With class-size reduction (CSR) in California now a reality, some early evaluations of the program are now possible. A contribution to this early assessment is offered here. The paper describes teachers' and parents' renewed confidence in public education despite the challenges presented by the logistics of implementing the program in the nation's largest state. Besides physical space and qualified teachers coming at a premium, questions remain whether the positive results CSR achieved elsewhere will be realized in California. Questions also remain about teacher supply and teaching quality, particularly the disturbing finding that desperation hiring has brought in new teachers who are less experienced, less qualified, and less skilled, on average, than those of previous years. Other effects are evident on teacher preparation and staff development, and an analysis of how teacher supply and facilities will be affected is offered. Some of the responses that teachers and parents have to CSR are given, and numerous equity issues, such as teachers' credentials, are covered. Some of the other factors discussed include sustainability, collective bargaining concerns, and the impact on other programs. Information resources for finding out more about CSR are provided. (RJM)
Class Size Reduction in California

A One-Year Status Check

by Joan McRobbie

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In collaboration with the Association of California School Administrators and EdSource

WestEd

Improving Education through Research, Development and Service
What's the bottom line on the progress of the class size reduction program?
This analysis offers the latest findings and asks some provocative questions.

The first-year frenzy may be over, but the campaign for smaller classes continues — and the push to improve early learning, especially in reading and math, only seems to gain urgency.

This summer's expansion to include all four K-3 grades raised the bar for school districts faced with often painful tradeoffs and competing priorities.

The state's nearly $1 billion expenditure last year, followed by this year's $1.5 billion allocation, makes CSR one of the biggest education reform investments in U.S. history.

Exactly how history will judge the results is an open question. But surveys and press reports indicate enormous public support, especially among parents and primary-grade teachers. That response, coupled with the state's robust economic outlook, makes continuing expansion of the program look possible for at least four or five more years.

By nearly all anecdotal accounts — the only kind available so far — smaller classes mean a better quality of life for primary grade teachers and young students.

Teachers report that they are covering more material faster, have fewer discipline problems, and have more time to give individual attention to students.

Parents of those students say it's a no-brainer: in smaller classes, their children are happier and learn more.

Revival of confidence
On a larger scale, class size reduction is a change so tangible and so in keeping with public priorities that it seems to have sparked a revival of confidence in the state's public schools. In one highly visible stroke, it's challenged those who said the system was incapable of change.

Flush with money and the popularity of CSR, the governor and Legislature expanded the program and raised the amount per pupil from $650 to $800. Districts are welcoming the extra cash; the average cost per student last year of $740 to $770 meant that in many districts, money was sucked out of the general fund that otherwise might have paid for another program, an upper-grade need or teacher raises.

But expansion has its problems. The devil is in the details. Schools and districts continue to struggle with the complex instructional and logistical dilemmas that CSR has brought with it.

The heart of the problem is infrastructure. Facilities and personnel — last year's big stumbling blocks for most schools — are now even harder to come

by Joan McRobbie
by, and many of last year's temporary solutions — classroom space created on assembly stages; teachers hired on emergency permits — now require change or additional support.

Without breathing room, and with the “easy” space and teacher recruitment solutions used up, many schools must either call a moratorium (difficult, given the climate of enthusiasm), opt for more expensive solutions (portables) or consider undesirable alternatives (unqualified teachers, classrooms in the space behind the stage).

**Confronting the unknown**

Many questions remain unanswered:

- **Will the benefits justify the costs?**
  The policy has its roots in findings from an impressive Tennessee study called Project STAR, which found that children in the early grades benefit from small classes, at least in reading and math, and that benefits appear to last over time, even if the children later move to larger classes.

- Exporting the experiment to California, however, radically changed its scale and complexity, which led to doubts whether similar results could be achieved here. Moreover, Tennessee’s small classes averaged 15; California’s are a third larger. And other research suggests that getting class sizes below 15 may be key. Gains don’t result from CSR alone; teaching and learning behaviors also need to be changed. That’s a variable that has been thinly documented in California but is being closely watched.

- **Will California’s classes be small enough, and will teachers be able to take full advantage of the opportunities smaller classes present?** The stark reality is that most of the state’s newly-hired teachers are inexperienced. Nearly 30 percent are also uncredentialed. What effect will that have on the quality of instruction and on the state’s return on its CSR investment?

  Then there’s the money issue. It appears that inner-city children may have less access than others to CSR’s benefits due to the pressure on schools’ facilities and/or lack of qualified teachers. Yet findings from Project STAR and other research suggest that CSR dollars might best be focused on those very schools, since they serve many students from minority and adverse socio-economic backgrounds — two groups that tend to gain most from smaller classes.

- **Bottom line, CSR’s success will be judged by student achievement. But measuring achievement gains poses enormous challenges. For starters, no data were collected up front to measure gains against. And there’s no statewide test to give districts a common yardstick. Next spring, students in grades two through 11 will probably take a new test, but comparing scores with results from 1996-97 will be problematic.**

  It’s generally agreed that assessing the learning of first and second graders is itself a difficult feat — one requiring multiple measures. On top of all that, both local and statewide evaluators face the thorniest problem of all: how to
Toward reading and math instruction, per dated by CSR, but content leans more appear to be offering some training under way, are on fast-forward.

Internal reforms at CSU, previously mandated evaluation, but an independent one is being planned. Meanwhile, a number of surveys and analyses (listed on page 11), along with press reports, have attempted to get a fix on how CSR is turning out.

**Teacher supply and teaching quality: 1996-97**

- **Number of teachers hired for CSR:** 18,400—a 115 percent increase in the elementary teacher demand.
- **Percentage of CSR-hired teachers on emergency permits:** 21.
- **Most troubling finding to date:** Desperation hiring has brought in new teachers who are less experienced, less qualified and less skilled, on average, than those of previous years. The teachers on emergency permits have bachelor’s degrees and passed the minimum competency test, but most have no teaching experience or preparation. CSU’s Institute for Education Reform has sounded an alarm on the “state of emergency in the state of elementary teachers,” raising pointed questions such as: Do parents know that their children’s teachers may not meet minimum standards? What does this mean for CSR’s success?

**Impact on teacher preparation:** “Preservice” and “in-service” are becoming interchangeable terms as many newly-hired teachers prepare on the job. New collaborations have mushroomed between K-12 and higher education, particularly around internships. Internal reforms at CSU, previously under way, are on fast-forward.

**Staff development:** Most districts appear to be offering some training mandated by CSR, but content leans more toward reading and math instruction, per the Reading Initiative. Focus on effective smaller-class teaching strategies seems blurred by lack of clarity about successful techniques and/or materials.

Staff development time varies, but for experienced teachers it’s generally three to four days; for novices, two or three more plus mentoring. CSR’s drain on the substitute pool—one in four new hires had been subs—has translated to fewer student-free days. Instead, teachers get inservice after school and on weekends, which raises collective bargaining issues. For staff development, as for preservice, creative new teams are emerging. County offices in particular are notable for their leadership.

**Recruitment needs:** Between CSR, the nation’s fastest growing student enrollment, attrition and an aging teacher work force, estimates are that California will need to hire as many as 250,000 teachers over the next 10 years—more than the current total on the job.

A statewide task force has urgently called for a cohesive approach to recruitment and outlined a multi-faceted strategy that includes paying teachers more and highlighting the crisis rather than sweeping it under the rug. The need for urban teachers is especially acute and growing. Ditto for teachers of limited-English-proficient students and special education.

**Most encouraging sign:** Initiatives like the state’s nine-year-old Beginning Teacher Support and Assessment program are paying off in a dramatic fall in attrition for new, credentialed teachers, which in turn should help reduce the number of emergency hires.

**Teacher supply/teaching quality: 1997-98 and beyond**

**Outlook for expansion:** Full four-grade implementation would require hiring another 16,500 teachers, assuming the current class size average of 19. How much expansion will occur this school year is unknown.

**Facilities: 1996-97**

- **Total added classes:** 18,000
- **State funding allocation:** $200 million.
- **Estimated actual cost:** $406 million (Ilig, 1997).

**Overall impact on state’s facilities:** An already serious situation is now worse. Even before CSR, the state faced an estimated need to build 12 new classrooms every day over the next eight years. New classrooms added last year for CSR would equal 400 new elementary schools...
an investment of nearly $3 billion, says School Services of California, Inc.

It noted that the state opted instead for "bargain basement solutions." Space "scrounged" from other programs most commonly affected computer labs, child care centers, libraries, music rooms, multi-purpose rooms, administrators' quarters, teachers' lounges and special day classes.

Most painful finding: Districts that implemented with the most enthusiasm, i.e., in three grades, were not those with the most room to spare, reports School Services. Instead, the high implementers suffered the most pain from sacrifices made to find space. This suggests that CSR decisions are being driven by reasons other than adequate resources.

Most predictable finding: Districts shied away from making room by switching to multi-track, year-round scheduling because it takes months to implement and is often unpopular with parents and school staff.

Facilities: 1997-98 and beyond

Outlook for expansion: Expensive. Low-cost options are nearly exhausted; what's left are big-ticket solutions. The main alternatives are more portables or new construction. Districts with "landlocked" schools — maxed out on property and playground space — could add grades only through major, disruptive reorganization, such as creating a "primary center" and moving older students to other sites.

All this considered, the total one-time, facility-related cost of full implementation in all four K-3 grades is estimated at $1.1 billion.

Best hope on the horizon: Gov. Wilson supports putting a multi-billion-dollar bond on the statewide ballot in 1998 — at least $1 billion of it earmarked for CSR — and changing the two-thirds vote required for local bonds to a simple majority. The 44 local bonds passed last spring will help — most notably, Los Angeles's $2.4 billion bond win.

Teacher and parent responses

Teachers in reduced-size classes: Veteran teachers, freed of their accustomed load of 30 or more kids, can hardly find enough superlatives. Time once taken up managing the group can now go into instruction and personal attention.

In reading, each child can get more practice time. ("I can go around the classroom and have them read to me twice.") Curriculum coverage is faster.

Time once taken up just managing the students can now go into instruction and personal attention. Curriculum coverage is faster, and quiet, "good" students can now get noticed.

("It's the difference between driving in rush hour and not. You have the same destination, but there are fewer obstacles to getting there.")

Quiet, "good" students can now get noticed. (Education Week reported one teacher's discovery that a quiet child who read perfectly every day turned out to have memorized each assignment with help from older siblings.)

On the downside, some teachers fear they'll be blamed if test scores don't jump, even though variables they can't control — such as student mobility — are also involved. Many novice teachers are struggling. Greener than the usual fledglings, they need help, and support varies by district.

Worries include: Will teacher inexperience retard, if not undo, the benefits of small-class benefits and/or create inequities? If first-grade material is covered faster, will the second grade change accordingly?

Kindergarten teachers: Some who have been left out are chagrined as well as concerned about program quality. In some schools, kindergarten classes have not only remained large, but also have been moved to smaller quarters so that their spaces could be subdivided for two or more 20:1 first- or second-grade classes.

Upper grade teachers. There's a mix of envy, support, resentment and hope. Many have lent support (e.g., intermediate-grade teachers agreeing to mid-year moves to provide primary space), expecting benefits later in terms of better-grounded kids. But concerns raised by the different workloads are headed for the bargaining table.

Parents: Most with kids in 20:1 classes are happy. Some have actively campaigned to influence decisions, including arguing against 40:2 team-taught classes or multi-grade groupings. Urban parents are aware there's a shortage of qualified teachers. Some upper-grade parents are angry about being left out or being asked to accept changes such as their children starting middle school in sixth grade.

Equity issues

Teacher-related: Most emergency teacher hires are in urban districts, which faced the toughest recruitment challenges, compounded by an exodus of teachers taking up jobs elsewhere. Of 1,500 Los Angeles Unified teachers hired by early September last year, half had only emergency credentials. Yet urban schools serve concentrations of poor and minority students whose needs call for more, not less, knowledge and experience.

What's also unknown is the impact of reportedly significant numbers of new and/or uncredentialed teachers assigned to special or bilingual education classes, where teacher shortages are chronic.
Facility-related: Especially in urban areas, districts have space for expansion at some schools but not others. The students most likely to benefit from CSR are in the schools least likely to have room to expand.

San Diego's board gave blanket approval anyway. Indications are that the district's sites feel so pressured to get the numbers down — by communities and a pending accountability system — that they're stretching the limits on learning space.

Other critical issues

Sustainability: CSR is now part of the state's permanent school finance structure. But some worry that funding increases may be insufficient to sustain it, especially as it expands. The legislative analyst estimates that per-pupil costs in five to seven years (based on average, rather than new, teacher salary levels and assuming an average class size of 19) will be about $1,020 in current terms.

Collective bargaining concerns: The major issue is CSR's impact on teacher salary increases. Other issues are large class teacher workloads, longer days for a.m./p.m. kindergarten teachers, and night and weekend time required for staff development.

Impact on choice: CSR has attracted some transfers from private schools. But some parents could not find a classroom slot in the school of their choice because of the 20:1 cap. Similarly, the numbers restrict choice of preferred teacher. And some youngsters have been shut out of their neighborhood schools and forced to travel to where space is available. Oakland, for example, had 950 such students last year. No district busing meant they had to find their own way to school.

The kindergarten vs. grade three decision: Districts expanding to three rather than four grades must choose kindergarten or third. Debate continues over which is the better educational choice. Some promote third as the last chance to help poor readers; others say a jump-start in kindergarten would make for fewer poor readers by third grade. Administrators also differ about whether kindergarten is academic or developmental.

Impact on other programs: The jury is still out on limited English proficient programs, and CSR magnifies the problem of a chronic shortage of bilingual teachers.

So far, indications for special education are mixed. In some cases, more individual attention means fewer kids referred; in others, it means more. Some special education classes were moved to smaller spaces and some lost teachers to regular classes. Reform programs such as the Los Angeles Educational Alliance for Restructuring Now and the Bay Area School Reform Collaborative feel that they're fighting for attention. But some feel that in the end, such programs may benefit from the good feeling about schools generated by CSR.

By Bill Cirone

Class size reduction has the overwhelming support of teachers, parents and administrators in Santa Barbara County, according to a comprehensive countywide survey coordinated by the county's Education Office.

Legislation on class size reduction was passed only late last summer — which meant districts had about seven weeks to organize this formidable undertaking.

The final decision on which grades would take part was determined by the availability of classroom space, the funding available to buy or lease portable classrooms, and the ability to hire more teachers.

All districts in our county reduced class size in at least one grade level. Many were able to extend that to other grade levels.

It was an ambitious effort to improve student achievement and it took a substantial allocation of resources to achieve it. So educators in Santa Barbara County took seriously the need for a self-imposed source of accountability.

A committee of the county's Curriculum Council, led by assistant superintendent Paul Cordeiro, met immediately to discuss ways to evaluate class size reduction. The committee developed a survey to find out how successful class size reduction had been in the eyes of parents, teachers and principals.

It will be some time before test scores can be correlated with smaller classrooms, so the perception of parents and teachers is clearly significant.

The survey was returned by 5,007 parents of students in smaller classes and by 445 educators from the county's 23 school districts.

The highlights follow:

- When asked to grade the effect class size reduction has had on the opportunity for students to reach their full potential, 78 percent of teachers chose "A" and 20 percent chose "B."

- When asked to assess the effect of smaller classes on the quality of the educational program a teacher can offer, 82 percent of the teachers gave an "A" grade and 17 percent chose "B."

- Parents broadly agreed. When asked to grade the effect on the quality of their child's education, 69 percent chose "A" and 26 percent chose "B."

- When asked to assess the effect of smaller classes on the opportunity their child has to reach full potential, 69 percent of the parents voted "A" and 25 percent voted "B."

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Compiled by WestEd and EdSource

From EdSource:
- “Smaller Classes for the Youngest Students,” June 1997

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  (www.WestEd.org/policy).
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Phone: (415) 565-3044.

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www.library.ca.gov/CRB/clssiz.html; or call (916) 653-7843.


San Diego County Office of Education, three opinion surveys for parents (English and Spanish), teachers and principals. Designed to provide data for program planning, improvement and expansion and to help board members, legislators and the media determine levels of support for CSR. School districts may copy, modify and distribute the surveys without restriction.
www.sdcoe.k12.ca.us/csr_survey or contact Doug Langdon, (619) 292-3688 or dlangdon@sdcoe.k12.ca.us.


“Planning a Professional Development Program and Developing Professional Practices: A Response to the Class Size Reduction and Reading Initiatives,” California Staff Development

continued on page 32
Where to find out more about class size reduction

continued from page 11

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Carol_Lingman@fcbbs.sonoma.k12.ca.
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rwroach@speedlink.com or call

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www.cascd.org or call (800) 660-9899.

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