

OLD DOMINION UNIVERSITY

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Mrs. Hilary Clinton
White House
160 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

Chairperson
804-683-3288

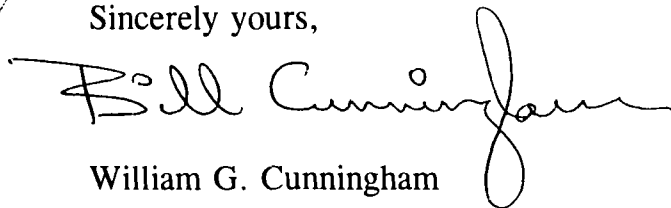
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I heard you discuss some of your concerns regarding the future of American education and was struck by the importance of this issue to America's future. You mentioned that you were working with others in the planning of an education conference. I would very much like to be a part of such a conference and have enclosed a just completed chapter, for an upcoming book, which looks at the existing context of American education. This is our jumping off point to a new future for American education--not modifying the existing paradigm but helping educators more to an entirely new paradigm.

Again, please keep me in mind for planning and/or attending your education conference.

Sincerely yours,


William G. Cunningham

WGC:dh

Enclosure

Chapter 2

Context and Perspective for Educational Administrators

Scrivner Middle School - Not a Pretty Political Picture

You are Herman Bartlby, principal of Scrivner Middle School, which you have inherited from a string of very short-term principals. Previous principals were unable to turn this school around to the satisfaction of the community, parents, superintendent, or school board members and were quickly replaced. The school is located in a poor, urban, ethnic community with a proud past, but severely hurt by layoffs at the telephone company and other smaller industries within the community. In discussing this position with you, Superintendent Melville said, "Low test scores, illiteracy, underqualified teachers, inadequate curricula, insufficient time-on-task, and general poor performance is becoming a tradition at Scrivner and this situation must be turned around." There was strong pressure for meaningful reform and your initial assignment is to get a handle on shifting politics and pressures that had a strong hold on the school. Melville continued, "Previous principals were unable to read the community or the faculty and generated resistance, divisiveness and mistrust which ultimately ended in ideological battlegrounds and no school improvement." Melville made reference to a quote he had read that change is "Technically simple and socially complex" and he stated "this certainly seems to be the case at Scrivner. You must use the present politics and context to take charge of the needed improvements and not become a victim of them."

Your first visit with community members quickly demonstrated their mistrust of you as an educator. They let you know that, as money got tighter in their families, per student expenditure on students nearly doubled, student/teacher ratios declined, resources for education increased and yet student achievement deteriorated badly by every measure. Mrs. Peltzman, a member of the school board who

lived in the community said, "For an ordinary business to almost double its inputs, yet somehow manage to produce less, is unthinkable. But that is what happened at Scrivner over the past ten years." The school was also accused for being part of the social breakdown within the community-assault, robbery, auto theft, single-parent homes had all significantly increased while community cohesiveness had declined. In the past, the school had been a focal point of activity and pride but this was no longer true for the community. The community placed strong pressure on the board to reduce their property taxes and to get more money from the state. Although this did not directly relate to your school, it reflected an attitude that the community was saturated and would not provide more financial support for their school. At the same time, the community had recently lost a business, that was thinking about locating in the community, because of "a serious concern about education in the community and the need to provide remedial education." The community saw the problems as irreversible and had given up on Scrivner and were looking into prioritization options.

In expressing some of the concerns brought out by the community to the teaching staff, Bartleby realized that there is a great deal of hostility. Scrivner's teachers attacked the community's parenting skills discussing poor student behavior and expenditure on weapons detection, security systems, police patrols, health clinics, turant officers, before - and after - school care, special educators, counselors, discipline officers and other behavior related costs as taking up a lot of time and money. The school had spent money on major hazard removal, litigation regarding several suspensions, student harassment, and a school accident, and increased accountability requirements which the teachers believed were testing for the wrong things. Federal and state mandates had clogged their school with unneeded and often half abandoned programs. The Board and Superintendents tended to look over their shoulders which required

time for meetings and special reports. They believed that their actual salary adjusted for the costs of living had decreased as had the money available for instructional support. What little money available was all going into technology which was not even being used except as "glorified typewriters." Mrs. Rivera, a science teacher said, "Superintendent Meleville wants us to reform this school but the teachers in this district have given him very low marks on reforms that have been tried even though he has had a few successes. In addition, the board will be getting rid of him fairly soon."

Mr. Bartley was glad that he had followed the superintendent's advice about gaining a good understanding of the situation before beginning any reform efforts. He was just beginning to gain an understanding of the various segments of the internal and external community. He realized that if he did not understand the context in which he operated, he could find himself at the center of a flurry of controversies. He believed that everyone seemed to be disenfranchised with Scrivner but he could not understand the history that had led up to this condition. He knew this history was important to the future improvement of the school and his tenure as its principal. He realized that many events, political decisions, and economic situations had a strong influence on what was going on at Scrivner High School. He could not narrowly focus his attention on operating the school or even the immediate community if he was to succeed at educating students for the future. What occurred at Scrivner was part of the larger events that were occurring outside the school. He could not succeed if he ignored this larger context for American education.

How might this situation have evolved at Scrivner High School?

What role did the federal, state, and local governance of education play, if any, in creating the conditions at Scrivner High School?

How can you best identify the core values operating in the school, community, district, state and nation?

What are some of the forces in society that might provide positive political support for needed reforms?

What are some effective approaches to gaining a better understanding of the contextual factors that influence education at Scrivner High School?

How have local, state, national, and international events and politics become more intertwined with the operation of the school?

Schools have reciprocal relationships with a multitude of influences that form the context within which education operates. Effective administrators understand this context of historical, political and social factors. The context is the everchanging landscape within which schools are embedded. Schools are part of a much larger global system, linked to society through both formal and informal structures of governance and influence which shape almost all educational decisions. These structures evolve out of the same struggles that mold this nation, thus preparing educators to meet current challenges.

Schooling is a federal interest, a state responsibility and a local operation. The consequence is fifty systems of public education that are being strongly influenced by world, national, state and local pressures and expectations. James W. Guthrie and Rodney J. Reed (1991) capture the complexity of the system, in their statement, "The United States maintains an educational system which is probably more diverse, disparate, decentralized, and dynamic than any other in the world. This system depends only slightly upon national government to make education policy or to provide financial support for educational institutions. Instead, governmental authority for American education is distributed primarily among the fifty states, which in turn, delegate administrative responsibility to thousands of local school districts. The consequence is fifty systems of public tax-supported lower and higher education in which most policy is made by fifty sets of state officials, governors, legislators, judges, state boards of education, and their counterparts in thousands of local communities. As if this were not sufficiently complex, there exists a

parrallel system of private or nonpublic institutions, generally outside of government, for both higher and lower education (p.22).” Add to this the significant number of interest groups--the Encyclopedia of Associations lists 1,221 national and international education associations--and you begin to understand the divesity of thinking with which local school leaders must be prepared to contend with, even before they face students and their parents. Educational leaders examine school issues in terms of this complex milieu in which policy and reforms issues are set.

Increasingly citizens from across the nation are becoming increasingly interested in what is taught, read, viewed, and discussed in our public schools. A policy network newsletter of the National School Boards Association states: “Parents, students, school board members and administrators all have an obvious interest regarding what goes on in our schools, but so do people with no local affiliation or direct connections to the district. People representing the political spectrum of ideas and beliefs, people worried about social more^S_A and the future of a sometimes less than admirable society look to the public schools as a mechanizm to foster change or to stifle it. (Morris, 1992, p.1).” People use pressure, legislation, mandates, and other forms of political action to make decisions conform to their interests. The educational leader is responsible for insuring that the final decisions are representative of the whole and are in the best interest of children.

Educaitonal leaders are caught among conflicting desires of elected and governmental officials, diverse communities, teachers and staff, Boards of Education, interest groups, students and families, educational experts and others, all of whom have their own agenda and interpretation of what schools should be doing. The related pressures seem to be increasing along with the ever growing number of social problems and issues that find their ways into the schools. As educators become enmeshed in the

webb of issues being debated by various constituencies, they can find themselves at the center of the controversies. This is particularly true if they do not understand the history and direction of the groups with which they are dealing.

Educational Origins

Education grew out of the urges, hopes and values of the people themselves. Education was not mentioned in the U.S. constitution and as a result of the tenth amendment, ratified in 1791, became a responsibility of the state. As states adopted constitutions, they consolidated powers over education that had been exercised by local communities. The states placed their role as establishing minimum standards and guidelines, leaving a large amount of the power for operating the school systems with local communities. American education was built on a concept of universal opportunity for education to all of its citizens. There were thousands of acts and laws passed in each of the states placing schools in the public domain, granting compulsory taxing power, setting schools up as qwasi-municipal operation, establishing legal rights, setting up standards providing for governance, etc.

The first institution of higher education was Harvard College in 1636 followed by the College of William and Mary in 1677. The first public high school in the United States was established by the Boston School Committee in 1821. During the 1800's, a new educational concious was awakening as communities worked to obtain funds for the establishment and support of free elementary schools, establishing school supervision, and to extend the system. Names like Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, William H. McGuffey, Johann Herbart and later John Dewey were powerful forces in shaping American Education. The American people began to look to public education to meet the challenges of a radily changing civilization. School enrolements increased by geometric proportions and public education

became one of the great enterprises in the nation. The public elementary school became a training ground for the children of all the people. At the same time, social and economic concerns, in a changing world, were making new demands on schooling.

Early Federal Involvement

Since the Federal Government has no responsibility for education, they must use an area for which they do have responsibility to support their involvement in education. To date, they have used five major federal responsibilities to support their involvement in education. These are (1) land grant, (2) public relief and welfare, (3) national defense, (4) equal opportunity, and (5) economic development as shown in Table 2.1.

Early federal legislation pertaining to education had to do chiefly with establishing land grants for education purposes. This type of legislation began as early as 1785 with the orderly distribution of public land through surveying and setting land aside for specific purposes. The Ohio Statehood Enabling Act was the first of the Enabling Acts which provided land grants for public schools in newly created states. Each of these enabling acts, by which territories became states, required provisions for a system of public education. Later in 1862 the Morrill Act provided lands for the establishment of colleges and universities. In 1867, the U.S. Office of Education was created under the Department of Interior for the purpose of collecting “statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several states and territories...”

Table 2.1. Federal Involvement in Education

<u>Law</u>		<u>Purpose</u>
<u>Land Grant:</u>		
Land Ordinance	1785	Provide for orderly distribution of public land by surveying the land.
Northwest Ordinance	1787	Encouraged use of public monies for the maintenance of public schools in the newly created townships.
Ohio Statehool Enabling Act	1802	First of the Enabling Acts which provided land grants (a total of 98 million acres) for public schools in newly created states
Morrill Act	1862	Provide 30,000 acres of land per Congressman for establishment of agricultural, scientific, and industrial colleges; assisted 68 institutions currently enrolling 40 percent of the nation's college population.
Hatch Act	1887	Provided land grants for agricultural experimental stations at land grant colleges.
Second Morrill	1890	Provided permanent annual endowment for developing instructional programs in agricultural and technical colleges and universities; original \$15,000/year/state appropriation eventually increased to \$50,000/year/state.
Smith-Lever Act	1914	Created Agricultural Extension Service to "add in diffusing... useful and practical information on subjects pertaining to agriculture and home economics"; original \$5 million/year appropriation eventually increased to \$50 million/year.
Smith Hughes Act	1917	Provided matching funds to help states develop high school vocational programs; original \$4.7 million program expanded and incorporated in 1958 NDEA.
<u>Relief:</u>		
"New Deal" Activity	1930s	Encouraged education as part of the Public Works Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, National Youth Administration, Works Progress Administration, etc.

Table 2.1. Federal Involvement in Education (Contd)

<u>Law</u>		<u>Purpose</u>
Lanham Act	1941	Provided funds to construct and operate schools where was increased federal activity created burdens upon local governments; expanded in 1980 by <u>Impact Laws 815</u> and 874 which provided money for school construction and district operating costs respectively.
Service Man's Readjustment Act (GI Bill)	1944	Provided education and training for returning World War II veterans; expanded subsequently to include veterans of wars in Korea and Vietnam.
National School Lunch Program	1946	Provided funds for school lunch programs in public and non-public school; expanded in 1954 to include a school milk program.
National Science Foundation	1950	Established a federally supported foundation to provide scholarships and fellowships for study and research in science fields.
Cooperative Research Program	1954	
School Construction Act	1957	Provide \$325 million/year for four years for financing school construction.
<u>National Defense:</u>		
*National Defense Education Act	1958	Provided graduate fellowships in education--particularly in the sciences, mathematics, and foreign languages; extended in 1964. <i>Supp</i> (Student loans, local-state-nation partnership)
Area Redevelopment Act	1961	Provided funds to train persons in redevelopment areas throughout the nation.
Peace Corps Act	1961	Established a program to supply teachers and technicians for underdeveloped nations for two-year periods of time.
Manpower Development and Training Act	1962	Established up-to-date training programs for youth whose lack of education prevents them from obtaining employment; expanded in 1963.

Table 2.1. Federal Involvement in Education (Contd)

<u>Law</u>		<u>Purpose</u>
*Higher Education Facilities Act	1963	Provided grants to all colleges, public and private, for improvement of facilities.
<u>Equal Educational Opportunity:</u>		
*Vocational Education Act	1963	Extended 1950 Impact Laws and NDEA and provided funds for construction of vocational school and development of expanded vocational education offerings.
Economic Opportunity Act	1964	Provided the legislative weapon for the <u>War on Poverty</u> ; intended to improve the lot of the disadvantaged through educational and community projects: Head Start, Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, VISTA, and other work-experience and community programs; expanded, but with restrictions, a year later.
Civil Rights Act	1964	Intended to <u>discourage racial discrimination</u> throughout society with particular emphasis upon hastening desegregation in the nation's schools.
Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act Amendment	1964	Intended to research fully the effects of compulsory school attendance and child labor laws upon juvenile delinquency.
*Elementary and Secondary Education Act	1965	Provided large sumes of money for a broad range of educational concerns.
National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities	1965	Esblished a federally supported foundation to complement NSF and provide scholarships and fellowships for study and research in the arts and humanities.
*Higher Education Act	1965	Provided large sumes of money for institutions, students and teachers involved in higher education.
International Education Act	1966	Provided grants to institutions of higher education for establishment, strengthening, and operation of research centers for study of international education.

Table 2.1. Federal Involvement in Education (Contd)

<u>Law</u>	<u>Purpose</u>
Education Professions Development Act	1967 Amended the 1965 Higher Education Act to improve the preservice and inservice training of educational personnel.

1970s

World Class Economic Competativeness

1980s

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Henry Barnard was instrumental in the creation of this office and served as the first U.S. Commissioner of Education.

The second major cause of federal involvement in education was for relief in the early 1900's. The country was entering into the great depression of the 1930's and initially these acts were more to help the youth of the country who could not find jobs, then it was to improve education. This legislation began with the development of vocational program through the Smith- Hughes Act in 1917, but the heart of this legislation was in the "New Deal" activity in the 1930's. These acts set up the Public Works Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, works progress administration and other agencies to help train youth and place them in meaningful employment. This was later followed by the Lanham Act,, which provided Impact Aid to schools affected by federal lands, which were not taxable, the GI Bill, and the National School Lunch Program.

In 1939, the U.S. office of education was transferred to the Federal Security Agency, thus, beginning a third reason for federal involvement in education--national security and defense. The first act passed under this new emphasis was the National Science Foundation Act in 1950. This act provided funds for study and research in scientific fields and was administered by the National Science Board composed of 24 members and the Director. The Hoover task force was created in 1954 to study the federal administration of all the educational legislation that had been passed into law. They concluded that the U.S. Office of Education had "Meager influence and no control." In addition, of the 3 billion federal dollars being spent on education, only 1 percent went through the U.S. Office of Education. The rest went through a number of blue ribbon boards and commissions and over 20 other

federal agencies. The commission recommended a number of changes in the executive branch of government and in 1953 the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was created placing greater responsibility for the administration and control of educational related matters within this office. The 1954 cooperative research program was the first new act to be placed under U.S. Commissioner Samuel Brounell.

A number of national, state, and regional lobbying organizations were also very active at this period of time. The first two were the National Education Association which began in 1857 and the American Association of School Administrators in 1865. These groups continue to be interested in curriculum, instruction, standards, accountability, programs, working conditions, organizational structure, etc. The NEA produced the "Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education" in 1918. The functions and purposes of the schools were health, command of fundamental process, worthy social membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure and ethical character. These associations had become strong lobbying forces by the 1950's and helped both the legislatures and the general public to identify important issues which needed to be addressed.

In the early 1900's, the old theories of maintaining strict mental discipline with rote learning was quite common. The theme was "school days, school days, good old golden rule days, reading, and writing and arithmetic, taught to the tune of a hickory stick." The new theories of learning suggested that it was not good for the mind simply because it was arduous or distasteful and that education had the responsibility of orienting the child to social and economic changes that were making new demands. John Dewey was identified as the leader of this movement which was titled "progressive

education." Dewey believed that society should be interpreted to the child through his daily living in the classroom in a framework that is genuine and meaningful to the student. It was during this time that education began to become accessible to all, enabling students to progress at their own speed.

The Soviet Union's launching of "Sputnik" in October, 1957 resulted in seething criticism of the American educational system. It was a rude awakening to Americans who had been taught that most soviet's did not have access to electricity or running water and unfairly or not the schools were blamed. From all sides came demands for changes in the way schooling was occurring in America. This resulted in the use of national security and defense as a justification for greater federal involvement in education. The result was the passage of the largest federal legislation to date as the National Defense Education Act of 1958. This act was to address changes in curriculum, methods, and requirements, including higher standards, more training in science and mathematics and better provisions for bright students and harder study for all students. The act was particularly designed to to strengthen in science, mathematics, and foreign languages. This legislation was introduced in the period of the "pursuit of excellence" with its emphasis on enrichment, ability grouping, gifted education, and accelerated and enriched programs. It also established more local-state-national partnerships in the improving of American education. This was the first piece of legislation aimed specifically at improving instruction in academic or non-vocational subjects and in broadening the involvement of those influencing curriculum and instruction.

Kerner Report

Prior to 1958, the inner-city poor urban communities and particularly the black communities saw education as their only hope for an improved quality of life. The education system had shown some signs of meeting their needs through the approaches that grew out of progressive education—child-centered, experimental and object learning, progressing at their own speed, etc. However, the reforms that grew out of the NDEA act and related thinking reversed this trend back to a focus on basics, achieving excellence, with major focus on math, science, and foreign language skills. The curriculum was expanded to include much more learning within each of the grade levels. Those who could not keep up fell behind often failing and later dropping out of school. This was occurring at the same time that U.S. Supreme Court and Legislative activity was placing greater attention on equal opportunity without discrimination. The 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown versus the Board of Education, Topeka* resulted in progress in integrating schools and an increase in blacks entering public schools. Some of the U.S. Supreme court decisions at this time included the invalidation of school prayer, equality of voting rights and representation, a number of decisions regarding antidiscrimination, and freedom of religion, speech, press and association. The major legislation of the time was the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1964. Studies relating lifetimes earnings suggested that those going beyond the eighth grade received significantly higher incomes (approximately 40 percent greater) than those who did not complete the eighth grade.

There was a sense of volatility within the nation regarding fundamental civil liberties, especially within urban communities, and legislators and others were providing a powerful political push to

address growing concerns. Crime, especially among juveniles and young adults, had increased significantly. The signs of problems was easily seen in New York City, Cleveland, and other cities in early 1964 through boycotts of city school systems. Redevelopment, education, and jobs were the major themes. This was followed in the summer of 1964 with a two year string of rioting and looting which began in the Harlem and Bedford-Styvesant sections of New York City. Other cities in which this tragic pattern was repeated included Rochester, Los Angeles (Watts), Springfield, MA., Chicago, Atlanta, San Francisco, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, St. Louis, Omaha, Milwaukee, Pompano Beach, FL, Birmingham, and Tuscaloosa. Demonstrations and marches were also occurring throughout the nation. The Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders was created in 1967 to investigate these riots. The report (U.S. Riot Commission, 1968) concluded that the typical rioter was a school drop out whose unfulfilled hopes raised by earlier improvements, particularly adverse experience with recent school changes, and underemployment created a climate which encouraged violence. The typical citizen within the community who tried to stop the riots was a high school graduate with a job. Education and income were the only factors distinguishing the counter-rioters from the rioters. Practices of racism in general were also high on the Kerner list of causes.

This was the beginning of federal involvement in education for the purpose of encouraging equality of educational opportunity. The most significant piece of legislature under the equality movement is the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, a broad program of support to children from low-income families. The first six titles of this bill was for compensatory education,

instructional materials, supplementary services, innovative programs, strengthening state departments, and libraries. Some progress was made by the end of the 1960's in head start programs, desegregation, student-centered education and open classrooms. The first major international comparison of achievement in mathematics revealed that U.S. students fell below Japan and Britain. Charles E. Silberman's report of problems in U.S. education entitled Crisis in the Classroom described school as a "grim, joyless place" where spirit is repressed and the joy of learning and creating lost. However, in the 1970's, the busing of children to schools out of their neighborhoods to improve racial balances overshadowed all other education issues. Perhaps the best examples of the backlash to racial busing occurred in the South Boston and Hyde Park sections of Boston, where police and National Guardsmen were required for approximately five weeks to establish order in the communities and schools.

The 1970's ended with a concern that a significant number of American youth did not perform satisfactorily on standardized tests of reading writing and arithmetic--the three R's. This was occurring at the same time that there were significant cutbacks in funding for public schools, challenges to the equalization of state educational funding and considerable success and optimism regarding the integration of American schools. A new, separate cabinet-level U.S. Department of Education came into existence on September 24, 1979. There were a string of teacher strikes over issues like salary increases, cost of living clauses, lesson-preparation time, class size, and extra duty pay. This new cabinet position was to fulfill a promise to the National Education Association and hopefully improve relations with American teachers.

State Involvement

Education is mentioned in every state constitution. The legislatures in every state other than Hawaii continue to follow the original pattern of local control of public education. State Boards of Education date back to 1784 and the first state superintendent of public instruction temporarily emerged in New York in 1812 and reemerged permanently in 1854. Individuals in this position have been quite successful in marshaling public opinion, lobbying state legislatures, providing professional leadership, establishing direction, and setting minimum standards. Although the legislature is charged with the primary responsibility of maintaining a system of public education, the governor's desires are not lightly ignored. The state board of education determines policies and the chief state school officer and state department of education is responsible for their implementation. The state department of education originally collected data then expanded into setting and maintaining (inspection) minimum educational standards, later expanded to the role of providing leadership through mandates and program development and, finally into facilitating and supporting local efforts to improve education.

State education departments did not really come of age in the governance of American education until after the passage of the Elementary and Secondary education act in 1965. Title V of this act provided money to significantly increase the number of state department officials as well as providing training, equipment and encouragement for research and development efforts. Within three years after the passage of this act, many state departments of education doubled in size with much of the support coming from federal funds. These federal allocations were eliminated in 1981 when the federal government began to implement federal "block grants" under the Education Consolidation and

Improvement Act (ECIA) of 1981. However, during this fifteen year period, state departments of education introduced a number of new programs within their states particularly aimed at bringing students up to minimum standards. The new ECIA gave the state departments of education more responsibility for determining how and where to spend money but it also reduced federal funding placing more financial responsibility on the states.

The major areas of focus at the state level are instructional programs, certification of personnel, facilities standards, financial support, data collection and distribution, testing, and regulation of nonpublic schools. The volume of statutory accomplishments in these areas over the 1970's is extremely impressive. This legislative/policy leadership was in part a reaction to forces and interest groups that existed during this period. Such public interest helps to promote the beginning of an unprecedented extension of state influence into issues of local school performance. Susan H. Fuhrman (1994, p.30-31) concluded:

"During the 70's and 80's, legislatures generated volumes of statutes related to education. In the 1970's, they revised school financing statutes to address wealth-related disparities among local districts; and they provided special programs, such as compensatory education, for the neediest students. In the early 1980s, they turned their attention to the performance of all students, increasing standards for high school graduation and mandating more testing to assess student progress...twenty eight states enacted school finance reform measures between 1971 and 1981. By 1979-80, twenty three states provided funds to local districts to support services for disadvantaged students; the same number offered financial assistance for instruction of limited-English-proficient students; and all fifty

states had enacted special education programs that conformed to Public Law 94-142, although they varied in financing mechanisms. In the early and mid-1980s, education reform spread so rapidly from state to state that some elements of reform were addressed by virtually every state." One of the increasingly complex and disquieting aspects of state involvement in education is the shifting winds of policy development that cause programs to be canceled, amended, modified, shifted, redirected, and/or unfunded. This has caused educators at the local level to question the staying power of state initiative. The attitude sometimes seems to be "wake me up when this ones over!"

The current Context - 1880 to Present

The 1980s entered with teachers openly expressing dissatisfaction with their jobs, 41 percent responding to an NEA teacher poll that they would not become teachers if they had it to do over again.

In 1980, the insolvent Chicago school board failed to meet payrolls which forced severe budget cuts and layoffs. Overall statistics suggested three decades of unprecedented growth in U.S. enrollment, however, enrollments had been declining slightly over the past five years while the costs of education had continued to increase. Educators argued that the tax revolt of the 1970s had reduced state and local funds to education and federal cuts only contributed to the difficulties within local districts. There was a blitz of national reports critical of U.S. Education including one by the U.S. Secretary of Education appointed National Commission on Excellence in Education. The report entitled A Nation at Risk charged that American students showed poorly in comparison with those of other industrialized nations. The report, which was purposefully alarmist in tone, began, by stating:

Our nation is at risk. Our once unchallenged preeminence in commerce, industry, science and technological innovation is being overtaken by competitors, throughout the world..the educational

foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a nation and a people...if an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war.

The major points were that American students compared unfavorably to foreign students, were weaker in inferential skills, science and math achievement had declined, and there existed a national problem of illiteracy. The recommendations were to launch a core curriculum, raise academic standards, lengthen the school day and year, improve teacher quality, and attract capable teachers. At the same time, President Ronald Reagan urged prayer in public schools, tuition tax credits, vouchers, public and private school choice, and a smaller federal role in education.

The National Commission report was followed by hundreds of national, state and local commissions, task forces, study groups, committees, hearings and legislature reports that were critical of education, offering all forms of suggestions on how to improve the American educational system. Many of the recommendations were stated in the form of mandates to which boards, superintendents and local school divisions were expected to respond. From almost every facet of America, reforms, suggestions, proposals and policy propositions were being suggested. Superintendents had never seen such a large volume of different suggestions from so many vocal groups regarding how American education could be improved. U.S. Office of Education staff, superintendents and later researchers were to use the term waves of reform to describe the efforts of the 1980's. The waves seemed to increase in size as each new one washed over a public school systems that was not well prepared for such turbulence. Later when assessing his first term in office, President Reagan reflected, "If I were

asked to single out the proudest achievement of my administration's first three and one-half years in office, what we've done to define the issues and promote the great national debate in education would rank up near the top of the list (Reagan, 1984, p.2.)"

Amid all the criticism of the schools, the high spot was that 80% of the nations school age population now graduate from high school, far more than in most other countries. In addition, the decline described in education closely paralleled a national decline in domestic industrial output, international competitiveness, productivity and overall product quality. A debate ensued on whether this was a cause and affect relationship as the Nation at Risk suggested or in reality just another part of a general decline that was occurring in America. For the first time in American history, the next generation was to be faced with a lower standard of living then their parents. Education had entered the political arena full swing, and regardless of causes, politicians felt compelled to make their mark on education and there is no sign that they will retreat from this position any time in the near future.

The National Governor's Association 1986 report titled Time for Results states early on that, "Better schools means better jobs." Governor Alexander's summary of the report (1986, p.7) reaffirmed the governor's readiness to provide, "the leadership needed to get results on the hard issues that confront the better school movement...(and) to lead the second wave of reform in American education policy." The Governor shared the belief, "that real excellence can't be imposed from a distance. Governors don't create excellent schools; communities-local school leaders, teachers, parents, and citizens-do." The states would work on recommendations, assessment and accountability. The Carnegie Forum on Education and Economy (1986, p.26) found that many teachers "are

immensely frustrated-to the point of cynicism" regarding reform activities which they see as bringing about very little change and showing a lack of respect for classroom teachers. They observed bureaucratic structures becoming more rigid, opportunities for exercising professional judgment decreasing, little to no real gains for students and lack of professional respect for teachers.

In a report entitled Results in Education: 1987, the members of the National Governors association (1987, p.3) noted that, "states will have to assume larger responsibilities for setting educational goals and defining outcome standards" while, at the same time, stimulating local inventiveness. Increased educational productivity and the professionalization of teaching would require new school structures that allowed "more varied instructional arrangements, greater collegial interaction among teachers and greater teacher involvement in decision making". Their theme was one of "Deregulating educational practices and holding educators accountable."

The effective schools research by Ron Edmonds, Lawrence Lezotte, Michael Rutter, Wilbur Brookoever, and many others have all supported greater local autonomy in education. These researchers suggest that policy makers provide direction, build common language, and provide funding, however, the change process was essentially a bottoms-up operation. Efforts at mandating programs, by those who spend their professional lives outside the classroom, often generates hostility, frustration, and/or helplessness among teachers. Local educators are the experts and are involved with the education of American youth on a long-term basis. They must believe in what they do if they are to be effective. In studying the school's effectiveness research, Dr. Lawrence Lezotte (1988) came up with a

set of premises that seemed to run across effective schools. They include decentralized decision making, collaboration, staff empowerment, holding schools accountable, and school-based planning efforts.

The Tax Reform Act of 1986 was an important piece of legislature in regards to placing the financing of public programs more squarely on the backs of the middle class to slightly above middle class tax payer. This act resulted in a 53 percent tax decrease for the wealthy and a 18 percent increase in taxes on the middle to upper-middle class tax payer (Barlett and Steele, 19__). This has resulted in a trend toward a very wealthy upper class and a ever increasing middle class who are relatively strapped for money. Politicians are unwilling to raise taxes on the wealthy and are unable to gain support for higher taxes on the tight dollars of the middle class. This has resulted in extremely tight money for education and other public enterprises.

In 1989, school reform was developing from the most ideologically conservative political process of our times. In this setting, President George Bush and the nation's governors came together at the historical educational summit in Charlottesville, Virginia. All agreed that "the time has come for the first time in the United States history, to establish clear national performance goals, goals that will make up internationally competitive." There was a clear call for a "renaissance in education." The national goals were:

- All children will start school ready to learn.
- The high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent.
- United States students will be first in the world in science and mathematics achievement.

- American students will leave grades four, eight and twelve having demonstrated competence in challenging subject major including english, mathematics, science, history and geography; and every school in America will insure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy.
- Every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.
- Every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning.

The meeting of the president and governors was a clear response to what was perceived as the upcoming economic challenge from highly productive industrialized nations.

The mood, as we entered the last decade of the century, was best summed up in a February 9, 1990, Wall Street Journal article which appeared in the first education supplement the Journal had ever published. The supplement began,

Jobs are becoming more demanding, more complex. But our schools don't seem up to the task. They are producing students who lack the skills that business so desperately needs to compete in today's global economy and doing so, they are condemning students to a life devoid of meaningful employment.

Better corporate retaining may serve as a stopgap. But ultimately the burden of change rests with our schools. While debate rages about how change should come, almost everyone agrees that something has to be done. And quickly.

Later that same year President Bush introduced America 2000: An Education Strategy to business leaders, governors, lawmakers, and educators. This was a nine-year plan to move education

forward “for the sake of the future or our children and our nation.” Much of the funding for this program was to come through a private nonprofit corporation, the New American School Development Cooperation, and almost fifty million dollars were collected before the year was out. The money was to fund experimental models that included cooperation between communities, business and education in programs to improve student learning. There was a total of 686 design teams who sent proposals for “break the mold schools.” This program evaporated when President Bush lost the 1992 presidential election. At the same time, a number of statewide efforts to improve education seemed to vanish in the early 1990s. A good example of this occurred in 1993 in Virginia when Governor Wilder pulled support for his State Superintendent, Dr. Joseph Spagnolo, after approximately \$750,000 had been spent on the Virginia Department of Education World Class Educational Initiatives. Virginia educators were surprised to hear that support for the year long effort they had spent on discussing and shaping this controversial program had vanished in one day.

The 1990's brought with it the recognition that growing up in America could be very risky business. An increasing number of children were not being well attended to by their parents. They have been described as “back seat” children. Two parent income earners, single parent homes, and divorce have changed the experience children have within the family. They are often confronted by social issues like crime, neglect, poverty, abuse, disease, addiction, violence and unemployment. In Beyond Rhetoric (1991, p.5), the Commission on Children characterize the state of American children as:

...among all races and income groups, and in communities nationwide, many children are in jeopardy. They grow up in families whose lives are in turmoil. Their parents are too stressed and too drained to

provide nurturing, structure and security that protect children and prepare them for adulthood. Some others are unsafe at home and in their neighborhoods. Many are poor, and some are homeless and hungry.

These conditions have caused David Tyack, a prominent educational historian, to conclude, "Once again, educational reform and social pathologies have become prime-time, first page news. If Americans do not help and heal the children at risk, the nation's social fabric will be in quite as much danger as its standing in the world economy." (Tyack, 1992, p.30). In analyzing the demographics of the American child, Harold Hodgkinson, Director of the Center for Demographic Policy at the Institute for Educational Leadership concluded, "If you could convict a nation for child neglect, you could convict the United States far more easily than any European or Asian nation."

As a nation, we are becoming more self-centered and absorbed in exclusive attention to adult development and gratification. Parents who feel guilty for not spending enough time with their children overspend on them. This practice has not resulted in happier children. Students have expensive cars, stereos, \$100 sneakers, and rent limousines, hotel rooms, and "entertainment" at proms following which, statistics report, almost half lost their virginity. Marian Wright Edelman has expressed her deep concern for the nation's "back seat" children in a report on the state of American children (Children's Defense Fund, 1991). She said:

"Our children are growing up today...where instant sex without responsibility, instant gratification without effort, instant solutions without sacrifice, getting rather than giving and hoarding rather than sharing are the too-frequent signals of our mass media, popular culture, business, and political life...Nowhere is the paralysis of public and private conscience more evident than in the neglect and abandonment of millions of our shrinking pool of children, whose future will determine our nation's ability to compete and lead in a new era."

This was also a period of rapid turnover for school superintendents. A front-page article in the New York Times on December 26, 1990, characterizes the condition of the superintendency.

“...school superintendents around the country have been quitting in droves or have been dismissed or have retired early, often because they have failed to deliver the quick educational fixes demanded of them. More than 15 major cities are now scrambling to find school chiefs, nearly three times the usual number in a given year, experts say. And, the searches for superintendents are getting harder. Cities are finding fewer candidates willing to apply for these jobs, despite salaries that in many cases top \$100,000 a year...”

By the end of 1990, a total of 18 superintendents of urban school districts—Los Angeles, Atlanta, Boston, Cleveland, Columbus, Charlotte-Mecklenberg, Charleston, St. Louis, Kansas City, Washington, D.C., to name a few—had lost their jobs. This represents a significant increase over the number of positions that came open at any one time in previous decades. In the 1950s the average term in office for incumbent superintendents in large school districts was 6.5 years. By the 1980s it had dropped to just over four years (Cuban, 19, p.46). Recent reports by the National School Boards Association suggest that the average term of large-district superintendents is now 2.5 years. A 1991 nationwide survey, completed for the Executive Educator found that more than 53 percent of the superintendents in the United States had been in their present position for five years or less. Only about 40 percent of the superintendents felt that they had much job security in their present positions.

The conditions of the early 1990s have continued to worsen. As reported in Urban Dynamics: Lessons Learned from Urban School Boards and Superintendents, released by the National School Boards Association (NSBA), “During 1991, approximately 30 school boards governing some of the nation’s largest school systems replaced their superintendents. Some of these vacancies were due to

retirements, others to new opportunities and upward mobility; but most were attributed to the pressures of an extraordinarily stressful job. As vacancies occur, urban school boards are finding fewer applicants willing to assume the considerable demands of administering these multi-million dollar education systems with their greater number of social problems and political factions, proportionately less funds per student, and intensive public scrutiny."

Perhaps the experience of Bill Anton, Superintendent of Public Schools in Los Angeles, California provides a good example of one of the types of pressures superintendents feel. While facing pressures to reform schools to meet the needs of Los Angeles children, the Los Angeles Unified School District was teetering on the brink of financial bankruptcy. In 1991, to keep the education of Los Angeles youth afloat, the system increased class size by three students per class and cut back on substitute teachers, counselors, custodians, field trips, classroom supplies, and teacher support staff. A massive effort was launched to streamline district headquarters and to operate a no-frills administrative complex. The system also enacted an across-the-board pay cut and non-paid furloughs for all employees, while asking them for a longer work day and school year. Travel budgets and salaries of board members were also reduced. The general theme of this effort was to "hold the superintendent's feet to the fire to cut more."

For Bill Anton, the heat became too much and he resigned under intense pressure. Dr. Anton was caught between the teachers, who second guessed and undercut his decisions and the powerless position in which the school board had placed him regarding the intense pain of imposed cutbacks. The superintendent had been asked to cut \$400 million from a \$3.9 billion budget. The district budget was

already very tight prior to the cut and Dr. Anton couldn't manage the schools the way he wanted and didn't want to be part of the system's demise. Repairs, maintenance, supplies, equipment, and teaching materials had already been cut to the bone, and more than half of the additional cuts would have to come from employee salaries and benefits—in some cases up to 16.5 percent pay cuts. The school system had already reached the point where it could no longer carry out its charge, as over 4,000 jobs had been eliminated over the past four years.

Dr. Anton was bitter both that the teachers had turned against him for a problem he had nothing to do with and that the board was “micro-managing” and demanding that he become a “yes-man.” At the same time he could not stand by and watch the youth of Los Angeles being grossly undeserved. Later that year, intense riots causing billions of dollars of property damage occurred in the South Los Angeles area.

By 1993, there was a formal recognition of the importance of collaborative relationships among diverse groups in order to improve schools and ultimately student learning. The push was to achieve greater understanding through the exchange of information and ideas among both internal and external groups. The goal was to insure that all groups needed to support public education were a full partner in the process. The Goals 2000: Educate America Act encourages “communities to develop their own reform plans and provided seed money to support these efforts.” The bill requires innovation in teaching and learning, increased parental and community involvement, professional development of teachers, and reduction in educational bureaucracy. The first four titles of this bill were to codify the six national education goals and their objectives, to establish the National Education Goals Panel and

National Education Standards and Improvement Council, to provide a framework and resources to support state and local systemic educational improvement, and ^{To} establish a National Skills Standards Board. Where the focus of the 1980s was on shifting responsibility for education to state and local bureaucracies, the shifts in the 1990s seemed to be to the local schools and communities. As Ted Sizer (O'Neil, 1995, 4) suggests, "Lasting reform requires creating a climate for local educators and community members to craft their own improvement strategies...our research suggests that you're not going to get significant long-term reform unless you have subtle but powerful support and collaboration among teachers, students, and the families of those students in a particular community...but we strongly believe you have to look at reform school-by-school-by-school."

Some argued that the Goals 2000 legislation went too far in the language stating that "states and local school districts hoping to qualify for future federal funding will be expected to buy into and adopt Goals 2000 and its national standards and tests-or roughly similar goals, standards and tests-as their own (Clinchy, 1995, p.354)." Educators nationwide expressed concern that the direction of national standards and assessment did not support the curriculum required to produce higher-order thinking abilities, creative problem solving, and intelligent reasoning, curriculums of the future needed to support essential skills such as thinking, analysis, synthesis, evaluation (judging values), responsibility, interpersonal and human relations, speaking and listening, effective use of technology, integrity, team work, and commitment that school graduates must now bring to civic and work force responsibilities. These essential skills for the future are suffering the most from testing, standardizing, and centralizing. The Sandia Report,

which was commissioned by the U.S. Department of Energy in 1991, agreed with some of these concerns and suggested that a number of federal prescriptions, such as the emphasis on local empowerment and the promotion of a national curriculum, national testing, and state-by-state comparison of test results-were actually mutually conflicting.

There were a number of conflicts surrounding the Sandia Report which was not publicly released until almost a year, and some governmental revision, after it had first been produced. A number of people (Tanner, 1993) suggested that the report was not originally released because it did not support a number of federal educational initiatives, underway at that time.

The following are the principal findings summarized from the final draft (Carson, Hevelshamp and Woodal, 1992) of the study, dated April 1992:

1. Since the late 1970s, every ethnic or racial group had maintained or improved on SAT (Scholastic Aptitude Test) scores. (It turns out that this finding is not entirely accurate and that verbal scores for white students actually did decline slightly between 1976 and 1990. See Gerald Bracey's Research column in the November 1993 Kappan for details.) The aggregate decline in SAT scores is largely a product of demographic changes, since an increasingly higher proportion of students is taking the test today than ever before. Indeed, when the population of test-takers today is adjusted to match the test-taking population of the late 1970s, aggregate SAT scores are actually rising.
2. Performance on tests for the National Assessment of Educational Progress has been improving.
3. High school dropout rates are declining for all ethnic populations and community types with the exception of Hispanics. However, as many as half of all Hispanic dropouts are immigrants, and adult immigrants who did not complete high school in their native countries are counted as U.S. dropouts even though they had never "dropped into" our schools in the first place.

4. Despite declines in the college-ages population, the cumulative number of bachelor's degrees in engineering, computer science, physical science, and mathematics has increased by more than 75% over the past 20 years, while the number of doctorates in engineering and physical science is at or near an all-time high.
5. Despite the dramatic increase in the proportion of college graduates in the tested population, scores on the Graduate Record Examination have risen significantly since the late 1970s.
6. The alleged increase in K-12 per-pupil expenditures is attributed to the high cost of special education and to the increasing proportion of pupils so classified, whereas the expenditures for "regular" students have remained almost constant over the past 20 years (adjusted for inflation).
7. The U.S. leads the world in the proportion of its population earning the bachelor's degree in all fields -- and in science and engineering in particular.
8. Salaries for beginning teachers in constant dollars are the same in 1990 as they were in the 1970s.
9. Dramatic demographic changes have been occurring in our schools as a result of increases in immigration; indeed, today almost one-third of our pupils are minorities, principally from Latin American and Asia. These changes are accelerating and are concentrated primarily in the schools of our central cities.
10. Up to five million children of immigrant parents will be entering the public schools in the 1990s; together, they will speak more than 150 languages other than English.
11. A majority of American families with children under 6 years of age have both parents in the work force, and more than 40% of children are being reared by a single parent.

The present condition of American schools is not clearly understood or is its future clearly prescribed. Certainly the controversy around the Sandia Report symbolizes the concerns about the future direction for American Education as does the contrasting views of Gerald Bracey

(1995) and Laurence Stedman (1995). Bracey believes there are "mountains of evidence" that shows schools perform "as well as ever, better in many respects." Stedman argues that the changes leveled against American schools are not fraudulent but totally true. His supporters describe the view that schools perform at least as well as they did in the past as "new mythology" based on unsubstantiated claims. The groups analysis is based primarily on performance on national standardized tests. They also argue that American students do not score well on international tests. Bracey and others argue that there are critical problems with the tests, the samples and other aspects of the research; however, Stedman refutes these claims. Alton Crews, Director of the Southern Regional Education Board, contends that "our schools aren't worse than they used to be. They are better than they ever have been - at doing what they have always done. But what schools have always done is not what we need them to do today."

In the 1990s, educators became more aware of the role of technology in driving needed changes in American schools. Advances in technology have crept into nearly every aspect of society, with profound results and it was now entering education. Never before has technology so directly affected teaching and learning. There has been more information produced in the last 50 years than in the previous 500 and technology provides greater access to that information, however, education has not taken advantage of this new technology. The Congressional Office of Technology Assessment reported in 1995 that there is one computer for every nine pupils in U.S. classrooms, but students don't fully benefit from the equipment because their teachers lack

technical training. The Clinton Administration, spearheaded by Vice President Gore, is calling for a data super highway that can change the way students learn and teachers teach. There is a clearly stated goal of connecting every school to the National Information Infrastructure (NII) by the year 2000 and providing training on how to use this tremendous informational communication library.

Implications for the Context of American Education

by

David Tyack

Demographics and Trends for the Year 2000

Most all demographers and futurists suggest that we are entering a technological revolution—evolving from an electromechanical driven society to a technological one. More and more people are being employed in the information sector of the economy. America is moving from a labor-intensive to a knowledge-based industrial economy. Industry is moving out to rural areas which are creating significant problems for industrialized cities that developed on the backs of large labor-intensive enterprises. As labor intensiveness goes down, there's no great utility to locate in big cities. At the same time, organizations are being delayered and downsided⁷ to create greater efficiency in operation. Real buying-power of American families is decreasing along with their standard of living, except for a small percentage of wealthy Americans. Manufacturing and white collar employees in America receive some of the lowest compensation among the industrialized world while Chief Executive Officers receive the very highest. This has resulted in concentrating income and economic power in fewer and

fewer hands. There is little doubt that the economy is much more efficient for the technological revolution, but at a significant price. When you look at the quality of life you see two lines, one going up for a decreasing number of very wealthy Americans and the other going down for the large majority. This has raised questions as to whether we will be able to move forward together as a unified society. Some of the quality of life factors worsening are child abuse, children in poverty, drug abuse, health insurance coverage, out of pocket health costs and homicide, and other violent crimes. Some suggest that this problem will resolve itself as new breakthroughs in research are applied to practical, marketable processes and products. Others, disagree and suggest that the problems have worsened by tax shifts to a more regressive and proportionate tax structure during the 1980s.

There is a concern in America about the economic health and the state of families. A study published by the Harwood Group, a research firm in Bethesda, MD found two major areas of concern emerging in American society - economic security and threats to the family and the next generation.

Some of the problems described in the report are:

Problems within the economy

- **Falling behind.** Many American families, have to have two jobs just to try to keep up, and don't always succeed. Wages, are not keeping up with even modest inflation.
- **Corporate greed.** People believe corporate leaders are greedier than ever. Too many jobs have become part-time positions with no benefits, they said, and top executives are making too much money.
- **Unfair taxes** Most people believe that the richer you are, the less taxes you pay. They think it is so ingrained in the system that even when the government shifts tax rates, it will inevitably benefit the rich.
- **Income gap.** Out of all these circumstances and others, people believe, America is producing a two-class system, the rich and the poor, and gradually eliminating the middle class.

2

• Problems identified with family.

- **Missing parents.** Taken out of the home by multiple jobs, parents are often missing from their children's lives, leaving them without enough direction.
- **Breakdown of the community.** Adults remember that when they were young, almost any other adult could discipline them, or watch out for them. They lament that that has mostly disappeared.
- **Schools as home.** People are troubled by how much Americans apparently rely on schools to raise their children.
- **Messages of hate and violence.** People fear the effect of the messages their children see on television, movies, and in the newspaper especially since adults have less time to supervise what their children see.
- **Materialism.** Too much of the culture is based on messages of materialism. They and everyone else have to have the best and most of every product.

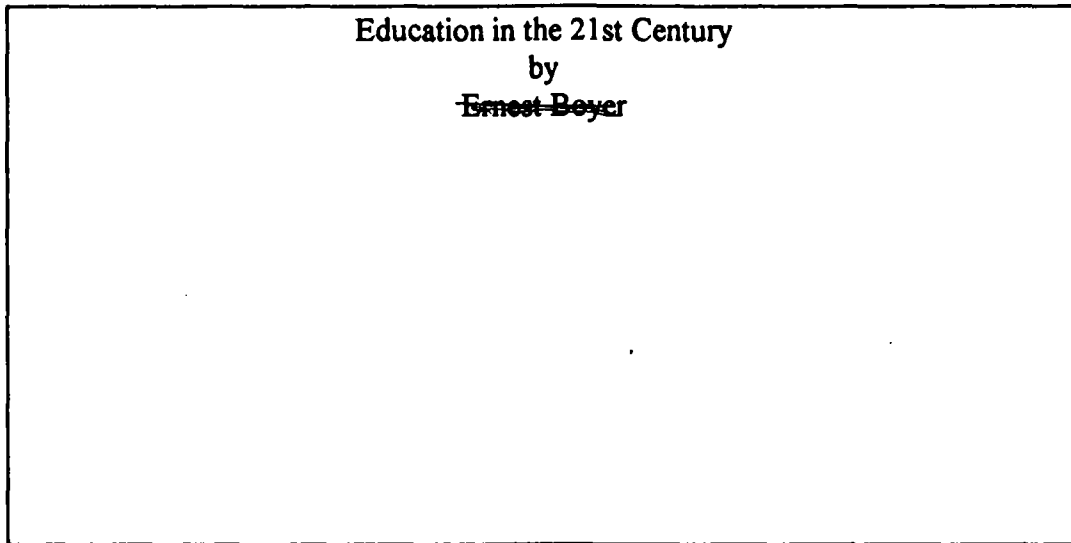
Some of the significant social trends which will effect education are national and global interdependence, increasing change in both pace and complexity and a decreasing half-life of knowledge. The world in which we live is shrinking and we will need a better understanding of other countries and cultures. This is only one example of the many changes that will be experienced. Futurists suggest that the next two decades will experience more change than has occurred in the last century. In other words, the next two decades will experience more change then those covered in most of this entire chapter. That means that the half-life of knowledge is approximately ten years--half of what you learn will be obsolete in ten years. The world store of knowledge is growing at a geometrically increasing rate.

There is an increase in the number of old Americans-graying population-within our society. In fact, today only one household in four has a child of school age. As fewer adults have contact with

children in their daily lives, there will probably be less political support for children in the future. There is some support for this belief already in that 26% of the nations future adults are born into debilitating poverty. At the same time, there is growth in the minority populations within America. Minority populations, particularly Hispanics, will continue to increase faster than the overall population. As more Americans marry across racial line, however, such categories will perhaps be less useful. Poverty has always been the best predictor of school failure and as groups become less and less in the minority, poverty will be a more important classification system than racial and ethnic categories. Dr. Harold L. Hodgkinson (1995 p.179) suggests, "Had we spent the 40 years since the Brown decision systematically seeking to lower the poverty level for all American children, we would be in a different, and probably better, condition today. As racial and ethnic characteristics blur over the coming decades, poverty will become an even more obvious problem than it has been."

With the Graying of America will come a huge increase in the elderly population. Those in the work force will help to support those who have retired, therefore, it is imperative to ensure that every young person becomes a productive member of society. Harold Hodgkinson (1993) provides a good profile of where we are today. He states, "today we've got a lot of change at the margins, with more Asians, Hispanics, Blacks, and Indians. We have high-and-low-pay jobs and only a few in the middle. We have single parents and non-families, rich and poor, more elderly, fewer kids, and a mosaic as opposed to a melting pot. We have self-contained suburbs that are able to totally ignore the city that made them possible. Put that together and you have a pretty tough agenda, it seems to me for the schools. That the challenge for the next decade (p.205-205)." This then is the context of American

Education. Educational leaders will be working together to sustain the great achievements of our ancestors.



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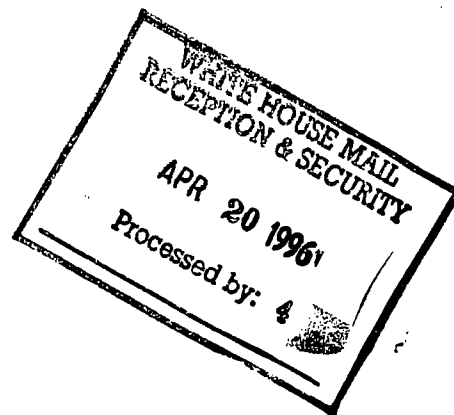
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