A summary of some of the major events in education that occurred in 1990 in the United States, France, the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China, is presented. The events discussed fall into the following categories: teachers and teacher education; U.S. Department of Education; school restructuring, choice, and vouchers; higher education; international education; and retrospective impressions of U.S. education events, 1910-80s. (DB)
Education Events Summary 1990: U.S./World

Franklin Parker
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U.S. Education Goals (Bush, Governors). Pres. Bush, who began the goal-setting process with state governors at an Education Summit, September 27-28, 1989, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, listed these 6 national education goals in his January 29 State of the Union address: (1) preschool education so that every child can start school ready to learn; (2) high school graduation rate of 90 percent; (3) national testing of student performance in critical subjects (math, English, science, history, and geography) in grades 4, 8, and 12; (4) first in the world in science and math; (5) every adult a skilled, literate worker and citizen; and (6) every school a drug free, disciplined place for learning.

Observers praised Bush for prodding the nation toward ambitious education goals. Others said he offered no blueprint and insufficient federal funds to reach these goals. U.S. students could not leapfrog their now near bottom position among industrialized nations in math and science, not when 50 percent more math and science teachers were needed and when 20 percent of U.S. children were living in poverty. Nor could the current national high school graduation rate of 72 percent possibly rise to 90 percent in 10 years (major cities graduate only about 55 percent). Others said that the $239 million for adult literacy in the Bush budget, while it was a 25 percent increase, would not wipe out illiteracy of the estimated 13 percent of adults unable to read well enough for daily activities. Also, the $500 million Bush budget increase for Head Start, now reaching only 20 percent of eligible children, would reach only 70 percent of all 4-year-olds. "Tepid incrementalism," said Democratic House Speaker Thomas Foley of Pres. Bush's 2 percent education budget increase, noting that the U.S lags behind other industrial nations in per capita K-12 education spending.

The National Governors' Association (NGA) endorsed the 6 national education goals on February 24; added grades 4, 8, and 12 assessment in English, math, science, history, and geography and added 21 specific educational objectives. White House Domestic Policy Advisor Roger B. Porter and NGA's Education Task Force chairmen shaped the 6 education goals. (Parental choice of schools, urged as a national goal by the administration, was vetoed by Arkansas' Democratic Gov. Bill Clinton, NGA Education Task Force co-chairman, who did not want to raise the ire of his party or of the National Education Association.) In late July, the NGA established a National Education Goals Panel to monitor and report annually from September 1991 on progress toward the goals. Each state will also report on its progress toward the goals. In October, the panel
considered how national assessment (testing) could be applied fairly to students in states with varying education systems. Congress, state legislators, and the National School Boards Association, annoyed at being excluded from the goal setting process, were concerned about how education goals would be financed and how local control would be retained.

Pres. Bush also has an advisory panel on education policy which, at its late November meeting, discussed creating national tests at the fourth grade in reading and math. National goals, a panelist said, will be meaningless unless we measure how well students achieve them. Instead of creating new tests, another panelist countered, we need to find ways to motivate students. National exams were discussed by the panel and also by the National Center on Education and the Economy.

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**1990 Summary.** Teacher education in 1990, as in the 1980s, was criticized from within and without the education profession. Tougher accreditation standards led the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), under new President Arthur E. Wise, to put more schools of education on probation. The Holmes Group of 97 research university deans of education urged a national network of "professional development schools," consisting of selected elementary and secondary public schools where university professors of arts and sciences and education professors would work with teachers and administrators to design curriculum, do research, rejuvenate experienced teachers and, above all, prepare new teachers, somewhat as in the old "lab schools." John A. Goodlad reported findings from his 5-year "Study of the Education of Educators" in 29 public and private colleges and universities preparing teachers. States continued to seek alternate routes to teaching; i.e., to allow bright college graduates to teach before completing education programs and state certification. Massachusetts joined several other states requiring a fifth year above an arts or science degree for teacher certification, as the Holmes Group had recommended in 1986. The National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS) continued to develop assessment tests for teachers in all fields to identify the best teachers for national certification (i.e., above state certification), thus intending to win for teachers more public esteem and higher professional status and salaries. In declining to accept teacher college graduation and state certification as requisite for national teacher certification (beginning in 1993), NBPTS disappointed teacher education groups which have vested interests in those prerequisites (among others, NBPTS wants to attract to national teacher certification bright people who
do not have these prerequisites). Conviction grew in 1990 that U.S. school reform cannot succeed without significant improvement in teacher education.

National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). Arthur E. Wise became NCATE's new president on July 16. Appointment of the former director of the Rand Corporation's Center for the Study of the Teaching Profession was in line with NCATE's tougher standards since 1988. By November NCATE had put on probation 24 of 85 teacher education programs up for reaccreditation. The 515 education institutions which NCATE accredits out of the nation's 1,300 education schools prepared about 80 percent of all elementary and secondary school teachers. Wise agreed with policymakers' consensus that teacher education needs to upgrade general education and assure in-depth mastery of subjects taught. He plans to build bridges with teacher education deans at elite universities (Holmes Group); some of which have withdrawn from NCATE's accrediting process.

Holmes Group. The April 15 report, *Tomorrow's Schools: Principles for the Design of Professional Development Schools*, suggests reforming teacher education through a national network of "professional development schools" (PD schools). PD schools are seen as selected elementary and secondary schools where university professors of arts and sciences and education professors will work with teachers and administrators in those and nearby public schools to design curriculum, conduct research, train new teachers, and rejuvenate experienced teachers. The PD school model is the teaching hospital, where medical student interns (i.e., teacher education seniors) learn on patients (i.e., public school students) under medical school faculty supervision (i.e., university subject matter professors and education professors cooperating with public school teachers and administrators).

The PD school idea is to integrate education theory and practice, to initiate research that furthers the curriculum and teaching techniques. Judith E. Lanier, Michigan State University dean of education and Holmes Group president, points out that teachers' colleges once had mainly private laboratory schools for student teaching and that these lab schools were discarded because they were considered elitist and detached from public schools. PD schools are different, she said, because they will be selected public schools, will combine teacher education with research, will strive to be as well supported and administered as are teaching hospitals, and will serve as influential nationwide models.

Forging equal relations and coordinating universities and public school personnel are seen as initial problems. Seeking state, federal, and corporate support, Holmes Group adviser Doug Ross sees PD schools as "a new R & D infrastructure to reinvent American education." He envisions a "land grant-type mandate" as was pioneered by the federal
Hatch Act of 1887 and the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 which advanced agricultural experiments and extension education and helped modernize America.

**Goodlad Teacher Education Study.** John I. Goodlad, education professor and director, Center for Educational Renewal, University of Washington, shared with education leaders findings from "A Study of the Education of Educators," which he has directed since 1985. Funded by the Exxon Education Foundation, this is the largest teacher education study since James B. Conant's *The Education of American Teachers*, 1963, on which Goodlad collaborated. His team looked at 29 public and private higher education institutions in 8 states that employ 25 percent of U.S. elementary and secondary school teachers. He found that many universities which began as normal schools neglect their origins, disdain teacher education, and have poor teacher education programs. "We did not find a single mission statement of any institution that put teacher education at the forefront," he said in February. He found a disturbing turnover of higher education leaders responsible for teacher education: university presidents' average stay is 8 years; deans of education, 6.6 years; arts and science deans, 5.3 years; and academic vice presidents and provosts, 4 years. Schools of education lack coherence, he said, make little effort to recruit students, have no clear entry point, have too few minority students (8 percent in programs his team examined), and emphasize "practical" teacher education while neglecting the "moral" aspect of preventing dropouts.

Goodlad criticized the shifting emphasis from good teaching and teacher preparation to research and publications. At "flagship" public universities, only 7 percent of faculty felt that preparing teachers was essential to gain tenure but 46 percent felt it should be essential; 72 percent claimed that good teaching was centrally important but only 25 percent found it actually essential for tenure. Contrasting strong student peer groups in medical schools, Goodlad found little group identity among education students, with only 7 percent saying that they met informally daily with other education students. Some said that moving cohort groups together through teacher education programs is difficult because so many work full or part-time.

Jossey-Bass published three books in 1990 on the study: John I. Goodlad, Roger Soder, and Kenneth A. Sirotnik, *Places Where Teachers are Taught*, a history of U.S. teacher education; *The Moral Dimension of Teaching*, on the role of educators in a democracy; and *Teachers for Our Nation's Schools*, containing Goodlad's linchpin reform: "centers of pedagogy," where faculties of arts and sciences, teacher education, and the public schools will work together to prepare the world's best teachers. The centers would stand apart from existing schools and colleges, have their own budgets and faculty, design their own curricula, develop their own reward structure, and collaborate
with nearby school districts (somewhat like the Holmes Group PD schools proposal). Goodlad plans forums to publicize his proposals to overhaul teacher education.

**Alternative Routes to Teaching.** New Jersey's 6-year-old alternative program is one of some 40 programs in 23 states to get needed teachers into classrooms quickly without going through the teachers college-state certification route. Such provisional teachers, critics say, may know their subjects but have not been trained to transmit their knowledge to students. In 1989, 1,500 (29 percent) of New Jersey's new teachers were alternate-route bachelor degree holders without teacher training who passed the National Teachers Exam and began teaching under supervision while completing 200 clock hours of course work in one year. Over half of these 1,500 provisional teachers (21 percent are minorities) were fully certified in 1990.

Teach for America (TFA), a new alternate route, selected and trained 490 new teachers in fall 1990. TFA is the brain child of Princeton University graduate (June 1989) Wendy Kopp, age 23. After attending an education conference in her senior year, she persuaded her sociology thesis advisor to let her write on how she would organize TFA and raise enough money to support it. Confident and pragmatic, she sent her finished thesis as an appeal to 30 corporate executives. Surprisingly, she won support from Mobil, Xerox, American Cyanamid, and other big firms. Her team of 23 recruiters attracted 2,600 top college graduates and non-education major applicants, selecting 490 of them for an 8 weeks' crash summer institute at the University of Southern California. They did their student teaching in the year-round Los Angeles public schools and were sent on 2-year teaching stints to teacher-short areas of New York City, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and rural districts in North Carolina and Georgia. Many admire TFA for attracting bright young people into teaching. Others say that it is only a temporary solution, that TFA teachers will soon drop out (40 percent of new teachers resign after 2 years, with the most talented leaving first), but by December only 27 teachers or 5.5 percent had dropped out, compared to a normal 6 percent first-year attrition rate. Kopp is correcting mistakes she admits were made and continuing to raise funds to enlarge TFA.

**Regional Teacher Certification.** On April 1 a Northeast Regional Credential group began to allow certified teachers in the region to transfer to teaching jobs in Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont (New Jersey and Pennsylvania were interested in joining the pact). On July 1 a second group in the Midwest began to allow certified teachers to transfer to teaching jobs in Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, and Nebraska. Transferred teachers in each plan will have 2 years to meet licensing requirements in the states they move to. Advocates say that regional
certification allows teachers to move in response to supply and demand, that it attracts new teachers to the region, and that it may force lower paying states in the region to raise teacher salaries. Critics say that transfer of seniority-based salaries and pensions has not been resolved (in June 1989 Rhode Island became the first state to allow leaving teachers to take accrued pensions with them, provided the state they moved to had a reciprocal agreement). The regional reciprocity trend is being watched carefully, especially by the NBPTS, which is working toward national certification of the highest qualified teachers (see NBPTS below).

Massachusetts Fifth Year. In January the Massachusetts State Board of Education abolished undergraduate education majors in its colleges and universities, requiring by 1994 that a master's degree precede permanent certification. The national consensus for teachers to have in-depth mastery of the subjects they teach has gained momentum since publication of 2 influential 1986 reports: the Carnegie Corporation's *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century*, and the Holmes Group, *Tomorrow's Teachers*. Flexibility is built into Massachusetts's new plan by allowing beginning teachers to teach full time while earning a master's degree (a help to minorities and others); and by granting fifth year provisional certification to bachelor of arts and science graduates, who must then observe public school classes and teach their subjects under veteran teacher mentors, preparatory to earning lifetime certification.

National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS). Opposition surfaced in 1990 to the 64-member NBPTS's (mainly teachers) ambitious attempt is to certify the best teachers nationally from 1993, above and beyond minimum state certification. The intent is to identify through rigorous new assessment (testing) procedures the highest professional teaching skills and to certify such teachers nationally, anticipating that public esteem and professional salaries will follow, as they do in law and medicine. The idea came from a Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy 1987 report, as a way to truly professionalize teaching.

In 1990 the National Education Association and other teacher education groups objected to NBPTS's prerequisite for those expected to apply for national certification: bachelor's degree and 3 years' teaching experience. The teacher education groups want as prerequisites teachers' college graduation and state certification, two standards that they have long invested in. The NBPTS declined to tie its national certification to state license and teachers' college graduation, saying that to do so would exclude private school, college teachers, and other talented people needed as new teachers, and would also hinder NBPTS's main innovation: to identify superior teachers by high performance on assessment tests. Knowing that NBPTS expects higher professional salaries for its
nationally certified teachers, teacher education groups fear that their state certified-only teachers will be at the bottom of a two-tier salary scale.

In November NBPTS awarded a $1.5 million research contract for tests to identify superior English teachers. The assessment procedure would also feature videotapes of candidates' demonstrated skills in teaching English to 11 to 15 year olds. Identifying superior math teachers will follow. English and math are the first of 34 elementary and secondary school subject teaching areas NBPTS will assess. The research team is headed by a University of Pittsburgh researcher working with the Connecticut Department of Education. Connecticut has led in performance-based teacher assessment. Funding for the contract came from $10.5 million raised to date, even though NBPTS did not get $25 million to develop assessment tests proposed in a bill which died in the 1990 Congress. NBPTS's president has said that its assessment will be "administratively feasible, professionally credible, publicly acceptable, legally defensible, and economically affordable" for those teachers expected to be certified nationally, beginning in 1993. NBPTS needs greater national recognition and public acceptance. "It is essential that we expand greatly our communication effort," said NBPTS's chairman James T. Hunt, Jr., former North Carolina governor. A $3 million grant was received in September to publicize NBPTS's national certification mission in 36 planned state and regional forums.

**Teachers' Strikes.** West Virginia, forty-ninth state nationally in teacher salaries ($21,904 average), had a crippling teachers' strike, March 7-18. The state's 22,000 teachers in 55 counties, the legislature, and Gov. Gaston Caperton agreed on a plan for meeting immediate and long-term education needs, including permanent funding to remove annual uncertainties. Teachers' salaries were raised an average of 4 percent.

Teachers on strike demonstrated in mid April outside the Oklahoma capitol building. Oklahoma is the forty-eighth state nationally in teacher salaries ($22,000 average). On April 19 the legislature passed a $230 million education package which called for new taxes and gave funds to school districts for 1990. The strike affected for a few days 343,200 of Oklahoma's 572,000 students.

**California Opposes Teachers' Strikes.** California, with the largest school population in the U.S., considered a bill to ban teacher strikes by imposing binding arbitration. The bill's sponsor said that teacher strikes in 1989 cost California 7.2 million student classroom days lost. Supporting the bill, State School Superintendent Bill Honig said that current collective bargaining was too confrontational, lengthy, and expensive. Opponents argued that binding arbitration would take settlement control away from school boards and superintendents and that arbitration could not deal with sophisticated...
financial analysis needed to reach a fair compromise. Wisconsin, which has a 12-year-old binding arbitration law, has ended teacher strikes. However, Iowa's binding arbitration law has not worked, one observer said, because decisions are based on competitive salaries in nearby districts and not on a disputed district's ability to pay. Connecticut's binding arbitration law does take into account a town's ability to pay and "has forced both sides to be reasonable," said another observer. American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker, who opposes the California bill, says that arbitration can be as expensive as collective bargaining; and that bargaining more usefully brings dissatisfactions out into the open, leading eventually to better cooperation than does simply banning strikes.

Teacher Education Trends. Lynn Olson's survey of teacher education's troubled past and present [Education Week, X, 15 (Dec 12, 1990), pp. 11-15, 20-21, 24-26] pointed out that Pres. Bush's 6 national education goals do not mention teachers or teacher education. This omission is part of historical neglect and the entrenched notion that to know a subject is to be able to teach it. The Massachusetts House committee on education held this view in 1840, historian-critic Arthur E. Bestor voiced it in the 1950s, and many top college and university administrators hold it still, wrote Olson. Historically, university officials would not take on teacher education, left it to "normal schools" from the 1830s, which enrolled mostly women because teaching was one of few fields open to them. Little academic rigor or achievement was expected from women teachers. Goodlad noted persistent low status and esteem in current teacher education programs, which he describes as stepchildren of universities, suffering from "chronic prestige deprivation," lack of clear mission, incoherent programs, and inadequate funding.

The approximately 1,300 institutions that prepare teachers, which some think is twice as many as the U.S. can afford, turn out about 91,000 teachers a year, most of them undergraduates. These institutions range widely in quality and, as A Nation at Risk (1983) noted, took too many teacher entrants from lower ability high school graduates and college students. After 1983, most states raised teacher education entrance requirements. NCATE requires a 2.5 grade point average (C+) plus basic skills proficiency. Goodlad found 70 percent of undergraduates in his 29 teacher education institutions had a 3.0 (B) grade average or better. Critics say, however, that while teacher education institutions have eliminated the bottom of the barrel, they still do not attract enough of the best and brightest; that undergraduates intending to teach are over 85 percent white and 80 percent female; and that higher entrance and continuing standards, while desirable, keep out minorities, estimated to be reduced from the present 10 percent
to 5 percent of the nation's teachers by 2000, when minorities will form 30 percent of the U.S. population.

One study found that teacher education students on average complete a weaker general education program than their arts and sciences counterparts. The response of a dozen states at least has been to require prospective teachers to have a liberal arts or science major before teaching, or a fifth year. While this trend satisfies some concerned about secondary school teachers, debate continues about appropriate subject content for elementary school teachers. Where pre-medical students have a highly specified undergraduate curriculum, pre-education majors have no comparable standard.

The Holmes Group's 1986 Tomorrow's Teachers blamed universities' rush to specialization and job-oriented programs, not just education colleges, for teachers' subject matter weaknesses. Requiring a major does not solve the problem for teachers because a major is about entry level jobs or graduate school entry, not whether or not one has a deep understanding of one's major subject or can teach it competently and enthusiastically. Teacher educators are not sure about the right mix of indepth subject mastery and subject-specific teaching methods courses. "People understand that you need arts and sciences," said Holmes Group President Judith E. Lanier, but are not convinced about the value of professional studies. Hence the rapid proliferation of alternate routes into teaching, which reflects the public's doubt about professional studies. The result is state-mandated caps on professional education (New Jersey's 30 semester hours including student teaching and Virginia's and Texas' 18-hour cap excluding student teaching in 4-year programs), eliminating education courses on some campuses, and "shoe horning" both subject matter and education studies into fewer and fewer time slots. At a time when troubled and disadvantaged children swell classrooms, prospective teachers need more, not less, professional training. One result is that 9 of the 26 Texas teacher education institutions formerly NCATE-accredited withdrew from the accreditation process. State capping and financial cuts of programs made them see that they would be rejected by NCATE. Such states as Georgia and West Virginia are rethinking state-limited professional education programs and are asking their teacher education institutions to find their own best ways to reform.

Professional studies in education colleges have long been disjointed, consisting mainly of 1 or 2 foundation courses (history, philosophy, sociology of education), an educational psychology or child development course, and one or more general and/or specific teaching methods courses. In this mix, Goodlad found little concern with values, character development, and moral understanding. Of 222 programs NCATE recently
reviewed, 92 failed because they were not based on an explicitly stated philosophy that reflected current research findings and sound practice.

Besides a lack of focus and a lack of philosophy, many teacher education students retain entrenched and unproductive views. They selectively reject anything that is not consistent with their own views. Goodlad found that the basic educational beliefs and values of nearly half of the teacher education students he studied remained unchanged throughout their teacher education programs. Passive rote learning of a bag of teaching method tricks that seem to work will not do, said Goodlad, who wants critical, independent, and innovative teacher thinkers. Cultivating reflective and thoughtful practitioners does not come easily in professional studies or in prolonged student teaching. Some see it coming about in a network of professional development or practice schools similar to teaching hospitals, or in the PD schools advocated in the Holmes Group's Tomorrow's Teachers (1990). Others argue for carefully constructed case studies, as used in business schools. Still others think that helping teachers become critical, independent, and innovative is best done in inservice programs with experienced mentor teachers, programs which nearly half the states have adopted.

What hinders change in teacher education? Some point to scattered, balkanized responsibilities for teacher education in universities, severe underfunding, lack of high-level university leadership, and overprescriptive state regulations. Rethinking teacher education means working across university department and creating an equal, cooperative university-public school partnership. Reshaping teacher education also requires funding, about which little can be done under tight state budgets. University leaders should, however, correct unequal funding where teacher education is getting proportionately less than engineering, business, and other departments. But university administrators, said Lynn Olson, promote programs whose graduates make money. Some feel "no heat" about reforming teacher education. Some share faculty stereotyped thought that teaching requires subject knowledge and little more. Others defend teacher education colleges as they are.

State intrusion on teacher education curriculum effectively stifles creative changes. Why bother going through demanding, time-consuming program renewal when you have to adjust to state-imposed requirements anyway? No other profession experiences state intrusion as does teacher education, said NCATE President Wise. When the state's need for teachers goes up, it lets standards go down. Still, 5-year certification programs are growing largely by default because more and more content is required.

Licensing disarray also hinders teacher education reform. Some think that NCATE standards should become national and are dismayed by NBPTS's refusal to tie
their national certification to education college graduation and state certification. Because there are no well defined output standards, schools of education are in trouble, said NCATE President Wise. Many hope that NBPTS teacher assessment tests will profile clearly what effective teaching should be. Back door emergency licensing, or alternative routes to teaching when warm bodies are needed, also inhibit teachers colleges from graduating quality candidates.

Reforming teacher education will require more money, reallocation of existing resources, and some combination of both. In the 1980s as pressures for reform mounted, teacher educators became more willing to experiment. Many see hope for reform in the 1990s in Goodlad's "centers of pedagogy" concept and in the somewhat similar Holmes Group's PD schools.

**U.S. Department of Education**

**Cavazos Resigns, Alexander Nominated.** Lauro F. Cavazos, age 63, resigned under pressure as U.S. Education Secretary December 12. Pres. Bush nominated as secretary former Tennessee Governor and University of Tennessee President Lamar Alexander on December 17. Cavazos, appointed in summer 1988 by Pres. Reagan, was retained by Pres. Bush as the nation's first Hispanic-American cabinet officer but was considered ineffective. A stronger education secretary was needed as the 1992 elections neared in order to buttress Bush's claim to be the "Education President."

Cavazos's apparently forced resignation followed damaging incidents. In March he was criticized by educators in Texas and elsewhere for saying to the Texas legislature that "Money is clearly not the answer to the state's education deficit. In an April San Antonio hearing before a presidentially appointed Task Force on Hispanic Education, he angered many by blaming the 40 percent national Hispanic high school dropout rate partly on Hispanic parents' lack of commitment to their children's education. Hispanics bristled.

While White House officials and the governors worked on 6 national education goals, Cavazos was asked not to issue the controversial annual "Wall Chart," an Education Department publication which compares the states on educational attainment. Governors and state education officials whose states rank low do not like the public comparisons. The education indicators used are said to be inaccurate and unfair. By issuing the seventh annual Wall Chart on May 2, Cavazos evoked the expected criticism.

Cavazos was further hurt when, the day before his resignation, the Education Department's Civil Rights head, Assistant Secretary Michael L. Williams, said that "race-
exclusive" scholarships were illegal. Williams had applied Title VI, Civil Rights Act of 1964 (prohibiting discrimination by organizations receiving federal funds), to Fiesta Bowl officials in Arizona who, to counter the bad publicity when Arizona voters' turned down Martin Luther King Day as a state holiday, offered $100,000 in scholarships to each of the two universities' football teams competing there January 1, 1991: the Universities of Alabama and Louisville.

Civil rights leaders were incensed; "race-exclusive" scholarships had long been an accepted way to aid disadvantaged blacks and other minorities. Critics gave this interpretation of why the "race-only" scholarship denial occurred and what it said about Pres. Bush's lack of a civil rights policy: as the recession deepens, people look for scapegoats for hard times; conservative Republicans, hoping to garner white votes, fomented the grievance of whites who oppose job and scholarship quotas. Alarmed at criticism, Pres. Bush's urged Williams to clarify his ruling. On December 18 he said that colleges receiving federal funds could award privately funded "race-only" scholarships. The American Council on Education advised the 1,600 higher education institutions to continue granting minority scholarships.

Lamar Alexander's nomination as Education Secretary won general praise. The 50-year-old moderate Republican and son of teachers was a national public school reform leader while Tennessee governor and National Governors' Association chairman. He pioneered Tennessee's teacher career ladder plan, giving teachers and principals higher pay for greater accountability. Unlike Cavazos, faulted for his passive approach and lack of political acumen, Alexander, a protege of former Senator Howard Baker and considered in 1988 as Robert Dole's vice presidential running mate, is polished and politically astute.

U.S. Education Department: Tenth Anniversary. The Cavazos resignation and Alexander nomination occurred six months after the U.S. Education Department's tenth anniversary on May 4. The cabinet-level department, initiated by then Pres. Jimmy Carter, was urged by the 2-million member National Education Association, which had supported his 1976 election. The bill creating the department barely scraped through the House Government Operations Committee by 1 vote, passed the full House by 4 votes and, to secure passage, proponents had to move Indian education elsewhere and also to limit the Education Department's payroll. The first Secretary, Shirley M. Hufstedler, organized the new department (its predecessor, the U.S. Office of Education, opened in 1867, and was in the 1960s and 1970s part of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare). Pres. Reagan appointed career educator Terrel H. Bell as the second Secretary specifically to shut it down or to reduce it to foundation level or to
independent agency status. By producing the landmark *Nation at Risk* school reform report in 1983, Bell saved the department and gave it greater visibility. His successor, William J. Bennett, made a national case for school choice and proposed a national model elementary and secondary school curriculum. After Bell and Bennett, Cavazos was considered lackluster. Alexander is believed capable of enhancing the department's role.

Detractors say that the Education Department has focused attention on the little that the federal government can do for schools and not enough on the larger responsibilities of states and local districts; that it has spawned some 275 education lobbying groups; and that Congress, not the Education Department, preserved the federal role in education under Presidents Reagan and Bush. Advocates say that it has given federal aid to education a high profile and that its growing budget ($13.1 billion in 1980 to $24.1 billion in 1990) pays for valuable anti-drug and Chapter 1 compensatory education programs, and that the mission envisaged for it 10 years ago must await a more sympathetic administration.

### School Restructuring, Choice, and Vouchers

**School Reform Background.** *A Nation at Risk*, 1983, was a strong political statement that prodded legislatures and school boards to reform public schools. Five years later, 45 states had substantially raised curriculum requirements and 27 states had significantly improved teacher education. Tennessee began a merit teacher plan, teacher salaries rose, and New Jersey initiated an alternate route for teachers by letting liberal arts graduates teach before completing education courses. On *A Nation at Risk* 's fifth anniversary (April 1988) many saw that at best school reform had pressed for more money for schools, teachers, and at-risk students; more academic courses; and a longer school year. At worst, such reforms as new tests, new curriculum standards, and stiffer teacher certification requirements, by shifting some local control to state bureaucracies, had made public education more centralized and bureaucratic. School reform advanced when Minnesota, in 1988, initiated controversial statewide parental choice of public schools across district lines. In 1990, 2,200 Minnesota students attended schools outside their home districts, up from 450 in 1989; and 6,500 high school juniors and seniors took district-paid or state-paid courses in nearby colleges and universities. Other states have also allowed parental choice. Dade County schools, Florida, since 1987, used elected local management teams (parents, teachers, and community members), for making on-site education policy and to allot funds. An Illinois law permitted Chicago, said to have the nation's worst urban school system, to replace its moribund, corrupt board of education.
with 539 elected parent-teacher councils. In recent years, courts have ordered 11 states to overhaul inequitable school finance: Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Kansas, Montana, New Jersey, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming, and Kentucky. Kentucky became the first state to scrap its school laws and school system and to start anew.

**Kentucky School Restructuring.** Kentucky, long at or near the bottom in educational attainment and in percentage of high school graduates, started school restructuring when in 1986, 66 mainly rural school districts legally challenged the state's inequitable per pupil funding, which ranged from $1,800 to $4,200 in 178 school districts serving 570,000 students. When the suit reached the Kentucky Supreme Court, it decided not to patch the old laws but declared the state's entire public school system unconstitutional on June 9, 1989, "in every part and parcel." The court wiped the slate clean of every education statute and law and ordered the legislature to enact a new school law at its April 1990 session. Chief architects of Kentucky's restructured public schools were the new act's designer, consultant David W. Hornbeck, former Maryland state school superintendent and current chairman of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching; Democratic Governor Wallace G. Wilkinson, who had formed a Council on School Performance Standards, which fashioned assessment tests on what students should know and be able to do at each grade level; and a 22-member legislature-led Task Force on Education, which worked out compromises and final details. The new education act was of some political magnitude.

Minimum annual spending per student was set at $2,900 in 1990-91; with overall spending to increase from $1.5 billion in 1990-91 to $1.9 billion in 1991-92; and with state money to match increases in local school district taxes. Funds ($1.3 billion) for the first 2 years of the 5-year school restructuring plan (1990-95) will come from a 1 percent sales tax increase (5 percent to 6 percent) and a utilities tax increase (expanded to include cable TV). Other features of Kentucky's school restructuring include: state-funded preschools for all at-risk 4-year-olds (including handicapped 3-year-olds); eliminating grade division between kindergarten and grade 3 to create a K-3 ungraded school with a new curriculum designed to end failure; creating family resource centers in those elementary schools where 20 percent or more of student families are below the federally defined poverty level (centers for health and social services and for crisis resolution); an autonomous teacher-majority Professional Standards Board to govern teacher certification; upgraded technology to include a phone in every classroom and teacher discounts and training for personal-use computers; raising the school-leaving age from
age 16 to 18; electing a council per school to exercise site management (3 teachers, 2 parents, and the principal); and legal bars to nepotism in hiring and in school elections.

The most dramatic change was the appointment on November 16 of new Commissioner of Education Thomas C. Boysen, age 50, former San Diego County (CA) school superintendent. On January 1, 1991, Boysen replaced the elected and (usually native Kentuckian) state school superintendent. On June 30, 1991, the present state department of education will be dissolved and Boysen will create a new education department, with former professional employees eligible to be rehired but only if they fit school restructuring needs.

Kentucky voters overrode the few Republicans and some entrenched school superintendents who opposed the new act. Voters not only took on more tax burdens to restructure schools but also defeated in the November 6 elections most office holders who had fought school restructuring. Besides legislative and public support, the linchpin of Kentucky school restructuring success is the Hornbeck-suggested carrot and stick incentives based on student-demonstrated skills. Schools which exceed state-set student performance targets get cash bonuses to spend as they wish. Schools below state-set student performance targets, when declared "schools in crisis," can be taken over by state education department-named administrators.

**Chubb and Moe Book.** Parents' choice of schools and a school's freedom from bureaucratic interference were cited as keys to U.S. school reform in *Politics, Market and America's Schools* by the Brookings Institution senior fellow John Chubb and Stanford University political scientist Terry Moe (The Brookings Institution, June 1990). Chubb and Moe argue that market forces alone can improve schools; i.e., when state money goes to schools of parents' choice. Each school, with civil rights protected and nondiscriminatory, would fix its own budget, set curriculum, hire whom it likes, do its own testing, and be accountable—with the ultimate test being that good schools will attract students, poor schools will lose students. The result of such choice will be that most schools will improve dramatically.

At the June 8 forum launching the book, the National School Boards Association (NSBA) Executive Director Thomas Shannon praised the findings and said that the NSBA supports choice within local public school districts. The National Education Association (NEA) chief lobbyist in Washington, D.C., warned that choice will destroy public schools. Another NEA official said that replacing public schools with choice plans is mind boggling. He added, "The lawsuits alone could keep an army of lawyers busy for years." A 1990 Gallup poll on education found that 62 percent of Americans support
choice, legislation on which is being considered in some 15 states. On December 4 the
U.S. Education Department established a Center for Choice in Education.

Based on the *High School and Beyond* study in schools over the last 10 years, Chubb and Moe found that: (1) bureaucracy in public schools doom reform efforts; (2) school effectiveness comes from control by strong principals with clear goals, on high teacher performance, and on ambitious academic programs; and (3) achievement depends on student ability, school organization, and family background. Chubb and Moe refute conventional wisdom that quality schools are guaranteed by high teacher salaries, high per pupil spending, and low student-teacher ratios. Effective schools, they say, use their money to hire good classroom teachers: ineffective schools squander resources on bureaucracies.

University of Wisconsin at Madison political scientist John F. Witte and others have since found flaws in the *High School and Beyond* study on which Chubb and Moe based their conclusions. Sociologist James F. Coleman also used this flawed study in arguing in well-publicized books that private Catholic schools are superior to public schools. Chubb and Moe defend their study, reiterating that school autonomy comes through market forces. The Chubb and Moe book will heighten the choice controversy in the 1990s.

**Private School Choice: Milwaukee, WI.** Many watched the 1990 Milwaukee, WI, voucher plan, first to use state money, $2,500 per child, for 345 low-income and mainly black and Hispanic children, transferring from public schools to 7 private nonreligious schools, with the cost taken from the Milwaukee public school budget. The plan, sponsored by black State Senator Annette (Polly) Williams, a former welfare mother from Milwaukee, and praised by Pres. Bush and choice advocates nationally, was challenged by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Milwaukee National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and a coalition of public school interest groups. They said that the private schools were unregulated except for meeting minimum state requirements; and that in general choice (Wisconsin has had a statewide voucher plan since 1988) removes the best students, most caring parents, and needed money from public schools, threatening their future. Ruled legal by a circuit court judge in August, the plan was declared illegal on November 13 by the state court of appeals because of a technicality (the bill had been tacked onto a state budget bill when it should have been passed on its own). While the plan awaits a state supreme court decision, the 345 students, adapting to private school discipline and study demands, are said to be making academic progress.
Chicago: Parent Power. On November 30 the Illinois Supreme Court declared illegal the election of school councils in Chicago under a 1988 law. At issue was the vote in October 1989 that elected 10-member (6 parents, 2 community residents, and 2 teachers) local school councils for each of Chicago's 539 elementary, middle, and high schools. The parent-dominated decentralized plan was closely watched, replacing as it did Chicago's inefficient and corrupt single Board of Education. The councils' elections were declared illegal because property owners were not represented fully in the voting. Within hours of the ruling, a bill was introduced to correct the voting mechanism.

Mayor Richard M. Daley said that reelection of school councils, probably in spring 1991, would not affect school reform in progress, which has begun to turn around Chicago's high dropout rate and poor student achievement, said to be the nation's worst. The Chicago school councils have been undergoing frictionable tests of parental involvement in school budgeting, curriculum policy, and hiring and firing of principals. Chicago public schools attracted in 1990 over $40 million in foundation grants to aid school reform. Unresolved questions include: When and how would school council members be elected in 1991? Would lawsuits result from the 71 principals whom councils voted not to retain? Is the new Board of Education legal (its members were nominated by council representatives)? Are the current council decisions and the Board's decisions legal, in light of new council elections in 1991?

Chelsea, MA/Boston University. The closely watched management of Chelsea, MA, schools by private Boston University (BU) entered its second year on March 29, 1990. The Chelsea Oversight Panel report in November found overlapping, misunderstanding, and confusion among the 4 groups managing Chelsea's public schools: the BU Management Team, acting as the school committee; the Chelsea School Committee, which gave management rights to BU but can question decisions and terminate; the Chelsea Executive Advisory Committee, a BU-established 15-member school and community group; and newly appointed School Superintendent Diana Lam.

In its own end-of-first-year report in September, BU's Education Dean Peter R. Greer listed these accomplishments: appointment of School Superintendent Diana Lam, age 41, former Boston school administrator and bilingual education expert; a health service plan, including counseling, immunization, dental care, nutrition service, and weight counseling; a drug education program; BU volunteer student tutoring (over 200 students volunteered--not enough to meet the demand); and restructuring Chelsea's only high school into: (1) a traditional curriculum, (2) an alternate school for at-risk students, and (3) a team-taught "renaissance" school. Greer admitted "that we didn't realize how tough it was going to be" and that governance had indeed been "a little fuzzy." He was
disappointed that BU has raised only $2.4 million of its $3 million goal to improve the schools.

The Chelsea/BU experiment began after Boston public schools turned down BU Pres. John Silber's offer to administer and significantly improve its schools. Nearby Chelsea then asked for BU's help in revitalizing its public schools. Chelsea is small (population, 26,000). Its 3,500 students in 6 schools are 55 percent Hispanic, 28 percent white, 12 percent Asian, and 5 percent Black. Most speak English as a second language, and 1 in 4 high school girls is either pregnant or has had a child.

BU hired School Superintendent Lam after a bitter Chelsea community backlash (political patronage has long been more important than academic qualifications in hiring school personnel); bought computers for schools; wrote new curricula; set up alternative high school programs; started adult literacy programs; and tried to build bridges to immigrant groups (Chelsea has had Italian, Irish, Jewish, and currently Hispanic majority immigrants).

Chelsea after the 1930s lost its industrial base and half its population, leaving a litany of underclass woes, including the poorest school system in Massachusetts when it asked for BU's help. The cornerstone of BU's Chelsea program, 3 years of preschooling for all children, is limited by lack of funds. Other frustrations included Chelsea's insufficient financial commitment to schools (20 percent of tax revenues, compared with the 31 percent average elsewhere in the state), still-pending lawsuits from the teachers' union and an Hispanic group challenging the takeover, teacher and community charges that BU is dictatorial, and BU Pres. Silber's absence during his failed gubernatorial campaign. Despite an uneasy relationship, some gains are being made. The BU-Chelsea experiment continues to be a most watched U.S. school reform.

**Minorities.** A January American Council on Education report showed a proportionate decline of minorities in colleges since 1976. White college enrollment increased during 1976-88. But Black and Hispanic enrollment declined proportionately during these years, with steeper declines for low to middle income minorities and with greater dropout rates for Blacks and Hispanics than for whites. Reasons given for the drop in minority participation in colleges include: (1) the rapid growth of minority populations; (2) elementary and secondary schools are unable to prepare minorities for colleges, psychologically and academically; (3) raising entrance requirements as part of
the excellence movement has shut out more minorities whose scores, while rising, lagged behind white scores; (4) the military has become more competitive with colleges at recruiting high ability, college-eligible Blacks; and (5) with the shift in federal college student assistance from grants to loans low income minorities are afraid to borrow and are not sure that education is worth the investment. One proposed solution is for colleges to offer grants to minorities for the first year or two so that they do not need loans until they see that they can succeed in college and can gain a financial advantage. Other suggestions include easing minority transfers from 2 to 4-year colleges, hiring more minority faculty members, and rewarding faculty members for being mentors to minority students. Historically Black colleges, however, in 1990 did gain in enrollment.

**U.S. Supreme Court on Tenure.** On January 9 the U.S. Supreme Court declared (in a University of Pennsylvania case) that tenure files challenged on grounds of race or sex discrimination must be subject to federal investigation. Civil rights and other groups argued that secrecy in tenure decisions was a mask for discrimination. Those wanting to keep tenure discussions secret said that secrecy aided frank peer review and that faculty members would not speak freely, knowing that their comments could be made public. Part of the reason for the tenure debate is a 1986 federal law that eliminates mandatory retirement at age 70. As older faculty choose to remain and costs rise, most higher education institutions have taken some action to reduce the proportion of tenured faculty. Still, a higher education teacher shortage was forecast in an 1988 Andrew W. Mellon Foundation report, projecting that there will be only 8 candidates for every 10 arts and sciences teaching post between 1997-2007.

### U.S./Public and Private Schools Statistics

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Bachelor's degrees 1,006,000 1,024,000
First professional degrees 72,000 67,000
Master's degrees 34,000 36,000

Expenditures
Public elementary-secondary school $198.6 billion $212.9 billion
Private elementary-secondary schools 16.9 billion 18.1 billion
Public higher 92.2 billion 98.2 billion
Private higher 51.0 billion 54.3 billion
Total $358.7 billion $383.5 billion

France: High School Student Protests. Molestation of a teenage girl in late October in a Paris working class suburban school sparked student protests in 10 major cities, November 6-14. Unlike the 1968 middle class and wealthy university student protesters who brought down the De Gaulle government, 1990 protesters were working class high school students, including immigrant students, wanting security guards for school safety and average class size reduced from 40 to 25. Demands were broadened to include freedom of speech, a greater role in running schools, and uniformly better schools. In the protests, older students allegedly led in looting stores and damaging property, causing student arrests and injury to police who used tear gas and water cannons. Some student slogans read "Money for Schools and Not for the Gulf War." The French president, prime minister, and Education Minister Lionel Jospin met with student leaders, with Jospin saying that limiting high school classes to 25 students would require 40,000 more teachers. Even before the protests, the government planned to increase school spending which, for the first time, exceeds the military budget; to add more teachers; to strengthen the curriculum; and to steer high school students from vocational to academic courses so that 80 percent of students in France's 4,700 high schools can take at age 18 or 19 the baccalaureat exam, crucial for university entrance (40 percent of high school students took the "bac" exam in 1985).

France: Superior Child Care. France's model child care includes almost all 3 to 5-year-olds who attend free noncompulsory preschool, 85 percent in public schools and 35 percent in private schools (46 percent of French mothers work). Preschool teachers for home child care and for child care centers are recruited, trained, and monitored by French authorities, with 75 percent of home care done by licensed teachers (compared to 10
percent who are licensed in the U.S.). French child care teachers have the equivalent of a master's degree and are paid a stipend in cost-free training programs, for which they must teach 5 years after graduation. Incentives, which help account for France's superior child care, include tax deductions for parents who hire licensed child care givers, and such fringe benefits for licensed teachers as disability and unemployment insurance, minimum wage, paid maternity leave, sick leave, and vacations. Preventive health service, also part of child care, covers mothers' prenatal care and medical exams during early childhood. France, where the average annual income per capita in 1985 was $9,251 (U.S., $16,494), spends $7.12 billion a year on child care, or about $130 per capita.

**France: Teacher Education.** By 2000 France hopes to add 250,000 more teachers to replace retirees and to fill shortages. France will no longer differentiate between preparing elementary school teachers (2 years' university education plus 2 years' education in *Ecole Normales*, which are not on university campuses and sometimes not in university cities), and high school teachers (3 years' university education, followed by an exam in their teaching specialty, plus a fourth university year and a fifth year of theory and supervised teaching). Elementary and secondary school teachers will hereafter be prepared alike: 3 years of university education to qualify for admission to university institutes where, for 1 year, they will study their teaching subject and take education theory courses; followed by exams tied to the school level in which they will teach; those who pass will become "civil service interns," contracted to teach in public schools for 5 years. A fifth year of university study will include student teaching plus an aptitude test. Although these reform proposals have been well received, observers are concerned about the cost, about finding space in crowded universities for the new institutes, and about giving university credit for study elsewhere to those who fail the exam after the first year at the university institutes.

**USSR: Higher Education.** Chairman Gennady Yagodin of the USSR's Committee for Public Education, said that despite new political pluralism and eliminating mandatory Marxist-Leninist teaching, he did not expect dramatic changes in higher education. After decades of repression and being told what to do, students are passive, the faculty is conservative, and new textbooks have not been written. Only in the Ukraine, Georgia, the Baltic republics, and in other formerly communist East European countries are students politically active. In Moscow and elsewhere students are quiet, except that they want more state subsidies, better campus housing, better food, larger monthly stipends, and an end to 3-year mandatory job placement after graduation. Yagodin supports some academic independence but says it is unwise to move toward private education "in this period of political and economic stock taking." The Soviet Council of Ministers did
increase students' monthly grants by one-third, or about $95, with additional grants to students making the best grades. Observers say that higher education is not prepared and has no strategy to help the USSR achieve a market economy. "If the state has no money for food," said one academic, "where will it find money for education?"

**Eastern Europe.** Eastern European universities have lifted the tight rein kept by communist regimes through a standard curriculum. Some free thought had existed through informal contact with scholars in the West and in other communist countries even in Stalin's time. Now, with 1-party rule over, unquestioned loyalty is giving way to an inquisitive spirit. Karl Marx University sociologists distributed 1,000 political questionnaires to Leipzig demonstrators. Within days they received a more than 70 percent return, evidence of East German's eagerness to share political opinion, preferences, and grievances. Compulsory Marxism-Leninism courses have ended. Russian, long required as a second language, is being replaced by English and German.

In January the American Federation of Teachers launched "Education for Democracy International," a joint U.S.-Eastern European educator plan to find ways to teach democracy. The program, to begin in Poland and extend to other East European countries, is reminiscent of the effort to remove Nazism from German and Austrian schools after World War II. The new objective is to help East Europeans purge communist from the schools and to reawaken democratic ways of thinking.

In mid June, for the first time in its 30-year history, 121 Peace Corps volunteers left for Poland and Hungary. A U.S. Information Agency officer said that the demand is exploding for English language instructors in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, and the former East Germany.

**China.** Chinese government crackdown on university students continued a year after the spring 1989 pro-democracy student demonstrations in Beijing's Tiananmen Square. Seven demonstrators were sentenced to 2 to 4 years in jail on January 5, 1991. Observers said that the timing coincided with U.S. preoccupation with the Persian Gulf crisis because of a perceived lowered U.S. concern about China's human rights policies. Student ideological indoctrination was increased at Beijing University, center of last year's student protests. Before beginning academic studies, the 738 freshmen underwent military training for almost a year rather than the usual few weeks, a practice expanded to other Chinese universities. On June 4 a few hundred subdued students quietly marked the first anniversary of the spring 1989 pro-democracy uprising in Tiananmen Square. Cowed by restrictions, students went quietly about their studies.

Most of the 40,000 Chinese students in the U.S., one fourth of them privately financed, support the pro-democracy movement but are quiet for fear of informers and
possible punishment on their return to China. On Feb. 10 the Chinese government ruled that privately financed students studying abroad in the future must have previously worked in China for 5 years. The U.S. Congress passed legislation to protect Chinese students in the U.S., but Pres. Bush vetoed that legislation to protect future Chinese-U.S. student exchanges. He issued instead an executive order in April permitting Chinese students to remain in the U.S. for study or work until January 1, 1994.

Retrospective Impressions of U.S. Education Events, 1910-80s

1910s. Long before but confirmed by the National Education Association (NEA) 1893 Committee of Ten report, U.S. elementary and secondary schools were academically oriented for the college bound even though only 10 percent of 17-year-olds graduated from high school. The NEA's 1918 Cardinal Principles of Education report marked a shift in education from academic to multiple purposes and increasingly social purposes. The 7 Cardinal Principles (health, command of fundamental processes, worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure, and ethical character) reflected the need to Americanize immigrant children and to meet new vocational, psychological, health, and other needs of working class students who remained in school longer because of compulsory education. Subject matter mastery for the intellectual development of the few gave way partly to a utilitarian education of hand, heart, and mind of the many.

1920s. The "Roaring 20s" saw early progressive education based on the Cardinal Principles and on John Dewey's beliefs that education, like life, is a mosaic of social-psychological-academic understanding and that learning is experienced rather than absorbed from books and teachers. Standardized tests arose. The I.Q. test, developed by Alfred Binet in France, 1904, was first adapted to measure arithmetic attainment in 1908. America, considered a "melting pot," became the center of early attempts to "sort out" students through standardized tests. The StanfordAchievement Test, published in 1923, first attempted to establish norms for different subjects using the same group of students. Between 30 and 40 million standardized tests were sold in 1925 alone. Teachers, largely high school or normal school graduates, placed great faith in the new "scientific" measures.

1930s. The Great Depression bewildered common people and occasioned a major flowering of progressive education. The shock of hard times helped move mainly urban and suburban schools toward a "child centered" curriculum (progressive education's influence was slight elsewhere). Progressives rejected bookish rote learning and a uniform curriculum. Vocational and commercial education expanded. Academic courses, thought
important only for the relatively few college bound, declined. Thirty percent of 17-year-olds completed high school in 1930.

**1940s.** College enrollment expansion and criticism of progressive education marked the 1940s. When some 7 million veterans entered mainly higher education after World War II, the College Board examination, which originally stressed essay answers and assumed a common liberal arts curriculum, was replaced by the objective, machine-scored Scholastic Aptitude Test in 1947. WWII, which speeded up the use of brain power over brawn, awakened and frightened American thinkers to strike out against progressive educators, calling them anti-intellectual for abandoning academic standards and undemocratic for not believing that all can be liberally educated. Historian Arthur E. Bestor, *Time*, and *Scientific Monthly* were part of a rising chorus that belittled education professors for turning teachers into wet nurses, sex education instructors, medical advisors, lovelorn consultants, horizontal or vertical tooth-brushing experts, and car driving professors. Battle lines were being drawn between child-centered progressives and back-to-basics advocates.

**1950s.** *Brown vs. Board of Education*, 1954, made racial integration an educational matter. Sputnik, 1957, put academic education for national defense on the U.S. education agenda. By 1950, 77 percent of the high school age were in school, 59 percent of 17-year-olds graduated from high school, and the baby boomers were soon to swell school enrollment. Ability grouping expanded, partly to offset integration 'better academic education for whites; vocational and scaled-down academic education for *. . . who dropped out anyway), and partly because James B. Conant's *American High School Today* called for ability grouping, a required core curriculum, and advanced courses for the college-bound, with a core curriculum and vocational education for those going to work.

The post-Sputnik National Defense Education Act of 1958 required testing to identify able students to be financially aided in math, science, and languages. Some cynics saw expanded gifted elementary education as "little more than a lifeboat for white middle class children on a sinking ship of public education." Robert Hutchins, *Conflict in Education*, put the big 1950s public school question this way: "Perhaps the greatest idea America has given the world is the idea of education for all. The world is entitled to know whether this idea means that everybody can be educated, or only that everybody must go to school."

**1960s.** The same question put another way--can we be educationally equal and excellent, too?--plagued the 60s. A post-Sputnik new curriculum trend emerged, justified by psychologist Jerome Bruner's 1960 *The Process of Education* (you can teach any
subject to any student at any age if organized in stages [a Piagetian idea]). The new curriculum was administratively advanced by Massachusetts Institute of Technology physics Professor Jerrold Zacharias, who organized National Science Foundation-financed summer institutes to prepare teachers of the "new" physics. Others organized summer institutes to teach the new biology, new math, and new social studies by the "discovery" method. When money ran out with rising Vietnam War costs and when it was clear that only able students benefitted, the "new curriculum discovery" approach died out.

Another late 60s trend was neo-progressive "open education" (popular during 1965-75). The open education concept tried to reach all students by large-group and small-group teaching, by merging individual and small-group projects, and by team teaching. Walls were brought down and partitions erected. It was spurred partly by Education President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society programs: the 1964 Office of Economic Opportunity's Job Corps and Project Head Start, the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, whose Title I (continued currently as Chapter I) aided deprived school districts. It reflected anti-Vietnam War idealism and a concern for the have nots. Like progressive education, it wanted learning to be relevant, joyful, participatory, and meaningful. Open education had the slight effect toward reducing youth dissent and alienation caused by profound upheavals in U.S. institutions. As authority in society eroded, so did authority in schools. Vandalism and truancy rose. In 1969 the first Gallup Poll on education listed discipline as the number 1 school problem.

1970s. The aftermath of open education (which declined after 1975) included alternative schools, pass-fail options, mixed ability classes, and minicourses. Minority and special education concerns and costs rose, as in bilingual education, when the Office of Civil Rights from 1970 required education programs for limited-English speaking students. The 1974 Supreme Court Lau vs. Nicholas case mandated help for students whose first language was not English. English as a Second Language (ESL) programs grew, although some schools with large ethnic groups preferred to hire native language teachers for early childhood programs instead of pursuing ESL. The 1975 PL 94-142 spurred mainstreaming handicapped students when possible. By the mid 70s, "back to basics" had the upper hand and the open classroom was blamed for many education ills. The College Board found that SAT scores had declined for a decade. School reform was haphazard, political, bureaucratic, and did not involve teachers greatly except as they implemented top-down state mandates.

1980s. The 1983 Nation at Risk report was followed by hundreds of other critical reports which sustained the national momentum for school reform. State governors and legislators, who led in school reform mainly to attract industry and jobs to their states, were
aided largely by business and less by Republican presidents to try to counter a worrisome U.S. trade imbalance (we bought more from foreigners than we sold to them). Various crises— inflation, trade imbalance, end of the Cold War, and others— helped the U.S. turn a corner in school reform. School restructuring, as in Kentucky; choice, as in Minnesota; parental involvement, as in Chicago; university-school district partnership, as in the BU-Chelsea experiment; on-site school management, as in Dade County, Florida; raising teacher education standards and salaries; and above all the movement for national education goals marked the 1980s.