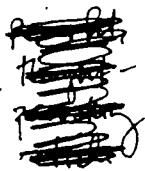


Tab F



THE POWER OF EXTERNAL STANDARDS

BY JOHN BISHOP

IN JANUARY 1962, I got on a train in Lagos, Nigeria, for a five-day trip to my Peace Corps assignment in Ganye, Nigeria. It took two days on the train and three days driving on dirt roads to get there. Sardauna province, where the school was located, had just become part of Nigeria. My school had started the year before, and it was the first in the province to offer a secondary school education. As a result of the arrival of the two Peace Corps volunteers, the school added another class so there were 60 students in all. This was for a province of a million people.

Many of my students' families lived far from roads of any kind. When we visited some of them, it was a five-day trek to get there and back again. And yet they were the hungriest learners I've ever encountered—much hungrier than my friends in the suburban secondary school I had attended and hungrier than the ninth graders I had student-taught in Tuckahoe, New York.

Mohammed Boboi was my best student, and I was surprised to find that he was respected not only by me but also by all his classmates. He was not despised because he was a "grind" or a "nerd," as would undoubtedly have been the case when I was in high school—and still is. One of the reasons for this very different attitude was that Boboi and his friends were not being ranked against one another; they were all striving to reach a standard that had been externally set. They were being prepared by me and by other teachers to sit for external exams at the end of secondary school.

The exams, which were similar to the British O-Levels, were set and graded by outside examiners—our closest analogy would be with the New York State Regents'. However, these exams were more difficult than

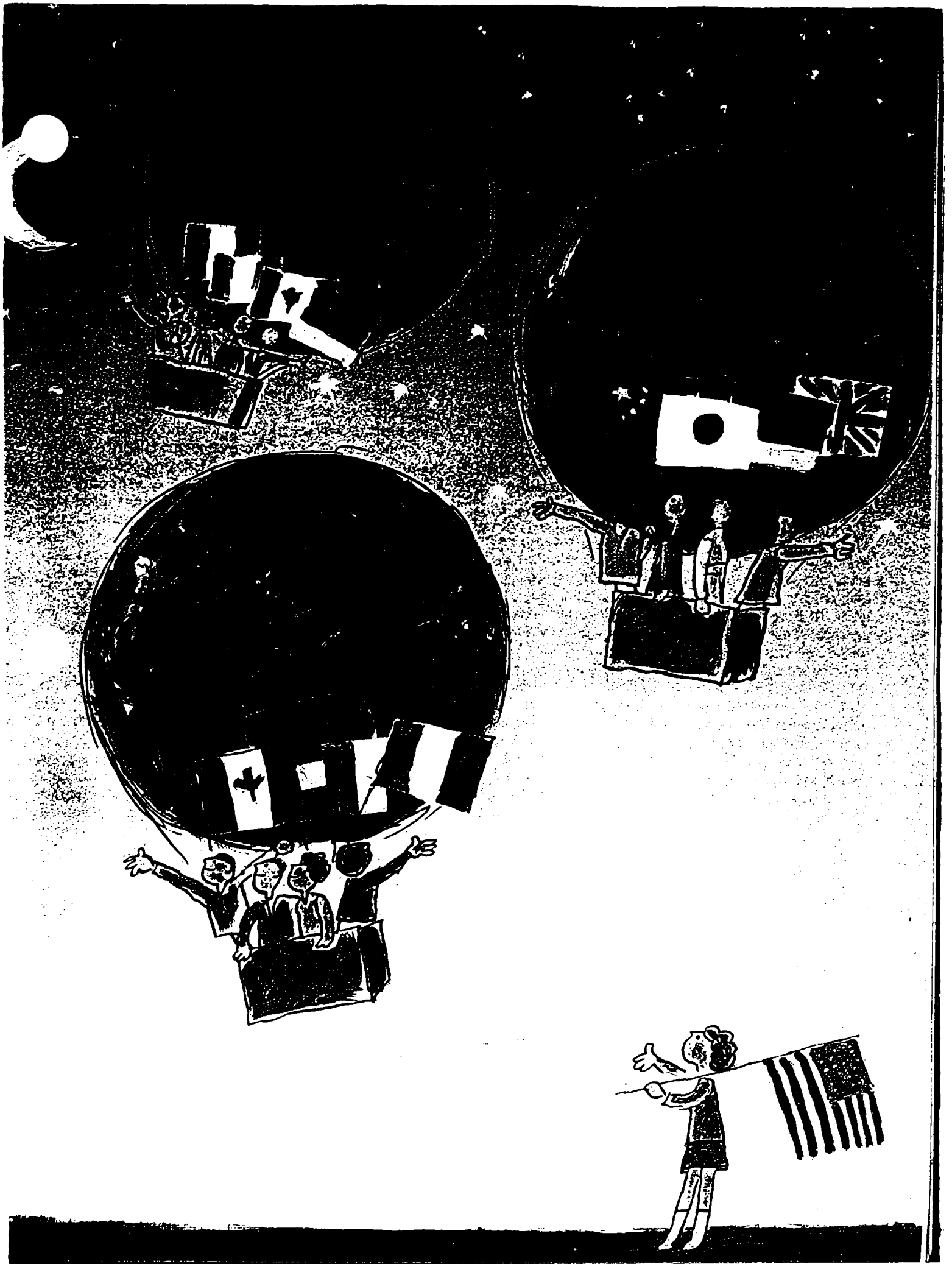
our Regents' and more important to the future of the students who took them, because the exam results decided who would go on to university and who would not. The exams covered material students studied in a specified curriculum that included Commonwealth history, mathematics, English, and science; and students had five years to prepare for them.

When I arrived, this group was in its second year. The students knew what they had to master in order to do well on the exams, and they were very serious about learning the material. In fact, when I decided to stray from the curriculum as we approached geometry, a delegation of students came to me saying, "We're not studying proofs! What's wrong?" I had thought we needed to do some manipulatives and things like that, but they wanted to make sure they had a thorough grounding in the mathematics that would be on the examination.

One of the lessons I learned at Ganye Provincial Secondary School is that students will work very hard and achieve at high levels if you make clear what you want them to learn and if there are serious consequences attached to their achievement. A few years ago, many teachers in the U.S. might have considered the idea that external exams with serious consequences lead to high achievement to be new and untested, almost revolutionary. But it is nothing of the kind. It has been in operation in China for a thousand years. Indeed, the principle of having the larger community define what it wants young people to know—that is, setting an external standard—and then recognizing and rewarding mastery is found in the initiation rites of hunter-gatherer societies. It is hundreds of thousands of years old and is operating today in most countries in the world—in Asia, Africa, and Europe. It is also relevant to the problems facing American education.

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STORIES ABOUT the poor achievement of American students come at us from many directions. For example, the 1989 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) told us that very few students at the end of high school were able to make intelligent use of



the facts and procedures they had learned. Only 7.5 percent of 17-year-old students could "integrate specialized scientific information" and only 6.4 percent "demonstrated the capacity to apply mathematical operations in a variety of problem settings."² Some people cough off results like these saying they are too vague to be meaningful. It is harder to ignore the repeated and consistent reports of large gaps between the achievement of American secondary school students and their counterparts in other industrialized nations. The continuing prosperity and strength of our country depends on our students achieving at levels that are at least comparable to those of youngsters in our competitor nations. Why are U.S. students achieving at lower levels, and what can we do about the problem?

There is no shortage of explanations for this achievement gap. Among those proposed by educational researchers and policymakers are inadequate school funding, overly large classes, insufficient time for teachers to prepare their lessons, tracking, too little homework, too much TV, poor attendance, poor discipline, unsafe schools, school vacations that are too long, too little emphasis on core academic subjects and too much on nonacademic goals such as self-esteem and sports, inadequately trained teachers, peer pressure against studying, dumbed-down textbooks, and unsupportive parents.

These explanations have one thing in common. They suggest that the key actors in the learning enterprise—students, parents, teachers, school administrators, and school boards—are not paying enough attention to the goal of academic achievement. Some other goal, like avoiding work or controversy or tax increases, seems to be more important. But that leaves a basic question. Why do we apparently place a lower priority on academic achievement than do people in Europe and Asia? The answer, I believe, is that our system offers most students few incentives for academic achievement. We do not have good "signals" to indicate how hard students have worked and what they have learned; there are few rewards for effort and learning. Here is how the Competitiveness Policy Council described the situation in a report issued in 1993.

... high school students who plan to go on to college do not need to work hard and get good grades in order to achieve their goal. Except for the tiny percentage of kids who want to go to selective colleges, students know that, no matter how poor their grades, they will be able to find a college that will accept them. If most colleges continue to admit students who have done little work in high school, there is no reason to expect any change in student behavior.

The vast majority of employers give exactly the same message to students going directly from high school to work: What you did in high school does not count.... hard working kids do not ... have an edge since few employers ever inquire about what courses a young applicant took or ask to see a transcript.³

That was not the case in my Peace Corps school in Nigeria, and it is not the case in most advanced coun-

tries, where mastery of the common curriculum taught in high school is assessed by examinations that are set and graded at the national or regional level. The standards reflected in these exams are visible and public as well as demanding. In France and the Netherlands, for example, questions and answers are published in the newspapers and available on video text. And the grades a student gets are extremely important because they signal the student's achievement to colleges and employers. They influence the jobs that graduates get and the universities and programs to which they are admitted. How well graduating seniors do on these exams also affects the reputation of a school and, in some countries, the number of students applying for admission to the school.

In the United States, by contrast, there is no common curriculum, and the external tests that most students take—the SATs, for instance—are not intended to assess what they have learned in their high school courses. The exams merely compare their "aptitude" or general level of knowledge—or perhaps how successful their cram course has been. (The only exceptions are the Advanced Placement and New York State Regents' exams, but these exams are taken by a tiny fraction of American students.) The primary signals of academic achievement for most U.S. students are grades and rank in class. To a large extent, these signals show how well a student has done in comparison with other students in the school or class rather than in relation to an external standard. This way of signaling achievement affects everything about American education from the attitude of students toward schoolwork and the courses they take to the demands teachers can make and the resources that communities are willing to invest in schools.

The U.S. System

When a student's achievement is assessed relative to what classmates have achieved, young people are tempted to choose courses that are said to be fun or easy rather than ones that will call for hard work. It is not that American students are lazy; they are willing to work very hard at sports or music or their after-school jobs—places where their effort counts. Many simply don't see the point of putting themselves out to get a decent grade in a difficult course when they could take an easy one. Doing that won't help them get a better job or get into college, unless they are one of the few who wants to go to a highly selective school. In fact, considering the possible effect on their GPA and class rank, students who decide to stay away from tough courses wherever possible are acting rationally. And once in a class, students have a personal interest in encouraging other students to do as little as possible. One of the reasons students call those who work hard "nerds" or "grade grabbers" is because the hard workers are not acting in the best interests of their classmates. By studying hard, a kid like this shifts the curve up and makes it more difficult for other students to get good grades. So those who work in school do not admit it in the company of their friends. The prevailing norms of the friendship circles to which most American students belong are: *It is OK to be smart.*

Many American students simply don't see the point of putting themselves out to get a decent grade a difficult course when they could take an easy one.

You cannot help that. But it is definitely not OK to spend a lot of time studying. Instead, use your free time to socialize, participate in athletics, or earn money. And if you do study hard, you'd better hide it.

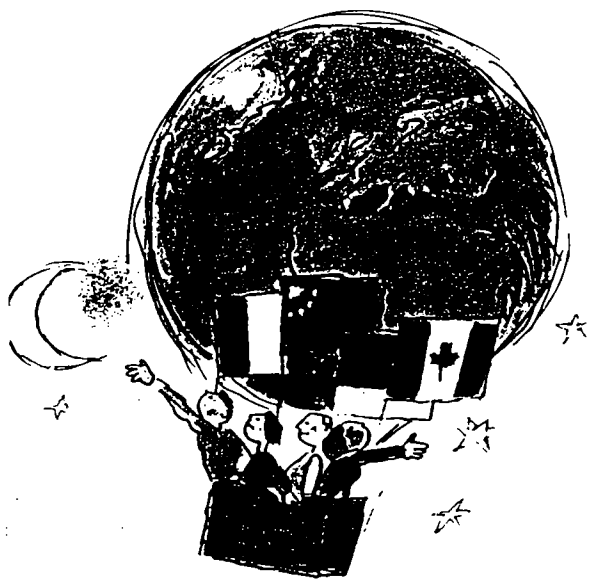
Students pressure teachers as well as their peers. Teachers who demand high standards of achievement may be considered arbitrary and unfair, and students often dig in their heels if a teacher requires more than they consider reasonable. It's altogether different in a system where students will be assessed according to an external standard and it is important for them to be successful—the situation in my school in Ganye. There, the teacher will be in the role of a coach or mentor whose advice and expertise helps students achieve a goal they care about. American students, who expect to be graded on a curve, often wonder what difference it makes if they learn more or less. Theodore Sizer's description of Ms. Shiffe's biology class in *Horace's Compromise* illustrates the difficulties that teachers can get into when they are seen as taskmasters rather than coaches:

She wanted the students to know these names. They did not want to know them and were not going to learn them. Apparently no outside threat—flunking, for example—affected the students. Shiffe did her thing, the students chattered on, even in the presence of a visitor ... Their common front of uninterest probably made examinations moot. Shiffe could not flunk them all, and, if their performance was uniformly shoddy, she would have to pass them all.⁴

Generally, teachers cannot expect support from parents in efforts to raise or even maintain standards. Indeed, teachers will hear about it if parents think their children are being worked too hard or graded too stiffly. And no wonder. When the signal of achievement is a good GPA, parents are likely to see a teacher who tries to raise standards as an unpleasant aberration. After all, they have seen many young people from their community go on to college—and perhaps some of their own children—and most will not be sympathetic to demands for any effort that is out of the ordinary. This may be true even for parents who hope their children will get into top-ranked colleges. After all, the parents know that when admissions officers look at a transcript, all they will see is that a student took advanced biology and got an A—they probably will have no way of knowing whether the course demanded a lot of hard work or was a breeze.

In *The Shopping Mall High School*, we hear how teachers have to cope with the complaints from parents who consider even the reading of classic novels an unreasonable reading assignment:

Students were given class time to read *The Scarlet Letter*, *The Red Badge of Courage*, *Huckleberry Finn*, and *The Great Gatsby* because many would not read the books if they were assigned as homework. Parents had complained that such homework was excessive. Pressure from them might even bring the teaching of the books to a halt.... [As one teacher put it] "If you can't get them to read at home, you do the next best thing. It has to be done...."



The behavior of school administrators and local school boards is also influenced by how student achievement is signaled to others. In the U.S., academic achievement must compete with the other school goals. American schools are also expected to 'er self-esteem and provide counseling, supervise extracurricular activities, health services, community entertainment (e.g., interscholastic sports), community service, and driver education—all this in a racially integrated setting. If a school is to achieve these nonacademic goals, administrators must hire nonacademic staff. As a result, they will not have the money or the inclination to look for teachers with a strong background in calculus or chemistry—as they would need to do if making sure students did well on an external exam were first and foremost in their minds.

At best, then, academic achievement suffers because it is only one among many goals demanding the attention of school administrators. It can also be sabotaged when teachers are expected to pass students who have not earned a passing grade. In systems without external exams, the number of students who fail can be decreased by lowering the passing standard rather than by raising achievement. Without a common curriculum and external exams, who's to know? And that may be exactly what administrators often expect teachers to do. A Delaware principal who fired a math teacher for failing too many of her students typifies this approach to academic achievement:

I have made it very clear that one of my goals is to decrease the failure rate, to make sure the kids feel good about learning, stay in class, stay in school and do well.... Math is just a big body of knowledge; what is Algebra II across the nation anyway?⁶

This administrator had his eye on the existing signal—how many kids pass. (In some schools, it might be how many kids get an A, but the principle is the same.) A teacher who insisted on having her students *learn* and grading them in accordance with their *achievement* did not make any sense to him.

This kind of attitude is not uncommon. In a recent national poll, teachers said they felt various kinds of pressure to compromise academic standards:

One-third of all teachers (33 percent) report feeling pressured to lower academic standards in their classroom. Similar numbers indicate that they specifically feel pressured to give higher grades than students' work deserves (30 percent) or to reduce the amount and difficulty of work assigned (30 percent). And nearly half of all teachers (46 percent) say they experience pressure to pass students who really are not ready [for] the next grade.⁷

When there is no external assessment of academic achievement, there is no incentive for administrators to call for and enforce higher standards, seek more qualified teachers, or insist on a heavier student workload. Indeed, the immediate consequences of such decisions would be negative for all concerned: there would be more homework and lower GPAs for students, some of whom would be forced to repeat

courses or even face not graduating; there would be more pressure on schools from complaining parents; and a need for more money for teachers' salaries. Since college admission decisions are based on class rank, GPA, and aptitude tests, rather than externally assessed achievement in high school courses, tougher standards would be more likely to harm than help the college admission prospects of next year's graduates. Eventually, higher standards would result in more students doing well in college and graduating, but as everybody knows, even four years is a long time in the life of a school community—and it could be much longer before the improvement process started showing results. The incentives in favor of raising student achievement are very feeble in comparison with these negatives.

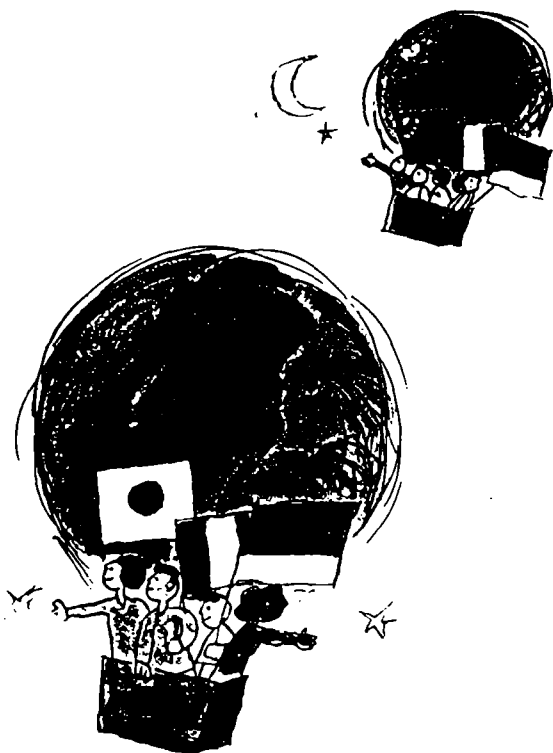
There is not much in it for school board members, either. If they set out to improve their school—the standards students must meet, the quality of the teaching and the achievement of the students—and they actually succeed, how will this be apparent to the "users"? There are no signals to let prospective employers or the colleges that recruit their graduates know. Looked at from the perspective of the school board and the parents, higher standards do not have a high payoff when there are no external examinations to signal success. Furthermore, upgrading the quality of education a school system provides is expensive, if only because the school board will have to raise its salary scale in order to attract more highly qualified teachers. And when the standards at the local schools go up, board members will have to cope with taxpayers whose children do not graduate or who are working hard but are no better off in terms of being admitted to college. It is small wonder that improving the performance of all the students in the school district does not have the high priority that it does in an environment like France or England, where external exams show whether or not a school district is providing students with the education they need.

The foregoing is perhaps a recognizable description of U.S. schools and a plausible explanation of the poor performance of American students. But is there any evidence to support my claim that curriculum-based, external examinations would alter the way a whole range of people—students, parents, teachers, administrators, school boards, employers, colleges—look at student achievement and, by providing a meaningful signal of good work, would lead to higher student achievement?

The Evidence from Sweden

International examinations designed to allow comparisons between student achievement in various countries provide some useful data. Of course, differences in achievement might be the result of a factor or combination of factors having nothing to do with whether a country has an external exam system. Another approach would be to see if changes in an external exam system were followed by changes in student achievement. This approach also has some obvious problems. Schools are conservative institutions and, because of this conservatism, changes made to exami-

Probably the best way to ascertain the effect of a curriculum-based external examination system is to study a single country where some jurisdictions have such examinations and others do not.



nation systems are likely to be marginal. However, Sweden does offer an example of a radical change.

During the 1970s, Sweden eliminated its curriculum-based examination system and shifted to a system that based college admission on other criteria—a combination of teacher assessment and how well the student compared with other students in his track. Under the new system, there was no incentive for students to enroll in an academic track. In fact, students who did so were at a disadvantage. It was easier for students pursuing a vocational program to get into college because they were competing only against other students in vocational programs.⁸

What happened in Sweden when they dropped the external exams? We can get some idea by looking at the results of two international studies. Sweden participated in the first round of the International Mathematics Study in 1964, while it still had an external exam system, and in its replication in 1982, after the exams had been dropped. During the time between the two exams, the number of Swedish 18-year-olds taking college-preparatory mathematics fell from 16 percent to 12 percent. You would expect that the scores for this smaller and more select group of students would be

much better, but that did not happen. Scores were slightly higher in algebra and slightly lower in geometry on the items that appeared on both the 1964 and 1982 assessments. Finland, which also participated in the two international assessments, increased the proportion of 18-year-olds taking college-prep mathematics from 7 percent to 15 percent and significantly improved students' mean scores.⁹

According to data gathered in connection with the First and Second International Science Studies, the percentage of Swedish 18-year-olds taking academic science courses also dropped from 45 percent in 1970 to 28 percent in 1983. Though this smaller group was surely more able, there was no real improvement in Sweden's scores on the international science exam. Again, Finland increased the proportion of its 18-year-olds who were studying science from 21 percent to 41 percent while improving its relative scores. Australia and Italy had declines in relative test scores, but they also greatly increased the proportion of students taking academic science courses. Hungary was the only other participating country to reduce the proportion of 18-year-olds taking the science exam, but it achieved a substantial improvement in relative test scores.¹⁰

If you simply look at the decline in the number of Swedish students taking advanced math and science courses from the standpoint of scores on international exams, it may not seem very serious. But when fewer secondary school students take demanding courses, fewer 18-year-olds become competent in math and science. This is a net loss in itself. It also means that fewer students have an adequate foundation to study these subjects in university and may lead to young people with talent in science and math starting their studies late or not starting at all. In either case, the society suffers a net loss.

The Regents' and Canadian Provincial Exams

Probably the best way to ascertain the effect of a curriculum-based external examination system is to study a single country where some jurisdictions have such examinations and others do not. Questions about the possible influence of cultural differences don't come up or at least are not as troubling. The only such exam in the U.S. that covers a majority of high school students in a jurisdiction is the New York State Regents'. Regents' exams were introduced in 1865 as a high school entrance test, but they have developed over the years into a system of external, curriculum-based exams. A student taking a full schedule of college-preparatory Regents' courses would take Regents' exams in mathematics and earth science at the end of ninth grade; mathematics, biology, and global studies at the end of 10th grade; mathematics, chemistry, English, American history, and foreign language at the end of 11th grade; and mathematics and physics at the end of 12th grade.

Does the existence of the Regents' exams affect student achievement? That is the best explanation of a recent study of SAT scores in New York and 37 other

states. The study found that, after controlling for parental education and race, New York state has the highest mean SAT scores of the 38 states with adequate numbers to be included in the study. The difference amounts to 46 points on the combined math and verbal SATs. That is 23 percent of a standard deviation, three-quarters of a grade-level equivalent.¹¹ This occurred despite the fact that Regents' exams are not high-stakes in the sense that the French *baccalauréat* or the German *Abitur* are. Regents' grades account for less than half of the course grade and influence only the type of diploma received. Students do not need a passing score on Regents' exams to be admitted to community college, and employers ignore exam results when they make hiring decisions. The so-called Regents' Scholarships awarded by the state government are based on aptitude test scores, not Regents' results.

But Canada offers the most conclusive evidence for the positive effect of curriculum-based, external examinations. At the time the data used in this study were collected, 1990-91, the majority of Canada's 10 provinces had curriculum-based, external examinations. Alberta, British Columbia, Newfoundland, and Quebec had them in English, French, mathematics, biology, chemistry, physics, and a number of other subjects. These exams accounted for 50 percent of the final grade in Alberta, Newfoundland, and Quebec and 40 percent in British Columbia. New Brunswick had such exams in language arts and mathematics but not in other subjects. Local school districts in New Brunswick decided how much weight was to be given to the exams. The other provinces had no curriculum-based provincial examinations. Ontario eliminated them in 1967, Manitoba in 1970, and Nova Scotia in 1972. Nova Scotia substituted multiple-choice, norm-referenced achievement tests. Manitoba reintroduced curriculum-based provincial exams in 1991.

When the Educational Testing Service canvassed countries about participating in the 1991 International Assessment of Educational Progress, Canada decided to collect enough data to compare the education systems of its ten provinces and the French- and English-speaking systems of the five provinces with dual systems. Over 39,000 Canadian 13-year-olds participated. Stratified random samples of 105 to 128 secondary schools were selected from the French-speaking school systems of Ontario and Quebec and from the English-speaking systems of Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland.¹²

Random samples of 30 to 40 13-year-olds were selected from each school. Half were assigned to the mathematics assessment and half to the science assessment. Students and principals in participating schools answered questionnaires designed to probe differences in resources and in the attitudes and practices of students, teachers, and administrators between provinces that had external exams and those that did not. For example, the student questionnaires asked about the number of siblings, the language usually spoken at home, the number of hours spent doing homework, reading for pleasure, and watching TV; the availability of books and science and mathematics re-

sources in the home; and attitude toward science and math. Students were also asked to describe how frequently they were given tests or quizzes, listened to the teacher give a lesson, solved mathematics problems in groups, worked alone on mathematics problems, did experiments, watched the teacher perform experiments, and watched science films. The questionnaires that principals filled out asked them to describe school policies and resources and the qualifications of eighth-grade mathematics and science teachers.

WHAT EFFECT did external exams have on student achievement? After controlling for social background (which in this case meant the number of books in the home, the number of siblings, and whether or not a foreign language was spoken at home), students in the provinces that had exams scored, on average, nearly a grade-level equivalent higher in mathematics and about two-thirds of a grade-level equivalent higher in science than students in non-exam provinces. This is an impressive difference, but the differences in student achievement are not the whole story. When provinces with external exams were compared with provinces that did not have these exams, there were striking differences in every part of the educational system.

Students in the provinces with external exams watched 40 minutes less television a week and were four to six percentage points more likely to report that their parents wanted them to do well in math and science. They were also more likely to say that their parents talked to them about what they were learning in school. Do external exams cut down on reading for fun and non-school-related science activities? That is what critics predicted. In fact, pleasure reading was higher in provinces with external exams, and, while the numbers were not statistically significant, watching nature programs like "Nova" was also higher.

How do teachers respond when they are freed from the pressure to lower standards and pass everyone—a pressure to which American teachers are often subjected? Exactly what you would think—they focus more closely on academic goals. Teachers in provinces with exams gave more homework: Provincial exams are associated with students doing 45 additional minutes of homework per week. And they covered more difficult material. Emphasis on computation using whole numbers—a skill that should be learned by the end of fourth grade—was significantly lower for 13- to 14-year-olds in exam provinces.

In terms of the way administrators use their resources, the most striking difference between Canadian exam provinces and non-exam provinces was the big increase in the use of specialist teachers and teachers who took more university courses in the subject they teach. Administrators in provinces with exams reported hiring approximately 80 percent more specialist teachers in mathematics and science. There was an approximately 30 percent increase in the hiring of teachers who had majored in math and science. There was an increase in tracking in provinces with exams, which was associated with a slight increase in science scores.

(Continued on page 42)

EXTERNAL STANDARDS

(Continued from page 18)

However, exam systems did not lead to reductions in class size. In fact, classrooms in provinces with exams had, on average, two additional pupils. Could it be that principals "know" that large classes do not hurt student achievement on tests and that they obtain the resources necessary to hire more qualified teachers by increasing class size? If so, they may also be willing to compensate teachers for larger class size by given them additional preparation time because this was also characteristic of exam provinces.

When social class was held constant, students from Canadian provinces with examination systems were substantially (23 percent of a standard deviation or four-fifths of a grade equivalent) better prepared in mathematics and 18 percent of a standard deviation (or two-thirds of a grade equivalent) better prepared in science than students from provinces lacking such exams. To view this from an American perspective: If you look at the effect of an exam system on the mathematics achievement of Canadian 13-year-olds in terms of a standard deviation metric, it is larger than the decline in math SAT scores between 1969 and 1980 that has been such a focus of public concern in the U.S.

The Case for External Exams

The school culture I found when I went to Nigeria surprised me, and I did not then know how to interpret it. Looking back, the connection between the seriousness and directedness of the students and the

high standard they would have to meet when they took the all-important external exams seems clear enough. But external, curriculum-based exams do more than influence student behavior—particularly when they are high-stakes exams. They affect the behavior of all the actors as well as the allocation of resources. They get everyone to pull in one direction, toward academic achievement.

The 25 percent decline in the number of Swedish students taking advanced math and science courses that followed discontinuation of external exams suggests that such exams encourage students to do more than the bare minimum in terms of what courses they take. The apparent effect of the New York State Regents' exams on SAT scores suggests that external exams can have an impact even when they are not high-stakes. Perhaps this is because they constitute an external standard that teachers and students focus on, and this standard validates both the teachers who demand high-quality work and the students who choose to do more than the bare minimum.

Canada still offers the fullest and most compelling evidence for the effect of external, curriculum-based exams. Students in provinces with external, curriculum-based exams achieve four-fifths of a grade-level equivalent higher in mathematics and two-thirds of a grade-level equivalent higher in science. And school administrators, parents, and teachers are more likely to do a whole range of things that are associated with higher achievement. For example, schools are more likely to hire specialist teachers of mathematics and

science, have high-quality science laboratories, and schedule extra hours of science and math instruction.

Two things should be noted. The exams providing the data for this study were given to 13- and 14-year-olds, students at the beginning of their high school career rather than the end. But this does not vitiate the evidence of the exam's importance. Instead, it provides evidence of what I would call a "backwash effect." The prospect of exams at the end of high school is important enough to affect parent and student attitudes, curriculum, educational practices, and resources as much as four years before students actually have to take the exams.

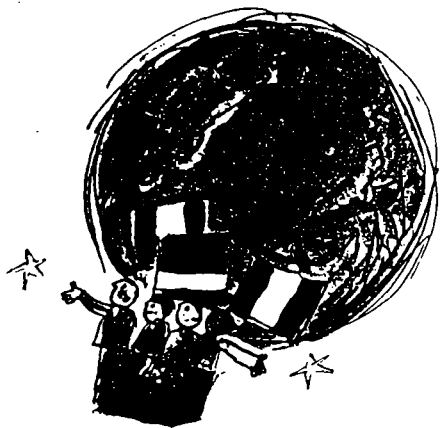
A further point. Many of the differences in behavior between exam and non-exam provinces seem relatively slight, even though they are "statistically significant." To say that students watch 40 minutes per week less television (or 8 minutes per school day), are assigned 10 minutes more math homework or 12 minutes more science homework per week does not seem to amount to much. And other figures—like the number of extra minutes teachers get for preparation time—are similarly tiny. But given the large differences in achievement between exam and non-exam provinces, this may suggest that relatively small changes, when they are all pulling in one direction, can make an important difference.

Sometimes people seeking to reform U.S. education speak rather wistfully about a national or quasi-national exam system such as the ones in France, England, and Japan. Politics would make introducing such a system here well nigh impossible, but, as the Canadian data show us, provincial exams also have a significant impact on student achievement and provincial education systems, and we might consider state examination systems or versions of the ETS Pacesetter exam or the ACT examinations.

Certain conditions would be crucial. In the first place, as I have already indicated, the exams would have to be linked to a specified curriculum. Exams that measure aptitude or general knowledge always reward youngsters who are lucky enough to be born smart or into families that are relatively well-off and well-educated. When aptitude tests are used to signal success—as is the case in the U.S.—most students have little incentive to work hard in school. The smart ones and the less gifted ones find "their level" whether or not they apply themselves. If we want to encourage hard work in school—and the higher standards of achievement that will be possible when students work harder—the exams must be something that students can study for and that will reward their efforts. Working hard must have some kind of immediate payoff.

For the same reason, it is also important to have achievement differentials. This is not a popular idea because Americans want to believe that everyone can and should be held to the same high standard. However, a single standard on the tests I am talking about would be counterproductive. Even given hard work and enthusiasm, students will always differ in the levels they can reach. An exam that every student can pass will be so easy that high-achieving students will do well without having to work. On the other hand,

When aptitude tests are used to signal success—as is the case in the U.S.—most students have little incentive to work hard in school.



an exam that challenges these students to do their best will discourage less talented youngsters. They will soon learn that they can't succeed and will give up trying. Either way, we will not have gotten what we want out of an external exam system, which is to recognize and encourage the achievement of all our students.

Translating the idea of external, curriculum-based exams into a U.S. idiom is not as far-fetched as it might seem. If we went with curriculums and exams set by private agencies, I can imagine individual school districts signing up for the reform and gradually creating a groundswell that would lead a large majority of the other districts to follow suit. There might even be a choice of exams within a state—one district might go with the revised ACT, for example, and another with the ETS Pacesetter. It would be preferable, however, to have a single system. If we expect colleges and employers to base important decisions on the signals that exams provide, the system has to be relatively simple and reliable. There should be no hassles with trying to compare achievement on this set of exams with achievement on that set. Or we might find it worth-

while to look at the New York State system, which already includes, in embryo, a three-tiered system based on a specified curriculum: minimum competency tests; the Regents'; and Advanced Placement exams for high-achieving students.

Undoubtedly, there are many possibilities. Until now, we have not given much thought to how we might construct an external, curriculum-based system. But whatever we decided, we would need a system in which student achievement had a long-term payoff as well as an immediate one. So it would be extremely important to get both colleges and employers to recognize these exams. It is this recognition that gives the French *baccalauréat* its power to shape the way the entire French education system works, just as the exams that my Nigerian students took more than 30 years ago shaped the system in which they worked and learned. They knew that what they did would count for the rest of their lives. □

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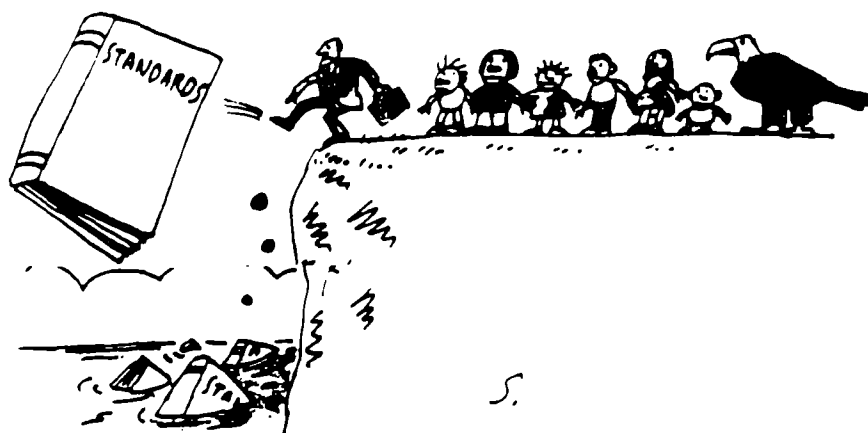
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Tab 6

WHAT SHOULD CHILDREN LEARN?

by PAUL GAGNON

*National standards have been thwarted.
but state-mandated academic standards and
local action can yet save the schools*



CAN the wishes of two Presidents, Republican and Democratic, of most governors, of several Congresses, and of up to 80 percent of the American public and teachers simply be ignored? So it seems. Over the past five years all of them have called for national academic standards, to make schools stronger and more equal. But their will has been frustrated by the century-old habits of American educators unable to conceive of excellence and equity co-existing in the schools most children have to attend. This makes a depressing story, but some of it needs telling if those children are to see a happy ending. For to succeed where national efforts failed, state and local school leaders, teachers, parents, and citizens need to understand what they are up against, what has to be done differently, and how much is at stake.

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WHAT SHOULD CHILDREN LEARN?, continued....(2)

They can begin by recognizing, and tolerating no longer, the vast inertia of an educational establishment entrenched in many university faculties of education, in well-heeled interest associations, with their bureaucracies, journals, and conventions; in hundreds of research centers and consulting firms; in federal, state, and local bureaucracies; in textbook-publishing houses and the aggressive new industries of educational technology and assessment. On the whole this establishment is well-meaning, and it is not monolithic, all of one mind. But its mainstream, trained and engrossed in the means rather than the academic content of education, instinctively resists any reform that starts with content and then lets it shape everything else—most certainly the means.

Starting school reform by first deciding what every child should learn strikes most people as only common sense. But to many American educators, it spells revolutionary change. The standards strategy for school reform would give subject-matter teachers and scholars, and the educated public, unprecedented power to spur genuine change—change far deeper than questions of school choice, methods, or management. Means and management are not the problem. The overused business analogy breaks down: business first decides the content of its product; means follow. But educators,

willing to focus on subject matter, have never decided what content everyone should know; the curriculum stays frozen, incoherent and unequal. For more than a decade American citizens have wanted high, common standards—the only new idea for their schools in a century. But to get them, they will have to work around the establishment, and overturn the status quo.

The first step toward change was taken in 1983, when the National Commission on Excellence in Education delivered a ringing wake-up call: "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 commission's report, *A Nation at Risk*, told us that other countries' schools were doing better in both quality and equality of learning—and ours were losing ground on each count. In the commission's words, "a rising tide of mediocrity" belied our democratic promise that "all, regardless of race or class or economic status, are entitled to a fair chance and to the tools for developing their individual powers of mind and spirit to the utmost."

A Nation at Risk gave rise to the standards strategy for school improvement, talk or the avoidance of which has pre-occupied American educators ever since. It said that all high school students, regardless of background or vocational prospects, needed a common core curriculum of four years of English, three years each of mathematics, science, and social studies, and a semester of computer science. The college-bound should add two years of foreign language. In the early 1980s only 13.4 percent of our high school graduates had taken the first four of those "new basics." Adding the computer semester dropped the percentage all the way to 2.7.

and adding foreign language made it 1.9. "Mediocrity" was a mild word for what was going on. But the public paid attention: many states and districts raised their core academic requirements, over the objections of experts who declared that dropout rates would soar, for minorities most of all.

By 1990, the National Center for Education Statistics found, 39.8 percent of high school graduates had taken the recommended years of English, mathematics, science, and social studies; 22.7 percent added the computer semester; 17.3 percent added both computers and the foreign language. Instead of rising, the dropout rate for African-Americans declined, and for Hispanics remained roughly stable. The percentage of African-American students taking the required years of academic subjects rose from 10.1 to 41.1; for His-

panics it rose from 6.3 to 32.7. "Top-down" recommendations, with state and local implementation, had made a difference, and they continue, albeit at a slower rate, to do so.

The glass, however, is still at best half full. And by comparison with the democratization of public schools in other countries, it is well under half empty. Our 25 percent dropout rate means that the roughly 40 percent of high school graduates in 1990 who got the recommended classes made up only 30 percent of all young people of that age. In 1991, in two school systems at opposite ends of the earth, about two thirds of the corresponding Japanese and French age groups completed markedly more-demanding academic programs, which included foreign languages. In both countries about half the students were in programs combining technical and liberal

More...

WHAT SHOULD CHILDREN LEARN?, continued....(3)

education. Even disregarding foreign languages, relatively few of our young people graduate from academic programs that are as rigorous as those abroad. For fully equivalent programs, a generous estimate of American completion would be 15 percent—about a quarter of the French and Japanese completion rate.

We used to say—and too many educators still say—that we cannot compare our schools with those of other countries, because they educate only an elite and we try to educate everybody. Untrue for thirty years, this is now the opposite of the truth. They educate the many, and we the few. To our shame, a disadvantaged child has a better chance for an equal and rigorous education, and whatever advancement it may bring, in Paris or Copenhagen than in one of our big cities.

Comparing curricula makes us look bad enough, but what is behind the course titles on student transcripts? Are American courses as substantial as those abroad? To make them so, President George Bush and the nation's governors launched a movement to set national standards for course content at meetings in Charlottesville, Virginia, in 1989. Goal Three of their statement insisted that course content be academically "challenging," comparable to that in the best schools here and overseas, and—for equity—that all students be offered such content and be expected to master it. Polls showed overwhelming public support, even for a national curriculum.

Shortly after, Congress set up a National Council on Education Standards and Testing, to "advise on the desirability and feasibility of national standards and tests." In its report of January, 1992, the council recommended both. National content standards, it said, ought to "define what students should know and be able to do" in English, geography, history, mathematics, and science, "with other

subjects to follow." A core of common content was needed to "promote educational equity, to preserve democracy and enhance the civic culture, and to improve economic competitiveness." It should set high expectations, not minimal competencies; it should provide focus and direction, not a national curriculum.

The ball was handed off to the U.S. Department of Education, which in turn funded privately based consortia of scholars and teachers to decide what was most worth learning in each major subject. The stage was set to open equal opportunities for learning, to temper the curricular chaos of 15,000 school districts, so that children would no longer be entirely at the mercy of where or to whom they were born. Some of us in the Department of Education were sure it could be done. We were wrong. The department itself never decided how the standards strategy ought to work, or how to explain it to others. Last year four of the national projects it had commissioned—in the arts, civics, geography, and history—issued their documents. (Science and foreign-language projects are still under way. A math project had been separately completed

in 1991.) After spending more than \$900,000, the English project had been defunded for nonperformance, its professional associations unable to do for our language and literature what other nations have done for theirs. (One subcommittee solemnly voted that the phrase "standard English" be replaced by "privileged dialect.") Only the civics document earned countrywide respect. The others met with disbelief and complaint over their length and extravagant demands. The American-history standards set off an ideological conflict that is still boiling, an issue for presidential candidates at campaign stops. (For an examination of the disappointing standards for world history,

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WHAT SHOULD CHILDREN LEARN?, continued....(4)

A year after the standards projects reported, the national version of standards-based reform is dead of multiple wounds, some self-inflicted, others from our culture wars, still others from congressional antipathy to any federal initiative, and most from American educators who have long resisted establishing a common core of academic learning. Recovery now depends on the states' choosing their own standards. But where a well-funded nationwide effort collapsed, how can states step in and

do it right? Are we as a people ready to apply the standards of our very best schools, public and private, to all the others, and reform a system that is generally mediocre and shamefully unequal? A century of avoidance says no.

THE TEN AND THE NINE

 THE idea that democratic education requires a rigorously academic core for every student is not new. The report of the illustrious Committee of Ten, published in 1894, forcefully articulated it, calling for an established academic curriculum for all high school students, *whether or not they were going to college*. Italics are needed, for the committee was falsely accused in its time of caring only for the college-bound, and thus of being elitist and anti-democratic. This line is still taken by educators who have not read the report.

The story of the Ten's defeat and the triumph of progressive education's dumbed-down version of John Dewey's ideas, which reads eerily like the failure of the national-standards movement today, is best told in Richard Hofstadter's *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life*, which won the Pulitzer Prize in 1964. Chaired by Charles William Eliot, the president of Harvard, the Committee of Ten was made up of six university scholars (several had taught in secondary schools), three high school principals, including the head of the Girls' High School in Boston, and William T. Harris, the U.S. Commissioner of Education. The common core they advocated required four years of foreign language and English language and literature, three to four years of math and science, and two to four years of history. Young Americans

taking on the profession of citizen, they said, needed a demanding curriculum, not the "feeble and scrappy" courses offered in too many high schools. This was doubly important for "school children who have no expectation of going to college," so that they might have at maturity "a salutary influence" upon the affairs of the country.

The report could have been written today. It anticipated the progressive pedagogical agenda and our latest "innovations" as well. It decried the "dry and lifeless system of instruction by text-book." Facts alone were repellent; schooling was for "the invaluable mental power which we call the judgment." It deplored mere coverage. To reach a common core of essentials, less was more: "select the paramount." The committee argued for active inquiry in original sources, studies in depth, individual and group projects, seminars, debates and re-enactments, field trips, museum work, mock legislatures and conventions. All possible teaching aids should be used: engravings, photographs, maps, globes, and the "magic lantern." To make time, school hours needed to be longer and more flexible.

For the new curriculum the Ten urged that history, civil government, and geography be taught as one. They wanted history and English "intimately connected," with constant cross-referencing to other countries and eras, to literature and art. They wanted more time for foreign languages, starting in the elementary grades. The continuing education of teachers needed more rigor—courses during the school year, taught by university scholars, for teachers who needed "the spirit or the apparatus to carry their classes outside . . . [the] narrow limits" of textbooks. Educators today reinvent these century-old ideas and declare them "exciting," as though nobody before—least of all academicians—could have thought such things.

The Ten's marriage of common substance and varied methods—exactly the object of today's standards strategy—was broken by the advent of a new corps of nonacademic educators who argued that common requirements would force a multitude of students to drop out. In 1911 a Committee of Nine on the Articulation of High School and College turned the Ten on their heads. The Nine, primarily public school administrators, insisted that school "holding power" depended

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in meeting interests that "each boy and girl has at the time." To focus on academics was to enslave the high school to the college, and lead students away from "pursuits for which they are adapted" toward those "for which they are not adapted and in which they are not needed." Schools should focus on industrial arts, agriculture, and "household science."

The influence of what Hofstadter called an "anti-intellectualist movement" also stood out in *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, issued in 1918 by the National Education Association's Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, and nationally distributed by the U.S. Office of Education. Again made up of administrators, the commission included no academic subjects in its list of seven things high schools ought to teach: health, command of fundamental processes (the three Rs), "worthy" home membership, "worthy" use of leisure, vocation, citizenship, and ethical character. This report, too, could have been written today, by the promoters of content-free brands of "outcomes-based education," which they celebrate as new and "transformational."

MASS TRIAGE

FROM the 1920s on, vast numbers of children were locked into curricular tracks and "ability groups" on the basis of surface differences—race, ethnicity, language, social class, sex, "deportment," and intelligence as categorized by inane notions of testing—that had nothing to do with their potential. At the low point of this mass triage, leaders of the "Life Adjustment" movement of the 1940s consigned up to 80 percent of all American children and adolescents to the nonacademic heap. Hofstadter called it the most anti-democratic moment in the history of schooling. In the next decade James Bryant Conant's influential book *The American High School Today* (1959) still sought no common academic core and considered no more than 20 percent of students as "academically talented." The rest, Conant said, should "follow vocational goals and . . . develop general interests." And in *The Education of American Teachers* (1963), Conant added that at the university level "a prescription of general education is impossible unless one knows, at least approximately, the vocational aspirations of the group in question."

Thus spoke mainstream American educators, habitually failing to recall the three distinct purposes of schooling—for work, for public affairs, for private culture—and ever unable to imagine what free people could be as citizens or private personalities outside their daily work. From the report of the

Nine to the present, educators (including those at many universities) have put socializing the masses and job training ahead of intellect. At different times socializing takes on various looks from group to group, left to right. But its common root is distrust of ordinary people's minds and spirit. Unable to think and seek the good, ordinary people must be socially

engineered to amuse themselves and to behave. We boast of escaping the old world's class system, but cherish our own brand of social privilege. Academic standards, educators have said for a century, are not for everyone—as though most people do not deserve or need a liberal education, as though we want them not as equals but only to work and to buy. Beta-minuses out of Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*. To feel better, we tell one another the story that schools can be "different but equal," a swindle still outliving its twin, "separate but equal."

In contrast, the cataclysms of depression and war brought educators in Europe to other views by the 1950s: it was time to democratize their schools, by leveling upward. As European secondary schools were opened to all, the political parties of the left resolved that the children of workers and the poor should gain whatever personal and political power they could from the same academic curriculum formerly reserved to the few.

A generation earlier America had leveled downward, accepting a dual, unequal school system sold to trusting citizens with warm words of solicitude by expert-specialists. In fact those specialists were perpetuating elitism by denouncing liberal education as elitist. Europeans were not so trusting as we, either of experts or of one another. Out of revolution and class conflict they had raised wariness to a high art, looking behind words for consequences. In Europe the schools had been

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little grounds for ideas about human nature, religion, history, national honor, and democracy itself. European democrats who had suffered Nazi occupation were not about to accept the notion that schools could be different but equal.

Had we looked overseas after midcentury, we could have learned from both our allies and our enemies in the Second World War. But we did not and still do not. Those most reluctant to look abroad are the promoters of giddy educational fixes that no foreign country would take seriously, from subjecting schools to the "free market" all the way to killing off academic disciplines in favor of "issue-based inquiry." Albert Shanker, the president of the American Federation of Teachers, puts it squarely, as usual: Americans tolerate a "marked inequality of opportunity in comparison with Ger-

many, France, or Japan." Why do students work harder in those countries, with the same TV and pop culture to distract them? Because their educators have decided what all students should know by the end of high school, Shanker says, and they have "worked back from these goals to figure out what children should learn by the time they are ages fourteen and nine." Standards are universal and known by everyone, so "fewer students are lost—and fewer teachers are lost."

CONTENT-BASED REFORM

GRANTED, the U.S. Department of Education's own ambivalence did not help the standards strategy's reception. What could easily have been explained as a necessarily slow four-step process—in which most important decisions would be left to states, local districts, schools, and teachers—remained in confusion. And when expensive standards projects refused to discipline themselves and lugged forth great tomes that looked like

national curricula, the department gave up trying. It let go the idea of a national core of essential learning and decided to say that setting standards was now up to the states.

Having fifty sets of standards need not mean disaster. But the Committee of Ten was right: something close to national agreement on a vital common core is indispensable to educational equity, to dislodge and replace the empty, undemanding programs that leave so many children untaught and disadvantaged. Without some such agreement, the much-heralded devolution of reform leadership to the states could make things worse.

The four steps essential to content-based school reform are no mystery. But conventional educators will object to them, for they focus on subject matter and must be carried out by subject-matter teachers and scholars, not by curriculum specialists unlearned in academic disciplines. In step one, teachers and scholars work together under public review to write the content standards—brief, scrupulously selected lists of what is most worth knowing in each academic subject. These have but one function: to lay before students, parents, teachers, and the university teachers of teachers the

essential core of learning that all students in a modern democracy have the right not to be allowed to avoid. "Core" means what it says: teaching it should take no more than two thirds of the time given to each subject, the rest being left to local school and teacher choice.

This step is the most critical but most often misunderstood. What is a subject-matter essential, or "standard," and what is not? It is specific, not abstract, but it does not descend to detail. In history a typical standard asks students to understand the causes of the First World War, with an eye to the technological, economic, social, and political forces at work, together with the roles of individuals, of accident, and of ordinary confusion. It does not ask students to "master the concept of conflict in world history." Nor does it ask them to memorize the names of the twenty central characters in the tragedy of the summer of 1914.

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As they select each standard, scholars and teachers must consider whether they can explain its importance when students ask "So what?" The First World War is an easy example. What it did to Americans was to shape their lives and deaths for the rest of the twentieth century—from the Depression and the Second World War to the end of the Cold War, from our hubris of 1945 to our present fantasy that we have spent ourselves too poor even to keep our parks clean or our libraries open. If a standard cannot be explained to the young, or to an educated public, it is either too general or too detailed. In a hurry, some states have issued "common cores of learning" that are lists of healthy attitudes and abstract "learning outcomes." Others have copied detail directly out of the overstuffed national standards documents. Neither is a help to teachers or curriculum makers.

Step two was never "national" business: writing a state curriculum framework, saying in which grades the essentials should be taught. Its function is to end the plague of gaps and repetitions that only American educators seem resigned to accept as normal. Articulating subject matter across the elementary and secondary years also requires a collaboration of equals—teachers, scholars, and learning specialists—each of whom has things to say that the others need to hear. The word "framework," too, means what it says: it leaves the third step—course design and pedagogy—to the school and the teacher. They must have the authority to make the choices most important to them and to their students: the topics and questions by which to teach the essentials, the day-to-day content of instruction, the materials and methods best suited to their students and to their own strengths.

Step four, writing performance standards and tests of achievement, can sensibly follow only when the others have been taken. But some states are hurrying to award expensive contracts to outside testing firms before anyone has thought about, much less decided, what is worth testing. To leave this to experts and let the rush to "accountability"—which

now has a potent assessment lobby behind it—drive standards and course content will kill all chances for school improvement. Not everything precious can be measured, and not everything measurable is worth teaching: pap is pap, a drop or a gallon. So once more it is teachers and scholars who must decide what to assess.

Content-based reform will not always be easy even for teachers and scholars. All who teach, from the grades to graduate school, will have to be differently educated than they now are and teach differently than they now teach. For example, the history learned at any level depends on the prior education of both student and teacher. And the decision about what history to teach must anticipate what is to be learned at higher levels. But this is not how American schools and universities work. Teachers and academicians habitually shape each course as an island entire to itself, as though what they teach, or do not teach, matters to nobody but themselves—as if others had no right to notice, and none to intervene. That must change.

Schoolteachers and university scholars will have to accept each other as equals, because aligning subject matter demands seamless, collaborative work from pre-school through Ph.D. They rarely do so now. Nor do elementary and high school teachers confer, or teachers in the same building. Apart from ego, insecurity, and worries over turf, collaboration takes time, which schools and universities rarely provide, and personal commitment, which they rarely reward. Moreover, to choose essentials and to design frameworks

and assessments, educators will have to debate priorities. What is truly most worth knowing? What must be left out? Academicians avoid such questions at all cost: witness their chaotic college curricula. University faculties will have to alter their major programs, giving up pet courses for others that better prepare the next generation of teachers and help those already teaching. They will have to battle colleagues into coherent general-education requirements for underclassmen. To do all this, academicians will need to be broadly educated, and be differently rewarded by administrative and trustee policies.

States whose educators accept this degree of change will accomplish standards-based reform. Where change is rejected, they will fail. The hard fact is that anchoring school

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reform in academic learning—and putting teachers and scholars in charge—is foreign in all senses. It would redirect the mainstream of American education as the twentieth-century parade of much-hyped fashions never has. Life Adjustment, “greening,” the open classroom, “back to basics,” career education, “futures learning,” global consciousness, “doing-a-value,” critical and creative thinking, and “outcomes-based” education (are there other kinds?)—not one of these has ruffled the establishment or gotten beneath the surface to substantial subject matter, and so not one has improved the schools of most American children. Indeed, by leaving weary teachers awash in the debris from successive tides of obsession and indifference, they have made things worse.

OBSTACLES AND PROSPECTS

IF the obstacles reformers confront, the toughest may be our mad utilitarianism. Consider the three aims of schooling—preparing the worker, the citizen, and the cultivated individual. We put the worker ahead of the other two, as if they had no effect on the nation's economy or the quality of work done. Turning to citizenship, we bypass the substance of history, politics, letters, and ideas and peddle ready-made attitudes. Thus American educators have never had to think consistently about the moral, aesthetic, or intellectual content of public schooling for the masses—the gifts that academic subjects open for everyone.

Since academics have been for the few, it follows that our teacher corps is academically undereducated, ill prepared to offer challenging content to all its charges. Teachers are not to blame. Since so little is expected from most students, the university teachers of teachers—whether in content or pedagogy—see no reason to ask much of *them*. The time it will take to re-prepare teachers is itself an obstacle. There are no shortcuts to content-based reform, which makes it vulnerable to hawkers of new fashions from an education industry whose planned obsolescence leaves *haute couture* in the dust.

States will discover that the changes required by academic school reform will call down showers of objection. “Standards alone will not solve our problems”—as if anyone

thought they could. “Standards will oppress minorities and the poor”—as if the absence of standards does not leave educators free to offer unequal schooling and tax cutters free to slash school spending. “Standards will stifle innovation”—as though clear and equal standards were not the best friends of innovators. Parents have seen far too many passing fads that skew or empty the curriculum. Settled aims will make it easier to experiment with school structure, school size, and all the ways that schools have to be different from one another to meet different circumstances.

States will find friends in teachers and citizens who, not overspecialized, have no ideology to press, and who understand that the three purposes of education—for work, for citizenship, and for private life—are by their nature distinct, many-sided, requiring different, sometimes opposite, modes of teaching aimed at different, sometimes opposite, results. Schooling for work is a “conservative” function, demanding disciplined mastery of tasks from the world of work as it is, not as we wish it to be, and objective testing of student competence. Schooling for citizenship, in contrast, is a “radical” activity, egalitarian and skeptical in style, mixing the hard study of history and ideas with free-swinging exchange on public issues. The school nurtures both teamwork and thorny individualism, at once the readiness to serve and the readiness to resist, for nobody knows ahead of time which the good citizen may have to do. To educate the private person, the school must detach itself much of the time from the clamor of popular culture. It must be conservative in requiring students to confront the range of arts, letters, and right behavior conceived in the past, toward the liberal end that their choices be informed and thereby free.

People well know that to work at these three purposes, schools must serve both society and the individual, must be close to daily life at some moments and wholly insulated at others. They know that different things are learned best in different ways, from drill to brainstorming, and that schools have to be *both* disciplined and easygoing, hierarchical and egalitarian, at different times for different subjects at different levels—mixing pleasure and pain, each often following upon the other.

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In sum, they can understand why TheodoreSizer is not indulging in paradox when he says that only "a loose system that has rigor" can correct what he describes in *Horace's School* (1992) as "the inattention of American culture to serious learning." We need, he says, "generous localism" applied with high and common academic expectations. For a century we have resisted this, treating the majority of our children as though they were learning-disabled. We say that knowledge is power, but we have kept knowledge from millions of children, adolescents, and even college students. Our chance to make this long-delayed turn to democratic education is now in the hands of the states and local schools.

Botched Standards

Which is more important for young people to study—Magna Carta or the Mongol empire? The latest answer may surprise you

THE world-history document issued by the National Center for History in the Schools, at UCLA, and funded by the U.S. Department of Education and the National Endowment for the Humanities, is worth a close look, as a cautionary tale for reformers who may assume that scholars see the role of standards more clearly than others do. Given its 314 pages, and the limited time schools allot to world history, it is not helpful even for picking and choosing, because it has no continuing questions to help readers focus on essentials, as better textbooks do. To avoid the battles among specialists that selection would have set off, its authors, careful to offend no vocal constituency, acted on the dubious principle that all societies and all eras back to prehistory deserve equal space in the education of young Americans. By so doing they buried essentials under mounds of undifferentiated matter, much of it academic exotica and antiquarianism.

The document's failure is surprising, because its opening pages are eloquent on why citizens must study history. No reason, it argues, is "more important to a democratic society than this: *Knowledge of history is the precondition of political intelligence.*" It adds, "Without history, a society shares

no common memory of where it has been, what its core values are, or what decisions of the past account for present circumstances." Also in italics is Etienne Gilson's remark "*History is the only laboratory we have in which to test the consequences of thought.*" But between the promise and the execution we find a chasm. The volume is weakest on thought and the consequences of ideas, on core values and common memories, not only the West's but any civilization's. It is thin on political turning points and institutions, and thereby on the drama of human choice and its effects. For all its length and pretentious demands, it scants the artistic, literary, and philosophical legacies of world cultures, and it shortchanges the past 250 years, which saw so many of the decisions that "account for present circumstances."

Its treatment of world history has thirty-nine main standards, 108 subheads, and 526 sub-subheads, all of them called standards. None of the main standards or subheads is devoted to ideas, whether philosophical, religious, ethical, or moral, social, economic, or political. One must descend to the 526 sub-subheads, or to fragments of them. Neither the

Judaic nor the Christian principles that are the sources of Western values, morals, and views of justice and of ideas of the individual's dignity and responsibility—even for unreligious or anti-religious thinkers—are given more than one half of a sub-subhead, less than a thousandth of the document's substance. The ideas of Islam and of Protestant reformers fare no better. However, the topic "mastery of horseriding on the steppes" gets twice that space, the Scythians and the Xiongnu fill two full sub-subheads, and the Olmecs get a main standard all to themselves.

On the secular side, there is nothing of medieval thought about just rules of law, war, economic life, or social responsibility. Later we find nothing of Renaissance or Reformation theory concerning society, economics, or politics. Enlightenment thought and its impact on Church and State are relegated

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WHAT SHOULD CHILDREN LEARN?, continued... (10)

to a single sub-subhead. French revolutionary ideas "on social equality, democracy, human rights, constitutionalism, and nationalism" get one sub-subhead out of ninety-four for the years 1750-1914. For the twentieth century a single sub-subhead asks students to explain the "leading ideas of liberalism, social reformism, conservatism, and socialism as competing ideologies in 20th century Europe." Leninist and Fascist-Nazi ideologies are each assigned half of a sub-subhead, so that only two sub-subheads must do for the political ideas and ideology of the entire twentieth-century world.

In squeezing European civilization, the document is also meager on the political history that makes sophisticated citizens. There is nothing on the failure of Athenian democracy to overcome the forces of pride and demagoguery. The vast questions about Rome's decline that so preoccupied the American Founders are compressed into part of a subhead, less than half the space given the Gupta empire in India. As to politics in the years 1000-1500, a single sub-subhead is

devoted to "analyzing how European monarchies expanded their power at the expense of feudal lords and assessing the growth and limitations of representative institutions in these monarchies." So, buried and unnamed in half of that sub-head are Magna Carta and the Model Parliament, along

with the prime political lesson that true constitutions require a balance of power in society. In the same era entire standards take up the Mongol empire and sub-Saharan Africa.

The seventeenth-century English Revolution gets a single sub-subhead (out of eighty-four for the era 1450-1770)—no more than "evaluating the interplay of indigenous Indian, Persian, and European influences in Mughal artistic, architectural, literary, and scientific achievements." The authors find nothing special about English constitutional history that American citizens should know, in keeping with today's fashion of decrying "Whig history," as though the worldwide struggle for political freedom, and all of its sacrifice, setbacks, and advances, were only a myth to hoodwink the innocent young. All but absent, too, is the history of labor. In the section covering the twentieth century there is no mention of trade unions, their battles and importance to democracy and social justice, and why totalitarians make them their first victims. Even the vast twentieth-century struggle of liberal democracies to overcome Nazism and Soviet communism fades into pale generalities.

Some of the weaknesses in the world-history document are but the reverse side of American virtues: hopefulness and generosity: our eagerness to embrace diversity, to be self-critical, to shun "ethnocentrism." In what other country do people cringe at that word and are students required to study other cultures but not their own? The standards also reflect our impatience with politics, our reluctance to admit that only politics can turn aspirations into reality, and our impa-

tience with the gloomier views of human nature that accept the presence of evil in the world, and the tragedy and imperfection of the human condition.

The fact remains, however, that in deference to current styles in the history profession, the authors played down the Western sources of their own American consciences, and failed to do the work of selecting what would best serve the education of American students, or of society at large. Fortunately, their introduction makes clear why state and local teacher-scholar teams must do better. Nothing less is at stake than our political competence as a people.

Taking the solidity of democratic institutions for granted, educators have worried too little about the hard things they require citizens to understand. Now, in the mid-1990s, we have reasons to pay more attention. For one thing, it takes a perverse effort of will to deny that the effects of technology

and economics, demography and nature, make our problems and the world's more complicated than ever. Or to deny that nostrums peddled by the loudest voices in politics and talk TV and radio are more simplistic than ever. Or that blaming "government" for every ill and anxiety—while not yet so virulent as under the Weimar Republic—betrays a flaming ignorance of history and human nature.

WHAT HISTORY TEACHES

WITH respect to world history, what should Americans know and teach? What is the main story? It is not the parade of military, technological, and economic "interactions," or the endless comparisons among often incomparable centers of great power, that global studies

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WHAT SHOULD CHILDREN LEARN?, continued... (11)

vell upon—although these must, of course, be taken into account. The big story is not the push to modernize but the struggle to civilize, to curb the bestial side of human nature. What students can grasp very well is that this is a common struggle, in which all peoples and races are equal—equal in our natures, equal in the historical guilt of forebears who pursued war, slavery, and oppression. Black Africans, Anglo-Americans, Europeans, Native Americans, North African and Middle Eastern peoples, Mongols, Chinese, and Japanese—all have pursued these things when they have had the power to, afflicting one another and weaker neighbors.

For our time, the first lesson to be learned from world history, the most compelling story, is the age-old struggle of people within each culture to limit aggression and greed, to nourish the better side of human nature, to apply morality and law, to keep the peace and render justice. Students can see the glory and agony of this struggle, and how often it has been lost. Because human evil exists, good intent has never been enough. It has taken brains, courage, self-sacrifice, patience, love, and—always with tragic consequences—war itself to contain the beast. Against the twin temptations of wishfulness and cynicism, history says that evil and tragedy are real, that civilization has a high price but that it, too, is real, and has been won from time to time. In history we find the ideas, the conditions, and the famous and ordinary men and women making it possible.

All peoples have taken part in the struggle to civilize. An honest look at the past reveals a common human mixture of altruism, malevolence, and indifference, and reasons for all of us to feel both pride and shame. Starting from any other point of view is historically false, and blind to human nature. Historians—and standard setters—have a special obligation to be candid. But many popular textbooks are unfailingly pious about other cultures and ultra-critical of our own, preaching a new-style ignorance in reaction against, but just as pernicious as, our older textbook pieties about ourselves and disdain for others. **Both are pernicious because both sap the will to civilize. People who are taught to feel specially**

guilty, or specially victimized, or naturally superior, will not reach out to others as equals; they will not pay the costs in toil, tears, and taxes always imposed by that struggle.

This is not a "conservative" or "liberal" issue but one of trusting children, adolescents, and adults to work with historical truth, however inconvenient or impolite it may seem. History reinforces the rough notion of equality that we learn on the playground and in the street: there are like proportions of admirable and avoidable people in every imaginable human grouping—by age, class, race, sex, religion, or cultural taste. Individuals are not equal in talent or virtue, and certainly not equally deserving of respect. To teach otherwise is to invite ridicule and resentment. Instead what must repeatedly be taught, because it is not quickly learned—but is quickly forgotten in hard times—is that in civilized society it is every person's *rights* that are equally deserving of respect: rights to free expression, equal protection under law, fair judgment, rigorous education, honest work and pay, an equal chance to pursue the good.

This hard truth we accept, and remember, only with the help of historical insight, which is indispensable in forging a democratic conscience—that inner feeling that we ought to do the right thing even if only out of prudence. For we see again and again that societies failing to accord a good measure of liberty, equality, and justice have hastened their own decay, particularly over the past two centuries, since the American and French revolutions told the world that these three were the proper aims of human life and politics, and that it was right and possible to bring them to reality—by force if necessary.

Student-citizens need to be acutely sensitive to the central political drama of world history since the 1770s—what Sigmund Neumann called the "triple revolution" aimed at national unity and independence, at political democracy and civil rights, and at economic and social justice. This, too, is not a liberal or conservative matter. Whether we approve or deplore these ends, or the means to them, does not lessen their force or our need to deal with them, at home and abroad. Modern history tells us that whenever any one of them is frustrated for long, masses of people will sink to envy, self-pity, fury, and a search for scapegoats, *führers*, and quick, violent solutions.

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WHAT SHOULD CHILDREN LEARN?, continued... (12)

Good history is not always fun to learn, any more than is chemistry or mathematics, and we should not pretend that it is. The job of citizen is no easier to prepare for than that of doctor or bridge builder. Nor is good history always popular. It denies us the comforts of optimism or pessimism. It gives the lie to nostalgia, whether for left-wing or right-wing or feel-good politics. Its lessons offer no cure for today's problems, only warnings we are silly to ignore. As they select the essentials of U.S. and world history, state and local standard setters and curriculum makers can look for the particulars that teach such lessons best—memorable events, ideas, and people whose stories need telling, but always in the context of longer narrative history.

For example, an American-history standard should require the ability not only to recall points in the Constitution and Bill of Rights but also to understand the ideas and events behind them, back to Greek and Roman thought and institutions, to Judeo-Christian views of human nature and responsibility, to Magna Carta and the English Revolution, to Hobbes, Locke, and Montesquieu, Burke, Paine, the Federalists and the anti-Federalists. These essentials are not grasped by playacting a few quarrels from hot Philadelphia afternoons of 1787—though playacting can make a good start if the script is based on original sources.

Moreover, the lesson of the Constitution is not nearly complete without learning the harrowing consequences of a cheap answer to labor shortages that American planters were sure they had found in the early 1600s—slaves from Africa. A tortured Constitution, belying the Declaration's promise, was only one, early payment. The Civil War followed, and even 620,000 dead did not purchase the free and equal Union for which Lincoln prayed in his Second Inaugural. New chains of bondage were forged, and another century of repression and humiliation followed, before the civil-rights movement of the 1960s restarted a process of liberation whose grinding slowness continues to divide and embitter us.

Likewise, a world-history standard on the Second World War teaches little unless that war is seen as a consequence of the outbreak of the First World War and of the murderous incompetence with which it was fought, of the Bolshevik Revolution, of world depression, of the furies and civic ineptitude that destroyed the Weimar Republic, of Hitler's rise on the shoulders of private armies, and of the liberal democracies' wishful rejection of the costs of collective security, from the Paris Conference of 1919 through the Spanish Civil War to the Nazi occupation of Prague in 1939. Nor can it teach nearly enough without examining the Holocaust, the ultimate horror, itself a consequence of all these things and more since the Middle Ages.

The fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War brought back the war's satanic nature, from Rotterdam to Dresden, Nanking and Bataan to Hiroshima. The debates over guilt revealed widespread avoidance of history's warnings. Some seemed to doubt that evil exists and has to be dealt with, even by making war. Others seemed to deny that any war, launched for whatever cause, will carry frightful human consequences, will be as hellish as weapons permit. And 1945 was not the end. The Cold War followed from the effects of both world wars. Draining lives and resources, fouling our politics, skewing economic life, it divided us against one another, from the Red scares of the 1940s and 1950s through the bloody Korean and Vietnam wars. Its legacy clouds our view of a changing world and its needs, not least our own need to distinguish between force that is necessary and force that is not. All these afflictions are consequences of human choices back to 1914 and earlier, many of them in pursuit of cheap, quick answers in defiance of history's lessons and the imperatives of civilized life. ☛

Tab H

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White House Press Release

Remarks By Mrs. Clinton At Education Awards Ceremony

The White House

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

February 7, 1997

Remarks By Mrs. Clinton
At **Education** Awards Ceremony

The State Department

Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Clinton: Thank you. Thank you, Terry, and thank all of you from the Department of **Education** who are here for your hard work and vision, not only in this area, but in so many of the others on which we have made progress in the last four years. I want to thank the sponsors of these awards. Terry's already mentioned Nortel and Glaxo-Wellcome and Keenan and the regional **education** laboratories. This is one of the most important statements that we could make about how we will achieve the high **educational** goals that the President outlined in his call for action last evening.

I had the opportunity as all, I hope, of you did as well to listen to that speech -- (laughter) -- and to hear the emphasis that the President placed on **education** as a national security issue, as one that we should turn our attention to with the same commitment and nonpartisan zeal that we in the last 50 years gave to our foreign policy in our efforts to win the Cold War. (Applause.)

There are some who still will question why is the President of the United States, on the eve of a new century, spending about half of his State of the Union talking about **education**. To those who might ask that question, I would reply, as the President did last evening, that it is through **education** and a national commitment to **education** that we have the best opportunity to lift up all of our people to be in a position to take advantage of the opportunities that will be available to them in the future.

You saw last evening that there were two students and a teacher who had participated in a rather remarkable consortium in the area north of Chicago to put together best practices so that 20 school districts could pool that information and they could prepare

their students to compete in the Third International Math and Science Study Test. For a number of years, starting back in 1983 when my husband asked me to chair the **education** standards committee in Arkansas, I have followed with great interest the international measurements that have been utilized to determine where our students stacked up against their peers around the world.

Now, I know, and those of you who are **educators** know that our kids are as bright as and hard-working as children anywhere in the world. It is not a question of who our kids are. We also know that our teachers are as dedicated and hard-working and committed as teachers anywhere in the world. And yet, somehow, when we were being measured on international tests, our students were not scoring as high as I think they could. And yet, it became clear as we look at programs like the one that the President highlighted last night from the Chicago suburbs that with the proper focus and teacher training and understanding of what the standards are, our children can be competitive with anyone. And, in fact, those youngsters who took those tests, as the President said were first in the world in science and second only, I believe, to Singapore in mathematics.

So we know that, properly organized with the right tools at hand, our children can be competitive and be prepared for whatever the 21st century has to offer.

Now, in order to improve student achievement, we have to have good teachers and good teaching. And yet, too often teachers are left out of the equation when it comes to discussing reform, and as Terry said, too often the tools for advancing teacher professional development are considered extraneous or marginal, that they are not part of what it takes to create world-class schools. And, yet, every one of us in this room who are here to celebrate these awards knows how important it is to provide for the kind of continuing development that is provided in other professions.

We expect other professionals to have ongoing professional development. They are tested periodically in order to advance in their profession. They are required to attend certain kinds of programs. They may be evaluated on a regular basis. And now, all of us who care about **education** and particularly **educators** know that that is exactly the model that we need to follow here in our country when it comes to preparing and maintaining the best teachers in the world.

That is why the President's budget, which will be released tomorrow, invests in teacher training. It provides funding so that 100,000 teachers nationwide can seek national certification as master teachers and contains a 25 percent increase in the amount of funding devoted to Goals 2000. It's also why he has called on the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future for a new effort to help communities and states promote excellence and accountability in teaching.

We need to value our teachers more, we need to help them set and meet higher standards not only for their students but for themselves. Today, in Georgia, along with Secretary Riley, the President will be releasing this call to action for American **education** in the 21st century, which takes the 10 points that he spoke about last evening and expands on them in some detail, giving examples about what works and also providing more information about what he is going to be requesting in the budget.

I am so pleased that the successes that are being highlighted here will be spread throughout the country so that other

Districts will learn from what you have already achieved. One of our challenges in **education**, whether it comes to standards or professional development, is to take what works in one district and translate it and transplant it into another, to learn from one another, to offer technical assistance so that we can see how, with some modification, perhaps, what worked in one of the award winners here can work in its neighbors.

I know we're going to have the presentation of the awards in a minute, but I would like to just call out the names and have everyone associated with these various districts just raise your hands so that I can have an idea of who is here and congratulate you a little bit ahead of time.

From the Samuel Mason School in Roxbury, Massachusetts, who is here? Good. (Applause.) From the San Francisco Unified School District, who is here for that? Good. (Applause.) From the Wilton School District in Connecticut, who came? (Applause.) From the Woodrow Wilson Elementary School in Manhattan, Kansas. (Applause.) And from the Lawrence Public Schools in Kansas. (Applause.)

I know that you will be awarded a cash prize, funded by the private interests that are the sponsors here, to be able to support professional development activities and to help share the strategies and lessons that you have learned. And I would only ask one thing from those of you who are winners and all of you who have supported this process. We have to do a better job getting the word out. When Terry referred to the "sit and get" strategy of professional development, unfortunately she was describing what is still too often the norm in many districts and schools around our country.

But if we have enough people, like those of you gathered here, to spread the word about professional development and to demonstrate how it works, I believe we can see a grass-roots movement around the country, embracing professional development and using best practices.

I hope that these awards, which will be annually awarded, will send a very strong signal to **educators** and to those who we hope to enlist in becoming **educators**, that the role teachers play in our children's lives is second only to parents, and it is the most important job anyone can do for pay. To go into a school and to work with young people, and particularly since we know so many of our children face challenges that were not part of our growing up, to be there, to know how to handle the intellectual and emotional and social needs that our children present to us is the most difficult, but certainly based on my friends and my own observation, one of the most rewarding ways anyone can contribute to society.

And I hope, also, that we will put to rest the idea that the work of teaching belongs to any one group or any one level of government, or any one sector of our society. The President was right in calling for a national effort. You are demonstrating that that national effort must be implemented on the local level, but that we need to support one another in meeting the challenges our children face.

I have said before that I remember clearly many, many years ago when I was in elementary school and Sputnik went up, that the entire nation became mobilized around how we would teach math and science more effectively to people like me in the fifth or sixth grade. And I can remember clearly my teachers saying to me, you should learn this, because your President needs you to learn this.

(Laughter.) Well, that was a little daunting when you're 10 or 11, but I took it seriously. And I felt as though, and my classmates did and my teachers did, that we were engaged in a great national effort.

Now, nobody from Washington told Miss Metzger or Mrs. Krause or Mrs. King how they were supposed to teach me. But the fact that they had the big stick of the President that they could use to intimidate us into learning all of this stuff that we didn't understand really worked. I would make the same argument today. It is a little more difficult, perhaps, for some to see that in the absence of an obvious challenge, like the Soviet Union and international communism, that we should have the same emphasis on our national need to inspire better teaching and better learning.

But I think we are at just the same moment of challenge as we were those many years ago, because we know that it may not be with weapons that we will be facing across an ocean that will endanger our security, but it will be with competitiveness and perhaps across a negotiating table, or in front of a computer, that we will determine not only our own individual futures, but the future of our country. And in order to be prepared, we must have the best teachers we possibly can have. We must have students who understand what it means to go into this new global economy, and we must have parents and citizens and political leaders who support all of you in the work that you do.

So, congratulations and thank you for this commitment.
(Applause.)

End

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Tab I

2. INVESTING IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING

I want to build a bridge to the 21st Century in which we expand opportunity through education, where computers are as much a part of the classroom as blackboards, where highly-trained teachers demand peak performance from our students, where every eight-year-old can point to a book and say, I can read it myself.

President Clinton
August 29, 1996

Today's most successful workers are those with skills and a firm educational footing who continue to learn throughout their careers in order to compete successfully in this fast-changing economy.

In recent years, education and wages have become increasingly intertwined. Generally, those with the best skills and education have made steady progress, enjoying higher living standards. Those without the requisite skills and education have fallen behind. Tomorrow's workers face an even greater challenge. As the very nature of work changes with technological innovation, employers will demand even more highly-skilled and flexible workers. The best-paying jobs increasingly will go only to those with education and training beyond high school.

For the most part, our Nation places responsibility for education and training on State and local governments, families and individuals, and the private sector. Nevertheless, the Federal Government plays a crucial, if limited, role in providing education for a lifetime—from pre-school to adult career training.

The President's goals are to help families, communities and States ensure that every child is prepared to make the best use of education; that the education system enables every child to learn to his or her potential; that those who need resources to pay for postsecondary education and training can get them; that those who need a second chance at training and education or a chance to improve or learn new skills

throughout their working lives can get those opportunities; and that States and communities that receive Federal funds can use them more flexibly, with fewer regulations and less paperwork.

Federal resources help States improve the quality of education and training for the disadvantaged and for people with disabilities; support State- and locally-designed elementary and secondary school reform; and help low- and middle-income families gain financial access to postsecondary education and skill training through loans and grants. To help States raise student achievement, the President has worked hard to make schools safer, improve teacher quality, move technology into the classroom as quickly as possible, raise academic standards, and better prepare students for college and the new workplace.

The budget reaffirms the President's commitment to America's children by increasing the investment in Head Start and in Federal elementary and secondary education programs—focusing on innovation and technology—and launching a new effort to jumpstart needed school renovation and construction. In addition, the President has begun a national, volunteer-based challenge called America Reads, to ensure that all children can read well and independently by the end of third grade.

To ensure that all Americans have access to the high-skill training needed for today's workplace, the President proposes to make two years of postsecondary education universally available, through HOPE scholarship

tax credits of up to \$1,500 for two years. And to encourage lifelong learning, the budget proposes: tax deductions of up to \$10,000 for tuition and fees for college, graduate school, or job training; a \$300 increase in the maximum Pell Grant college scholarship (to \$3,000), marking the largest increase in two decades and providing grants for at least 348,000 more students; lower student loan fees and interest rates for parents and students; the G.I. Bill for America's Workers so they can choose where to get the best job training available; and new resources to help move welfare recipients from welfare to work (see Table 2-1 and Chart 2-1).

America Reads

Many of our children are falling short of meeting standard educational levels—a failure that they often have trouble overcoming later. In 1994, for instance, two-fifths of fourth-graders failed to reach the “basic” reading level on the National Assessment of Educational Progress and only 30 percent attained the “proficient” level. In response, the President has launched the America Reads Challenge, a multi-part effort to help States and communities ensure that all children are reading well and independently by the end of the third grade. Business and academic leaders already have pledged their support, and the budget proposes the Federal funding component. The Administration will measure the success of this effort on a national basis through the biennial administration of the National Assessment of Educational Progress fourth grade reading assessment.

America's Reading Corps: One-on-one tutoring is one key to better reading. America's Reading Corps will provide individualized after-school and summer help for over three million children in grades K-3 who want and need it. A five-year, \$2.45 billion investment, through the Education Department and the Corporation for National and Community Service, would help communities mobilize 30,000 reading specialists and volunteer coordinators to recruit and train over a million tutors, including 100,000 college work-study students.

Parents as First Teachers: Nothing is more important to children's reading skills

than the time parents spend reading to, and with, them. Research shows that the first three years of a child's life are crucial to his or her development. An early exposure to books, even for infants, is important to prepare children for pre-reading activities as toddlers. Reading to them for 20 minutes a day can make a big difference in their readiness for school. To give parents help and information in teaching their children, the Administration proposes a Parents as First Teachers Challenge Grant Fund of \$300 million over five years, building on the current Even Start Family Literacy program to support effective, proven efforts that help parents help their children become successful readers.

Head Start

A healthy, caring family environment is the best preparation for school. For over 30 years, Head Start has helped low-income families create this environment by taking a comprehensive approach to child development—improving children's learning skills, health, nutrition, and social competency. Head Start involves parents in their children's learning, and links children and their families to a wide array of services in their communities. Over the last four years, the President has secured a 43-percent increase in funds for Head Start, enabling the program to serve 800,000 children in 1997.

The budget proposes \$4.3 billion for Head Start, \$324 million more than in 1997, to enable 86,000 more children to participate than in 1996 and raising program quality (see Chart 2-2). With this funding, the Administration would be well on its way toward meeting the President's commitment of a million children in Head Start by 2002.

In addition, the Early Start component of Head Start extends comprehensive early development services to infants aged 0 to 3 in a way that supports families, builds parenting skills, and extends a safe, nurturing, and stimulating environment to very young children.

Elementary and Secondary Education

The Administration has energized State and local efforts to raise student achievement by boosting funds for various programs that

Table 2-1. THE BUDGET INCREASES RESOURCES FOR MAJOR EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMS BY \$15 BILLION, OR 56 PERCENT OVER 1993

(Dollar amounts in millions)

	1993 Actual	1997 Estimate	1998 Proposed	Percent Change: 1993 to 1998
MANDATORY OUTLAYS/TAX EXPENDITURES:				
HOPE scholarships tax credit/deduction		100	4,100	NA
America Reads (Education Department)			31	NA
School construction			1,250	NA
Work Opportunity Tax Credit		120	160	NA
Welfare-to-Work Jobs Challenge			600	NA
Total, mandatory outlays and tax expenditures		220	6,141	NA
DISCRETIONARY BUDGET AUTHORITY:				
Head Start	2,776	3,981	4,305	+55%
Elementary and secondary education:				
America Reads (Corp. for National and Community Service)			200	NA
Goals 2000		491	620	NA
Education technology	23	305	545	+2,270%
Title I Education for Disadvantaged	6,709	7,698	8,077	+20%
Eisenhower Teacher Training	289	310	360	+25%
Special education	2,966	4,036	4,210	+42%
Safe and drug free schools	582	540	620	+7%
Charter schools		51	100	NA
After-school learning centers			50	NA
Postsecondary student aid:				
Pell Grants	6,458	5,919	7,635	+18%
College Work Study	616	830	857	+39%
Other campus-based aid	845	811	771	-9%
Presidential Honors Scholarships			132	NA
Training and employment:				
Vocational education	1,176	1,131	1,172	-%
Adult education	304	354	394	+30%
School-To-Work (Education and Labor Departments)		400	400	NA
Summer Jobs for Youth	849	871	871	+3%
Job Corps	966	1,154	1,246	+29%
Youth Opportunity Areas			250	NA
JTPA adult/dislocated worker training	1,666	2,181	2,415	+45%
Employment service and One-Stops	975	974	993	+2%
Total, budget authority	27,200	32,037	36,223	+33%
Total, mandatory outlays, tax expenditures, and budget authority	27,200	32,257	42,364	+56%
STUDENT LOAN VOLUME (loan amount):				
Direct loans		9,938	12,037	NA
Guaranteed loans	16,029	16,965	16,774	+5%
Consolidation loans	1,527	6,803	7,729	+406%
Total, loan volume	17,556	33,706	36,540	+108%

NA = Not applicable.

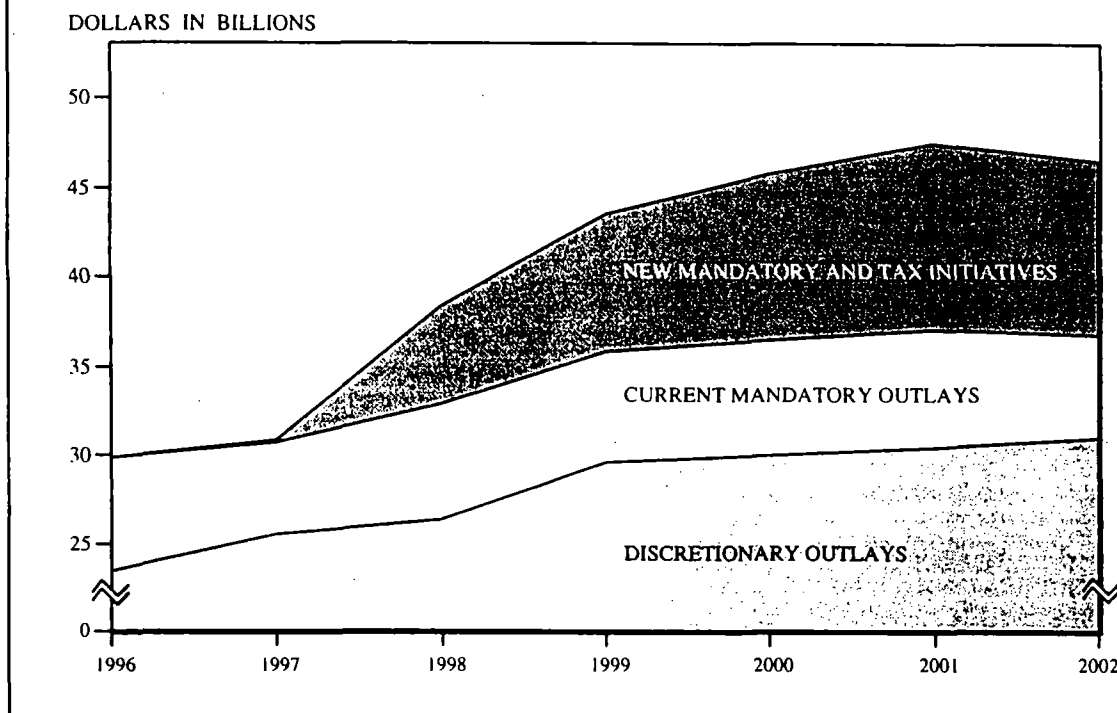
* Less than 0.5 percent.

States and localities then combine with their own funds to help all students achieve at high levels in a safe, modern learning environment. The budget builds on this momentum by proposing additional funds for all major programs, and for the new America Reads

initiative (discussed earlier in this chapter) and the new school construction initiative (discussed later).

The Administration's goal for elementary and secondary education is to help States and communities raise the quality of education

**Chart 2-1. INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION DEPARTMENT PROGRAMS,
HOPE SCHOLARSHIPS AND TAX DEDUCTIONS
WILL INCREASE 56 PERCENT BETWEEN 1996 AND 2002**



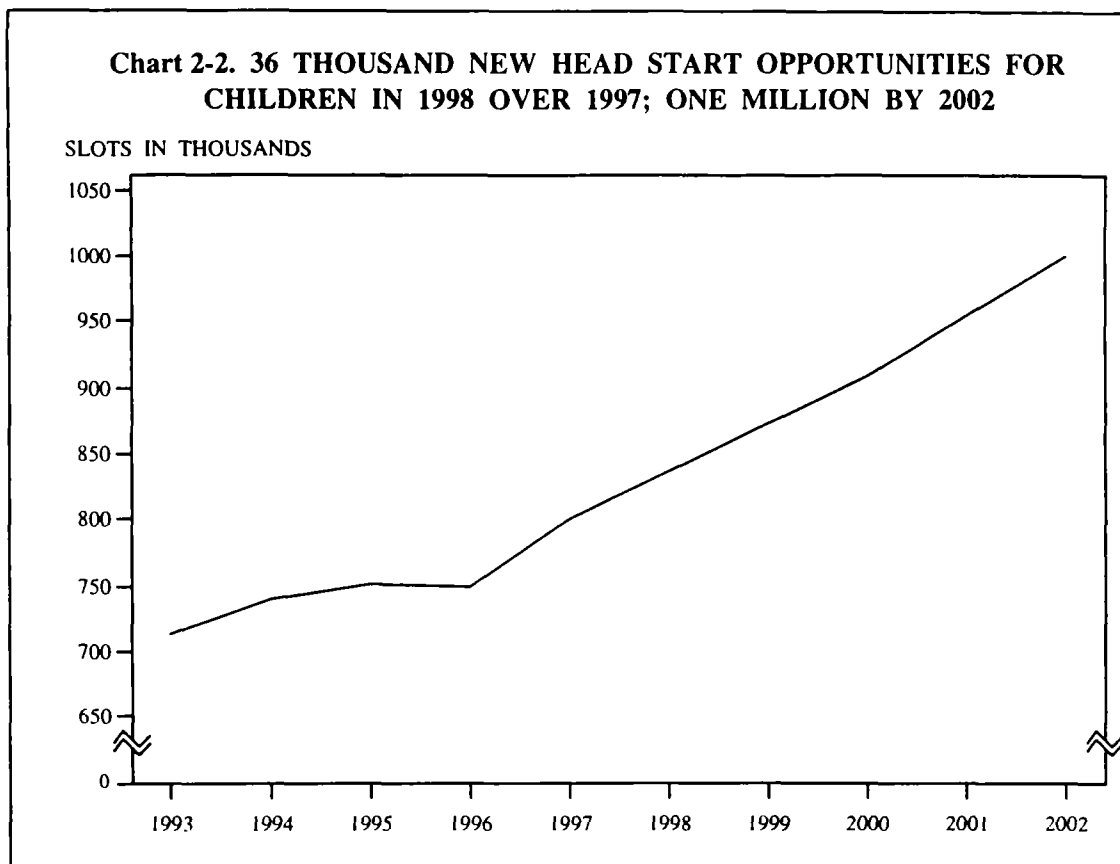
for all children. Administration initiatives launched in 1994 are designed to establish a framework for comprehensive reform and to help States finance their role in it. The goals include: high State standards for all children; new curriculum and teaching methods to help all children achieve those standards; teacher and administrator training to support the standards; assessments of each child's progress; and a safe, technologically up-to-date learning environment. The budget proposes to increase funds for programs that support these goals, and proposes more flexibility to enhance the success of State and community efforts.

School Construction: The General Accounting Office found that a third of all schools across the country, with 14 million students, have one or more buildings needing extensive repair. School districts also face the cost of upgrading schools to accommodate computers and modern technology, and of constructing new classrooms and schools to meet expected record enrollment levels over the next decade.

The President proposes to leverage new construction or renovation projects through a \$5 billion fund for school districts with substantial need. The fund would support interest subsidies or similar assistance to cut borrowing costs for States and localities in order to reach higher levels of infrastructure investment.

Goals 2000: Enacted in 1994, this Administration initiative helps participating States establish high standards for all children and plan and implement steps to raise educational achievement. It builds on the National Education Goals, first articulated by the Nation's governors (led by then-Governor Clinton) and President Bush in 1989, which provide clear national targets but encourage States to develop their own means to achieve them. All States have now chosen to receive Goals 2000 funding.

The program is working. In Maryland, 40 percent of all students met challenging State academic standards in 1995, a 25 percent gain over 1993. Over the next two years, the Education Department seeks to



ensure that at least half of all school districts are implementing reforms based on State-developed standards, and that the number of students meeting or exceeding their State's standards continues to rise. Goals 2000 also supports individual school reforms. The budget would finance aid for 4,000 more schools than in 1997—for a total of 16,000 schools. The budget provides \$620 million for Goals 2000, 26 percent more than in 1997. It includes \$15 million for parental information and resource centers in 42 States to help parents become more involved in their children's education and gain skills in child rearing through parent-to-parent training, hot-lines, and other activities. Each center also provides information and training to parents of pre-school aged children, either through the Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters or the Parents as Teachers program.

Charter Schools: One way to improve the quality of public schools is to introduce variety and competition into the system. Charter

schools are public schools that parents, teachers, and communities create—and that States free from most rules and regulations and, instead, hold accountable for raising student achievement. Begun as a grassroots movement in 1991, and supported by Federal start-up funds since 1995, charter schools now number over 400, and some are now showing results in higher student test scores and lower drop-out rates. For example, in the Vaughn Next Century Learning Center, a Los Angeles public charter school, median scores on a 4th-grade standardized reading test rose from the 19th to 37th percentile in one year. The budget proposes \$100 million for public charter schools, nearly double the 1997 level, in order to fund start-up costs for as many as 1,100 schools and to make further progress towards the President's goal of 3,000 schools by 2001.

Title I—Education for the Disadvantaged: Title I provides funds to raise the educational achievement of disadvantaged children. In 1994, the President proposed, and Congress adopted, changes to focus Title I re-

sources more on low-income children, to set the same high standards for those children as for all others, to hold schools accountable for progress toward achieving those standards, and to give States and schools great flexibility in using Title I funds. The budget includes \$8.1 billion for Title I, five percent more than in 1997.

Education Technology: Education technology can expand learning opportunities for all students, helping to raise student achievement, but many districts lack the resources to integrate technology fully into their school curricula. In February 1996, the President challenged the public and private sectors to work together to ensure that all children are technologically literate by the dawn of the 21st Century, with the communication, math, science, and critical thinking skills essential to succeed in the Information Age. The budget proposes substantial increases in two technology programs, for a total 1998 investment of \$500 million.

First, the President has committed \$2 billion over five years for the Technology Literacy Challenge Fund. For 1998, the budget proposes \$425 million, more than doubling the \$200 million that Congress provided in 1997. Second, the budget proposes \$75 million, 32 percent more than in 1997, for the Technology Innovation Challenge Grant program, which gives matching Federal funds to school-centered, public-private partnerships to develop and implement innovative applications of technology in the curriculum.

Teacher Training: The Eisenhower Professional Development program helps States invest in training teachers and other educators so that they can help all children reach the State's challenging academic standards. The President proposed, and Congress enacted, major improvements in 1994 to ensure that the training is of high enough quality and sufficient duration to pay off in the classroom. The budget increases funding to \$360 million, 16 percent more than in 1997.

Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities: Students can reach their full potential only in safe, disciplined learning environments. The Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities program helps 97 percent of school districts implement anti-drug and anti-

violence programs in our schools. It helps students resolve conflicts before they escalate into tragedy, teaches them the dangers of drug use, and helps schools increase security. The budget proposes to spend \$620 million for the program, 12 percent over the 1997 level, and to encourage States to adopt models of proven excellence.

Special Education: States have made real progress in giving children with disabilities a "free appropriate public education," as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) calls for. The Administration will propose amendments that will help improve educational results for children with disabilities by promoting accountability for performance and focusing resources on teaching and learning. The budget provides \$4.2 billion for special education, four percent more than in 1997.

Bilingual and Immigrant Education: The Bilingual Education program helps schools improve the quality of instructional services for limited English proficient (LEP) students, teaching them English and preparing them to meet the same challenging academic standards as all other students. The Immigrant Education program helps States with large concentrations of immigrant students who have recently arrived, helping to offset their financial impact on school systems. The budget proposes \$199 million for Bilingual Education and \$150 million for Immigrant Education, 27 percent and 50 percent more than in 1997, respectively.

Postsecondary Education and Training

Education beyond high school is increasingly a prerequisite for success in the rapidly changing job market. The rising rate of college attendance over the last half-century was fueled by State efforts to expand the public college system, and Federal efforts to help families pay for college. The post-World War II GI Bill was a watershed event in Federal investment in higher education, greatly increasing benefits for returning servicemen. Since then, through the Higher Education Act of 1965 and subsequent amendments, the Federal Government has vastly expanded grant and work-study aid to all low- and middle-income students, and made it possible for every American to borrow

enough money to attend college. The President wants to ensure that financial barriers to higher education continue to fall for all Americans. The budget provides substantial new support to low- and middle-income families through a new tax credit and tax deduction for education costs (see Chart 2-3).

HOPE Scholarships: More than ever, today's employers look for job applicants with more than a high school diploma. HOPE scholarships would make the 13th and 14th years of education the norm for students by offering, to most working families, up to a \$1,500 per student tuition tax credit for postsecondary education or training. Students would have to maintain at least a B average to receive the credit in the second year.

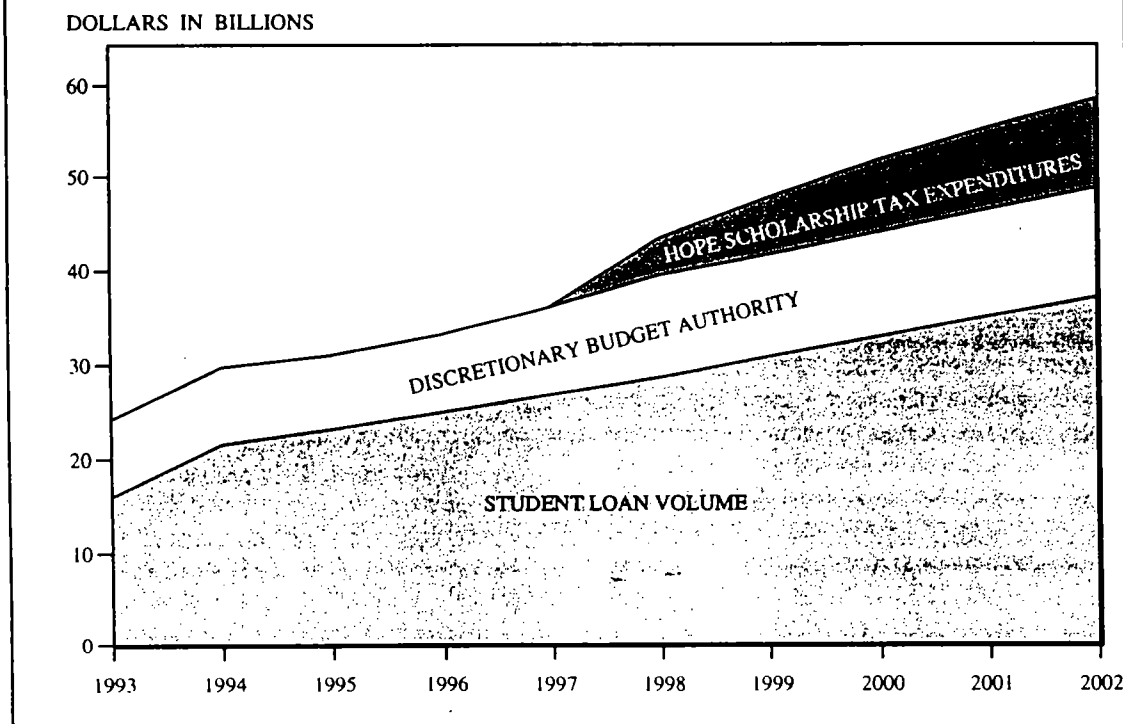
Tuition Deduction: To encourage Americans to pursue higher education and to promote lifelong learning, the budget proposes to give families a tax deduction for postsecondary tuition and fees of up to \$5,000 in 1997 and 1998, and \$10,000 starting in 1999. Together, the tuition deduction and HOPE scholarship

would put over \$36 billion back in the hands of Americans for education and training between 1997 and 2002.

Pell Grants: The President proposes to raise the maximum Pell Grant award by \$300, to \$3,000, marking the largest increase in two decades. The Administration's changes also would bring at least 348,000 more students into the program, reaching a total of over four million low- and middle-income undergraduates. Such help is particularly important to raise participation and graduation rates of low-income students. With Pell Grants, they are as likely to stay in school and earn a degree as middle-income students without grants.

Student Loans: An estimated 5.5 million individuals will borrow \$37 billion through the Federal student loan programs in 1998. Families at any income level can receive loans, but students who show greater financial need receive greater interest subsidies. The loans finance study toward undergraduate or graduate degrees, or short-term vocational training programs. The annual maximum loan amount

Chart 2-3. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WILL PROVIDE NEARLY \$60 BILLION IN STUDENT AID IN 2002, MORE THAN DOUBLE THE 1993 LEVEL



varies from \$2,625 for a first-year student financially dependent on his or her parents, to \$18,500 for a graduate or professional program student. Under this Administration, the rate of student loan defaults within the first two years after borrowers leave college has reached an all-time low.

Before 1993, students and parents paid fees of up to eight percent of their loan proceeds. The Student Loan Reform Act of 1993, which the President initiated, cut the fees to four percent and has already saved families nearly \$2 billion. The 1993 reforms also created the simpler, less costly, and more accountable Federal Direct Loan Program (FDLP), and gave borrowers a way to afford payments on their student loans based on their actual post-college income—which the existing guaranteed loan program could not do.

The budget proposes to cut the loan fees again—by half for needy students, and by a quarter for other students and parents. The budget also would continue to allow schools to choose to participate in either the FDLP or the guaranteed loan program—the Federal Family Education Loan Program (FFELP). In addition, it would reform FFELP to improve Federal management and give lenders and intermediaries financial incentives to prevent defaults. It also would ensure that all borrowers receive a variety of repayment options.

Presidential Honors Scholarships: The President proposes an achievement-based scholarship program, rewarding the best and the brightest of high school students. It would grant \$1,000 honors awards to the top five

percent of graduating students in every secondary school in the Nation, making clear the Government's commitment to excellence. The budget requests \$132 million for this program.

College Work-Study: Work-study gives students additional aid through subsidized jobs, including an increasing number of community service positions. The budget proposes \$857 million for Work-study, three percent more than in 1997, and continues the President's commitment to raise the number of Work-study recipients to a million by the year 2000, including 100,000 reading tutors to support America Reads.

G.I. Bill for America's Workers

For the past two years, the President has sought to dramatically overhaul the complex, inefficient structure of Federal job training programs through his proposed G.I. Bill for America's Workers. It would consolidate multiple programs into a single, integrated work force development system and provide Skill Grants (i.e., vouchers) to adults who need training so that they, not bureaucracies, choose where to get it. It also would streamline program administration, while improving accountability by freeing States and localities to focus on results, not process.

Although Congress did not enact these essential reforms, the Administration has pressed ahead to reform the job training system under current law. The Administration is making grants to establish One-Stop Career Center systems and School-to-Work systems; developing America's Labor Market Information System; expanding America's Job Bank to help match workers to jobs across the

The President's Principles for Work Force Policy Reform:

1. Give resources for training directly to adults so they can make informed choices, without bureaucratic interference.
2. Consolidate and streamline Federal programs for adults, organize them within the One-Stop Career Center delivery system, and ensure that the private sector is a full partner.
3. Ensure strong accountability to taxpayers by establishing high standards for program quality and giving States and localities responsibility for results.
4. Organize Federal programs for youth within the School-to-Work Opportunities Act systems being established in States and local communities.
5. Increase funding for work force development each year, commensurate with the needs of workers and the economy.

country; and implementing new authority to waive certain Federal legal and regulatory requirements in order to help States and local communities make changes to the job training system.

Comprehensive reform still requires legislation. The President will again seek legislation that reflects the principles of his G.I. Bill. Because enactment would not occur before the fiscal 1998 appropriations process begins in Congress, the budget presents funding proposals under the current program structure.

Youth Programs

The President is deeply committed to helping States and communities help young people make a successful transition to the world of work and family responsibility. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the budget includes major new proposals to eliminate financial barriers to postsecondary education and training for all youth. In addition, the budget continues to support the goal by helping States develop and implement their school-to-work systems. And it proposes additional resources to aid disadvantaged youth who have left school, or are on the verge of doing so, and have entered the labor force.

School-to-Work: This initiative, which the Education and Labor Departments fund and administer jointly, gives States and communities competitive grants to build comprehensive systems to help young people move from high school to careers or postsecondary training and education. School-to-Work supports reforms to the education system and its links to employers, so that young people can better prepare for high-skill, high-wage careers; receive top-quality academic and occupational training; and pursue more postsecondary education or training. Businesses get the trained workers they need to stay globally competitive. By 1996, 37 States and 133 local partnerships had already received grants to implement School-to-Work systems. The budget proposes \$400 million, maintaining the 1997 level, in accord with the strategy of phasing in School-to-Work in all States by early in the next decade.

After-School Program: Young people need access to after-school activities that keep them

off the streets and out of trouble. The Presidential initiative will provide \$50 million to keep public schools open during non-school hours, giving students access to after-school tutoring and other educational and recreational activities in a crime-free environment within their own communities.

Youth Opportunity Areas Program: Recognizing the special problems of out-of-school youth, especially those in inner-city neighborhoods where jobless rates can exceed 50 percent, the budget proposes \$250 million for new competitive grants to selected high-poverty urban and rural areas with major youth unemployment problems. The Labor Department would award funds to high-poverty areas, including designated Empowerment Zones or Enterprise Communities, based on the quality of the local applications—that is, those that show the best chance of substantially increasing employment among youth. These “seed” funds would leverage State, local, and private resources to sustain public-private efforts to train and employ youth in private sector jobs. (For more information on Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities, see Chapter 6.)

Summer Youth Employment and Training Program: The summer jobs program gives many urban and rural disadvantaged students their first work experiences, and localities may include an academic component that re-enforces the skills they have learned during the school year. The budget provides \$871 million to finance 530,000 job opportunities for the summer of 1998, assuming that localities spend this flexible funding entirely on summer jobs.

Disadvantaged Youth Year-Round Program: The year-round program helps low-income youth who have dropped out of school, are at risk of dropping out, or are in families on public assistance. The Administration will expand upon ongoing efforts to refocus this program to stress local programs of proven effectiveness. Local service delivery areas that receive these funds under the Job Training Partnership Act can shift resources between the summer and year-round programs, as local needs dictate. The budget proposes \$130 million for the year-round program.

Job Corps: The Job Corps provides intensive, work-related vocational skills training, academic and social education, and support services to severely disadvantaged young people in a structured residential setting. The budget proposes \$1.2 billion to fund opportunities for 70,000 young people.

Adult Programs

Most adults change jobs and get new skills by themselves or through their employers. But, many others—particularly welfare recipients and those permanently laid off from jobs—need help to get the services and information they need to successfully manage their careers. The budget proposes sizable new support for grants to States and localities to finance a training and employment system that adequately serves these adults, and helps build the job skills of American workers and job seekers into the 21st Century. These activities are the core of the adult portion of the G.I. Bill for America's Workers.

Dislocated Workers and Low-Income Adult Training: The budget proposes \$2.4 billion for Job Training Partnership Act programs that provide training, job search assistance, and related services to laid-off workers and economically disadvantaged adults, a \$233 million increase over 1997. The dislocated worker program provides readjustment services, job search assistance, training, and other services to help dislocated workers find new jobs as quickly as possible. The program for disadvantaged adults helps welfare recipients and other low-income adults, giving them the skills and support to become employed. States and localities likely will continue to use a sizable portion of these resources to supplement training for welfare recipients under the new

Transitional Assistance to Needy Families block grant. (For more information on this new block grant, and on the related Welfare-to-Work Challenge Fund and tax credit, see Chapter 7.)

Adult Education: The Adult Education program helps educationally disadvantaged adults develop basic skills (including literacy), achieve certification of high school equivalency, and learn English. In 1993–94, the program served over 3.75 million adult learners—over 1.4 million enrollments in adult basic education programs, about 1.1 million in adult secondary education programs, and over 1.2 million in English-as-a-second-language programs. The budget proposes \$394 million, nine percent more than in 1997 (and over 50 percent more than in 1996), to meet the demand for literacy training that the new welfare and immigration laws have stimulated.

One-Stop Employment Service: The budget proposes \$843 million for grants to the Employment Service—the Nation's public labor exchange—and \$150 million to continue building One-Stop Career Center systems to streamline re-employment and career development service delivery. To date, 24 States have received grants to implement One-Stop systems and nine more States will receive grants in July 1997. The budget would permit One-Stops to expand to all States in 1998. While the One-Stop grants provide seed money for systems-building and increased automation, Employment Service grants provide the core operating funds for the new system. They help States to match employers and job seekers, and to provide counseling and re-employment assistance to unemployment insurance claimants and others who need more help finding jobs.

Tab J

A Call to Action For American Education

In the 21st Century

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S CALL TO ACTION FOR AMERICAN EDUCATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

To prepare America for the 21st century, we need strong, safe schools with clear standards of achievement and discipline, and talented and dedicated teachers in every classroom. Every 8-year-old must be able to read, every 12-year-old must be able to log onto the Internet, every 18-year-old must be able to go to college, and all adults must be able to keep on learning.

We must provide all our people with the best education in the world. Together, we must commit ourselves to a bold plan of action:

- ✓ **Set rigorous national standards, with national tests in 4th grade reading and 8th grade math to make sure our children master the basics.**
- ✓ **Make sure there's a talented and dedicated teacher in every classroom.**
- ✓ **Help every student to read independently and well by the end of the 3rd grade.**
- ✓ **Expand Head Start and challenge parents to get involved early on in their children's learning.**
- ✓ **Expand choice and accountability in public education.**
- ✓ **Make sure our schools are safe, disciplined and drug-free, and instill basic American values.**
- ✓ **Modernize school buildings and help support school construction.**
- ✓ **Open the doors of college to all who work hard and make the grade, and make the 13th and 14th years of education as universal as high school.**
- ✓ **Help adults improve their education and skills by transforming the tangle of federal training programs into a simple skill grant.**
- ✓ **Connect every classroom and library to the Internet by the year 2000 and help all students become technologically literate.**

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S CALL TO ACTION FOR AMERICAN EDUCATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

In his State of the Union address tonight, the President will make clear that his number one priority for the next four years is to ensure that Americans have the best education in the world. He will issue a 10-point call to action for American education in the 21st Century to enlist parents, teachers, students, business leaders, local and state officials in this effort:

- ✓ **Set rigorous national standards, with national tests in 4th grade reading and 8th grade math to make sure our children master the basics.** Every 4th grader should be able to read; every 8th grader should know basic math and algebra. To help make sure they do, the President is pledging the development of national tests in 4th grade reading and 8th grade math, and challenging every state and community to test every student in these critical areas by 1999. These tests will show how well students are doing compared to rigorous standards and to their peers around the country and the world. They will help parents know if their children are mastering critical basic skills early enough to succeed in school and in the workforce. Every state and school should also set guidelines for what students should know in all core subjects. We must end social promotion: Students should have to show what they've learned in order to move from grade school to middle school and from middle school to high school. We must make sure a high school diploma means something.
- ✓ **Make sure there's a talented and dedicated teacher in every classroom.** In addition to the talented and dedicated teachers already in the classroom, two million new teachers will be needed over the next ten years to replace retirees and accommodate rapidly growing student enrollments. We must take advantage of this opportunity to ensure teaching quality well into the 21st Century by challenging our most promising young people to consider teaching as a career, setting high standards for entering the teaching profession, and providing the highest quality preparation and training. We should reward good teachers, and quickly and fairly remove those few who don't measure up. The President's education budget will make it possible for 100,000 master teachers to achieve national certification from the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards over the next ten years.
- ✓ **Teach every student to read independently and well by the end of the 3rd grade.** Reading is the key to unlocking learning in all subjects. While America's 4th graders read on average as well as ever, more than 40 percent cannot read as well as they must to succeed later in school and in the workforce. Research shows that students unable to read well by the end of the 3rd grade are more likely to become school dropouts and truants, and have fewer good options for jobs. The President's "America Reads" challenge is a

nationwide effort to mobilize a citizen army of a million volunteer tutors to make sure every child can read independently by the end of the 3rd grade. Parents, teachers, college students, senior citizens, and others can all pitch in to give children extra help in reading during the afternoons, weekends, and summers. At the same time, schools must strengthen the teaching of reading in the school day, and the President's budget invests more in programs that address reading achievement in school.

- ✓ **Expand Head Start and challenge parents to get involved early in their children's learning.** A child's learning begins long before he or she goes to school. That's why the President's budget expands Head Start to cover one million children by 2002. Parents are their children's first teachers, and every home should be a place of learning. The President and First Lady will convene a Conference this spring to review recent scientific discoveries on early child learning and to show how parents, teachers, and policymakers can use this new knowledge to benefit young children. And in June, the Vice President and Mrs. Gore will host their sixth annual family conference, and focus on the importance of parents' involvement throughout a child's education.
- ✓ **Expand choice and accountability in public education.** The President has challenged every state to let parents choose the right public school for their children. Innovation, competition, and parental involvement will make our public schools better. We must do more to help teachers, parents, community groups, and other responsible organizations to start charter schools—innovative public schools that stay open only as long as they produce results and meet the highest standards. The President's budget doubles funding to help start charter schools so that there will be 3,000 charter schools at the dawn of the 21st Century, providing parents with more choices in public education.
- ✓ **Make sure our schools are safe, disciplined and drug-free, and instill American values.** Students cannot learn in schools that are not safe and orderly and do not promote positive values. We must find effective ways to give children the safe and disciplined conditions they need to learn, such as by promoting smaller schools, fair and rigorously enforced discipline codes, and teacher training to deal with violence. We should continue to support communities that introduce school uniforms and character education, impose curfews, enforce truancy laws, remove disruptive students from the classroom, and have zero tolerance for guns and drugs. We should also keep schools open later as safe havens from gangs and drugs, expanding educational opportunities for young people in the afternoons, weekends, and summers, and providing peace of mind for working parents.
- ✓ **Modernize school buildings and help support school construction.** Just as we face unprecedented and growing levels of student enrollment, a recent report by the General Accounting Office shows that a third of our nation's schools need major repair or outright replacement. To keep children from growing up in schools that are falling down, the Administration has proposed \$5 billion to help communities finance \$20 billion in needed school construction over the next four years.

- ✓ **Open the doors of college to all who work hard and make the grade, and make the 13th and 14th years of education as universal as high school.** To prepare ourselves for the 21st Century, we must open the doors of college to all Americans and make at least two years of college as universal as high school is today. The President's HOPE scholarship, a \$1,500 tax credit for college tuition, would be enough to pay for a typical community college tuition or provide a solid down payment for four-year colleges and universities. The President also is proposing a \$10,000 tax deduction for any tuition after high school, an expanded IRA to allow families to save tax-free for college, and the largest increase in Pell Grants for deserving students in 20 years.
- ✓ **Help adults improve their education and skills by transforming the tangle of federal training programs into a simple skill grant.** Learning must last a lifetime, and all our people must have the chance to learn new skills. Adults should take on the responsibility of getting the education and training they need, and employers should support their efforts to do so. The President's G.I. bill for workers would provide a simple skill grant that would enable eligible workers to get the education and training they need.
- ✓ **Connect every classroom and library to the Internet by the year 2000 and help all students become technologically literate.** Our schools must now prepare for a transition as dramatic as the move from an agrarian to an industrial economy 100 years ago. We must connect every classroom and library to the Internet by the year 2000, so that all children have access to the best sources of information in the world. The President is proposing to double the funding for America's Technology Literacy Challenge, catalyzing private-public sector partnerships to put the Information Age at our children's fingertips. CEOs of some of America's most innovative technology and communications firms have already responded to the President's challenge to work with schools to get computers into the classroom, link schools to the Internet, develop effective educational software, and help train our teachers to be technologically literate.

NATIONAL STANDARDS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE

Student achievement is not improving fast enough. Across our nation—in our cities, suburbs, and rural communities alike—far too many students are still not meeting the standards that will prepare them for the challenges of today and tomorrow. What the top 20 percent of our students typically learn in math in the 8th grade is learned by most students in Japan in the 7th grade. And while America's 4th graders today on average read as well as ever, 40 percent cannot read as well as they should to hold a solid job in tomorrow's economy.

As a nation, we do not expect enough of our students. Strong schools with clear and high standards of achievement and discipline are essential to our children and our society. These standards of excellence are important to help instill the excitement, knowledge and basic values, such as hard work, that will set our children on the right track. Unfortunately, we currently give far too many of our students a watered-down curriculum inadequate to prepare them for the challenges of the global society and information age. For too many of our children, we create a tyranny of low expectations. A watered-down and boring curriculum and low expectations are the surest way of turning a child eager to learn into an angry, high school dropout who can't read.

Every child can learn. We know that every child in America can meet higher standards, if we have the courage and the vision to set the standards, to teach up to them, and to test whether children have learned what we taught. Every state and every school must establish meaningful standards for what students should master in the core subjects. Only with a standard measure of excellence can parents hold schools accountable for improved performance, teachers and principals improve curriculum and instruction, and students have a guide for charting their own progress.

Mastering the Basics: High National Standards in Reading and Math

Every 4th grader should be able to read independently; every 8th grader should know algebra. To help make sure they do, we are going to provide states and local schools the opportunity to participate in rigorous national tests based on these widely accepted standards for reading and math. By 1999, every state should test every student in the 4th and 8th grades to make sure these standards are met. No matter where they live and no matter their background, all our students must master the basics.

- ***Reading and math are critical starting points in our drive toward higher standards.***

It is essential that our students master the basics of reading by the end of 3rd grade. At 4th grade, students are expected to read so they can learn science, history, literature and mathematics. If they can read by then, they can read to learn for a lifetime. Students who

fail to read well by 4th grade often have a greater likelihood of dropping out and a lifetime of diminished success.

It is also important that our students master the basics of math and the essentials of algebra and even geometry by the end of 8th grade. They will then have the foundation to take college prep courses in high school and compete in the world arena. The United States ranks below average internationally in 8th grade math. We must do better.

A New National Test in 4th-Grade Reading and 8th-Grade Math

- ***The Clinton Administration will support the development by 1999 of rigorous national tests for use by individual students based on the widely accepted 4th-grade National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) reading test and the 8th-grade Third International Math and Science Study (TIMSS) test of mathematics.***

Although the national reading and math tests will be based on existing tests (National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in reading and the math portion of the Third International Math and Science Study (TIMSS)), new tests must be developed. NAEP and TIMSS test a random sample of students to produce estimates of overall statewide and nationwide student achievement; no one student takes the entire test. In contrast, the new tests will be expressly designed to produce individual student scores that will be useful for parents and teachers.

The new tests will be developed during 1997 and 1998, with a pilot test in the spring of 1998 and the first full administration in the spring of 1999. They will be updated annually. The US Department of Education will provide ongoing funding for the development of the test, and funding for administering and scoring it during the first year. Guidance for test development will come from the most successful math and reading teachers across the country, as well as from parents, governors, and local and state education, civic and business leaders.

- ***The Administration is challenging every state and local school across the country to participate in these tests so students, teachers, and parents will know how they are progressing.***

States and school districts can administer the test as part of their local testing program. After each test's administration, the entire test (along with answers and scoring guides) will be released, placed on the World Wide Web, and widely distributed with supporting materials, so students, parents and teachers can know what is necessary to reach standards of excellence. A new test each year will keep the content of the test current.

We need a national effort to ensure our students learn the basics and achieve world-class

standards of excellence in America's schools. These tests will help show us who needs extra help and which schools need to be improved.

- ***The Administration urges schools and teachers to work over the next two years to improve instruction and prepare their students for these tests by 1999.***

Preparing students for the national tests in 1999 means providing students the instruction they need to read independently and well by the end of 3rd grade. And it means ensuring that every student by the end of 8th grade has mastered the basics of mathematics and has had a good introduction to algebra and even geometry. While this will require parents, schools, communities and states to take a hard look at what teachers are now teaching and children are now learning, we know it can be done.

For example, the results on the 8th Grade Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) test showed that the United States is below average in mathematics achievement when compared with other countries. TIMSS also showed that U.S. students receive a less demanding and less focused curriculum, and instruction focused more on teaching mathematical procedures and less on helping students understand mathematical concepts. However, the **First in the World Consortium**, a group of 20 Chicago-area school districts that joined together to try to become the best in the world in math and science, defied these data, scoring among the top nations in science and second only to Singapore in math.

Developing Challenging Academic Standards in All Core Academic Subjects

Many states and school districts—along with thousands of educators, parents and business and community leaders—have been working to develop better academic standards for students. In almost every core subject, we are better off today because of their efforts in defining essential knowledge, skills and understanding in a range of subjects. But the work is not yet done.

**Places that Set High Standards Have Shown a Difference
In Student Achievement**

In 1993, the chancellor of the **New York City** Schools required all students to take math and science courses at the level of the state's Regents honors exam. In 1995, State Education Commissioner Richard Mills announced that all students would be required to take Regents-level classes starting with that fall's freshman class (the graduating class of 2000). Since the City University of New York (CUNY) began its College Preparatory Initiative with the district, the number of New York City freshman with four years of English has risen by 59 percent, the number of students passing CUNY math entrance exams has increased by 7.5 percent, and the number of Hispanic and black students who passed the science test has more than doubled. Entering freshman at the City University of New York are reportedly the best prepared academically in two decades.

Several important pieces of legislation developed by the Clinton Administration together with Congress support the efforts of local schools, communities and states to develop challenging standards and high-quality assessments and improve their teaching and learning to help all children reach those standards:

- The **Goals 2000: Educate America Act**, passed in 1994, is helping communities across the country raise academic standards, improve teaching, increase parental involvement and expand the use of technology in the classroom. Communities in all 50 states and thousands of schools have decided to participate in Goals 2000 and many more than the program currently has money to support want Goals 2000 funding to raise standards.
- The **Improving America's Schools Act of 1994** fundamentally reformed Title I—a \$7 billion program for teaching basic and advanced skills in high-poverty schools—to get rid of lower educational expectations for poor children and ensure that disadvantaged students are held to the same standards as other children. The Improving America's Schools Act also expands professional development focused on preparing teachers to help students reach the new standards, provides opportunities for waivers of federal requirements for the first time, and offers start-up funds for charter schools.
- The Clinton Administration's proposal for the **reauthorization of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA)** reinforces the importance of higher standards for *all* children, including children with disabilities.

While the federal government can provide support and leadership through its programs, the success of this drive toward high standards rests in the hands of teachers and parents, business, community and religious leaders, and others at the grassroots level. Every community, school,

and state needs to continue its work to develop challenging standards and high-quality assessments, measure whether schools are meeting those standards, cut red tape so that schools have more flexibility for grassroots reforms, and hold schools, teachers, and students accountable for results.

States Are Making Progress in Developing Standards and Improving Achievement in Critical Areas

Since the early 1980s, the United States has made significant strides in raising standards and improving student achievement. Across the country, 48 states are developing common standards in core academic subjects, and 42 states either have or are developing assessments to measure student progress towards those standards. The proportion of students taking the core courses recommended in *A Nation at Risk* (4 years of English, 3 years of social studies, 3 years of science, 3 years of math) has increased from 14 percent in 1982 to 52 percent in 1994. These efforts are beginning to pay off. The number of students passing advanced placement (AP) exams has more than tripled since 1982. Combined math and verbal Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores are at their highest since 1974, while the number and diversity of students taking the SAT has increased dramatically. American College Testing (ACT) scores have increased or held steady in each of the last four years. Math and science achievement on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) has risen since the early 1980s. And in states like Kentucky, which established comprehensive school improvements six years ago, student achievement is on the rise: more than 92 percent of Kentucky's schools posted achievement gains in 1995-96, and 50 percent of schools in the state met or exceeded their performance goals.

Holding Students and Schools Accountable for Reaching High Standards

It is not enough to set high standards; we must be willing to hold people accountable for meeting them. Our schools and teachers must give all children the help needed to meet high expectations. But we must also say: no more free passes. Today, only a handful of states in the country require young people to demonstrate what they've learned in order to move from one level of school to the next. Every state should do this and put an end to social promotion. No one in America should graduate with a diploma he or she can barely read.

Not only students should be held to high standards. Schools must also be held accountable for results. Despite the central importance of a school principal in leading a successful school, few states hold their districts accountable for having good principals in every school and then give the principals the authority they need to do the job. Too many school districts spend much too much money on central administration and too little money on education and instruction. It is time to

hold administrators, as well as educators, accountable for results.

- **Every diploma must mean something, and students should pass tests to move from one level of schooling to the next.**

Once we set high expectations for students, we must help them believe they can learn, challenge and motivate them so they want to learn, ask them to grasp challenging subjects, assess whether or not they're learning, reward them when they succeed and hold them accountable when they fall short. Every state should require a test for students to move from elementary school to middle school, or from middle school to high school or to receive a high school diploma. These tests should measure mastery of the basics and the rigorous material expected in these tough new standards.

Some children may not measure up at first and may need extra help to lift themselves up. Give them the extra help in afternoons, weekends and summers, keep schools open as homework centers, involve their parents more—do whatever it takes to encourage and help them master the basics and perform to the challenging standards we expect of them. If we believe all students can learn, we have to give them a chance to demonstrate it. Students, teachers, and schools will all perform better once we do.

- **We must begin holding schools and their states or school districts accountable for results.**

We must insist that schools and districts have good principals, recruit and hire talented teachers, reduce administrative costs, and provide more options for parents. Moreover, we should overhaul or shut down schools that fail, and allow new charter schools to start over in their place. The Clinton Administration is urging states and districts to use their authority under the reformed Title I program to hold schools accountable for the assistance they receive, including reconstituting chronically failing schools.

TALENTED TEACHERS IN EVERY CLASSROOM

Every community should have a talented and dedicated teacher in every classroom and at least one master teacher certified by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards in every school. Our most promising young people also must get encouragement and support to become teachers.

This nation faces several challenges in sustaining and upgrading the quality of our teachers. Two million teachers will be needed over the next ten years to replace retirees and accommodate rapidly growing student enrollment. This presents an enormous opportunity for ensuring teacher quality well into the 21st Century, if we recruit promising people into teaching and give them the highest quality preparation and training.

As we demand higher levels of knowledge and skills from our students, we must honor and support our teachers in the classroom today, equipping and expecting them to help our students master the basics and be prepared for college, employment, and good citizenship. Without quality teachers and teaching, our most serious efforts to raise standards and improve schools will not succeed.

Everyone has a role to play in helping our teachers become the best in the world. Parents, schools, community leaders, universities, state leaders—and most important, current and future teachers themselves—can take many steps to address this challenge.

- **Identify and reward our most talented master teachers.** For many years, many educators, led by North Carolina Governor Jim Hunt and the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, have worked hard to establish nationally accepted credentials for excellence in teaching. More than 400 of these master teachers have been certified since 1995. Under the President's budget, 100,000 more teachers will be able to seek certification from the National Board as highly accomplished master teachers—enabling at least one teacher in every school to get certification from this board. States, school districts, and the private sector can also establish rewards for master teachers and other excellent teachers they identify in such ways as through teacher-of-the-year competitions. School districts can call on these master teachers to become mentors for other teachers.
- **Do more to challenge talented young people and mid-career professionals in other areas to become teachers and help them make the transition into a teaching career.** Communities can start middle and high school academies for future teachers, and states can establish centers for teacher recruitment that bring promising students into teaching. States can make it financially easier for young people to teach in high-need areas through fellowships and loan forgiveness programs. School districts can make sure that beginning teachers get support and mentoring from experienced teachers. The Clinton

Administration will continue working to make college and teacher preparation more affordable for young people who go into teaching.

- **Reinvent teacher preparation for beginning teachers and professional development for more experienced teachers so they get the training they need to help students master the basics and reach high standards in the core academic areas.**

Colleges, universities and school districts must provide current and future teachers ongoing, sustained opportunities to learn how to be more effective and upgrade their skills. The Clinton Administration has supported their efforts by increasing funding that may be used for sustained professional development, stronger teacher standards, and performance evaluation for teachers. The

Eisenhower Professional

Development program, Goals 2000,

and the National Science Foundation's Teacher Enhancement Program also provide substantial support for high-quality professional development.

Teacher Recruitment—Starting Early

School districts and universities can work together to create middle and high school programs that expose young people to the teaching profession. For example, the South Carolina Center for Teacher Recruitment has reached thousands of academically talented high school juniors and seniors through its Teacher Cadet Program, offered in more than 140 schools statewide. Teacher Cadets study education and have the opportunity to teach younger students under the tutelage of both school and university faculty. The center also targets minority middle school students, encouraging them to take rigorous courses in school and aspire to a career in teaching.

- **Expand efforts to help teachers become technology literate and to use technology to improve training available to teachers.** The President's technology initiatives will play a major role in helping teachers to become technology literate. For example, the President's Technology Challenge Grant program supports private-public sector partnerships to develop models for using technology in education, such as providing "electronic field trips" for new teachers to learn from expert teachers and mentors around the country. Moreover, the Technology Literacy Challenge Fund will leverage public funds to target school districts and schools committed to helping teachers integrate technology into the classroom. Finally, the Clinton Administration's 21st Century Teachers initiative will recruit thousands of technology literate teachers to upgrade their knowledge and help at least five of their colleagues learn how to use technology in the classroom.
- **Set high standards to enter teaching and find ways to help—or quickly and fairly remove—teachers who don't measure up.** School districts and teachers can help start and participate in peer assistance programs where they help identify, and then provide intensive assistance to, burnt-out or low-performing teachers. School districts can

develop fair and faster processes for holding teachers accountable and assisting or removing teachers who are not making the grade. Educators and communities should not look the other way if a teacher is burned out or not performing up to standard. The Clinton Administration will share promising strategies for recruiting talented young people and others into teaching, rewarding good teachers, and quickly and fairly improving or removing teachers that don't make the grade. The Administration also will provide guidance to schools, districts, and states on how existing federal funds can be used to address these challenges.

Upgrading Teacher Skills: An Award Winning School

The Woodrow Wilson Elementary School, in Manhattan, Kansas, was established as a "professional development school" where current and future teachers can go for assistance in upgrading their skills and knowledge in math, science, and technology. The school helps teachers understand the widely acclaimed math standards developed by the National Council for Teachers of Mathematics, and prepares them to help students meet or exceed these standards. At the school, student test scores on the Kansas Mathematics Assessment Test have improved for the past three years, including especially strong gains for girls. The school recently was one of five schools to win a national award from the U.S. Department of Education for its efforts to give teachers the skills they need to help students succeed.

AMERICA READS CHALLENGE

"We ought to commit ourselves as a country to say that by the year 2000, 8-year-olds in America will be able to pick up an appropriate book and say 'I can read this all by myself.'"

Remarks by President Clinton to the Community of
Fresno, California, September 12, 1996

According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress, 40 percent of America's 4th graders are reading below the basic level—not nearly as well as they must to keep up with the complexities of today's jobs and society. We need to do a real push toward improving our efforts to help all children read.

While teachers and schools have the critical responsibility for making literacy and the basics a top priority, study after study finds that sustained individualized attention and tutoring after school and over the summer can raise reading levels when combined with parental involvement and quality school instruction. Reading with children at the youngest age, quality pre-school, and tutoring from pre-school to 1st, 2nd, and 3rd grade can work to help all our children read at an early age—but certainly by the end of the 3rd grade. If families, schools, community groups, employers and religious groups make improving the reading skills of children and adults a top priority from the earliest years of a child's life at home until he or she becomes a successful reader, then America can attain the goal of being a reading, literate society.

For this reason, in August 1996, President Clinton announced the **America Reads Challenge** to ensure that every American child can read well and independently by the end of 3rd grade. And he called on all Americans—parents, teachers, libraries, religious institutions, universities, college students, the media, community and national groups, business leaders, senior citizens—to join the effort to meet this challenge. Already, groups from JumpStart in Boston to the Reading One-One program in Richardson, Texas, have responded enthusiastically to the President's challenge.

The President has pledged \$2.75 billion over 5 years toward the America Reads Challenge which includes:

- ***America's Reading Corps*** of 1 million tutors to provide individualized after-school and summer tutoring for more than 3 million children in pre-K through 3rd grade who want and need extra reading help. Thirty thousand reading specialists and tutor coordinators, including Americorps volunteers, will mobilize and support this corps of 1 million volunteer tutors who will work with teachers, principals and librarians to help children succeed in reading.
- ***Parents as First Teachers Challenge Grants*** that invest in success by supporting

effective and proven local efforts, as well as regional or national networks, that assist parents who request help for their children to become successful readers by the end of 3rd grade. Research shows that reading to children in their first three years helps children learn words and concepts and actually stimulates physical development of the brain.

- ***Expansion of Head Start.*** The President's balanced budget will expand Head Start to reach one million 3- and 4-year-olds by the year 2002, while continuing the new 0-3 year-old Head Start initiative. The priority of providing all children with high-quality preschool responds to studies stressing that literacy problems are best averted with the earliest intervention possible, including pre-school.
- ***Support for 100,000 College Work-Study Students to Serve as Reading Tutors.*** Last year, the President signed into law a budget that increased the number of work-study jobs for college students by a third—enabling an additional 200,000 young people to work their way through college while serving their communities. The President has called for half of all new work study funds to support 100,000 college students to serve as reading tutors, thereby providing a unique opportunity for college students to be involved in helping young children learn to read. To encourage this activity, the Secretary of Education has waived the matching fund requirement for those students who perform work study through the America Reads project. Also, the President has called upon college presidents to rally other students and college resources to help America read.
- ***Accountability for Results.*** The Administration will use the improvements in the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) to provide an annual measure of the reading performance of 4th graders and their progress toward meeting the reading challenge.

A challenge to every parent, teacher, principal, and community member

The success of the America Reads Challenge depends on the involvement of all Americans—parents, teachers, principals, libraries, religious institutions, universities, college students, the media, community and national groups, cultural organizations, business leaders, and our senior citizens.

- ***Parents should read to their children 30 minutes a day.*** Even as babies, children are learning about language from their families. Parents need to turn off the TV, take their child to the library and get a library card, talk with teachers about their child's progress, and take time to read with their child at home. Parental involvement makes a real difference. According to a recent study, 4th-grade average reading scores were 46 points below the national average where principals judged parental involvement to be low, but 28 points above the national average where parental involvement was high.

- ***Schools should provide a high-quality reading program for all students***, including making sure teachers know how to teach kids to read and have the support they need to do so. They must also identify those students who need extra help. The America Reads Initiative is not a substitute for in-school reading programs. Instead, it is designed to build on the work of teachers and schools to improve their in-school reading programs, as well as on the Administration's investments in Title I, Even Start and other in-school programs to strengthen in-school teaching and learning.
- ***Community members*** should start an America Reads Challenge reading tutoring program at the local school, library, or community center or become a reading tutor after school, on weekends, and in the summer. The Clinton Administration, through the summer Read*Write*Now! effort, already has begun working with organizations like the Boys and Girls Clubs, the American Association of Retired People, and Reading is Fundamental to mobilize reading partners for children during the summer months.
- ***Businesses should work with schools and libraries***. The Administration also is working with the private sector in helping parents help their children learn to read, through the Partnership for Family Involvement in Education. Employers can help start a summer reading program in their community as part of the Read*Write*Now! effort to avoid the summer drop-off in reading.
- ***Colleges and universities*** should use half of their new funds for work study to provide reading tutors, and if all colleges meet this challenge, 100,000 work-study students in 1998 would be tutoring young children in reading. Already 60 college presidents have pledged almost 10,000 work-study slots in support of this goal, as well as thousands of other students to do community service as reading tutors.

AmeriCorps SLICE Corps, Simpson County, Kentucky

In this program, 25 AmeriCorps members provided intensive tutoring in reading to 128 2nd graders, helping the students improve their reading comprehension by an average of 2.8 grade levels over nine months. One-third of the students improved by more than three grade levels. Members visited each student's home every other week to show parents their children's reading materials, update them on the child's academic progress and offer tips on how to help their children read. The key is consistency. AmeriCorps SLICE members tutor students for the entire school year. As a classroom teacher said about one student: "[The student] is in his second year of being tutored by a SLICE Corps member. Last year he was very shy and withdrawn. He was very adept verbally but not so at reading and writing. This year his reading is better and he really enjoys writing. He's a real worker and seems to enjoy school much more. [The student's] parents are very interested in his school progress. They are willing to come whenever you call them and they spend time working with him on his school work. He has thrived on the individual attention that only a SLICE Corps member could give him."

Samuel W. Mason Elementary School, Boston, Massachusetts

Mason School, once cited in a 1990 *Boston Herald* article, with its then enrollment of 133, as "The Least Chosen Elementary School In The City", turned itself around through a variety of innovative approaches. The school has 296 students (43 percent African-American, 23 percent Cape Verdian, 14 percent Latino, 13 percent white, 3 percent Asian-American, 2 percent Native American). Twenty-four percent of the homes are non-English speaking. Reading has been a primary emphasis of Mason's improvement efforts. Teaching teams include Reading Recovery and Resource Room teachers. These teachers work with grade-level clusters in the morning to reduce the student-teacher ratio from 26:1 to 13:1. In the afternoon, the team works with the kindergarten and early childhood teachers in the early literacy program, "Bright Start," in groups of nine students. Title I reaches all students and doubles the time in reading instruction. Special attention is paid to learning styles, with emphasis on accelerated reading instruction and problem-solving activities. In 1995, Boston College's Urban District Assessment Consortium Project found that Mason's reading performance exceeded the average score for the City of Boston and for the other 11 urban school systems in the project.

What It Means to Read Well by 4th Grade

The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) defines three main levels of 4th-grade reading: basic, proficient, and advanced, and they help explain what it means to read well by the 4th grade. The following sample passage is from *Charlotte's Web*, by E.B. White. While not from the actual NAEP, it helps illustrate the kinds of skills expected of students at each level of comprehending a work of fiction:

Having promised Wilbur that she would save his life, she was determined to keep her promise. Charlotte was naturally patient. She knew from experience that if she waited long enough, a fly would come to her web; and she felt sure that if she thought long enough about Wilbur's problem, an idea would come to her mind. Finally, one morning toward the middle of July, the idea came. "Why how perfectly simple!" she said to herself. "The way to save Wilbur's life is to play a trick on Zuckerman. If I can fool a bug," thought Charlotte, "I can surely fool a man. People are not as smart as bugs."

- Students at the **basic** level are able to read the passage and tell what Charlotte promised Wilbur.
- Students at the **proficient** level are also able to describe why Charlotte thought she could fool Zuckerman.
- Students at the **advanced** level recognize that Charlotte compares waiting for ideas to entrapping a fly.

The following sample item from the 1992 NAEP exam helps illustrate the kinds of skills expected of students at each level in a text that presents information. The passage is from *Amanda Clement: The Umpire in a Skirt*, by Marilyn Kratz.

It was a hot Sunday afternoon in Hawarden, a small town in western Iowa. Amanda Clement was sixteen years old. She sat quietly in the grandstand with her mother, but she imagined herself right out there on the baseball diamond with the players. Back home in Hudson, South Dakota, her brother Hank and his friends often asked her to umpire games. Sometimes she was even allowed to play first base. Today, Mandy, as she was called, could only sit and watch Hank pitch for Renville against Hawarden. The year was 1904, and girls were not supposed to participate in sports.

- Students at the **basic** level are able to read the passage and tell what Mandy wanted to do.
- Students at the **proficient** level are also able to describe what was getting in the way of Mandy's dream.
- Students at the **advanced** level are able to generalize about how Mandy's experience might differ from a girl's experience today.

President Clinton's America Reads Challenge asks all Americans to pitch in and help children read so that by the time they reach the 4th grade, they can at least read at the "basic" level and many more than now are reading at the "proficient" level.

EARLY LEARNING

The latest research on the human brain and its development confirms what we have known for decades -- that the early years of children's lives are critical to their cognitive, emotional and physical development. Parents need to be their children's first teacher if their children are to start at school ready to learn.

Since the beginning of the Clinton Administration, early childhood investment has been a top priority. Over the last four years, the federal government has invested heavily in effective programs, increasing funding for Head Start by 43 percent. The Clinton Administration is committed to building on this progress to ensure that every parent is their child's first teacher and every child arrives at school ready to learn.

Expanding Head Start

- ***Head Start Helps Children Get Ready to Learn and Ready to Read.*** For more than 30 years, Head Start has been one of our nation's best investments in helping low-income parents be their children's first teacher, and in making sure that children start school ready to read and ready to learn. Head Start provides hundreds of thousands of three- and four-year old children cognitive, social and language development, comprehensive health services and healthy meals and nutrition. Head Start offers parenting skills, support, education and training to parents seeking to improve their circumstances and their children's chances of success.
- ***President Clinton's Budget Expands Head Start Participation to 1 Million Three and Four Year Olds.*** Today, 800,000 low-income children and their families -- but not all of those who are eligible -- have a chance to benefit from Head Start. The President's budget plan continues to expand enrollment so by the year 2002, one million of this nation's most disadvantaged children and families will have the chance for a Head Start.
- ***Head Start Works.*** Research findings overwhelmingly show that Head Start works. Last year, a Packard Foundation study reviewed nearly 150 separate studies of the Head Start program and concluded that it not only had the immediate impact of raising reading scores, but had the lasting effect of making students less likely to be held back a grade, less likely to be placed in special education classes, and more likely to graduate from high school. Even later in life, former participants were less likely to go on welfare or enter the criminal justice system.

- ***Parental Involvement Is The Bedrock of Head Start.*** Last year more than 800,000 Head Start parents demonstrated their commitment by volunteering in their local program. And they get a great deal in return: Head Start staff work closely with parents to help them build their skills, not only to become better parents but also to become contributing members of their community. Parents are taught the importance of reading to their children. When parents have difficulty reading, Head Start programs work with them to improve their literacy skills.
- ***Early Head Start and Quality Improvements Under the Clinton Administration.*** In 1994, the Clinton Administration established the **Early Head Start** program, providing tens of thousands of children ages zero to three and their families with family-centered and community-based services. Over the last three years, the Clinton Administration has also invested significantly in improving program quality, providing local programs with the resources they need to attract and retain high quality teachers and to improve the quality and safety of the Head Start centers.
- ***Family Literacy is a New Priority in Head Start.*** Under new standards developed by the Clinton Administration, family literacy is a new priority in Head Start -- all parents will be offered training to help them be involved in their children's education and to help them be their children's first teacher.
- ***The America Reads Challenge Will Build on the Strong Foundation Provided by Head Start.*** After-school and summer tutoring for young school-age children and for their older siblings and parents builds on what Head Start begins. Through the Head Start Transition Initiative, Head Start programs will dedicate at least one part-time staff person to work with local school systems, parents, child care providers and other members of the community to make sure children successfully make the transition from Head Start to public school.

Other Early Learning Opportunities

- ***America Reads Parents As First Teachers Challenge Grants:*** To make sure that every child can read well by the end of 3rd grade, the President's America Reads Challenge includes Parents as First Teachers Challenge Grants that will invest in proven efforts to provide assistance to parents who want to help ensure their children will read well. The grants will fund national and regional networks to share information on how parents can help children to read, and fund the expansion of successful local programs, such as the Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters (HIPPY) or the Parents as First Teachers (PAT) program. The President's proposal includes \$300 million over 5 years for these grants.
- ***White House Conference on Early Learning and The Brain.*** Thanks to the latest scientific research and discoveries, we now know much more about a child's cognitive, emotional and physical development in the first few years of life. For example, we now

know that reading to children in their first three years not only strengthens the emotional bonds between a parent and a child and helps children learn words and concepts, but that it actually stimulates their brain growth. The President and First Lady will convene a White House conference this spring to explore the implications of these scientific discoveries and research for parents and policy makers.

- ***National Prescription for Reading Campaign.*** In December 1996, the First Lady announced, along with representatives of the American Academy of Pediatrics, the American Booksellers Association, the American Library Association, and the Reach Out and Read program a national campaign to put books in the hands of parents who bring their young children to the doctor, and to get doctors to prescribe daily reading. Doctors and nurses across the country are beginning to "prescribe reading" to infants and young children because they know the impact reading has on babies and young children, and they have a unique opportunity at every check-up to encourage parents to read to their children daily.
- ***Vice President's Conference on Family and Learning.*** In June, Vice President and Mrs. Gore will hold their sixth annual family conference, this time on families and learning. We know that children learn best when their parents are active partners in the process. The conference will bring together leaders in the field of education, parents, teachers, and policy makers to build on successful examples of partnerships between families, schools and communities, including those that help children learn before they start school.
- ***Partnership for Family Involvement in Education:*** Over 2,000 family, school, community, employer and religious groups have joined with Secretary of Education Richard Riley to create the Partnership for Family Involvement in Education. The Partnership's activities include strengthening at-home activities that encourage reading, promoting and adopting family-friendly business practices such as providing leave time to attend parent-teacher conferences and volunteer in schools, and supporting learning communities through organized before- and after-school and summer activities.
- ***Goals 2000 Parent Resource Centers:*** In addition to involving parents in the development of state and local Goals 2000 education plans, the President's Goals 2000 program provides funding for each state to establish parent resource centers that help parents learn how to help their children achieve high standards. The centers coordinate existing programs, provide resource materials, and support a variety of promising models of family involvement programs. In fiscal year 1997, \$15 million in funding is available for support centers in 42 states, 14 more than in 1996.

CHOICE AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

One size does not fit all in American education. All students and their families need to be able to choose a public school that meets their needs, and schools must be given more flexibility in return for greater accountability to parents and the public for high standards. Public school choice and public charter schools are especially promising strategies for expanding options and accountability in public education.

Public School Choice

- ***States and school districts should provide public school choice plans*** that give every parent the ability to choose their child's public school. States and communities can provide parents with their choice of school within a district, state, or even of smaller schools-within-schools at their neighborhood public school. Local and state boards of education can encourage and support the development of charter schools, magnet schools and other choice strategies and undertake careful reviews of charter proposals to be sure they are of the highest quality. The President has challenged states to provide parents with more choice in their children's public education, and states and communities have been responding.
- ***Provide report cards on every school.*** States and school districts can publish in print and on the Internet report cards on every school, providing parents the information they need to choose their child's school. This can help parents compare things such as reading scores, graduation rates, class size, courses offered, number of teachers with advanced certification, safety records, and other key measures, with schools across the school district, state, and country.

Public Charter Schools

- ***Every state should pass a charter school law that enables parents and teachers to start new public charter schools that stay open only as long as they do a good job.*** These schools can be created by teachers, parents, community groups, businesses, universities, museums, and others. Done right, they can be tailored to meet the needs of their students and promote healthy competition within public education. State legislatures must enact solid charter school laws to support the creation of a sizable number of high-performing public charter schools, providing these schools with real flexibility while holding them accountable for reaching high standards for all children. Five years ago, there was only one charter school in America. Today, there are more than 400, and half the states have charter school laws.
- ***To support these efforts, the Clinton Administration, together with Congress, is expanding start-up funding for charter schools.*** The Administration has proposed nearly

doubling the charter school start-up grant program to \$100 million in FY 1998. The President initiated this fund in 1994 to address the most commonly cited obstacle to creating these schools—lack of access to start-up funding. The President's budget plan sets aside enough funding to quickly bring more choices in public education to students and their families, helping to start 3,000 charter schools over the next several years. The funding requested for FY 1998 alone would support the development of about 1,000 charter schools by teachers, parents, community groups, and other responsible organizations.

The Nation's First Charter School: A Teacher's Vision Becomes Reality

City Academy, in St. Paul, Minnesota, was the first charter school in the nation to open its doors. Founded by two teachers with assistance from many of the first year students, the school focuses on youth who have dropped out of school. City Academy, placing a heavy emphasis on student responsibility and decision making, is a small school with a personalized learning environment and has had significant success. Most of the students, all former drop outs, have graduated and gone on to some kind of postsecondary education. Like most charter schools in Minnesota, this school was started "from scratch," rather than converted from an existing school. The school's director is also helping teachers in other states to create charter schools.

- ***The Clinton Administration will assist local teams of parents, teachers, community leaders, and others to develop successful public charter schools.*** The Clinton Administration will support regional meetings, helpful guidebooks, summer institutes, and a World Wide Web site to help provide the information and assistance needed to start high-quality schools, including developing the rigorous performance benchmarks by which schools may be held accountable.

Accountability

- ***Fix failing schools quickly and directly—even if it means closing them and then reopening them in a way that meets the needs of students, parents, and communities.*** Clear standards can be set to evaluate the success or failure of schools, and school districts and states can intervene when schools are not meeting these standards. These efforts should take advantage of the new approach to accountability in Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act—the largest federal program in K-12 education—which now requires states and school districts to intervene in low-performing schools with such strategies as intensive technical assistance, mentoring, reconstituting failing schools, or

creating new charter schools.

School districts can support and reward principals and teachers who establish an atmosphere of learning, a system of accountability, and a spirit of adventure that help students learn. At the same time, school districts can find ways to improve or remove teachers or principals who are not making the grade. In return for greater accountability, principals and teachers, in turn, should be given the authority and support they need to do a good job.

Holding Schools Accountable for Results

Maryland has held its schools accountable for results by putting in place a system for taking over schools with low student attendance rates and achievement on state assessments. Low-performing schools are first given the opportunity to improve based on a state approved plan. Though no schools have yet been taken over yet, the focus on accountability is making a difference. After being identified as low-performing, Patterson High School in Baltimore hired a new principal who focused her team on increasing student achievement by reorganizing instruction and the school day. As a result, attendance has risen, more students passed the state's graduation test, and more seniors graduated than in prior years.

Greater flexibility

- ***In return for accountability, the Clinton Administration has pressed for greater flexibility and local decision making in the use of federal program funds.*** Drawing on their experiences as former governors, both President Clinton and Secretary of Education Richard Riley came to Washington strongly committed to increasing flexibility for states and communities, cutting red tape, and supporting states and communities in their own education improvement efforts. Since 1993, they have implemented the Goals 2000 program with no new regulations, cut nearly 80 percent of elementary and secondary education program regulations, approved over 140 waivers of requirements of major federal education programs, and cut the required paperwork to receive student loans. In addition, they have given nine states the authority to grant waivers of federal requirements for their own school districts and made over 20,000 schools eligible to combine most of their federal funds to support schoolwide reform, freeing them from most federal requirements.

SAFE, DISCIPLINED, AND DRUG-FREE SCHOOLS

We cannot educate our children in schools where weapons, gang violence and drugs threaten their safety. For students to learn well, their schools must be disciplined and feel safe. While most schools do provide a secure learning environment, a growing number of schools in all types of communities—urban, suburban, and rural—are experiencing problems with violence and with alcohol and drug use.

Fortunately, schools, parents, and communities are finding practical ways to provide children the safe and disciplined conditions they need and should expect to find in school, such as by promoting smaller schools, respectful communities, fair and rigorously enforced discipline codes, teacher training to deal with violence, school uniforms, and after-school programs that keep kids productive and off the streets.

As a nation, we too must do everything possible to ensure that schools provide a safe and secure environment where the values of discipline, hard work and study, responsibility, and respect can thrive and be passed on to our children. We have a basic, old-fashioned bottom line. We must get drugs and violence out of our schools, and we must put discipline and learning back in them.

Ensuring Safe, Disciplined and Drug-Free Schools

The Clinton Administration challenges all schools to have in place high standards of discipline and behavior with tough measures to keep guns and drugs out: a “zero tolerance” policy. In October 1994, the President signed into law the **Gun-Free Schools Act**, and issued a Presidential Directive later that month to enforce “zero tolerance” in our schools: If a student brings a gun to school, he or she does not come back for a year.

In last year’s budget, the President successfully protected the **Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Program**, which now provides school security, drug and violence prevention and education programs in 97 percent of America’s school districts.

We must continue working to ensure that every child, every teacher, and the community can feel safe in and around the school building.

- *Schools should consider adopting uniform policies.* School uniforms are

In 1994, the Long Beach, California School District implemented a mandatory school uniform policy for nearly 60,000 elementary and middle school students. District officials found that in the year following implementation of the policy, overall crime decreased 36 percent, fights decreased 51 percent, sex offenses decreased 74 percent, weapons offenses decreased 50 percent, assault and battery offenses decreased 34 percent and vandalism decreased 18 percent.

one way to deter school violence, promote discipline and foster a better learning environment. The Administration sent a *Manual on School Uniforms* to the nation's 16,000 school districts last year. The manual is a road map for communities and schools that want children in their schools to wear uniforms and is a vital source of information about successful programs.

- ***Communities should enforce truancy laws.*** One of the most effective ways to reduce juvenile crime is to crack down on truancy. The Administration has also provided every school district in the country with a *Manual to Combat Truancy* to help communities establish fair and effective laws to reduce truancy and keep kids in school and off the streets.
- ***Keep schools open late.*** The President's budget includes a new initiative to provide additional safe havens and extended learning opportunities for children and their families at schools around the country. The initiative will help highlight how after-school, summer and weekend programs in Community Learning Centers can get us "back to basics" and foster active community involvement. Keeping schools open late can help give young people a safe haven from gangs and drugs, and provide peace of mind for working parents.

Bringing in Parents to Increase Safety

Fathers at Beech Grove City Schools in Indiana have joined together to be "Security Dads" attending school-sponsored sporting events, dances and other student activities. "Security Dads" ensure proper behavior, evict troublemakers when necessary, and generally keep the peace. As a result of this effort, parental involvement in their children's education has increased and student behavior has improved.

Making Schools Places for Values, Not Violence

Schools are a place for values, not violence. They must teach the basic American values of respect, hard work, and good citizenship.

- ***Promoting character education as part of every curriculum.*** We cannot raise standards in every other subject if we fail to teach our children good values and how to be good citizens. Toward this end, the President has hosted two White House Conferences on Character Education and has encouraged the development of character education through the Improving America's Schools Act.

- ***Protecting the religious freedom of students and reaching out to America's religious community to support the learning of young people.*** With the support of a diverse group of religious and school leaders, Education Secretary Riley issued guidelines in August 1995 making clear that students' religious rights do not end at the schoolhouse door. As a result of these guidelines, the National School Boards Association has reported a dramatic drop in the need to help school officials clarify what is allowed in public schools when its students practice their religion. In addition, 33 religious communities representing 75 percent of religiously affiliated Americans signed onto the Partnership for Family Involvement in Education. Two successful religion and education local summits also brought together religious leaders, school officials, and the leadership of community organizations and businesses.
- ***Promoting greater parental involvement.*** Thirty years of research shows that greater parental involvement in children's learning is a critical link to achieving a high-quality education for every student. Through the Partnership for Family Involvement in Education, the Department of Education has played a critical role in helping schools to be more welcoming and inviting to families; encouraging employers to provide ways for parents and employees to be involved in education, including volunteering in their local schools; and expanding the support that youth, community, cultural and religious groups are giving to back greater family involvement in education. Over 2,000 employers, schools, religious, and community groups—including the Urban League, Hadassah and Pizza Hut—have joined the Partnership and have pledged to support the education of children and the involvement of their parents.

Service in Support of Safety

In Los Angeles, AmeriCorps members are working with thousands of students to reduce school violence. AmeriCorps members mentor and tutor 2,000 community youth, train them in conflict resolution skills, and help establish after school programs.

- ***Promoting community service by high school and college students through Learn and Serve and AmeriCorps.*** AmeriCorps is the new domestic Peace Corps that involves Americans of all ages getting things done to meet community needs. In just two years, AmeriCorps has given more than 50,000 Americans an opportunity to serve their country. The vast majority of AmeriCorps members are working on the critical problems of children and youth. They tutor, mentor, organize after-school programs, teach violence and drug prevention, and organize safe havens and safe corridor programs. National service promotes core values of hard work, self discipline, and personal responsibility. It

encourages people to give something back to their country. And it teaches its members to take responsibility for others, not just for a year, but for a lifetime.

Through Learn and Serve America, more than a half million students from kindergarten through graduate school are helping their communities and proving their academic skills in the process. They are learning citizenship in a direct and vital way, not by textbooks, but by service, by working on real problems in society. The skills and habits they develop—teamwork, self-discipline, initiative—will help them become productive workers as well as responsible citizens. We must spread and develop this idea in every school, college and university, to engage an increasing number of students in America.

The Clinton Administration challenges all students, schools, parents, communities, religious and other groups to do what they can to make all our schools safe, disciplined and drug-free environments to engage and motivate students to learn, and to teach the values of hard work and respect.

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION AND MODERNIZATION

American schools face the twin pressures of rising enrollment and deteriorating buildings. To be ready for the 21st Century, our children's schools should be safe and spacious places to learn. The schools of the future should be equipped with computers, new media and state-of-the-art science labs. Clean, well-maintained, up-to-date schools send every student a clear message: you are important to us. We take your education seriously. In order to keep faith with our children, we must ensure that our schools are prepared for the next century.

Distressingly, today our nation's schools, many built 50 years ago, are increasingly run-down, overcrowded and technologically ill-equipped. Too many school buildings and classrooms are literally a shambles. According to a report of the General Accounting Office, one-third of our schools need major repair or outright replacement; 60 percent need work on major building features—a sagging roof, or a cracked foundation; and 46 percent lack even the basic electrical wiring to support computers, modems, and modern communications technology. These problems are found all across America, in cities and suburbs and one-stoplight towns.

We have high expectations of our students, teachers and schools. But we cannot expect our children and our teachers to build strong lives on a crumbling foundation. In order to keep faith with our children, we must ensure that our schools are prepared for the next century. This is a matter of real urgency. This year our schools opened their doors to the largest number of students in the history of our republic—51.7 million. And enrollment is expected to continue to rise over the next ten years, breaking all previous enrollment records.

Because of the unique circumstance of record enrollments and often run-down school buildings, the President has proposed that the federal government for the first time join with states and communities to modernize and renovate our public schools. The President's budget calls for \$5 billion over the next four years to help pay for up to half the interest that local school districts incur on school construction bonds, or for other forms of assistance that will spur new state and local infrastructure investment. This financing assistance can help to spur \$20 billion in new resources for school modernization—a 25 percent increase above current levels over the next four years.

The Broward County, Florida, Public Schools already ranks among the largest school systems in the nation with more than 218,000 students, and it continues to grow at a phenomenal rate (the district estimates it is adding 10,000 more students a year). Although the district added 37 new schools and refurbished many existing schools over the past seven years, the district's projected capital needs over the next seven years total \$2.4 billion. Funding from identifiable sources to date totals only \$1 billion, leaving a shortfall of \$1.4 billion. The county's use of 2,144 portable classrooms has earned it the nickname "the portable capital of the world." Thousands of other students attend classes in areas intended to be music and science rooms, labs or auditoriums. Meanwhile, the space crunch is impeding the system's efforts to make greater use of technology in the classroom, including meeting the superintendent's goal of providing a minimum of four computers in every classroom for student use and one computer for teacher use.

This school construction initiative is flexible. It will give communities and states the power to decide how to use the new resources. It will help those who help themselves—requiring local communities to take responsibility for this effort. And it will focus on sparking new projects, not merely subsidizing existing ones.

The federal government will do its part by subsidizing the interest that communities incur on school construction bonds or other financing mechanisms — making it cheaper and easier for communities to finance school construction.

Communities— with appropriate assistance from states—must do their part by making a commitment in investing in their schools. They must approve and pay for local bond issues needed to repair old schools and build new ones. And they must provide adequate maintenance for today's schools so that they can continue to serve students into the next century.

OPENING WIDE THE DOORS OF COLLEGE

Today, more than ever before in our history, education is the fault line between those who will prosper in the new economy and those who will not. Most of today's good jobs require more skills and training than a high school diploma affords. Over half the new jobs created in the last three years have been managerial and professional jobs requiring higher-level skills. Fifteen years ago the typical worker with a college degree made 38 percent more than a worker with a high school diploma. Today, that figure is 73 percent. Two years of college means a 20 percent increase in annual earnings. People who finish two years of college earn a quarter of a million dollars more than their high school counterparts over a lifetime.

One of the great challenges of our time is making the dramatic economic changes occurring all over the world benefit our young people and open opportunities for our older adults as well. While many people were managing to find education and training that prepared them for high-skilled jobs without a college degree, too many young people lost their way between high school and the world of work. And for those who are academically prepared for college, the cost limits access for many working families and middle-income families, just as it does for low-income families. The average cost of a public college increased from 9 percent of the typical family's income in 1979 to 14 percent in 1994.

We must make two years of college—the 13th and 14th years of education—as universal for young Americans as the first 12 are today. And, we must make college more affordable for all Americans. To support these goals, the President has already initiated an unprecedented college opportunity strategy that will make college more accessible and affordable to Americans than at any time in their lives, while also reducing fraud and abuse and reducing costs to taxpayers.

Over the next five years, the **President's budget will more than double the federal commitment to postsecondary education from the time he entered office—going from \$24 billion a year in 1993 to \$58 billion in 2002—opening up the doors to college for millions of students.**

The Direct Lending Program

The Direct Loan program, signed into law by President Clinton in 1993, gives student loans directly to people who need them, with new flexible repayment plans. This dramatic change is making loans to students and their families more affordable and debt more manageable, providing borrowers and participating schools with a simple, more automated and accountable system, while saving taxpayers billions of dollars. In its third successful year, the program will provide \$10 billion in loans at over 1,600 schools. More than 2.1 million student and parent borrowers have received direct loans since the program began. During the 1996-97 academic year, it is expected that Direct Loans will make up approximately 36 percent of federal student loans.

An important aspect of the new Direct Loan program is that it provides students the ability to repay their loans as a percentage of their income -- **income-contingent repayment** -- to encourage community service, and to make debt more manageable and to reduce defaults. As of November 1996, nearly 100,000 borrowers with loans totaling \$1.5 billion have consolidated into direct lending. About three-quarters of these borrowers are selecting non-standard repayment options with 52 percent selecting income-contingent repayment.

Through the legislation that created the Direct Student Loan program we were able in 1993 to **reduce by 50 percent (from 8 percent to 4 percent) the student loan fees** that lenders and guarantee agencies were allowed to levy on student borrowers. But we need to do more. We propose to further reduce these fees in both the new Direct Student Loan and the older Federal Family Education Loan programs, cutting loan fees from 4 percent to just 2 percent on need-based Stafford loans, and to 3 percent on other loans for students and parents. Furthermore, because the Congressional Budget Office and other analysts have noted that lender costs are very low during the in-school period, when students are not required to make payments on their loans, we propose to reduce the interest rate paid to lenders during that period by one percentage point.

Increasing Grant Aid Available to Students – Pell Grants

The Administration has worked hard to increase funding for student financial aid programs. Aid available to students increased by \$12 billion between 1993 and 1997—an increase of 48 percent. This year, aid available to students will increase by an additional \$3.4 billion for a record total of \$36 billion (excluding consolidation loans) benefiting an estimated 8.1 million students in 1998.

Pell Grants are the most important form of student financial aid for the nation's neediest students. In the decade preceding 1992, funding for this critical program did not keep pace with inflation, which seriously eroded the Pell Grants' purchasing power. The Clinton Administration began immediately in 1993 to restore fiscal integrity to this program at a time when it had been allowed to accumulate a projected internal program deficit of over \$2 billion. After eliminating that program deficit, the President secured bipartisan support for the largest Pell Grant increase in recent history, a \$230 increase (9 percent) in the maximum grant to \$2,700 by FY97. This represents a full \$400 increase, more than 17 percent, in the maximum grant since 1993.

We now are proposing to increase the maximum award from \$2,700 to \$3,000, as well as greatly expand eligibility to older independent students. Increasing the maximum award to \$3,000 provides more aid to currently eligible students, and makes an additional 130,000 students eligible for the grants. The President's budget also expands the eligibility of low income students age 24 and older. This change will make an additional 218,000 students eligible for Pell Grants, and expand aid for over 890,000 students by an average of \$800. These changes, contained in the President's balanced budget, will increase Pell Grant funding by \$1.7 billion in fiscal year 1998, a more than 25 percent increase over current funding levels.

HOPE Scholarship and Other Tax Benefits: Making the 13th and 14th years of education—at least two years of college—as universal in America as high school is today.

The President's plan includes five tax benefits for middle-class students and families that accept the responsibility to pursue additional education for their children and themselves. We believe that not only will these students and families reap substantial personal and financial benefits from these education incentives, but these investments will also pay a huge long-term dividend to the country. For much of the 20th century, tax policies included incentives to invest in capital and equipment. At the beginning of the 21st century—the education and information age—we must create incentives to invest long term in education and human capacity.

HOPE Scholarships. A centerpiece of President Clinton's HOPE and Opportunity Agenda for higher education is the proposed **HOPE Scholarship tax credit**, which offers two years of tuition at the typical community college for any student enrolled at least half-time. It provides students with a maximum \$1,500 tax credit for tuition and required fees in their first year, and another \$1,500 in their second year if they work hard, stay off drugs, and earn at least a B minus average in their first year. This \$1,500 tax credit will pay the full cost of tuition at a typical community college—essentially making community college free or nearly so for every student. In 1998, this credit is expected to help 4.2 million middle-income students pay for college.

Although the HOPE Scholarship tax credit is priced to pay the full cost of two years of tuition at a typical community college, the credit can be applied to tuition at any college, including four-year public and private colleges. The credit would be a substantial down payment for parents sending their children to four-year colleges with higher tuition. Students receiving tax credits would still be eligible for other federal student aid, including student loans, Pell Grants, and Work Study. However, the maximum tax credit would be \$1,500 minus any federal grants awarded to the student.

The proposal builds on the enormously successful HOPE Scholarship program in Georgia, which guarantees any student in the state of Georgia free college as long as they have earned a B average and stay off drugs. This year the scholarships are helping 80,000 students—including 70 percent of the freshman class at the University of Georgia.

The HOPE scholarship tax credit will help open the doors of college opportunity to every American who works hard and makes the grade, regardless of that student's ability to pay, since education at the typical community college will now essentially be free. The program also makes it clear that with opportunity comes the responsibility to work hard and achieve at a high level. This benefit will initially be available without restrictions tied to previous academic performance but the continued benefit will be reserved for those people who, by definition, are willing to work for it. It's America's most basic bargain: we as a nation will help create opportunity if you'll take responsibility.

\$10,000 Tax Deduction for Education and Training. We have also proposed a tax deduction

of up to \$10,000 per family per year for tuition and fees (minus grants) for college, graduate school, community college and certified training and technical programs. In 1998, 8.1 million students stand to benefit from this proposal for tax relief in 1998.

Students eligible for both the tax credit and the tax deduction would choose one or the other, although students benefiting from the tax credit in the first two years would still be eligible for the deduction in later years. Because the tax proposals are meant to help working families and low- and middle-income students pay for college, eligibility for both the tax credit and the tax deduction would be phased out for joint tax filers with incomes between \$80,000 and \$100,000 and for individual filers with incomes between \$50,000 and \$70,000.

Tax-Free Education Savings Accounts. We have proposed greater flexibility in using Individual Retirement Accounts so that all funds saved in these accounts can be used for postsecondary education expenses free from early withdrawal tax penalties. In addition, our proposal makes more than 20 million families eligible for tax-deductible IRA contributions by substantially extending the income cutoffs for IRA participation. Currently, if an individual or spouse participates in an employer's retirement plan, eligibility is phased out for taxpayers filing a joint return with adjusted gross income between \$40,000 and \$50,000 (between \$25,000 and \$35,000 for single taxpayers). The proposal would expand the phase-out ranges to match the ranges described for the HOPE Scholarship tax credit and \$10,000 deduction. Families who save through an expanded IRA, and then use the savings for higher education, can deduct up to \$10,000 of their withdrawals a year, making savings for college virtually tax free for middle-class families.

Tax-Free Forgiveness of Educational Debt for Public Service and Income-Contingent Student Loan Repayment. We propose that the tax law be changed to allow that the forgiveness of a student loan extended by a charity or educational institution not be counted as income, if it is forgiven as part of a program that enables graduates to work in public service professions. We also plan to apply the same tax treatment to forgiveness provided through our income-contingent repayment plan.

Extension of Tax Benefit to Employees Who Receive Employer-Provided Education Assistance (Section 127). We propose reinstating through the year 2000 the current exclusion from an employee's income of up to \$5,250 per year of postsecondary educational assistance provided by an employer for undergraduate and graduate students. In addition, for 1998-2000, small businesses would be given a new incentive to provide educational assistance to their employees through a 10 percent tax credit for amounts paid under an employer-provided educational assistance program for education provided by a third party.

Other Forms of Aid

National Service Corps. Through creation of the National Service Corps, more than 70,000