is a school with just 54 children in seven grades.

That is one teacher for every eight pupils, if you remember your third-grade math, and one Macintosh computer for every two children.

It is an elementary school that spends nearly \$30,000 a year on each student. One that convenes poetry-writing classes a few steps away at the beach, where young students are encouraged to seek inspiration by closing their eyes and listening to the crashing surf.

No surprise then that the Woodhull School is one of the most successful in the state. It is also one of the most remote, the only public school on Fire Island, a 32-mile sliver of sand and gnarled pine off the South Shore of Long Island that is better known for its activities after school lets out for the year.

By Labor Day weekend, most of the seasonal residents have left Fire Island to restart their real lives. But several dozen hearty residents remain -- most of them electricians, plumbers, cooks and others who serve the affluent seasonal population and live here year-round, despite its isolation.

For them, sending their children to this public school is a perk that they enjoy at the expense of other families: those whose luxurious homes they tend and whose property taxes make the school possible. Those homeowners, who effectively pay the school's bills, send their own children to classrooms on the mainland that are far more crowded, be they public or private.

As a New York public school, Woodhull is so striking that it is something of an educational mecca. After touring it this summer, three New York City public school teachers left in tears. 'They said, 'This is wonderful,' ' recalled Ken Lanier, the school principal. ' 'It's a shame that the kids I teach can't have this.' '

The 79-year-old little red-brick schoolhouse is a place where children cannot avoid intense personal attention and rigorous class participation.

In the school's only fourth-grade class one morning last week, Karen McNulty pelted her 9- and 10-year-old pupils with questions about the Judy Blume novel 'Super Fudge.'

'Go through the book and find two nouns,' Ms. McNulty instructed her charges.

'The name 'Peter,' ' answered James Ragusa.

' 'Company,' ' said Kiley Phelan.

'Good, now find two verbs,' Ms. McNulty directed, and the words 'waved' and 'go' quickly came back.

Within a minute, all seven children in the class had answered a question.

Such intimate contact has translated into high achievement, as measured by the standardized reading tests that the state gives to third and sixth graders. At the Fire Island school last year, 100 percent of the students in the third grade could understand passages written on their grade level (compared with 51 percent statewide), and 80 percent of sixth graders were able to comprehend excerpts from books like 'Moby Dick' that are written for a much older audience. (That compares with 40 percent of sixth graders elsewhere.)

But academic excellence comes at a price. During the winter months on this rugged island, all the markets are closed. Staples like eggs or dog food are sold at two restaurants that remain open. For bulk shopping, most people head to the mainland, which is reachable by a bridge on each end of the island. But getting to those bridges is challenging.

That is because only a precious few automobile permits are given out to residents. And because there are no real roads, those residents lucky enough to have a permit must pilot four-wheel-drive vehicles over miles of beach or down narrow sidewalks. (During the summer, when cars are banned, ferries are virtually the only way on or off the island.)

The students, too, pay a price for isolation. Many students at the Fire Island school say they feel detached from life on the mainland. They also notice the lack of diversity in their midst (the school is almost exclusively white). And they feel the absence of boys and girls their own age.

For Brittany Metcalf, age 11, the school can be particularly lonely: on the brink of adolescence, she finds herself to be the only girl in the sixth grade.

'The good thing is you get a lot of attention from the teacher,' Brittany said last week, after a social studies class in which she sat at the head of a short rectangular table, three boys seated on each side.

'The bad thing is, you have no one to talk to who's the same as you.'

It is for this reason that the school ends at the sixth grade. Older students are transported in yellow four-wheel-drive school buses across the dunes and over the Robert Moses Causeway to middle and high schools in the Long Island communities of Islip and Babylon.

'I can't wait to get out of here,' said Glen Roesch, a sixth grader. 'There's barely any people to know.'

Until they reach the age of 12, though, the students have little choice but to make the elementary school here the center of their lives, given that the rural island offers them few other options during the desolate winter.

'The whole community, when you have children, revolves around the school,' said James Ragusa, 40, a general contractor who moved here nine years ago and who, like many parents, was barefoot when he deposited his 9-year-old son, James, at school on Friday morning.

The school has taken steps to compensate for the isolation: frequent trips to Broadway shows and institutions like the Liberty Science Center in New Jersey. And those outings are about more than watching a musical or learning about technology.

'We know, when we go, there will be New York City districts there with a very different population than ours,' Mr. Lanier said. 'It's a very conscious extra effort here.'

The school also fields coed sports teams in basketball and softball that play against teams from other communities, and arranges swimming lessons at the YMCA in Bay Shore. In the winter months, it offers after-school clubs in drama, sewing and model-building.

The school can afford all of this largely because of the high value of Fire Island's 4,000 or so homes -- a total of \$1.5 billion. But because the school's population is so small, the burden on most taxpayers is relatively light.

According to Mr. Lanier, a family living in a house worth \$77,500 on Fire Island pays \$594 in annual school taxes. In Bay Shore or East Islip, the annual school tax for the same home would be more than \$6,000.

Although the average spent per pupil appears steep -- \$29,877, compared with \$9,162 in the rest of the state -- that is mostly because the salary of a teacher must be divided among 7 students here, compared with 32 in New York City, Mr. Lanier said.

What the school gets for its money is an almost familylike atmosphere, where students answer questions as freely as if they were talking at the dinner table and are often on a first-name basis with the children of their teachers -- many of whom live on the island.

A beginning reader might run eagerly into the next classroom to show off her new skills to the older children, or find a supportive listener outside at the school's maintenance shack.

Other schools might be able to reproduce that cozy atmosphere, but few can bring the natural environment into the classroom as comfortably as the Woodhull School.

For science class, Ms. McNulty sometimes arms her students with nets and brown paper bags and sends them on the short walk to the ocean, where they can comb for shrimp, sea horses and other organisms to catalogue.

And every so often, something unexpected happens. During one lunch hour four years ago, teachers told all the children to grab their meals and head for the beach to see a surprise luncheon guest.

It was a whale, lurking just off the shore.

Caption:

The Woodhull School's four-wheel-drive bus, above, maneuvers the dunes on Fire Island. The school has only 54 students, so children receive individual attention. Loretta Ferraro, left, taught a class of fifth and sixth graders last week. (Photographs by Vic DeLucia/The New York Times) (pg. B1)

'IN BRIEF: The Little School That Could'

At Fire Island's only elementary school, with 54 students, the spending per pupil is among the highest in the state. So is the achievement. Chart shows average 1996 class sizes, 1994-1995 school year spending per student and percentage of third graders reading at grade levels, for 1996, for Fire Island, New York City and New York State. (Source: New York State Department of Education) (pg. B5)

Map of Fire Island showing location of Corneille Estates: A tiny public school benefits from Fire Island's high property values. (pg. B5)

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Access No: 12303019970916 ProQuest - The New York Times (R) Ondisc  
Title: Special Education Class Sizes Are Linked to a Drop in Scores  
Authors: Anemona Hartocollis  
Source: New York Times, Late Edition (East Coast)  
Date: Sep 16, 1997 Sec: B Metropolitan Desk p: 2  
Length: Medium (531 words) Type: News  
Subjects: Class size; Special education; Academic achievement;  
Educational evaluation; Education policy; Studies;  
Education & Schools; Special Education (Handicapped)  
Names: Gottlieb, Jay; Alter, Mark; Gottlieb, Jay (Prof); Alter,  
Mark (Prof); New York City; New York State

Abstract: Study by New York University Profs Jay Gottlieb and Mark Alter concludes that decision by New York City and state to increase size of some special education classes has led to decline in student achievement; recommends that city reverse its decision to increase number of students to eight from five in so-called resource rooms, which pull children who are lagging behind their peers out of regular classes for increased instruction (M)

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Article Text:

A decision by New York City and the state to increase the size of some special education classes has led to a decline in student achievement, according to a study by two New York University professors.

The researchers recommended that the city reverse its decision to increase the number of students to eight from five in so-called resource rooms, which pull children who are lagging behind their peers out of regular classes for increased instruction.

But state officials said the \$75,000 state-financed study had been hampered by its small size and short time span, looking at only 45 schools over a period of just six months. They said that while the study raised troubling questions, more work needed to be done to determine whether class size alone was responsible for the decline in achievement or whether there were other factors, such as poor attendance, insufficient teaching time or the kind of teaching methods being used.

'I think New York City has to start to peel that onion and see what the factors are impeding reading achievement,' said Larry T. Waite, the coordinator of special education policy for the State Education Department. 'Changing one factor alone may not be the answer.'

The authors of the study, Jay Gottlieb and Mark Alter, two education professors at N.Y.U., complained that the city Board of Education had not provided them with system-wide resource room scores, as requested.

The study found a sharp decrease in sixth-grade reading scores in 1995-96, after the class sizes were increased. It found less striking decreases in the third and eighth grades, where there already was a downward trend.

From 1995 to 1996, sixth-grade reading scores dropped 13.2 percentage points, to 15.82 percent of students reading at state minimum competency levels from 29.02 percent. From 1994 to 1995, before the change in class size, scores had dropped less than one percentage point.

In the eighth grade, scores dropped 9.28 points after class size increased to 47.16 percent, the study found, but scores in eighth grade had already declined 6.65 points in 1993-94, the year before the change.

In third grade, scores declined 5.27 points after the change to 14.20

percent. But third-grade scores had declined 8.21 points the year before. There was no significant change in math scores at any grade.

'When you increase the size, you dilute the instruction, and children appear to fall farther behind,' Dr. Gottlieb said.

But Dr. Gottlieb conceded that the pre-existing downward trend raised questions about the overall effectiveness of resource rooms. 'Is there any evidence that resource room improves children's performance?' he asked. 'In this city I don't know of any data to support that.'

The increase in class size saved \$26 million by cutting the number of teachers needed in resource rooms, which serve about 40,000 children, the study found. It also found that high rates of absenteeism brought the actual number of students below eight per class. Average attendance was 5.9 students in elementary school and 4.1 students in middle and high school.

Francine Goldstein, executive director of student support services for the board, said that the study's findings were being considered as part of an overall drive to reform special education.

An education reform goes awry.

# CLASS CONFLICT

By Robyn Gearey

I hadn't been in California twenty-four hours when I began to realize that the schools were experiencing a few technical difficulties implementing Governor Pete Wilson's much hyped class-size reduction initiative. "Do you wanna teach second grade?" called a voice from the teachers' lounge. "I'll pay you fifty bucks myself." Startled, I looked around, then noticed a group of teachers sitting at a long table by the door. One of them was waving, trying to catch my eye. Thinking the offer a joke, I laughed. "I'm a journalist, not a teacher," I protested. "Babysitting is the closest thing I have to teaching experience." The teacher wasn't fazed. "Do you have a college degree?" she asked. "Yes," I replied. "Well, then," she said, satisfied, "you're perfectly qualified. When can you start?"

That was the first clue. The second came a few days later when I read a *Los Angeles Times* letter to the editor written by Lori Borcover, whose daughter's school was so tight on space that it closed the library in order to use it as a classroom. Soon after, the *Times* reported that an elementary school in Costa Mesa had turned its auditorium into classrooms—eliminating school plays and other activities. The school's principal told the *Times*, "This takes away a major part of our educational programs."

Like the teacher-hiring frenzy, the classroom-space crunch was part of a manic attempt by California schools to cash in on the governor's plan, unveiled last July, which promised a \$650 per child subsidy for every classroom in the first and second grades that met the twenty-students-per-teacher standard by February 16. (The program also applied to some kindergarten and third-grade classes.) Most did, in part by holding classes in gyms and teachers' lounges, and hiring unqualified teachers. And how has Wilson responded to this chaos? This year he has decided to expand the program, throwing the schools into another round of turmoil.

Class-size reduction is, at least in theory, a great idea. Dozens of studies have shown it to be one of the most effective ways to raise classroom achievement. Prior to Wilson's initiative, California's classrooms were the most crowded in the nation, averaging about thirty kids. And so when Wilson discovered that, in 1994, 56 percent of the state's fourth-graders were rated "below-basic" on a nationwide reading exam, he made class-size reduction a crusade. The response was overwhelming. "This is the most exciting time in twenty or thirty years," gushed Delaine Eastin, superintendent of public instruction in

California. "I think this is the start of a renaissance," effused Clovis Unified School District Superintendent Walt Buster. A headline in the *Los Angeles Times* declared: "SMALLER CLASSES, BIG IMPROVEMENT."

But, as the saying goes, the devil is in the details. To get results quickly, Wilson set a deadline and offered a financial incentive. The schools began struggling to find space. Many were already overcrowded, with one in seven relying on a year-round academic schedule to accommodate the overflow. And that was before the governor's plan created a need for 20,000 new classrooms.

Wilson's initiative set aside \$200 million for new classroom space, but that space is not easy to come by. Portable classrooms, if the school has the land, are one option, but they are expensive (they cost up to \$54,000; the state is only allotting \$25,000 per new classroom) and rare. California manufactures only 2,500 portable classrooms a year; the 20-1 initiative has generated orders for some 15,000. The state's department of education estimates that the backlog now runs two to three years.

Construction is another option, but it also requires more land, money and time than most schools can spare. So, in the meantime, makeshift classrooms—libraries, cafeterias and music rooms—will have to suffice. Many schools have opted to squeeze two teachers (and forty kids) in one regular-size room, a decision that even the department of education, the initiative's most enthusiastic proponent, calls "inadvisable."

And if school administrators are desperate for space, they're even more desperate for teachers. California accredits fewer than 5,000 new teachers each year; to meet the 20-1 standard, the state needs 20,000. Even before Wilson announced his initiative, California had trouble attracting enough qualified teachers—in 1994, 11 percent of its teachers were working with either a temporary or an emergency license, or no license at all, already the highest percentage of non-credentialed teachers in the country. Since the initiative passed, one-third of the teachers hired to fulfill it have lacked traditional credentials. In California today, anyone with a bachelor's degree and a passing score on a basic skills test (which many educators say is on a fifth-grade level) can teach. "We've reached so deep into the pool, we're now taking people we wouldn't have hired a year ago," said Douglas Mitchell, a professor at the University of California-Riverside.

The influx of unqualified teachers makes many people nervous. "I feel better having thirty-two students with an experienced teacher than I do with twenty and a totally inexperienced teacher," says Rebecca Ryan, president of the Pomona district governing board. In a *Los Angeles Times* op-ed, Dennis L. Evans, a professor at UC Irvine, said, "An elementary class of 20 taught by an ill-prepared 'instant' teacher will prove far worse for the students involved than if they were in a class of 40 taught by a highly qualified and dedicated teacher." Some fear that the teacher shortage is exacerbating the inequalities between urban and suburban schools. Wealthy suburban districts can afford to lure experienced teachers from

other parts of the country, even Canada, to fill their classrooms. It is the poorer, urban schools that are forced to rely on inexperienced teachers.

And since Wilson's class-size initiative only applies to younger grades, many school officials admit they have had to shortchange older students to reduce class sizes in the lower grades. James A. Fleming, superintendent of the Capistrano Unified School District, said that his district had to take funds away from a middle-school English program to help pay for the initiative. There are long-range financial concerns as well. The state only provides a fraction of the funds for the new classes and teachers, and, while most communities successfully scrambled to meet this year's deadline, it's likely that they will begin to default in ever increasing numbers. Mike Fine, the chief financial officer of the Newport-Mesa Unified School District, told *The Los Angeles Times*, "I think at least one-third of the districts who instituted the class-size reduction won't be able to sustain it for more than three years."

So it was quite a surprise last January when Pete Wilson announced that his 1997-98 budget proposal allocated an additional \$304 million to *expand* the initiative to fully include both kindergarten and the third grade. Administrators who have spent the past six months struggling to cut first- and second-grade classes were hoping the new budget might provide additional money to help them cope with the financial strain incurred in meeting this year's deadline. But instead, they face the Sisyphean prospect of acquiring another 5,000 teachers and classrooms. No wonder many educators found it hard to share Wilson's enthusiasm. As one L.A. school official put it: "We are too busy trying to recover from the governor's last great idea." •

## PIGTOWN DISPATCH

# BUSINESS AS USUAL

By Joe Mathews

Three years ago, the police officers who conduct prostitution sweeps in this southwest Baltimore neighborhood noticed a trend. The women they had been arresting for years along Washington Boulevard—Pigtown's main street of Formstone rowhouses and half-empty storefronts—no longer gave Pigtown addresses. "A lot of the women had moved to the suburbs," says Officer Van Watson. "They still came into the city to turn tricks, but other than that, they didn't see any hope or opportunity there. There was nothing."

Pigtown's demimondes aren't the only ones disillusioned by life in this integrated slum. Once a flourishing residential and industrial neighborhood anchored by

the B&O Railroad, Pigtown has been sliding downhill for years. The majority of the 6,500 people who live here are high-school dropouts, and nearly one in six adults is unemployed. Although violent crime is low and Pigtown has a small group of new middle-class home buyers, the community consists largely of small-time criminals tethered to the drug trade and older working-class people trapped in their homes by it.

But the spring of 1995 brought the promise of change. Two new residents arrived in Pigtown. PTP Industries, Inc., a battery and computer disk packaging firm, moved into a building on Washington Boulevard. And something called the federal empowerment zone arrived from the nation's capital—part of a massive government effort to bring businesses back to inner cities.

The feds had chosen Baltimore as one of six federal urban revitalization areas. The city's share of the \$3.5 billion empowerment pie (it rivals the War on Poverty in size) was \$100 million in grants, concentrated in six neighborhoods or "villages," of which Pigtown was one. The zone was classic corporate welfare: it offered a \$3,000 rebate on a company's (in this case PTP's) payroll tax for each zone resident hired. And, by targeting the benefits to specific areas, federal officials hoped to create controlled laboratories for economic development. To help with Pigtown's resurrection, Maryland gave PTP a sweetheart lease on 330,000 square feet in one of Pigtown's largest buildings, an old Montgomery Ward warehouse.

In Pigtown, the notion of an empowerment zone, and a company willing to take advantage of it, tapped a powerful nostalgia for the long-ago days of plentiful industrial jobs. Even Pigtown's name suggests a better era, a century ago, when hogs were driven through its streets on their way to the slaughterhouses. "A lot of us spent time talking with the PTP people about poverty and jobs," says Arnold Sherman, a former member of the neighborhood's empowerment board. "I believed PTP was going to be an answer to the unemployed, to some of the prostitution, to many problems." PTP needed to double its workforce, from 250 to 500. The new hires would be for the kind of low-skill, entry-level jobs that Pigtown's poorest residents could do.

Pigtown had the makings of an empowerment zone success story, a model for those who believe government can employ business to fight poverty. Except that it hasn't turned out that way. The fact that both sides in Pigtown—community and company—consider the experience a failure stands as a reminder of an unpleasant truth: too many inner-city residents are unable to adequately perform even the simple assembly-line work that PTP offers.

Certainly, Pigtown residents were eager for work. As the April 1995 opening of the PTP plant approached, neighborhood leaders fanned out, distributing flyers with information about the new jobs. More than 160 people attended a job fair; PTP hired 103. They found about another three dozen workers through a city job-training



America has no greater glory than its cherished tradition of immigration. This tradition should be preserved. I am not advocating an end to, or even a major long-term reduction in, immigration. Indeed, I favor increasing the number of skilled and professional immigrants. And, contrary to the crypto-racist alarmism of right-wingers who call for immigration reform, I think that the best feature of the recent wave of immigration is its wonderful non-white diversity.

Let us hope that the president will have the moral and political courage to resist the strange union of business interests, naive libertarians and misguided left-wing urban advocates that has stymied all past attempts at meaningful immigration reform.

ORLANDO PATTERSON is John Cowles professor of sociology at Harvard and author of the forthcoming *The Ordeal of Integration*.

## Size matters

If any of the president's staff flicked on the tube between stump speeches on the campaign trail, they would have noticed that education is in. Not since the days of "Room 222" and "Welcome Back, Kotter," have there been so many shows about school in prime time: "Mr. Rhodes," "Nick Freno: Licensed Teacher," "Dangerous Minds." There are lessons to be learned here—and not about licensing teachers.

The obvious one is that never, perhaps, in modern American life has education been a hotter issue. The less obvious one has to do with class size. Have you ever noticed, Mr. President, how on all these shows, the viewer gets to know only a few of the students? There's a reason for that. In a thirty-minute sitcom or an hour-long drama, a viewing audience can only get to know a handful of kids. Similarly, a typical teacher can only get to know so many students in a fifty-minute period. On "Welcome Back, Kotter," for instance, the sweatshops monopolized Mr. Kotter's time while the good kids languished in the background. And as it is for the TV audience, so it is for the typical high-school teacher. In fifty minutes she can only get to know so many kids.

In the next four years, Mr. President, you should make reducing class and school sizes, particularly in poorer, overcrowded schools, a top goal. As governor of Tennessee, Lamar Alexander financed a study of the effect of class size on learning in the state's

rural, suburban and urban schools. It showed that smaller classes during the elementary school years produced dramatic boosts in student achievement—regardless of student background—and that these gains held even after students were returned to larger classes in later years. Everyone knows that smaller classes work; they're in large part what affluent parents are paying for when they send their kids to private schools.

The place to start is in the earliest grades, kindergarten through third, in order to give all children the solid educational foundation they need to succeed later. Nothing would do more to help all children to read by the third grade, as President Clinton has proposed, than to reduce all elementary school classes to 20 students or less during these years.

Most people assume that school districts would have to hire lots more teachers if they reduced class size, but they wouldn't. In too many districts across the country, teachers work outside the classroom, in administrative positions created partly to respond to the needs of teachers in overcrowded classes and schools. In New York City, for instance, the student-to-teacher ratio is approximately 16 to 1; classes remain large, however, partly because so many teachers aren't teaching and because of overcrowding.

Instead of giving money to states for special education or other "pull-out" programs, the federal government should give funds to schools exclusively to reduce class size; if every class, particularly in the earliest grades, had 20 students or less, then every child, in essence, would receive a "special" education. And just as every class should have no more than 20 students, every school should have no more than 20 teachers. Teachers get lost in big schools, just as kids do. Smaller schools and classes will create the kind of communities where teachers, parents and students can work together and know each other as individuals. If you can push for school uniforms, Mr. President, you can push for smaller classes. Call it your 20/20 vision for school reform.

SARA MÖSLE is a contributing writer for *The New York Times Magazine*.

## Don't ask, don't tell

Intellectuals love to imagine that the people who wield real power are just waiting to be told how to use it. This fantasy of access and influ-

ence is a kind of *déformation professionnelle*, and one with a long, richly ironic history: think of Seneca and Nero, Voltaire and Frederick the Great, Michael Lerner and the First Lady.

For a politician, President Clinton seems to be pretty well-informed. Even his enemies concede that he does his policy homework, and his political instincts are legendary. I would be amazed if, at this late date, a journalist, a pundit, or even a bona fide expert in a genuine field of study could suggest to him a significant course of action he or his handlers have not already considered, focus-grouped and triangulated from here to the moon and back.

But he's not a free man, either: he has constituencies to satisfy, contributors to reward, political debts to pay and, of course, his own career to advance. These considerations matter a lot more than bright ideas, or right ideas. Many eloquent opponents of the welfare bill had the president's ear, including some of the policy experts who'd helped him formulate his own plan. Whatever one thinks of the president's decision to sign the measure into law, I don't think there's much doubt that the only arguments that counted in the end were the ones about his own immediate political fortunes. Does anyone think the president really believes that uniforms and the Internet are the keys to educational progress? Or that what battered women need more than anything else is their own emergency number?

Journalists are supposed to speak truth to power. But I've always wondered what the point of it is. If power were interested in truth, we would be living in a very different world: Why not speak truth to the powerless, who at least have something to gain from listening?

If President Clinton wants to know what I think are the problems and possibilities of contemporary American society, he can always subscribe to *The Nation*, where I've been writing for years. Or he could just call—I work at home, I'm in the book. That he hasn't requested my views on any subject, and communicates with me only indirectly, through Democratic Party junk mail addressed to "Occupant," makes me suspect he's not that curious about my views. I don't blame him a bit. If I were president, I would feel the same way.

KATHA POLLITT is a columnist for *The Nation*.

LEVEL 1 - 13 OF 201 STORIES

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Time

October 6, 1997

SECTION: EDUCATION; Pg. 85

LENGTH: 577 words

HEADLINE: CLASS-SIZE WARFARE;  
SOME NEW YORK PARENTS TRY TO HIRE AN EXTRA FOURTH-GRADE TEACHER. IS THIS UNFAIR  
TO PUBLIC SCHOOLING?

BYLINE: ROMESH RATNESAR, WITH REPORTING BY ELAINE RIVERA/NEW YORK

BODY:

The move seemed routine enough in a school system strapped for cash. In late September, New York City school officials laid off a fourth-grade teacher at Public School 41 in Greenwich Village, dispersing her students into the school's four other classes. That pushed the average fourth-grade class size from 26 to 32. It also pushed parents over the edge. Within days of hearing the news, a group of parents cobbled together \$ 46,000 to cover the teacher's salary. When city schools chancellor Rudy Crew nixed the buyout, saying it would "adversely affect the opportunity for equity" among the city's schools, the parents went to court and took to the streets. After a week of rancorous meetings, the two sides struck a deal last Thursday that reinstated the teacher, Lauren Zangara, and returned the parents' money--but barred them from any future attempt to pay faculty salaries. The city "will allow parents to make valuable contributions to their schools," Crew said, "within appropriate limits."

The rumble in the Village highlighted a quandary facing middle-class parents across the U.S. With state and local governments slashing public-school budgets, parents often face an unhappy choice: supplement their children's creaky classrooms with their own cash or stick the kids in pricier, more exclusive private schools. While parents have long held bake sales and sold raffle tickets to drum up extra funds for local schools, fund raising today is growing more elaborate and controversial. In Bowie, Md., a nonprofit foundation set up by parents is helping finance a \$ 5 million auditorium. In Winchester, Mass., the Foundation for Educational Excellence dispenses \$ 50,000 a year in grants to enterprising teachers. And public-school boards in most major cities say parents are free to kick in for everything from clean football uniforms to new computers.

So why all the fuss about P.S. 41? Well, buying extra classroom materials is one thing; buying extra teachers is another. When directed toward items like staff salaries, educators say, private funds can widen the disparity between schools in poor neighborhoods that rely on government funds, and those in middle-class communities that can tap off-the-books parental money. Even some parent advocates got uneasy over the New York parents' brazenness. "The running of public schools should be the responsibility of the public through tax monies," said Lois Jean White, president of the national PTA. Other critics weren't so diplomatic. "It's not an 'extra' when you're talking about



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subsidizing salary for a teacher," says Jonathan Kozol, author of the 1991 book *Savage Inequalities*. "The moral justification of public education is being ripped apart."

Several parents did threaten to relocate their children to private schools if Crew didn't reinstate Zangara. But the parents refuted the image that they were pampered yuppies with money to burn, pointing out that the school has working-class families too. They also say that the loss of one teacher would make the size of each fourth-grade class 10 students larger than the state average. Said P.S. 41 father Fred Moshary: "Parents anywhere would have done the same thing." Those words were prophetic. At week's end, parents of second-graders in nearby Queens had raised \$ 20,000 toward saving a teacher from the budget ax. They vowed not to rest until they succeeded.

--By Romesh Ratnesar. With reporting by Elaine Rivera/New York

GRAPHIC: COLOR PHOTO: TODD MAISEL, VILLAGE VANGUARDS: P.S. 41 parents like Carrie Bianchi, left, and Sandra Soehngen raised \$ 46,000 to pay a teacher

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 30, 1997



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## LEVEL 2 - 6 OF 22 STORIES

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School Planning and Management

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BYLINE: Hymon, Steve

BODY:

Administrators nationwide can learn from California's classroom size reduction plan and how districts implemented it.

In May of 1996, California Governor Pete Wilson found himself in a difficult position. California **schools** were swelling with students, the result of the recent baby boom and the state's continual growth in population. Simultaneously, test scores revealed that reading skills in many of California's **schools**, especially those located in urban areas, lagged behind scores in the rest of the nation. Another publicized study found that California ranked 40th in the nation on spending per pupil.

Fingers were pointed at Wilson, whose approval rating had dropped dramatically since his embarrassing withdrawal from the 1996 presidential election. But Wilson fought back. The state had collected extra tax revenue for 1995, and state law dictated that the money had to go to education.

#### The Plan

Sensing an opportunity, Wilson created a \$ 771 million initiative called classroom size reduction (CSR). Wilson's goal was simple: He wanted all kindergarten, first-, second- and third-grade classrooms to have 20 or fewer students. Wilson said that he would give school districts \$ 650 for each student in a reduced classroom in the 1996-97 school year. An additional fund of \$ 200 million would be created to help those schools facing a critical shortage of facilities. This past May, Wilson proposed expanding the amount to \$ 800 per student in the new state budget (which will be voted on this summer), while allowing schools to use some of that \$ 800 for new facilities.

The CSR program received high praise from parents, teachers and the press. And, in many ways, the results have been extraordinary: By February of this year, 851 of the state's 895 public school districts had qualified for the program, according to the latest figures from the state department of education.



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Although many schools were unable to reduce **class size** in all four grades, many schools were able to reduce first and second grades from more than 30 students per class.

But there are two sides to the story. While few people criticize the legitimacy and effectiveness of smaller classrooms, many school district administrators have found that the \$ 650 Wilson was paying for each student was, in fact, nowhere near the real cost of the program.

Three questions hounded California administrators.

1. Where were all the extra classes created by CSR going to be housed?
2. Who was going to teach those classes?
3. If \$ 650 per student didn't cover the cost, where was the extra money going to come from?

#### Los Angeles' Strategy

The mother of all California school districts, Los Angeles Unified, provided some revealing answers to all three questions. LAUSD is the second-largest school district in the nation (with more than 668,000 students) and its many serious problems - deteriorating buildings, crime and a top-heavy administration - are well chronicled in the press, often on a daily basis.

CSR was asking LAUSD to reduce **class size** at a time when LAUSD was already looking at a record enrollment increase of 18,000 students heading into the 1996-97 school year. Factoring in CSR, it appeared that LAUSD would be short 27,000 seats. This was the problem that faced Gordon Wohlers, LAUSD's assistant superintendent in charge of classroom size reductions.

Wohlers and his colleagues tackled the problem systematically. First, they realized they were dealing with a facility shortage and convinced the LAUSD board to order 1,000 portable classrooms, all of which should be in place by this fall.

Next, they asked the LAUSD board of education to approve various temporary measures that would ease pressure on schools. One measure allowed schools to use any available space for classrooms, including teachers' lounges, auditoriums and libraries. Another measure allowed 40 students to use the same classroom as long as two teachers were present to divide the class in half. Other schools, already stuffed to the gills, were permitted to adopt multitrack, year-round programs.

These measures, along with hiring more than 1,000 teachers, allowed LAUSD to place 98 percent of its first and second graders in the CSR program. "The problem we have now is that we can't go further than this," says Wohlers. "The reason is we have nearly 100 elementary schools that are filled to capacity. Absent of new construction, we cannot expand the CSR program to the third- and fourth-grade level."

The other problem, and one that has become endemic throughout the state, is money. LAUSD, even with the \$ 650 per student received from the state, had to spend approximately \$ 97 million from its own general funds, not including the



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cost of the portables and educational materials. Wohlers estimates that the real cost of implementing CSR was almost \$ 1,000 per student.

The district did receive some good news in early April, when L.A. voters passed a \$ 2.4 billion school bond measure - the same measure that had suffered a narrow defeat at the polls last November. The problem, however, is that the money is specifically earmarked for desperately needed school repairs and to fund construction of much-needed high schools.

Thus, the future of CSR in Los Angeles is already in question shortly after it has begun. Everyone loves the smaller classrooms, but LAUSD faces an enrollment that will continue to grow with the Southern California economy.

"Overall, we are going to have to invest more money into education if we are going to get the results the public is investing in," says Wohlers. Schools.

#### Mammoth Lakes' Strategy

Mammoth Lakes, population 6,000, couldn't be more different from Los Angeles. Located in a remote alpine valley in the Eastern Sierra Nevada Mountains, Mammoth Lakes is a popular year-round destination because of its skiing, fishing and camping.

Mammoth Elementary School serves not only the town of Mammoth Lakes, but much of Mono County, one of the more sparsely populated counties in California. Interestingly, its elementary school has 634 students, whereas its middle school and high school have about 300 each - reflective, again, of the mini-baby boom of the late 1980s.

Before CSR, Mammoth Elementary also had as many as 34 students in some of its first- through third-grade classes. This did not represent the quality of life that many of Mammoth's residents left L.A. to pursue. Any possible way of reducing class size was appealing.

"We went into CSR with our eyes open," says Brian McBride, principal of Mammoth Elementary School. "The benefits of smaller classes are obvious, but the downside is that it cost our general fund about \$ 83,000 because [CSR] was not fully funded."

Mammoth Elementary hired seven teachers, all with experience, which wasn't difficult because the town is a desirable place to live. But the school is now using every inch of the building for classrooms and is facing the prospect of changing to a year-round schedule to accommodate CSR. The school also placed an order for a portable classroom, which cost \$ 60,000 because the portable must withstand the sizable snowfalls typical of the area.

The architecture of the school provided common areas in the middle of the classroom area. Two of those areas were converted to classrooms, and a conference room was thrown into the mix as a small-group instruction area. McBride is thankful that, for now, he was spared having to use the cafeteria, but he isn't happy about losing his second grade's common area, which was previously used for art projects and theater activities.

Nevertheless, all 16 of Mammoth's first through third grades now have 20 or



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fewer students. "Most of us who went into this thing knew it wasn't a moneymaker," says McBride. "But we went into it with the thought that we can afford to do it right now and that we should because we have very high **class sizes**."

But McBride offers a warning: "The state is going to have change the funding or this will be a two-year experiment."

#### Oxnard's Strategy

Oxnard is located in a fertile agricultural valley just north of Malibu. The school district has 14,300 students enrolled, many of whom are from low-income families.

"Everyone applauds the concept of CSR," says Sandra Herrera, assistant superintendent of business and fiscal services for the Oxnard School District. "But we were already 100 percent multitrack at all of our schools, and all of our classrooms were in use year-round. We have no place to put the children."

Oxnard, like many other school districts, faced political pressure to implement CSR. But, as of late April, the district had managed to get only the first grade into the program. An elementary school under construction is scheduled to open this summer and, if the second grade is fully implemented into CSR, the new school will open at complete capacity.

One of the problems with CSR in California is that the \$ 650 per pupil funding is not 'meant to cover the cost of building new facilities. Districts that need extra money for facilities can apply for money from a separate \$ 200 million fund - but \$ 200 million represents little money for the most populous state in the nation. One of the results of this, according to Herrera, is that school districts with critical needs, such as Oxnard, are unable to compete with districts that do have space. In other words, a problem that CSR was designed to alleviate - overcrowding in schools - tends to help overcrowding only in wealthier districts, while furthering crowding in poorer districts.

Oxnard added 45 portable classrooms, which it will pay for from its general funds in the next 10 years. A school bond failed to pass by 80 votes on March 4 of this year, but passed on June 3, rising above the two-thirds vote required for passage by just 42 votes. "You try to get the word out in relationship to the need," says Herrera, "but it's hard for people to realize how great the need is."

#### San Diego's Strategy

The San Diego Unified School District, with about 136,000 students, was fortunate. Two years before Governor Wilson's CSR program was implemented, the city school district had begun its own program. Heading into the 1996-97 school year, the average **class size** in first and second grades was already 25.5 students.

"The CSR program wasn't as hard on us because, financially, we made sacrifices earlier," says Jan Hintzman, supervisor of facilities program for the San Diego Unified School District.



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Hintzman and her colleagues solved the most serious problem - lack of facilities - by considering every inch of every school as fair game for use as classrooms. What Hintzman and her colleagues soon found was that most schools were giving up anything to participate in CSR, including lounges, auditoriums and libraries. Hintzman estimates that replacing such facilities will cost the district \$ 14 million.

"As a facility planner, I could never have gone out and done some of these things," says Hintzman. "I think it's a sign that everyone realized we had to do something to improve student performance."

#### Long Beach's Strategy

The Long Beach Unified School District, which has 84,000 students, made similar sacrifices. As soon as the initiative was signed into law, principals and elementary school teachers were called back from summer vacation. The district immediately organized a teacher recruitment fair and put the word out through the local media.

On the day of the fair, candidates for teaching jobs were lined up out the door, and officials from LBUSD were there, serving them soft drinks. Several television and radio stations and newspapers covered the fair, resulting in even more candidates - some who heard about the fair on the radio while commuting to work and decided to stop to apply. The result: Long Beach got the pick of the teaching litter.

"We have the challenge of being a large, urban school district growing by 3,000 students each year," says Richard Van Der Laan, the district's spokesperson. "We could have waited to implement CSR, but we didn't want to. We felt that, with a little ingenuity, we could get a high percentage of primary school kids into the program."

By the end of the first semester of the 1996-97 school year, 100 percent of Long Beach's first graders, 69 percent of the second graders and about 40 percent of the kindergartners were in classes of 20 and under. In total, about 16,000 students are involved in CSR.

How did Long Beach find the space? Like other districts, Long Beach brought in 40 portables and then went about "recapturing" any areas that could be used for classrooms. The district also decided to forgo small classes for subjects such as music and physical education--which freed rooms for other classes. The district even took back an old school it had been leasing to Los Angeles County and, today, the school is operating at 100 percent capacity.

"We had a number of principals and superintendents who were all supportive of making this thing happen," says Van Der Laan. "They were all convinced that our children shouldn't be left behind because of the inconvenience, this might cause - we were deeply convinced that urban youngsters should get the same opportunities as children in other areas."

It didn't hurt that Long Beach, according to Van Der Laan, had an adequate reserve of money set aside. In fact, many of the portable classrooms had already been ordered before CSR was signed into law. Still, Van Der Laan insists, attitude was what made Long Beach successful: "Other places decided to wait and



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to think the program through but, in reality, the ones who stuck around the starting gate probably, in hindsight, should have jumped into it wholeheartedly."

#### From a National Perspective

Education has finally become an issue politicians from both parties are embracing. It's no secret that President Clinton is hoping to make improving education the defining issue of his second term. In California, Governor Wilson would like to expand CSR to the fourth grade. He is also talking about putting a \$ 2 billion statewide bond for education on the ballot next year.

If CSR programs prove to have a dramatic impact on reading and math skills in California, it is likely that CSR programs will expand to other states as well. The argument for CSR programs is appealing to politicians, and it's a notion hard to dispute: Our children will need better skills to compete in a global marketplace.

#### RELATED ARTICLE: HOW DO YOU TURN AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CAFETERIA AND AUDITORIUM INTO FOUR CLASSROOMS?

Last August, Valencia Park Elementary School in Fullerton quickly learned how. The school has an enrollment of 950 students or so, and the staff wanted to reduce the size of its first-grade classrooms before the school year began. The problem was that four additional classrooms were needed until the middle of the year, when more portable classrooms would be arriving.

As it happened, the school's cafeteria and auditorium occupied the same large room, with a stage at one end and the kitchen at the other. First, the decision was made that the cafeteria could be sacrificed. Lunch tables and benches were moved outside to the playground, which meant students began dining al fresco. When it rained, which wasn't often, "rainy day lunches" were declared, and students ate in their classrooms. To alleviate playground crowding, students were divided into three groups, each eating at a different time.

To convert the cafeteria/auditorium to a classroom, movable walls were used. Carpet was laid over the linoleum floors, and the walls were repainted or covered with murals of such things as schoolhouses and flowers painted on large pieces of paper. Three of the classrooms were used for first graders, and the fourth was used for an English as a second language classroom.

This begs the obvious question: Are these good-quality classrooms?

"We thought it looked very cozy and not sterile - like a cafeteria," says Michele Succar, the school's psychologist. "We were all very pleased, especially the teach-em. It was wonderful to have the 20-to-one."

But were first graders a little alarmed to be attending class in a cafeteria?

"Well, these are first graders," says Succar. "Most of them don't come with preconceived notions about what a classroom should look like, and I doubt it affected them. They were in a school classroom with good teachers and a warm, caring environment. And that's what's most important."



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## RELATED ARTICLE: FIVE LESSONS FROM CALIFORNIA CSR

The following lessons can be learned from California's struggles and successes with CSR.

**THINK AHEAD.** Even if your district has adequate space, survey all buildings to see where and how, in a pinch, classrooms could be added at a later date. Also, view every inch of space as a potential classroom; temporary partitions can do wonders.

**CSR ATTRACTS TEACHERS.** Obviously, teachers love smaller classes. Districts like Long Beach and Mammoth used the promise of CSR to sell themselves to teachers and, as a result, the demand was greater than the supply. Both districts feel they greatly enhanced their staffs by hiring skilled and experienced teachers.

**MONEY OFTEN FOLLOWS RESULTS.** Schools that achieve CSR by any means possible have something to sell to the public when the inevitable bond ends up on the ballot. Jan Hintzman, of the San Diego school district, says that she wanted to wait a year and study the numbers before implementing CSR. The district didn't wait, believing that the facilities the district lost to CSR were a worthwhile sacrifice: Give the community smaller classes, and the community will then pass the next school bond issue.

**BE MEDIA SAVVY.** "If there's something negative going on, all the press comes out," says Sandra Herrera of the Oxford School District. "If it's something good, we can't get them to come out, even if we buy ads in the paper. It's a continuing frustration."

One strategy widely used in dealing with the press is going to the press before it comes to you, which the Long Beach district did to great effects when it held a job fair to recruit new teachers. Keep in mind, too, that reporters at small newspapers often tend to be young and inexperienced. Introduce yourself to them. Invite them to your office to talk about the issues maybe lunch with them once a month. And, hard as it might be, don't take offense when they write something that angers you or, perhaps, is dead wrong. Their readers are the people who vote for bonds and politicians.

**BE A LEADER.** "Hopefully, class size reduction will help people see the need for additional facilities," says Van Der Laan. "And there is a growing awareness that, if we are going to get into the 21st century, we still need to finish getting into the 20th century. Our thinking is that, if you decide to do it, find a way. Do it sooner rather than later. Be a leader rather than a follower."

## RELATED ARTICLE: THE "AVERAGE" SCHOOL DISTRICT

A major study conducted in 1995 by McKinsey & Company, Inc. describes the "average" school district in the United States as having:

- \* 5.7 schools per district, (\*)
- \* 533 students per school, (\*)
- \* 25 students per class, (\*) and



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\* 121.4 classes per district. (\*\*)

This means that the "average" school district would have to add 30.4 classrooms in order to bring its **class-size** average down to 20 students. While the "average" school district doesn't exist in most places, some interesting extrapolations can be made from the data when combined with typical **class sizes** in each state.

Assuming that the "average" district does exist in each state, it would have to add the indicated number of classrooms in order to achieve the 20 students per classroom standard set by California (see the third column in the chart below).

Based on these figures, California is in the worst shape, needing to add 48.2 classrooms to the "average" district while Nebraska, Vermont and South Dakota are already at or below the 20 student goal.

Obviously, this simplified analysis leaves out many factors. Dozens of other considerations, including increasing enrollment, differences in student populations in specific grades and the actual size of a district, impact the number of classrooms needed.

- Tim Bete, editor

State	Average	New Classrooms
	Elementary	Needed per
	Class Size(***)	"Average" District
California	29.3	48.2
Utah	27.5	41.4
Michigan	27.3	40.6
Maryland	26.3	36.4
Florida	26.0	35.1
Washington	25.9	34.6
Arizona	25.8	34.1
Pennsylvania	25.2	31.3
Ohio	25.0	30.4
Delaware	24.8	29.4
North Carolina	24.8	29.4



## School Planning and Management July, 1997

Colorado	24.7	28.9
Illinois	24.5	27.9
Minnesota	24.5	27.9
Kentucky	24.4	27.4
Nevada	24.4	27.4
Oregon	24.4	27.4
Tennessee	24.4	27.4
Idaho	24.0	25.3
New York	23.9	24.8
Missouri	23.7	23.7
Hawaii	23.6	23.2
Mississippi	23.6	23.2
South Carolina	23.3	21.5
New Jersey	23.2	21.0
Rhode Island	23.2	21.0
Massachusetts	23.1	20.4
Wisconsin	23.1	20.4
Louisiana	22.9	19.2
Alaska	22.6	17.5
Virginia	22.6	17.5
Iowa	22.5	16.9
Georgia	22.2	15.1
Indiana	21.9	13.2
New Mexico	21.9	13.2
District of Columbia	21.8	12.5
New Hampshire	21.8	12.5
Alabama	21.7	11.9



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## School Planning and Management July, 1997

Maine	21.5	10.6
Connecticut	21.4	9.9
Montana	21.2	8.6
Arkansas	21.0	7.2
Wyoming	21.0	7.2
West Virginia	20.9	6.5
North Dakota	20.7	5.1
Kansas	20.6	4.4
Oklahoma	20.5	3.7
Texas	20.1	0.8
Nebraska	20.0	0.0
Vermont	19.7	n/a
South Dakota	19.2	n/a

\* Calculated from data from the National Center for Education Statistics.

\*\* Calculated by Tim Bete from McKinsey data.

\*\*\* U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Schools and Staffing Survey, 1993-94. Table 39-2: Public school teachers' average class size, by teacher level and state: School year 1993-94.

Steve Hyman is a California-based freelance writer.

GRAPHIC: Photograph; Table; Illustration

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH



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LEVEL 2 - 2 OF 22 STORIES

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October 13, 1997

SECTION: U.S. NEWS; Pg. 22

LENGTH: 3005 words

HEADLINE: Does Class Size Matter?

BYLINE: By Thomas Toch; Betsy Streisand; Steven Butler

DATELINE: Tokyo

HIGHLIGHT:

The newest trend can transform schools--or waste billions of dollars;

BODY:

There are so many students crammed into P.S. 14 in Queens, N.Y., that lunch is split into three shifts beginning at 10:25 a.m. To manage the traffic of 1,700 students, many of them recent immigrants from Latin America and South Asia, each grade level has its own designated exit door. An art studio and a science lab have been sacrificed for use as regular classrooms. Until two years ago, many students spent exercise periods in their classrooms because the school's gym was being used for regular studies. Dancing the macarena at their desks counted as physical education.

Most important, the size of P.S. 14's classes affects the way Rehana Longi teaches and the way her students learn. Angling her body to squeeze between desks, she struggles, unsuccessfully, to give each of her 34 fifth-grade students a few minutes of individual attention. During a 35-minute arithmetic lesson, she gets to check the answers of about 12 students. Creativity is limited. "There's a lot of emphasis on textbooks," she says. "It's got to be that way."

Not for many children in California. In Los Angeles's Hancock Park Elementary School, teacher Sandy Sutton spots one of the 20 students in her second-grade class struggling with a reading task. "Ssstttiiicckk," Sutton says, helping the girl sound out the word. Sutton says the shy kids in her class don't fade into the background as they once did. She can pinpoint slow readers within the first days of school and give them special attention. She can cover more ground during each class period.

In the past, Sutton routinely taught classes of 31 or 32 students and faced difficulties similar to Longi's. But last year the size of Sutton's class was cut under a wildly popular initiative pushed by Republican Gov. Pete Wilson to reduce the size of classes statewide in kindergarten through third grade. Sutton, for one, is thrilled at the change. "If I ever had to go back to that, I'd quit teaching," she declares.

The class-size cuts have already changed the look and feel of California's



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schools, where nearly an eighth of the nation's students are enrolled. In slightly over a year, the state has created at least 17,000 new classes and over half of the state's 1.9 million eligible students have been placed in classes of no more than 20 students. (In recent years California has had classes averaging 30 students.) Parents overwhelmingly say that smaller classes have increased their children's reading and writing skills. Perhaps most amazingly, parents in Beverly Hills and other affluent enclaves have begun shifting allegiances to public schools, in part because they are now guaranteed small classes similar to those offered by private schools.

As a result of the **class-size** initiative, Wilson's approval ratings are now the highest he has enjoyed. Democrats in the state legislature are singing the reform's praises. Even the state's teachers' unions have been silenced by surveys showing that over 90 percent of their members believe the class cuts have improved instruction.

"Silver bullet." As President Clinton and Congress fight in Washington over the wisdom of using national exams to spur school improvement, California has found that this bold solution has forged a rare alliance of educators, Democrats, Republicans, unions, and taxpayers. And California's **class-size** trend seems to be spilling into other states. The Wisconsin Senate last month approved a plan to spend up to \$ 50 million to reduce average **class sizes** in poor areas to 18 students or fewer. The move is "a silver bullet, a sure-fire, proven way to improve the quality of education," says Democratic state Sen. Chuck Chvala. New York, North Carolina, and several other states also have passed class-shrinking measures recently, and another half dozen are debating such steps. The issue is expected to be the center of discussion during a special session of the Florida legislature this fall.

But there is one catch: Reducing **class size** is expensive. California is spending \$ 2.5 billion over two years to cut **class size**, and the annual cost of sustaining the reform will start at about \$ 1.5 billion (a 7.5 percent increase in state-level education spending) and rise steadily as new teachers climb salary ladders. To reduce the average **class size** by 10 students nationally would cost on the order of \$ 85 billion for teachers alone. But while the California approach is politically popular, across-the-board cuts in **class size** are not the most cost-effective way to spend education money. As the **class-size** crusade spreads to other states, the question of how the reform is implemented--who benefits and who doesn't--deserves scrutiny. Smaller classes could be one of the most important school reforms of recent years--or a colossal waste of money.

The popularity of the **class-size** initiative stems in part from the perception among parents that increases in education spending over the years haven't found their way into classrooms. On the one hand, public-education spending has increased by at least 61 percent beyond inflation during the past 30 years, and the bulk of the money has been spent on hiring new teachers. Yet the size of regular classrooms has dropped only slightly, largely because the majority of the new teachers work with small groups of disabled students and others with special needs. Wilson rallied support for his expensive initiative by saying he would give subsidies only to those schools that actually succeeded in reducing **class size**. To voters, smaller **classes** are "the single strongest rationale for spending more money on schools," says pollster Celinda Lake of Lake Sosin Snell Perry & Associates. Indeed, nearly 60 percent of parents surveyed in a new U.S. News poll say they'd be more likely to vote for a



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political candidate who wants to raise taxes if the money went to pay for smaller **class sizes** in kindergarten through third grade. The poll was designed for U.S. News by Democrat Lake with Republican pollster Ed Goetas.

In some regions, large classes are a serious problem. While the average elementary **class size** in the nation's public schools has declined from 30 to 25 over the past four decades, poor urban school systems continue to struggle with overflowing classrooms. So do schools in Florida and other booming Sun Belt states. The problem isn't likely to ease: Enrollment is expected to increase by 2 million students nationally during the next decade.

In deciding to invest so heavily in smaller classes, Wilson's advisers relied on the findings of an experiment in Tennessee called Project STAR, the nation's only large, long-term study of **class size**. In 1985, Tennessee put 6,500 kindergartners in 330 **classes** of different **sizes**. A third of the **classes** had between 13 and 17 students; a third had between 22 and 26 students, the typical size of classrooms in the state; and a third had enrollments of 22 to 26 students plus a full-time teacher's aide. The students in small classes stayed in them for four years and then returned to larger ones in the fourth grade. The test scores and behavior of students in the small classes were better than those of kids in the larger classes. For instance, 69 percent of first graders in smaller classes passed the state's reading test, compared with 58 percent of students in larger groups. Teachers said students who had been in the smaller classes also paid closer attention, asked more questions, and had fewer discipline problems. They even participated more in school clubs and generally became more engaged in school life.

But the benefits that the Tennessee study found in smaller classes are easily squandered if implementation isn't handled properly. California, in reducing **class size**, might be lowering the quality of teaching. School districts have had to find teachers for the 18,000 new slots; as a result, nearly two thirds of the new hires have little or no teaching experience. In Los Angeles, new teachers have included Nordstrom clerks, a former clown, and several chiropractors. The state needs to hire 15,000 more teachers in the next 10 months. While some of the new blood may be good, education experts like Michael Kirst of Stanford University believe that the quality of many new hires is suspect--and the schools may be stuck with bad teachers for many years. Urban schools with a lot of tough-to-educate kids are suffering the most. Not only is it difficult to lure new teachers into the inner city but many of their best veterans are departing for openings created by the **class-size** initiative in often higher-paying and less stressful suburbs.

While students may be getting more attention, new teachers may be getting less. The California State University system, which trains 60 percent of the state's teachers, will start offering courses needed for teaching licenses over the Internet in January. Teachers-in-training will be able to earn a semester's course credit using a textbook and a 4 1/2-hour video of classroom techniques.

Some schools have resorted to steps that directly undermine the potential value of the **class-size** initiative. Last year many schools placed 40 students in single rooms with two teachers; in others, two teachers traded off teaching the entire group of 40 students. Some schools have even assigned three classes to two rooms, with each class rotating in and out during the day. "It was a nightmare," says Teri Ortt, a second-grade teacher at Hobart Elementary School



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in Los Angeles who was in such a "troika" system last year. "Teachers were constantly packing up their students and teaching materials, grabbing two hours of class time in the library or outside under a tree."

Breathing room. Smaller classes and more teachers require more classrooms than California schools can currently provide. Hundreds of schools have given up libraries and science labs for class space. Others have discontinued preschool and parent-education programs for lack of room. At Hancock Park, two third-grade classes are set up in the school's auditorium. Statewide, schools are parking portable classrooms on their playgrounds as fast as they can purchase them; more than 7,000 are already on back order. Several thousand of the portables in place are hastily constructed "temporary" structures that state law permits schools to use for only two years.

Many crowded inner-city schools--including 57 schools in Los Angeles--don't have room even for portables, however, and are thus unable to fully reduce **class sizes**. The state's richer suburban school systems, on the other hand, have room to expand and are reducing **class sizes** for a greater percentage of their students, officials say. Once the cost of new construction is considered, the true cost of the **class-size** initiative may be far higher than now projected.

Beyond the practical difficulties of introducing **class-size** cuts on a California-like scale, there is a more fundamental question: Is the effort to make this initiative broadly popular wasting money on students and schools where the impact will be minimal? All parents want their children in small classes, but the Tennessee STAR study found that smaller classes helped disadvantaged students, many of whom were African-American, more than they helped affluent students. Black students in the larger first-grade classes scored 14 percent below whites on a key reading test, but the gap narrowed to 4 percent in the smaller classes. A major study of **class size** to be released this fall by Rand of Santa Monica, Calif., reaches a similar conclusion: Smaller classes benefit students from low-income families most, middle-class kids less, and those from upper-income backgrounds least of all.

Efforts to reduce **class size** are more cost effective if focused on certain subjects. It makes more sense, experts say, to have larger groups during instruction in subjects such as music and to create smaller groupings during the teaching of reading, the most important elementary school subject. Over 700 schools have done just that as part of a reading program called Success for All, and the achievement results have been impressive. Robert Slavin, the Johns Hopkins University professor who developed the approach, says California could have improved instruction in its elementary schools dramatically for a fraction of the money it has spent simply by hiring and carefully training retired teachers and other part-timers as reading instructors to reduce the **size of classes** during the time reading is taught.

States that shrink **class size** by only a few students across the board will probably be throwing their money down the drain. Studies have shown that benefits become measurable only if classes are cut by a third or more--and even then such cuts may make only a marginal difference in affluent areas. Yet the 141,000-student Palm Beach County, Fla., school system just spent nearly \$ 6 million hiring 220 teachers to reduce **class sizes** in kindergarten through 12th grade by about one student per class. Part of the reason Tennessee succeeded was that its schools got STAR classes down to the very low average of 15 (often low-income) students--and even then many researchers considered the actual



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improvements in test scores to be modest, given the reform's cost. The new Rand study also suggests that there's more benefit to reducing **class sizes** in early elementary grades than in middle schools and high schools.

Reducing **class size** seems to be most effective in combination with other reforms. Evidence comes from a study of 16 low-income schools in Austin, Texas. In the late 1980s, each of the schools was awarded an extra \$ 300,000 a year for five years as part of a desegregation case. Fourteen of the schools spent the money to reduce **class size** and yet in five years didn't manage to improve student attendance or test scores. But the other two schools reduced **class size**, set higher standards, provided intensive teacher training, and established health clinics on their grounds to address physical problems that were keeping students from learning. Test scores and attendance both improved significantly at those schools.

Money is also wasted if classes get smaller but teachers don't adjust their styles. Yet teachers in schools that have cut **class sizes** often continue to use large-class techniques like relying on textbooks, instead of working directly with students, says Nikola Filby, a researcher at WestEd, a San Francisco-based think tank.

Japanese style. In fact, schools can get many of the benefits of smaller classes, without the cost, by making classes seem small. In Japan, where classes often include as many as 40 students, teachers involve students without relying on one-on-one contact by frequently asking small groups of students to present their findings to the entire class. They build self-discipline among students by giving them responsibilities like calling the class to order after recess. Japanese schools work hard to build bonds between teachers and students, devoting as many as 30 days a year to hiking excursions, festivals, and other activities, says Catherine Lewis, author of *Educating Hearts and Minds*, a study of Japanese schools. (Japan is, however, concerned that its education system discourages creativity and independent thinking, and a government panel recently recommended that the average **class size** of 29 students be lowered to help teachers nurture students' talents.)

In this country, Catholic schools, which have earned a reputation for doing a good job educating disadvantaged urban students, often have classes of over 30 students. They compensate with high expectations, traditional teacher lecturing, and a strong sense of community that makes kids feel cared about. And P.S. 14 shows that bulging big-city schools can work: A sense of order pervades the school, and teacher morale is surprisingly high.

Educationally, using smaller classes selectively produces the biggest dividends. It frees up money to spend on other reforms that dollar for dollar have produced greater increases in student achievement, such as high-quality teacher training and peer tutoring. Unfortunately, a targeted approach may undermine the political effectiveness of reducing **class size**. An instructive analogy is Social Security. It is arguably an incredibly inefficient way of reducing poverty among the aged because so many middle- and upper-income families benefit. Yet because the program was designed to be universal--helping seniors regardless of background--it has enjoyed broad support for decades. The **class-size** initiative may prove to be similar. California's approach may be an inefficient but reasonable compromise between what's substantively ideal and what's politically possible.



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**Class size**

States with largest and smallest average class sizes in 1993-94

LARGEST		SMALLEST	
state	students per class	state	students per class
1. California	30.1	1. Vermont	20.4
2. Maryland	28.7	2. S. Dakota	20.7
3. Utah	28.7	3. Kansas	21.0
4. Washington	28.6	4. Montana	21.5
5. Florida	27.7	5. Arkansas	21.6

Source: U.S. Dept. of Education

**Future shock**

Enrollment in the nation's schools is expected to grow by 2 million students during the next decade, making smaller classes tougher to achieve.

Students K-12

[Data for chart is not available.]

**Number of teachers**

[Data for chart is not available.]

Source: U.S. Dept. of Education

GRAPHIC: Picture, Crowd control. Rehana Longi's fifth-grade class at P.S. 14 in Queens has 34 kids. Giving attention to individuals is difficult. (Photography by Kenneth Jarecke--Contact for USN&WR); Picture, Close encounters. Sandra Kessler teaches her third-grade class at Carpenter Avenue Elementary School in Studio City, Calif. The class now has fewer than 20 students. (Photography by Kenneth Jarecke--Contact for USN&WR); Picture, Teacher school. California has hired 16,700 new teachers, including chiropractors and a former clown. Here, some trainees get instruction at the Lanai Road Elementary School in L.A. (Photography by Kenneth Jarecke--Contact for USN&WR); Picture, A popular reform. Shrinking **class size** has proved wildly popular. But the reform is most effective when targeted to low-income students, and when used for teaching reading. (Photography by Kenneth Jarecke--Contact for USN&WR)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 9, 1997



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LEVEL 2 - 1 OF 22 STORIES

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November 17, 1997

SECTION: OUTLOOK; UPDATE; Pg. 5

LENGTH: 430 words

HEADLINE: **Class size:** a cutting edge issue?

BYLINE: By Kent Jenkins Jr.

BODY:

Republican James S. Gilmore was elected governor of Virginia last week after a campaign dominated by his promise to cut an unpopular tax on cars. But a second issue, whose impact went largely unnoticed, also played a key role in the victory: Gilmore's promise to reduce the **size of classes** in elementary schools.

It is an idea whose political appeal is growing greater. In California, as reported by U.S. News ("Does **Class Size** Matter?" October 13), Gov. Pete Wilson has already won wide acclaim for a program to reduce **class size**. But Gilmore went even further, turning **class size** into a partisan issue. Don Beyer, the Democrat who lost to Gilmore, had campaigned under the slogan "Education First!" He proposed to improve education by significantly raising teachers' salaries--a notion that Virginians had supported in the past. By contrast, Gilmore promised to give teachers only a cost-of-living raise--and to apply the savings to hiring new teachers.

Virginia Democrats and Republicans both say their polls found that Gilmore's approach proved more popular with voters than Beyer's. This was particularly significant--and surprising--because support for education traditionally has been one of the great political strengths of the Democratic Party.

M. Boyd Marcus, a senior strategist for Gilmore, said he believes that even though the GOP candidate's proposed tax cut was hugely popular, taxes alone would not have turned the election. "[The **class-size** initiative] opened people's eyes and ears and showed them this guy was serious about education," said Marcus.

Gilmore's success could give the issue a big national boost with the GOP, which is seeking new ideas on education. Clinton Key, executive director of the Republican Governors Association, said he is certain that the question of **class size** will surface at the group's annual meeting later this month. The session will focus on education.

In Congress, reducing the **size of classes** may well attract GOP lawmakers who have had little success winning broad public support for such complex proposals as quasi-independent "charter schools" or taxpayer-funded vouchers that subsidize private-school tuition. Several Republican strategists say that class reduction is especially appealing because it is easy to understand and reflects



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common sense. The idea offers extra political appeal for Republicans with its emphasis on limiting teacher raises. That is one political gesture that won't be lost on the National Education Association, which has long been strongly Democratic.

GRAPHIC: Picture, A class issue for voters (Kenneth Jarecke--Contact for USN&WR)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: November 14, 1997



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## LEVEL 1 - 196 OF 201 STORIES

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I. INTRODUCTION

A number of authors have suggested that the U.S. will face a shortage of qualified teachers in the near future, especially in the areas of math and science. (1) School districts facing such a shortage could respond in a variety of ways. For instance, hiring standards could be lowered, teachers could be asked to teach outside their areas of certification, or, funds permitting, starting salaries could be increased in an effort to attract the most promising candidates.

Still another option would be to raise teaching loads (i.e., average class size or the number of classes taught), thus making do with fewer teachers. This option is particularly alluring in light of the fact that average class size has been falling rapidly in the U.S. over the last twenty years, and yet no strong connection between smaller classes and increased student learning has been established. (2)

There is, however, a possible hidden cost that needs to be investigated before recommending such a course of action. If teachers respond to larger or more frequent classes by quitting, then a district that tries to solve its hiring problems in this fashion could simply be increasing its demand for new teachers.

This paper uses data from the New York State Education Department's Personnel Master File for the years 1979 to 1989 in order to investigate whether an increased teaching load affects the likelihood that a teacher will leave his or her district. In order to obtain an unbiased sample of job lengths, the sample is restricted to full-time high school teachers who were newly hired in 1979. (3) We estimate a discrete-time hazard model in which teaching load is measured as the average class size taught by an individual, the number of classes taught, and the proportion of classes taught in the teacher's certified area. In interpreting our results we pay special attention to whether the behavior of math and science teachers differs from that of other teachers. This is an important issue because shortages of qualified teachers in these two areas



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are predicted to be especially acute.

## II. BACKGROUND

The market for teachers differs from a well-functioning neoclassical labor market in that salaries are determined through a political process involving various levels of government, the public, and often teachers unions. (4) If the demand for teachers increases as retirements and student enrollment increase, then starting salaries cannot be counted on to quickly move to the market-clearing level, and thus a shortage of teachers becomes a possibility. (5) Few observers, however, believe that there will be an actual shortage of warm bodies. The more likely scenario is that there will be a lack of teachers trained in specific areas and of high-quality teachers in general (see Murnane et al. 1991, 1-2 ).

Given a limited budget, what are the options available to a school district facing this type of shortage? The district could settle for hiring lower quality teachers, but this might be seen as an unnecessary measure, with long-term implications, taken in response to what could be a temporary situation. Another option that has been suggested is to increase teacher workloads. (6) Whether this option is workable depends, in part, on the exit decisions of teachers.

A large number of empirical studies have investigated the determinants of teacher turnover. However, no work specifically directed toward capturing the effect of increased teaching responsibilities on turnover has been done. (7) Without knowing whether such an effect exists, and what the magnitude of it might be, informed policy decisions at the district level in response to a shortage of qualified teachers becomes impossible.

Past studies have shown that the probability of a teacher leaving his or her job is high in the first few years after entering the profession, falls after the third year, (8) and again increases as the teacher nears retirement age (Murnane et al. 1991, 5963 ; Eberts 1987 ; Greenberg and McCall 1974 ). It is possible that as shortages materialize districts will be more reluctant to fire marginal teachers when they come up for tenure. Certainly the opposite is true: declining student enrollments during the 1970s led to increased terminations of younger teachers (Murnane 1981 ).

Higher salaries are another factor associated with greater retention of teachers (Rees 1991 ; Murnane and Olsen 1989; 1990 ; Baugh and Stone 1982 ). The effect of increased salaries is especially pronounced for beginning teachers (Murnane et al. 1991, 71-75 ).

Studies by Murnane et al. 1991, 67-71 and Murnane and Olsen 1990; 1989 have emphasized the role of outside opportunities in a teacher's decision to leave the profession. They find that higher teacher test-scores are associated with a greater likelihood of leaving, and that high school physics and chemistry teachers are more likely to leave than their colleagues in other areas. These results suggest the possibility that increased teaching responsibilities could drive out those teachers who are the most difficult to replace. (9)

Finally, factors associated with unionization seem to affect teacher exit behavior. Eberts 1987 shows that teacher turnover is reduced by the presence of layoff and class size provisions in the collective bargaining agreement. He argues that these provisions acted as guarantees against layoffs, and so are



viewed as a type of job benefit. Rees 1991 finds that stronger grievance procedures are associated with a lower probability of quitting, and argues that a union "voice effect" on quits is responsible. Both of these lines of research point to the importance of union rules and institutions in the exit decisions of teachers. Indeed, where there exist strong contract provisions with regard to the maximum number of hours in a day or students in a class, it would be difficult for a district to increase teaching loads in response to a shortage of qualified teachers. (10)

### III. THE DATA

Data for this study were primarily drawn from the New York State Education Department's Personnel Master File. (11) Every year the New York Education Department surveys all public school teachers in New York State, asking a wide range of questions having to do with personal characteristics and working conditions. Each teacher is assigned an ID that is constant across years, so it is possible to collect information on a teacher over the course of his or her career.

Our sample consists of 525 individuals, all of whom were newly hired by a district outside of New York City in the fall of 1979. (12) Only full-time academic teachers with pupils in grades 9 through 12 were included in the sample. (13)

A job separation was defined as a teacher leaving his or her district. Teachers were defined as having left their original 1979 school district if they did not appear in the Personal Master File for two years running, or if their district code changed and did not change back in the next year. It is common for teachers to take a leave of absence or a sabbatic. Therefore an absence of two years instead of one was used to indicate a separation. (14) In fact, many teachers in the sample were absent for one year and then returned to teaching in the same district. Those teachers who were not separated from their original district were followed until 1987, at which time they were right-censored. (15)

### IV. EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

#### Survival Analysis

A discrete hazard model was estimated to determine the correlates of teacher job turnover. This model provides estimates for the probability of experiencing a job separation conditional on the number of years employed. For example, it estimates the probability of experiencing a job separation in one's third year of job tenure conditional on still being employed in that third year.

More formally, a discrete-time hazard rate at time  $f$  is defined as

$$P_{\text{sub}.it} = \text{Prob} ( T_{\text{sub}.i} = t \mid T_{\text{sub}.i} \geq t, X_{\text{sub}.it} )$$

where  $T_{\text{sub}.i}$  is the period job  $i$  terminates, and  $X_{\text{sub}.it}$  is a vector of explanatory variables. It can be shown that the log likelihood function for estimating a discrete-time hazard rate is simply

Mathematical Expression Omitted



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where  $y_{it}$  equals one if a separation occurs at time  $t$  and zero otherwise, and  $t_{i}$  is the final period in which job  $i$  is observed. (16)

Since the above likelihood function is simply the likelihood function for the ordinary regression analysis of a limited dependent variable, it can be estimated using a standard maximum likelihood logit program. The only difference is that a unit of observation is no longer a job per se, but a job-year. (17)

Survival analysis was used previously to determine teacher job separations by Murnane and Olsen 1989; 1990, Willet and Singer 1988, Mark and Anderson 1978; 1985, and Whitener 1965, but these studies lacked information on class characteristics other than subject specialties.

#### Quits vs. Layoffs

There are basically two types of separations--involuntary and voluntary. The determinants of job quits versus job layoffs can be similar or quite different. We expect age to be correlated with fewer quits (as predicted by job-matching models) as well as fewer layoffs (as predicted by models with specific human capital or seniority), at least prior to retirement years. However, there are other variables, for example **class size**, that may act differently on quits than on layoffs. Smaller **class sizes** might be desirable and thus lessen quits. However, smaller **class sizes** might mean a school district's population is shrinking and it requires fewer teachers and so increases layoffs. Unfortunately, as in other studies of teacher turnover (Murnane and Olsen 1989; 1990, Eberts 1987, Grissmer and Kirby 1987, and Murnane 1981) quits and layoffs can not be distinguished. This muddies the analysis, but the issue will be addressed at least partially by taking into account the institution of tenure within the teaching profession.

#### The Explanatory Variables

Economic research on quit behavior typically begins with the assumption that workers compare the expected utility from staying at their current job with the expected utility that could be realized at the next best alternative. Ideally, then, one would like to have information on current working conditions and pecuniary rewards, and at least some proxies for these variables at alternative jobs.

Because of data limitations, most empirical studies have employed only broad (school or district level) measures of working conditions at the current job. Our specification, however, includes a number of teacher-specific variables relating to current working conditions. Those of primary interest are average **class size** (CSIZE), number of **classes** taught (CNUMBER), and the proportion of classes taught in the teacher's certified area (CERT). They serve as measures of the amount of stress, preparation time, and grading time involved in class room teaching. Also included in the vector  $X_{it}$  is a variable representing the average quality of students taught by a teacher (AQUAL).

In addition to the above measures, we employ a number of district-level explanatory variables, such as high school enrollment, the dropout rate, the percentage of students who go on to college, the percentage of white students, and the percentage of households in the district with children. These variables



are intended as indirect measures of working conditions at the current job. (18) Other district-level explanatory variables can be thought of as indicators of the availability and/or desirability of alternative employment, as well as influencing conditions at the current job. Median household income and the percentage of residents who live in an urban area fall into this category. (19)

We use starting salary as our measure of the expected pecuniary returns to remaining at the current job. Thus, following Finnie and Mont 1991 and Meitzen 1986, the entire salary projection path is conceptually collapsed into one variable. A number of teacher turnover studies have used current salary to measure the pecuniary returns to remaining on the job. This alternative approach yielded similar results to those reported below. (20)

Finally, previous work has shown that many personal characteristics such as age, sex, and job tenure influence job separations, both for workers in general (Finnie and Mont 1991, Light and Ureta 1990, Meitzen 1986) and teachers in particular (e.g., Jacobsen and Sweet 1982, Greenberg and McCall 1974). A group of personal variables was therefore included in the empirical specification, although race and ethnic background variables were not available. A list of all independent variables employed in this study can be found in Table I. Means and standard deviations are shown in Table II.

TABLE I

## Variable Definitions

From the New York State Education Department's Personnel Master File, 1979-1989

## Time Varying:

CNUMBER number of classes taught

CERT percent of classes taught in area of certification

AQUAL AQUAL is the average of a "quality of students" variable for each class taught.

The "quality of students" variable for each class is coded as follows:

1 = below average

2 = average

3 = above average

Class quality was determined by the teacher.

CSIZE average class size

CSIZESQ CSIZE squared

BELOW a dummy variable equal to one if a teacher's average class size is



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below the

mean **class size** of the sample

ABOVE a dummy variable equal to one if a teacher's average **class size** is above the

mean **class size** of the sample

YR1 dummy equal to one if the first year on this job

YR456 dummy equal to one if the fourth, fifth, or sixth year on the job

YR789 dummy equal to one if the seventh, eighth, or ninth year on the job

(note: the ninth year is the last year observed)

Time Invariant:

FEMALE dummy variable equal to one if female

SALARY starting salary in thousands of \$ 1979

AGE age in years

EXPER years of teaching experience prior to starting the observed job

PHD dummy variable equal to one if teacher holds a Ph.D.

From the NYS Education Department's Institutional Master File, 1979-1987

Time Varying:

ENROLL the high school enrollment of the teacher's school district in thousands

PDROP the percentage of high school students in a teacher's school district that drop

out of school each academic year

P4YEAR the percentage of high school seniors in a teacher's school district that graduate

and go on to attend a four year college

PWHITE percentage of high school students in a teacher's school district that are white



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From the 1980 Census of the Population: School District File

Time Invariant:  
 PURBAN percentage of residents in a teacher's school district that live in an  
 urban area PHHWC percentage of families in a teacher's school district that  
 have children MHI79 The median household income of residents in a teacher's  
 school district in 1979,

in thousands of 1979 dollars

TABLE II

Sample Means

(standard deviations in parentheses)

	Mean
FEMALE	0.631 (0.48)
SALARY	14.988 (4.63)
AGE	31.966 (8.03)
CNUMBER	5.013 (0.81)
CERT	0.983 (0.10)
PHD	0.013 (0.11)
EXPER	7.295 (6.43)
AQUAL	2.035 (0.45)



CSIZE	20.763
	(4.77)
CSIZESQ	453.839
	(192.70)
YR1	0.156
	(0.36)
YR456	0.215
	(0.41)
YR789	0.126
	(0.33)
ENROLL	1.285
	(3.24)
PDROP	0.027
	(0.02)
P4YEAR	0.172
	(0.20)
PWHITE	0.742
	(0.22)
PURBAN	0.507
	(0.47)
PHHWC	0.679
	(0.09)
MH179	19.753
	(5.86)

n = 1362

### Results



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Initially we divided the sample according to whether an individual taught in the math and sciences or in another discipline. A log-likelihood ratio test indicated that very little is gained in explanatory power by dividing the sample along these lines. (21) In other words, it would seem that the exit behavior of math and science teachers is not significantly different from their colleagues specializing in other academic areas. Thus the hazard model estimations, reported in Table III, are for the full sample of teachers. The first specification (column 1), which does not include district variables, is rejected at the 99 percent confidence level in favor of a specification in which district variables are included (column 2). This result indicates the importance of these variables as correlates of teacher attrition.

TABLE III

## Hazard Estimation Results: Full Sample

	(1)	(2)
CONSTANT	1.338 (1.33)	1.384 (1.10)
FEMALE	-.202 (1.57)	-.324 (1.22)
SALARY	-.077 (**) (3.75)	-.069 (**) (2.34)
AGE	.032 (**) (2.44)	.051 (**) (3.37)
CNUMBER	-.073 (0.87)	-.061 (0.66)
CERT	-.983 (*) (1.76)	-.982 (*) (1.69)
PHD	.219 (.46)	.137 (0.23)
EXPER	-.020 (1.04)	-.079 (*) (1.69)
AQUAL	-.398 (**) (2.79)	-.803 (**) (4.97)



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CSIZE	-.091 (*)	-.217 (**)
	(1.81)	(2.96)
CSIZESQ	.0025 (**)	.0051 (**)
	(2.07)	(2.99)
YR1	1.490 (**)	.697
	(9.09)	(2.47)
YR456	.022	-.104
	(.12)	(0.52)
YR789	-.246	-.067
	(1.16)	(0.27)
ENROLL		-.007
		(0.27)
PDROP		5.888
		(1.15)
P4YEAR		-1.172
		(1.09)
PWHITE		-.602
		(1.15)
PURBAN		-.276
		(1.08)
PHHWC		-2.23 (*)
		(1.81)
MHI79		.054 (**)
		(2.11)
-2 Xlog likelihood	1758.01	1418.58
job endings	392	285
observations	2078	13262



(\*) significant at 90% confidence level

(\*\*) significant at 95% confidence level  
absolute t-statistics in parentheses

**Student Quality.** Student quality is found to be significantly linked to the probability of observing a separation. As indicated by the negative coefficient, higher levels of student quality lessened the probability of a teacher leaving. No rationale could be developed for why student quality would be linked to layoffs. District characteristics such as income are controlled for, and the sample does not include special education teachers who might experience a different susceptibility to budget cuts than regular teachers. Therefore, it is hypothesized that higher student quality diminished quits. Teaching students with higher abilities might be associated with different amount of flexibility and variability in curriculum, fewer disciplinary problems, or a different level of personal satisfaction.

**Average Class Size.** The estimated coefficients of average class size (CSIZE) and class size squared (CSIZESQ) indicate that at low average class sizes, cutting class size would increase turnover, and at high levels of average class size cutting class size would decrease turnover. The turning point, in fact, occurs at just about the sample mean. (22) One explanation for this could be that the first effect is a result of layoffs and the second effect is the result of quits. In other words, when class sizes shrink to very small levels positions are eliminated, but when class sizes get too big teachers quit because of poor working conditions. Since we are interested in the determinants of teacher retention vis-à-vis quits, this poses a problem.

One way to address this issue is to re-estimate the model separately for teachers with four or more years of experience and for teachers with less than four years of experience. All teachers in New York State who enter their fourth year of full-time permanent employment have tenure. It is very difficult to fire them, and they are less susceptible to layoffs than nontenured teachers. The coefficients for average class size and class size squared obtained using these subsamples (reported in Table IV) show no substantial difference from the results for the full sample. Although the tenured sample is not immune from layoffs, the results provide some support for the hypothesis that the observed effect of average class size is being driven by quits.

TABLE IV

Results from Sample Divided by Length of Job Tenure

	4 or more years (a)	Less than 4 years
CONSTANT	1.22 (0.81)	2.49 (0.83)
FEMALE	-.197	-1.01



## Economic Inquiry, January, 1996

	(1.11)	(1.40)
SALARY	-.062 (**) (2.27)	-.073 (*) (1.86)
AGE	.047 (**) (2.49)	.087 (**) (2.56)
CNUMBER	-.031 (0.29)	-.164 (0.73)
CERT	-.350 (0.46)	-2.479 (*) (1.65)
PHD	.078 (0.12)	1.48 (0.64)
EXPERIENCE	.025 (0.65)	-.851 (*) (3.21)
AQUAL	-.818 (4.20)	-.627 (*) (1.83)
CSIZE	-.124 (*) (1.94)	-.165 (**) (2.82)
CSIZESQ	.0047 (**) (2.43)	.0046 (**) (2.04)
YR789	-.012 (0.06)	NA (b)
ENROLL	-.012 (0.30)	.002 (**) (2.17)
PDROP	8.47 (1.36)	1.58 (0.12)
P4YEAR	-2.12 (*) (1.87)	4.52 (**) (3.62)
PWHITE	-.333	-2.495 (**)



	(0.46)	(3.03)
PURBAN	-.357	-.541
	(1.21)	(0.86)
PHHWC	-3.317(**)	5.376(*)
	(2.26)	(1.83)
MH179	.089(**)	-.002(**)
	(2.90)	(2.30)
-2 X log likelihood	556.83	626.7
job endings	88	207
observations	761	601

(\*) significant at 90% confidence level

(\*\*) significant at 95% confidence level

absolute t-statistics in parentheses

(a) The sample for this specification consists of only those teachers who were in the previous sample but did not experience a job separation prior to their fourth year of teaching. This means that all teachers in this sample are tenured. (b) not applicable for this sample.

To further investigate this issue, expected separation probabilities were estimated to examine the magnitude of the average **class size** effect above and below the turning point. Again, it turns out that this point is just below the sample mean in every case. Therefore, expected separation probabilities were computed using actual **class size**, and 60 percent, 80 percent, 120 percent and 140 percent of average **class size**. The expected separation probability estimated using actual **class size**, of course, preserves the sample mean.

The expected separation probabilities were estimated as follows: average **class size** was set equal to  $.6 \times \text{CSIZE}$  and **class size** squared was set equal to the square of  $.6 \times \text{CSIZE}$  for every observation in the sample used to estimate the model in column 2. Then the probability of observing a separation for every observation in the sample was computed using the parameter estimates in column 2. The mean of these probabilities is the predicted separation rate conditional on a 40 percent decrease in average **class size**. The same method was used for the other levels of average **class size**.

These results are presented in Table V. They demonstrate that the practical



significance of the average **class size** effect is much larger above the mean (when increases in average **class size** are associated with a higher probability of a job separation) than they are below the mean (when increases in average **class size** are associated with a lower probability of a separation). Increasing average **class size** by 40 percent is predicted to increase the separation rate from .209 to .349, an increase of 67 percent. Decreasing average **class size** by 40 percent only increases the separation rate from .209 to .218, an increase of less than 5 percent.

In Table VI, we split average **class size** and average **class size** squared into four variables, allowing for unrelated effects of average **class size** above and below the mean. The results in Table VI suggest that there is no significant relationship between average **class size** and the probability of a job separation when average **class size** is below the sample mean. A positive relationship between job separations and increases in average **class size** is found above the sample mean. Although the coefficient on the above-average **class size** variable is negative, it must be remembered that this variable is equal to zero for every observation where average **class size** is less than the sample mean. When average **class size** is equal to or above the sample mean, the combined effect of above-average **class size** and its square is such that an increase in average **class size** leads to an increase in the probability of a job separation. This supports the hypothesis that small **class sizes** are not associated with layoffs, but large **class sizes** are associated with quits. (23)

**Number of Classes.** There was no statistically significant correlation between the number of classes taught and turnover. Teachers with smaller class loads might have more administrative duties and thus may be more likely to leave their jobs for administrative positions, whereas teachers with very high class loads might leave their jobs looking for better working conditions. It may be that these two effects counterbalance each other, leading to no relationship between **class size** and turnover.

**Proportion of Classes Taught in Area of Certification.** Although there was not much variance in this variable, it still was found to be significantly correlated with the probability of separation. The probabilities reported in Table V suggest, holding other factors constant, that decreasing the percentage of classes taught in one's area of certification by 10 percent is likely to increase the job separation rate by approximately 3 percent. Once again, teaching out of one's certification area could either be considered a poor working condition that inspires quits, or a sign that one's skills are not those required by a school district, inspiring layoffs. However, very few teachers taught less than 80 percent of their classes in their area of certification, so even in the most extreme case most classes were being taught within a teacher's specialty. This combined with the negative coefficient of CERT in the model using only tenured teachers (see Table IV), seems to suggest that this may be more of a quit effect than a layoff effect.

TABLE VI

Allowing for Different Effects of **Class Size** above and

below Its Mean.<sup>sup.a</sup>



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BELOW x CSIZE	-.087 (0.92)
BELOW x CSIZESQ	-.0033 (0.79)
ABOVE x CSIZE	-.217 (**) (1.99)
ABOVE x CSIZESQ	.0053 (**) (2.06)
-2 x log likelihood	1236.51
job endings	285
observations	1362

(\*) significant at 90% confidence level

(\*\*) significant at 95% confidence level

absolute t-statistics in parentheses

(a) Other coefficients suppressed

#### TABLE V

Mean Probability of Job Separation.sup.a

Baseline.sup.b	.209
Year 1	.331
Years 2-3	.229
Years 4-6	.167
Years 7-9	.091
Females	.198
Males	.230



.6 x Average Class Size	.218
.8 x Average Class Size	.214
Actual Average Class Size <sup>sup.C</sup>	.209
1.2 x Average Class Size	.242
1.4 x Average Class Size	.349
.8 x Salary	.261
.9 x Salary	.246
Actual Salary <sup>sup.c</sup>	.209
1.1 x Salary	.196
1.2 x Salary	.183
.8 x % Classes in Certification Area	.227
.9 x % Classes in Certification Area	.216
Actual % Classes in Certification Area	.209

(a) The method for computing these mean probabilities is described in section IV.

(b) Baseline is computed by taking the average of the predicted probability of observing a job separation for each observation in the sample. This is equivalent to the percentage of observations experiencing a job separation, i.e.  $285/1362 = .209$ .

(c) Equivalent to the baseline.

**Job Length.** As predicted by standard job-matching models and as found in numerous other job separation studies, the probability of job separations decreases with job length (Finnie and Mont 1991, Meitzen 1986). (24) The expected separation probabilities generated for Table V predict that the turnover rate in the first year is .331. This drops to .229 for the next two years even before the tenure decision occurs. By years seven, eight, and nine, this drops further to .091. These predictions are in keeping with national statistics on teacher quit rates. (25)

**Salary.** As expected, higher salaries were associated with fewer quits. In the past there has been some conflicting evidence on the effect of salaries on



teacher attrition. At least one study, Eberts 1987 , was unable to find a statistically significant relationship between salary and attrition rates, while other studies have found strong evidence of a negative relationship between salary and the probability that a teacher leaves his or her district (Murnane and Olsen 1989; 1990 ; Baugh and Stone 1982 ). Our estimates suggest that, holding other factors constant, a 10 percent increase in starting salaries would lower attrition rates by approximately 6 percent.

District Variables. Estimates from the full and tenured samples suggest that as median household income in a district rises, teachers are more likely to leave their job. This result might be ascribed to the availability of better non-teaching opportunities in higher-income districts. In the sample of teachers with less than four years of experience, the opposite relationship is found. For these newer teachers it is possible that working conditions associated with the higher-income districts may out weigh the more attractive non-teaching alternatives.

Other results also suggest that teachers with less than four years of experience are quite sensitive to changes in workplace conditions. For these teachers, the relationship between high school enrollment and the probability of separation is positive, a result perhaps indicative of the increased bureaucracy in larger districts. Also, an increase in the percentage of students who are white is associated with a decrease in turnover for these teachers.

The results with regard to the percentage of students entering a four-year college after graduation and the percentage of families with children are somewhat puzzling. In the non-tenured sample the relationship between these variables and the probability of separation is positive, whereas in the tenured sample it is negative. An explanation for this pattern of results may be that tenure standards at the schools with better students and a more supportive public are higher, but after having received tenure these qualities are associated with an easier, more rewarding job.

Personal Characteristics. Age was found to be positively associated with job turnover, although the large bulk of the sample was not near retirement. This result is contrary to what has been found for the population in general, and is even at odds with studies of teachers' turnover. (26) However, upon closer observation these results are in line with prior expectations. The interpretation of the age variable must be made in light of the fact that previous teaching experience is included in the estimation. Given the same previous teaching experience, an older teacher is likely to have more nonteaching experience and thus more nonteaching opportunities.

Previous teaching experience was found to be negatively related to the probability of job separation, as expected. The estimated coefficients for female teachers and Ph.D.s were not statistically significant.

## V. CONCLUSION

We included classroom characteristics in an estimation of the job separation rate of teachers, and found these to be significant correlates of job separation. In particular, average class size was found to be positively associated with the job separation of high school teachers, although this effect begins to occur at roughly the mean average class size in the sample. Similarly,



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teaching outside one's area of certification was also associated with higher job separation rates. It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that efforts to reduce education costs by increasing **class size** and asking teachers to teach outside their areas of certification may be undermined by increased teacher turnover. However, controlling for average **class size**, the number of **classes** taught seems to have no effect on teacher separation rates.

Separate estimations were conducted for science and math teachers and for teachers of other academic subjects. Log likelihood ratio tests do not support the hypothesis that science and math teachers' turnover is structurally different from that of other high school teachers.

The population of high school age children in New York State is predicted to rise 6.8 percent from 1995 to the year 2000 (New York State Council on Children and Families 1988). Without adjusting the number of teachers accordingly to maintain present average **class sizes**, the hazard function we estimate would predict a corresponding 7.2 percent increase in teacher turnover, from .209 to .224. (27) Our results suggest that to keep turnover rates constant without increasing teaching staff size would require an increase in starting salaries (and the corresponding salary scale for other teachers) by between 5 and 10 percent. In determining a cost-minimizing strategy, school districts will have to balance an increase in turnover costs with potential increases in labor costs.

There is an important caveat, however. Some teacher quits involve teachers moving to other districts, as opposed to leaving the profession. If all school districts raised salaries (or increased average **class size**, for that matter) the effect may not be as large as those predicted above. This is because the effects of higher salaries or **class sizes** estimated here reflect the impact of having a particular salary level or **class size** level relative to other districts. In order to more clearly address policy from a statewide or nationwide perspective, as opposed to a school district perspective, we would need data that enabled us to distinguish between teachers moving from one district to another and those leaving the profession altogether. Unfortunately, this information was not available to us. Therefore these estimates serve as an upper bound on teacher exit effects.

Nevertheless, we can conclude that class load variables, used here for the first time in a study of teacher job turnover, are important correlates of teacher attrition. Any future studies of teacher attrition or policy recommendations in this area should incorporate them into their analysis.

(1.) See, for instance, Murnane et al. 1991, 1-2 or Haggstrom et al. 1988, 2. Predictions of teacher shortages are typically made on the basis of two facts: (1) the large cohort of teachers hired during the 1950s and 1960s is reaching retirement age, and (2) public school enrollment is rising as the children of the baby boomers enter and advance through the school system. (2.) According to a report by the National Education Association 1987, 34, the mean number of pupils taught per day by secondary and departmentalized elementary teachers fell from 134 in 1971 to 97 in 1986.

See Hanushek 1989 for a review of the literature in this area. Hanushek identified 152 studies in which the teacher/pupil ratio was used as an explanatory variable in an education production function. Of these 152 studies



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only 14 found a statistically significant positive relationship between the teacher/pupil ratio and student achievement. (3.) The sample was restricted to newly hired teachers in order to assure a random sample of job spells. The unit of analysis in hazard rate estimation is the job spell, not the teacher, per se (see Lancaster 1990 , Allison 1984 , Cox and Oakes 1984 , Kalbfleisch and Prentice 1980 ). Selecting a sample consisting of aR job spells currently in process in a given year oversamples long spells, and creates a non-random sample of job lengths. This type of sample is sometimes referred to as a stock, as by Lancaster 1990 , or straddled sample, as by Sheps and Menken 1973 . If, for example, job tenure had no effect on termination rates whatsoever (i.e., an exponential distribution), a stock sample would have job lengths on average twice as long as a random sample of job lengths (Lancaster 1990, 95 ). It is for this reason that only new hires were sampled (i.e., a flow sample that is random in job lengths) instead of all teachers employed in 1979. (4.) See Fogel and Lewin 1974 for a general discussion of public sector wage determination. Also see Ehrenberg and Schwarz 1986 . (5.) Weaver 1983, 5-19 identifies two twenty-year periods (1908-1928 and 1950-1970) in which there were general shortages of qualified teachers. Shortages of math and science teachers seem to be more frequent. Avoiding shortages in these areas

will inevitably require some form of differentiating salary incentives...The resistance to this solution will likely come from the teaching profession itself...Merit pay and other forms of differential compensation, apart from seniority and credentials, have had, to say the least, a less than enthusiastic response from organized teacher groups (Weaver 1983, 124 ). (6.) For instance, according to Weaver 1983, 80 , i n the short term, adjustment m average **class size** is the most probable policy action in response to a teacher shortage because of its direct and immediate effect...budget

savings. (7.) Rees 1991 found a small but positive effect of **class size** on the probability that a teacher left his or her district. His sample, however, included elementary as well as secondary school teachers. Because **class size** could potentially mean quite different levels of stress and effort for these two groups, it is not clear how to interpret his results. Also, Rees did not include a measure of the number of classes taught in his estimations which could have led to biased results. (8.) Tenure decisions are generally made at the end of a teacher's third year. (9.) Our data permit us to test if an increased teaching



load has a particularly adverse impact on the retention of science teachers. However, because we have no test-score data, we cannot examine whether there is an interaction between "ability" and teaching load. (10.) In addition to the factors discussed in this section, personal and community characteristics have also been shown to be important determinants of teacher attrition. All teachers in this sample are unionized. (11.) Other data sources are detailed in Table 1. (12.) Some teachers arrived with experience from private schools or other public school districts. The rules governing inter-district movement within the New York City school system are unique, and it is for this reason that New York City teachers were excluded from the sample. (13.) Teachers specializing in physical, special, and industrial education, the fine arts, and various types of non-academic fields were excluded from the sample. Full-time was defined as a teacher who taught four or more classes in 1979 and was reported to be working at least 80 percent of a full work load. (14.) Models were estimated using a one-year absence as a job separation as well. The results were not significantly different from those reported below. Since some of these absent teachers re-appeared the following year (e.g., returning from a sabbatic) two-year absences were our preferred definition for a job separation. (15.) Determining if a teacher left his or her district in 1987 actually required examining the 1988 and 1989 Personnel Master Files. (16.) Some observed job spells were still in progress at the end of the sampling frame. That is, the beginning of the job was observed but not its ending. According to Lancaster 1990 these "right censored" observations do not typically lead to bias or consistency problems. (17.) It can be shown that estimates from the discrete-time hazard model are also estimates of the underlying continuous-time proportional hazard model. For the derivation of this log likelihood function and a discussion of its properties, see Allison 1982. For a good introduction to survival analysis in general see Allison 1984. For more formal treatments, see Lancaster 1990, Cox and Oakes 1984, and Kalbfleisch and Prentice 1980. (18.) The percentage of households with children may be positively related to the level of support a school system receives from the community it serves. (19.) Of the district variables, the percentage of residents living in an urban area, the percentage of households with children, and median household income are time invariant and refer to 1979. (20.) The estimated coefficient of the salary variable changed from  $-.069$  to  $-.081$ . The estimated coefficients and t-statistics of the other explanatory variables in the model did not change appreciably. (21.) This test was performed at a 95 percent confidence level. (22.) The turning point for the model with district variables is 20.98. The sample mean for **class size** for this sample is 20.76. The turning point for the model without the district variables is slightly below the mean at 18.2. (23.) Another way of trying to disentangle quit from layoff effects would be to split the sample into those districts with growing enrollments and those with declining enrollments. Districts with growing enrollments presumably face fewer layoff pressures. Unfortunately, the large majority of school districts in New York had falling enrollments over this time period and so this strategy was not used. Instead, a variable was constructed equalling the percent change in district enrollments over the time period. This variable was included in the analysis and interacted with **CSIZE** and **CSIZESQ**, (average **class size** and **class size squared**). The estimated coefficients of all three terms were negative, a result consistent with the hypothesis that there are fewer terminations when enrollments increase (or decrease less). However, only the coefficient of the percent change variable was statistically significant. The results with regard to the other explanatory variables in the model did not appreciably change.



Another possible criticism of this basic finding is that **class size** is endogenous. For instance, it may be that popular teachers draw large enrollments and are also more likely to be happy and well liked by administrators. This source of endogeneity would most likely mitigate against finding a positive relationship between **class size** and teacher turnover. (24.) Hazard functions with dummy variables for each year (one through nine) were also estimated. However, a log likelihood test failed to reject the restricted models reported in Table III. (25.) According to Grissmer and Kirby 1987, 38-39, at two years after entry just under 40 percent of all teachers have left their district, as compared to approximately 48 percent in our data. That is,  $.331 + (1.331) .229 = .484$ . (26.) For instance, Eberts 1987, 18 found a negative relationship between turnover and age until a teacher approached his or her fortieth birthday. (27.) A simulation was run similar to those reported in Table V with CSIZE and CSIZESQ being allowed to grow by 6.8 percent.

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# Making BIG SCHOOLS SMALLER

By Timothy B. Berkey  
From *The High School Magazine*

**R**ESearch on the relationship between size of the school population and students' academic performance is inconclusive and fails to establish any clear implication for educators to follow. Public perception, however, appears to be married to the notion that students will be more successful in schools with smaller student populations. With this intuitive hunch unvalidated by research, educational leaders find themselves pressured into making decisions to use scarce financial resources to build smaller or additional school buildings rather than focusing on programs and initiatives that make significant improvements in teaching and learning.

In my five years as Principal and Assistant Superintendent at Adlai E. Stevenson High School, in the Chicago suburb of Lincolnshire, Illinois, we've grown from 2,100 to over 3,000 students and participated in a suc-

cessful referendum campaign that expanded the campus to accommodate future growth to a school of 4,000 by the turn of the century.

My experience is that size of school population has little to do with potential enhancements to be made by investing resources in school programs and initiatives that will have direct impact on academic, personal, and social development of students. Bricks and mortar won't change schools; people and programs will.

*Timothy B. Berkey is Principal and Assistant Superintendent, Adlai E. Stevenson High School, Lincolnshire, Illinois. Condensed from The High School Magazine, 3 (June/July 1996), 22-26, published by National Association of Secondary School Principals, from which related educational materials are available by contacting NASSP, 1904 Association Drive, Reston, VA 20191 (phone: 703-860-0200).*

Therefore, to deal with public fear of large schools—and more important, create successful school environments—we must look for ways to make big schools smaller. A cornerstone of making big schools smaller is to design a restructured organization that captures the individual attention provided to students in small schools *while taking advantage of the rich and broad opportunities that present themselves in large school programs.*

We introduced a school-within-a-school arrangement. We organized a 21-member transition task force made up of students, parents, teachers, and administrators to examine other school-within-a-school models and identify key elements that would meet the needs of our organization. Here are some of the features we found important in our design:

- Establish zoned areas of campus called "houses" in which students take the majority of their core subjects while also allowing for movement to other houses for electives or courses not available within one's house.

- Provide additional travel time only for students who need to move to a classroom outside their house. There is no need to put the entire school in the hallways for additional travel time.

- Allow students access to their friends regardless of house assignment. For example, although we have two cafeterias, students can use either one to meet with friends assigned to other houses.

- Give teachers the opportunity to determine their own assignments. Some of our teachers prefer to stay

within a given house while others like to teach in a second location.

- Avoid creating artificial barriers between each house. Students and staff are not looking for separation but for the continuation of a sense of unity. We did not divide our athletic teams, student government, or clubs based on the school-within-a-school arrangement.

- Locate student services within each house. We have assigned counselors, deans, and social workers to students within a given house. Siblings are assigned to the same house to maintain close relationships between families and student services personnel.

## Student Services

A frequent criticism of large schools is that students will go unnoticed and "fall between the cracks," an understandable concern of parents who have watched their child experience difficulty in school and get little or no attention from school personnel. The key to providing effective student services is in the monitoring process.

This process can begin prior to the first day of school for entering freshmen. During the spring, our counselors meet with junior-high and middle-school personnel to identify students who are experiencing academic, social, or personal problems and therefore need to be monitored closely as they enter high school.

As they enroll in our school, each student is assigned to a student support team consisting of a guidance counselor, dean, and social worker. The team meets on a regular basis and

reviews academic, behavioral, and personal/social information about students assigned to them.

Appropriate strategies are discussed and formulated with a lead person within the team designated to carry out the plan and report back at the next meeting. Team members contact parents and, when necessary, involve outside agencies and resources to assist the student. Teachers, support staff members, and administrators are encouraged to report any important information about students to the appropriate student support team.

Drop-in service is available to all students throughout the day. A word of caution, however—make sure the secretarial staff get the name of the student who stops by when everyone is busy or out of the office. It's important to know immediately who may need assistance.

### Academic Support Services

Academic support services are also important. Remember the good old days when grades were reported every six weeks? Somewhere along the line, administrators got the bright idea that nine-week grading periods would be less costly and more efficient. Teachers rallied around this idea as they saw an opportunity to reduce some of the voluminous paperwork that comes with the job. Did anyone think about the impact on students and parents? Probably not.

Several years ago, we made the decision to go back to six-week periods with a progress report at each interim. Every three weeks, parents

get feedback about the academic performance of their students.

Once a problem is identified, be ready to put a series of support services in place. At Stevenson, we have developed a progression of tutorial services to assist students with their studies:

- Resource centers staffed by teachers, peer tutors, and community volunteers who can provide daily tutoring throughout the school day;

- Guided study halls where students can get help in a small group arrangement rather than in a large study hall;

- Mentor programs for students who need instruction in study skills and academic intervention.

If these services fail to bring about improved results, the student is targeted for a full case study for possible special education services.

The results of these services have been outstanding. Not only have we reduced the dropout/failure rate for the entire school population, we have been able to help students by intervening at a much earlier stage of a problem.

As schools become larger, teachers begin to feel isolation from their colleagues as common lunch and preparation times become less frequent. Important sharing among teachers of similar curricula can suffer unless the school pays close attention to the need for people to meet. There are several ways to accomplish this:

- Provide shortened school days for teachers to meet for a couple of hours before the students arrive;

- Arrange for substitute coverage

when a group of teachers needs a large block of time to resolve issues or complete special projects.

- Fund curriculum team proposals that allow teachers to meet on weekends or during summer months.

Although you will never be able to resolve all the concerns teachers express about lack of meeting time, placing designated times in the school calendar is a step toward building a greater sense of teamwork and collegiality in a large school environment.

### Staff Development

This brings us to the area of staff development. For many years, schools have used a menu approach in their staff development programs, allowing teachers to independently select items of interest from a list that is usually determined by some type of needs assessment.

The problem with this approach is that teachers miss the opportunity to work together to integrate their new knowledge and skills in common areas of instruction. In large school environments, it becomes even more problematic with teachers going in so many different directions that staff development becomes an activity rather than a meaningful experience that finds its way back into the classroom.

Three years ago, we decided to provide teachers with the opportunity to select a strand from our staff development as a curriculum team or department instead of as an individual. The vast majority of teachers took us up on the offer and decided to use the team approach.

The results have been amazing. Not only have teachers integrated their new skills in the classroom, our students have set new academic records for virtually every internal and external indicator monitored by the school.

### Cocurricular Offerings

The most frequent complaint you will hear from parents as a school grows is about the cocurricular program. Students who get cut from an athletic team or don't get the lead in the school play can be dramatic examples of the negative aspects of growth unless you plan and prepare for improvements in your cocurricular offerings.

Several years ago, we created a special task force to study our athletic, fine arts, club, and intramural opportunities and devise a plan to at least maintain the percentage of students involved in cocurriculars as the school grows.

Here are some of the strategies that were suggested:

- Create a pyramid of teams for each sport that involves a try-out and cut roster approach. For example, it made sense for us to run multiple levels of soccer, baseball, and basketball in grades 9 and 10.

- Provide more intramural activities and allow the programs to share in the use of athletic facilities.

- Support involvement in community service projects by providing bus transportation and adult supervision after school.

- Identify a process for students to start a new club or organization within the school. ▶

This brings me to the subject of parent partnerships. It has always surprised me how many parents drop off their children at our school but rarely step inside our schoolhouse doors. I don't believe this is a function of apathy but more of lack of familiarity with a large school campus. To overcome this, I recommend inviting them into the school.

I don't mean open house. Ask parents to meet with you while school is in session. Throughout the school year, I invite every ninth-grade parent to join me for a meeting, tour of campus, and lunch in the student cafeteria.

After all, if you want to relieve the anxiety parents may be feeling about the size of the school, show them the busiest place on campus. Not all of my parents come to the luncheons, but those who do walk away as partners of a campus that reflects a calm, organized, and friendly environment conducive to learning.

### Defrosting the Look

A final area for consideration is building aesthetics. How many of us have walked into school facilities and immediately felt the cold and impersonal message left by a lack of attention to aesthetics? This problem becomes magnified in large buildings with numerous entrances and hallways that look institutional instead of friendly.

Our students, teachers, and parents have enjoyed working together on projects that have enhanced the physical environment of the school: flags of the United Nations hung in

the student cafeteria, student art galleries, framed art posters of famous works, displays of school memorabilia and historical artifacts, student and professional murals, and enlarged pictures of everyday student life.

You can take decisive action to overcome the potential impact of large school size by focusing district efforts on strategies that will remove school size as a key issue in your restructuring and school improvement efforts. By paying close attention to the needs of students, parents, and staff, you can transform your school into a friendly and nurturing environment where each member of the school family takes ownership in success. **ED**



"It gets worse. In high school, you learn this all over again—in other languages!"

# TOUGHER DISCIPLINE, SAFER SCHOOLS

By Mike Rose  
From *American Teacher*

It should come as no surprise that Corpus Christi, Texas, was one of the first districts to make good use of a new Texas law that gives teachers the right to permanently remove chronically disruptive students from the classroom—a law which the Corpus Christi American Federation of Teachers (CCAFT), the Texas Federation of Teachers, and other AFT locals in the state had lobbied hard for. This district has quietly been building a reputation as a leading-edge system when it comes to student discipline.

Most agree that the process began two years ago, when the district established a task force to study discipline problems in the middle schools. Largely as a result of the task force's recommendations, and the publicity it generated surrounding discipline issues, Corpus Christi has gone on to implement alternative learning centers for violent and disruptive youths and to establish a student code of conduct that is one of the best in the nation.

Corpus Christi became the first district in Texas to formally endorse the AFT's nationwide campaign for

high standards of achievement and conduct, "Responsibility, Respect, Results: Lessons for Life." Perhaps the most important asset the community brings to the fight, explains CCAFT president Linda Bridges, is a willingness to tackle discipline problems head-on and to look for new opportunities to improve.

"It wasn't that long ago that a former superintendent stood up before the school board and said, 'If there is a discipline problem in this district, then it's the teachers who are to blame.' We're clearly beyond that denial stage now," Bridges says. "People are starting to feel that orderly schools are within reach, and the momentum is clearly driving us in that direction."

School board vice president Dot Adkins says her service as board representative on the middle school task

Mike Rose is Assistant Editor, *American Teacher*, published by the American Federation of Teachers, Washington, D.C. Condensed from *American Teacher*, 80 (February 1996), 10-12.

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HEADLINE: What matters most: a competent teacher for every child.

BYLINE: Darling-Hammond, Linda

BODY:

The report of the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future offers a blueprint for recruiting, preparing, supporting, and rewarding excellent educators in all of America's schools, according to Ms. Darling. Hammond. For the details, read on.

We propose an audacious goal . . . by the year 2006, America will provide all students with what should be their educational birthright: access to competent, caring, and qualified teachers. (1)

With these words, the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future summarized its challenge to the American public. After two years of intense study and discussion, the commission - a 26-member bipartisan blue-ribbon panel supported by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation of New York - concluded that the reform of elementary and secondary education depends first and foremost on restructuring its foundation, the teaching profession. The restructuring, the commission made clear, must go in two directions: toward increasing teachers' knowledge to meet the demands they face and toward redesigning schools to support high-quality teaching and learning.

The commission found a profession that has suffered from decades of neglect. By the standards of other professions and other countries, U.S. teacher education has historically been thin, uneven, and poorly financed. Teacher recruitment is distressingly ad hoc, and teacher salaries lag significantly behind those of other professions. This produces chronic shortages of qualified teachers in fields like mathematics and science and the continual hiring of large numbers of "teachers" who are unprepared for their jobs.

Furthermore, in contrast to other countries that invest most of their education dollars in well-prepared and well-supported teachers, half of the education dollars in the United States are spent on personnel and activities outside the classroom. A lack of standards for students and teachers, coupled with schools that are organized for 19th-century learning, leaves educators without an adequate foundation for constructing good teaching. Under these



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conditions, excellence is hard to achieve.

The commission is clear about what needs to change. No more hiring unqualified teachers on the sly. No more nods and winks at teacher education programs that fail to prepare teachers properly. No more tolerance for incompetence in the classroom. Children are compelled to attend school. Every state guarantees them equal protection under the law, and most promise them a sound education. In the face of these obligations, students have a right to competent, caring teachers who work in schools organized for success.

The commission is also clear about what needs to be done. Like the Flexner report that led to the transformation of the medical profession in 1910, this report, *What Matters Most: Teaching for America's Future*, examines successful practices within and outside the United States to describe what works. The commission concludes that children can reap the benefits of current knowledge about teaching and learning only if schools and schools of education are dramatically redesigned.

The report offers a blueprint for recruiting, preparing, supporting, and rewarding excellent educators in all of America's schools. The plan is aimed at ensuring that all schools have teachers with the knowledge and skills they need to enable all children to learn. If a caring, qualified teacher for every child is the most important ingredient in education reform, then it should no longer be the factor most frequently overlooked.

At the same time, such teachers must have available to them schools and school systems that are well designed to achieve their key academic mission: they must be focused on clear, high standards for students; organized to provide a coherent, high-quality curriculum across the grades; and designed to support teachers' collective work and learning.

We note that this challenge is accompanied by an equally great opportunity: over the next decade we will recruit and hire more than two million teachers for America's schools. More than half of the teachers who will be teaching 10 years from now will be hired during the next decade. If we can focus our energies on providing this generation of teachers with the kinds of knowledge and skills they need to help students succeed, we will have made an enormous contribution to America's future.

#### The Nature of the Problem

The education challenge facing the U.S. is not that its schools are not as good as they once were. It is that schools must help the vast majority of young people reach levels of skill and competence that were once thought to be within the reach of only a few.

After more than a decade of school reform, America is still a very long way from achieving its educational goals. Instead of all children coming to school ready to learn, more are living in poverty and without health care than a decade ago. (2) Graduation rates and student achievement in most subjects have remained flat or have increased only slightly. (3) Fewer than 10% of high school students can read, write, compute, and manage scientific material at the high levels required for today's "knowledge work" jobs. (4)



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This distance between our stated goals and current realities is not due to lack of effort. Many initiatives have been launched in local communities with positive effects. Nonetheless, we have reached an impasse in spreading these promising efforts to the system as a whole. It is now clear that most schools and teachers cannot produce the kind of learning demanded by the new reforms - not because they do not want to, but because they do not know how, and the systems they work in do not support their efforts to do so.

### The Challenge for Teaching

A more complex, knowledge-based, and multicultural society creates new expectations for teaching. To help diverse learners master more challenging content, teachers must go far beyond dispensing information, giving a test, and giving a grade. They must themselves know their subject areas deeply, and they must understand how students think, if they are to create experiences that actually work to produce learning.

Developing the kind of teaching that is needed will require much greater clarity about what students need to learn in order to succeed in the world that awaits them and what teachers need to know and do in order to help students learn it. Standards that reflect these imperatives for student learning and for teaching are largely absent in our nation today. States are just now beginning to establish standards for student learning.

Standards for teaching are equally haphazard. Although most parents might assume that teachers, like other professionals, are educated in similar ways so that they acquire common knowledge before they are admitted to practice, this is not the case. Unlike doctors, lawyers, accountants, or architects, all teachers do not have the same training. Some teachers have very high levels of skills - particularly in states that require a bachelor's degree in the discipline to be taught - along with coursework in teaching, learning, curriculum, and child development; extensive practice teaching; and a master's degree in education. Others learn little about their subject matter or about teaching, learning, and child development - particularly in states that have low requirements for licensing.

And while states have recently begun to require some form of testing for a teaching license, most licensing exams are little more than multiple-choice tests of basic skills and general knowledge, widely criticized by educators and experts as woefully inadequate to measure teaching skill.<sup>(5)</sup> Furthermore, in many states the cutoff scores are so low that there is no effective standard for entry.

These difficulties are barely known to the public. The schools' most closely held secret amounts to a great national shame: roughly one-quarter of newly hired American teachers lack the qualifications for their jobs. More than 12% of new hires enter the classroom without any formal training at all, and another 14% arrive without fully meeting state standards.

Although no state will permit a person to write wills, practice medicine, fix plumbing, or style hair without completing training and passing an examination, more than 40 states allow districts to hire teachers who have not met basic requirements. States pay more attention to the qualifications of the veterinarians treating America's pets than to those of the people educating the



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nation's youngsters. Consider the following facts:

\* In recent years, more than 50,000 people who lack the training required for their jobs have entered teaching annually on emergency or substandard licenses. (6)

\* Nearly one-fourth (23%) of all secondary teachers do not have even a minor in their main teaching field. This is true for more than 30% of mathematics teachers. (7)

\* Among teachers who teach a second subject, 36% are un-licensed in that field, and 50% lack a minor in it. (8)

\* Fifty-six percent of high school students taking physical science are taught by out-of-field teachers, as are 27% of those taking mathematics and 21% of those taking English. (9) The proportions are much greater in high-poverty schools and lower-track classes.

\* In schools with the highest minority enrollments, students have less than a 50% chance of getting a science or mathematics teacher who holds a license and a degree in the field in which he or she teaches. (10)

In the nation's poorest schools, where hiring is most lax and teacher turnover is constant, the results are disastrous. Thousands of children are taught throughout their school careers by a parade of teachers without preparation in the fields in which they teach, inexperienced beginners with little training and no mentoring, and short-term substitutes trying to cope with constant staff disruptions. (11) It is more surprising that some of these children manage to learn than that so many fail to do so.

#### Current Barriers

Unequal resources and inadequate investments in teacher recruitment are major problems. Other industrialized countries fund their schools equally and make sure there are qualified teachers for all of them by underwriting teacher preparation and salaries. However, teachers in the U.S. must go into substantial debt to become prepared for a field that in most states pays less than any other occupation requiring a college degree.

This situation is not necessary or inevitable. The hiring of unprepared teachers was almost eliminated during the 1970s with scholarships and loans for college students preparing to teach, Urban Teacher Corps initiatives, and master of arts in teaching (MAT) programs, coupled with wage increases. However, the cancellation of most of these recruitment incentives in the 1980s led to renewed shortages when student enrollments started to climb once again, especially in cities. Between 1987 and 1991, the proportion of well-qualified new teachers - those entering teaching with a college major or minor and a license in their fields - actually declined from about 74% to 67%. (12)

There is no real system for recruiting, preparing, and developing America's teachers. Major problems include:

Inadequate teacher education. Because accreditation is not required of teacher education programs, their quality varies widely, with excellent programs



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standing alongside shoddy ones that are allowed to operate even when they do an utterly inadequate job. Too many American universities still treat their schools of education as "cash cows" whose excess revenues are spent on the training of doctors, lawyers, accountants, and almost any students other than prospective teachers themselves.

Slipshod recruitment. Although the share of academically able young people entering teaching has been increasing, there are still too few in some parts of the country and in critical subjects like mathematics and science. Federal incentives that once existed to induce talented people into high-need fields and locations have largely been eliminated.

Haphazard hiring and induction. School districts often lose the best candidates because of inefficient and cumbersome hiring practices, barriers to teacher mobility, and inattention to teacher qualifications. Those who do get hired are typically given the most difficult assignments and left to sink or swim, without the kind of help provided by internships and residencies in other professions. Isolated behind classroom doors with little feedback or help, as many as 30% leave in the first few years, while others learn merely to cope rather than to teach well.

Lack of professional development and rewards for knowledge and skill. In addition to the lack of support for beginning teachers, most school districts invest little in ongoing professional development for experienced teachers and spend much of these limited resources on unproductive "hit-and-run" workshops. Furthermore, most U.S. teachers have only three to five hours each week for planning. This leaves them with almost no regular time to consult together or to learn about new teaching strategies, unlike their peers in many European and Asian countries who spend between 15 and 20 hours per week working jointly on refining lessons and learning about new methods.

The teaching career does not encourage teachers to develop or use growing expertise. Evaluation and tenure decisions often lack a tangible connection to a clear vision of high-quality teaching, important skills are rarely rewarded, and - when budgets must be cut - professional development is often the first item sacrificed. Historically, the only route to advancement in teaching has been to leave the classroom for administration.

In contrast, many European and Asian countries hire a greater number of better-paid teachers, provide them with more extensive preparation, give them time to work together, and structure schools so that teachers can focus on teaching and can come to know their students well. Teachers share decision making and take on a range of professional responsibilities without leaving teaching. This is possible because these other countries invest their resources in many more classroom teachers - typically constituting 60% to 80% of staff, as compared to only 43% in the United States - and many fewer nonteaching employees. (13)

Schools structured for failure. Today's schools are organized in ways that support neither student learning nor teacher learning well. Teachers are isolated from one another so that they cannot share knowledge or take responsibility for overall student learning. Technologies that could enable alternative uses of personnel and time are not yet readily available in schools, and few staff members are prepared to use them. Moreover, too many people and



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resources are allocated to jobs and activities outside of classrooms, on the sidelines rather than at the front lines of teaching and learning.

High-performance businesses are abandoning the organizational assumptions that led to this way of managing work. They are flattening hierarchies, creating teams, and training employees to take on wider responsibilities using technologies that allow them to perform their work more efficiently. Schools that have restructured their work in these ways have been able to provide more time for teachers to work together and more time for students to work closely with teachers around more clearly defined standards for learning. (14)

#### Goals for the Nation

To address these problems, the commission challenges the nation to embrace a set of goals that will put us on the path to serious, long-term improvements in teaching and learning for America. The commission has six goals for the year 2006.

- \* All children will be taught by teachers who have the knowledge, skills, and commitment to teach children well.

- \* All teacher education programs will meet professional standards, or they will be closed.

- \* All teachers will have access to high-quality professional development, and they will have regularly scheduled time for collegial work and planning.

- \* Both teachers and principals will be hired and retained based on their ability to meet professional standards of practice.

- \* Teachers' salaries will be based on their knowledge and skills.

- \* High-quality teaching will be the central investment of schools. Most education dollars will be spent on classroom teaching.

#### The Commission's Recommendations

The commission's proposals provide a vision and a blueprint for the development of a 21st-century teaching profession that can make good on the nation's educational goals. The recommendations are systemic in scope - not a recipe for more short-lived pilot and demonstration projects. They describe a new infrastructure for professional learning and an accountability system that ensures attention to standards for educators as well as for students at every level: national, state, district, school, and classroom.

The commission urges a complete overhaul in the systems of teacher preparation and professional development to ensure that they reflect current knowledge and practice. This redesign should create a continuum of teacher learning based on compatible standards that operate from recruitment and preservice education through licensing, hiring, and induction into the profession, to advanced certification and ongoing professional development.

The commission also proposes a comprehensive set of changes in school organization and management. And finally, it recommends a set of measures for



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ensuring that only those who are competent to teach or to lead schools are allowed to enter or to continue in the profession - a starting point for creating professional accountability. The specific recommendations are enumerated below.

1. Get serious about standards for both students and teachers. "The Commission recommends that we renew the national promise to bring every American child up to worldclass standards in core academic areas and to develop and enforce rigorous standards for teacher preparation, initial licensing, and continuing development."

With respect to student standards, the commission believes that every state should work on incorporating challenging standards for learning - such as those developed by professional bodies like the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics - into curriculum frameworks and new assessments of student performance. Implementation must go beyond the tautology that "all children can learn" to examine what they should learn and how much they need to know.

Standards should be accompanied by benchmarks of performance - from "acceptable" to "highly accomplished" so that students and teachers know how to direct their efforts toward greater excellence.

Clearly, if students are to achieve high standards, we can expect no less from teachers and other educators. Our highest priority must be to reach agreement on what teachers should know and be able to do in order to help students succeed. Unaddressed for decades, this task has recently been completed by three professional bodies: the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (INTASC), and the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (the National Board). Their combined efforts to set standards for teacher education, beginning teacher licensing, and advanced certification outline a continuum of teacher development throughout the career and offer the most powerful tools we have for reaching and rejuvenating the soul of the profession.

These standards and the assessments that grow out of them identify what it takes to be an effective teacher: subject-matter expertise coupled with an understanding of how children learn and develop; skill in using a range of teaching strategies and technologies; sensitivity and effectiveness in working with students from diverse backgrounds; the ability to work well with parents and other teachers; and assessment expertise capable of discerning how well children are doing, what they are learning, and what needs to be done next to move them along.

The standards reflect a teaching role in which the teacher is an instructional leader who orchestrates learning experiences in response to curriculum goals and student needs and who coaches students to high levels of independent performance. To advance standards, the commission recommends that states:

- \* establish their own professional standards boards;
- \* insist on professional accreditation for all schools of education;
- \* close inadequate schools of education;



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- \* license teachers based on demonstrated performance, including tests of subject-matter knowledge, teaching knowledge, and teaching skill; and

- \* use National Board standards as the benchmark for accomplished teaching.

2. Reinvent teacher preparation and professional development. "The Commission recommends that colleges and schools work with states to redesign teacher education so that the two million teachers to be hired in the next decade are adequately prepared and so that all teachers have access to high-quality learning opportunities."

For this to occur, states, school districts, and education schools should:

- \* organize teacher education and professional development around standards for students and teachers;

- \* institute extended, graduate-level teacher preparation programs that provide yearlong internships in a professional development school;

- \* create and fund mentoring programs for beginning teachers, along with evaluation of teaching skills;

- \* create stable, high-quality sources of professional development - and then allocate 1% of state and local spending to support them, along with additional matching funds to school districts;

- \* organize new sources of professional development, such as teacher academies, school/university partnerships, and learning networks that transcend school boundaries; and

- \* make professional development an ongoing part of teachers' daily work.

If teachers are to be ready to help their students meet the new standards that are now being set for them, teacher preparation and professional development programs must consciously examine the expectations embodied in new curriculum frameworks and assessments and understand what they imply for teaching and for learning to teach. Then they must develop effective strategies for preparing teachers to teach in these much more demanding ways.

Over the past decade, many schools of education have changed their programs to incorporate new knowledge. More than 300 have developed extended programs that add a fifth (and occasionally a sixth) year of undergraduate training. These programs allow beginning teachers to complete a degree in their subject area as well as to acquire a firmer grounding in teaching skills. They allow coursework to be connected to extended practice teaching in schools - ideally, in professional development schools that, like teaching hospitals in medicine, have a special mission to support research and training. Recent studies show that graduates of extended programs are rated as better-prepared and more effective teachers and are far more likely to enter and remain in teaching than are their peers from traditional four-year programs. (15)

New teachers should have support from an expert mentor during the first year of teaching. Research shows that such support improves both teacher



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effectiveness and retention. (16) In the system we propose, teachers will have completed initial tests of subject-matter and basic teaching knowledge before entry and will be ready to undertake the second stage - a performance assessment of teaching skills - during this first year.

Throughout their careers, teachers should have ongoing opportunities to update their skills. In addition to time for joint planning and problem solving with in-school colleagues, teachers should have access to networks, school/university partnerships, and academies where they can connect with other educators to study subject-matter teaching, new pedagogies, and school change.

The benefit of these opportunities is that they offer sustained work on problems of practice that are directly connected to teachers' work and student learning.

3. Overhaul teacher recruitment and put qualified teachers in every classroom. "The Commission recommends that states and school districts pursue aggressive policies to put qualified teachers in every classroom by providing financial incentives to correct shortages, streamlining hiring procedures, and reducing barriers to teacher mobility."

Although each year the U.S. produces more new teachers than it needs, shortages of qualified candidates in particular fields (e.g., mathematics and science) and particular locations (primarily inner city and rural) are chronic.

In large districts, logistics can overwhelm everything else. It is sometimes the case that central offices cannot find out about classroom vacancies, principals are left in the dark about applicants, and candidates cannot get any information at all.

Finally, it should be stressed that large pools of potential mid-career teacher entrants - former employees of downsizing corporations, military and government retirees, and teacher aides already in the schools - are for the most part untapped.

To remedy these situations, the commission suggests the following actions:

- \* increase the ability of financially disadvantaged districts to pay for qualified teachers and insist that school districts hire only qualified teachers;

- \* redesign and streamline hiring at the district level - principally by creating a central "electronic hiring hall" for all qualified candidates and establishing cooperative relationships with universities to encourage early hiring of teachers;

- \* eliminate barriers to teacher mobility by promoting reciprocal interstate licensing and by working across states to develop portable pensions;

- \* provide incentives (including scholarships and premium pay) to recruit teachers for high-need subjects and locations; and

- \* develop high-quality pathways to teaching for recent graduates, mid-career changers, paraprofessionals already in the classroom, and military and government retirees.



4. Encourage and reward knowledge and skill. "The Commission recommends that school districts, states, and professional associations cooperate to make teaching a true profession, with a career continuum that places teaching at the top and rewards teachers for their knowledge and skills."

Schools have few ways of encouraging outstanding teaching, supporting teachers who take on the most challenging work, or rewarding increases in knowledge and skill. Newcomers who enter teaching without adequate preparation are paid at the same levels as those who enter with highly developed skills. Novices take on exactly the same kind of work as 30-year veterans, with little differentiation based on expertise. Mediocre teachers receive the same rewards as outstanding ones. And unlicensed "teachers" are placed on the same salary schedule as licensed teachers in high-demand fields such as mathematics and science or as teachers licensed in two or more subjects.

One testament to the inability of the existing system to understand what it is doing is that it rewards experience with easier work instead of encouraging senior teachers to deal with difficult learning problems and tough learning situations. As teachers gain experience, they can look forward to teaching in more affluent schools, working with easier schedules, dealing with "better" classes, or moving out of the classroom into administration. Teachers are rarely rewarded for applying their expertise to the most challenging learning problems or major needs of the system.

To address these issues, the commission recommends that state and local education agencies:

- \* develop a career continuum linked to assessments and compensation systems that reward knowledge and skill (e.g., the ability to teach expertly in two or more subjects, as demonstrated by additional licenses, or the ability to pass examinations of teaching skill, such as those offered by INTASC and the National Board);

- \* remove incompetent teachers through peer review programs that provide necessary assistance and due process; and

- \* set goals and enact incentives for National Board certification in every district, with the aim of certifying 105,000 teachers during the next 10 years.

If teaching is organized as are other professions that have set consistent licensing requirements, standards of practice, and assessment methods, then advancement can be tied to professional growth and development. A career continuum that places teaching at the top and supports growing expertise should 1) recognize accomplishment, 2) anticipate that teachers will continue to teach while taking on other roles that allow them to share their knowledge, and 3) promote continued skill development related to clear standards.

Some districts, such as Cincinnati and Rochester, New York, have already begun to develop career pathways that tie evaluations to salary increments at key stages as teachers move from their initial license to resident teacher (under the supervision of a mentor) to the designation of professional teacher. The major decision to grant tenure is made after rigorous evaluation of performance (including both administrator and peer review) in the first several



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years of teaching. Advanced certification from the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards may qualify teachers for another salary step and/or for the position of lead teacher - a role that is awarded to those who have demonstrated high levels of competence and want to serve as mentors or consulting teachers.

One other feature of a new compensation system is key. The central importance of teaching to the mission of schools should be acknowledged by having the highest-paid professional in a school system be an experienced, National Board-certified teacher. As in other professions, roles should become less distinct. The jobs of teacher, consultant, supervisor, principal, curriculum developer, researcher, mentor, and professor should be hyphenated roles, allowing many ways for individuals to use their talents and expertise without abandoning the core work of the profession.

5. Create schools that are organized for student and teacher success. "The Commission recommends that schools be restructured to become genuine learning organizations for both students and teachers: organizations that respect learning, honor teaching, and teach for understanding."

Many experts have observed that the demands of serious teaching and learning bear little relationship to the organization of the typical American school. Nothing more clearly reveals this problem than how we allocate the principal resources of school - time, money, and people. Far too many people sit in offices on the sidelines of the school's core work, managing routines rather than improving learning. Our schools are bureaucratic inheritances from the 19th century, not the kinds of learning organizations required for the 21st century.

Across the United States, the ratio of school staff to students is 1 to 9 (with "staff" including district employees, school administrators, teachers, instructional aides, guidance counselors, librarians, and support staff). However, actual **class size** averages about 24 and reaches 35 or more in some cities. Teaching loads for high school teachers generally exceed 100 students per day. Yet many schools have proved that it is possible to restructure adults' use of time so that more teachers and administrators actually work in the classroom, face-to-face with students on a daily basis, thus reducing **class sizes** while creating more time for teacher collaboration. They do this by creating teams of teachers who share students; engaging almost all adults in the school in these teaching teams, where they can share expertise directly with one another; and reducing pullouts and nonteaching jobs.

Schools must be freed from the tyrannies of time and tradition to permit more powerful student and teacher learning. To accomplish this the commission recommends that state and local boards work to:

- \* flatten hierarchies and reallocate resources to invest more in teachers and technology and less in nonteaching personnel;
- \* provide venture capital in the form of challenge grants that will promote learning linked to school improvement and will reward effective team efforts; and
- \* select, prepare, and retain principals who understand teaching and learning and who can lead high-performing schools.



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If students have an inalienable right to be taught by a qualified teacher, teachers have a right to be supervised by a highly qualified principal. The job began as that of a "principal teacher," and this conception is ever more relevant as the focus of the school recenters on academic achievement for students. Principals should teach at least part of the time (as do most European, Asian, and private school directors), and they should be well prepared as instructional leaders, with a solid understanding of teaching and learning.

#### Next Steps

Developing recommendations is easy. Implementing them is hard work. The first step is to recognize that these ideas must be pursued together - as an entire tapestry that is tightly interwoven.

The second step is to build on the substantial work of education reform undertaken in the last decade. All across the country, successful programs for recruiting, educating, and mentoring new teachers have sprung up. Professional networks and teacher academies have been launched, many teacher preparation programs have been redesigned, higher standards for licensing teachers and accrediting education schools have been developed, and, of course, the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards is now fully established and beginning to define and reward accomplished teaching.

While much of what the commission proposes can and should be accomplished by reallocating resources that are currently used unproductively, there will be new costs. The estimated additional annual costs of the commission's key recommendations are as follows: scholarships for teaching recruits, \$ 500 million; teacher education reforms, \$ 875 million; mentoring supports and new licensing assessments, \$ 750 million; and state funds for professional development, \$ 2.75 billion. The total is just under \$ 5 billion annually - less than 1% of the amount spent on the federal savings-and-loan bailout. This is not too much, we believe, to bail out our schools and to secure our future.

#### A Call to Action

Setting the commission's agenda in motion and carrying it to completion will demand the best of us all. The commission calls on governors and legislators to create state professional boards to govern teacher licensing standards and to issue annual report cards on the status of teaching. It asks state legislators and governors to set aside at least 1% of funds for standards-based teacher training. It urges Congress to put money behind the professional development programs it has already approved but never funded.

Moreover, the commission asks the profession to take seriously its responsibilities to children and the American future. Among other measures, the commission insists that state educators close the loopholes that permit administrators to put unqualified "teachers" in the classroom. It calls on university officials to take up the hard work of improving the preparation and skills of new and practicing teachers. It asks administrators and teachers to take on the difficult task of guaranteeing teaching competence in the classroom. And it asks local school boards and superintendents to play their vital role by streamlining hiring procedures, upgrading quality, and putting more staff and resources into the front lines of teaching.



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If all of these things are accomplished, the teaching profession of the 21st century will look much different from the one we have today. Indeed, someone entering the profession might expect to advance along a continuum that unfolds much like this:

For as long as she could remember, Elena had wanted to teach. As a peer tutor in middle school, she loved the feeling she got whenever her partner learned something new. In high school, she served as a teacher's aide for her community service project. She linked up with other students through an Internet group started by Future Educators of America.

When she arrived at college she knew she wanted to prepare to teach, so she began taking courses in developmental and cognitive psychology early in her sophomore year. She chose mathematics as a major and applied in her junior year for the university's five-year course of study leading to a master of arts in teaching. After a round of interviews and a review of her record thus far, Elena was admitted into the highly selective teacher education program.

The theories Elena studied in her courses came to life before her eyes as she conducted a case study of John, a 7-year-old whom she tutored in a nearby school. She was struck by John's amazing ability to build things, in contrast with his struggles to learn to read. She carried these puzzles back to her seminar and on into her other courses as she tried to understand learning.

Over time, she examined other cases, some of them available on a multimedia computer system that allowed her to see videotapes of children, samples of their work, and documentation from their teachers about their learning strategies, problems, and progress. From these data, Elena and her classmates developed a concrete sense of different learning approaches. She began to think about how she could use John's strengths to create productive pathways into other areas of learning.

Elena's teachers modeled the kinds of strategies she herself would be using as a teacher. Instead of lecturing from texts, they enabled students to develop and apply knowledge in the context of real teaching situations. These frequently occurred in the professional development school (PDS) where Elena was engaged in a yearlong internship, guided by a faculty of university- and school-based teacher educators.

In the PDS, Elena was placed with a team of student teachers who worked with a team of expert veteran teachers. Her team included teachers of art, language arts, and science, as well as mathematics. They discussed learning within and across these domains in many of their assignments and constructed interdisciplinary curricula together.

Most of the school- and university-based teacher educators who made up the PDS faculty had been certified as accomplished practitioners by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, having completed a portfolio of evidence about their teaching along with a set of rigorous performance assessments. The faculty members created courses, internship experiences, and seminars that allowed them to integrate theory and practice, pose fundamental dilemmas of teaching, and address specific aspects of learning to teach.



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Elena's classroom work included observing and documenting the learning and behavior of specific children, evaluating lessons that illustrated important concepts and strategies, tutoring and working with small groups, sitting in on family conferences, engaging in school and team planning meetings, visiting homes and community agencies to learn about their resources, planning field trips and curriculum segments, teaching lessons and short units, and ultimately taking major responsibility for the class for a month at the end of the year. This work was supplemented by readings and discussions grounded in case studies of teaching.

A team of PDS teachers videotaped all their classes over the course of the year to serve as the basis for discussions of teaching decisions and outcomes. These teachers' lesson plans, student work, audiotaped planning journals, and reflections on lessons were also available in a multimedia database. This allowed student teachers to look at practice from many angles, examine how classroom situations arose from things that had happened in the past, see how various strategies turned out, and understand a teacher's thinking about students, subjects, and curriculum goals as he or she made decisions. Because the PDS was also wired for video and computer communication with the school of education, master teachers could hold conversations with student teachers by teleconference or e-mail when on-site visits were impossible.

When Elena finished her rich, exhausting internship year, she was ready to try her hand at what she knew would be a demanding first year of teaching. She submitted her portfolio for review by the state professional standards board and sat for the examination of subject-matter and teaching knowledge that was required for an initial teaching license. She was both exhilarated and anxious when she received a job offer, but she felt she was ready to try her hand at teaching.

Elena spent that summer eagerly developing curriculum ideas for her new class. She had the benefit of advice from the district mentor teacher already assigned to work with her in her first year of teaching, and she had access to an on-line database of teaching materials developed by teachers across the country and organized around the curriculum standards of the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, of which she had become a member.

Elena's mentor teacher worked with her and several other new middle school mathematics and science teachers throughout the year, meeting with them individually and in groups to examine their teaching and provide support. The mentors and their first-year colleagues also met in groups once a month at the PDS to discuss specific problems of practice.

Elena met weekly with the other math and science teachers in the school to discuss curriculum plans and share demonstration lessons. This extended lunch meeting occurred while her students were in a Project Adventure/physical education course that taught them teamwork and cooperation skills. She also met with the four other members of her teaching team for three hours each week while their students were at community-service placements. The team used this time to discuss cross-disciplinary teaching plans and the progress of the 80 students they shared.

In addition to these built-in opportunities for daily learning, Elena and her



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colleagues benefited from the study groups they had developed at their school and the professional development offerings at the local university and the Teachers Academy.

At the Teachers Academy, school- and university-based faculty members taught extended courses in areas ranging from advances in learning theory to all kinds of teaching methods, from elementary science to advanced calculus. These courses usually featured case studies and teaching demonstrations as well as follow-up work in teachers' own classrooms. The academy provided the technologies needed for multimedia conferencing, which allowed teachers to "meet" with one another across their schools and to see one another's classroom work. They could also connect to courses and study groups at the university, including a popular master's degree program that helped teachers prepare for National Board certification.

With the strength of a preparation that had helped her put theory and practice together and with the support of so many colleagues, Elena felt confident that she could succeed at her life's goal: becoming - and, as she now understood, always becoming - a teacher.

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LINDA DARLING-HAMMOND is William E Russell Professor of Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y., and executive director of the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future. She is a member of the Kappan Board of Editorial Consultants. [C]1996, National Commission on Teaching and America's Future.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION  
THE SECRETARY  
FAX TRANSMITTAL

*Edc -  
Class size*

TO BRUCE REED  
MIKE COHEN

PHONE \_\_\_\_\_ FAX \_\_\_\_\_

FROM SECRETARY RILEY

PHONE \_\_\_\_\_ FAX 401-2098

PAGE(S) TO FOLLOW \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION  
THE SECRETARY

November 25, 1997

Mr. Bruce N. Reed  
Assistant to the President  
for Domestic Policy  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Bruce:

Enclosed is a thoughtful response from three key people in my Department regarding the classroom size issue.

I wanted all of you in the White House to have this information before we break for the holidays.

I hope that you and your family have a pleasant and meaningful Thanksgiving weekend.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Dick".

Richard W. Riley

cc: Mike Cohen



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
November 23, 1997

MEMORANDUM

TO: Secretary Riley  
FROM: Terry Dozier, Special Advisor on Teaching  
Paul Schwarz, Principal in Residence  
Mary Beth Blegen, Teacher in Residence  
RE: Class Size Reduction Proposal

*Terry Dozier*  
*Paul Schwarz*  
*Mary Beth Blegen*

We want to express what must be key components of any proposal around class size reduction. While the idea is very appealing both to teachers and the public, it is a very difficult and complex issue. Our ideas are focused in the following areas.

- Teacher Quality/Training**  
Reducing class size without attending to the qualifications and training of teachers will negate benefits gained through that reduction. Even a small class size with an ill-prepared teacher will result in a poor education for the students impacted. With our work on Title V and with the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, we are trying to focus the nation on the importance of enforcing high standards for teachers. Both you and Governor Hunt spoke passionately last week at the National Press Club about our need to maintain those standards. This proposal, if done right, could strengthen support of high standards for teachers and students but, if unaddressed, would be a retreat.
- Knowledge of Research Findings**  
All of the research findings around reducing class size tell us that it is not very effective unless the student-teacher ratio is reduced to 15-1. In addition, reducing class size alone without other improvements, including professional development for teachers and meeting the ensuing demands of more classroom space, does not necessarily lead to increased student achievement. If teachers continue to teach in the same way that they did with a class size of 30-1, few benefits will result by simply lowering the student-teacher ratio.
- Cost**  
One reason school districts have not voluntarily proceeded with class size reductions has been the prohibitive costs involved compared with the potential benefits. Tony Alvarado, Superintendent of District 2 in New York City, recently stated at the Department that reducing class size by one student across grade six would cost \$1 million. This figure does not include the necessary training needed

to help teachers learn to teach more effectively in smaller class settings. So the training of teachers to teach well in the smaller classes must be part of the proposal.

- **Space**

Many schools do not have the space to reduce class size. In some districts in California, the class size reduction initiative has floundered because of the lack of classroom space. Those districts have been unable to take advantage of the funds. We suspect that those districts that are already overcrowded and could benefit the most from such an initiative might be the least able to find space and teachers to take advantage of such a program. So it would be important to couple a major investment in class size with a major investment in school construction.

- **Unfunded Federal Mandate**

When the federal government moves aggressively into the operational budgets of school districts and then pulls out, the result is an unfunded mandate which can have very negative consequences. So the source of funding must be permanent.

- **Targeting**

It is unclear whether this proposal will be targeted to our most vulnerable students -- students in poor neighborhoods, learning-disabled students, limited-English-proficient students, etc. Currently some classes have an enrollment of 30 and others have only 18. We are unsure if this program will have the same effect in both situations. So targeting the reductions to the highest-need schools is extremely important.

- **Proper Role of the Federal Government**

The current proposal identifies actions to be taken in specific grade levels. In doing so, this proposal moves decision making away from local districts and schools, preventing them from targeting those areas that they know need the most attention. For example, some states have already taken measures to reduce class size in primary grades. In addition, recently a superintendent told Department officials that he prefers to use additional money for professional development for his entire staff rather than to reduce class size. So this clearly shows the need to have a package of initiatives, e.g., school construction, teacher development, class size reduction, so that there would be flexibility to address one area more than another based on need and previous state or local action.

We are aware that this proposal has wide appeal and we support legislation that brings additional support to schools. As the three people at the Department most responsible for bringing the school perspective to policy making, we believe our views can be helpful in strengthening this initiative.

Top of page:

Col 1: News feature moving at a later date.

Col 2: Students who attended small classes in their first few years of school perform significantly better through high school than students who began in larger classes, according to fresh data released Thursday from a landmark study of public school students in Tennessee. (CLASSES, moved.)

Cols 3-5: Minutes after the faintest sound of jet noise is heard, the Yugoslav army's artillery falls silent along the Albanian border, and NATO's warplanes attack for less than an hour, and as their roar trails off, the artillery opens up again; it's a three-way game of hide and seek between Yugoslav forces, NATO's jets and the guerrilla Kosovo Liberation Army. (with art)  
(BALKANS-SCENE, moved.)

Col 6: The wages and benefits of working Americans so far this year have risen at their slowest pace in almost two decades, clouding what had been some of the brightest news about the current boom its recent success at improving the lots of a broad swath of working people. (WAGES-TIMES, moved.)

Above the fold:

Col 2: Local story.

Col 5: Large numbers of mysterious-frog-leg deformities that have caused scientists to fear the impact of an undetermined chemical pollutant may in fact be the result of a simple parasite found in nature, two new studies conclude. (FROGS, moved.)

Below the fold:

Cols 3-4: News feature moving at a later date.

Bottom of the page:

Cols 1-5: News feature moving at a later date (with art).

Education Study Shows Impact of Smaller Class Sizes

By Richard T. Cooper and Richard Lee Colvin  
Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON Students who attended small classes in their first few years of school perform significantly better through high school than students who began in larger classes, according to fresh data released Thursday from a landmark study of public school students in Tennessee. Even though they returned to larger classrooms after third grade, high school students who attended smaller classes beginning as early as kindergarten were less likely to drop out, more likely to graduate from high school on time, more likely to take advanced-level courses, and more likely to earn superior grades and go to college than students who began their educations in larger classes, researchers said. Gains were especially great for minority students. In particular, Princeton economist Alan B. Krueger found that the difference between the percentage of black and white students taking college entrance exams was cut in half for blacks who started out in smaller classes. Those who take the exams are considered more likely to enroll in college. "One can't help but be encouraged by the lasting impact of the experiment," said Brian Stecher of the Rand Corp., who is conducting a study of California's experience in reducing class sizes. Stecher, along with Eric Hanushak, a professor of economics and public policy at the University of Rochester who has questioned the policy implications of the Tennessee study in the past, also suggested that other kinds of reform might be equally effective and less disruptive. "From all evidence I've seen, the effects of teacher quality are just much, much larger than any effects you ever see from differences in class size," Hanushak said. "Couldn't we do even better if we had put the money for smaller class sizes into making sure there were a higher quality teaching force available?" Researchers in Tennessee's STAR, or Student/Teacher Achievement Ratio, experiment, have faced such questions before. They acknowledge that cutting class size is expensive, but they argue that it can produce benefits without additional staff training, new curriculums or other complex changes.

Charles M. Achilles, an education professor at Eastern Michigan University and a lead STAR researcher, said Thursday that, while quality teaching is unquestionably important, it is not easy to achieve throughout a school system, whereas cutting class size is a clear-cut reform with proven results. Students who begin their school careers in small classes "establish a trajectory of success," he said.

Earlier findings from the STAR study helped shape President Clinton's push for federal funds to help local schools cut class sizes by hiring an additional 100,000 teachers across the country. What has given the STAR findings unusual credibility is the fact that they rest on something close to a scientific experiment. Over a four-year period beginning in 1985, more than 6,000 students a year were randomly assigned to classes in grades K through 3. Some were sent to classrooms with no more than 15 students. Others were assigned to classes of up to 27 students. Teachers for these small and regular-sized classes were also chosen at random. Participating schools reflected a cross-section of urban, suburban, rural, poor, middle-class and other student populations. Then, after third grade, students who had been in small classes went back to larger classes. Using standardized test scores and other data, researchers have been tracking their progress ever since. New analysis of data shows that, by the end of eighth grade, students who had smaller classes from kindergarten through third grade were more than a year ahead of those who began in regular-sized classes when tested in reading, math and science. The gains persisted through high school, researchers said.

Hanushak, for one, said Thursday he was not

*Education  
Class  
Size*

surprised at the long-term benefits of having been in classes with fewer students in the early grades. The question remains, however, whether "this is an efficient way to use resources," he said.

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### **House Democrats' Nays on Bombings Bode Badly for Clinton**

**By Art Pine and Janet Hook**  
**Los Angeles Times**

WASHINGTON The refusal of the House to endorse the U.S.-led air campaign against Yugoslavia shows an ominous slippage in support for the war just where President Clinton can least afford it among lawmakers of his own party analysts said Thursday. Although Republicans voted against the measure by an unsurprising 6-1 margin in the balloting late Wednesday, a startling 26 Democrats proved willing to go on record opposing the air operation. The result was a 213-213 vote, a tie that killed the resolution and thwarted what had been designed to be a routine congressional show of support for U.S. troops. While the White House on Thursday continued to brush off the House action, there was plenty for Clinton to worry about. Just as U.S. policymakers were arguing that Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic was losing support at home, Clinton himself was facing a similar scenario. Larry Sabato, a University of Virginia political analyst, said the sizable exodus of Democrats on the air campaign vote along with the defection of 45 of the party's lawmakers on a measure concerning the possible deployment of ground troops is "a sign of trouble" looming over Clinton's future dealings with Congress on Kosovo, the separatist Yugoslav province. While polls show that the public generally favors what Clinton is doing in Yugoslavia, Sabato asserted that the support "is neither rock solid nor very deep." And Wednesday's votes, he said, drove home the point that the president has not yet convinced members of Congress that he is handling the crisis well. Clinton has "a month or two, at most, to resolve this conflict" before he will face rapidly growing opposition from both Republicans and his own party, Sabato predicted. "Congress isn't going to be tolerant of a long war." Events Thursday suggested that the congressional response to the Balkan crisis still is in flux. The House Appropriations Committee approved an emergency bill providing \$12.9 billion in extra Pentagon spending double the \$6 billion that Clinton had requested for the campaign. But analysts said the bill could face some rough sledding when it hits the House floor. Besides the \$6 billion Clinton seeks, the measure includes \$2 billion for a military pay raise, \$3 billion for improving military readiness and \$1 billion for military construction. The last \$900 million includes money for a parking lot and "vehicle wash" in Germany. Congressional staffers said some lawmakers are beginning to have second thoughts about supporting too big a money bill for fear that the "add-ons" would erode the projected Social Security surplus, which the Republicans have vowed to protect. Lawmakers said some GOP conservatives already had begun to pressure the Senate Appropriations Committee to hold down its own version of the bill to \$7 billion or so rather than the \$11.2 billion that that panel's chairman, Sen. Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, has suggested. Meanwhile, the Senate is slated to vote Monday on a proposal by Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., filed under the 1973 War Powers Resolution, that would authorize Clinton to use "all necessary force" including ground troops to win the Yugoslav war. Although GOP leaders reportedly were trying to work out a compromise, aides said there was no consensus on what language the Senate should adopt. One staffer said Republicans "want to digest the meaning of (Wednesday's) House votes." Recriminations were the name of the day in the aftermath of the House's failure to endorse the air campaign. Rep. Richard A. Gephardt, D-Mo., charged

that Majority Whip Tom DeLay, R-Texas, went lengths to cajole Republicans to vote against the measure as a way to embarrass Clinton. DeLay decried it. At the same time, Gephardt and House Democratic Whip David E. Bonior, D-Mich., were clearly on the defensive over why the Democratic leadership could not persuade one of the 26 Democratic defectors to switch sides all that was needed to pass the resolution. Interviews with key Democrats showed that much of the blame for the failure of the House to support the president's air campaign could be laid at the doorstep of House Democratic leaders. They badly underestimated the defections of both Republicans and Democrats from the measure. They did not finally decide to bring the measure up until the very last minute. And they plainly did not push very hard to keep Democrats in line. By the time the Democratic leaders realized that the motion was going to fail, most rank-and-file members had voted and rushed home. As a result, it was too late to arm-twist any of the defectors into changing their votes to avoid embarrassing Clinton a usually persuasive argument.

How all this ultimately will play out on Capitol Hill remains unclear. Sabato's warnings aside, much is likely to depend upon how the air campaign fares in coming weeks and whether the public continues to support it. How much attention Clinton lavishes on Congress also will count. Jerold Duquette, a George Mason University political analyst, argued that despite the signal that Wednesday night's vote may have sent to Milosevic and to Washington's allies, the bevy of conflicting votes the lawmakers took that day may prove fortuitous. Having voted in one day as the House did against formally declaring war on Yugoslavia, against pulling U.S. forces out, against supporting the air campaign and against deploying ground troops without congressional consent, Duquette said, lawmakers now have "maximum room" to remain uncommitted. "It's a tie nobody loses," Duquette said.

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### **Authorities Continue to Trace Guns Used in School Slaying**

**By Eric Slater**  
**Los Angeles Times**

LITTLETON, Colo. As the last of the Columbine High School murder victims was laid to rest Thursday, authorities sought to trace the last of four firearms used in the massacre, focusing on a man the killers worked with at a pizza place as the possible link to the TEC-DC9 assault pistol. Backtracking for the second time in as many days about further charges in the case, authorities said an arrest in connection with the pistol was not imminent, but that they had been in touch with a man who may have information about how Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold acquired the high-capacity pistol. Denver attorney Robert Ransome confirmed late Thursday that he was representing a man in regard to the Columbine investigation, but declined to elaborate. Jefferson County District Attorney Dave Thomas told NBC's "Today" show Thursday morning that there would be an arrest in connection with the assault pistol within 48 hours. Later, Assistant District Attorney Mark Pautler that said Thomas had not been updated before he made the statement. "Things can change, and that's exactly what happened," Pautler said. The person who provided the gun could be charged with murder if authorities can prove the seller knew about the teen-agers' plan to storm the high school. The three other guns used in the April 20 shooting a 9 mm carbine and two sawed-off shotguns were purchased by Klebold's prom date, 18-year-old Robyn Anderson, authorities said, adding that it was still unclear whether she knew of the duo's plans. Also Thursday, investigators said they were planning interviews with the parents of Klebold and Harris the first time the parents and police will have spoken since brief

in America and suggesting it is the first step toward "coverage for every single American."

Democratic rival Bill Bradley's campaign, which has not aired television ads yet, immediately blasted the spot, saying it was a rip-off of their ideas, and obscured the fact that the Clinton-Gore administration had promised and failed to deliver health care to poor children during its two terms.

The war of words illustrates the driving role health care is assuming in the race for the presidential nomination. A senior Gore adviser said surveys in Iowa and New Hampshire the host states for next year's initial contests show Democratic voters favor the vice president over Bradley on health care.

Bradley's health plan offers more extensive coverage than Gore's and it is significantly more costly, leading to the vice president's attack on the plan as a budget buster. But Bradley has also portrayed Gore's version as an abandonment of the "fundamental Democratic principle of basic health care for all Americans."

Gore inched toward universal coverage in his new 30-second ad, which went on the air Wednesday in Iowa and New Hampshire and is also available for viewing on the vice president's Website at <http://www.algore2000.com>.

"It's just unconscionable at a time when we have the strongest economy in history, we're the wealthiest nation on earth, to have millions and millions of children who have no health coverage at all," Gore says. "We ought to change that."

"We ought to start by making a commitment to have affordable high quality health care for every child in America before the end of the next president's term," the ad continues. "And we can do that within a balanced budget, then we can go down the road toward coverage for every single American."

Off screen on the campaign trail, his staff and Bradley's traded harsh verbal blows.

"Senator Bradley is a trillion dollar man with a bad health care plan," crowed Gore press secretary Chris Lehane.

Bradley's campaign, meanwhile, accused the vice president of stealing rhetoric from their candidate's speeches for the new ad.

"It is astonishing how closely the language (of the ad) parallels what Bradley has been saying for months," said Bradley's press secretary, Eric Hauser.

Gore media consultants declined to say how much would be spent to air the ad, but Lehane said it was "a real buy," meaning it would run more than once in several markets in Iowa and New Hampshire.

Bradley has proposed a plan to extend health insurance to nearly all of 44 million Americans who are not covered. He estimates the cost at between \$50 billion and \$65 billion a year over the next decade, or up to \$650 billion.

Gore says that plan would actually cost more than \$1 trillion. The vice president proposed a less ambitious plan that would extend health care to 11 million uninsured children by 2005 at a cost of about \$312 billion over 10 years.

Recent independent studies have also evaluated the competing health plans.

Emory University professor Kenneth E. Thorpe, a former Clinton administration official, concluded in a study released Monday that Bradley's plan would cost more than three times as much as Gore's over the next decade but would cover only 3 million more uninsured Americans.

On Wednesday, the nonpartisan Consumers Union called Bradley's plan "preferable" on seven of eight measurements: commitment to universal coverage, progress on insuring all children, Medicare prescription drugs, insurance market reforms, equitable tax policy and "steps in the right direction." Gore's plan was rated preferable in terms of long-term Medicare reforms.

The latest clashes in the Democratic primary come at a time when two recent polls show Gore retaking a lead over Bradley in New Hampshire.

marriage among the nation's poor by teaching fathers absent from their children's homes to uphold their parental responsibilities.

Urged to "make dads count," lawmakers swept objections from the National Organization for Women and from civil libertarians to pass the measure on a broadly bipartisan vote 328-93.

Rep. Nancy L. Johnson, R-Conn., the measure's chief sponsor, called the legislation "a giant step forward" for poor children and their fathers. For the first time, she said, welfare-related legislation "is going to recognize that dads do count and that we can help dads to be better fathers and better providers."

Indeed, the measure marks a significant first step toward achieving a key social goal of the welfare reform law of 1996. Many of that law's chief architects hoped that it would help re-establish the tradition of marriage and two-parent families in the nation's poorest communities, where more than two-thirds of children now are born to single mothers.

But the 1996 law avoided language that enshrined marriage as an explicit objective of programs for the nation's poor. And until recently, virtually all of welfare reform's programs and money have been used to help wean mothers with dependent children from public assistance. Except for initiatives cracking down on fathers who failed to pay child support, few of welfare reform's resources or services have gone to fathers who are absent from the home.

The House measure would begin to change that. It would establish an organization to make five-year grants to groups that commit to "promote marriage" as well as "good parenting practices, including the payment of child support" through counseling, mentoring and job training of non-custodial fathers. The grant-making body envisioned by lawmakers would operate separately from the government's welfare system, which many believe has done much to discourage marriage among the poor.

Passage of the "Fathers Count Act" comes at a time of broad political attention to the challenge of drawing absent fathers into their children's lives. Backers of the bill estimate that about 23 million children live in homes without fathers, a tripling over the last 40 years. Recent federal figures show that unwed birth rates have dropped in 12 states, although they gone up elsewhere.

Vice President Al Gore, campaigning for the Democratic presidential nomination, has proposed his own package of aid to encourage marriage, support fathers' involvement with their children and shore up two-parent families working for low wages. President Clinton is expected to sign a version of the House measure into law, although Senate action on similar legislation is not expected until next year.

The fine print of the House measure also contains a provision that could spare California as much as \$300 million in future federal penalties. Echoing legislation passed earlier this year by the Senate, the House bill would waive further federal penalties on states that fail to meet targets set out by the 1996 welfare reform bill for establishing central systems to handle child support enforcement.

The "Fathers Count" grants would go to state agencies, as well as to religious and independent social service organizations. The likelihood that many of the grants would be made to "faith-based" organizations drew considerable criticism in Wednesday's floor debate. Several lawmakers warned that as churches and religious missions use federal funds to do their work, there would be an unconstitutional breach of the firewall between church and state.

But House lawmakers rejected two amendments that would have placed significant restrictions on which religious organizations would be eligible for funds and how a religious group could use them.

"To claim that our founding fathers were for separation of church and state is either rewriting history or being very ignorant of history," said House Majority Whip Tom DeLay, R-Texas. "It is simply impossible and it's unwise to try to separate people and their government from religion."

Wednesday's measure had the backing of groups across a wide range of the political spectrum. Along with the broad backing of the House Republican leadership, it won endorsements from such liberal-leaning groups as the Children's Defense Fund and the Center for Policy and Budget Priorities in Washington.

But one notable voice of dissent came the National

## House Passes Bill Aimed at Funding Remedial Father Training

By Melissa Healy

Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON The House of Representatives, seeking to reverse decades of surging out-of-wedlock births, Wednesday approved a \$160 million effort aimed at boosting

o streams.

Although Republicans made significant concessions to Clinton's requests for more money for foreign aid, the environment and social programs negotiators were still trying to decide how to offset those spending increases to keep the promise by Clinton and GOP leaders not to borrow from Social Security revenues.

Republican leaders had planned to speed action on the budget by packaging the five separate spending bills in dispute into one big budget package for a single up-or-down vote. But Wednesday night it remained unclear if they would follow through with that plan.

Sen. Ted Stevens, R-Alaska, and others warned that it would be harder to get enough votes to pass such an omnibus bill than for five individual measures.

A cadre of lawmakers with strong environmental leanings, for instance, might vote against the packaged bill if, as they fear, it includes the coal mining provision.

Lawmakers opposing abortion rights, meanwhile, may be riled if a settlement yet to be reached on payment of the nearly \$1 billion in back U.S. dues to the United Nations weakens their effort to link the money to limiting funding to international organizations that promote abortion.

"If it's put in one bill there are going to be a lot of votes against that bill," Rep. David R. Obey, D-Wis. "This could be a train wreck."

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### Clinton Rallies Factory Workers Against Trade Barriers

By James Gerstenzang

Los Angeles Times

YORK, Pa. President Clinton sought Wednesday to rev up consensus among factory workers in favor of global commerce, as his administration enters potentially pivotal negotiations with China and the opening of controversial talks to lower international trade barriers.

At the same Harley-Davidson motorcycle factory here 12 years ago, President Reagan delivered much the same message. Reagan, who had just lifted export quotas, said then that American workers need not hide behind tariffs and quotas any longer because selling overseas and letting foreign companies have open access to American markets would only add to their winning bottom line.

Clinton likewise told cheering workers: "If I cannot convince the decision-makers in Washington and ordinary people like you all across America that a key part of the economic success we've enjoyed in the last seven years and the economic success Americans can enjoy in the years ahead requires us to continue to break down barriers to trade, then in the future, when I'm not around anymore, you won't have the economic prosperity that I think you deserve."

Clinton has been trying to build public support for trade policies that have been at the center of his economic agenda for seven years but, year after year, continues to face skepticism among members of the core Democratic coalition.

Dave Gordon, 48, waiting to catch a glimpse of Clinton as the president inspected the assembly line, said that he and other workers members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers union were fearful about the tumbling trade barriers that accompanied the North American Free Trade Agreement and other trade pacts.

But Harley-Davidson is now doing 25 percent of its business overseas and, he has realized, the trade agreements have given American companies "a lot more places to sell to," he said.

With such concerns in mind, the president told the workers the plant employs 2,700 people and most of them crowded into a tent erected in a parking lot where Clinton spoke that expanded trade "is what is in the interest of Harley-Davidson and

in its once sagging fortunes after the company received five years of protection from Japanese imports when the government raised the duties on the larger Japanese bikes that were its chief competition.

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### Clinton Predicts Smooth Y2K Sailing in U.S.

By Elizabeth Shogren

Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON President Clinton offered assurances Wednesday that extensive efforts by all major sectors of the U.S. economy to fix the Year 2000 computer problem have paid off, predicting "no major national breakdowns" on Jan. 1.

"I am confident the Y2K problem ... will not put the savings or the safety of the American people at risk," Clinton said.

Addressing earlier fears about the impact the Y2K glitch could have on vital government functions, Clinton added: "The American people can have full faith that everything from air traffic control systems to Social Security payment systems will continue to work exactly as they should."

Clinton's optimistic forecast was underscored by the President's Council on the Year 2000 Conversion, which issued its fourth and final report on Y2K readiness Wednesday. But the council also cited some of the remaining weak points in the country's preparations.

Many local 911 emergency services have been late in addressing problems in their automated systems and seven have reported that they will not be Y2K compliant by Jan. 1, the council said. A significant number of smaller health care facilities, schools and small businesses also have put off fixing their computer systems, according to the report, and could suffer troubles as a result.

With only 51 days left in 1999, John A. Koskinen, chairman of the Y2K council, stressed that "those who are not yet done are obviously cutting it very close." He urged organizations that are not Y2K-compliant to establish contingency plans in case their systems fail.

Y2K remediation involves reprogramming older hardware and software, which denote years with only two digits, so they do not assume that the year 2000 is 1900. The federal government estimates that it will spend \$8.6 billion to prevent major mishaps and the private sector has dedicated at least \$5 billion to the task.

The council's fourth-quarter report said considerable progress has been made in many sectors since its previous report, which was released in August. At that point, only 37 percent of the nation's 911 emergency call centers had said they were ready, compared to half in the new report. All but seven localities expect their systems to be compliant by the New Year, the council said. The seven laggards were not identified.

Even in communities where 911 system fixes are not made in time, the fire departments, ambulances and police still will respond to emergency calls, Koskinen said. But their response times may be slowed if the automated systems stop functioning. He suggested that Americans make a list of emergency numbers for their local hospitals, police and fire departments and keep them handy.

Koskinen said that small businesses taking a wait-and-see approach to Y2K problems "are asking for trouble." He cited a potential "logjam" of small businesses and individuals trying to buy fixes after Jan. 1 if their computers fail.

The federal government has printed a booklet to help individuals prepare for Y2K. A free copy can be obtained by calling 1-888-USA-4Y2K.

Koskinen expressed confidence in year-end supplies of food, medicine and other essentials. The pharmaceutical industry,

Educ -  
100,000 Teachers

Top of page:

Col 1: NBC, CBS and ABC are each planning movies about the life of Jesus or his mother, Mary; in doing so, they are navigating a minefield of religion in a way that is respectful to believers of all stripes of Christianity and not offensive to non-believers. (TV-JESUS, moving Thursday.)

Cols 2-4: The roller-coaster death plunge of EgyptAir Flight 990 apparently began as a "controlled descent" in the course of an otherwise routine flight, federal investigators say. (with art) (EGYPTAIR-TIMES, moved.)

Cols 5-6: Inattention, miscommunication and overconfidence at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory were among the management problems that added up to a fatal error in arithmetic and doomed the \$125 million Mars Climate Orbiter earlier this year, a NASA accident review board concludes. (MARS-TIMES, moved.)

Above the fold:

Cols 2-3: Local feature.

Col 6: California's two biggest banks say they will restrict use of their ATMs in Santa Monica to customers only, retaliating for a recently approved city ordinance that restricts fees. (ATM, moved.)

Below the fold:

Cols 5-6: The House of Representatives, seeking to reverse decades of surging out-of-wedlock births, approves a \$160 million effort aimed at boosting marriage among the nation's poor by teaching fathers who are absent from their children's homes to uphold their parental responsibilities. (DADS, moved.)

Bottom of the page:

Cols 1-2: When the United States agreed to give back the vast canal that it blasted through the Isthmus of Panama nine decades ago, the transfer was envisioned as a powerful, symbolic end to a century of U.S. dominance, but with less than two months to go before Panama is to assume control of the waterway, the Clinton administration is loath to join the celebration. (PANAMA-CANAL, moving Thursday.)

Col 4-6: More than 8,000 pages of documents detailing the work of a state committee that investigated the "subversive" activities of thousands of Californians are unsealed, stirring memories of a time when fear of the "Red Menace" made widespread government snooping acceptable. (with art) (CALIF-COMMIE, moved.)

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**GOP Agrees to Clinton Class-Size Demand**  
**By Janet Hook and Art Pine**  
**Los Angeles Times**

WASHINGTON In a major breakthrough in federal budget talks, Republican and White House negotiators Wednesday struck a deal to continue President Clinton's prized education initiative to reduce class size by hiring 100,000 new teachers over the next seven years.

Under the compromise, the administration agreed to give local school districts more flexibility to use part of the money for teacher training and related purposes but not as much discretion as Republicans had sought.

Negotiators also reached agreement on spending levels for education, health and other pivotal social programs. Other differences remain, but breakthroughs on these marquee domestic issues signal that Clinton and Congress are on track to end their protracted fight over the year's federal budget.

"We're very close to a deal," said Assistant Senate Majority Leader Don Nickles, R-Okla. "The differences are minuscule."

Procedural snags and other 11th-hour obstacles dashed hopes that a final budget accord could be reached before next week. But negotiators mounted a big push for compromise on the handful of remaining issues in hopes of bringing the final budget before the House for a vote as early as Friday (Congress will not meet Thursday to commemorate Veterans Day).

Republican leaders in the House took the risk of riling their rank-and-file by ordering them to return to Capitol Hill after Veterans Day for the possible budget vote. Lawmakers with long distances to travel including members of the California delegation were infuriated by a schedule that could make them cut short visits to their districts for the holiday.

A vote in the Senate is not possible until next Wednesday because Majority Leader Trent Lott, R-Miss., has given the Senate Thursday and Friday off for a long Veterans Day weekend.

Approval of the sweeping budget deal would clear the way for Republicans to adjourn this session of Congress for the rest of the year. Clinton and his Democratic allies have seemed in no big hurry to wrap up and go home, which strengthened their hands at the bargaining table.

The biggest breakthrough came when key negotiators struck a deal on class size, an issue both sides had previously treated as nonnegotiable. The budget negotiators Wednesday agreed to provide \$1.3 billion for the class size program almost all of the \$1.4 billion Clinton wanted.

The money would fund the second year of Clinton's teacher-hiring program, the centerpiece of his education agenda.

Separately, House Education Committee Chairman William F. Goodling, R-Pa., and top White House aides struck a compromise on the policy governing the program. Clinton has insisted on assurances that the money go toward hiring teachers; Republicans have argued that school districts should be able to use the money for other purposes if they do not need more teachers or if they cannot find qualified ones.

The agreement would keep the program focused on teachers but would allow schools to spend 25 percent of their money on teacher training or teacher testing up from 15 percent. It also would require schools to hire only certified teachers with the money, bowing to Goodling's demand for more guarantees that teacher quality not be compromised in the stampede to hire more people.

Sources close to the deal said it is an "agreement in principal" that would be subject to review by both sides after details are drafted.

Another breakthrough came on overall funding for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services and Education. Negotiators wrapped up work on the bill which includes the teacher-hiring program when Republicans agreed to provide \$1.45 billion of the \$2 billion in additional money Clinton had requested for the agencies.

Those developments should clear the way for negotiators to settle the handful of other issues hanging in the balance, such as anti-abortion restrictions that have tied up proposals to pay back U.N. dues, and a proposal, opposed by environmentalists, that would allow coal companies to dump waste from mountaintop strip

## Middle-class achievement gap

There is no bigger bet in education than the bet linking academic failure to poverty. Schools spend \$8 billion a year in federal funds alone seeking to compensate educationally for the effects of growing up poor.

It may be time to hedge that bet.

Poverty remains a good predictor of academic failure. But the follow-on logic that middle-class status predicts academic success turns out to be shaky.

A public discussion now is emerging on a topic that educators mostly have kept to themselves: Middle-class African-American students don't perform as well academically as their white counterparts. In fact, the black/white score gap on federal tests is greater among middle-class children than among poor ones, according to a report released recently by the College Board. The same is true for middle-class Latino students, whose scores lag behind those of their white counterparts.

Theories explaining why include parenting differences, cultural differences, lousy schools, low expectations and the lingering effects of racism. But speculating on causes is less important than acting on solutions.

A network of 15 schools this year accepted the challenge, schools located in communities

with sizable black middle-class populations, such as Evanston, Ill.; Shaker Heights, Ohio; Chapel Hill, N.C.; and Berkeley, Calif.

The schools are using a mix of experiments aimed at improving minority achievement: all-black or all-Hispanic student mentoring groups in which top high schoolers tutor eighth-graders; ACT test preparation courses just for minorities; "clustering" minorities in advanced courses to reduce isolation; and a summer pre-calculus class for minorities.

Already, results include higher test scores and more minorities enrolled in calculus.

Each year, America's black middle class grows: In 1990, there were about 1 million under-18 black youths whose parents had college degrees; by 2015, that number is projected to grow to 1.7 million. Nearly all of them will expect to attend college.

With affirmative-action admissions policies losing out to legal challenges, low-achieving minorities could have difficulty competing against higher-scoring students. The result: more college campuses that fail to reflect the nation's diversity.

That's a strong argument for schools to expand their extra educational efforts beyond low-income minorities.

# Democrats to push for more teachers

## Goal is to reduce classroom size at grade-school level

By Nancy E. Roman  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Senate Democrats will join the GOP's battle to get states out from under red tape that comes with federal education dollars, but will also fight hard for President Clinton's 100,000 federally funded grade-school teachers.

"Class size is what they are talking about," Education Secretary Richard W. Riley said yesterday referring to his conversations with parents and teachers across the country.

Democrats want to keep their tight grip on the education issue by fighting for the new teachers with the goal of reducing class sizes in first through third grades.

The cost would be \$11.4 billion over six years.

Republicans have traditionally opposed increases in federal spending for education on the grounds that public schools are a concern best served by state and local governments.

But that argument will be more difficult for the party to embrace in light of a proposal by Sen. Pete V. Domenici, New Mexico Republican, to spend \$40 billion more on education over five years.

It will also be more difficult because Republicans capitulated in the standoff over funding for teachers during last year's budget negotiations when they agreed to spend \$1.2 billion for the first batch of teachers to be hired in the first year of the seven-year program.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, Massachusetts Democrat, said yesterday that



Photo by Kenneth Lamber/The Washington Times

Sen. Tom Daschle (left) and Education Secretary Richard W. Riley appear at a news conference in the Capitol on the Democrats' education initiatives.

agreement — approved by congressional leaders in both parties — implies support for federally funding.

"Education is a top priority for this Congress and it should be a top priority for this nation, too," said Mr. Kennedy.

Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, Mississippi Republican, refused to predict yesterday whether the Senate would approve the new spending.

Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle, South Dakota Democrat, said Democrats will wage the battle for new teachers when the Senate considers a less controversial proposal next week called "Ed Flex."

"We're going to take this small, tiny, baby step which has bipartisan support and make it a large step," said Sen.

Patty Murray, Washington Democrat, who will offer the amendment.

That strategy puts Republicans in a box: They must swallow the \$11.4 billion for new teachers that many of them oppose, or be the party opposing a popular education proposal — reduced class size — just when they hope to make education central to their agenda.

Republicans decided to begin the legislative year with two bills almost sure to win: One that raised pay and benefits for the military, which just passed the Senate on Wednesday, and "Ed Flex" — the GOP's first education initiative with a chance to pass.

"Ed Flex" would allow states to shift money among federal education pro-

*Republicans capitulated in the standoff over funding for teachers during last year's budget negotiations.*

grams without permission from the federal government.

There are 759 such programs, and the red tape surrounding them is considerable.

But in the Senate, anyone can offer an amendment. Mr. Daschle and top Democrats met yesterday and decided to put together a list of possible amendments by the end of this week. Mrs. Murray's \$11.4 billion for the new teachers will surely be one of them.

Mr. Lott said fighting for federally funded teachers as an amendment to "Ed Flex" could kill the bill, which has support from all 50 governors and President Clinton.

"I don't think we should allow this to be a Christmas tree," he said, referring to federal funding for teachers as "a monkey wrench."

Mr. Daschle said he will not allow Democrats to offer "the entire Democratic education agenda" as amendments to the "Ed Flex" bill. He would not say whether he would drop the funding for new teachers if it cannot muster support and is tying up the "Ed Flex" proposal, which has broad bipartisan support.

The states are awaiting guidelines from the federal government before they begin hiring the first teachers — already approved. But Mrs. Murray said yesterday that some states are reluctant to begin hiring teachers that they would have to give up after just a year.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1999

Ed Flex  
-Class Size

# U.S. mulls nuke-waste solutions

## Proposes taking control but opposes central storage area

ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Clinton administration floated a proposal yesterday for the government to assume ownership and management of thousands of tons of nuclear waste at power plants around the country.

But Energy Secretary Bill Richardson told a Senate hearing the administration remains strongly opposed to building a temporary centralized waste storage facility in Nevada or elsewhere.

Mr. Richardson said he wanted to avoid an "unnecessary legislative showdown" on the nuclear waste issue, but that the waste should remain at power plants in 34 states.

As a compromise, Mr. Richardson suggested that one alternative

to centralized interim storage could be for the government to assume legal title and management responsibility for the nearly 40,000 tons of highly radioactive used reactor fuel now kept at nuclear power plants.

Mr. Richardson said the administration "continues to oppose interim storage" in Nevada until it is determined that a proposed permanent underground repository at Yucca Mountain, 90 miles from Las Vegas is scientifically acceptable.

The Yucca waste burial site is not expected to be ready until 2010 at the earliest, if it is found acceptable.

the government to take ownership of the waste "a major gesture" but said it falls short of what is needed — transfer of wastes to a central facility.

"It's not adequate," agreed Sen. Slade Gorton, Washington Republican. "It creates new liabilities for the federal government. The solution is to move the waste."

But Sen. Jeff Bingaman, New Mexico Democrat, applauded Mr. Richardson for "bringing a fresh approach" to the nuclear waste debate.

He said there are not enough votes in Congress to overcome a certain presidential veto of legislation that would require waste be shipped to Nevada.

# GOP wants to stay with winners

## Tested solutions focus of reforms

By Cheryl Wetzstein  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Republican senators and congressmen yesterday outlined a series of "compassionate conservative" reforms aimed at rebuilding poor neighborhoods from the inside out.

The reforms will support grassroots solutions that are already working, instead of importing untested federal solutions, said Sen. Rick Santorum, Pennsylvania Republican, one of 11 GOP senators in the Renewal Alliance.

Alliance members have spent years visiting blighted neighborhoods, meeting with groups that are successfully making headway in solving problems in the areas of employment, health care, education and substance abuse.

The alliance's bills are not intended to "guide" these groups,

"but to support their efforts," said Mr. Santorum.

Such thinking is a hallmark of compassionate conservatism, said several alliance members, who laughed off criticisms of that phrase as a problem with its marketing, not its substance.

Compassionate conservatism means "more flexibility" and "more power to the local level," said Rep. Joseph R. Pitts, Pennsylvania Republican, and one of 16 House members of the alliance.

On Wednesday, alliance members introduced one of its major bills, the American Community Renewal Act.

The bill would create 100 "renewal communities" in low-income areas, both urban and rural. It would give businesses tax breaks, wage credits and other regulatory relief. It also would encourage personal savings, ease homeownership restrictions within the communities, and create a system in which substance abusers in federally funded drug treatment programs could choose treatment from faith-based programs.

"This bill will do what will work," said Rep. James M. Talent, Missouri Republican, a lead sponsor of the bill, which was introduced with several GOP and Democratic co-sponsors from the House and Senate, as well as an endorsement from New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert, Illinois Republican, has said the community renewal bill, which would cost \$5 billion over five years, will pass the House this session. A similar "renewal" bill is being introduced in the Senate with bipartisan support.

Yesterday, renewal alliance members said that they would also pursue bills to create educational opportunities and more charitable work in designated low-income communities.

The education bill, which will be led in the House by GOP Reps. Mark Souder of Indiana and James E. Rogan of California, would establish education vouchers, create a \$1,000 tax credit for parents to use for school expenses and cut federal paperwork requirements.

A "charity empowerment" initiative would create a \$500 tax credit for low-income families if they contribute to poverty-fighting charitable groups. States can use funds from federal programs such as the welfare program to offset the costs of the credit.

Sen. John Ashcroft, Missouri Republican, will also push to expand his "charitable choice" law to cover faith-based providers of housing, substance abuse, juvenile services, day care, abstinence education and child welfare services. Under the current charitable-choice law, faith-based groups can join the government network of welfare-service providers without abandoning their religious character.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1999

# Education Deal a Victory In Politics, If Not Yet Schools

By TIM WEINER  
with ABBY GOODNOUGH

WASHINGTON, Nov. 11 — President Clinton and Republicans in Congress today hailed their compromise on Mr. Clinton's program to hire 100,000 teachers and reduce class sizes in public schools. But it remains to be seen how much their political victory will benefit the children it aims to help.

"School enrollments are exploding; record numbers of teachers are retiring," Mr. Clinton said today. And Richard Riley, the secretary of education, said the nation would need an additional 2.2 million teachers in the coming decade.

But qualified teachers are hard to find, especially in poor school districts, where the educational needs of students place huge demands on teachers.

"High-poverty schools are looked at as boot camps," said Amy Wilkins, a senior associate at the Education Trust, an advocacy group for the poor. "This one bill is not going to change that."

The program, which is in the first of its seven years, seeks to reduce class sizes in grades one, two and three in public schools, so that there are no more than 18 students in a class. The debate hinges on Mr. Clinton's assertion that smaller class sizes are crucial to better education. The program's backers point to a Tennessee study, conducted from 1985 to 1989, which concluded that the greatest benefits from smaller classes come in the poorest urban districts.

The administration says the benefits of the program are apparent in big cities like New York, which hired 808 teachers under the program. New York City has about 72,000 teachers in its public schools — and it had 6,000 positions to fill this fall.

The Council of the Great City Schools, a professional association of the nation's largest urban school districts, reported last week that out of the \$1.2 billion that Congress appropriated last year, \$281 million went to 54 large urban districts.

The council said that 3,558 teachers had been hired in 40 of those big-city districts under the program. Most were to teach reading, math, bilingual classes and special education classes. Their salaries and benefits, paid for with federal money, came to more than \$167 million. An additional 22,000 teachers received professional training.

The money for the second year of

the program will continue to pay the salaries of the teachers hired in the first year, and includes money to hire more.

About 10 percent of the new teachers hired were not fully certified under state or local standards — evidence of "the difficulty in finding qualified teachers," the report said, and a clue to the crux of the problem: getting skilled teachers to work in the neediest schools.

The Republican stance in the budget negotiations was straightforward: "If classroom reduction means hiring unqualified teachers, then don't do it," said Representative William F. Goodling, a Pennsylvania Republican, a former schoolteacher and the chairman of the House Education Committee, who negotiated the compromise with the White House. "Above all, we want quality teachers in the classroom."

Beyond the council's report, there are no independent qualitative assessments of what the program has accomplished nationwide. The impact of the money appropriated last year was not felt until the beginning of this school year.

Mr. Clinton said today that the money spent so far would "hire more than 29,000 teachers and reduce the average class size for 1.7 million children."

Hiring thousands of new teachers is a boon for the National Education Association, the nation's largest professional employee organization, representing more than two million teachers and school administrators.

In the political compromise struck on Wednesday, Republicans agreed to spend more money than last year in exchange for more stringent restrictions on how it will be spent.

The deal, which is to be voted on by the House and Senate next week, means that the program will receive \$1.3 billion in federal money for the coming school year, said Jack Lew, the White House budget director. Last year, its first, the program received \$1.2 billion. This year, Mr. Clinton sought \$1.4 billion. The two sides split the difference.

The deal the two sides struck says 25 percent of the money can be spent on training teachers, rather than hiring them. In the past year, it was 15 percent. Teachers hired under the program must be certified under state standards. Schools where at least one-tenth of the teachers are uncertified would be able to use all the money they receive for teacher training.

"This increased flexibility and higher standards are a victory for quality education in this country," Representative J. C. Watts of Oklahoma, the fourth-ranking Republican in the House, said today.

The Republicans also agreed to drop a demand that school districts be allowed to spend money on "any other local need," which the administration and the National Education Association said would open a loophole allowing the money to underwrite school vouchers.

The Republicans sought additional restrictions even though they hailed the program as passed last year. Back then, Mr. Goodling called it "a real victory for the Republican Congress, but more important, a huge win for local educators and parents who are fed up with Washington mandates, red tape and regulation."

Nonetheless, the program became one of the biggest sticking points in this year's budget negotiations, because Democrats and Republicans both want voters to see them as advocates for education and children.

The New York Times

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1999

## In E-Politics, Clinton Ex-Adviser Still Plays by Own Rules

By REBECCA FAIRLEY RANEY

One of the best-known veterans of old-fashioned hard-ball politics, Dick Morris, has turned to the Internet and shaken up e-politics.

Mr. Morris's method of working the Internet involves asking visitors to vote yes or no on issues featured on his Web site, which converts the votes into thousands of e-mail messages that are sent to elected officials.

That technique has provoked outrage among longtime Internet political experts, who say it should be the visitors to the Web site who are selecting the issues, not Mr. Morris. They also object to his flooding elected officials with thousands of e-mail messages that could obscure the correspondence sent by individuals.

The experts characterize Mr. Morris as a member of the old guard who is blundering into a medium he does not understand. "He is destroying the medium for people who want to have serious discourse," said Ken Deutsch, vice president for Internet strategy at Issue Dynamics, a public affairs concern in Washington.

The Internet venture has also brought Mr. Morris, a former adviser to President Clinton, into a dispute with the White House over whether staff members there had blocked e-mail sent from his Web site, Vote-

.com, which went online Oct. 31.

In an e-mail message sent on Friday to users of his profit-making Web site, Mr. Morris wrote that the site had sent more than 82,000 e-mail messages to the White House in a week. He said that after an initial rush of messages, the White House had blocked all e-mail from Vote.com, then set its computer "to accept only 70 e-mails per hour from

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**Dick Morris  
provokes outrage  
from a new source.**

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our site."

A White House spokesman, Barry Toiv, said e-mail from Mr. Morris's Web site had never been blocked. Further, Mr. Toiv said, the practice of slowing e-mail is a standard method of deterring the "mail bombing" technique used by hackers to cripple Web servers.

"This kicks in automatically," Mr. Toiv said. "Neither our computers nor the people who run them know or care who Dick Morris is."

In his message on Friday to users of his site, Mr. Morris wrote: "What

an odd response from an elected administration to hearing the views of those who vote. It appears that the Internet administration is burning the bridge to the 21st century."

Mr. Morris urged the users of his site to send their own messages of protest, and included the president's e-mail address.

But in a telephone interview on Monday, Mr. Morris said he saw "that the White House did have a point." He added that he had started rounding up the votes cast by users on the site on a variety of issues and consolidating them in packets of 1,000, to be delivered in a single e-mail message that lists all the individuals' e-mail addresses.

Nevertheless, Mr. Morris has called the routing of individuals' votes on issues to elected officials online "a megaphone that gives an opportunity for anyone who wants to be heard."

But political strategists who specialize in use of the Internet denounce that practice.

"From the perspective of the Internet, this just adds to e-mail gridlock," said Joe Rodota, the founder of an election-oriented Web site, FAQvoter.com.

Mr. Morris's presentation of issues for voters to consider also runs counter to the spirit of the Internet, said Mr. Rodota, who was deputy

chief of staff for Pete Wilson when he was governor of California. Mr. Rodota's profit-making site allows voters to set the agenda by allowing them to address questions to candidates. The site runs all questions as received.

Some of the issues Mr. Morris asked users of his Web site to vote on were the use of racial profiling by law-enforcement officers, school vouchers, regulation of fees for automated teller machines and allowing the sale of pistols to people under 21.

"This is exactly what a Washington insider would think the Internet is all about," Mr. Rodota said of Mr. Morris's site. "They control the information that flows to the voter, and the content is heavily controlled."

Mr. Morris responded by saying: "They believe we're undermining the goal of electronic democracy by exercising it. My question to them is, why the hell haven't you done this yet?"

But Kim Alexander, president of the California Voter Foundation, a nonprofit group that has provided election information online since 1994, raised another question about the site: "Is this hurting anything? I think it may be. It leads people to a false sense of participation in democracy."

# Clinton Tips the Scales

By Arlen Specter

WASHINGTON  
**T**he ongoing confrontation between Congress and the president on education spending is not only about class size and local control of schools. It also provides the opportunity for Congress to reassert its constitutional prerogative to control the country's purse strings.

Since the Republican-controlled Congress was blamed for the 1995 shutdown of the federal government after a budget stalemate with President Clinton, the delicate balance on separation of powers has been altered. The executive branch gained the upper hand on appropriations because Congressional leaders became skittish about standing firm.

The Constitution provides that Congress shall submit legislation, including spending bills, to the president for his concurrence or veto. If he vetoes, Congress reconsiders and passes a

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## An education bill is a chance for lawmakers to reclaim their role.

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revised bill. In my experience, this is how things always worked.

But since 1996, these constitutional mandates have been violated. White House officials have been allowed to negotiate with Congressional leaders with the idea that the president would approve appropriations bills before they are submitted to the House or Senate. This bastardized practice has degenerated to virtual presidential control as President Clinton has made non-negotiable demands, threatening to insist on them even if it means closing down federal operations because financing for them has run out.

For an illustration of how the president's recalcitrance works out in practice, consider the fate of the appropriations bill for the subcommittee on labor, health and education, of which I am the chairman. Using inflammatory rhetoric, President Clinton has publicly demanded \$1.4 billion to reduce school class-sizes, with the

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*Arlen Specter, a Republican, is the senior senator from Pennsylvania.*

insulting addendum that Congress is indifferent to the education of America's schoolchildren. Congress has countered, saying those federal funds should be directed to reducing class size as the first priority but that local school districts should have the option to use the money for other purposes that they think might have greater benefit for their children.

The public may not care much about the legal points of government procedure and budget negotiation, but people do understand and prefer local control over a Washington straitjacket on schools.

This year, members of Congress who have tried to work out an accommodation with the president have met with brushoffs. Last March, at a meeting on Kosovo, I heard Bill Young, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, ask President Clinton if he would join Congress in elevating the unrealistic caps imposed by the Balanced Budget Act of 1997. The president ignored the question.

My attempts to get presidential attention for education issues have met a similar fate. At a White House receiving line in July, Prime Minister Ehud Barak of Israel asked me to support appropriations for the Wye River peace accords and was seconded immediately by President Clinton, who was standing next to him. I replied that I would, adding that first I wanted a discussion with the president on the appropriations bill for the subcommittee I head. The president agreed to meet, but my repeated efforts to schedule the promised meeting were to no avail.

In early August, I attended the president's weekly radio address, featuring his request for more funding for Gear Up, a program to help disadvantaged high school students prepare for college. After saying yes to the president's request for an increase in funding for that program, I again asked him for a meeting to discuss the education appropriations bill. Again, the president said he would meet with me but would not schedule a time.

Now Congress has presented the president with a bill that has \$300 million more for education than he requested, albeit with different priorities, including local control of federal aid that could go to reducing class size.

It is not only on education issues that the delicate constitutional balance on separation of powers has been subverted. Congress is threatened with becoming a eunuch if this imperial president solidifies his executive-branch power grab over the federal purse strings. As usual, public opinion will carry the day. Congress has the high ground here and can win this one if we hang tough. □

## So Sue Me

To the Editor:

Re "Daily News Error: \$100,000 Dreams Turn to Nightmare" (front page, Nov. 6):

So, some of the people who were mistakenly informed that they had won a sweepstakes now think they might be able to sue for a second's worth of disappointment?

What about the grocery store that was out of my children's favorite cereal yesterday? I was disappointed and my children were truly devastated.

And the cleaners on the corner didn't have my quilt ready today, as promised. That's disappointing, even though the temperature is supposed to be in the 60's all week. I'm also disappointed that, after years of working out, I still don't look like Christie Turlington, Linda Evangelista or Cindy Crawford. That's my health club's fault, I guess.

TONI HARGIS

Chicago, Nov. 6, 1999

## AIDS Virus Research

To the Editor:

Re "For Queens College Lab, Fanfare Turns to Whispers of Doubt" (Education page, Nov. 3): I regret that your reporter was unable to reach me for an interview. Active research on the AIDS virus cannot be done just behind the screen of a computer; it requires appropriate lab facilities. Such interim facilities at Queens College were made available only last month.

AIDS is an urgent and global problem affecting our daily lives throughout the world, and it needs the mobilization of the international community, particularly for Africa. I will continue to establish links of scientific cooperation with different regions of the world, including developing countries, to provide the future center at Queens College with the means to flourish and succeed in the fight against AIDS.

LUC MONTAGNIER

Dir., Bernard and Gloria Salick Ctr.  
for Molecular and Cellular Biology  
Queens College, CUNY  
Flushing, Queens, Nov. 8, 1999

## Gay Response to Falwell

To the Editor:

What a blessing for Frank Rich (column, Nov. 6) to speak of a softening heart within the Rev. Jerry Falwell. As an openly gay pastor in the United Church of Christ, I believe that it is now up to us in the gay Christian community to respond with a similar softening, not by a cynical questioning of his motives or a litmus test he must pass to be a worthy partner in dialogue, but through prayers of deep gratitude that Mr. Falwell is willing to open himself to feeling the wounds that the Christian church has inflicted on gay people and their loved ones.

(Rev.) DAVID K. SHULL  
Seattle, Nov. 6, 1999

## Sorry, Wrong Number

To the Editor:

Re "It's Not Chic, Not 212 and Sometimes Not Working" (news article, Nov. 7):

My deepest sympathy goes to George Stephanopoulos, a former aide to President Clinton, for losing his "chic" 212 area code and getting the clumsy 646 instead!

What a tragedy that he no longer receives calls from his "friends at the White House." Who does he expect to call him? President Clinton?

STELLA K. HERSHAN  
New York, Nov. 8, 1999

## How to Rebuild Serbia

To the Editor:

Re "Gypsies and Others Said to Draw Kosovar Fury" (news article, Nov. 5):

Thanks to the NATO bombing of Serbia, the Albanians of Kosovo have won their freedom to hate. They are now killing and expelling non-Albanians with impunity. Albanian separatists are closer than ever to their goal of tearing Kosovo from Serbia and creating an ethnically pure greater Albania. The Albanian attacks on minorities were predictable. In the past, whenever the Albanians had the upper hand in Kosovo they persecuted Serbs and other non-Albanians.

Despite the tremendous damage inflicted by the bombings, NATO governments continue to punish the people of Serbia (Serbs, Hungarians, Slavs, Muslims, Gypsies and Albanians) with economic sanctions. The least the West can do is lift sanctions immediately, so that ordinary citizens of Serbia can begin to rebuild their lives.

GEORGE TINTOR  
London, Nov. 7, 1999

## Havel Is a Hero

To the Editor:

Re "Havel Finds His Role Turning From Czech Hero to Has-Been" (front page, Nov. 4):

Thanks to Vaclav Havel's leadership, the Velvet Revolution and the dissolution of Czechoslovakia remained relatively peaceful. One need only look at Yugoslavia to see how misguided leadership by xenophobes like Slobodan Milosevic can fragment a country and produce bloody ethnic warfare.

Mr. Havel did not allow this to happen to a country that is potentially just as fragile as the rest in that region.

DESIREE ADIE  
Atlanta, Nov. 5, 1999

**NYT**

**The New York Times  
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cc: Mike  
EK

## Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Jones

Nothing explosive was detonated Monday when Judge Susan Webber Wright unsealed a packet of procedural motions from the Paula Jones litigation. But that doesn't mean there was nothing revealing. Among the papers is a filing made Jan. 7 of this year by President Clinton, a filing that reveals Mr. Clinton and his team to be both dishonest and distasteful. True, that observation is not exactly new; but the particulars are new, and they provide further proof that Mr. Clinton has made fools of the feminists when he convinced to stand by their man.

Recall that in June of last year, Mr. Clinton's private lawyer in the Jones case, William Bennett, blitized the political talk shows to issue a threat. He warned Mrs. Jones in no uncertain terms that if she proceeded with her case, she could expect to see her dirty laundry spread out for public inspection. "If Paula Jones insists on having her day in court and her trial, and she really wants to put her reputation at issue, as we hear, we are prepared to do it," Mr. Clinton's lawyer said. Mr. Bennett even offered a grim little parable about a dog that liked to chase cars: It got run over.

The feminists — as has long since been proved — are willing to avert their eyes to most sorts of behavior where Mr. Clinton is concerned. But Mr. Bennett's threats were just too much. Even the usually reliable Patricia Ireland complained that it was an ugly assault on women's rights to even think about putting Mrs. Jones' sexual history on trial. Afraid of losing his most important allies, Mr. Clinton sent Mr. Bennett back onto television, this time to apologize for any confusion and to guarantee that Mrs. Jones' sex life was off-limits. "Paula Jones' past sex life is irrelevant to this case," a chastised Mr. Bennett told NBC News.

At least, that's what the Clinton team said publicly. What Mr. Clinton had his lawyers do under cover of a court-imposed gag order was another thing altogether. That is, to use the oldest and hoariest of defenses for a man accused of sexual impropriety: They dismissed Mrs. Jones as a loose woman. On Jan. 7, Mr. Clinton filed a brief in which he argued that, even if Mrs. Jones' claims were true, she couldn't possibly have suffered from her encounter with the governor. She couldn't possibly have suffered any shock,

affront, emotional distress or psychological harm, the president claimed, because the sight of a penis was nothing new to her, and because she was not the least bit unfamiliar with the practice of oral sex. The Clinton bimbo-eruption team, you see, had found one Michael King. He claimed to have had sex with Mrs. Jones back when she was still Paula Corbin, back before that day Mr. Clinton called Paula up to his room at the Excelsior Hotel. And Mr. King claims that the then-Miss Corbin graced him with sexual favors within hours of their having met.

Mr. Clinton argued that it didn't matter if he exposed himself to Mrs. Jones and asked her gratify him because she was the sort of girl willing to do those things. As if the argument itself weren't offensive enough, the language used by Mr. Clinton and his lawyers was even worse — snide, leering and calculated to degrade. Mr. King's testimony would certainly be relevant as potential rebuttal testimony should the plaintiff assert at any trial that she was an innocent minister's daughter, or that she was unfamiliar with oral sex, or that she was emotionally traumatized by a suggestion that she perform oral sex. This is the Clinton defense, then: If a woman is sexually active it is okay for her boss to drop his trousers and demand service. If she demurs, and if the boss doesn't punish her with a demotion, then no harm done.

But foul it is. Mr. Clinton solidified his standing with feminists years ago by lobbying for, and then signing, the Violence Against Women Act. A principle tenet of the law was that women's sexual histories not be used to belittle their injuries in civil or criminal court. But such advocacy is merely the public Bill Clinton — the same Bill Clinton who sent his mouthpiece out to make these promises: "I don't intend to go after her prior sex history," Mr. Bennett said on Nightline. "Her sex life is of no particular concern to me," Mr. Bennett told the New York Times. "I will go to war with them," the president's lawyer proclaimed, "but one of the weapons I will not use in that war is going into Paula Jones' sexual history." Politically correct in public, Mr. Clinton and his lawyers were positively neanderthal in private. Their public statements were lies; their covert legal maneuvers were a disgrace.

## 100,000 teachers, sort of

It's lottery payday once again at the White House. The magic number 100,000 tripped off the Clinton administration's tongue this week as easily as it did in '94, when the White House said that that was exactly how many new police officers it would take to protect America's streets. This time, the White House it is hoping for the same number of new elementary school teachers. And with President Clinton's signature on the mammoth 1999 spending bill yesterday, \$1.2 billion is the prize for the first 30,000.

Republicans were right to be wary of all the zeros. Don't misunderstand. With many schools across the country facing classroom overcrowding and with 40 percent of this country's fourth graders reading below the basic reading level, 100,000 teachers is a noble idea. And certainly, sacrifices for the children should be made. But the seven-year plan was *deja vu* for the Republicans, who have watched the same type of plan for cop-power cost states and private donors.

In 1996, Mr. Clinton bragged that half of the promised amount of police had been put on the streets since the 1994 anti-crime bill, but figures showed that while 44,000 positions had been funded by Congress, only 20,000 cops ended up on the streets. The six-year spending plan covered \$25,000 per police officer, but that money only amounted to 38 percent of what it costs to deploy a police officer,

according to Morton Feldman, executive vice president of the National Association of Chiefs of Police.

Due to such lack of funding, he predicted that the number of sworn officers in city, county and state agencies would be back down to the 554,000 officers they started out with. But with, in effect, a federal fine of \$25,000 for any new position that goes unfilled, old positions are being kept vacant, and private contributors or the cities are asked to cover up to 95 percent of the uncovered costs, as happened in Sunnyvale, Ca.

Though Mr. Clinton got the Justice Department to provide additional funds for the anti-crime program in May, Republicans were hoping the new school-lottery winners would get what they needed up front. So to avoid frustrating the state, cities and schools, they extracted concessions to make sure such a long-term plan doesn't fall apart. The funding is not an entitlement and is subject to annual review. Most important, it gives recipients room to decide where the education money should be spent. That will keep states from becoming dependent on federal money that would run out after seven years — leaving tenured teachers and no income stream to pay for them. As far as Washington involvement in education goes, this is more benign than Washington's recent incursion into local law enforcement.

The Washington Times

★ FRIDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1998

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## Elect Anthony Williams

Not in recent memory has a candidate so galvanized local politics as has Anthony Williams in his bid for mayor. Late in the game, he entered a lackluster field of candidates for the Democratic nomination — not on the strength of a political machine or a strong base of carefully cultivated support in D.C. politics, but on the strength of the reputation he made as the District's chief financial officer. By the time skeptics got around to asking how seriously he should be taken, he had already attracted substantial support across the city, with contributions large and small flowing into his campaign coffers. He quickly dominated the Democratic field and became the candidate who set the terms of the debate. He easily defeated three sitting members of the D.C. Council, actually winning a majority of votes cast in the Democratic primary — notwithstanding a desperate and ultimately futile last-minute barrage of negative campaigning directed against him by one of his rivals. As far as the Democratic primary is concerned, the man and the moment were clearly well matched.

Now Mr. Williams faces Republican nominee Carol Schwartz in the general election Nov. 3. Mrs. Schwartz is a much-liked figure in D.C. politics, across geographical, racial, income and party lines, and rightly so. Her commitment to the District and, especially, all of our residents has been unwavering. In 1994, she ran a dignified and gutsy race for mayor against Marion Barry, and she did better than anyone might have thought possible for a Republican candidate for mayor, winning some 42 percent of the vote. That campaign meant a lot to the people who foresaw the likely consequences of the return of Mr. Barry. Yet she ran without rancor, and that meant a lot, too.

Mrs. Schwartz qualifies as one of the least cynical people ever to hold office in the District. Agree with her or disagree with her on a particular issue, there is no question but that she has arrived at her position on the strength of her belief in what is best for the District. There aren't a lot of politicians who

can make that claim. She is a fount of ideas, many of them good — the free Saturday parking that was just implemented, most recently. And she is tireless.

But this time, although she has said it will be her last campaign for mayor, is not her time. What this city needs most urgently is the set of qualities that propelled Mr. Williams to the forefront in the Democratic primary. In short order as the chief financial officer, Mr. Williams established his supreme managerial and technical competence, as well as his courage under fire. Bad as the state of the District's books was, straightening out decades of fiscal confusion, uncertainty and excuses was only the start of what Mr. Williams achieved in that job. He also demonstrated once and for all that this city can solve its problems if its leaders quit posturing and pointing fingers and instead set their minds to the task at hand. This city's biggest government problem has not been the absence of statehood or of a commuter tax or of a vote in Congress, nor a defective Home Rule charter, nor any of the other areas where D.C. officials have found it convenient to lay the blame. This city's problem has been mismanagement. And all it took was the appearance of talent and brains and energy on the scene, in the person of Mr. Williams, to demonstrate as much and, at last, to give the city hope.

The swiftest route to the restoration of Home Rule and the end of the control-board era is a fully functional city government whose standard is not merely competence (though we have a way to go to get to that point) but excellence. This may not be easy, but it's well past time to stop turning local government over to people who think the task is impossible. Tony Williams hasn't been here long, true. But in short order he has done more than anyone else to begin to restore to the District something that, somehow, had dissolved into a slough of cynicism, despair, paranoia and scapegoating. That something is confidence. He gets the job done. The Washington Times is pleased to endorse Anthony Williams for mayor.

**The Washington Times**

★ FRIDAY, OCTOBER 23, 1998

# Parties Seem To Have Deal On Education

By LIZETTE ALVAREZ

WASHINGTON, Oct. 14 — Delivering \$1.1 billion for education just in time for the Nov. 3 elections, Democrats and Republicans appeared to strike a compromise today on a spending bill that would earmark the money for more teachers.

The deal specifies that the \$1.1 billion be sent directly to the local school districts; something Republicans say is a victory for them but Democrats label as routine practice.

Since last year, Democrats have waged a campaign, spearheaded by President Clinton, to hire or train 100,000 new first- through third-grade teachers to help reduce class size to 18 pupils per instructor. Republicans had resisted the effort, expressing concerns about unqualified teachers and saying that any money should be tailored to local school district needs.

"Today, Republicans have tried to be Democrats for a day," said Representative David R. Obey of Wisconsin, a member of Appropriations Committee, calling the education compromise a victory for Democrats.

But Republicans said they scored a few victories, as well. Special education teachers will be among those who can be hired, something Republicans pushed for, and the compromise specifies the money can only be spent for teacher training, hiring and testing. In other words, not a nickel will go toward public school construction and renovations, a proposal that Democrats lobbied for heavily throughout the year.

"We agree with the President's desire to help classroom teachers, but our proposal does not create big, new Federal education programs," said Representative Bill Goodling, Republican of Pennsylvania, the chairman of the Committee on Education and the Workforce. "Rather our proposal will drive dollars directly to the classroom and gives local educators more options for spending Federal funds to help disadvantaged children."

But Rahm I. Emanuel, a senior adviser to President Clinton, said the terms of the agreement on education spending were very nearly "a mirror image of the President's proposals." In any event, he said, the agreement is much closer to the President's budget request than to the spending levels favored by Republicans.

Mr. Emanuel said that he understood the Republicans' desire to take credit for new education spending, but that most of the ideas came from the President. For months, he said, Republicans "have opposed the whole idea."

All year long, Democrats and Republicans have been locked in battle over the course of education in the country. Democrats have pushed for more money for public schools, asserting that Republicans have neglected public school children in favor of richer students.

Republicans have emphasized an approach that would funnel tax dollars to private schools or directly to the local districts. They argue that the traditional Democratic way of doing this has done nothing to enhance public education in the country.

Both these approaches died in the Senate this year after a prolonged struggle and a Democratic filibuster on education tax breaks.

But negotiations over the spending bills revived Mr. Clinton's plan for more teachers and schools construction, and it came at an opportune time.

The \$1.1 billion in the expected compromise spending bill would not be sufficient to hire 100,000 teachers, since it provides financing for only one year. But Democrats said they would ask for the same amount for the next seven years to try to get to that allotted number.

**The New York Times**

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1998

Adv -  
Class size

## G.O.P. Leaders in Congress Agree on Trimmed Tax Package

By RICHARD W. STEVENSON

WASHINGTON, Oct. 14 — Their hopes for a big tax cut this year having been blocked by President Clinton and Congressional Democrats, Republican leaders tentatively agreed tonight on a sharply scaled-back package that kept alive several politically popular tax breaks.

After several days in which squabbling among Republicans endangered efforts to pass any tax bill this year, House and Senate negotiators compromised as Congress raced to finish work on the budget at home to campaign.

The package would extend an existing credit for corporate research and development, extend tax breaks for employers who hired welfare recipients and other unemployed people and provide relief for farmers hit hard by falling commodity prices.

The package would also speed an existing plan to allow self-employed people to deduct all of their health insurance premiums.

The package would cost about \$5 billion over five years and \$9.2 billion over 10 years. But the changes would be fully paid for by closing loopholes and extending or increasing other taxes.

Congressional aides said the deal

must still be approved by Senator William V. Roth Jr., the Delaware Republican who is chairman of the Senate Finance Committee. Mr. Roth was still objecting tonight to several details of the package, especially a provision sought by a single Republican Senator, Phil Gramm of Texas, who has threatened to hold up the bill if he did not get what he wanted.

Mr. Gramm was seeking to include a provision, already approved by the House, that would allow Texas to forgive payroll taxes incurred by students enrolled at public universities, a right already enjoyed by most other states.

The bill was little more than a mop-up exercise for Republicans, who had seen this year, the first since 1969 in which the Federal government has run a budget surplus, as their best opportunity in decades to enact a sweeping tax cut.

But at every turn, they found themselves boxed in by Mr. Clinton, who in his State of the Union Message last January laid out a politically powerful dictum: leave the surplus untouched until Congress and the Administration settle on a plan to shore up the Social Security system, which will run short of money in coming decades as the baby boom

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*Several politically popular tax breaks survive, at least for now.*

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generation retires.

Fearful of being portrayed by Democrats as putting tax cuts ahead of retirement security for coming generations, Republicans were forced to backtrack on their tax-cut plans all year long. The most avid tax cutters in both the House and Senate argued that projected surpluses were so huge — \$1.55 trillion over the next decade, according to the Congressional Budget Office — that there was plenty of money to deal with Social Security and have a tax cut.

They advocated tax reductions worth hundreds of billions of dollars, to be paid for almost entirely out of the surplus. But moderate Republicans, especially in the Senate, balked. Even after the House lowered its sights and passed an \$80 billion, five-year tax cut last month,

the Senate refused to take up the measure, effectively killing it.

The package agreed on tonight does little more than keep expiring tax provisions alive for a few more months. Under a bill passed by the House several days ago, most of the provisions would have been extended until the end of next year; the compromise worked out tonight would shorten the extensions for several months.

The deal would also make it easier for middle-income people who are subject to the alternative minimum tax to claim the full benefit of the child credit and a credit for college tuition.

Separately, budget negotiators working on an emergency farm-relief package agreed to include a provision sought by Senator Charles Grassley, Republican of Iowa, that would let farmers put tax-deductible deposits of up to 20 percent of their income into special savings accounts. The provision is intended to allow farmers to save money in good years as a buffer for bad years.

The emergency bill will also include a provision to let farmers average their incomes over multiple years to smooth the swings in their tax bills as their earnings rise and

Educ -  
Class size

# Teachers, parents equate smaller with better classes

The Washington Times  
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1998

## STUDENT BODIES

President Clinton has made reducing average class size a priority of his education-spending package. The following is a state-by-state look at current average class sizes and the federal money due each state under the president's proposal.

State	Class size	Fiscal 1999	State	Class size	Fiscal 1999
Ala.	20.9	\$18,798,500	Mont.	19.0	3,800,726
Alaska	20.2	2,582,684	Neb.	18.2	4,734,433
Ariz.	23.8	16,948,214	Nev.	20.9	3,295,673
Ark.	20.2	11,255,412	N.H.	20.1	2,657,442
Calif.	27.7	123,775,973	N.J.	20.5	24,057,850
Colo.	23.7	10,486,875	N.M.	19.4	9,318,213
Conn.	20.1	10,226,945	N.Y.	22.0	101,247,267
Del.	23.7	2,722,500	N.C.	24.2	20,747,668
D.C.	21.4	3,209,436	N.D.	18.4	2,656,033
Fla.	24.0	49,894,211	Ohio	22.5	44,660,488
Ga.	21.0	28,996,899	Okla.	19.4	12,948,826
Hawaii	21.8	3,002,253	Ore.	22.5	10,167,205
Idaho	22.0	3,264,060	Pa.	21.8	49,373,285
Ill.	22.0	48,546,200	R.I.	19.9	3,657,146
Ind.	20.8	17,030,172	S.C.	19.6	14,035,900
Iowa	20.8	7,751,102	S.D.	19.3	2,894,782
Kan.	20.1	8,177,580	Tenn.	22.0	19,191,869
Ky.	22.6	19,019,445	Texas	19.0	94,146,440
La.	20.1	28,537,301	Utah	24.8	4,929,582
Maine	18.6	4,316,966	Vt.	18.7	2,618,048
Md.	23.8	14,780,655	Va.	20.3	16,407,512
Mass.	21.4	21,759,335	Wash.	23.1	16,163,147
Mich.	25.5	48,682,108	W.Va.	19.7	10,946,862
Minn.	22.9	12,936,107	Wis.	21.9	18,681,182
Miss.	22.0	18,599,632	Wyo.	18.3	2,418,036
Mo.	21.6	18,784,638	U.S.	21.9	1,100,000,000

Source: Associated Press

The Washington Times

ASSOCIATED PRESS

A year after California began drastically reducing classroom size, teachers and parents alike are pleased with the change. Now President Clinton is campaigning for smaller classes everywhere.

Although classrooms across the nation already are far less crowded than they were in California, the administration wants to spend \$12 billion over seven years to hire 100,000 new teachers for grades one through three. Officials cite research they say links smaller classes to better learning.

But the research is less supportive than public opinion polls, working teachers and common sense in favor of lower class sizes. Researchers have studied and debated the issue for decades, often harshly.

"When you ask teachers, they seem to know instinctively classrooms should be smaller," said Marshall S. Smith, acting deputy secretary of education, when questioned about dueling studies. In the Reagan and Bush years, the Education Department opposed class-size reduction as expensive and ineffective.

The National Education Association, the nation's largest teachers union, has been pushing since the late 1960s for classes of 15 pupils.

Mr. Smith and others quote from a "fairly rigorous" study of a Tennessee experiment during the 1980s with cutting class sizes from 25 pupils to 15 in kindergarten through the third grade. The study found that pupils in smaller classes did better on standardized tests.

Other researchers say the starting and ending numbers in any reduction scheme are more important than the numbers in between. In California, average class size in the early grades went from 30 to the legally prescribed 20. Mr. Clinton wants to bring classes down from an average of 22 nationwide to 18.

"Reducing class size from 22 to 18 is unlikely to make a big difference," said Robert Slavin, a researcher at Baltimore's Johns Hopkins University and head of a successful reading program. "Reducing class size from 30 to 18 is probably going to make a much larger difference."

"It's very expensive, and probably has more to do with building morale and a positive environment with the schools than it does with achievement," said Mr. Slavin, who believes reducing class size is "a good thing to do."

Under the plan, California would get \$124 million; New York, \$101 million; Texas, \$94 million;

Florida, \$50 million; Illinois and Pennsylvania, \$49 million each; and Ohio, \$45 million.

Mr. Slavin praised Mr. Clinton for wanting to phase in the hiring of teachers and assure that they are qualified, hoping to avoid troubles California had in its crash program and to stress reading. But he said the money could be more efficiently used on tutoring or other targeted approaches.

The proposal figures on an average teacher cost of \$35,000 in salary and benefits. Local districts would pay 10 percent to 50 percent of the cost, with poor districts getting a higher subsidy. About 37,000 teachers would be hired the first year.

Gene V. Glass, at Arizona State University in Tempe, questioned the benefits.

"The difference in achievement between where we are now, which is 22, 23, 24 kids per class, and where the president is talking about, 18, is very small," he said.

But polls consistently find voter support for smaller classes. In California's Orange County, some parents are pulling their children back from private schools into public schools because of smaller classes.

## FASTENER LAW STUCK

It's been 12 years — and counting — since Congress first tried to regulate nuts, bolts and rivets:

■ **1985-86** — House subcommittee on oversight and investigations holds hearings after investigating reports of problems with substandard, mismarked or counterfeit nuts, bolts and rivets.

■ **1988** — Rep. John D. Dingell, Michigan Democrat, introduces the Fastener Quality Assurance Act of 1988.

■ **1989** — House passes fastener legislation, a combination of Mr. Dingell's bill and other proposed fastener laws.

■ **1990** — President Bush signs the new Fastener Quality Act into law Nov. 16.

■ **1991** — National Institute of Standards and Technology appoints an industry advisory committee to advise it on drafting the regulations. The committee is chartered for two years but ends up meeting for nearly six.

■ **1992** — NIST releases draft regulations for public comment.

■ **1994** — Congress introduces amendments recommended by the committee. The fastener industry forms a task force to create an "industry strategy" on the amendments.

■ **1995** — A second industry task force submits another set of recommendations and meets with the NIST's advisory committee and members of Congress to discuss more amendments.

■ **1996** — A second set of amendments is adopted in March as part of the American Technology Advancement Act signed by President Clinton. NIST issues a new version of the regulations to go into effect the following year.

■ **1997** — In April NIST postpones the new regulations for another year on the grounds that there are not enough accredited laboratories to test all the fasteners that will fall under the new law.

■ **September 1997** — NIST amends proposed regulations to accommodate concerns of the automobile industry and other U.S. manufacturers and schedules them to go into effect in May 1998.

■ **November 1997** — NIST receives 500 pages of comments on proposed regulations, including a long list of concerns from the fastener industry.

■ **December 1997** — U.S. Small Business Administration's Office of Advocacy asks NIST to postpone the new regulations because they could damage small business.

The Washington Times

well have the effect of shutting down many U.S. manufacturers."

In addition, U.S. fastener industry executives now are raising concerns because the rules would not apply to the nuts and bolts in pre-assembled imported products. And they are worried about how they would affect their suppliers — companies that plate and heat-treat the metal they use.

"We don't think you can rush into implementing regulations that are not sufficiently clear and sufficiently workable," Mr. Harris said. "Virtually everybody is telling them: Please slow down. Please make sure you get everything right."

That sentiment has been picked

up by the Office of Advocacy at the U.S. Small Business Administration. In a letter sent to the NIST last November, the agency contends the new regulations are "erroneous" and demands another study to determine how they would affect small businesses.

Subhas G. Malghan, the NIST official in charge of the fastener act, said the agency has worked out all the remaining issues. He attributed those kinds of doubts to "misunderstanding" the rules. Mr. Malghan vowed the new regulations will go into effect this May.

To consumer groups, however, the fastener quality act already illustrates how easy it has become to stall a new regulation.

"We're in an era of government where there's a strong anti-regulatory influence," said Frank Clemente, director of Congress Watch, an arm of the consumer group Public Citizen. "It is very hard to regulate health and safety improvements in the U.S. government these days."

### Regulations obsolete?

In fact, it might be too late for the fastener act. Over the years some executives in the fastener industry have concluded that the whole idea has become obsolete.

That's because nearly all manufacturers here and abroad have since adopted a computer-driven, "in-process" system that tests the fasteners as they move through the production process. The average defect rate has been cut from as many 50,000 to 60,000 per million to less than 100 per million.

Since the law was passed, every major fastener maker has become accredited by the nonprofit International Standards Organization and most imprint specifications on each bolt, said Steve Schonholtz, president of Garden Bolt International, a New Jersey company that's one of the largest importers in the country. Most distributors have set up systems to re-inspect nuts and bolts before they are sold.

"Eight years ago maybe the law was necessary," he said. "But today we don't need it. The marketplace has responded to the world requirements for better quality."

The NIST's Mr. Malghan acknowledged the improvements in the industry.

"The industry has really gone through a revolution," he said. "As a result, the entire quality of the fasteners has improved and the cost has come down."

But he said NIST has built-in provisions that would allow fastener makers to comply with the law using the in-process testing.

Through it all, Mr. Dingell, the law's original sponsor, still hasn't given up hope on his fastener act.

"The author would still like to see it implemented," said a Dingell aide. "He's still watching it."

Ed -  
Class Size

# Parties differ on funding for teachers

By Nancy E. Roman  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Republicans and Democrats in Congress are lining up to support a popular idea: 100,000 new school teachers whose salaries will be paid by the federal government.

But there's a battle looming over the details — like how to come up with the \$7.5 billion necessary to pay these teachers.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, Massachusetts Democrat, would create an incentive for 100,000 teachers by forgiving the student loan debt of students who go into teaching and stay there for five years. He would pay for the proposal by closing a corporate tax loophole, but he has not said which one.

Rep. Bill Paxon, New York Republican, has proposed giving money directly to governors, who would decide whom to hire and where to place them. He would pay for them by eliminating the National Endowment of the Arts, the National Endowment of the Humanities, AmeriCorps, and several federal programs administered by the departments of Education and Energy.

"Every district I've been in in the West is talking about overcrowded classrooms and the need for new teachers," he said, after returning from trips to Arizona, Nevada and California.

Mr. Paxon said he has been looking for solutions that would break out of the Republican mold, while avoiding new public spending.

"The president is going to offer, as he always does, the usual Washington-controlled program that is paid for by raising taxes or spending the surplus, he said.

By contrast, Mr. Paxon's plan would pay for the teachers by shrinking government.

"The question is whether to fund pornographic art or to fund teachers," he said. "It's an easy call."

Mr. Paxon said his plan has a big bonus: Killing the agencies that Republicans have not been able to vanquish, like the NEA and NEH.

## NEW TEACHERS

Under Rep. Bill Paxon's proposal, the federal government would pay for 100,000 new teachers nationwide with annual salaries of \$25,000 per teacher. States would receive funding based on school population. Here are the number of teachers that selected states would receive:

State	Number of new teachers
Maryland	1,783
Virginia	2,386
District of Columbia	172
California	12,054
Texas	8,295
New York	6,151
Florida	4,878
Ohio	4,009
Pennsylvania	3,935
New Jersey	2,658

The Washington Times

"You've got to be somewhat political about this," Mr. Paxon said. "We have tried to abolish these programs and we have run smack dab into a wall of resistance. We have to tie these ideas into a wall of teachers."

Not everyone is sold on the plan.

Rep. Dan Miller, Florida Republican, doubts that Congress would ever really eliminate the programs, even though he believes Mr. Paxon intends to kill them.

"That is not the history of how we create new programs," said Mr. Miller, who serves on the Appropriations Committee. "I'm a little skeptical. If we want to ship more money, ship them into programs that work."

Moreover, Mr. Miller said he is not a huge fan of block granting — giving lump sums of federal tax revenue to the states with a general

directive like "hire teachers."

"We collect the money and give it to someone else to spend?" he asked.

Republicans have expected for months that education would be one of the central issues in the 1998 congressional and gubernatorial elections. But they have had a hard time getting a handle on the issue.

Democrats proposed more money: More money to shore up crumbling schools, to give out more student loans, to expand college work study.

Republicans responded that the federal government should butt out, except in a few select areas such as establishing a pilot project on school choice and a tax-benefit for "education savings accounts"

Mr. Paxon thought the GOP had to have more.

He drafted his plan and then bounced it past 30 or 35 fellow House members. He spent last week raising money in 10 congressional districts, and said he gets "incredible feedback" from voters across the country.

Rep. Mark Souder, Indiana Republican, said he discussed the idea with Mr. Paxon at length before he unveiled it. He supports it.

"It's clear the Republican approach has to be a little more than just vouchers," he said. "Education is a fundamental challenge to us because we don't think it is a federal problem."

But he said by linking the money with teachers — which members of all political persuasions support — and by paying for them with the elimination of NEA, NEH and AmeriCorps, "It has strong appeal to our general conference."

"If it comes from those places it is better than it is currently being spent," he said. "And it gives Republicans something to talk about in reforming education."

The Washington Times  
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1998

# Archer proposes difficult agenda

Says downsizing, tax cap needed

By Cheryl Wetzstein  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The chairman of the powerful tax-writing committee yesterday said his panel would seek to "downsize" federal power, cap the federal tax rate and oversee new social reforms — all without raising taxes.

"That's what the post-deficit era is about — downsizing the size and power of Washington and upsizing the power of individual Americans," House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Bill Archer, Texas Republican, said yesterday on Capitol Hill.

Mr. Archer's 1998 agenda stresses tax reform, debt-repayment and oversight of the troubled Medicare and Social Security programs.

The projected 10-year \$660 billion budget surplus must be earmarked for tax reduction and debt reduction, said Mr. Archer. Otherwise, "the politicians will spend it — they always do," he warned.

This agenda differs substantially from recent White House proposals, which *The Washington Times* has reported could cost more than \$42 billion.

President Clinton is scheduled to outline his 1998 proposals in his State of the Union speech Tuesday and his 1999 federal budget the following week.

Mr. Archer said a priority is to cap federal income taxes at 19 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP).

Federal taxes are now at nearly 20 percent — "the highest peacetime federal tax take in our nation's history," said Mr. Archer.

"The record high tax status quo has got to go," he said.

In addition to the tax cap, the chairman said he would like to see



Photo by Kenneth Lambert/The Washington Times

House Ways and Means Chairman Bill Archer announces the GOP's tax agenda at the Capitol yesterday.

## WAYS AND MEANS AGENDA

House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Bill Archer yesterday laid out his committee's agenda for 1998. Here are some highlights:

- Cap federal taxes at 19 percent of the gross domestic product.
- Eliminate "unfair" taxes such as the marriage penalty and estate taxes.
- Reform the Internal Revenue Service.
- Ensure that taxpayers do not pay the \$285,000 the Clinton administration owes for conducting secret health care task force meetings.
- Create a \$1 billion block grant to promote marriage, involvement of fathers in families and payment of child support.
- Review child care proposals that include at-home parents.
- Pursue passage of a "fast-track" trade bill again.
- Continue reform of Medicare.
- Create a panel to resolve Social Security insolvency.
- Oversee creation of tamperproof Social Security cards.
- Oversee new requirements for electronic filing of taxes.

Source: Ways and Means Committee

The Washington Times

the 15 percent tax bracket broadened to include more taxpayers, and the "death tax" and "marriage penalty" eliminated.

Mr. Archer also proposed a new program — a \$1 billion block grant for states to use to promote marriage, father involvement, parenting and more efficient child-support collection.

This "Fatherhood Counts" block grant could be paid for by capping lawyers' fees in the \$368 billion tobacco settlement pending before

Congress, said Mr. Archer.

Lawyers currently stand to make \$50 billion from the case — an "obscene" amount — "and I say that as a lawyer myself," the chairman said. Some of that money should go to "make children stronger," he said.

Mr. Archer urged Mr. Clinton to immediately begin a campaign to pass a "fast-track" trade bill, which proponents say will lead to better trade deals.

Despite efforts by the White

*Mr. Archer said a priority is to bring federal income taxes below their current 20 percent of GDP.*

House and many Republicans in Congress, fast-track was defeated last year.

If Mr. Clinton brings in 25 more Democratic votes, "I believe we can be successful in passing fast-track," Mr. Archer said.

The chairman promised to work with federal agencies to monitor welfare reform and develop proposals for child care and Social Security reform.

But he advised the Clinton administration not to try to raise taxes, siphon projected surpluses away from debt reduction, or slip the taxpayers its \$285,000 court-ordered bill for conducting health reform meetings in secret.

"If the president insists on making taxpayers pay [the \$285,000], I will ask the House to vote to protect the taxpayers," Mr. Archer said.

**The Washington Times**  
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 21, 1998

# BUDGET TALKS TRIP OVER SCHOOL AID AND OTHER ISSUES

4/  
FOURTH DEADLINE LOOMS

## Republicans and White House Dig In to Send a Message to Voters Next Month

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

WASHINGTON, Oct. 13 — Struggling to meet their fourth deadline over the Federal budget, Congressional Republicans and White House officials wrestled today with their differences over education, the most politically high-stakes element of the budget battle.

Negotiators ended a late-night session without resolving disagreements over not just education, but the census and contraceptives. These were among the biggest issues that still separated the two sides as each tried to formulate a message to take home to voters for the Nov. 3 elections.

On education, the issue that President Clinton has propelled to the forefront and on which Republicans do not want to appear recalcitrant, both sides have agreed to spend more than \$1 billion but not on how to spend it. The President insists that the money be spent to hire 100,000 teachers across the country so that the average class can be reduced to 18 students. Republicans, criticizing "Beltway bureaucrats," say local school districts should decide how the money is spent, whether it be for teachers or computers.

As the two sides broke tonight, Erskine B. Bowles, the White House chief of staff and the President's top negotiator, emerged from the session saying: "We don't have a deal. We made some good progress. The biggest issue, still, is the 100,000 teachers."

Mr. Bowles added: "There are still some open issues" upon which no agreement has been reached, but he sounded optimistic about a session scheduled for Wednesday morning. "I think we've got a chance of wrapping up tomorrow."

Republicans accepted two smaller education initiatives, one to help all children learn to read by the end of third grade and the other expand after-school programs. But they said they were not budging on an Administration proposal to provide billions of dollars' worth of bonds to modernize schools around the country.

The two sides remained apart on

Continued From Page A1

several ideological matters, including whether to allow Federal health plans to cover contraceptives and whether to allow those few plans with religious affiliations to refuse to cover contraceptives not only on religious grounds but on moral grounds as well.

They were also split on how to conduct the census in 2000. This is one of the thorniest issues. It is not one that moves voters, but it is vital to both parties because it helps determine their relative strength in Congress.

Speaker Newt Gingrich and Mr. Bowles met for much of the day in the Speaker's office, shuttling in and out of ante-rooms with their lieutenants but giving few clues about the nitty-gritty details of their talks.

They have given themselves another deadline of midnight Wednesday to wrap up about \$500 billion worth of spending items, but they could easily extend that deadline another day or two. They missed having spending bills in place for the Oct. 1 start of the fiscal year, providing temporary financing for the Federal Government through Oct. 9, then Oct. 12, then Wednesday.

Some of the other central issues, like financing for the International Monetary Fund, were all but nailed down, but neither side was ready to declare a final deal until all the other elements of the budget package were in place.

"We're down to splitting infinitives," Representative Dick Armey of Texas, the House majority leader, said of approving money for the international fund.

As they worked through several issues, Republican leaders appeared to be calculating the differences in

their own party that might sour a final deal when it arrives on the House floor — more of a concern than the Senate floor because the Senate has fewer differences among its Republicans and with the White House.

Some conservative Republicans said they were concerned over the emerging shape of the final package, particularly elements dealing with family planning and emergency spending.

They say the President's proposals for emergency spending, on such items as the peacekeeping mission in Bosnia, fixing the year 2000 computer bug and providing relief to American farmers, will break the limits in last year's balanced-budget agreement. The Administration said such money would come from corresponding cuts elsewhere in the budget, but conservatives say it comes from raiding the surplus.

If Republican leaders cannot count on their conservatives, they will need support from Democrats to pass the final package. And Democrats today expressed concern over some White House positions, on issues like the census and an apparent compromise with Republicans on aid for farmers.

Representative David M. McIntosh, Republican of Indiana and a leader of House conservatives, said he believed Republican leaders were ceding too quickly to the White House. He said that the President appeared to be getting his way on some issues but that what he really seemed to be winning was the war of public relations.

"The President is getting what he wants; he's controlling the situation," Mr. McIntosh lamented. When Senator Trent Lott, the Republican leader, appears on television, Mr. McIntosh said, "it's in reaction to the President."

Nonetheless, Mr. McIntosh suggested that he could vote for a final accord. "Most conservatives are holding out for a better deal than we're hearing," he said, "but we'll probably give them the vote because we don't see a much better alternative happening if it goes down."

Others were distressed, particularly about two contraceptive issues. One would require Federal health plans to cover contraceptives. The other would bar overseas family-planning organizations from lobbying to change abortion laws in other countries.

Representative Tom Coburn, Republican of Oklahoma, said he wanted to see the final language on the health plan measure. As it passed both the House and the Senate, it allowed for health plans with religious affiliation to decline to offer contraceptive coverage; Mr. Coburn wants plans to be able to refuse such coverage on moral grounds as well.

The plan covers five specific types of contraception. Mr. Coburn said he wanted two of those — Depo-Provera and intrauterine devices — to be eliminated from coverage because he said they interfered with fertilization and were therefore considered to cause abortions. He said did not consider birth-control pills as causing abortions unless they were taken as morning-after pills.

Democrats like Representative Nita M. Lowey of Westchester County, who introduced the contraceptive plan in the House, said she strongly objected to Mr. Coburn's position. She said that health plans based their decisions on what to offer on profits, not morals.

The question is whether the White House will insist on keeping the contraceptive coverage in the final package and will oppose the moral exception. If the Administration al-

lows the moral exception, it could alienate some House Democrats.

House Democrats are also worried about the direction the talks are taking on the census. This has always loomed as one of the biggest issues separating Democrats and Republicans. The results of a census help determine the future power of the two political parties. But the fact that the two sides are finally talking about it now indicates that they are covering the full range of budget matters that need to be resolved.

The White House has proposed buying time on the matter by financing the Commerce, State and Justice Departments only for five months. The Commerce Department contains the Census Bureau.

White House officials said this would put off the nettlesome issue while allowing a resolution of the entire spending package, but House Democrats worry it would be a prelude to giving in to Republicans down the road. Republican leaders like the idea of postponing a decision but say that financing should be restricted only for the Census Bureau. They worry that restrictions could eventually backfire and shut down vitally needed parts of the Government.

On several touchy environmental issues that have prompted repeated veto threats from the White House, the two sides appeared to be opting for compromise over confrontation, with several disputes resolved. But a few particularly difficult issues remained under negotiation.

A compromise was struck between the White House and Alaskan lawmakers on logging in the Tongass National Forest. But compromise still eluded them on the question of building a road through a wilderness refuge to connect two communities in Alaska.

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Class size

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The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1998

It was not clear how quickly the 2,000 observers, whom Mr. Holbrooke specifically defined as "verifiers," could be assembled. They will be drawn from diplomats, former military personnel and non-governmental organizations.

The observers are to have a number of roles: verifying Mr. Milosevic's troop levels, assisting relief groups to help in the return of about 250,000 ethnic Albanian refugees to their homes and monitoring elections.

The 2,000-member team is to operate under the auspices of the O.S.C.E., a 54-nation group based in Vienna that includes the United States and Russia as members.

Known for its monitoring of human rights, elections and arms control agreements, the organization has never tried anything on the scale outlined in the Kosovo agreement. Its biggest long-term mission so far has been of 300 monitors in Bosnia. The observers are to be present in Kosovo for one year with the possibility of renewal if both sides agree, an official of the group said.

Mr. Holbrooke said that Mr. Geremek, who is the Foreign Minister of Poland, was somewhat taken aback by the size and potential expense of the role devised for the European security organization in Kosovo.

Mr. Geremek met Mr. Holbrooke on Monday night in Brussels to review the agreement and was expected to come to Belgrade on Friday for a signing ceremony with the Serbian

authorities. Mr. Solana and General Clark are to come to Belgrade to sign the reconnaissance agreement with the Yugoslav authorities and are "enthusiastically preparing" for the trip, Mr. Holbrooke said. But Mr. Solana's office in Brussels said it was not clear where the signing would take place.

The President of Serbia, Milan Milutinovic, announced on television tonight an 11-point political agenda and a seemingly ambitious timetable.

The document calls for self-government to be restored with through elections for a Kosovo parliament within nine months.

Local police forces are to be creat-

## **Both sides claim victory as the Kosovo standoff ends.**

ed based on "proportion of population." That would mean the police in towns and villages would be almost entirely ethnic Albanian; a radical change from the various kinds of present-day police forces, which are almost totally Serbian.

During his nine days of negotiations here, Mr. Holbrooke devoted almost all his energy to the Serbian side of the conflict and visited the ethnic Albanian leadership in Kosovo only twice. He had no dealings with the K.L.A.

The agreement was particularly welcome news for the approximately 250,000 ethnic Albanian refugees who have been forced in the last five months to abandon their villages after methodical attacks by Serb forces. Tens of thousands of those refugees are still camped in the open in makeshift shelters, waiting for the Serbian police to disappear from the perimeters of their villages before they go home.

The refugees are clustered in four

main areas where the fighting was heaviest: the Drenica region in central Kosovo around the towns of Glogovac, Klina and Srbica; around the towns of Pec and Prizren in western Kosovo; north of the capital, Pristina, around the towns of Podujevo and Mitrovica, and in the southern region around Suva Reka where the Serbian offensive ended 10 days ago.

The agreements were also good news to the international relief agencies, which will carry the burden of helping restore the broken lives of the refugees.

Margaret O'Keefe, the director of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees office in Belgrade, said more than 20 foreign staff members had left Serbia by Monday night, leaving only three behind. But the staff was beginning to return today and two truck convoys will head for Kosovo on Wednesday, she said.

Some American diplomats who left Belgrade by car for Hungary on Monday returned to Belgrade this afternoon. Their departure and the partial closure of the United States Embassy — documents were shredded and computer hard drives destroyed — was intended to increase the pressure on Mr. Milosevic.

But 40 American and European Union diplomatic monitors are unlikely to return to Kosovo before next week.

Before heading home to New York, Mr. Holbrooke was asked if Mr. Milosevic could be trusted to fulfill the agreement worked out over nine days of sessions that often ended after midnight.

The question of trust and Mr. Milosevic is a favorite theme of Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright. She has repeatedly said he cannot be trusted.

Mr. Holbrooke was less definitive. "Our issue is to deal with the realities and do the best we can," Mr. Holbrooke said. On the question of trust he said, "There's no value in going down that route today."

# The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1998

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## Big-city districts filling teacher slots

By Tamara Henry  
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Forty of the largest inner-city school districts have made great gains in hiring and training qualified elementary school teachers this fiscal year, despite national concerns about teacher quality and predictions of an approaching shortage, says a report out Sunday.

President Clinton released the report by the Council of the Great City Schools — a coalition of the nation's large, urban districts — and touted the results as proof of success for his initiative to hire 100,000 teachers to reduce class size in early grades so students can improve in the basics.

School districts across the nation received a total of \$1.2 billion for the first year of the program, \$281 million of which was allocated to 54 Great City Schools districts. Officials point to research that shows students learn better in smaller classes — no more than 18 students. The report, assessing the initiative only for urban schools, found that:

► Districts — from Atlanta, New York and Los Angeles to Omaha, Cleveland and Dallas — used the federal funding to hire 3,558 teachers, whose total salary and benefits equaled almost \$168 million.

► Of the teachers hired, 11.4%, a total of 404, were hired with emergency credentials.

► The teachers are working in areas of highest need, including literacy, math, and bilingual and special education.

"Continuation and expansion of the federal program will be critical to urban school efforts to accelerate achievement gains, ensure quality teaching, (and) turn around low-performing schools," council executive director Michael Caserly says.

But Clinton complained that Congress has passed a spending bill that "eliminates the class-size initiative."

Jeanne Allen of the Center for Education Reform says the program has not come close to reaching its goal of initially hiring 30,000 teachers throughout the nation — not just in urban areas — "and it's very unclear as to how this money has been used" in all districts.

"The program doesn't get to the heart of the problem," Allen says. "Making schools more effective comes down to more than just hiring additional teachers."

## Reforming high school

Head of principals group cites tests in call for change

By Tamara Henry  
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — U.S. high schools have posted "disappointing" achievement gains, says the head of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, who is calling for major changes in the education of teenagers.

Gerry Tirozzi, executive director of the NASSP, says most of the school-reform focus has been on elementary schools, prompting many to improve academic scores. But "success at the secondary level has been especially disappointing," he says, adding that test results and other indicators reflect the need for additional support for middle and high schools.

"There is a special set of challenges specific to secondary schools," Tirozzi told a recent gathering here at the National Press Club. "Not only do these schools face a list of existing issues needing attention, such as maintaining safe and orderly environments and helping students make the transition from the lower grades to work, but a host of new concerns lie on the horizon."

Tirozzi pointed to the record enrollment at schools nationwide, the increasing diversity of the students, the need for new and renovated schools, and the need for rigorous education. Twelfth-graders dropped 4 percentage points in their goal of meeting reading standards set by the National Assessment of Educational Progress.

Tirozzi proposed several changes:

► Requiring algebra and geometry in



By H. Darr Besser, USA TODAY

Tirozzi: 'Special challenges' ahead

eighth grade and expanding the availability of demanding courses such as those through the Advanced Placement and International Baccalaureate programs. Education researchers say that taking algebra and geometry, as well as AP and IB courses, has been linked to better performance.

► Downsizing schools to a maximum of 600 students. The NASSP years ago proposed the smaller schools because many educators complained that high schools are too large and impersonal.

► Using "individualized development plans" for all students having difficulty in key academic areas.

Currently, such plans are used to customize the school schedule only for students who are in special education or are identified with learning disabilities.

► Establishing a U.S. Principals Academy to teach and train people how to be strong, effective leaders providing the vision, focus and direction for schools.

The academy — a two-year graduate program — could be modeled after the John F. Kennedy School at Harvard University, which provides expertise and training in the field of public policy.

While Tirozzi urges Congress to take the lead in implementing many of his recommendations to "jump-start education reform at the secondary school level," he says specific actions can be made by state education commissioners, state superintendents, local school districts, principals and teachers.

# In Iowa, front-runner picks up his pace

By Judy Keen  
USA TODAY

DUBUQUE, Iowa — For months, Texas Gov. George W. Bush's campaign for the Republican presidential nomination seemed to be set on cruise control, coasting in the fast lane past his political rivals.

He gave the same speech every day, rarely mentioned the other GOP candidates and seemed sunnily confident. His sights were on the general election, not just the primaries.

Last week in Iowa, Bush was a different kind of machine: more muscular, intense and aggressive. A stock car, not a Cadillac.

Bush put his first TV and radio ads on the air. He solicited questions from almost every audience, which he hasn't always done. He went to the most conservative corners of the state and willingly highlighted his views on abortion, which are suspect among some voters who care passionately about that issue. He tinkered with his standard stump speech.

And he tangled zestfully with reporters over how he's handled the abortion issue, his absence from the GOP candidates' "town hall" Thursday in New Hampshire and whether his own rowdy youth permits him to lecture high-schoolers about sexual abstinence.

When a Dallas reporter challenged him at a news conference here about the assertion in his TV ads that he cut the growth of government spending in Texas, Bush defended himself emphatically. He headed toward his car, then twice did an about-face to come charging back to reinforce his point.

"He doesn't back down, does he?" Joyce Meaney, 59, a Dubuque resident who watched the encounter, said to a friend.

Bush's GOP competitors believe he's reacting to polls that show his lead over Arizona Sen. John McCain narrowing in New

Hampshire and Steve Forbes gaining on him here. Maybe, they say, he regrets skipping the New Hampshire forum. Perhaps, they suggest, their accusations that he's taking the nomination for granted are hitting home.

The calendar is responsible for some of Bush's renewed zeal. The first votes to nominate a candidate will be cast in this state in just three months, on Jan. 24. That's when Iowa voters gather in schools, homes and fire stations to discuss the candidates and vote by secret ballot. In addition, the race for the Democratic nomination, where former New Jersey senator Bill Bradley is giving Vice President Gore a surprisingly strong challenge, might be reminding Bush of the political verity that no lead is ever really safe.

Whatever the reasons, last week Bush dashed from Iowa's northwestern corner to its eastern edge with a glint of determination in his eyes. His tour had a disappointing start. Only about 200 people were at the Sioux City Convention Center to hear him speak on Tuesday, and at least 40 were high school students who got 10 extra-credit points and a

two-hour break from government class for showing up. The Retired and Senior Volunteer Program had a bigger crowd at its lunch in the next room, and the only entertainment there was a raffle for a homemade afghan.

That evening, however, 1,000 people crowded into the gym at Unity Christian High School in Orange City to hear Bush speak. Loud chatter subsided instantly when he walked in and all eyes turned to him.

Bush's power of celebrity is unmatched by any other Republican candidate. When he hits town in his swift-moving motorcade, it's like a presidential visit: Aides wear brass pins with green stars. His half-dozen Texas Department of Public Safety security officers, outfitted in dark suits, radio earphones and wary expressions, look just like the president's Secret Service agents.

The trappings make Bush seem consequential, and his title, megawatt smile and lineage are powerful components of his appeal. Although some people who come to hear him know little about what he stands for or what he's done, they say they're attracted by an aura of trustworthiness.

That's why Cheryl Lange, 43, a homemaker from Rock Valley, drove 30 miles to see Bush in Orange City. She had never been to any kind of political event before. "I don't know that much about him," she said, "but he strikes me as being honest. He seems to have a lot of integrity, and I think we need to get that back."

Dwayne Alons, 52, a soybean farmer and Iowa Air National Guard official from Hull, was in Orange City even though he's inclined to support conservative activist Gary Bauer,

who's also seeking the Republican nomination. "I'm more conservative than Bush," Alons said. "But if he is the Republican candidate, I'll be with him."

In another crowded gym at the University of Dubuque, Ed Schiltz stood quietly during Bush's energetic stump speech. Schiltz, 69, a Dubuque retiree, didn't applaud once, but he chuckled when Bush said deadbeat dads should forfeit all their licenses, including the ones for hunting and fishing.

"I came over here to see what a nobody was like," said Schiltz, an abortion opponent who supports Pat Buchanan. Last week, Buchanan left the GOP to seek the Reform Party's presidential nomination. "He didn't change my mind," Schiltz said of Bush, "but I'm impressed. He's got an excellent chance."

Bush spoke to perhaps 3,000 people in Iowa last week. But he didn't seem to enjoy any event more than his appearance at East Elementary School in Waukon.

As he answered questions from students in yet another gym, a sign behind him listed the school's Guidelines for Success: "Stay healthy and drug-free. Listen. Do your best and keep trying. Treat people and property with respect. Have a positive attitude. Have fun."

One of the youngsters asked him, "Do you get to have fun?" And a big grin creased Bush's face.

# Harsh Critique of Teachers Urges Attention to Training

By JODI WILGOREN

As the nation struggles to train more than 2.5 million new teachers over the next decade, college and university presidents must pay more attention and devote increasing resources to their schools of education, a leading higher-education group argues in an unusual report scheduled for release today.

The clarion call by the American Council on Education, the country's largest association of colleges and universities, presents a harsh critique of the current stable of teachers. It says that nationwide more than half of students in 7th through 12th grade were recently taught physical science by unqualified teachers, and that only one in five teachers feels prepared to integrate technology into the classroom. It also expresses concern that elementary school teachers, when they were students, typically took less challenging courses and performed less well on standardized tests than their peers.

"That many students in America — often those most in need of excellent teachers — are taught by unqualified teachers is a reprehensible form of publicly sanctioned malpractice," the 38-page report says. "Just as no person should receive medical care from a person who is not qualified or reliably certified as a health care professional, no student should face an unqualified or uncertified teacher."

The report, titled "To Touch the Future" — a line taken from Christa McAuliffe, the teacher killed in the explosion of the Challenger space shuttle in 1986 — proposes that an outside agency audit all 1,300 teacher-education programs in the country, oversight that is required now for medical and law schools. Fewer than half these programs receive such independent accreditation.

More broadly, the 36-member task force urges college presidents to place the education of teachers at the top of their agendas. The report, which is scheduled to land on the desks of the leaders of America's 3,500 institutions of higher education today, calls teacher training the responsibility of the entire university.

"For most colleges and universities, and for most presidents, the education of teachers has not been on their personal radar screens," Stanley O. Ikenberry, the council's president, said in an interview. "It either ought to be in the center of the institutional mission or they should move it out."

The leaders of the nation's two largest teachers' unions and the head of an association of teachers colleges all agreed that teacher education has for too long been neglected by many universities, and they praised the report despite its criticism of their colleagues.

"I think what they're saying is that teacher education has not been good, and I think they're right," said Sandra Feldman, president of the American Federation of Teachers. "Teaching is hard. We haven't had that kind of rigor in most teacher-education programs at all."

David Imig, chief executive of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, said his members might be skittish about outside auditors but would appreciate the call for a campuswide approach to their work.

The task force points out that teachers are poorly paid and often work under difficult conditions, particularly compared with workers who have similar educational backgrounds. But the report focuses on training, rather than on the systemic problems that repel some high-quality candidates from the profession.

"Would you blame education schools for the quality of the teaching force? No, they don't bear all the blame," said Arthur Levine, president of Teachers College at Columbia University and a member of the task force. "Could they make it better? Absolutely. But education schools can't do it all."

The report raises more questions than it answers about how to train effective teachers. It calls for additional research on such questions, noting that the nation spends \$300 billion a year on public education but that the Federal Government devoted only \$300 million to educational research in 1999. The report suggests a \$3 billion research budget.

The New York Times

MONDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1999

# Trump Quits Grand Old Party for New

## Beats Buchanan to Punch in Possible Bid for Reform Nomination

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

WASHINGTON, Oct. 24 — Denouncing Patrick J. Buchanan as a "Hitler lover," Donald J. Trump announced today that he was resigning his Republican registration in advance of a possible challenge to Mr. Buchanan in his expected quest for the Reform Party Presidential nomination.

"It's a very great possibility that I will run," said Mr. Trump, the real estate and casino millionaire. He timed his announcement for the eve of Mr. Buchanan's speech on Monday in which he is expected to quit the Republican Party and aim his Presidential campaign for the Reform nomination.

Mr. Buchanan brushed aside Mr. Trump's accusations of anti-Semitism as he courted Reform Party officials at a reception here today. "To get in a slanging match with someone is not why I'm doing this," he told reporters outside the Westin Fairfax Hotel. "We don't run negative campaigns. I'm not in this because I dislike other people."

Mr. Trump is considered by Buchanan supporters as a straw man fronting for the wing of the Reform Party aligned with Gov. Jesse Ventura of Minnesota, a faction that is opposed to a Buchanan candidacy.

But Mr. Trump insisted that his own decision to quit the Republican Party was rooted in philosophical differences with the party, not political gamesmanship or his appetite for personal publicity.

"I really believe the Republicans are just too crazy right," he said when he disclosed that he would register this week with the Independence Party, the New York version of the Reform Party. He said he would begin meeting with Reform Party officials in the next few months and make a final decision by March about whether to run.

Mr. Trump, who has never been a political candidate, clearly timed his announcement to target Mr. Buchanan, acidly denouncing him on the NBC News program "Meet the Press" as the candidate of the "really staunch right wacko vote."

"Look, he's a Hitler lover," Mr. Trump said, alluding to the recent debate over Mr. Buchanan's view that in World War II Hitler initially presented no serious threat to the United States.

"I guess he's an anti-Semite," Mr. Trump said, raising an accusation Mr. Buchanan has repeatedly denied in his career as White House strategist and talk show



"I really believe the Republicans are just too crazy right," Donald J. Trump says.

polemicist. "He doesn't like the blacks, he doesn't like the gays," Mr. Trump continued. "It's just incredible that anybody could embrace this guy."

Mr. Buchanan responded that he would not be pulled into "the old name-calling and nonsense."

"I'm in a pretty good mood," Mr. Buchanan said, preparing to retool his chronic Presidential quest.

Asked how he might fare against a millionaire opponent, Mr. Buchanan said, "I don't be-

**Calling his rival a 'Hitler lover,' a potential spoiler makes his move.**

lieve the Reform Party nomination can be bought, and I don't believe the Presidency can be bought."

Pat Choate, Mr. Buchanan's chief supporter in the Reform Party, added, "That sort of hate politics has no place in the Reform Party." Earlier, Mr. Choate rebuffed the Trump charges on the CBS News program "Face the Nation."

"What has happened here is a degree of pundit bigotry about Pat Buchanan," Mr. Choate declared, saying there was no evidence in

Mr. Buchanan's writings of the charges. "So they concoct, make up positions, and then attack him on that."

But former Senator Warren Rudman, the national co-chairman of the Republican Presidential campaign of Senator John McCain, countered on the TV program that Mr. Buchanan had become increasingly offensive. "Many people are starting to believe that if he is not an anti-Semite, he certainly is doing a wonderful imitation," Mr. Rudman said.

While denouncing Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Trump sent conflicting signals about his own possible candidacy. "It's something I'm very, very serious about," he insisted on "Meet the Press." But he soon added, "I would only do this if I felt I could win the election."

Historically, third-party Presidential candidates fail.

At the Reform reception, party officials offered a mixed assessment of a Trump candidacy, with several doubting that he was serious. "We don't need name-calling," said Beverly Kidder, a party member from New Jersey. She added: "His treatment of women — his wives, plural — is notorious. If I were Ivana I would have gotten a better deal."

Asked about his tabloid image as a womanizer, Mr. Trump said on "Meet the Press," "If I think that's going to be a great impediment, I'm not going to bother."

Mr. Buchanan's anticipated switch and how it might damage the Republican ticket was the talk of the Sunday political TV programs. Pat Robertson, founder of the Christian Coalition, estimated on "Face the Nation" that Mr. Buchanan had "discredited himself tremendously" but could do serious damage to both major parties if he picked a pro-labor running mate like James P. Hoffa, the teamsters chief.

Senator Rudman argued that the G.O.P. was well rid of Mr. Buchanan, whom he described as a "total hypocrite" who had little in common with Reform Party views but was after the \$13 million in Federal campaign money the nomination offered.

Mr. Choate said Mr. Buchanan could easily weather a Trump challenge on the merits. But he allowed that Mr. Trump would "make a good candidate" because of name recognition and personal wealth. "I think he'd be very effective," Mr. Choate said as the Reform officials awaited Mr. Buchanan's decision.

The New York Times

MONDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1999

*Ce Andy*

**ROBERT HOLLAND**

# Class-size card in school debate

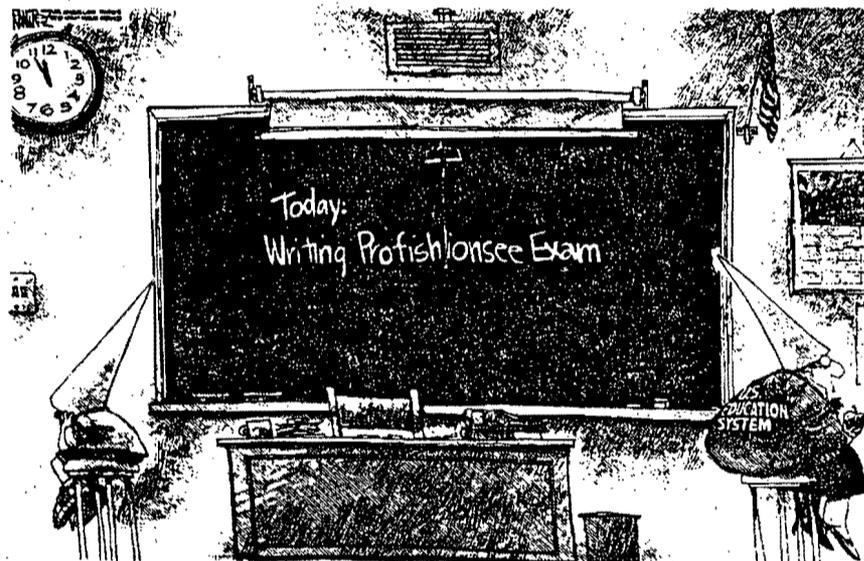
**P**ity the poor teachers unions. What? The National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers, those outfits with millions of members and zillions in compulsory-dues funds and PAC accounts? Those big-footed dancers of—a merger minuet who are described routinely as “powerful” by quaking foes? Yep, them. Every day, they begin to resemble the “pitiful helpless giant” Richard Nixon conjured during the Vietnam War days.

Their problem is they are on the wrong side of the fight for parental choice. With every new Supreme Court decision leaving vouchers undisturbed, every new piece of research showing students freed by choice are prospering, every new defection by liberals suddenly realizing this cause of liberation should be their own, the NEA and AFT become more like hard-core defenders of an untenable status quo.

Because as every good PR flack knows, you can’t “beat something with nothing,” the big cheeses of both unions are rolling class-size reduction out to do battle with vouchers. The “vouchers vs. small-class-sizes debate is being played out in Milwaukee,” NEA President Bob Chase opined in a September op-ed piece: The AFT was ahead of him: It asked in an April 1998 paper, “Which approach — vouchers or lower class size — represents the wiser use of scarce taxpayer dollars?” Of course both unions assert that small class size beats vouchers, which they claim (falsely) aren’t raising pupil achievement.

Because of the popularity of small classes, the teacher-union play may seem every bit as expedient as President Clinton’s push for almost \$13 billion in federal funds over seven years to “help” local schools hire more teachers and cut elementary class sizes to 18. But their bellicose approach has serious flaws.

To begin, there is no overwhelming evidence that spending billions to trim class sizes automatically yields higher achievement. Well-respected University of Rochester economist Eric Hanushek reviewed 277 separate studies of class-size



cuts, and found only 15 percent of them documented achievement gains. Almost three-fourths found no effect at all. And in the Tennessee STAR project touted by the NEA, AFT and Clinton administration, results came only when classes were reduced to 13 to 17 pupils, and then only for kindergarten — not the higher grades. As for the SAGE class-reduction experiment in Wisconsin, even a U.S. Department of Education report concedes there are other factors — such as implementation of a “rigorous curriculum” — at work in boosting results.

Of course, whatever the studies say, most students, parents and teachers no doubt prefer small classes to large, all else being equal. But, then, contrary to the NEA/AFT battle cry, there is no necessary conflict between vouchers and reduced class size.

Consider: The most recent U.S. Department of Education data show public-school teachers face larger classes, on average, than do private-school teachers. That was true at both the elementary (24 pupils vs. 22) and secondary (24 vs. 19)

levels. If vouchers or tuition tax credits empowered more families to choose private or parochial schools, that could mean fuller use of underutilized private classrooms — and reduced class sizes in the public classrooms. So a community could have vouchers and smaller classes.

True enough, for this to happen school boards would have to decide not to lay off teachers as a result of voucher students’ departure. But it is plausible that to meet the competition created by school choice, the public schools would want to feature smaller classes. They would be more likely to cut administrative deadwood than to slash the teacher corps.

But there is another route to reduced class size, and, again, one that happily dovetails with increased choice. Government statistics show teachers in large schools (more than 750 pupils) face larger classes, on average, than do teachers in small schools (fewer than 150 pupils). This is true at both the elementary (26 pupils vs. 18) and secondary (25 students vs. 15) levels.

The answer here is the charter

school. These are small schools (rarely enrolling more than a few hundred) that families freely choose. And they are public schools — no voucher bogeyman lurks in the boiler room. Teachers and parents — or universities or other groups with a progressive or traditional vision for education — may seek to start a school. If approved for a charter, they receive leeway to innovate but on the clear understanding that if they fail to produce results they can lose their charter.

Clearly there would be smaller classes if a city or county authorized 10 charter schools (which often use existing facilities like museums or vacant business space) in preference to issuing bonds to build one consolidated warehouse of a school. But the NEA and AFT don’t like charter schools — not unless they remain bound to all the rules of the regular public schools. And that includes all the union rules instituted through collective bargaining. That’s what rankles the NEA and AFT about charter schools. Their teachers become free agents; they are no longer union shop hands.

It all comes down to maintaining monopolistic control. That’s dearer to the union bosses’ hearts than small classes, and it’s certainly more important to them than the right of all parents to direct their children’s education. The dinosaurs will not budge from their turf — and never mind that meteor heading their way.

*Robert Holland is a senior fellow at the Lexington Institute in Arlington.*

BRUCE FEIN

## Fencing in the acts of amending

The constitutional sky is falling. The villain of the plot: a spiraling battery of proposals to amend the Constitution. The savior from the constitutional abyss: an eight-point set of guidelines to bridle the amendment whimsies of Congress and state legislatures. So says the star-studded Citizens for the Constitution in "Great and Extraordinary Occasions," a recent publication of the Century Foundation.

The perceived constitutional danger and proffered remedy deserve more than cavalier treatment. The proponents are Ursa Majors in the political and legal empyreans, including the Hon. Mickey Edwards, a former member of Congress, and the Hon. Abner J. Mikva, an equally acclaimed former congressman, federal judge and White House counsel for President Clinton.

Further, the guidelines teem with phosphorescent wisdom, such as resisting amendments unless there has been "full and fair debate on the merits." Champions of perfunctory

### *The proposed amendment guidelines are also either platitudinous or ill-conceived.*

and unfair debate are unidentified and unquantified, leaving the suspicion for cynics that the amendment worries of the Citizens for the Constitution might be imaginary.

It might smack of irreverence, however, to raise doubts about their amendment gospel, like King Arthur challenging Merlin, but the Constitution seems too important to be left to Platonic Guardians.

A novice might ask: "Why are restraining guidelines needed?" The last constitutional amendment, the 27th, which restricted congressional pay raises, was ratified in 1992 after a gestation period exceeding two centuries and 21 years after ratification of its immediate predecessor, the Voting Rights Amendment extending the franchise to 18-year-olds. In sum, the Constitution is not suffering from a blizzard of amendments, a development that might threaten desirable stability, coherence and comprehension by ordinary citizens. Thus, are the anti-amendment sages, like Don Quixote, simply tilting at windmills?

Citizens for the Constitution deny the charge, and assert their guidelines are an urgent antidote to the "explosion [in recent years] of proposed constitutional amendments on almost every conceivable topic." Singled out for disparagement are proposed amendments in the 105th Congress relating to flag desecration, a balanced budget, term limits, tax increases, facilitation of state-proposed constitutional amendments, victims' rights, religious equality, the electoral college, and campaign finance.

No empirical evidence is assembled, however, to prove that the number of proposed amendments is climbing compared to earlier eras. More important, amendment proposals stimulate debate indispensable to inculcating deep and abiding convictions about our prevailing constitutional dispensation. As John Stuart Mill taught, 90 percent of

what we believe pivots on the flaws detected in alternative theories or assertions. Proposed amendments thus are constructive vehicles for constitutional education of members of Congress and citizens. And that education enables more enlightened decisions over whether an amendment deserves ratification. To discourage the introduction of amendments smacks of the infamous "gag rule" adopted in the House of Representatives in 1840 declaring that no papers "praying the abolition of slavery . . . shall be received by this House or entertained in any way whatever."

The proposed amendment guidelines are also either platitudinous or ill-conceived. No. 2, for instance, smiles on amendments that either "make our system more politically responsive or protect individual rights." The Constitution, however, is a brilliant blend of both majoritarian and anti-majoritarian influences. In the former category is the House of Representatives, the direct election of senators, and the popular election of presidential electors. In the latter falls the United States Supreme Court endowed with the power of judicial review, the numerical equality of senators from each state, the electoral college, and the two-term limit on the president. James Madison, father of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, championed checks against political responsiveness to majorities (that guideline 2 celebrates) in Federalist 48: "[I]n a representative republic where the executive magistracy is carefully limited, both in the extent and duration of power; and where the legislative power is exercised by an assembly, which is inspired by a supposed influence over the people with an intrepid confidence in its own strength; which is sufficiently numerous to

feel all the passions which actuate a multitude, yet not so numerous as to be incapable of pursuing the objects of its passions by means which reason prescribes; it is against the enterprising ambition of this department that the people ought to indulge all their jealousy and exhaust all their precautions."

A Pavlovian bow to individual rights seems likewise misplaced. Individual liberties as against government encroachment would expand if an amendment prohibited federal or state criminal codes. Murder, robbery and mayhem would flourish. But who wants to live in a state of nature, which Thomas Hobbes described in "Leviathan" as poor, brutish, nasty and short? Sensible amendments, like sensible laws generally, require a balancing among competing individual rights and the legitimate interests of government in order and social welfare. No one item in the balance is inherently more weighty than another.

The remaining guidelines insult the intelligence of Congress and voters: No. 5 militates against unenforceable amendments; No. 6 frowns on thoughtlessness in the amendment process; No. 3 exhorts against superfluous amendments whose objectives can be attained by other means; No. 1 scorns amendments for light and transient causes; No. 8 applauds ratification deadlines to ensure a contemporary consensus about the need for constitutional change; and No. 4 discourages amendments that would create chaos in constitutional doctrine.

Why was so much work devoted by Citizens for the Constitution to come up with so little? Is their anti-amendment sermonizing simply a camouflage for opposing amendments with the greatest chance of ratification which they dislike as a matter of policy?

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*Bruce Fein is a lawyer and freelance writer specializing in legal issues.*

# Smaller classes better than money

All-USA nominees proud of work  
but would like more respect, support

By Anthony DeBarros  
USA TODAY

The best way to increase teacher quality and satisfaction is to reduce class size, a survey by USA TODAY of some of the nation's top teachers suggests.

In the survey, of people nominated for the 1999 All-USA Teacher Team, respondents placed smaller class size ahead of higher salaries, increased training and better school equipment when asked to rank ways to improve the quality of teaching and the satisfaction of teachers.

"The more students that a teacher has, the more robotlike and mechanized the personality becomes," says Evelyn Galatis, a sixth-grade teacher at McCall Middle School in Winchester, Mass., who was nominated for the team.

"Smaller class size gives the teacher more opportunity to learn about the students, the opportunity to have more interaction with the students," says Lawrence Svrcek, a nominee who teaches economics and business at Francis Lewis High School in Fresh Meadows, N.Y. "When you get up to class sizes of 34 and beyond, it becomes virtually impossible."

About 88% of the 975 individuals and team members nominated for the All-USA Teacher Team responded to the survey.

The results, though not representative of teachers as a whole, do offer insight into the thinking of some of the nation's most effective teachers.

Among the findings:

► Nearly 100% of respondents said they were proud to be a teacher, but only 30% said that most people would consider teaching to be an attractive career choice. And 68% agreed that teachers get respect from the community.

"That 30% think people see teaching as attractive troubles

me," says Dennis Van Roekel, secretary and treasurer of the National Education Association, the biggest U.S. teachers union. "As we look over next eight to 10 years, we know we need 2 million new teachers. If they're at all accurate in terms of the public's perception, that would bode negatively in terms of finding the number of qualified people we need."

► On school safety, 96% of the respondents said they felt safe in their schools. Still, swifter action regarding problem students and help in identifying troubled students ranked first and second among items respondents said would make schools more secure. Security devices and police ranked last.

"Once you identify the students and you are able to provide them with individual counseling . . . it becomes more of a situation of a psychological problem and not a safety problem," Svrcek says.

► On parental involvement, just 34% said that most parents are actively involved in their children's education. And 72% said parents expect teachers to take more responsibility for discipline than they should.

Adequate space and adequate basic supplies were the top two suggestions for physical characteristics of classrooms that would improve teachers' effectiveness. The respondents ranked those ahead of cleanliness, technology and other factors.

"I'm really blessed where I just about have everything I need to teach with," says Scott Rippetoe, a physics and electronics teacher at Conroe (Texas) Academy of Science and Technology.

"But I do a lot of workshops for teachers, and I often find that they're in a different situation," he says. "A lot of times, they're trying to teach physics with sticky string and tape in-

stead of high-tech equipment. It's easier to teach when you don't have to worry about those things."

► Interaction with students and influence on students' lives ranked highest among items the teachers found to be rewarding about their jobs, ahead of interaction with colleagues

and professional development. Salary ranked last.

"To consider and finally decide to be a teacher, it has to be a vocation — it has to be considered in that regard," Galatis says.

Complete results of the survey are available at [www.usatoday.com/life/lts045.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/life/lts045.htm).

Edw-  
Class Size

# Volunteer teachers don't go by the book

## But critics say enthusiasm can't replace experience

By Stephaan Harris  
USA TODAY

It's safe to say Caitlin Wittig experienced a bit of a culture shock two years ago.

That is when the College of William and Mary graduate traded the comforts of her Arlington, Va., home for the border town of Pharr, Texas. It wasn't just the crop fields, the palm trees, the plains and the enveloping Rio Grande Valley that Wittig, 24, had to get used to. She also had to adjust to her sudden career as a teacher.

Wittig is one of nearly 1,000 people who enlisted that year in the Teach for America program, which gives recent college graduates, usually in their 20s and hailing from top schools, a chance to teach in 13 urban or rural school systems for two years. The school districts pay the salaries.

Almost all TFA participants have no formal teacher training. But all have a desire to dip their toes into the world of education.

TFA started in 1989 as the thesis of president and founder Wendy Kopp, who was a Princeton University student. Along the way, the program has grown in numbers and stature. In these days of teacher shortages and a growing demand for minority educators, some school officials desperate for new blood and diversity count on the program.

Though some educators praise the effort, others have questioned whether participants are prepared to provide quality instruction to students who sorely need the best teachers.

### The genesis

In 1989, Kopp wrote 30 companies at random to solicit \$2.5 million to get the Peace Corps-type venture off the ground. She pieced together money from grants, foundations and individual donors.

More than 2,500 college seniors applied, and in the fall of 1990 about 500 were chosen and sent to New York, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Baton Rouge, North Carolina and Georgia to begin two-year commitments. The number of participants nationwide is expected to grow to 1,400 this fall.

Kopp says TFA is looking to expand in five not-yet-named areas.

"Teach for America is potentially the most catalytic force out there in terms of urban and rural education," Kopp says. "We're tapping into a desire among college students to do something that makes a difference in a world."

While a heady mix of enthusiasm and anxiety permeates the program, plenty of participants experience initial difficulties in adjusting. Most move hundreds or thousands of miles from their hometowns.

Wittig teaches social studies and theater at an alternative high school in nearby McAllen, Texas, where the average household income is about \$12,000. Wittig had to write a curriculum for her mostly Mexican-American ninth-through 12th-graders. She also became part of the community and coordinated service projects, such as student murals that promote non-violence.

"Teach for America teaches you high expectations and to go beyond the call of duty," Wittig says.

At first, 24-year-old Samuel Villani III found his position as a physical education teacher at Washington, D.C.'s J.F. Cook Elementary overwhelming. Villani saw the particular challenges of the inner city. Some students came in without enough food or sleep, while others dealt with street violence.

"We're in here fighting for their education. They're fighting for their lives," he says. "It's a sink-or-swim mentality, but there's a network here that keeps you afloat."

About half the Teach for America participants stay in education. Lisa Gilmore, 30, also at Cook Elementary, is finishing her certification and a master's program. Gilmore learned about the highs of teaching — eager children who shower her with hugs — and lows — having to shell out money to make copies.

"I love teaching," Gilmore says. "It's what I should have been doing all along."

### The preparation

Kopp says that although the five-week training is not the same as a traditional teacher-education program, it covers a variety of topics, including instruction strategies and the setting of goals for students.

"Some principals say they are the most effective teachers," Kopp says. "It's selecting people who have what it takes to excel in

these environments. There are many different effective routes into teaching, and this is one of them."

Some are not so sure.

Putting those with little formal training in the classroom will further handicap children who are poor academic performers, says Stanford University education professor Linda Darling-Hammond. She says she has talked with recent TFA graduates who felt poorly prepared.

Recent studies, including those done by professors in North Carolina and Texas, have found that students who are taught by certified instructors exhibit higher gains in math and reading than counterparts who have teachers with either temporary or no certification, Darling-Hammond says.

"You don't necessarily learn from experience if it's unguided experience," she says. "I frankly think it's criminal when you can hire teachers who are qualified. We wouldn't allow it in inner-city hospitals."

Six TFA participants have worked for Alfred Billingsley, principal of a high school in rural West Helena, Ark. He says the inexperience of some first-timers shows.

But he says veteran instructors often help iron out the kinks. Billingsley says the participants often prove to be the most energetic teachers, staying after hours or working on weekends to plan classroom lessons.

"They bring in good ideas from different areas of the United States, and the kids look up to them," Billingsley says. "Some I wish I could keep. They have made a great impact on our students."

TFA recruits smart people who wouldn't necessarily go into education, but "the problem stems from the implicit assumption that you don't need to be prepared," says Patricia Wasley, dean of the graduate school of Bank Street College of Education in New York. It is considered one of the foremost practical teaching schools in the nation.

Wasley says good changes to TFA would include more training and alignment with the professional development in each school district. Wasley worries about those who decide not to pursue teaching, thus not using the stint to hone professional skills.

"Learning how to respond to every child in your class is unbelievably complicated," Wasley says. "Without a lot of skills, teachers tend to teach the way they were taught."

But course content found in some teacher-education programs "isn't necessarily that much greater" than Teach for America's five-week crash course, says Dave DeSchryver, senior policy analyst for the Center for Education Reform.

He points out that many programs devote much of their time to pedagogy, or the science of teaching. It includes such conceptual courses as understanding how kids learn. He says inexperience is countered by knowledge of subject areas such as science and math.

TFA proponents say such programs increase minority representation in the education field and provide role models for some students of color. In 1998, 34% of the TFA members were minorities. According to the U.S. Department of Education, 13% of public school teachers are minorities, compared with a minority student population of 32%. Educators estimate that the 13% figure is in danger of shrinking as higher-paying, less stressful jobs lure minority college graduates.

The problem seems to be more in the area of retention than recruitment. Figures show that minority enrollment in teacher-education programs is on a bit of an upswing.

Nearly 19% of education students in fall 1995 were minorities, compared with 13.5% in 1989, according to the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. Despite that gain, the minority teacher figure of 13% remains, suggesting that many new hires drop out of the profession.

### The shortages

School districts nationwide say they have had or will have trouble filling teaching positions, especially as more teachers approach retirement. Programs such as TFA provide more staff, albeit temporarily.

For example, more than 270 TFA members taught last school year in California, which estimates it will need 260,000 to 300,000 new teachers in the next 10 years.

But some educators say the shortages sometimes reflect bad hiring practices. Darling-Hammond says some districts, particularly in urban areas, tend to fill open positions with less qualified teachers because those with advanced degrees command higher salaries.

Darling-Hammond interviewed a former Louisiana TFA participant who found out she was chosen over a teacher with 10 years of experience and a master's degree.

"The district that invests in (programs such as Teach for America) has a revolving door of unprepared teachers."

# Should Classes Be Smaller?

## *As Enrollment Rises, Issue Divides Educators*

By Jay Mathews and Valerie Strauss  
Washington Post Staff Writers

At Bradley Hills Elementary School in Bethesda, 35 fourth-graders crowd into Room 15 for Jodi Pincus's science class, attempting experiments with balloons and water while also chatting and day-dreaming.

Occasionally, Pincus starts to clap as a sign that the class has come somewhat unglued. Most of the children pick up the rhythm with their own hands to show they are ready to get back to manipulating water and air masses. But with so many students scattered about the room amid clumps of desks and equipment, it is difficult to keep everyone focused.

Pincus looks tired. "They did fine," she said, "but sometimes they get a little out of hand."

In many schools in Montgomery County and other parts of the Washington area, teachers are doing more clapping for attention, repeating more lessons and spending more time working after school, as a surge in enrollment has crowded some classrooms to a level that many parents and teachers consider uncomfortable.

School officials in Fairfax, Alexandria and Howard have launched studies of class size, and last week Montgomery school Superintendent Paul L. Vance announced a \$9.2 million program to add 238 teachers to help ease the problem. Virginia

See **SIZE**, A10, Col. 1

# As Enrollment Rises, Class Size Triggers Debate

SIZE. From A1

Gov.-elect James S. Gilmore III (R) tapped into voters' worries about crowded classrooms by promising to provide elementary schools with 4,000 more teachers statewide over the next four years.

But although it may seem obvious that smaller classes are better because the teacher can spend more time with each student, many educators warn that the issue is not that simple.

Major efforts to lower class size usually involve hiring less-experienced teachers, because there are not enough teaching veterans to keep pace with student enrollment growth. And most educators agree that it is better to have a seasoned professional leading a class of 27 children than an inexperienced teacher with 15.

Moreover, research suggests that classes might have to be trimmed to about 17 children—a sharp and expensive drop in size for most Washington area districts—to provide much of a boost in student achievement.

Ronald Ferguson, a lecturer at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, said his research shows that teacher quality, not class size, is the most important factor in education. Smaller classes won't have any benefit without accompanying changes in teaching methods, Ferguson said.

"The issue is whether teachers teach any differently to a small class than to a large class," he said. "If you cut class size and the teachers don't teach any differently, it won't matter."

Instead of spending millions of dollars for extra teachers and classrooms, school districts should consider using that money to fund



Lining up to speak with Montgomery County teacher Charlotte Ripa are, from left, third-graders Alexandria Lundellus, Carlota Ramos and Cara Economides.

class size as a major problem, and those with more than 24 do.

But education researchers have not pinpointed the maximum number of students for a good classroom. Instead they have found that elementary students learn more when class size falls to 17 or lower and that class-size reductions in middle and high schools appear to have much less effect.

A four-year Tennessee study concluded that students in kindergarten through third grade who were in classes of 13 to 17 significantly outscored those in classes of 22 to 25 on standardized tests. Poor inner-city children appeared to receive the greatest gains from smaller class sizes, although suburban and rural pupils also had gains that seemed to hold

Nevada, Wisconsin and Fairfax County produced similar conclusions.

In rapidly growing school districts in the Washington area, such as Prince William, Loudoun and Anne Arundel, school officials say they are aware of such research but don't know how they could afford to make classes any smaller. There is hardly enough money for classrooms to house the influx of new students, much less build extra rooms so that teachers have fewer pupils, they say.

In Montgomery, Vance unveiled his proposal for adding 238 teachers after County Executive Douglas M. Duncan (D) said the county should take advantage of a revenue windfall to tackle the class-size issue.

Officials say it would cost \$7 mil-

lion recommending an across-the-board reduction. Vance proposed hiring more teachers for elementary reading, middle school math and high school algebra, saying that those were the students who would benefit most from smaller classes. The plan would reduce the average student-teacher ratio for first- and second-grade reading instruction to 15 to 1, from the current ratio of 24 to 1.

But Vance's plan would not help the crowded science and social studies classes at Bradley Hills Elementary. More than 50 parents in the largely affluent neighborhood school attended a special meeting on class size two weeks ago. PTA president Niki Popow said that although they appreciated Principal Robert Grundy's explanations and his efforts to reduce the classes, "the end results were still not acceptable."

Charlotte Ripa, a teacher at Bradley Hills, has 27 students in her third-grade class. It's the most she has had in four years, she said, and she is repeating herself more as some students on the fringes of the class fail to get it the first time. She also finds herself spending more time after class to plan activities that will engage every student. It is sometimes past 8 p.m. before she can head home.

"You need to be very organized, and you need to bring in as much help as you can," she said. Two or three parents volunteer about two hours a week, she said, and she has a few more she can call in emergencies.

Several private schools in the area have about 15 students per class, and that is one of the reasons parents cite when they opt to spend as much as \$14,000 a year to send their children

## CLASS SIZE

Average class sizes in Washington area school districts

	ELEMENTARY	MIDDLE	HIGH
Arlington	21	18	20
Alexandria	20	21	23
Fairfax	22	25	25
Fauquier	20	22	Not available
Loudoun	23	22	27
Prince William	25	23	23
Anne Arundel	25	22	23
Calvert	25	25	25
Charles	27	24	21
Montgomery	25	26	27
Howard	25	23	26
Prince George's	31 <sup>3</sup>	30	21
St. Marys	26 <sup>2</sup>	23	25
D.C.	22 <sup>4</sup>	27 <sup>5</sup>	29 <sup>5</sup>

Class sizes at selected area private schools

Sidwell Friends School	14	15	15
National Cathedral School	15	15	16
French International School	24	24	19
Islamic Saudi Academy	19	19	19

<sup>1</sup> Size for grades 1-3.

<sup>4</sup> Size for kindergarten through 3rd grade.

<sup>2</sup> Size for grades 3-5.

<sup>5</sup> Does not include English and math classes, which have fewer students.

<sup>3</sup> Size for grades 2-6.

NOTE: Numbers are rounded. Most figures are actual averages. For school districts that could not provide that information, the numbers are the guidelines on student-teacher ratios that officials said they try to follow.

SOURCE: Public and private school officials

THE WASHINGTON POST

lary those run by the Roman Catholic church, are academically successful despite having large classes. They can be somewhat selective in which students they take, but they say they also have other strengths.

Timothy McNiff, superintendent for Catholic schools in the Arlington Diocese, said his 40 schools throughout Northern Virginia have average class sizes of 25 to 28.

al component of our schools certainly lends for better academics, from a perspective of discipline."

But many teachers insist that no matter what kind of school they are in, numbers matter. "The single most important factor as a teacher is class size," said Dickey, the third-grade teacher at Horace Mann Elementary, "and my question to those experts who say it doesn't matter is, how

tors who can focus on helping the weakest students, Ferguson and several other researchers say.

But classroom teachers say that class size matters to them more than just about anything else. In large classes, they say, they cannot give each student the kind of daily feedback they would like. They also note that cramming students into small rooms—especially with today's teaching styles, which allow students to be active—can create discipline problems.

Average class sizes in most Washington area districts are still in the mid-20s, although they have been creeping up since the 1980s. But individual classes sizes can vary widely within the same jurisdiction, and many teachers, like Pincus, have 30 or more children to handle.

At Horace Mann Elementary School in Northwest Washington, Carolyn Dickey has 32 pupils in her third grade, with one aide to help her. "It's impossible to give individual instruction in a class of 32," she said. "Would you want your child in a class of 32?"

At Roosevelt Senior High in Northwest, Sandra Willis has 45 students in her U.S. government class and no aide. She divides the class into groups of five or six and has students critique each other. It's not ideal, she said, but it works.

Across town at Langdon Elementary in Northeast Washington, Audrienne Womack's first-grade class has only 15 students, partly because of the closing of a nearby housing development. "It's the perfect size, especially considering the fact that a lot [of students] are coming to class without a lot of basic skills," Womack said.

Districts regularly redraw their school attendance zones in an effort to distribute the load of students evenly. But in practice, the numbers never balance out. Some schools will get more students than expected but still not have enough to justify adding a teacher. Within the constraints of their budgets, principals make choices about class size based on the quality of teachers and the needs of students.

Ask teachers what class size is best, and they seem to agree that anything above the low 20s is too big. Nationwide surveys by the U.S. Department of Education show that teachers with fewer than 24 students do not see

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REMY MARTINVSOP w/Glasses.....28.99

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Ed -  
class size

# Feds challenge Microsoft's explanation of packaging deal

By Paul Davidson  
USA TODAY

# Many teachers fall short on qualifications

By Tamará Henry  
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — A teacher's expertise has a major impact on student achievement, yet nearly a quarter of new public school teachers lack the qualifications for their jobs, says a report out Thursday.

The National Commission on Teaching & America's Future reviewed around 200 studies in two years and found:

► 27% of new teachers had not completed license requirements in their main teaching areas in 1994, compared with 25% in 1991; within that group, 11% were without any license and 16% held emergency, temporary or alternative licenses.

► 21% of veteran high school teachers had less than a minor in their primary teaching areas, including 28% of math teachers, 22% of English teachers, and 18% of science and social studies teachers.

► 59% had less than a minor in their secondary teaching areas.

"I think a lot of people have a romantic idea that anyone can teach if they care about children or know something about a subject area," says Linda Darling-Hammond, commission executive director and professor at Columbia University's Teachers College, New York City. "Untrained people

do not simply walk into classrooms and automatically become successful."

The report strongly suggests that ill-prepared teachers contribute to the country's difficulty in raising student achievement. The problems may worsen as student enrollments reach their highest level ever and teacher retirements and attrition create substantial vacancies. More than 30% of beginning teachers leave in the first five years. Darling-Hammond says more than 2 million new teachers will be needed by 2007.

Emily Feistritzer of the National Center for Education Information, an advocate for alternative routes to teacher certification, says the information being touted is outdated: "To me this is just Chicken Little — 'the sky is falling.' This whole issue of who is a qualified teacher is very much up for grabs. The people who are responsible for teacher licensing continuously raise questions about their own criteria."

Education Secretary Richard Riley admits that schools have lowered their standards to fill teaching slots but warns the practice must end.

"Our teachers need to be prepared to teach all America's children," Riley says.

► State ratings: 19D

The Justice Department lashed back Thursday at Microsoft's defense of its alleged strong-arm tactics, saying the software giant apparently believes it can package "PCs and ham sandwiches."

Justice last month charged Microsoft with violating a 1995 consent decree by packaging its Internet Explorer (IE) browser with its popular Windows 95 operating system as a way to grab market share from Netscape, the browser leader. Justice has asked a judge to fine Microsoft \$1 million a day if it doesn't stop.

In its response 10 days ago, Microsoft said it has simply "integrated" IE into Windows, as the consent decree permits.

But in a reply brief filed Thursday with U.S. District Court in Washington, Justice says, "Microsoft asserts that 'integrated' means whatever Microsoft says it means." By this "arid, senseless reading," Microsoft could "integrate" any two products, rendering the consent decree's ban against tying products "meaningless."

But "The government knew that Internet technology would be part of Windows 95 before it signed the '94 consent decree," says Microsoft spokesman Greg Shaw. "They're on the record publicly from October 1994 saying integration of these features is acceptable."

In its court filing, Microsoft said IE is no different than MS-DOS, a text-based operating system which at one time was sold separately but then became part of Windows. Justice says MS-DOS was truly "developed" with Windows 95 into "a complete new architecture."

By contrast, IE was developed and marketed separately from Windows 95.

Justice also responds to the claim that Microsoft notified the agency as early as 1993 that it intended to bundle Web browsing features with Windows 95. Justice says Microsoft relies on "five (court) documents . . . culled from among hundreds of thousands." Thus, "It cannot be said that the government is charged with knowledge of anything about browsers," the filing says.

Also, Justice says Microsoft's documents "show only that some people at Microsoft thought about" including browsing features in Windows. What's more, Microsoft ultimately did not do that. Rather, it first "created two products" and then tried to combine them.

In supporting documents, Justice quotes Jim Allchin, a top Microsoft executive, in internal memos as urging the company to "leverage" Windows 95 to "win" the browser war.

"I don't understand how IE is going to win," Allchin says in the document. "The current path is simply to copy everything that Netscape does packaging and product wise. . . . My conclusion is that we must leverage Windows more."

A hearing on the case is scheduled for Dec. 5.

# States zero in on out-of-wedlock

The federal government is enticing states under a law that provides financial aid for abstinence-only programs and bonuses for states with the lowest out-of-wedlock birthrates.

By Richard Wolf  
USA TODAY

State and local governments are working faster than ever to reverse one of society's most intractable trends: the rising number of children born out of wedlock.

Municipalities are awash in mayoral task forces, media campaigns and mentoring programs. One Virginia community has gone so far as to raffle off a new car to teen-agers who avoid pregnancy.

The reason for the burst of activity? There's money in it.

Under last year's welfare reform law, states are about to split \$50 million a year in federal aid for education programs that promote sexual abstinence. Even states that objected to abstinence-only programs sought the money.

More tempting still are the potential bonuses for states that do the best job reducing out-of-wedlock birth rates without increasing abortion rates. Next year the federal government will award \$20 million each to as many as five states a year, based on their performance since last month.

With money as a motivator, all 50 states and hundreds of cities and counties are wading in. "Twenty million dollars is a hell of an incentive," says Doug Paterson of Michigan's department of community health.

The task is daunting. About 1.25 million births each year, about one in three, are to unmarried mothers. The figure has been rising for more than 50 years. If that rate continues, half of all births will be out-of-wedlock by 2015.

And the stakes are huge. Nearly half of all adolescent mothers, and 75% of those who remain unmarried, have received welfare by the time their children are 5 years old. The mothers are more likely to drop out of high school and be poor. The children are more likely to be ill or suffer abuse. The girls are more likely to become teen moms themselves.

Welfare reformers didn't merely note the harm of having children out of wedlock when they wrote last year's federal law — they hammered home the point. The first full sentence of the law reads: "Marriage is the foundation of a successful society."

Still, there are some pitfalls in the federal program.

Conservative groups are monitoring every state's abstinence-education programs to see if other methods of birth control are included. If they are, says Amy Stephens of Focus on the Family, a conservative religious organization, "There's going to be an outcry" — and congressional hearings.

Liberal groups fear that by promoting abstinence and dis-



One who has been there: Kathy Funes of Arlington, Va., was 18 and unmarried when she had twins in 1992, forcing her to go on welfare. Now she works for an agency that tries to prevent teen pregnancies.

couraging abortion, states will deny young women a balanced view of their choices. "It could be used to try to coerce young, poor women into making choices that they might not otherwise make," says Sherry Leiwant of the National Organization for Women.

Just determining winners and losers among the states will be difficult. Data on out-of-wedlock births and abortion rates is unreliable at best, nonexistent at worst. California automatically presumes no marriage when the parents have different last names, regardless of age. Five states don't even keep track of abortion statistics.

The ideological and statistical spats threaten the broader effort. Says Tamara Kreinin of the National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy: "While the adults argue, the kids are getting pregnant."

Virginia has been most organized in its pursuit of the federal bonus. In January, before most states had mobilized, officials decided to organize local communities that would share in any bonus money.

Lynchburg and other central Virginia municipalities are promoting "Marriage Before the Carriage." Youths ages 12 to 21 can enter a drawing for a new car if they haven't fa-

thered or conceived a child in the past year.

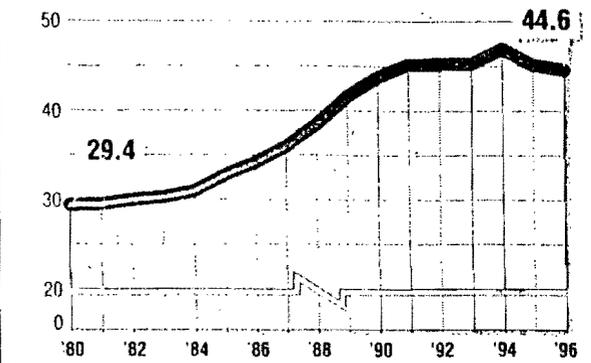
Kathy Funes of Arlington, Va., learned the hard way how much of a burden children can be. She was 18 and unmarried when she had twin daughters in 1992, forcing her to go on welfare for two years.

But the kids also motivated her to become part of the solution. Since 1994, she has worked for an agency that tries to stop other teen-agers from getting pregnant — with limited success. Says Funes: "There's only so many that you're going to get through to."

Other state efforts:  
► California Gov. Pete Wil-

## Out-of-wedlock birthrate

The rate of unmarried women having babies has dipped recently, but it's still more than 50% higher than it was in 1980. Births per 1,000 unmarried women ages 15-44 annually.



Source: National Center for Health Statistics

By Gary Vercellis, USA TODAY

son this month unveiled a new advertising campaign to attract mentors for teens as part of the state's "Partnership for Responsible Parenting" program.

► New York Gov. George Pataki has a new task force on out-of-wedlock pregnancy, a new video that warns teen-age boys about the cost of child support and a new infusion of federal welfare aid into the effort.

► Kentucky Gov. Paul Patton held a summit meeting on teen pregnancy prevention and began a \$1 million media campaign on Halloween. The message: "Get a Life First."

► Even the District of Columbia, where two out of three births are to single mothers, has sprung into action. Mayor Marion Barry has appointed a panel to devise solutions.

"They all seem to be starting right about now," says Barbara Strother, head of the district's teen parent assessment project. "I suspect the bonus money has a lot to do with that."

Since 1991, states have been making slow but steady progress. Teen birth rates dropped in every state between 1991 and 1996, ranging from 2.5% in Connecticut to 25% in Vermont. Twelve states cut their overall out-of-wedlock birth rates last year. The national rate rose only from 32.2% to 32.4%.

Researchers say fewer teens are having sex, and more are using contraception. Abortion rates are not causing the improvement in out-of-wedlock birth trends. They have declined from 29 per 1,000 births in 1980 to 24 per 1,000 in 1994.

But teens are just 30% of the problem. Seven in 10 out-of-wedlock children are born to women age 20 and over. To win the bonus money, states must target them as well.

"There aren't models that have been tried," says Kristin Moore, president of Child Trends, a research group. "States are really having to start from scratch."

# GOP governors try to sell their party as education answer

## Gilmore's teacher pledge wins praise

By Dana Wilkie  
COPLEY NEWS SERVICE

MIAMI — It is no coincidence that the country's Republican governors chose this, American Education Week, to gather in a Florida hotel, surround themselves with reporters and extol triumphs that they say their leadership has meant for schoolchildren.

Pete Wilson can trumpet that California is trimming the number of children in each class. Illinois' Jim Edgar can say he is dragging lawmakers back to Springfield before Christmas to fix education funding. Ohio's George Voinovich can point to Cleveland families that are better off because of a state scholarship program.

Americans, more confident about their jobs and the safety of their streets, are turning their attention to the quality of the country's education, and they aren't happy with what they see. Here at the Republican Governors Association conference and elsewhere, Republicans are seizing on that dissatisfaction to tell voters that they — not the Democrats — are the champions of the nation's classrooms.

"The Democrats clearly have had the advantage with the voters on [education]," says Mary Elizabeth Teasley, director of government relations for the National Education Association. "However, in the last year and going into this next year, you're going to see the same kind of commitment from Republican officials and candidates at all levels."

With an eye to the 1998 elections, Republicans are taking a lesson from their electoral successes this month. Several of the party's candidates won office by talking "education" better than their Democratic opponents. They spoke of "local control" for parents and teachers and emphasized academic standards, affordable colleges and smaller class sizes.

"You'll see that education has really dramatically started moving into the Republican column as to who's better equipped to handle the issue," said Mary Crawford, spokeswoman for the National Republican Congressional Committee. "The innovative solutions have come out of states where [there are] Republican governors."

Governors opened their three-day event here yesterday by ap-

plauding Republicans like Virginia Gov.-elect James Gilmore, who appealed to middle-aged women, typically wary of the party's social agenda, by promising to add 4,000 teachers to public schools.

The move to make education one of the party's top issues next year, if not the top issue, is evident elsewhere:

- In the past two months, Republican leaders in Congress won tax breaks for college savings and more money for charter schools and expanded reading programs.

- Under the Republican-controlled Congress, federal education spending has increased by more in the past two years than at any other time in American history, the National Education Association reports.

- This week, the National Republican Congressional Committee wrote critiques of the education records of several congressional Democrats, then targeted them to news organizations that cover the lawmakers.

- On the California ballot and in Congress next year, Republicans will back plans calling for most education money to be spent in the classroom instead of on school administration. It is an attempt by the GOP to seize an issue popular with many parents, while Democrats will be torn between education allies who hate the idea, like school administrators, and those who may like it, like teachers.

Democrats, the self-proclaimed champions of the classroom and big beneficiaries of the education community's campaign-money gifts, scoff at the notion that voters will now see Republicans as the answer to low test scores, packed classrooms and crumbling campuses.

"I'll be the first to tell you that Democrats have a hard time establishing credibility on taxes," said Vermont Gov. Howard Dean, chairman of the Democratic Governors Association, who insists that voters dislike GOP plans to give parents vouchers and to abolish the U.S. Department of Education. "Republicans are going to have just as hard a time establishing credibility on education. The public just plain doesn't believe Republicans are interested in education."

Edgar -  
Class size

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1997

# Greenspan seeks fix for Social Security

## SECURITY

By Tom Ferraro  
and Jeremy Pelofsky  
BLOOMBERG NEWS

Federal Reserve Board Chairman Alan Greenspan said yesterday that Congress must move quickly to fix Social Security and urged lawmakers to "carefully" consider a phased-in privatization of the nation's retirement program.

Mr. Greenspan suggested as a first step that younger workers be permitted to earmark a portion of their Social Security payroll taxes for investment in stocks and bonds.

He also repeated a call for raising the retirement age for Social Security benefits and for an adjustment of what he considers to be an overstated cost-of-living index used to determine Social Security payments.

The top U.S. central banker said privatization wouldn't "create miracles," yet could help stimulate savings and avert projected future Social Security funding problems.

"The types of changes that will be required to restore fiscal balance to our Social Security accounts are significant, but manageable," Mr. Greenspan told the Senate Budget Committee's Task Force on Social Security. Still, he warned: "If we procrastinate too long, the adjustments could be truly wrenching."

Mr. Greenspan cited federal reports showing that by 2014, as baby boomers reach retirement age, payroll taxes won't be enough to cover benefits, and that unless fixed, the Social Security Trust Fund could be insolvent by 2031.

He chaired an independent commission in 1983 whose report was the basis of benefit changes and tax increases enacted by Congress then to save the Social Security system from default.

The largest federal program, Social Security accounts for 22 percent of all federal expenditures. Created 60 years ago, its old-age pensions, survivors' benefits and disability payments now cover some 44 million people.

see SECURITY, page B8

From page B7

Mr. Greenspan said that even limited privatization of Social Security would "need to be considered carefully" for its potential impact on U.S. financial markets.

"Perhaps the strongest argument for privatization is that replacing the current underfunded system with a fully funded one could boost domestic savings," he said.

Mr. Greenspan suggested a two-tiered approach as a transition: Younger workers would move to a new semi-privatized plan while older workers continued in the existing one. Over time, all workers would be covered by the new system.

"A privatized defined-contribution plan would, by definition, convert our Social Security system into a fully funded plan," he said.

Privatization proponents say investing in stocks and bonds could provide a better return than the

current system. Foes contend that even though U.S. stocks, as measured by the Dow Jones Industrial Average, have almost doubled the past two years, they remain too risky an investment to bank one's retirement on.

Social Security now is a "pay as you go" system — current payroll-tax collections for the retirement system are used to pay benefits. Excess tax receipts are used to buy Treasury securities, which provide the government with cash to pay for other programs and reduce the federal deficit.

In the fiscal year ended Sept. 30, the Social Security surplus was \$81.3 billion, increasing the trust fund's assets to \$630.9 billion.

In less than two decades, however, payroll-tax receipts will start falling short of outlays. That means as the trustees begin liquidating the fund's Treasury-security holdings, the government would have to borrow money to help pay for benefits, causing the overall budget deficit to widen — unless the payroll tax is increased, benefits are reduced or other changes are made.

# Teamsters are owed \$1,375

THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A federal election officer has ordered Teamsters President Ron Carey's re-election campaign to reimburse the union \$1,375 for tickets purchased for a National Press Club luncheon address at which Mr. Carey attacked rival James P. Hoffa.

"The resources of the [International Brotherhood of Teamsters] were used to promote the candidacy of Mr. Carey," wrote Election Officer Benetta M. Mansfield.

Mr. Carey's criticism of Mr. Hoffa came during a question-and-answer period that followed the speech he gave Oct. 21. Mr. Carey said if Mr. Hoffa took over the Teamsters, the union would "go back to the weakness and corruption, the division" of former times.

Mr. Carey derisively referred to Mr. Hoffa, son of former Teamsters President Jimmy Hoffa, as "Junior" and suggested the union would succumb to mob influence and extravagant expenditures if the younger Hoffa became president.

The Teamsters purchased 50 tickets at \$27.50 each, passing many of them out as "rewards" for union employees who were the most active in the Teamsters' strike against United Parcel Service in August, Miss Mansfield wrote in her order issued Monday.

The Washington Times  
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1997

One-Class Size

# Economic Scene | Michael M. Weinstein

## Economists raise questions about educational priorities.

President Clinton has fought hard this week, in the final stage of budget negotiations, to protect his proposal to spend \$1 billion as the first step in hiring 100,000 additional teachers to reduce class size in early grades. Mr. Clinton linked his proposal to the grand ambition of preparing the economy for the 21st century.

But critics of the plan point to research that casts doubt on the Administration's predictions of its likely impact. According to this line of argument, this is not the first time that the Administration has inflated the value of training and education initiatives. If the critics are right, the Administration's lobbying could channel money into the wrong places, starving quiet programs that might work better.

Prof. Alan Krueger of Princeton University, who served as chief economist at the Labor Department under Mr. Clinton, provides some of the research results that the Administration uses to bolster its case for smaller class size. He cites Tennessee, the only state to run a carefully controlled experiment, begun in 1986, to reduce class size in early grades. Mr. Krueger estimates that the program lifted scores on standardized tests by about 5 percentile points — students who would score

better than 50 percent of their peers if placed in classes of 22 would score better than 55 percent if placed in classes of 15.

But Mr. Krueger says the Tennessee results hardly settle the issue. He notes the higher test scores occurred by the end of the first year. Are smaller classes useless thereafter? Would class size of 18 — the President's plan — work as well?

Prof. Lisa Lynch of Tufts University, who also served as chief economist of the Labor Department, wonders whether the Tennessee program worked because it was small, and did not force Tennessee to dilute the quality of its teaching staff. Would a national program pose at least a temporary problem of finding qualified teachers? And would parents, Ms. Lynch asks, "prefer their children in classrooms of 25 or so students with a crackerjack teacher or in classrooms of 15 with a mediocre instructor?"

Here's an odd couple. Mr. Krueger argues that "the view that American schools perform poorly and that more public money will not help is contradicted by the data." Prof. Eric Hanushek of the University of Rochester publishes one study after another arguing that additional spending on schools wastes taxpayer money. Yet they jointly propose that Congress should resolve the many unanswered questions by running careful demonstration projects to figure out whether a national program to cut class size can work.

Some economists raise similar questions about other educational priorities of the Administration. It has already pushed tax credits for college tuition into law even though many economists predict they will do little good. Prof. James Heckman of the University of Chicago estimates that more than 90 percent of the cost of these credits will go to students who would have attended college anyway, missing the goal of lifting workers' skills.

In fact, colleges may try to capture some of the tax savings by cutting financial aid offers to families eligible for the new credit. Besides, Mr. Heckman argues, tuition is less of a barrier to college enrollment than Mr. Clinton seems prepared to admit. About half the nation's college students are enrolled in relatively inexpensive community colleges. Students in four-year public universities are already heavily subsidized, paying only about 20 percent of the cost of their education.

Some economic studies make a solid case for underwriting college enrollment by low-income students. The payoff for society can be huge. But, many economists say, the best way to achieve that goal is to expand Pell grants, which provide a low-cost way to increase enrollment because they, unlike a tax credit, go only to low-income families.

As for subsidies for the training of workers, many economists also agree with Mr. Heckman when he warns: "There is no such thing as cheap training; raising earnings of low-

wage workers is extremely expensive." Indeed, he estimates that it would take almost \$2 trillion to train high school dropouts and graduates to close the earnings gap that opened between them and college graduates over the last 20 years. His point is that politicians should tone down their promises.

But his larger point is that there are Government programs that do work. "Early intervention — programs that focus on preschool children and students in early elementary school grades — have been remarkably successful," he said. Programs in North Carolina, New York, Texas, Wisconsin, Michigan and several other states that provide full-time year-round classes, summer school, weekly home visits, mentoring and individual counseling have increased graduation rates by 20 percent or more and reduced criminal activity by a similar amount.

Early intervention can work, Mr. Heckman says, because it focuses on long-term factors that truly matter — the influence of a child's family and environment on education expectations and ambitions — rather than short-term factors, like tuition charges, which matter less than politicians suppose.

Education is an issue important to voters. But Mr. Clinton's critics say his proposals are, at best, useful ideas worthy of some space in the budget, but are hardly the pillar of an education agenda. At worst they may amount to a splashy waste that robs quiet, more useful initiatives of desperately needed money.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1998

The New York Times

## Iran-Contra, Revisited

To the Editor:

Anthony Lewis (column, Oct. 13) accuses top White House officials in the Reagan Administration of covert sales of arms to Iran and diversion of the proceeds to the Nicaraguan contras in violation of the Boland Amendment.

I served as research director for the House Republicans in the Congressional investigation of the so-called Iran-contra affair. The Boland Amendment brimmed with ambiguities — for example, whether it applied to the National Security Council or covered money not appropriated by Congress.

The author, Representative Edward P. Boland, Democrat of Massachusetts, declined to condemn the diversion as illegal during the Congressional hearings.

No court ever ruled that the diversion violated the Boland Amendment.

BRUCE FEIN  
McLean, Va., Oct. 13, 1998

## Catholic Orthodoxy?

To the Editor:

You assume (news article, Oct. 13) that a turn to conservatism among Roman Catholic seminarians is a turn to "orthodoxy."

As far as I know, all Catholics — liberal, conservative, radical, reactionary, saints or sinners — are orthodox unless a church body declares them to be heterodox — that is, heretics. The term "orthodox" signifies an important branch of Judaism; not so in Roman Catholicism. We're all orthodox until notified otherwise.

MARGARET O'BRIEN STEINFELS  
New York, Oct. 13, 1998

The writer is the editor of *Commonweal* magazine.

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Those selected may be shortened for space reasons. Fax letters to (212) 556-3622 or send by electronic mail to [letters@nytimes.com](mailto:letters@nytimes.com), or by regular mail to Letters to the Editor, The New York Times, 229 West 43d Street, New York, N.Y. 10036-3959.

## A Question of Empathy

To the Editor:

Re "Like Politics, All Political Correctness Is Local" (Week in Review, Oct. 11): So people in many cultures take offense at offensiveness. That this is amusing seems to be the justification for noting this obvious pattern.

The article notes that the South African Constitution "forbids discrimination that is based not just on race and religion, but also on sex, sexual preference, handicap, pregnancy status and almost every imaginable ground." That there just might be a reason for such protections in South Africa is apparently a mystery.

The article seems indifferent to the reasons for "politically correct" avoidance of gross offenses, and apparently innocent of any suspicion that feelings and pains accompany the taboo words mentioned.

KEVIN T. KEITH  
New York, Oct. 13, 1998

To the Editor:

Re "To Me, It's Blatant Sexism; to South Africans, It's Not a Problem" (Week in Review, Oct. 11):

Your Johannesburg bureau chief might consider becoming a foreign correspondent in Washington. She would find the problems of a female bureau chief here remarkably similar.

MARY DEJEVSKY  
Washington, Oct. 13, 1998

The writer is Washington correspondent for *The Independent of London*.

## Saving Kosovo Lives, Or U.S. Skins?

To the Editor:

The deal to avert military strikes against Serbia announced by President Clinton and the special envoy Richard C. Holbrooke ("Milosevic Accepts Kosovo Monitors, Averting Attack," front page, Oct. 14) sounds like the game that was played out so tragically in Bosnia.

As part of the new agreement, the international community intends to verify the compliance of President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia by sending 2,000 unarmed "observers" to the killing fields of Kosovo.

Unless my memory of Mr. Milosevic's tactics fails me, these observers will then become potential hostages to be used as bargaining chips to avoid full compliance and guarantee success for the Serbs' genocidal campaign.

This is not about saving lives in Kosovo; it's about saving skins in Washington and in the capitals of our timid allies. When will we ever learn?

RUSSELL SCHEIDELMAN  
Seattle, Oct. 14, 1998

## Krishna Sect Abuse

To the Editor:

I appreciated your Oct. 9 front-page article on child abuse in the Hare Krishna movement. I was born and raised in a strict movement in which children were similarly treated. The report in the official journal of the Hare Krishna movement says the reasons for the abuse lay in the structure of the early Krishna movement, with "young devotees" assigned to child care because they were unsuccessful at collecting contributions. This seems to absolve the leadership from any blame for the circumstances in which these children suffered.

The "surprising lack" of lawsuits until now referred to in your article would seem less puzzling if you consider the difficulty of locating the assets that would permit recovery, as well as the possible lack of legal awareness, economic resources and education of the victims, who have been isolated by their unconventional upbringings.

ABIGAIL BERRY  
New York, Oct. 9, 1998



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# The New York Times

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1998

**STATUS OF MAJOR ISSUES ON  
H.R. 1995—THE TEACHER EMPOWERMENT BILL.**

\* **Stream of Funding for Class Size Reduction.** Last year's Omnibus Appropriations bill included the Clinton/Clay Class Size Reduction Act which provided a separate stream of funding for class size reduction, targeted to the early grades. H.R. 1995 does not have a stream of funding, and would allow LEAs to spend a minimal amount of funds on class size, or none at all if it receives a waiver from the state. The Republicans have refused to negotiate on this issue.

**Accountability.** The Martinez substitute included a number of strong accountability provisions proposed by Rep. Miller. Although we have not seen the legislative language, it appears that the Republicans have agreed to the major Miller accountability provisions. These include a requirement that all teachers be certified and qualified within three years of enactment, and that districts have to report on uncertified and emergency certified and out-of-field teachers, and class size, by state, district, and school. All teachers hired under the act must be certified.

**Funding Formula.** H.R. 1995 establishes an in-state formula that is 50% poverty and 50% population. The Martinez substitute was more targeted because it uses an 80% poverty and 20% population for class size reduction (based on the Clinton/Clay class size reduction formula negotiated by Mr. Clay). The Martinez substitute used a formula based on 60% poverty and 40% population with respect to the teacher development stream of funding. H.R. 1995, without some adjustment, would cause a significant loss of funds in poor, urban and rural school districts, and increase funding for wealthy districts.

The Republicans have agreed to modify their bill to hold all school districts harmless. This means that no school district would receive less next year than the total it received this year under the Clinton/Clay and Eisenhower allocations. Above the hold harmless, funds would be distributed under the new, less targeted formula each year. Although not as good as the existing formulas, it provides substantial protection for mostly Democratic districts compared to the current version of H.R. 1995.

\* **National Board for Professional Teaching Standards.** H.R. 1995 does not authorize the expenditure of funds for the National Board (although it does not specifically prohibit such funds). The Board administers a voluntary system to assess and certify teachers who meet rigorous teaching standards. The Board hopes to certify 105,000 teachers by the year 2006. The Republicans refuse to negotiate on this issue.

**Funds for Standards Based Reform.** H.R. 1995 does not provide support for activities such as the refinement and development of State content and student performance standards. This was the primary focus of Goals 2000. The Republicans refuse to negotiate on this issue.

**Troops To Teachers (Roemer).** Although H.R. 1995 continues the Troops to Teachers program for retired military personnel, it does not include the President's proposal to create national efforts modeled on Troops to Teachers to help other non-military mid-career professionals become teachers. So far, the Republicans are not willing to include this expanded language sought by Mr. Roemer in the Chairman's floor amendment, and told him he would have to do a floor amendment to expand the program. The Republicans have not indicated whether they would support such a floor amendment.

**Help for Principals and Administrators (Kind).** Rep. Kind is negotiating a grant program to provide school districts with funding to help train principals and administrators. The Republicans appear to be willing to accommodate Mr. Kind's requests.

\* **Tenure Reform and Merit Pay.** AFT and NEA are strongly opposed to provisions in H.R. 1995 that would allow federal funds to be used for tenure reform and merit pay. They believe such issues should be considered in collective bargaining, without federal involvement. The Republicans will not negotiate this issue.

**Math and Science Set Aside (Holt).** At this point, Republicans have not agreed to increase the Math/Science Set Aside.