

Approved May 15, 1991
Date

MINUTES OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

The meeting was called to order by SENATOR JOSEPH C. HARDER at
Chairperson

1:00 ~~xxx~~/p.m. on Monday, March 11, 1991 in room 123-S of the Capitol.

All members were present except:

Committee staff present:

Mr. Ben Barrett, Legislative Research Department
Ms. Avis Swartzman, Revisor of Statutes
Mr. Dale Dennis, Assistant Commissioner of Education
Mrs. Millie Randell, Committee Secretary

Conferees appearing before the committee:

SB 199 - Tuition voucher act, pilot program

Proponents:

Senator Eugene Anderson, co-sponsor of SB 199
Senator Eric Yost, co-sponsor of SB 199
Mr. Roger Grund, Wichita, Executive Director, Home Owners Trust
Mr. Bob Runnels, Executive Director, Kansas Catholic Conference
Mr. Dan Elsener, Superintendent, Wichita Catholic Schools
Dr. Douglas Iliff, Topeka
Ms. Kenda L. Bartlett, Kansas City, Legislative Liaison, Concerned Women
for America of Kansas
Mr. John McDonough, Lenexa, concerned citizen

Opponents:

Ms. Robin Nichols, USD 259, Wichita
Mr. John Koepke, Executive Director, Kansas Association of School
Boards
Mr. Gerry Henderson, Executive Director, United School Administrators
of Kansas (also speaking on behalf of Kansas-National Education
Association)

Chairman Joseph C. Harder called the meeting to order and announced that the Committee will consider bills previously heard before proceeding with the hearing on SB 199, relating to the Tuition Voucher Act.

SB 109 - Teachers, costs of hearings provided upon nonrenewal or termination of contracts of employment

The Chair referred Committee attention to SB 109, relating to costs of hearings upon nonrenewal or termination of teacher contracts. He informed members that although the bill has been heard by the Committee, HB 2120, which deals with the same concept, has been passed by the House and will be referred to the Senate Education Committee. The Chair said that the Committee would hear and consider HB 2120 instead of working SB 109.

SB 143 - Teachers, time requirement for hearings upon nonrenewal or termination of contracts of employment.

The Chairman referred Committee attention to SB 143, relating to a time requirement imposed upon teacher hearings, and asked the Committee's pleasure. Senator Kerr moved that SB 143 be recommended favorably for passage. Senator Frahm seconded the motion, and the motion carried.

SB 199 - Tuition voucher act, pilot program

The Chair reverted Committee attention to SB 199 and announced that Committee consideration of additional bills will resume following the hearing on SB 199. The Chair recognized Senator Eugene Anderson, co-sponsor of SB 199.

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room 123-S, Statehouse, at 1:00 ~~xxx~~ p.m. on Monday, March 11, 19 91

Senator Anderson explained that SB 199 is designed to allow USD 259, Wichita, to set up a pilot program for the district's students authorizing the use of vouchers equal to the per pupil expenditure for students in the district. Senator Anderson called attention to the fact that there are gifted programs in 23 schools with a current total cost of over \$5M to Sedgwick County. Last year, he said, more than 1500 students participated in the gifted program. Senator Anderson said that SB 199 is a possible vehicle for reducing those costs. (Attachment 1)

Replying to a question, Senator Anderson said the voucher program would allow parents to choose either a public or private school approved by the State Board of Education. Senator Anderson also replied that he would not oppose targeting the bill to low-income families.

The Chair recognized Senator Eric Yost, co-sponsor of SB 199. Senator Yost informed the Committee he wished to clarify two possible concerns related to the voucher system. The first, he said, is the entanglement between church and state. He said "the U.S. Supreme Court has upheld legislation which provided for aid which happened to be used in parochial, private, or religious schools so long as such aid is not provided to the school, but to the parents. The parents merely opt to take that money, or voucher, to the school. This is not a violation of the Constitution".

Senator Yost said that the second issue for clarification is the rich vs. the poor. He countered that rich individuals already have those choices; many already have their children in private schools. He said SB 199 would help poor students who reside in districts where schools often are neglected; if the poorer students cannot afford a private school, they could choose to attend a better school within the public system. Senator Yost said he felt the Wichita Public School system would be able to work out logistics on the system.

Replying to a question, Senator Yost said the intention of SB 199 for determining state aid per pupil in USD 259 is to divide the total amount of state aid to USD 259 by the total number of students enrolled in all accredited schools, not only public schools, in USD 259. Senator Yost also replied that SB 199 would have no fiscal impact upon the state other than for the minimal amount of time it would take to process the vouchers. Senator Yost estimated that there are about 51,000 students in USD 259 and about 8,000 of these attend private schools.

Mr. Roger Grund, Executive Director, Home Owners Trust, Wichita, thanked Senator Anderson and Senator Yost for drafting SB 199. Mr. Grund stated that he has been monitoring the USD 259 budget for nine consecutive budget years and described his experiences at the last budget hearing in August, (1990) when he testified against extending the contract for Dr. Stuart Berger, superintendent.

Mr. Grund expressed support for the voucher system which, he said, would enable parents to make a choice of where to send their children to school. Mr. Grund said the present system of paying teachers based on longevity and the number of post-graduate credit hours is a disincentive for teachers to excel. Mr. Grund informed members of his wife's experiences as a teacher and an observer in a Catholic school where students outperform those in the public school system. Many parents, he said, have expressed a desire for their children to attend a Catholic or private school if they could afford it. He said the annual cost per student at Kapaun-Mt. Carmel High School is \$3200 compared to \$4706 in USD 259. Mr. Grund stated he would like to see SB 199 amended to put a ceiling on the amount of funding that goes to USD 259 in order to reduce the per pupil aid.

Replying to a question, Mr. Grund stressed the need for competition as an incentive to economize and to improve public school education. He said

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the voucher system would help all students, including low-income students.

The Chair recognized Mr. Bob Runnels, Executive Director, Kansas Catholic Conference. Testifying in support of SB 199, Mr. Runnels stated that "nonpublic schools have consistently educated children at a much lower cost per child than our public schools". (Attachment 2)

The Chair recognized Mr. Dan Elsener, Superintendent of the Wichita Catholic Schools, a proponent of SB 199. Superintendent Elsener noted that "although much blaming and window dressing has taken place in response to cries for reform, little significant change has occurred". He stressed the importance of competition to effect improved change. (Attachment 3)

In response to a question, Superintendent Elsener said that their average cost per student is \$2,000. He also replied that some of their students are classified as special education students, and they are served as best as possible with their limited resources. He indicated he would like to see their program for special education students expanded.

Mr. Dale Dennis, staff, responding to a question, said that SB 199 does not provide for the excess costs for special education students.

Mr. Elsener recommended that SB 199 be amended to include additional funding for special education students.

The Chair welcomed Dr. Douglas R. Iliff, Topeka, to the Committee. Dr. Iliff commented that in the nineteen years of their co-existence, the liberal Brookings Institution and the conservative Heritage Foundation have agreed on only one issue, and that is the need for school vouchers to reform our nation's educational system. (Attachment 4)

Referring to the Topeka private school which he helped found, Dr. Iliff said the average cost per student is \$1700, if you include the scholarships. Dr. Iliff acknowledged that an even better job could be done with more money. Dr. Iliff recommended an amount of \$2500 for the voucher program to lower taxes and to have better schools at the same time.

Replying to a question of logistics on a statewide program, Dr. Iliff emphasized that transportation is the key to an effective voucher system. He said that although this would create some expense, there would be tremendous savings in other areas.

Responding further, Dr. Iliff said that the starting teacher salaries in his school are comparable to those of the public schools, but that is not true of the upper echelons. Dr. Iliff said that graduation requirements include 4 years each of science, math, and a foreign language.

The Chair next called on Ms. Kenda Bartlett, Legislative Liaison, Concerned Women for America of Kansas. Ms. Bartlett stated that "it has been shown in more than one study that the amount of money that a school system receives is not necessarily an indicator of success". (Attachment 5)

When Mr. John McDonough, Lenexa, was called upon to testify, Mr. McDonough stated support for SB 199 and described it as a long overdue plan that will provide desperately needed property tax relief for Kansans. Mr. McDonough proposed amending SB 199, and his suggestions are found in Attachment 6.

Opposing SB 199, Ms. Robin Nichols, USD 259, Wichita, stated that "SB 199 directs public money to parents who have already chosen to send their children to nonpublic schools". (Attachment 7)

Mr. John Koepke, Executive Director, Kansas Association of School Boards, stated opposition to SB 199 on "Constitutional, philosophical and practical grounds". (Attachment 8)

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The Executive Director of United School Administrators of Kansas, Mr. Gerry Henderson, informed the Committee that he also is speaking on behalf of Kansas-National Education Association in opposition to "the use of public funds in private schools". (Attachment 9)

Following a call for additional conferees, the Chair announced that the hearing on SB 199 is concluded and the bill will be taken under advisement.

SB 225 - Income tax checkoff, educational excellence grant program

The Chair reverted Committee attention to SB 225, relating to an income tax checkoff for the educational excellence grant program and yielded to Senator Parrish, sponsor of the bill. Per request at a previous meeting, Senator Parrish reviewed the fiscal note on SB 225. (Attachment 10)

When the Chair asked the Committee's pleasure, Senator Parrish moved that SB 225 be recommended favorably for passage. Senator Walker seconded the motion. The Chair ruled that the motion had failed. Committee expressed concern that adding another checkoff to the tax form is precedent setting.

SB 224 - School districts impacted by state activities, financial assistance

The Chair referred Committee attention to SB 224, relating to state impact aid to districts based upon tax-exempt state-owned property in the district. The Chair called for Committee discussion.

When the Chair called for the question, Senator Parrish moved that SB 224 be recommended for interim study. Senator Walker seconded the motion, and the motion carried.

Hearing no further calls for Committee discussion or action on bills, the Chair adjourned the meeting.

SENATE EDUCATION COMMITTEE

TIME: 1:00 p.m.

PLACE: 123-S

DATE: Monday, March 11, 1991

GUEST LIST

<u>NAME</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>	<u>ORGANIZATION</u>
Jim Youally	Overland Park	USD #512
John Koefler	Topeka	KASB
Roger M. Grund, Sr.	Wichita	Home Owners Trust
Kenda Butlett	H. Leavenworth	Concerned Women for Amer. of KS
Brilla Highfill Scott	Topeka	USA
Bill Musick	Menning	St. Bd of Ed
Larry McFilly	El Dorado	USD 490 KASB
Ed Engel	Topeka	Self
Robert Nichols	Wichita	USD 259
Bob Funnels	Morrison	F.S. Lata Conf.
Helen Stephens	PV	USD #229
Craig Trout	Topeka	K-NEA
Ken Baker	Topeka	4th Amendment USAs
Alan Walden	Wichita	
Kan Bellomo	Wichita	
Bernie Koch	Wichita	Wichita Area Chamber
Jack Smooty	Perry	A.C.C.H.
Dan Herms	TOPEKA	Dots
George Lombard	Wichita	Note Center for Privatization
Merle Hise	Jaysboro	KACI
Deanne Ap-	Topeka	U.S.D. #500
Joel Meier	Burton	Page
Holly Dole	Burton	Page
Lois Langel	Burton	Page

SENATE EDUCATION COMMITTEE

TIME: 1:00 p.m. PLACE: 123-S DATE: Monday, March 11, 1991

GUEST LIST

NAME

ADDRESS

ORGANIZATION

<u>NAME</u>	<u>ADDRESS</u>	<u>ORGANIZATION</u>
Matt Israel	Topeka	AP
Wan E. Baker	Wichita	Callaway Schools
Connie Huerfano	Topeka	SLB & JCO
Tim Emerit	Independence	St Bd of Ed
Mark Tallman	Topeka	KASB
John Anderson	Topeka	USA
Doug Tiff	Topeka	none
Bob Norman	Wichita	Esqlo
M. Hanna	Topeka	Cap Journal
Arthur L. Gansel	Goddard, Ks	none
Jeff Debraffewid	Topeka	BV

STATE OF KANSAS

EUGENE (GENE) ANDERSON

SENATOR, DISTRICT TWENTY-NINE
SEDGWICK COUNTY
P.O. BOX 4598
WICHITA, KANSAS 67204



TOPEKA

SENATE CHAMBER

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

RANKING MINORITY MEMBER: FEDERAL AND STATE
AFFAIRS

MEMBER: EDUCATION
PUBLIC HEALTH AND WELFARE
FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND INSURANCE
LEGISLATIVE EDUCATIONAL PLANNING
COMMITTEE
NCSL EDUCATION AND JOB TRAINING
COMMITTEE

TUITION VOUCHER PILOT PROGRAM
USD 259

IN THE PAST 13 YEARS SEVERAL STATES HAVE EMBARKED UPON PROGRAMS EXPANDING CHOICE OPPORTUNITIES FOR STUDENTS ATTENDING PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

CHOICE ENROLLMENT ON A STATEWIDE BASIS IS OPERATIONAL IN MINNESOTA, IOWA, NEBRASKA AND ARKANSAS.

THE STATES OF ARIZONA, OHIO, COLORADO, TEXAS, IDAHO, UTAH AND MASSACHUSETTS HAVE CHOICE PROGRAMS WITHIN SCHOOL DISTRICTS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE STATES.

THE STATE OF WISCONSIN, CITY OF MILWAUKEE, HAS A VOUCHER PROGRAM WHICH IS BEING CHALLENGED IN THE COURTS, AND A VOUCHER PROGRAM WAS DEFEATED IN OREGON BY THE VOTERS IN THE 1990 ELECTIONS.

THIS BILL IS DESIGNED TO ALLOW USD 259 TO SET UP A PILOT PROGRAM FOR THE DISTRICTS STUDENTS, WHICH AUTHORIZES THE USE OF VOUCHERS EQUAL TO THE PER PUPIL EXPENDITURE FOR THE DISTRICT STUDENTS.

THIS PILOT PROGRAM SHOULD ENHANCE PARENT PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDENTS EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS, PROVIDE AN AVENUE TO CONSOLIDATE GIFTED PROGRAMS, AND REDUCE THE COST OF SUCH PROGRAMS WHILE PROVIDING POOR STUDENTS THE SAME OPPORTUNITIES AS WEALTHY ONES, INJECTING A MEASURE OF FREE ENTERPRISE INTO OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

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TUITION VOUCHER PILOT PROGRAM

PAGE TWO:

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION IN ITS MOST RECENT ECONOMIC FORECAST POINTED OUT A WEAKNESS
IN OUR EDUCATION SYSTEM AND URGED SCHOOL DISTRICTS TO ALLOW PARENTS TO CHOOSE THE
PUBLIC SCHOOL THEIR CHILD/CHILDREN SHOULD ATTEND. THIS BILL IS DESIGNED TO
ACCOMPLISH THAT ON A TRIAL BASIS IN USD 259.

SENATOR EUGENE ANDERSON
29TH DISTRICT/WICHITA

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TESTIMONY

S.B. 199 - Monday, March 11, 1991
SENATE EDUCATION COMMITTEE 1:30 p.m.

KANSAS CATHOLIC CONFERENCE
BOB RUNNELS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Mr. Chairman, members of the Senate Education Committee
I am here today to speak in support of Senate Bill 199.

This bill may be the best way to get parents more involved
in schools which may be the key to learning. It gives low
income families the option of choice that enhances their
dignity and broadens their child's opportunity for education
in a school of their choice.

As business women and men you must recognize that the
benefits of our free enterprise competitive system does
result in efficient cost of goods for consumers. Can there
be little doubt then that a benefit of independent schools
don't give the same benefit to education.

Nonpublic schools have consistently educated children
at a much lower cost per child than our public schools.

You will no doubt hear testimony that this pilot program
will threaten the public school system. That argument has
little validity ... as it flies in face of our competitive
system which really has delivered the best products at the
best price. Competition is the American way; it delivers
efficiencies and quality. Nonpublic schools in order to exist
have to prove themselves to every parent who purchases education
from them.

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I ask that you support this "option of choice" and let our school systems compete in Sedgwick County ... is there really any doubt that competition will but strengthen the quality of education.

The people of Kansas have elected you to make wise choices for them in their best interest. Give this test program a chance then based on its own merits judge its effectiveness.

Testimony - Senate Bill 199

By: Dan Elsener, Superintendent of the Wichita Catholic Schools

Mr. Chairman, members of the Senate Education Committee. My name is Dan Elsener, I am the Superintendent of the Catholic schools in the Wichita Diocese, here to speak in support of Senate Bill 199. This bill would allow the state of Kansas to take a dramatic leap forward in improving education and secure the values necessary to sustain a free people.

As a superintendent of a Catholic school system consisting of 36 schools, 8,500 students, and 570 professional educators I am well aware of the effect that choice has on education. Catholic schools have been living with the choice system for many years and it has caused us to work very hard to remain our parents' choice. The only guarantee that our schools will exist and grow is through the service we provide the families who choose us!

The future economic and social well being of our State and Nation is, to a great extent, dependent on the quality of the education we give our youth. A resounding consensus has developed among our nation's economists, social scientists, business leaders, and elected officials that schools must improve if our nation is to maintain our wealth and improve our quality of life.

Cries to improve the quality of education have increased over the last decade. Much blaming and window dressing has taken place in response to these cries for reform, but little significant change has occurred. Why? Because special interest groups have little incentive to change the status quo. Education need the incentive of competition to move forward. The following will result from passage of this pilot program:

1. Quality schools, private, parochial, or public will receive the appropriate resources needed to continue and expand the excellent education they provide the families they serve.
2. Average schools will have to more clearly focus their mission and coalesce the efforts of the teachers, staff, administration, and parents to fulfill that mission.
3. Schools of poor quality that are unwilling to respond to students' needs will go out of existence.

Without such reform we can expect the schools to continue to be hampered by lethargic bureaucracy and interest groups that preserve their needs above those of the students and families they are supposed to serve. Moreover, the rising cost of education will continue to squeeze out those who can least afford and would most benefit from true choice in education.

The state of Kansas, and our Nation, cannot continue business as usual where education is concerned. I urge this committee to make a bold move in educational improvement by reporting Senate Bill 199 favorable for passage.

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TESTIMONY REGARDING SB 199 BY

Douglas Iliff, M.D.

Before the Senate Education Committee: March 11, 1991

In the 19 years of their peaceful co-existence, the Heritage Foundation and the Brookings Institution--those venerable flagship think-tanks of conservatives and liberals, respectively--have agreed on only one issue.

That issue is the need for complete deregulation of American schools through a voucher system.

From the Heritage Foundation, this comes as no surprise. Empowerment of individuals through free markets has long been a philosophical cornerstone of conservatives. Decentralization is on a roll--railroads, trucking, airlines, telecommunications, and soon utilities--not only in America, but worldwide. Our friends in England, France, Canada, and Mexico have beat a hasty retreat from centralized control in the past decade, and have now been joined by our former enemies in Eastern Europe.

The hackneyed arguments of the bureaucrats--those watchers, those planners, those utopian guardians of the people from themselves--are increasingly greeted with derision. The public finds that a free market inevitably produces better goods and services at lower costs, because the integrated wisdom of a thousand consumers proves superior to that of a few experts.

The surprise, then, is the conversion of Brookings fellow John Chubb and Stanford professor Terry Moe, who published "Politics, Markets, and American Schools" last summer.

This was no philosophical treatise. Moe and Chubb performed a multivariate analysis of data drawn from 500 schools and 20,000 students to discover the factors which produce academic progress. Their conclusion: the most effective schools are those where control belongs directly to parents, teachers, and principals.

Their analysis confirmed what earlier studies suggested--that private schools, even after controlling for socioeconomic status of the families enrolled--produce a better education for far less money. But public schools, when operated in a decentralized manner, were found to be equally effective.

The flurry of recent educational reforms is therefore destined to fail like earlier reforms. The government cannot solve the problem, because the government IS the problem. The bureaucrats, the administrators, the middle managers have got to go.

This is really just common sense. I make my living as a family physician, but I've been a teacher all my adult life--of K.U. biology undergraduates, medical students and residents in North Carolina, and kindergarten through 12th graders in Topeka. With a group of friends, I founded a private school in 1980 which now has 225 students. I've been principal, janitor, handyman, publicist, and bookkeeper. I think it would be fair to say that I understand the nuts and bolts of education as well as anyone in this room.

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Based on that experience, I have to say I am amazed that the government can spend over \$5,000 per student each year. Where on earth does the money go? Only 40% trickles down to the teachers (in private schools, the average is 70%). At least half of the other 60% is wasted, pure and simple, on useless bureaucracy. All a school needs to be effective is a good principal, good teachers, and a constituency of patrons who assure--through market forces--that they do their jobs. You don't need a whitened sepulchre set on a hillside full of superintendents and curriculum specialists.

Re-enfranchise the citizens through a voucher system, and you will see an explosion in parental involvement. All those common people, whose influence through our "democratic" school boards is so minimal as to make activism futile, would suddenly discover that their opinions make a difference. That fact has profound implications for the education of our children.

When Brookings and Heritage finally agree, the philosophical battle is over. Vouchers have been endorsed by President Bush and the conference of state governors, and the battle will be joined state-by-state in the 90's. Arrayed against the people, however, are well-entrenched bureaucracies with a lot to lose--the university educational technocrats, teachers' unions (not teachers themselves, who would gain real authority and professional status under a voucher system), and various associations of administrators and school boards.

I suspect that this bill has zero chance of passage this year. Frankly, I'm amazed it even came up. My efforts, therefore, are oriented toward desensitization. Vouchers are not a radical, un-American proposal to balkanize our society; but the idea takes some getting used to. I have culled from my files a few articles from a range of sources which serve as a good introduction. In addition, I would be glad to provide a copy of "Politics, Markets, and American Schools" for your study after the legislative session.

Thank you for your attention.

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School reform's best choice

Here comes school choice, the new 600-pound gorilla of domestic politics. The surprising status of this old issue is largely due to the efforts of one politician: Polly Williams, a black Wisconsin state legislator who pushed through a bill allowing up to 1,000 poor children to attend private, nonsectarian schools with the state paying \$2,500 per year for each pupil. That plan, struck down by the courts on a very minor technicality, is being appealed, but the point is that Williams, almost single-handedly, converted a languishing, middle-class, right-wing issue into a potent one of minority empowerment.

By lashing out at "the poverty industry" and "our liberal friends" who want to control the poor, Williams won the hearts of the right. ("Some Democrats are upset because their whole lives revolve around taking care of dumb poor people," she told me last week. "We're very able people. We just need a little help.") By asking that funds and power be granted directly to the poor, she appealed strongly to the left. As a result, school choice is warmly supported by the liberal Brookings Institution and the conservative Heritage Foundation, by *The Nation* and the *National Review*, by libertarians, Roman Catholics, Afrocentrists, radicals, much of the business

elite (26 articles and opinion pieces on Polly Williams in *The Wall Street Journal* alone), minorities (72 percent favor some form of choice, Gallup says) and by Americans in general (62 percent in favor). This is an astonishing coalition that will produce change and ferment from coast to coast. Predictably, the only major naysayers are the educational bureaucrats and teachers' unions. Reacting like the owners of any company store, both are officially shocked to find that many consumers wish to shop elsewhere.

Serious risks. Since I endorse school choice, including the right to apply vouchers or tuition credits to private and religious schools, let me first raise some reservations about these plans. First, if the free-market model of school choice is accurate, schools may appear and disappear as fast as brands of cake mix. Though a long way off, this would mean a period of great instability, with a psychological toll on children shuffled from school to school.

Second, there is the possibility that choice will further balkanize American society by in effect funding schools with a strong separatist tint. This would include schools run by cults, by some of the more radical Afrocentrists and by Hispanics who do not wish their children to learn English. One need not romanticize the public schools to worry about this kind of institutionalized fragmentation.

I think we should face up to the fact that school choice in effect downgrades the goal of integration by focusing

sharply on quality and the right to pick any school at all. When I asked Polly Williams if excellence and empowerment were more important than integration, she said, "Definitely. If they are priorities, integration will follow." Maybe so, but it isn't obvious. It is true that many experiments focus on "controlled choice" (i.e., choice limited by racial balance), but the logic of the movement is to let parental choice rule, and choice leads just as easily to more segregation as to less. Attempts to restrict choice by quotas will produce a blizzard of lawsuits. It probably is time to make excellence and choice the primary goals in education, but if so, it would be nice to discuss openly what happens to the goal of school integration that America has spent so much energy and money to pursue for two generations.

The most important argument for school choice is the collapse of the public school system. We seem to rank at the bottom in most studies of scholastic achievement in Western nations. Our high-school students don't seem able to find China on a map. In one survey, 45 percent of high-school juniors didn't realize that 9 is 9 percent of 100, and in another, 95 percent of seniors couldn't figure out a bus schedule. American business is said to spend as much

ILLUSTRATION BY MARC ROSENTHAL FOR USNEWS



money each year teaching basics to high school grads as the high schools spend on education and miseducation.

School choice is no panacea. But as the National Endowment for the Humanities recently argued, "Simply because of the forces it sets in motion, choice does have primacy among reforms." Since Polly Williams's experiment was approved, the public school system in Milwaukee has been hustling to carry out its own reforms. That's what competition does. It also unleashes the energies of parents, who have smaller, more accessible schools to deal with and no glacial bureaucracy to cut through. The most celebrated example of this within the public school system is in East Harlem's District 4, which successfully splintered into 44 different schools, along the way raising reading scores from dead last in the city to about the middle of the pack.

But if the challenge to a bureaucratic and monopolistic school system is something like the breakup of communism (the analogy is irresistible), offering choice only within the public schools is akin to offering Russians the right to shop at different state stores. For competition to work, we should respect the right to apply our own tax funds to any kind of school that can help. Seeing that some sort of choice is inevitable, the teachers' unions will likely try to contain it within the public system. But I think that breaking out of that shell is the only way to guarantee widespread change and put the poor on the same footing as the well-off. ■

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL WEDNESDAY, JUNE 6, 1990

A Blueprint for Public Education

By JOHN E. CHUBB

The past decade has been the most ambitious period of school reform in the nation's history. But evidence of school improvement—e.g., in test scores and dropout rates—is almost impossible to find.

How can government work so hard to solve a problem yet make so little progress? The conclusion Stanford Prof. Terry Moe and I reached—after analyzing more than 20,000 students, teachers and principals in a nationwide sample of 500 schools—is that government has not solved the education problem, because government is the problem.

The public education system functions naturally and routinely, despite everyone's best intentions, to burden schools with excessive bureaucracy, to discourage effective school organization, and to stifle student achievement. Efforts to improve schools are therefore doomed unless they eliminate or sharply curtail the influence of the institutions that cause the schools' problems in the first place.

We consequently propose a new system of public education that will not be governed directly by politics but will be controlled indirectly through markets—through school competition and parental choice. Markets, we found, discourage excessive bureaucracy and promote more effective schools. Because states have primary responsibility for public education, the best way to establish a "choice" system is for states to withdraw authority from existing institutions and vest it directly in the schools, parents and students—as follows:

The Supply of Schools

The state will be responsible for setting criteria that define what constitutes a "public school" under the new system. These criteria should be minimal, roughly corresponding to the criteria many states now use in accrediting private schools—graduation requirements, health and safety requirements, and teacher certification requirements. Any group or organization that meets these minimal criteria must then be chartered as a public school and granted the right to accept students and receive public money. Existing private and parochial schools (as long as their religious functions are kept separate) will be eligible, and their participation should be encouraged, because they constitute a ready supply of often-effective schools.

School districts can continue running their present schools, but they will have no authority over any of the others that may be chartered by the state.

Funding

The state will set up a Choice Office in each district, which, among other things, will maintain a record of all school-age children and the level of funding—the

"scholarship" amounts—associated with each child. This office will directly compensate schools based on the specific children they enroll. Public money will flow from funding sources to the Choice Office and then to schools.

The state must pay to support its own Choice Office in each district. Districts may retain as much of their current governing apparatus as they wish, but they have to pay for it out of the scholarship revenue of those children who choose to attend district-run schools.

As it does now, the state will have the right to specify how much, or by what formula, each district must contribute for each child. Our preference is for an equalization approach that requires wealthier districts to contribute more per child than poor districts do and that guarantees an adequate financial foundation to students in all districts.

Scholarships will also take into account special educational needs—arising from

programs, and they cannot do that if their students are thrust on them by outsiders. They must be free to admit as many or as few students as they want, based on whatever criteria they think relevant.

Schools will set their own "tuitions." They may choose to do so explicitly, say, by publicly announcing the minimum scholarship they are willing to accept. They may also do it implicitly by allowing anyone to apply for admission and simply making selections, knowing in advance what each applicant's scholarship amount is. In either case, schools are free to admit students with different-sized scholarships and to keep the entire scholarship that accompanies each student they admit. That gives schools incentives to attract students with special needs, since these children have the largest scholarships.

While it is important to give parents and students as much flexibility as possible, we think it unwise to let them supplement their scholarships with personal

tuitions, allowing each school to decide for itself whether to adopt a tenure policy and what the specifics will be. This change is essential if schools are to have the flexibility to build well-functioning teams of professionals. Some schools may rely solely on pay and working conditions to attract teachers, while others may offer tenure as a means of compensating and retaining their best teachers.

Teachers will continue to have a right to join unions and engage in collective bargaining, but the bargaining unit will be the individual school or, as in the case of the district government, the organization that runs the school.

The state will continue to certify teachers, but requirements will be minimal. Individuals should be certified to teach if they have a bachelor's degree and if their personal history reveals no obvious problems. Whether they are good teachers will be determined in practice, as schools decide whom to hire, observe their own teachers in action, and make decisions about merit, promotion and dismissal.

The state will hold the schools accountable for meeting the criteria set out in their charters, for adhering to nondiscrimination laws, and for making available to the public, through the Parent Information Center, information on their mission, their staff and course offerings, standardized test scores (which we would make optional), parent and student satisfaction, and anything else that would promote informed educational choice.

The state will not hold the schools accountable for student achievement or other dimensions that call for assessments of the quality of school performance. When it comes to performance, schools will be held accountable from below, by parents and students who directly experience their services and are free to choose.

Choice as a Public System

These changes have nothing to do with "privatizing" the nation's schools. The choice system we outline would be a truly public system—and a democratic one.

Nothing in the concept of democracy requires that schools be subject to direct control by school boards, superintendents, central offices, departments of education, and other arms of government. Nor does anything in the concept of public education require that schools be governed in this way. There are many paths to democracy and public education. The path America has long been treading is exacting a heavy price—one the nation and its children can ill afford to bear, and need not.

Mr. Chubb, a Brookings Institution fellow, is co-author with Terry M. Moe of "Politics, Markets, and America's Schools" (Brookings, \$10.95). A related editorial appears today.

Efforts to improve schools are doomed unless they eliminate or sharply curtail the influence of the institutions that cause the schools' problems in the first place.

economic deprivation, physical handicaps, and other disadvantages—that can be met effectively only through costly specialized programs. State and federal programs already appropriate public money to address these problems. These funds should take the form of add-ons to student scholarships. At-risk students would then receive bigger scholarships than the others, making them attractive clients to all schools—and stimulating the emergence of new specialty schools.

Choice Among Schools

Each student will be free to attend any public school in the state, with the scholarship—consisting of federal, state and local contributions—flowing to the school of choice. Most students will probably choose schools close to home, but districts will have no claim on their own residents. To the extent that tax revenues allow, every effort will be made to provide transportation for those who need it, especially the poor and those in rural areas.

To assist parents and students in choosing among schools, the state will provide a Parent Information Center within each local Choice Office. This center will collect comprehensive information on each school in the district, and distribute and collect applications. Its liaisons will meet with parents to help them judge which schools best meet their children's needs.

Schools will make their own admissions decisions, subject only to nondiscrimination requirements. This step is absolutely crucial. Schools must be able to define their own missions and build their own pro-

grams. Such add-ons threaten to produce too many inequalities within the system, and many citizens would regard them as unfair.

The application process must guarantee each student a school, as well as a fair shot at getting into the school he most wants. We suggest the following: The Parent Information Center will be responsible for seeing that applications are submitted by a given date. Schools will then be required to make their admissions decisions within a set time, and students who are accepted into more than one school will be required to select one. Students who are not accepted anywhere, as well as schools that have yet to attract enough students, will participate in a second round of applications, after which unaccepted students (there should be few) will be assigned to schools by the Choice Office.

Governance and Organization

The state must grant each school sole authority to set its own governing structure. A school may be run entirely by teachers or even a union; may vest all power in a principal; may be built around a committee that guarantees representation to the principal, teachers, parents, students and community members. Or it may do something completely different.

The state will also do nothing to tell the schools how they must be internally organized. It will not set requirements for career ladders, advisory committees, textbook selection, in-service training, preparation time, homework, or anything else.

Statewide tenure laws will be elimi-

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Confessions of an Education-Reform Junkie

By JACKIE DUCOTE

For more than a decade I was an education-reform junkie.

I believed parents, business people and others could change the education system if they worked hard enough to implement reform measures like those being recommended today by various task forces and commissions. I refused to see the education bureaucracy for what it is: a gigantic, ever-growing sponge that ingests but never digests constructive change.

My addiction rendered me incapable of comprehending the wisdom of my former boss, Ed Steimel. In 1978, long before he retired as president of the Louisiana Association of Business and Industry, he warned that: "Public education (1) cannot be improved from within; (2) will not accept change so long as the bureaucracy can resist it; (3) must reach the brink of disaster or perhaps fall to ruin before the bureaucracy can be overthrown; (4) is doomed in its present form because it has totally lost the element of competition which is essential to the setting of priorities and the achievement of goals; (5) will probably survive long after it has died; and (6) will probably experience reincarnation in another form of publicly financed education."

Today, as more and more business people are getting caught up in the euphoria of the education-reform movement, I want to share my Louisiana experience in the hope that some of these reformers will rethink their approach before still another generation of children is lost.

My addiction began in the mid-1970s when I volunteered at my son's elementary school. I went on to form a coalition of inner-city parents and attended school board meetings every week for five years. Eventually my quest for educational improvement took me to the state level in 1978 as chief education lobbyist for the Louisiana Association of Business and Industry.

The business community in Louisiana took the lead in education reform long before it was fashionable. Our efforts included research, special projects, lobbying and political action. For example:

- In 1979 we published recommendations for "Building a Better Education System" and lobbied them through the policy-making and legislative process.
- We commissioned a study of "How Louisiana Spends Its School Dollar."
- We helped organize a statewide organization called Advocates for Public Participation in Louisiana Education (AP-PLLE) to provide workshops and information to encourage parental involvement.
- We supported candidates for the state board of education and the Legislature.
- We worked with educators on an endless number of commissions and task

forces. And the list goes on.

All in all, we helped enact more than 50 major reform laws and policies. But despite all this effort, education-quality indicators are still down in Louisiana:

- About 40% of our ninth graders don't graduate from high school.
- The state has the highest illiteracy rate in the country.
- About 50% of Louisiana college freshmen are in remedial classes.
- And last year the state ranked 27th out of the 28 states that primarily give the ACT test.

In 1987, the Louisiana Association of Business and Industry took stock of its reform efforts and issued a report called "10 Years of Education Reform in Louisiana: A Long Journey to Nowhere." Most reforms had been watered down, ignored, not implemented properly, taken to court by the teacher unions and others, mired in turf battles or not funded.

In 1988, our new governor, Buddy Roemer, pushed through another batch of reforms that seem headed for a similar fate. Both teacher unions have filed suits to gut the teacher accountability provisions of his package, tied to a 30% pay raise. True to form, the unions waited until after they received the final installment of the pay raise before filing suit.

Piecemeal attempts to change the present system haven't worked and won't work because the present system is a monopoly. It has a captive clientele and guaranteed funding regardless of results. Thus, it has no incentive to change, and parents and students have no leverage. They can't take their business elsewhere unless they are willing and able to pay twice for it.

The single most important thing the business community can do is unleash a self-perpetuating, external force for change that is free from the control of those who have been in charge of our failed education system in the past.

That force is competition.

Business leaders can set it in motion by supporting legislation to give parents vouchers to choose the best school for their child—public, private or parochial—not just the best school the government has to offer. Then if each new wave of education reform gets no better results than those of the past, parents will have the economic power to take their business elsewhere. In Louisiana, the Right to Learn Committee and the Louisiana Association of Business and Industry are supporting legislation to give parents maximum choice.

Infusing choice and competition into education will do many things. Bureaucrats will stay on their toes because their jobs will be on the line. Innovation and a greater use of technology should flourish. Children will have a greater diversity of

educational opportunities as new providers emerge to meet market demands.

We will still need the more traditional forms of parental and business involvement in education. But without choice and competition, well-intentioned people will continue to spin their wheels, and our children will be the losers.

I once thought giving parents vouchers was un-American because I had an almost religious attachment to the present system. Then, as I began kicking my addiction, I started looking at public education in terms of what is best for children, not what is best for the education bureaucracy. Public education is a public service, but there is nothing that says the government has to be the sole provider of that service. Why should children be held captive in government institutions that are failing to educate them?

Ms. Ducote is executive vice president of the Louisiana Association of Business and Industry and a consultant to the Louisiana Right to Learn Committee.

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Numbers Game

The educational lobby demands more money for schools. But a study of the nation's largest public school system reveals that less than a third of what we already spend ever reaches the classroom.

Parkinson's Law 101

By Dana Wechsler

MANY PEOPLE STILL think the quality crisis in U.S. public education can be dealt with by throwing more money at schools. A lot of well-meaning people accept this argument. On closer examination, it just doesn't hold up.

The spend-more-to-educate-better argument received yet another factual setback with the release of a recent study analyzing where New York City's public high school spending goes. In 1988-89 less than a third of it reached the classroom.

The study was the brainchild of Bruce Cooper, professor at Fordham University's school of education, and

his student, Robert Sarrel. Sarrel was then budget director of the New York City Board of Education's high school division. The results would not have surprised C. Northcote Parkinson, whose Parkinson's Law, promulgated in the Fifties, says that work expands to fill the time available for its completion and that administrators make work for one another.

In 1987-88, according to the Department of Education, the nation spent \$157 billion on public elementary and secondary education, of which 62% was spent on "instruction" and the rest on various forms of support and overhead—administrators, mainte-

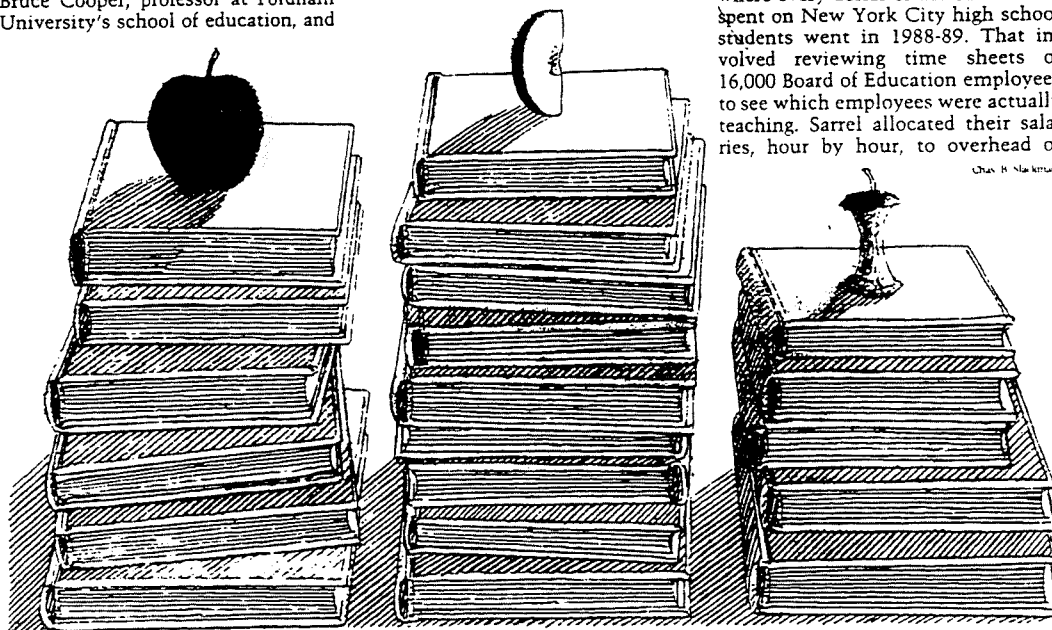
nance crews, librarians and the like.

Professor Cooper suspected that the situation was even worse—and his suspicions were confirmed.

The actual work on the study was done by Sarrel as his dissertation for Fordham's doctoral program. Cooper was Sarrel's dissertation adviser. Sarrel knew his way around the New York City education bureaucracy and could decipher computer printouts detailing spending on everything from pencils to pensions. Here was the perfect person to cut through the mass of education statistics and get right at the facts.

Sarrel's dissertation catalogued where every dollar of the \$1.4 billion spent on New York City high school students went in 1988-89. That involved reviewing time sheets of 16,000 Board of Education employees to see which employees were actually teaching. Sarrel allocated their salaries, hour by hour, to overhead or

Chas. H. Mackinnon



classroom activities.

Here's what he found: New York City spent \$6,107 per high school student in 1988-89. Overhead (nonclassroom services) ate up \$4,135 of that, leaving only \$1,972, less than a third, for the classroom.

Let's get more specific. The \$6,107 per high school student came from city, state and federal funding, and was the total amount that the New York City Board of Education got to spend. (This excludes federal funds for special education programs.) Much of that money stayed in the board's own eight buildings, which house a staff of over 4,000 and are colloquially referred to as 110 Livingston Street, the address of the large main building in Brooklyn.

What do all these people do? Some departments run school bus programs and assign security guards. There is an office of public affairs (60 people) and an office of strategic planning (161

"What's the best way to spend \$6,000 per student? Is it giving it to the guy who says, 'I'll see to it that \$2,000 of it goes to the students?'"

people). All in all, 110 Livingston Street's salaries and programs absorbed \$2,969 per student, almost half of the total funding.

After the central bureaucracy took its cut, New York City's high school division got \$3,138 per student. This bureaucracy is fairly frugal compared with the central board, but it is still bureaucracy. It spent \$133 per student on overhead and passed the remaining \$3,005 per student on to the schools.

So the city actually did spend a bit more than \$3,000 per pupil on actual teaching? Oh, no. There are yet more layers of bureaucracy. Aside from certain guidelines, like limits on class size, each high school principal can spend the money as he wishes—on classroom or nonclassroom items. Classroom items include the salaries of teachers and teachers' aides (for the portion of their time spent in the classroom), textbooks, other equipment and supplies. Nonclassroom items include the salaries of the support staff and the individual school's own bureaucracy.

A typical New York City high school with 2,500 students might have an administrative staff of 1 principal, 9 assistant principals, 18 school aides who distribute books and do clerical jobs, a stock handler, a group of about 30 teachers spending part of their time on nonteaching tasks like

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Teachers vs. Kids

The time has come to ask just whose side the teachers' unions, school bureaucrats and some civil-rights groups are on: their own or the kids who endure the dismal state of education in so many parts of this country? In Wisconsin, the answer is becoming very clear.

There, officials of the state's largest teacher union and officials of the NAACP are suing to have the nation's first experiment in school vouchers for low-income children declared unconstitutional. If they win, the losers will be hundreds of inner-city children who expect to attend a school of their own choosing in September.

The Wisconsin voucher plan is the brainchild of State Rep. Polly Williams from inner-city Milwaukee. She raised four children as a single parent on welfare before finally graduating from college. Elected as a Democrat and twice the chair of Jesse Jackson's campaign in Wisconsin, she has nonetheless become convinced that government programs prevent her constituents from exercising real power and choice in their lives. Nowhere is this paternalism more evident than in the public-school monopoly.



Polly Williams

Convinced that the rigid bureaucracy of Milwaukee's public schools would never reform itself without outside competition, Mrs. Williams pushed through a bill that will allow 1,000 low-income Milwaukee students to attend private, nonsectarian schools. For every child using that option, the state will pay up to \$2,500 in tuition and subtract the money from the state's support of Milwaukee public schools.

Mrs. Williams says her plan is not designed to undermine public education, but to force it to improve. She says the notion that sending minority children to private schools will promote segregation and elitism is nonsense. Many Milwaukee private schools are multicultural or Montessori institutions with tuitions that are discounted to accommodate lower-income families. In both Milwaukee and nationwide, minorities make up 13% of those attending private schools.

The groups suing to block the Williams plan say the transfer of money from public to private schools is unconstitutional, though by that reasoning a city couldn't contract out garbage collection to a private firm. The real objection to vouchers is the fear that they will work and thereby ex-

pose the loss of faith in the public-schools system.

Milwaukee Alderman Lorraine McNamara-McGraw says the public-school system is "not a perfect structure, but it's the only one that pretends to educate all the children." Mrs. Williams says that "pretends" is precisely the right word. "If you keep giving money to the same doctor and the patient stays sick, you've got the right to get a second opinion," she told us.

State School Superintendent Herbert Grover has practically begged teachers' unions to challenge the plan in court. He calls vouchers "ludicrous," and hopes the suit results in an injunction that would keep him from implementing the program this fall. (The NAACP in Wisconsin hasn't yet clarified its rationale for opposing the program.) Meanwhile, he is forcing schools that want to accept students with vouchers to comply with a blizzard of rules by June 15.

Mrs. Williams expects what she calls "the poverty industry" to throw up more roadblocks. "We have to be saved from our saviors," she says. "Our liberal friends have built their whole lives around taking care of us and they still want to feed us with Pablum. At some point, we want real food. We want to make our own decisions whether our liberal friends like it or not."

This kind of talk is winning Polly Williams converts on both the left and right. Elaine Ciulla Kamarck, a senior fellow at the Progressive Policy Institute, says Mrs. Williams is challenging "an entrenched establishment whose livelihood depends on continuing certain programs regardless of their effectiveness." In Detroit, City Councilman Keith Butler is supporting a slate of pro-voucher candidates in this year's school board elections. In Ohio and Kentucky, black GOP congressional candidates Ken Blackwell and Al Brown are being urged to make vouchers a cornerstone of their campaigns.

As Brookings Institution scholar John Chubb points out in a nearby article, public education in America resembles socialist central planning. Like socialism, it cannot be fixed with half-measures or more spending. The system must be freed up and competition encouraged.

That is why the education establishment is trying to drive out Polly Williams's voucher plan with lawyers and strangling rules. Mrs. Williams's position is that this reactionary crowd doesn't have to choose between its own interests and those of the students: "If you all are worried about your jobs, try doing them better."

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COVER STORY



The ABCs of Reform: Give Parents a Choice



SUMMARY: September's ritual turns minds again to classroom learning, the core subject of broad disappointment in America's education system. With the recognition of public school failures has come the general belief that teachers have failed the test, making them the objects of reformers' zeal. The resultant push to create an expert body of certifiers who would set standards for teachers and test their performance strikes critics as dangerously self-interested. The answer, they say, is to give parents and local schools more control.

As dissatisfaction with public schools mounts, reformers have arrived at a familiar conclusion: The caliber of American education cannot rise above the caliber of American teachers. And the caliber of teachers will not improve without improvement in the education teachers receive.

Unfortunately, in the eyes of many skeptics, the reformers' solutions are suspect because the reformers themselves represent the very interests responsible for the problem. As a professor of education himself once put it in a letter to *The Wall Street Journal*, "The inmates are in charge of the asylum."

Broadly speaking, the reformers are educationists, or, as some prefer, "professional educators." The term describes professors of education, college accreditors, state licensers and leaders of teachers unions, professional associations and foundations. Having escaped the wave of school reform early in the 1980s, this group now finds itself awash in criticism. It has responded with a flurry of proposals to set things aright.

Foremost on its agenda are high-level

initiatives under way to devise new performance tests for teachers and create a national certification board to oversee the tests and recognize teaching excellence. Educationists contend that students will learn more if teaching is professionalized along the lines of medicine. This means constructing a body of knowledge peculiar to highly trained teachers, a kind of science of pedagogy, training teachers in that pedagogy, then testing their knowledge with elaborate new procedures and awarding special credentials to those who pass.

Many outside critics dispute the connection between professionalization and students learning more. They also question the wisdom of leaving to educationists the task of making educationists more accountable to the public. "It's the experts who got us into the mess that we're in now," warns Marva Collins, the renowned Chicago teacher who founded the independent Westside Preparatory School. "It's the experts who have written the textbooks, who have written the teacher's manuals, who certify the teachers." Collins also turns to a medical analogy. "Would we want to go to

Eminent teacher Marva Collins blames experts for "the mess we're in now."



Back to school; how much children learn is the best gauge, some argue.

This is especially worrisome, critics say, given the paucity of evidence that pedagogical theories improve student learning.

Critics also question the strong tendency in the education industry to measure inputs (teachers) instead of outputs (students). Educationists have an excessive focus on certification, standards, degrees and so forth, says Michael Farris, president of the National Center for Home Education in Washington. "They keep trying to mess with the formula, rather than simply looking at the outcomes. They have forgotten that the object of the game is that children are supposed to learn." Private and home schools across the country, he says, succeed without such formulas.

John Lott, an economist at the University of California at Los Angeles, sees vested interests at work in saying it is impossible to measure teacher competence in terms of student achievement. "They are saying that only teachers themselves can evaluate how good a job they're doing. And that we can't quantify this. It's too nebulous for us to figure out." If that is so difficult, he asks, why not evaluate the performance of a school and reward or penalize it on the basis of how well its students perform?

Indeed, many contend that there is a very simple way to resolve all the raging debates in teacher education — a way to decide whether education schools are producing valuable teachers, a way to deter-

mine if pedagogical research is producing valuable innovations, a way to know for certain if teachers are good or bad.

It requires no tests, no certification, no credentials. It is, simply, to let parents decide where to send their children to school. Yet in all the ambitious plans spinning in the high reaches of the educationist world, parents are simply left out.

Efforts to professionalize teaching also neglect the simplest means of doing so, critics say. Educationists believe that if they extend credentials to those they determine are good teachers, then those teachers can claim greater authority and autonomy. Critics hold that only parents can in truth grant to teachers such freedom and authority. When teachers do a good job, parents must pay them. When they fail, parents will not pay them.

When parents send their children to a private school, the teachers and principal of that school take responsibility for their work. If they fail to achieve the results that parents — not educationists — desire, parents are free to take their children elsewhere. Until all parents gain that freedom, say critics, none of the current reforms will succeed. Bureaucratic monopolies, they say, do not act in the interests of consumers. Competition does.

In good schools, teachers and principals have freedom to make decisions, according to John Chubb, a fellow at the Brookings Institution, a liberal think tank, and author



Mandel argues that National Board certification will give teachers a better image.

The National Board's standards for certification remain open to further negotiation. Wise believes.



with Terry M. Moe of "Politics, Markets and America's Schools." Control is not imposed from outside through regulation. "You don't find autonomy, except under unusual circumstances," in public schools, Chubb has written elsewhere. "You almost always find it in private schools."

The reason, he holds, is simple: Private schools have to attract clients. Consumers do the regulating. There is no need for outside control by an administrative hierarchy because parents impose accountability by their power to go elsewhere if the school does not educate their children.

"The nation must understand how tightly school performance may be bound up

with school organization and control," he has written. Reformers are trying to improve school staffs "teacher by teacher through tests, credentialing and evaluation." Yet teachers and principals are not granted the freedom or responsibility to produce results.

Chubb found "no correlation between student achievement and any of the variables on which school reformers have been concentrating so much time, effort and money." These include the push to professionalize teaching, toughen certification standards and implement more extensive teacher evaluation systems. "There is little reason to believe" that these actions will do much to boost student achievement, Chubb writes, "and there is considerable reason to believe they will fail."

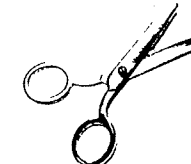
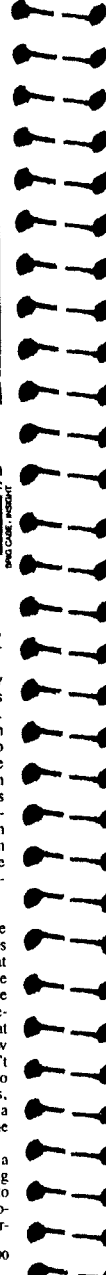
"Education administrators have a major stake — namely, their jobs — in public education as it is currently organized," he believes. "They hold deep-seated professional beliefs that support the system, or at least its basic architecture. Teachers unions, for all their genuine concern about autonomy in the classroom, are reluctant to embrace a system that might offer more independence but would probably threaten tenure and seniority."

Artificial accountability can only fail, agrees David Boaz, executive vice president at the libertarian Cato Institute. "The point is," he says, "all attempts to make the public schools work are like attempts to make communism work. It's a socialist system and it has no accountability to consumers. It has none of the incentives of competition." Attempts to simulate market-driven accountability through certification or other regulations, he says, "are all attempts to make a fundamentally flawed system workable."

Edwin G. West, a Canadian economist who has studied education, calls board certification "an administrative patch-up job." He says it sounds "very much like the usual ploy of the establishment to get away from the real issues, which are parental choice and the liberty of parents to move from an inefficient school and transfer to a better school."

Teaching is an art, not a science, these critics agree — an extremely complex one that requires judgment and discretion, not prescription. The schools that work allow teachers to exercise discretion and give them the authority to use the methods they find best reach their students. The simple test of their competence is the results they produce.

— Carolyn Lochhead



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A Bold Plan for Choice In Delaware's Schools

By AMY STUART WELLS

If Pete du Pont had his way, elementary and secondary schools would operate more like colleges and universities: autonomous, competitive and often selective. Students would receive tuition money from the state that they could spend at any public, private or parochial school that would accept them.

This vision of an educational free market, a plank from Mr. du Pont's 1988 Presidential campaign platform, meshes nicely with the recent groundswell of political support for greater choice in education. Yet while seven states have enacted plans allowing students to transfer between public school districts, and Wisconsin offers Milwaukee's poorest students tuition vouchers for private schools, no state has taken educational choice to the deregulated extreme proposed by Mr. du Pont.

Now the former Governor of Delaware, who is a partner in the Wilmington law firm of Richards, Layton & Finger, has decided to test his educational ideology on his home turf. Using the influence he still retains in the state, he is campaigning to give Delaware parents \$2,150 state "scholarships" for each child to spend at private, parochial or public schools of their choice. The average cost of private school tuition in Delaware is \$2,119 a year, although some cost more than \$6,000 and some cost less than \$1,500.

If his proposal passes the Delaware General Assembly, where he plans to have it introduced by legislative

Taking education to an extreme of deregulation.

allies this spring, it would be the first state law to provide public tuition vouchers for religious schools, and could transform Delaware into a national model of unlimited parental choice in education.

'Marketplace at Work'

"It is going to be the marketplace at work, and if people want to do it, we are really trying to give them the opportunity," Mr. du Pont said in a recent interview.

With a group of former aides from his state administration, Mr. Du Pont leads a small research organization known as Ideas for America's Future, which espouses the view that the lumbering, bureaucratic public school "monopoly" must be broken up by giving parents the freedom to choose schools.

This echoes the Bush Administration's "new paradigm" ideology of empowering people by giving them greater freedom in where they spend public dollars on education, child care and housing. The President's budget for the 1992 fiscal year includes a \$200 million program to give grants to states and school districts that offer school choice programs, and only if the programs include both private and public schools among the options. Even religious schools could be included under the proposed program, said William D. Hansen, acting Deputy Undersecretary of Education for planning, budget and evaluation.

Mr. du Pont said the Bush plan, if approved, would enhance his Delaware proposal. "If a school district in Delaware adopts a scholarship plan, it would be eligible for Federal funding under this plan," he said. "This would provide a very strong incentive for school districts."

But like the school-choice movement in general, Mr. du Pont's plan for Delaware faces several obstacles. It raises the politically explosive issue of the separation of church and state, for one. And many view it as a plot to siphon state dollars out of public schools while subsidizing the private-school tuition of students from middle-class and wealthy families, who could afford tuition without the public grant.

Opposing Viewpoints

Public school educators oppose any plan that would provide state money for nonpublic education while allowing the private schools to be selective about admissions.

"These conservative social engineers seem to think that the market forces will create some spontaneous combustion," said Richard F. Elmore, a professor of education at Harvard. "But aside from moving money around under shells — out of one location to another and one person's pocket to another — what are we going to do about teaching and learning in real schools?"

Mr. du Pont says he has faith in the market to meet those needs. He argues that to compete, schools must be allowed to have admissions standards based on academic performance or disciplinary records, and that some schools will crop up to serve students with special learning or behavioral problems, based on the demand for them.

"Just like the university system — Harvard has different admissions standards than the University of Massachusetts," said Mr. du Pont. "The Federal law says you can't discriminate, but I don't think that means you have to take autistic children into every classroom."

And what about students who want to choose private schools that cost more than the \$2,150 scholarship amount, but cannot afford to pay the difference? "If you want to attend one of those you would either have to add more of your own funds or you would have to persuade the school to give you a scholarship, which they might well do," Mr. du Pont said.

"This plan would devastate the public system," said Mary Anne Galloway, president of the Delaware State Education Association, the state's teachers union, arguing that high-achievers and children from well-to-do families would be encouraged to leave the public schools, which would be left with disproportionate numbers of poor students or those with disabilities or other problems.

"To what extent do we want to encourage certain classes or categories of students to leave the public schools?" she asked.

Local Option Provision

Anticipating opposition from what he terms the public school "establishment," Mr. du Pont included in his proposed legislation provisions for individual districts to participate in the scholarship program without requiring that they do so. Local school boards could vote on whether their districts would participate, and residents could petition for a referendum to reverse the board's decision.

"There is no compulsion here," said Mr. du Pont. "No school district has to do it. No voters have to vote for it. No private school has to participate in it."

Such arguments do little to cool the opposition.

"Our nation is as strong as it is in part because of our system of free public education for everyone, without regard to race and religion," said Irving Morris, lawyer for the Coalition to Save Our Children, a group of plaintiffs in a Wilmington, school desegregation case. "If I elect to send



Andrea Mohim for The New York Times

"It's going to be the marketplace at work," former Gov. Pete du Pont said of his plan to give Delaware students \$2,150 for private schools.

An obstacle: State money for church schools.

my child to a private school, religious or not, that should be at my cost, not at the risk and deprivation of what is available to everyone in the public schools."

But Mr. du Pont argues that tuition voucher plans benefit poor and minority families the most by giving them public money to spend at private schools they would otherwise be unable to afford.

He points out that under his plan, while public schools would lose an average of \$3,400 in state education money for each student who leaves to attend a private school, they would keep an average of \$2,123 in combined Federal and local support for each of them. Therefore, says Mr. du Pont, districts that lose enrollment would end up with more money to spend on each student who stays.

Local Tax Impact

But this advantage would benefit property-rich school districts, which are less dependent than poorer districts on state money. Mr. du Pont says that in districts in which a large percentage of students exit, voters might then choose to reduce local tax support for public schools.

Meanwhile, much of the state money subtracted from the public system through the du Pont plan would be reallocated to families who decide to send their children to private schools, including those who would have paid the private school

tuition anyway. In the first year alone, if the program had statewide participation, the state would give \$3.9 million in scholarships to parents of first graders who would have attended private schools anyway, according to Mr. du Pont's estimates, based on current private school enrollment.

"At a time that our economy is in such a state that we need to retain all the money that we can to help the public schools, any plan to send state money from the public to the private schools is absolutely preposterous," said Ms. Galloway.

As for the church-state separation questions, Mr. du Pont cites the Federal money that thousands of veterans have received to attend religious colleges. "I don't see how you can argue that there is an evil in using public money to teach kids to read because they happen to be reading in a building next door to a church," said Mr. du Pont.

Covering All Angles

But just to cover all angles, he adjusted his scholarship plan to reduce the amount paid to students who choose parochial schools from \$2,150 to \$1,935, so that public money technically will not be paying for the estimated 10 percent of the curriculum that is devoted to religion.

The response Mr. du Pont's scholarship plan is likely to get from the General Assembly is unclear, but the plan is such a large leap forward in applying free-market forces to public institutions that the debate should be heated.

"What he is proposing in many ways is changing the culture of our state and the way people view public education," said Paul R. Fine, president of the Delaware State Board of Education. "This would be a radical change."

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parent-run schools, for example—together with consumer choice will produce significant economies over time.

Excellence is a constantly moving target, in business and in education. It can never be achieved but must always be the goal: this is the existential challenge, but one we must set for ourselves.

Mr. Kearns is chairman of Xerox Corp.

TOM PETERS

The United States has hardly regained the initiative when it comes to global competitiveness. But progress was phenomenal during the '80s, given the \$5 trillion size of our elephantine economy. Change came chiefly in response to three forces: 1) white-hot competition from overseas; 2) the raiders and other elements of the financial community, which called slovenly managements to account; and 3) the unleashing of an unprece-

Every child in America must have an "advocate," a mentor, a responsible adult who shows he cares by acting on the child's behalf.

—David T. Kearns

dented wave of entrepreneurs. These three forces boil down to one—competition. The re-potting of corporate America in response to competition also can be boiled down to one word, decentralization: although it is manifest in a number of ways—management-led buyouts of single-business operations; slashing and then slashing again at bloated corporate overheads; and empowering front-line workers to get on with the job of making, improving, and servicing the product.

The solution to our education problem must follow roughly the same course. School systems and schools don't teach. Teachers do. Get bureaucrats, administrators, and their overblown, over-complicated, and over-centralized techniques off the backs of classroom teachers. Ask our teachers to teach. Let the teachers teach. Then hold the teachers accountable—to an empowered principal and an engaged community, but not via national standardized test scores (for students or teachers) or adherence to the likes of centrally mandated lesson-planning standards.

Sadly, I see no straightforward, politically palatable way to make this dream of classroom autonomy/accountability come true. Money is not an issue; we already spend a fortune overall. Bang for the buck, not the depth of the wallet, is the point. Public school choice is a good

tool, a surrogate for competition. But it's not the panacea proponents claim. Moreover, the political odds of it taking the nation by storm are low. If we expend all of our moral and political energy on choice, we are likely to be sorely disappointed.

If I were czar (not education czar, but the real thing), I would begin by mandating a public school administrator-to-student ratio that mirrored the parochial school ratio—thus wiping out in one swoop over 90 percent of today's central education bureaucrats. (In New York City a couple of years back, the administrator-to-student ratio was 60 times higher in the public system.) Such a move is as important for the schools' healthy futures as similar moves are in corporate America. I'd also strictly limit maximum school size to 350 students; as successful experiments with multiple, independent schools in one big building suggest, this need not be a call for widespread urban-school demolition.

Given the impracticality of my advice so far, I'll fall back on the answer to public sector woes proposed by James Q. Wilson in his masterly *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It*. Experimentation is Wilson's plea. Lots of it. My translation for schools: Every form of moral, political, and financial suasion imaginable should be used to encourage and support any and all, wacky or not, attempts to decentralize the school system and put accountability—and attendant respect—directly on the back of the classroom teacher. (And to a lesser, but important, extent, the principal.)

In recent, path-breaking research on decision-making in perpetually stressful situations (aircraft carrier operations, nuclear power plants), University of California management professor Karlene Roberts concludes, "Men who experience a great deal of accountability make accurate decisions." Decentralization and accountability are the two key words for a bright future for classroom education. Really making this happen is a lot more important than another photo op or two at Charlottesville followed by a mindless proclamation about the desirability of surpassing Korean youth in rote math test scores.

Mr. Peters, co-author of In Search of Excellence, runs the Tom Peters Group in Palo Alto, California.

DONALD J. ROBERTS

Choice of schools for parents is absolutely essential to the achievement of the governors' education goals. Choice will allow parents and students to determine which schools are best for them. Competition will improve education, as the public avoids the poor classrooms and moves to those with the best results. Educators will be forced to give their best efforts or else they'll have no pupils to teach, and thus no positions.

Poor but capable students will be permitted to choose the best school for their particular needs. Wisconsin recently passed a law, pushed by State Representative Polly Williams, that goes in the right direction. The Wisconsin plan gives 1,000 low-income boys and girls a \$2,500 voucher to pay tuition at private non-sectarian schools.

CONCERNED WOMEN FOR AMERICA
OF KANSAS
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KANSAS CITY, KANSAS 66106-0217
913-682-0296

BEVERLY LAHAYE
PRESIDENT

BEVERLY TUCKER
AREA REPRESENTATIVE

KENDA BARTLETT
LEGISLATIVE LIAISON

March 11, 1991

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Education Committee:

I rise today in support of SB 199. Concerned Women for America of Kansas would support the establishment of a pilot program for a tuition voucher program in U.S.D. 259. Across the country states are looking at ways to improve the quality of education for their students. It has been shown in more than one study that the amount of money that a school system receives is not necessarily an indicator of success. We must look more carefully at educational methods. We believe that the use of tuition vouchers to allow parents to choose the school that their child will attend is a method that will bring success.

In their extensively researched book, Politics, Markets and America's Schools, Brookings Institution Senior Fellow John Chubb and Stanford political scientist Terry Moe conclude that only by giving parents the ability to choose the schools for their children can the competition between schools be created that will produce the results sought by education reformers since the early 1980's. This study is extremely interesting in the conclusions that it draws:

- *the bureaucratic organization of America's public school system dooms efforts to improve education;
- *student ability, school organization, and family background, respectively, are the most significant causes of student achievement; and it
- *refutes conventional wisdom regarding the correlation between a quality education and teacher salaries, per-pupil spending, and student-teacher ratios.

This in no way summarizes the entire report of Chubb and Moe. It only highlights a few of the conclusions that they have drawn. They state in their research, "Choice is the mechanism that gives schools the ability to improve themselves, while competition is the tool that keeps good schools in business".

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It seems clear that the time is now right for Kansas to move its schools towards choice.

Many school systems have already instituted school choice programs. Minnesota's "access to excellence" program was passed in 1988. It includes open enrollment across district lines, post-secondary options for 11th and 12th graders, and a broad range of choices for at-risk students. Iowa and Arkansas also have open-enrollment measures. One of the best kept secrets in education is that Vermont has had a parental choice program in public education since the mid-1800's. It has worked well; it has become a way of life in the Green Mountain State, and efforts to change it have been unsuccessful.

In implementing a tuition voucher program families will become more involved in the education of their children. They will become active choosers and consumers of education. We feel that this involvement of parents can only make the school system better. It has been found that in school systems where the parents are active participants the quality of education is better. In January 1989 former President Reagan said, "Choice is the most exciting thing that's going on in America today. We're talking about reasserting the right of American parents to play a vital- perhaps the central- part in designing the kind of education they believe their children will need."

According to Phyllis Schlafly of Eagle Forum, parental choice in public schools has elements of appeal to both conservatives and liberals. Conservatives see school choice as a way to break up what critics such as Xerox Corporation chairman David Kearns call "a failed monopoly," and liberals see school choice as a way of letting the poor have same opportunity as the well-to-do. The 19th Annual Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools found that 7 out of 10 Americans believe that parents should be able to choose which public school their children attend. Among parents whose children actually attend public schools, support for this right of choice is even higher (76%).

Jack Skillett, dean of the teachers' college at Emporia, told the State Board of Education in October, 1990 that parents should be able to choose the type of school where they want to send their children. Such an option would allow parents to select the best school for their children. His remarks were part of a report he developed as a member of the Governor's Commission of a Public Agenda.

Concerned Women for America of Kansas would urge you, the members of the committee, to give a favorable recommendation to SB 199.

Thank you for the opportunity to address the committee.

Kenda Bartlett MEd.

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pg. 1
TESTIMONY OF JOHN McDONOUGH, 8530 BRADSHAW, LENEXA, KS. 66215
PRESENTED TO SENATE EDUCATION COMMITTEE, STATE CAPITOL, TOPEKA
CONCERNING S.B.199, TUITION VOUCHER ACT, Pilot Program. 3/11/91

I stand in support of this long overdue plan that will provide desperately needed property tax relief for Kansans, that will provide desperately needed funding for our truly suffering poor, for our legislators now being compensated at poverty levels, for our neglected infrastructure, for our school children now trapped in monopoly driven educationally weak & unsafe conditions that care more for the system than our students.

And I suggest several amendments, which I've posted to the bill copy. They would add the Kansas City, Kansas school district to the pilot, so as to include both sides of the state, and so as to "EMPOWER" the disadvantaged families there to also taste the freedom of CHOICE.

My bill amendments would also unshackle the evaluation process by having it include the economic factors to flow from our introducing the free market to education. Further, my amendments would add, as evaluators, representatives chosen by the parents of the schools involved --- to have only the state education board "evaluate" smacks of the fox minding the chickens. (Or the Soviets granting independence to the Lithuanians.)

That this plan is up for test is surely to be satisfying to our President. Mr. Bush' new education approach calls for CHOICE, & vouchers for competition in the providing of public services so that even our poorest don't have to swallow what the-powers-that-be decide is good enough for the likes of them.

But, forgive me, I'll be surprised if you pass good ol' 199 along to the Senate floor. The school lobby will bring out its big guns, the ACLU will trot out "separation", and the palace guard that profits financially from being in on the take --- will fight you to the death to keep this "outrage" from its battlements. Like in Milwaukee where Polly Williams is doing her state rep. best to keep a group of black parents from being zapped as they struggle to get away from bad schools with vouchers, --- zapped by their education department in the courts. She's a Democrat, But the Republican governor is with her. They've seen the establishment promise reform for years, but all they really do is sue in hopes of shutting her up. And in Oregon they run TV ads saying the KKK will be setting up schools. But in Arizona the state superintendant candidate advocates for market driven school reform. And Chicago rumbles against the monopoly, Nebraska schools allow students to attend any school in experiment, and in Paris some 100,000 students & parents demonstrated for sounder & safer schools. And from Margaret Thatcher, "Labour ... promised us action...action to stamp out choice for ordinary people.

Kansas needs to approve this VOUCHER pilot program so that we can be up to speed with the fast moving changes.

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SENATE BILL No. 199

By Senators Anderson and Yost

2-13

8 AN ACT enacting the tuition voucher act; providing for establishment
9 under the act of a pilot program of parental choice of schools for
10 attendance of children.

11
12 *Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Kansas:*

13 Section 1. This act shall be known and may be cited as the tuition
14 voucher act. It is the purpose of this act to establish a pilot program
15 for the 1991-92 school year in unified school district No. 259, Sedg-
16 wick county, under which the parents of school age children may
17 exercise choice in the selection of schools for attendance of their
18 children and to provide a means for evaluation of the program in
19 order to ascertain whether the program enhances the quality of
20 elementary and secondary education in U.S.D. No. 259. ⁽²⁾⁽³⁾⁽⁴⁾⁽⁵⁾ should
21 be implemented on a statewide basis.

22 Sec. 2. As used in this act:

23 (a) "Parent" means and includes natural parents, adoptive par-
24 ents, stepparents, and foster parents.

25 (b) "School" means any school operated by the board of education
26 of U.S.D. No. 259, Sedgwick county, or any nonpublic school located
27 within the boundaries of U.S.D. No. 259, Sedgwick county.

28 (c) "Participating school" means any school that enters into an
29 agreement with the state board in accordance with the provisions of
30 section 5.

31 (d) "Nonpublic school" means any nonpublic school that is ac-
32 credited by the state board and located within the boundaries of
33 U.S.D. No. 259, Sedgwick county.

34 (e) "Open enrollment" means the policy of a school which pro-
35 vides the opportunity of enrollment for any child without regard for
36 race, gender, religion, creed or national origin. ^{+the KC Ks SD}

37 (f) "Per pupil state aid entitlement of U.S.D. No. 259" means
38 an amount equal to the quotient obtained by dividing the amount
39 of the sum of general state aid to which the district is entitled and
40 the amount the district is entitled to receive from the school district
41 income tax fund by the enrollment of the district.

42 (g) "State board" means the state board of education.

43 Sec. 3. In order to achieve the purpose of this act, the state

(2) & also in the Kansas City, Ks. school dist.

(3) And to ascertain also, the dollar amount saved for other general fund purposes such as (see footnote).

(4) and also, the amount of property taxes saved by homes & businesses because of reduced public school populations.

(5) and also, the economic development potential as market forces in education give incentive for job growth.

(6) And to ascertain if the Tuition Voucher plan (should be implemented on a state-wide basis.)

FOOTNOTE:

Aid for the truly needy.
Health & child care.
Hospital, prison & other public employees.
Legislator salaries.
The infrastructure.
Other public needs.

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1 board of education shall initiate and carry out a program in which
2 the parent of each school-age child who resides in U.S.D. No. 259,
3 Sedgwick county, receives from the state board, on request, a
4 voucher that may be exchanged for the provision of educational
5 services at a participating school selected by the child's parent in
6 accordance with this act.

7 Sec. 4. (a) (1) Each school operated by U.S.D. No. 259, shall
8 become a participating school unless the state board determines that
9 exceptional circumstances render the participation of such school
10 contrary to the public interest.

11 (2) The governing authority of each nonpublic school shall decide
12 whether that school shall become a participating school.

13 (b) Subject to the provisions of subsection (c), a participating
14 school shall admit children who have received vouchers and who
15 apply, up to the limit of the school's capacity, after reserving places
16 for children required or entitled to be admitted to the school.

17 (c) (1) A participating school shall establish criteria for the ad-
18 mission of children with vouchers. Such criteria shall be consistent
19 with the admissions criteria that the school regularly applies.

20 (2) In the case of a participating school specified in subsection
21 (a)(1), the state board shall establish criteria for the equitable allo-
22 cation of places for children with vouchers if there are insufficient
23 places to serve all such children requesting placement.

24 Sec. 5. (a) A participating school shall enter into an agreement
25 with the state board containing such terms as may be established
26 by rules and regulations of the state board. Such agreement shall
27 provide that the participating school shall furnish a child who is
28 admitted to the school, who tenders a voucher received under this
29 act and who, if applicable, makes a supplementary tuition payment
30 necessary to satisfy any remainder of a participating school's tuition,
31 an education equivalent to that provided to all other children in the
32 school.

33 (b) The state board shall publish and make available to all parents
34 in U.S.D. No. 259, a list of all participating schools.

35 Sec. 6. A parent of a child with a voucher received under this
36 act may use the voucher for educational services at a participating
37 school only if the child is admitted to the participating school.

38 Sec. 7. The maximum value of a voucher shall be an amount
39 equal to the amount of the per pupil state aid entitlement of U.S.D.
40 No. 259, for the school year, but no voucher may be redeemed by
41 a participating nonpublic school for more than the amount of the
42 tuition and fees regularly charged by the school and no voucher may
43 be redeemed by a participating school operated by U.S.D. No. 259

+ H.L.K.K.S.D.

+ H.L.K.K.S.D.

+ H.L.K.K.S.D.

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1 for more than the amount of the fees regularly charged by the school.

2 Sec. 8. A parent of a child with a voucher received under this
3 act shall present the voucher to the participating school that the
4 child attends. The participating school shall present the voucher for
5 redemption to the state board in accordance with its rules and reg-
6 ulations. Upon redemption of the voucher, the participating school
7 shall credit immediately the account of the child by the amount of
8 the voucher.

9 Sec. 9. (a) The amount of any voucher redeemed under this act
10 shall not be considered gross income and shall not be taxable for
11 Kansas income tax purposes.

12 (b) Each participating nonpublic school shall provide to the state
13 board assurance that it maintains open enrollment.

14 (c) Each participating school shall publish or otherwise make
15 available information regarding:

- 16 (1) Its participation in the voucher program;
- 17 (2) its program of instruction;
- 18 (3) achievement data regarding children attending the school
19 (which data may be stated in the aggregate by grades maintained
20 by the school);
- 21 (4) the incidence of drug abuse;
- 22 (5) school discipline and safety; and
- 23 (6) other matters to be specified by the state board.

24 Sec. 10. Upon completion of the 1991-92 school year, the state
25 board shall evaluate the program established under the tuition
26 voucher act, assess the impact the program has had on the educa-
27 tional systems of participating schools and on the educational system
28 of U.S.D. No. 259, Sedgwick county, as a whole, and make a rec-
29 ommendation to the governor and the legislature with regard to
30 implementation of the program on a statewide basis.

31 Sec. 11. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after
32 its publication in the statute book.

- 7. and a representative group of citizens, equal in number to the members of the state board, and selected by the parents of the participating nonpublic schools.
- 8. and on state savings for the truly needy,
- 9. and on state legislator salary opportunities,
- 10. and on prospects for improving the infrastructure,
- 11. And on other public needs.
- 12. and on reduced property taxes for homes & business.

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MAKE COPIES OF THIS BULLETIN AND PASS THEM OUT TO EVERY VOTER YOU CAN. CALL & WRITE YOUR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE ABOUT LOWER PROPERTY TAXES.

Public School Costs Continue To Go Through The Roof, Pushing The State Legislature To Hit Us Again With Another Monster Tax.

THEY WANT \$200 MORE FROM EACH FAMILY, EACH YEAR ---ON TOP OF THE \$2,200 ALREADY BEING TAXED AWAY FROM EACH FAMILY FOR THE SCHOOLS. They're Never Satisfied !

If more money is really needed --- can't they make do with the \$5,000 a year now being spent per kid ? --- but if they must have more

How About Having The Kids' Parents' Pay A Small Tuition ? (Those who can afford to.) Private school parents pay tuition all the time. It works.

AND, HOW ABOUT GIVING SOME TAX HELP TO KIDS TO TRANSFER FROM PUBLIC TO PRIVATE SCHOOLS, CUTTING SCHOOL COSTS MILLIONS OF \$s.

The Problem

The Solution

Too many kids in the high-cost schools

FREE SCHOOL
Costs an "ARM and a "LEG"

Chases jobs away with high taxes and political property classifications; and lets the free schools hog most all public funds. Causes lack of help for the truly needy, health & child care, hospital and prison workers, legislator salaries, The infrastructure, taxpayers & so many others being harmed unnecessarily by the free school favoritism.

Means Testing

<u>TUITION</u>	<u>CHOICE</u>
For those able to pay	For those unable to pay tuition
Can save Kansans \$520 Million/Year	Can save Kansans \$100 Million/Year
<p>\$620 Million, combined, for Kansas needs, and without an economy damaging tax increase.</p>	

As at the national government level, we must shift public aid from those who don't need help to those who do...EMPOWERMENT.

The Public/Private Partnership To Boost Better/Safer Schools, & Other Public Needs.

TO THE READERS OF THIS BULLETIN: REPRINT COPIES OF THIS ATTEMPT TO HEADOFF THIS YEARS' MONSTER TAX INCREASE. CONTACTS WITH ELECTED OFFICIALS MAY HELP. PLEASE TRY.

JOHN MCDONOUGH
PO BOX 19081
LENEXA, KS. 66215
(3/8/91)

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3/11/91
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Public Affairs

**Testimony Before The Senate Education Committee
Opposing Senate Bill 199
By Robin Nichols, Wichita Public Schools
March 11, 1991**

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee:

I am Robin Nichols of the Wichita Public Schools. This is my first time before this Committee and I thank you for the opportunity to express our serious concerns about the effects Senate Bill 199 would have on our district.

Proponents of SB 199 are pursuing the current fervor for parental choice over education. In reality the bill directs public money to parents who have already chosen to send their children to nonpublic schools. We contend vouchers will not allow parents to make a choice - private schools choose who is admitted, not parents or students. I call to your attention the attached application form to a private school in Wichita. Please note the disclaimers and fees for "interviewing" students for admission. A family can choose the school, pay fees and be evaluated, but the final choice belongs to the school. The Wichita Public Schools rejects no child.

Proponents believe the bill will provide opportunity for low income families to partake in choice. We cannot be so naive as to believe that vouchers are like shopping coupons. As proposed, the bill would attach \$987 to each child residing in our district. Tuition at Catholic elementary schools in Wichita ranges from \$1,600 to \$2,000, and for high school reaches as high as \$3,200 per year. The attached tuition sheet for one private Wichita school asks for approximately \$5,000 a year for full time students. Low income families are afforded no choice under SB 199: how many schools are left to choose from when your shopping coupon is for only \$987 per year?

In 1985, the Wichita Eagle Beacon wrote a story on declining enrollment at a private preparatory school in Wichita. In response to questions about the high cost of tuition the school stated "[w]e're obviously thinking of people who can afford it" and that enrollment had slowed "because of the absence of conviction that this [college preparatory program] is something valuable, worth sacrificing a boat or some other appliance." Wichita Eagle Beacon, January 11, 1985.

We want to stress the fact that every child currently enrolled in

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a nonpublic school in Wichita will be eligible for \$987 toward tuition next year. According to State Department of Education figures on SB 199 there are approximately 6,990 students enrolled in accredited private schools in Wichita who would be eligible to participate in the program. Even if nonpublic school recruiters, now turned bounty hunters, could not recruit a single public school student into their programs next year, the State would spend \$6.9 million in state aid and income tax rebate in the first year. As an economic development measure, \$6.9 million would pump a lot of money for boats and appliances into Wichita's economy.

The issues surrounding voucher programs are numerous and in the interest of time I have attached an issue sheet for your consideration now and in the future. In closing, allow me to raise three issues.

One: will nonpublic school recruiters admit our difficult, and "expensive to educate" students - our bilingual, at-risk, and multiply handicapped children? Or, will exclusivity, rather than inclusivity guide their admissions practices?

Two: as written, will SB 199 require public schools to adhere to, but allow private schools to circumvent laws and regulations designed to meet the common needs of children, parents, the community and the State?

And, three: parents who wish to send their children to private schools should have the choice to do so, but in reality isn't that kind of choice actually privelege? A family may be priveleged enough to purchase a membership to the Wichita Racquet Club. But along with all Wichita taxpayers, that family still supports the Riverside Park Tennis Center for the use of all the citizens of Wichita.

The hard work this Committee expended to reinstate the integrity of a school finance formula is proof of your convictions that

- all children should have equal education opportunity,
- that an educated public is in the interest of all Kansans,
- and,
- that a free education is the right of all Kansas children.

Public education is the only educational enterprise dedicated to the interest that all citizens support public education to children - all of our children. We urge you to defeat SB 199.

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Issues Surrounding Tuition Vouchers:

Will transportation be provided to those who cannot afford their way to a selected school? Who will provide it?

Will children with vouchers have equal access to schools of choice?

Are procedures in place for addressing a school's discriminatory admissions policy?

Will each school receiving vouchers adhere to the same access, accountability, safety standards, and curriculum policies?

Will vouchers promote the unconstitutional advancement of direct public funding to religion through vouchers to parochial schools?

Who will assure equal access to educational opportunities, nondiscrimination, desegregation, and due process for student dismissals and employee terminations?

How often can a child move and retain a voucher, and at what voucher value?

Who will keep detailed records of financing, mobility, and certification of school records, vouchers and price stabilization? What will these items cost?

How many new students can private schools serve, or will vouchers only assist current at capacity schools with their existing populations?

Is the romantic view of the marketplace which weeds out bad schools and rewards good ones in the public's best interest? Well performing businesses do go out of business. Or, should it be the state's job to improve public schools that are not performing well?

Will vouchers funnel public funds to parents and bypass legislators, school boards and other public agencies endangering public accountability for tax dollars?

Winners and losers:

Winners: The private schools who can recruit those they would prefer to admit, and the parents of currently privately schooled students. **Losers:** The losers will be students who have applied for and been rejected by private schools, and those who still cannot afford the tuition balance. Taken to its logical conclusion, SB 199 would create a situation where the only students remaining in public schools would be the lowest income and/or the most difficult and expensive to educate.

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PRESCHOOL PROGRAMS

Candidates seeking admission to preschool are evaluated and admitted based upon a personal interview with a member of the preschool faculty.

The appropriate fee should accompany this Application for Admission. Preschool Interview.....\$15.00

MONTESSORI CANDIDATES COMPLETE THIS SECTION		(check)	(check)
Preschool	Five Days	8:15-11:15 () A.M.	12:15-3:15 () P.M.

TRADITIONAL CANDIDATES COMPLETE THIS SECTION		(check)	(check)
Preschool	Two days (Tuesday and Thursday)	8:15-11:15 () A.M.	12:15-3:15 () P.M.
	Three days (Monday, Wednesday, Friday)	8:15-11:15 () A.M.	12:15-3:15 () P.M.
	Five days (Monday through Friday)	8:15-11:15 () A.M.	12:15-3:15 () P.M.

(Candidates for all-day preschool, please check both)

KINDERGARTEN PROGRAMS

Candidates seeking admission to kindergarten are admitted based on evaluative testing. The appropriate fee should accompany this Application for Admission. Kindergarten Interview.....\$25.00

KINDERGARTEN CANDIDATES COMPLETE THIS SECTION		(check)	(check)
Kindergarten	Five Days	8:15-11:15 () A.M.	12:15-3:15 () P.M.

(Candidates for all-day kindergarten, please check both)

CANDIDATES FOR GRADES 1-12 COMPLETE THIS SECTION

Candidate for: (please circle) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

Candidates are required to take admission tests that aid the Admission Committee in identifying aptitude and evaluating achievement. The Headmaster, or his designate, interprets the test results to parents at a personal conference.

The application fee should accompany this Application for Admission. Grades 1-12 Testing.....\$25.00

UPON RECEIPT OF THE APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION, AND THE APPROPRIATE FEE, THE ADMISSIONS OFFICE WILL CONTACT THE PARENT TO ARRANGE A TIME AND DATE FOR TESTING.

Date of Application _____

Signature _____

PLEASE ATTACH FEE AND RETURN TO:

ADMISSION OFFICE
WICHITA COLLEGIATE SCHOOL
9115 EAST THIRTEENTH STREET
WICHITA, KANSAS 67206
PHONE: (316) 634-0433

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WICHITA COLLEGIATE SCHOOL

TUITION AND FEES

The figures listed as tuition cover tuition and textbooks, with fees being additional for extracurricular activities. These fees range from \$75-250, depending on the amount of equipment and travel that is involved in the activity. Activity charges are due the first of each month following the charge.

TUITION (School Year 1991-92)

Preschool.....2 days.....1/2 day.....	\$ 1,040
Preschool.....3 days.....1/2 day.....	1,490
Preschool.....5 days.....1/2 day.....	1,950
Preschool.....5 days.....full day.....	3,900
Kindergarten.....5 days.....1/2 day.....	2,345
Kindergarten.....5 days.....full day.....	4,690
Grades 1-5.....	4,700
Grades 6-12.....	5,220

All costs are for the 9-month school year.

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3/11/91
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Testimony on S.B. 199
before the
Senate Committee on Education

by

JOHN KOEPKE
Executive Director
Kansas Association of School Boards

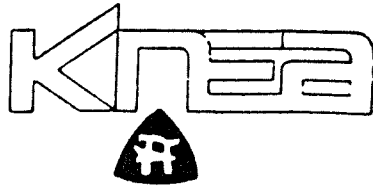
March 11, 1991

Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee, we appreciate the opportunity to express our opinion about S.B. 199, the tuition voucher act. Because of time constraints requested by the Chairman, we are limiting our remarks to a basic statement of opposition. Our delegate assembly has adopted the following position: "KASB opposes legislation that would use tuition tax credits, voucher systems or choice plans to aid private elementary or secondary schools. However, KASB supports efforts to experiment with intra-district choice plans."

We oppose S.B. 199 on Constitutional, philosophical and practical grounds. We believe such a major change in educational policy requires much more detailed study that is possible at this time. KASB stands ready to prepare a complete explanation of our concerns whenever appropriate.

Thank you for your consideration.

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SB 199

Joint testimony presented before the Senate Committee on Education
by
Gerald W. Henderson
Executive Director, United School Administrators of Kansas

March 11, 1991

On behalf of:
Kansas National Education Association
United School Administrators of Kansas

On behalf of the two educational organizations listed above I appreciate the opportunity to share our concerns about the provisions of **SB 199**.

Both of our organizations have long standing positions opposed to the use of public funds in private schools. Our concerns are magnified in a year when funds for public education appear to be in jeopardy to say the least.

We would urge you to report **SB 199** unfavorably.

SB199gwh

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STATE OF KANSAS



DIVISION OF THE BUDGET

JOAN FINNEY, GOVERNOR

Room 152-E
State Capitol Building
Topeka, Kansas 66612-1578

(913) 296-2436
FAX (913) 296-0231

March 5, 1991

The Honorable Joseph Harder, Chairperson
Committee on Education
Senate Chamber
Third Floor, Statehouse

Dear Senator Harder:

SUBJECT: Fiscal Note for SB 225 by Senator Parrish

In accordance with KSA 75-3715a, the following fiscal note concerning SB 225 is respectfully submitted to your committee.

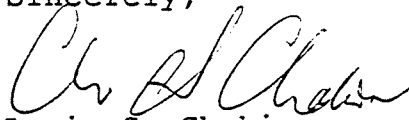
SB 225 would provide for an individual state income tax checkoff for support of the educational excellence grant program. The bill specifies that each Kansas state individual income tax return form for tax years commencing after December 31, 1991, shall contain a designation as follows: Educational excellence grant program. Check if you wish to donate, in addition to your tax liability, or designate from your refund, \$1, \$5, \$10 or \$_____. Distribution of the revenue received would be to the Educational Excellence Grant Program Fund.

The bill has no fiscal impact on State General Fund revenues. However, according to Wildlife and Parks Department estimates the reduction resulting from a second check-off would result in a decrease of 20 percent for the Non-game Wildlife Improvement Fund. This is estimated at \$36,000 for FY 1992.

The Department of Revenue estimates one-time costs to implement the change would incur \$7,610 in expenditures. The cost would be for computer programming modifications. All expenditures would be from the State General Fund.

All expenditures would be in addition to those included in the *FY 1992 Governor's Budget Report*.

Sincerely,


Louis S. Chabira
Deputy Director

cc: Mark Beshears, Revenue
3258

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