Two separate systems of education exist in the District of Columbia. In the private school system, students from all races and socioeconomic backgrounds are learning the basic skills and more, and are going on to college at high rates. In the public school system, the majority of students are consigned to deteriorating and dangerous schools in which they are not taught the skills they need to succeed in school, and academic achievement is poor. Only 53% of the students entering the District's public high schools in the ninth grade remained in the system to graduate 4 years later. Most either dropped out or left to attend other schools. In 1995, 17% of students in the District of Columbia attended private schools (including the Catholic schools). About as many black students as white attended the private schools citywide. The private schools, particularly the Catholic schools, report greater school safety, with far fewer episodes of violence. Only a little more than 50% of the public school budget goes to instruction, while the Catholic schools in the District allocate 62% of their budgets to instruction. (Contains 12 charts and 1 table.) (SLD)
Two separate and very unequal systems of education exist in the District of Columbia. In one, children from all races and socioeconomic backgrounds are learning the basic skills and more, and are going on to college at high rates. The other system consigns the majority of its students to deteriorating and dangerous schools in which the education establishment has failed to teach most of them the skills they will need to succeed in school, let alone get into college. Despite numerous reforms and massive spending, the District of Columbia public schools (DCPS) have failed to improve their record, relegating thousands of students to a system that lags behind the generally more efficient private school system.

Congress soon will debate several measures designed to address this education crisis, including legislation that would offer educational opportunities to 60,000 eligible D.C. students. Under the District of Columbia Student Opportunity Scholarship Act of 1997, for example, 2,000 low-income students would receive scholarships to attend the public or private school of their choice. The need for such scholarships and other education reforms became starkly apparent last year when the District of Columbia Financial Responsibility and Management Assistance Authority (known as the D.C. Financial Control Board) released a report on the state of the D.C. public schools. In this

1 The District of Columbia Student Opportunity Scholarship Act of 1997, introduced by Representatives Richard Armey (R–TX), William Lipinski (D–IL), and Floyd Flake (D–NY) and Senators Dan Coats (R–IN), Joseph Lieberman (D–CT), and Sam Brownback (R–KS), would give vouchers to 2,000 of the District's poorest students to attend a school of their choice in the D.C. metropolitan area.

2 The authority was created by Congress in 1995 to address the financial and management difficulties of the District of Columbia.
SOCIAL SCIENCE CONFIRMS POSITIVE EFFECTS OF SCHOOL CHOICE ON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Caroline M. Hoxby, an economist at Harvard, studied the effectiveness of school choice programs using five different national surveys ("Do Private Schools Provide Competition for Public Schools?" National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. 4978, 1994.). She found that competition from Catholic schools increased academic achievement at both public and private schools. Specifically, Hoxby examined the "effects of inter-school competition on public schools [based on] the availability and costs of private school alternatives to public schools." Her research showed that greater private school competitiveness raises the academic quality of public schools, wages, and high school graduation rates of public school students. In addition, her study found that public schools react to this competition by increasing their teachers' salaries. Through choice, Hoxby concluded, students in both public and private schools would increase the amount of time they spent in school by about two years while their math and reading test scores would improve by about 10 percent. She also estimated their subsequent wages would increase by 14 percent.

Reports from numerous sources underscore this gloomy assessment. On average, D.C. students perform far worse than all other students at the national level on the National Assessment of Educational Progress exam. The $7,300-per-student school system has been so fraught with mismanagement and corruption that last November the Control Board took over its operation and dismantled the 11-member D.C. school board, taking away its power over budgets and policy and electing retired Army Lieutenant General Julius Becton, Jr., as superintendent.

As General Becton and the D.C. Emergency Transitional School Board struggle to find solutions to the District's problems, a look at D.C.'s approximately 90 nongovernment schools offers guidance for reform efforts. Comparisons (to the extent possible) between public and private schools in the District are instructive. For the following comparison, when local data are not available, national data are used. It is important to note that this study addresses only categories of schools in the District, not individual schools. Several public schools have outstanding achievement records, and not every private school outperforms the public schools.

The following points clarify the condition of private and public school education in the District of Columbia. In each case, the most recent available data are used.

Demographics of D.C. Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Center-City Catholic</th>
<th>Public</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>0.50%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>1.30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: U.S. Department of Education; Archdiocese of Greater Washington.

5 In certain cases, earlier data were used in order to develop consistency in comparisons.
PRIVATE SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

According to information furnished by the most recent census, the D.C. public schools, and the Archdiocese of Greater Metropolitan Washington:

- In 1995, more students attended private schools than at any time since 1986. Over 15,000 students—17 percent of school-age children in the District—attended private schools that year.6
- During the 1994–1995 school year, about the same number of black students attended private schools as white students citywide.7
- According to the most recent census, private school attendance is highest in the District’s third ward, in which students score the highest on DCPS standardized tests. (See Chart 1.)
- In Ward 8, in which the poverty rate tops 25 percent, at least 10 percent of the student population attends private schools. (See Charts 1 and 2 and Table 1.)

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT IN D.C. PUBLIC SCHOOLS8

In the most recent round of DCPS testing, during the 1996–1997 school year (see Chart 3),

- 33 percent of third graders scored below the basic level in reading and math;
- 29 percent of eighth graders scored below basic in reading; and
- 72 percent of eighth graders scored below basic in math.

(On these tests, students can score “below basic,” “basic,” “proficient,” or “advanced.” A score of “proficient” signifies that the student is performing at grade level.)

On the National Assessment of Educational Progress, the District of Columbia consistently scores last behind all participating states. Furthermore:

- 80 percent of DCPS students in fourth grade ranked below the basic math achievement levels in 1996 (see Chart 4);
- 78 percent of DCPS fourth graders ranked below the basic reading achievement levels—nearly twice as low as the national average—in 1994 (see Chart 5); and
- Only 53 percent of the students entering D.C. high schools in ninth grade remained in the system to graduate four years later. Overall, 40 percent of the city’s high school students dropped out or left the District’s schools to attend other schools.

Evidence of the cumulative effect of ineffective schools is found in the amount of remedial education required to bring D.C. public school graduates up to speed when they enter college. In the late 1970s, officials from the University of the District of Columbia (UDC) reported that it took one year of remedial work to do this. Now, according to the D.C. city government and the UDC, the average time required is about two years.9

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8 To protect the privacy of their students, the majority of D.C. private schools were unwilling to release test scores; thus, the authors are unable to provide test score comparisons.
HOW SCHOOL CHOICE BENEFITS MILWAUKEE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The following are excerpts from the affidavit of John Gardner, at-large member of the Milwaukee Public Schools Board of Directors and a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and American Civil Liberties Union, on the positive effects of the Milwaukee school choice program on the city's public schools. (Mr. Gardner submitted this affidavit on September 12, 1996, in defense of the Milwaukee School Choice Program in Warner Jackson, et al. vs. John T. Benson, et al. and Parents for School Choice, et al., No. 95-CV-1982, and Milwaukee Teachers' Education Association, et al. vs. John T. Benson, et al. and Parents for School Choice, et al., No. 95-CV-1997.)

My involvement with Milwaukee Public Schools—as a member of the school board, as a parent, and as an active and concerned citizen—has persuaded me that MPS's internal reforms require the sustained challenge and competition of the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program. The program also puts effective pressure on MPS to expand, accelerate, and improve reforms long deliberated and too-long postponed. The following examples demonstrate MPS's responsiveness to the needs and requests of our low-income minority families during 1995-96:

- MPS has, at long last, approved its first charter school.
- MPS authorized three small, innovative high schools initiated by MPS teachers.
- We approved our third Montessori school, after more than a decade of long waiting lists [of students that want] to enter our two highly successful MPS Montessori schools.
- Low-income MPS parents have long complained about the unpredictable continuity for their children, and are especially disadvantaged by racial and geographic restrictions from entering MPS's most popular schools in the lottery random selection process. We increased educational continuity at five schools.
- In an historic action, the MPS board voted to close six schools we identified as failing and to reconstitute these schools' administrations and faculties.
- We have expanded our use of partnership schools.
- We authorized two elementary schools to contract for expanded classroom space.
- We have contracted with two religiously affiliated, non-sectarian schools for exceptional education students.

I believe that the challenge and competition provided by the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program for exemplary educational standards, and options for state-aid dollars, made the critical difference in instituting these long-overdue reforms during the 1995–96 school year.
NATIONAL COMPARISONS TO CATHOLIC INNER-CITY SCHOOLS

Many studies have found that the poorest students in the country’s inner cities perform better in Catholic schools. For example, 23 percent of eighth graders from the poorest families who attend public schools across the country perform below basic levels in reading, compared with 11.2 percent of poor students in Catholic schools. (See Chart 6.)

STUDENT DISCIPLINE AND SAFE LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

Various surveys of students and teachers present drastic differences in the environments of public and private schools. For example:

- 16 percent of students in the District’s public schools have reported carrying a weapon into school; 11 percent avoid school because they fear for their safety. By contrast, during the 1996–1997 school year, D.C. Catholic schools reported only one instance of a weapon at school and only one drug incident. No serious violence was reported. (See Chart 7.)
- Despite a high level of violence during the 1992–1993 school year, the DCPS reported expelling students at a rate of only 24 per 1,000 pupils, far below the urban school average of 114. In D.C. Catholic schools, only 2 children were expelled.
- 19 percent of D.C. public school teachers report verbal abuse as a serious problem, as opposed to 17 percent of public school teachers in central cities nationwide and a mere 1.8 percent of private school teachers in central cities nationwide. (See Chart 8.)

BUDGETS AND BUREAUCRACY

According to data on public and private school budgets and administrative costs from the Archdiocese of Greater Metropolitan Washington and the D.C. public schools:

- The District has only 16 teachers per administrator, compared with the national average of 42. Catholic schools in the District fund 255 teachers for every administrator. (See Chart 9.)
- Only a little more than 50 percent of the District’s education expenditures goes toward instruction, while the rest of the country spends 62 percent. (See Chart 10.) Catholic schools in the District allocate more than 63 percent of their expenditures to instruction.
- The DCPS average per-pupil expenditure was about $7,300 in fiscal year 1996, higher than the national average for almost all big cities. D.C. “center city” Catholic schools educate their students at a cost of about $2,700 per pupil. (See Chart 11.) Overall, educating a student at 88 private schools in the District (including both sectarian and nonsectarian schools) costs less than $4,000 a year; at 65, it costs less than $3,200.
- Despite high funding levels per student, a D.C. Financial Control Board survey found that 12 percent of D.C. public school classrooms did not have textbooks at the beginning of the 1996–1997 school year, and 20 percent did not have adequate supplies.

11 Interview with Vincent Clark, Catholic Archdiocese of Greater Metropolitan Washington. The Archdiocese received these numbers from its 16 “center city” Catholic schools for the 1996–1997 school year.
12 This number reflects the actual cost to the school system for the 1995–1996 school year, not the tuition rate charged per pupil.
13 Strauss and Horwitz, “Students Caught in a Cycle of Failure,” op. cit.
After school officials announced over two years ago that they had abolished nearly 180 bureaucratic positions, school records later revealed that they actually had cut only 100 slots—all of them teaching positions.14

In 1996, the federal government revoked $20 million in grants awarded to the system because of gross mismanagement. For example, the District spent $1.6 million on unrelated personnel salaries instead of extra instruction for disadvantaged students, as required by law.

The DCPS spend $21 million annually to send 1,079 special education students to private schools. This comes to $19,500 per student, a rate that is five times the national average.

QUALITY OF FACILITIES

Waste and inefficiency are widely cited as partly responsible for the city’s deteriorating schools. For example:

According to the Superintendent’s Task Force on Education Infrastructure, a comprehensive facilities assessment of 189 school system buildings in 1991 found more than 16,000 physical deficiencies that would cost an estimated $584 million to repair.

In 1996, the U.S. General Accounting Office reported that 91 percent of D.C. public schools had at least one inadequate building feature and 73 percent of the District’s schools had at least one unsatisfactory environmental condition, including improper lighting, heating, and ventilation. (See Chart 12.) The average age of DCPS buildings is 50 years.15

The GAO also found that 25 percent of the maintenance budget never left the facilities office.

In the early 1990s, the D.C. Council allocated $63 million for roof repairs. According to Control Board analysts, only 7 percent of that money was spent on roof repairs. Much of the remainder was diverted to pay for salaries.16

CONCLUSION

The D.C. public school system needs sweeping reform. It is still far from clear, however, that needed reforms will be implemented soon. That is why allowing students from the bottom rung of the ladder to attend private schools, as contemplated by the D.C. Student Opportunity Scholarship Act of 1997 now being considered by Congress, is so necessary. The District’s public schools have failed to prepare students for success; the District’s private schools offer a less expensive, more effective alternative. Until General Becton is able to bring public schools up to par, children living in the nation’s capital should have the choice to attend a school that will provide them with the quality education they deserve, whether that school is public or private.

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DCPS Schools Producing Highest Outcomes in Wards in Which Most Students Attend Private Schools

![Graph showing the relationship between Ward and the percent of children in private schools and the public school CTBS percentile.]

Note: CTBS is the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills. The District has since switched to the Stanford Achievement Test. The latest scores are not yet available by ward.

Source: 1990 U.S. Census; D.C. Office of Planning; DCPS.

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>Children in Private Schools</th>
<th>Poverty Rate</th>
<th>Median Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>$26,798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>$31,716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>65.0%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>$48,967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>$33,025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>$26,874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>$32,647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>$25,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>$21,312</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1990 U.S. Census; D.C. Office of Planning; DCPS.
In 1990, Even the Highest Poverty Area in D.C. Had 10 Percent of Students Attending Private Schools

Source: 1990 U.S. Census; D.C. Office of Planning, DCPS.

DCPS Students Scoring on Stanford Achievement Test, 1997

Source: D.C. Office of Planning, DCPS.
D.C. Fourth Grade Public School Students Score Significantly Lower Than D.C. Private Students in Math Achievement

Source: National Assessment of Educational Progress.

78 Percent of D.C. Fourth Grade Students Score Below Basic Level in Reading Achievement

Source: DCPS; National Assessment of Educational Progress.
National Comparison: Eighth Graders from the Lowest Socioeconomic Quartile Perform Better in Catholic Schools


Teachers and Students Report That D.C. Public Schools Are More Dangerous Than the National Average

Chart 2

Abuse and Disrespect of Teachers: D.C. Public Schools Compared with National Averages, 1993-1994

Verbal Abuse of Teachers

- 19% (D.C. Public Schools)
- 1.8% (National Average)
- 17.1% (Center City Public Schools)

Disrespect of Teachers

- 31% (D.C. Public Schools)
- 24.9% (National Average)
- 3.1% (Center City Private Schools)

Note: Figures based on teacher reports.

Chart 3

Number of Teachers Per Central Administrator, 1992-1993

- D.C. Catholic Schools: 225
- Chicago: 91
- Peer Average: 42
- Baltimore: 25
- D.C. Public Schools: 16

Note: Peer Average is the average of cities with similar demographics.
Only Half of the District's Education Expenditures Go Toward Instruction—The National Average Is 63 Percent


In FY 1996, DCPS Spent Almost Three Times as Much Per Student as Center City Catholic Schools

Note: Figures are for total spending per pupil, not tuition.
D.C. Public Schools Have Two to Three Times as Many Safety Problems Than the National Average

Share of Schools with Inadequate Features

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of Safety Problem</th>
<th>D.C.</th>
<th>National Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exterior Walls, Windows</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roofs</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lighting</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety Codes</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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