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The Yankee Institute has developed a web-based calculator, which enables any citizen to show the financial advantage to his or her town of giving grants to send some of the community’s public school children to private schools. In many towns and cities, school spending can account for as much as eighty percent of the municipal budget.

The Municipal Grants for Non-Public School Calculator (MGN S Calculator) is designed for use on any municipality, even a small town that shares its school system with other communities. But in the preliminary testing of MGN S Calculator, the Yankee Institute has discovered that the most dramatic case for public funding of private education is in towns that are facing expensive new school construction to accommodate projected population increases.

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Schaffer Introduces Tuition Tax Credit Proposal

Last year's No Child Left Behind Act gave parents new accountability tools to keep informed about their children's schools. But 2001’s two prominent federal advances for parental choice—Education Savings Accounts and Title I portability of supplemental services for children in failing schools—remain limited, both by dollar amount and by circumstance in their capacity to help parents use that accountability.

Now, a proposal by Representative Bob Schaffer (R-Colorado) for a scholarship tax credit would create another school choice option for parents and strengthen their ability to exercise another powerful accountability tool: Taking their child out of an unsatisfactory school.

At this writing Schaffer expected to introduce his bill shortly after the Fourth of July in the House Ways and Means Committee. The plan as it is currently configured would provide a 50 percent income tax credit for contributions either to qualified scholarship organizations—called “education investment organizations”—or to any public or private elementary or secondary school directly. Credits would be capped at $250 for individuals, $500 for married couples, and $50,000 for corporations, which would take the credit against their corporate income tax liability.

“Federal education tax credits can provide a massive cash infusion toward a competitive, free-market education system in America,” Schaffer said.

Tax Credits in the States

Today, six states have education tax credits in place: Arizona, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Pennsylvania.

The Arizona law passed in 1997, was the nation’s first scholarship tax credit, as opposed to general education tax credit. It allowed individual taxpayers to receive a dollar-for-dollar tax credit for up to $500 against their state income tax for contributions to recognized scholarship organizations. The limit for married couples was $625. The law does not provide for corporate tax credits.

A recent study of the Arizona scholarships, conducted by the Cato Institute, found that in the first three years the credit was available, more than $32 million was donated to scholarship organizations, resulting in an award of more than $39,000 scholarships.

The Arizona law also provides a $200 tax credit for contributions to public schools for extracurricular activities. According to the states Department of Taxation, more tax credit dollars are claimed for public school donations than for donations to scholarship organizations. In 2000, $15.8 million was raised for scholarship organizations and $17.5 million for public schools.

Last year, Pennsylvania approved a corporate tax credit for contributions to scholarship organizations, which helped fund tuition at nonpublic, religious, or educational improvement organizations, which fund innovative programs in public schools. The credit is capped at $100,000 per business and is worth 75 cents on the dollar for a one-year donation, and 90 cents on the dollar for a two-year commitment.

To date, more than 1,100 businesses in Pennsylvania have pledged approximately $19 million, and the program is expected to provide some 10,000 private school scholarships this year. Total credits for each year are capped at $20 million for private school scholarship organizations and $10 million for public school improvement organizations.

Florida also passed corporate tax credits for contributions to scholarship organizations last year. Illinois, Iowa, and Minnesota offer income tax credits for individuals or families for K-12 education expenses, including tuition, in public or private schools.

Other Federal Proposals

President George W. Bush's Fiscal 2003 budget includes $3.5 billion for an education tax credit. The administration had originally proposed a refundable tax credit that would be limited to children in designated failing schools, but Congressional leaders have so far favored the Schaffer approach.

Other tax credit proposals have already been the focus of some attention in the 107th Congress. Representative Eric Cantor (R-Virginia) first proposed his Education Empowerment Tax Credit last year, a refundable $1,000 per-child credit for any educational expenses, including tuition in a private or parochial school.

Another Congressional leader for education tax credits, Representative Peter Hoekstra (R-Michigan), has introduced in the current session his own proposal, the Voluntary Opportunities for Increasing Contributions to Education (VOICE) Act. His plan would allow taxpayers a 75 percent tax credit up to $500—$1,000 for joint filers—for contributions to qualified tuition scholarship funds or to local public schools for construction or technology. Businesses would be eligible for a 75 percent tax credit up to $100,000.

“Education tax credits will open new avenues of support for all of our schools—both public and private,” Hoekstra told a House Education Committee hearing in April. “They provide meaningful incentives for parents, concerned citizens, and businesses to take an active role in supporting schools in their communities.”

Representative Ron Paul (R-Texas) also introduced the reeducation tax credit measures last year:

• the Family Education Freedom Act (HR 368), which would give parents a $3,000 per-child tax credit for education-related expenses;

• the Teacher Tax Cut Act (HR 369), which would grant all teachers a $2,000 tax credit, effectively raising their salary; and,

• the Education Improvement Tax Cut Act (HR 370), which would allow individuals to claim a tax credit up to $3,000 per year for donations of cash or educational materials to local schools.

Paul has proposed similar legislation in previous sessions of Congress. (See, for example, “Congressman Introduces Tuition Tax Credit Bill,” School Reform News, September 1997.)

Credits Upheld in Court

Education tax credits have a strong track record when challenged in court. Six Illinois courts have upheld the constitutionality of the Illinois tax credit law, and in 1999 the Arizona Supreme Court ruled the Arizona scholarship tax credit law violated neither the Arizona Constitution nor the U.S. Constitution. The Arizona court concluded the money in question in a tax credit is not “public money” because it has not entered the state’s control.

Don Sofer is executive vice president of the Lexington Institute in Arlington, Virginia. His e-mail address is sofer@lexingtoninstitute.org.

Schaffer introduces tuition tax credit proposal.
Virginians Ponder Choice as Next Stage in School Reform

Education policy changes direction under Bush

BY ROBERT HOLLAND

ICHONDO - The federal No Child Left Behind Act will reinforce a "quiet revolution" in how qualified teachers are being recruited to K-12 classrooms, the Director of Teacher Quality and Public School Choice for the U.S. Department of Education told a Lexington Institute forum on school reform here recently.

Speaking at the Virginia General Assembly, Dr. Cheri Yecke, who was Virginia's Secretary of Education before assuming the teacher quality position in the Bush administration, said the new education law represents a "totally new direction in federal policy" following the Goals 2000 era.

"No longer is it a top down, strings attached, Do it our way, or die approach to development," she said.

Under the new law, states may take half of the dollars otherwise earmarked for teacher quality, technology, innovative programs or safe and drug-freeschools and transfer those funds into "any one of those programs where they want to provide the focus." Or they can let all the money go into Title I, which targets the achievement gap for children from low-income homes. The choice is up to education officials in each individual state.

How Accountability Worked in Virginia

States despairing over how they will successfully implement the academic standards and testing required by No Child Left Behind should be buoyed by Virginia's experience, said Yecke, who as a member of the Virginia Board of Education helped develop the states grade-by-grade Standards of Learning (SOL) and the tests to enforce them.

She cited as an example Norfolk's high-poverty Tidewater Park Elementary, where only 6 percent of children passed English, 3 percent, history, and 0 percent science in 1998, the first year the tests were given. Now passing rates in core subjects are in the 70 to 90 percent range.

"No Child Left Behind provisions focused on restructuring children from chronically failing schools will start kicking in as early as this fall. Families stuck with such schools will be able to use their share of federal subsidies to purchase tutoring help from providers that may include private schools, non-profit or for-profit organizations, or faith-based groups," Yecke said.

Improving Teacher Quality

Yecke said the law also permits flexibility within programs such as teacher quality. Under the 1994 version of federal education law, the Eisenhower Professional Development Program laid down prescriptive requirements for states and localities; requiring, for example, that all funds be used for math and science teaching.

By contrast, No Child Left Behind permits states to spend their allotted funds for whatever initiatives they think most urgent, whether that means securing mentors for new teachers, paying bonuses, providing supplemental pay for teaching in targeted schools or difficult-to-fill fields, or innovative approaches to teaching.

"This is more of a market-based approach than the step-salary approach," Yecke noted.

Under the new law, only three basic requirements now exist for new teachers: that they be licensed by the state, hold at least a bachelor's degree, and demonstrate competence according to each states criteria. This is a significant change from the recent past, when state bureaucrats checked to see if would-be teachers had completed the many education courses they were required to take—a kind of "bean-counting" approach to certification.

Forty-five of the 50 states now have alternative routes to teacher certification that bypass the schools of education to one degree or another.

In each of the past three years, U.S. schools have hired roughly 75,000 new teachers, 25,000 of whom were certified through alternative routes. Increasingly, school districts "are not going through education schools. This is a very quiet revolution that is going on almost unnoticed," Yecke said.

Broader Concept of Public Education

Two first-term members of the Virginia House of Delegates, and one former House member who has long been a school choice leader, advocated a more aggressive use of parental choice to take Virginia to the next stage of school reform.

While emphasizing he supports public education, Delegate Scott Lingamfelter said "we need a new vision, one that looks at education as a basket of alternatives: public education, private schools, homeschool. It's time to cut the wickering and start the wickering."

Arlington, Virginia. His e-mail address is rholl1176@yahoo.com.

Lingamfelter, from Northern Virginia, and Delegate Bill Janis, from the Richmond area, said they would reintroduce a bill to provide state income tax credits for contributions to organizations awarding private scholarships to needy students.

"This is a clear public policy winner," said Lingamfelter. "It saves dollars for the state on the one hand while leveraging competition on the other."

The two delegates also plan to sponsor a bill in the 2003 General Assembly to provide performance bonuses for teachers who help their children make significant gains in achievement.

The education tax credit is expected to resemble closely the proposal Republican Jay Katzen championed as a member of the House of Delegates before narrowly losing a race for Lieutenant Governor last fall. Katzen, who now is running for a congressional seat from Southwest Virginia, commented, "the most important good idea I've been identified with is school choice."

Providing a state tax credit up to $500 for donations to tuition organizations that would award scholarships up to $3,100 for needy students would help families have a choice in education while providing "an infallible" to localities by relieving them of the costs of schooling significant numbers of their residents, argued Katzen.

Robert Holland is a senior fellow at the Lexington Institute, a public policy think tank in Arlington, Virginia. His e-mail address is rholl1176@yahoo.com.
Zelman v. Simmons-Harris

CHIEF JUSTICE WILLIAM REHNQUIST

the Establishment Clause. “It provides benefits directly to a wide spectrum of individuals, defined only by financial need and residence in a particular school district. It permits such individuals to exercise genuine choice among options public and private, secular and religious. The program is therefore a program of true private choice. In keeping with an unbroken line of decisions rejecting challenges to similar programs, we hold that the program does not offend the Establishment Clause.”

CHIEF JUSTICE WILLIAM REHNQUIST

ZELMAN V. SIMMONS-HARRIS

“...no child in America will be left behind.”

Within a few hours of the Court’s announcement, House Majority Leader Dick Armey (R-Texas) introduced a bill to provide at least 8,300 education scholarships to disadvantaged children in the nation’s capital. The bill would provide tuition scholarships of up to $5,000 to students in families with incomes below the poverty line, and scholarships up to $3,750 to families with incomes up to 185 percent of the poverty level.

In 1997, Armey introduced a bill to expand school choice in the nation’s capital. Although the bill passed both the House and Senate, it was vetoed by President Clinton.

Armey Proposes Vouchers for DC Children

Responding to the U.S. Supreme Court’s June 27 decision declaring the Cleveland voucher program constitutional, President George W. Bush commented, “This decision clarifies the way for other innovative school choice programs, so that no child in America will be left behind.”

Opponents charged this limitation put the program in violation of the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. They argued the low value of the voucher inherently favored the participation of low-cost religious schools, giving parents little choice except religious schools. But after three years of argument in state courts, the program was ruled constitutional by the Ohio Supreme Court in 1999. Opponents then mounted a new challenge in federal court, which brought the case before the U.S. Supreme Court last year.

The June 27 ruling, authored by Chief Justice William Rehnquist and joined by justices Thomas, O’Connor, Scalia, and Kennedy, dismissed the claims of voucher opponents. In particular, the Court emphatically rejected the notion that the program provides financial incentives for parents to send their children to religious schools. “The program here in fact creates financial disincentives for religious schools, with private schools receiving only half the government assistance given to community schools and one-third the assistance given to magnet schools,” wrote Rehnquist for the majority. “Adjacent public schools, should any choice to accept program students, are also eligible to receive two to three times the state funding of a private religious school.”

In reviewing the Cleveland voucher program, the Court concluded it is “entirely neutral with respect to religion.” “It provides benefits directly to a wide spectrum of individuals, defined only by financial need and residence in a particular school district,” the Court continued. “It permits such individuals to exercise genuine choice among options public and private, secular and religious. The program is therefore a program of true private choice. In keeping with an unbroken line of decisions rejecting challenges to similar programs, we hold that the program does not offend the Establishment Clause.”

The Court also rejected the notion that the role of voucher parents in the process was “inconsistent,” as respondents had maintained. “[W]e have repeatedly recognized that no reasonable observer would think a neutral program of private choice, where state aid reaches religious schools, giving parents little choice except religious schools, is inconsistent.”

In his concurrence, Justice Thomas quoted Frederick Douglass’s observation that “[e]ducation means emancipation;” and pointed out urban minority students are denied emancipation in many inner-city public schools. To promote educational opportunity, the state of Ohio has a constitutional right to experiment with a variety of different programs, noted Thomas—yet the opponents of the voucher program want to “handcuff the State’s ability to experiment with education.”

“The program does not force any individual to submit to religious indoctrination or education,” wrote Thomas. “It simply gives parents a greater choice—where and in what manner to educate their children. This is a choice that those with greater means have routinely exercised.”

For more Information...

WWW

The full text of the U.S. Supreme Court’s June 27 decision in the Cleveland voucher case, Zelman v. Simmons-Harris, is available at the Heartland Institute Web site at http://www.heartland.org/public/CPDF/zelmanharris.pdf.
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Voucher “Experiments” Don’t Test Competition

Review by Myron Lieberman

Revolutions at the Margins is about the effects of vouchers on public schools, especially in the three school districts with the most prominent voucher plans in the 1990s: Milwaukee, Cleveland, and Edgewood, Texas. The effects are fairly described, but when Hess tries to explain their policy implications, his discussion is seriously flawed in several ways. Although the flaws outweigh the praiseworthy features, let me begin on a positive note.

Public Schools Cannot, Will Not Compete

Hess explains very clearly why public education cannot compete effectively in a competitive education industry. As he points out, the changes in the school districts he studied are only “at the margins” and not necessarily due to competition. For example, he notes, the increase in the number of voucher students is not because voucher-redeeming schools are educating better, but because overcrowded public schools are happy to have private schools absorb the overflow while the public schools do not have to change at all. Public schools do not respond like carmakers by adopting improvements, says Hess; they respond in the only way they can, by strangling competition politically. It’s as if U.S. carmakers did not compete with foreign carmakers by developing and adopting improvements in the U.S. cars, but by tariffs and other political hurdles that foreign carmakers could not profitably overcome. It is the political influence of the teacher unions, not the better service or reduced costs of public education, that protects public education as we have known it.

Hess also does an excellent job of showing that despite the claims of school choice proponents, there was no significant change in public education during the 1990s. In fact, significant competition may not emerge in most school districts even if the obstacles to competition are somehow eliminated. Most suburban parents are satisfied with their schools. The pre-voucher scribes who predict the imminent end of public education play into the hands of the public school forces, who rally public and teacher support against this feared but totally unrealistic outcome.

An Imperfect Market

As Hess recognizes, Milton Friedman’s 1962 Capitalism and Freedom set forth the free market rationale for vouchers, based on the outcomes of market competition in other industries. Unfortunately, Hess does not explain that market competition requires ease of entry for producers, including for-profit firms; regulation only to the extent of regulation in other industries; no control over prices by producers or consumers; a scale large enough to justify research and development by entrepreneurs; and confidence the vouchers will not be short-term. None of the voucher plans studied by Hess comes even close to meeting these conditions.

This gives rise to the question: What can be learned from today’s voucher programs—meaning-tested vouchers that exclude for-profit schools, severely restrict eligibility, are under constant threat of termination, are small scale in economic terms, and are subject to anti-competitive regulations of one kind or another—that is informative on what might happen in a competitive industry? Hess does not answer or even phrase this question clearly. He says repeatedly that the effects of vouchers will depend on such things as “the structure of the market,” but he does not spell out the key structural changes, such as ease of entry, required by a market system of education.

Several proponents of market competition have explicitly argued that the outcomes of voucher plans in these three districts are not informative about voucher outcomes in a free market system of education.

Muddying the Waters

In his closing paragraph, Hess writes: “Education competition cannot be divorced from discussions about testing, teacher certification, school governance, educational administration, or the other frustrating conversations that many school choice proponents have long wished to avoid. In the end, the fate of education markets, for good or ill, is intertwined with broader issues of education politics and policy.”

I disagree. Education competition can be divorced from discussion of those other issues. The proponents of market competition believe changes in the subjects mentioned by Hess could facilitate competition, but the relationships between market competition and those subjects are not a critical factor. Moreover, the proponents of competition in education don’t wish to avoid discussions of those subjects. In my experience at least, it is difficult to stop them from doing so.

Consider also research and development, a topic Hess completely ignores. In a free market, we would expect substantial producer expenditures for R&D, leading to improvements that would increase market share and profits. But no-for-profit company is going to invest in R&D in hostile environments, where there are severe restrictions on producers and consumers and great uncertainty about the continuation of vouchers.

Of course, virtually any expansion of school choice has some potential to generate competition of some sort, but it is not “market competition” in any meaningful sense of the term. The impact of restriction-laden, underfunded, nonprofit schools in dilapidated buildings restricted to pupils from low-income families in a small catchment area has little or no bearing on market competition under vouchers without such crippling restrictions.

Copping Out

In the last chapter Hess writes: “The present study has not equipped me to judge whether policymakers should embrace competition or whether market forces will make urban schools better. Such determinations ought to await the development of a fuller body of research and analysis.”

Those comments are not credible. Hess has studied school choice for years, spent considerable time on site visits to school choice schools, lists 341 references that encompass most of the books on the subject, plus scores of others cited in the footnotes, has discussed or corresponded with 44 leading supporters and opponents of school choice, participated in several conferences and forums on the subject, and still feels the need for more research and analysis before he is equipped to judge whether policymakers should embrace competition?

Give me a break.

FOOTNOTES

1. In Public Education: An Autopsy (1993), I asserted what had died was the rationale for public education, but I also made it clear (or so I thought) that it is institutional manifestation would be with us for “several years to come.” Its ability to prevent, not ward off, competition is discussed in my forthcoming book, The Educational Morass.


Myron Lieberman, Public Education: An Autopsy, pages 11-13; John M. McNeil, The School Choice Wars, repeatedly, especially pages 21-31. Inasmuch as two of these references are included in Hess’ list of references, one can only wonder how he came to his demonstrably false conclusions. My guess is he thought that everyone who advocates “competition” understood what it entails.

School Choice for Me, But Not for Thee

Members of Congress don't preach at work what they practice at home

BY KRISTA KAFER

President George W. Bush's Fiscal 2003 budget calls for a $50 million school choice demonstration project and an education tax credit for parents whose children are trapped in failing schools. Whether his plan gains traction in Congress depends largely on whether members of Congress are willing to give others the freedom they themselves enjoy: namely, to choose the school that best meets the needs of their children.

Among members of the 107th Congress, 47 percent of Representatives and 51 percent of Senators send their children to private schools, according to a Heritage Foundation survey reported in “Another Look at How Members of Congress Exercise School Choice” by Research Associate Jennifer Garrett. The percentage of members practicing private school choice in 2001 was higher than in Heritage's previous surveys, particularly in the House of Representatives.

For survey respondents with school-age children, the Heritage survey found:

- 53 percent of Senate Finance Committee members and 50 percent of Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee members exercised private school choice.
- 43 percent of House Ways and Means Committee members and 32 percent of House Education and Workforce Committee members chose private schools for their children.
- 38 percent of members who represent the congressional districts of the 10 largest U.S. cities have chosen private schools.
- 35 percent of Black Caucus members and 33 percent of Hispanic Caucus members chose to send at least one child to private schools.

Three Opportunities, Three Strikes

Despite the rising popularity of private schools in Congress, many members voted to block legislation giving other families the range of options they themselves enjoy. In fact, had members who exercised school choice voted for legislation to give poor parents the same opportunities, that legislation would have passed.

In 2001, members of Congress who practiced private school choice were given three opportunities to provide a similar opportunity for poor children in failing schools. During consideration of the No Child Left Behind Act, Senator Judd Gregg (R-New Hampshire) offered an amendment that was defeated 41-58. Had the 13 nay-voting senators who send their children to private schools voted yea instead, the legislation would have passed 54-45.

The amendments reflect two of the proposals in the President's original No Child Left Behind school reform plan. The final bill contained neither of them.

“If the failure to approve measures to enable all children to benefit from the best school environment possible makes little and less political sense,” observes Garrett, “especially in light of growing public support for school choice among Americans, particularly parents and minorities.”

She concludes such support “will grow with the mounting evidence that school choice improves achievement, challenges public schools to improve, and enables low-income children to escape poorly performing schools.”

Garrett notes members of Congress will be increasingly “hard-pressed to explain why the same educational option should not be afforded to parents whose children attend substandard schools.”

Krista Kafer is an senior policy analyst for education at The Heritage Foundation. Her email address is krista.kafer@heritage.org.

### Table: Who Practices School Choice

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<th>Group</th>
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<td>Senate Republicans</td>
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### Diagram: Who Preaches School Choice

- 90% Senate Republicans
- 89% House Republicans
- 17% Senate Democrats
- 4% House Democrats

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By Laura J. Swartley

Eleven-year-old Charlotte Reed is on her way to Harvard. To prepare herself for that self-made dream still seven years away, she completes a grueling five to six hours of eighth-grade-level homework each night, for her fifth-grade classes at Birchwood School, a private school in Cleveland.

“I want my kids to have an edge,” said Charlotte’s mother Bobby Reed. “At the same time, I want to be able to live in the city, where my children will be exposed to real life, to a variety of people, and not to the sterile, unreal atmosphere of the suburbs.”

The Cleveland Scholarship and Tutoring Program allows Bobby, the mother of four children aged newborn to 11, to work in a field she loves, community service, and have flexibility to attend to all her children’s needs. She “lives on a shoestring,” but the program allows her children to attend schools that meet their very different needs.

Eight-year-old Jesse, Bobby’s son, is enrolled at Hanna Perkins School, a private school on the east side of Cleveland that has been successful in addressing Jesse’s learning and emotional handicaps.

“A year ago, he was diagnosed with depression,” said Bobby. “Today, he’s a happy boy and he wants to go to school every day.”

Bobby found it extremely difficult to place Jesse in a good school. She spent several thousand dollars having Jesse tested and many exhausting hours visiting schools, including suburban public schools she assumed would be superior to those in the inner city.

“They just don’t have the programs he needed,” she explained. “The public schools have so many disabled kids, the classes are huge, and this entirely defeats the purpose.”

At Hanna Perkins, the student-teacher ratio is 3:1. Since Jesse has made such tremendous progress at the school, Bobby now is searching for a mainstream first-grade program for him at another school for next year. The trouble is, not many schools will accept him with his history of learning and emotional problems.

“I believe if the [Cleveland Scholarship] program were to expand, many groups out there with great ideas about how to educate special-needs children would open schools,” said Bobby. “And this would lead to the public schools being forced to improve their offerings.”

Meanwhile, Bobby’s two oldest children continue in the scholarship program, enabling her to work for the Community Development Program. Ironically, this means she attends PTA meetings at her local public schools even though she has no children enrolled in the Cleveland Public Schools.

At these meetings, she is distressed at the lack of parental involvement. “There are so many overworked single parents out there. It’s not that they don’t want to spend quality time with their children. There’s no flexibility in their low-wage jobs and there isn’t enough time in the day.”

She encourages parents she meets at the Community Development Center to apply for vouchers and tutoring grants even though participating districts have long waiting lists.

With her daughter working hard to prepare herself for the Ivies and her son finally becoming more confident, stable, and ready to learn, Bobby is delighted by the recent ruling from the U.S. Supreme Court. Although her children are in non-sectarian schools and would not have been affected by a negative ruling, she still worries for the future of the program.

“She needs to grow,” she said, “so it can stimulate the growth of good schools.”

School Choice Roundup

Arizona

Institute for Justice Joins Suit to Advocate Choice

The Institute for Justices first state chapter has moved to intervene in a lawsuit that seeks additional tax dollars for the education of low-income children in seven Arizona school districts—districts that already have admitted they are failing to provide adequate education to these children.

Representing the families of children in two of the seven failing districts, IJ is not looking for additional funds; instead, it simply seeks to allow its clients to use the funds already allocated for their children’s education at a school of their choosing.

Institute for Justice

California

Bought Legislators Don’t Stay Bought, Complains Union

California Teacher Association President Wayne Johnson made no bones about the expected reciprocity between campaign donations and votes in comments he made to the Sacramento Bee in May.

“I want to know who’s been taking our money for years, say they support our issues, and then vote against us. We need to hold these people accountable,” complained Johnson.

Johnson revealed that Governor Gray Davis had asked him and other CTA officers directly for a $1 million campaign donation. Johnson claims he and the other CTA officers present responded with “absolute stone silence.”

But in a stunning defeat for Johnson and the teacher union, a union-backed bill to give the union veto power over education policy (AB 2160) was pulled from the Assembly floor on May 30 when it appeared likely to be defeated, effectively killing it for this legislative session.

Mike Antonucci, of the Education Intelligence Agency, thinks “school reformers all across the U.S. owe Johnson a debt of gratitude” for demonstrating how the public education system is run.

“[Johnson] ... informed the public, without evasion, that the union was in the business of buying legislative votes, and wondered aloud if he was getting his money’s worth,” noted Antonucci. “In a rare display of backbone, 40 or 50 lawmakers told Johnson to take a hike.”

The Education Intelligence Agency Communiqué May 20, 2002 and June 3, 2002

Florida

8,800 Eligible for Vouchers as More Schools Fail

In June, more than 8,800 students in Florida’s Dade, Escambia, Orange, and Palm Beach counties became eligible to receive publicly funded education vouchers to attend private schools when the public schools they attended received a second F grade within a four-year period under Governor Jeb Bush’s A+ Plan for Education. A total of 68 schools earned F grades but for 58, it was the first time they had flunked on the state’s accountability rankings and so students at those schools did not qualify for vouchers.

More schools received F grades this year because of more rigorous grading and higher standards imposed by the state. Now, there is a heavier emphasis on reading scores, more student scores are included—grades 3-
and on the public education system itself. The options also are greatest growth—from 4,000 students in 1991 to over 100,000 students but also for the public education system itself. The programs have prompted improvements not only for students from low-income families, students of color, and students funded remedial services to failing students in parochial schools, according to New York Post reporter Carl Campanile. Under Spitzer’s plan, the remedial services would have to be provided by public school teachers. Remedial services would include: tutoring services for religious school students who are failing the state’s standardized math and reading tests; assistance to special-education students; and funds for computers.

David Zwiebel, vice president of Agudath Israel of America, told the Post Spitzer’s decision means opponents of aid to religious schools “can no longer hide behind the Constitution.”

NEW YORK

Spitzer: Remedial Services OK for Parochial School Students

In a 35-page legal analysis, New York State Attorney General Eliot Spitzer has concluded the government can provide publicly funded remedial services to failing students in parochial schools, according to New York Post reporter Carl Campanile. Under Spitzer’s plan, the remedial services would have to be provided by public school teachers. Remedial services would include: tutoring services for religious school students who are failing the state’s standardized math and reading tests; assistance to special-education students; and funds for computers.

David Zwiebel, vice president of Agudath Israel of America, told the Post Spitzer’s decision means opponents of aid to religious schools “can no longer hide behind the Constitution.”

TEXAS

Vouchers an Issue in 2003 Elections

The fight over publicly funded school vouchers isn’t going to go away in the Lone Star State, according to Texas Public Policy Foundation President Jeff Judson. “I think you can expect vouchers are going to be a policy proposal we’ll be hearing about every legislative session from now on,” he recently told the Scripps Howard Austin Bureau. Vouchers have been a legislative issue since 1995, when the legislature approved a voucher bill that was killed during House-Senate negotiations.

Vouchers already have been a part of the campaigns for governor and lieutenant governor, and their rise or fall is tied to which political party ends up controlling the House and Senate after this year’s elections. The GOP currently controls the Senate by a 16-15 margin, with Democrats holding a 78-72 majority in the House. House Speaker Pete Laney (D-Hale Center) has been instrumental in defeating voucher proposals.

In the gubernatorial race, Republican Gov. Rick Perry supports vouchers. His Democratic opponent, Tony Sanchez, opposes them. In the lieutenant governor race, Republican David Dewhurst has been a voucher supporter, while Democrat John Sharp has been an opponent.

Scripps Howard Austin Bureau
May 28, 2002

MINNESOTA

Study: School Choice Good for Students and System

Eleven years ago, the Minnesota Education Association issued an alarmist prediction that charter schools would create “elite academies for the few and second-rate schools for the many.” A new report from the University of Minnesota’s Center for School Change reveals just how far off the teacher union warning was. Minnesota’s charter schools have higher percentages of students from low-income families, students of color, and students with some form of disability than an average district’s public schools, according to the May 2002 report, What Really Happened? Minnesota’s Experience with Statewide Public School Choice Programs.

The report examines four public school choice programs in Minnesota—open enrollment, charter schools, Second Chance Options, and Post-Secondary Enrollment Options—and finds the programs have prompted improvements not only for students but also for the public education system itself. Unanticipated by both critics and advocates of School choice, the greatest growth—from 4,000 students in 1991 to over 100,000 in 2002—occurred in the alternative schools of the Second Chance Program, which serves students who are not succeeding in traditional secondary schools.

According to the report, most stakeholders agree the public school choice options have had beneficial effects on students and on the public education system itself. The options also are widely accepted, with almost one in three secondary students (30 percent) participating in the programs.

Center for School Change
University of Minnesota
www.centerforschoolchange.org

The Milton & Rose D. Friedman Foundation

About the Milton and Rose D. Friedman Foundation

The Milton and Rose D. Friedman Foundation is a non-profit, 501(c)(3) organization established in 1962 by Milton and Rose Friedman. The origins of the foundation lie in the Friedman’s long-standing concern about the root causes of poverty in America—elementary and secondary public schools. The best way to improve the quality of education, they believed, is to enable parents to have a truly free choice of the schools that their children attend. The Friedman Foundation works to build upon this vision, clarify its meaning to the general public, and amplify the national call for truly free education reform through school choice. Contact us at www.FriedmanFoundation.org for more information.

Milton & Rose D. Friedman Foundation
One American Square #190
Indianapolis, IN 46282

The Bizarre World of Teacher Pay

The Progressive Policy Institute, a think tank associated with the Democratic Leadership Council, recently released a study titled Better Pay for Better Teaching, which calls for teacher pay differentials based not only on job performance, but also on willingness to teach certain subjects and at certain schools.

The following reports illustrate the obstacles of taking such an approach, or even simply trying to increase teacher pay.

LOUISIANA

Union Says No to Teacher Tax Break

Louisiana State Rep. Jack Smith (D-D’Iberville) introduced a bill that would exempt public school teachers and support personnel from state income taxes. The state’s two teacher unions swiftly announced opposition to the measure.

“The bill is not in the best interests of teachers. Raising the salaries will keep teachers,” Tom Tate, a lobbyist for the NEA-affiliated Louisiana Association of Educators, told the New Orleans Times-Picayune. Ferdinand Trouiller, a lobbyist for the Louisiana Federation of Teachers, told the Baton Rouge Advocate the bill “will open the floodgates,” predicting other state workers would seek the same tax exemption.

“I don’t really care about the teachers’ unions,” said Smith. “This will help teachers keep more money in their pockets.” The Independent Associated Professional Educators of Louisiana supports the bill.

OHIO

Teachers Say No to Performance Pay

After Cincinnati Federation of Teachers President Rick Beck and his officers spent 18 months negotiating a pay-for-performance plan, the plan barely received majority approval by union members. Then last April, Beck was voted out of office by a 3 to 1 margin. Despite Beck’s safeguards to protect the plan—a 70 percent “no” vote was required for its elimination—the pay-for-performance experiment was scuttled on May 17, before the pay component was ever implemented. The margin—3.7 percent in favor, 96.3 percent opposed, with a 63 percent turnout—should give pause to anyone who thinks any radical experiment in teacher pay could become a national model. Although CTU President Susan Taylor argued the vote was against pay-for-performance per se, but just against the current plan, Mike Antonucci of the Education Intelligence Agency disputes that view.

“If a program with such heavy union involvement could not generate more momentum than 3.7 percent of the membership after two years, there is no reason to believe tinkering around the edges will help,” said Antonucci.

The Education Intelligence Agency, Communiqué, May 20, 2002 and June 3, 2002

School Reform News - August 2002
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* All courses/materials are accredited K-12 by the NASC.
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* View and see a demo of our course materials at www.power-glide.com.
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“Most curriculum developers seem to have forgotten what it was like to sit endlessly in a classroom listening and pretending to be interested in boring subject material, but not Dr. Blake.”
— Susan Moen, Reviewer, Editor’s Choice

“...Several pedagogical techniques are used: review of previous chapters, repetition, and use of tools that cover different learning styles...has a flexibility to suit the individual learner and teacher, and gives an informal and fun feeling to learning... This is a great way to enhance classroom or home instruction...”
— Tina Hudak
Reviewer, Cushing’s School Library Journal, St. Bernard’s School

“Thirty years ago, in Guatemala, I used Dr. Blake’s materials and we were the best I had ever seen. Now that I could ‘test’ the materials with more than 40 students in various classes, I am even more convinced that they are the best language teaching materials in existence today.”
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Web site for open source solutions in the K-12 market. The idea of free products and services to K-12 schools. The Web site will enable teachers, parents, and administrators to determine if a particular Evan-Moor resource book meets the content standards in their home state.

McGraw-Hill and Microsoft Ink Agreement
On May 23, McGraw-Hill Education, a provider of instructional products and related education services, and Microsoft Corp., announced an agreement to co-develop, publish, market, and distribute professional and technical books for the global education market. Under a newly created imprint, McGraw-Hill-Microsoft Press will initially target the higher education market.

Pearson Acquisition Expands K-12 Software Training
On April 16, Pearson Education, the global education business of Pearson plc, announced the acquisition of DDC Publishing, a provider of training software for the high school and postsecondary markets. With the acquisition, Prentice Hall School, a division of Pearson Education, will nearly double the number of software training titles it offers.

McGraw-Hill Reading Program Enhanced by Acquisition
McGraw-Hill Education, a division of The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., announced on April 16 it acquired the assets of Reality-Based Learning Company (RBL), a Seattle-based developer of online reading software. Through the acquisition, McGraw-Hill Education will enhance its Open Court Reading program by adding RBL's platform, a digital product that provides standards-correlated reading instruction and tracking and reporting of student progress.

Red Hat Launches New Channels to Support Education
Red Hat, Inc., an open source and Linux provider, announced the creation of its two Red Hat Network Education Channels on May 6. The channels will provide educators and students with access to Red Hat Linux 7.3, a customizable operating system. The Educational Channel will be available to K-12 students, teachers, and information services (IS) administrators and to colleges. The Terminal Server Channel will enable a teacher or IS administrator to set up a computer science lab with Red Hat's Open Lab architecture, which combines open source software with thin client hardware.

Struggling Readers Targeted by New Joint Effort
On April 30, Renaissance Learning, Inc., a K-12 software company, and the School Division of Houghton Mifflin Company, a unit of Vivendi Universal Publishing, announced a joint effort to help teachers improve student reading skills. The companies are developing an assessment guide that will help teachers use results from Renaissance Learning's Star Early Literacy computer diagnostic assessment to screen students for entry into Houghton Mifflin's Reading Intervention for Early Success program.

Teachers Unprepared to Use Technology
Although U.S. school districts have made significant progress by investing heavily in computers and software and in connecting schools and classrooms to the Internet, district officials now need to focus on training teachers to use that technology more effectively to improve education, according to a new survey from the National School Boards Foundation. While many teachers are comfortable using the Internet as a research tool, the June 2002 survey found most are unprepared to integrate technology into their instruction.

The Education Economy is read by leading education company executives, investors, academic policy experts and education leaders around the globe. To subscribe to The Education Economy, register online at www.edventures.com. Edventures, Inc. may be reached at 20 Park Plaza #833, Boston, MA 02116, 617/426-5622, fax 617/426-5431.
Nationally Certified Teachers Come Up Short on Achievement

BY ROBERT HOLLAND

A study by Education Consumers Clearinghouse (ECC) founder J.E. Stone has concluded nationally certified Tennessee teachers are no more proficient in raising students’ test scores than average teachers in their home school districts.

Stone’s findings caused those with vested interest in national certification to spring into action, most notably through an Education Commission of the States press release asserting it would empanel an “unbiased” review of the study.

The National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS) has been in existence for 15 years and has spent $215.6 million in tax and private funds. Stone’s study, however, was the first to assess the impact of national certification according to objectively measured student achievement.

In January, NBPTS officials had issued an open call for research on how certification might relate to achievement. “We’re not just looking for feel-good research,” said Ann E. Harman, NBPTS research director. “We’re ready for whatever the results are.” (Education Week, January 30, 2002)

In Fall 2000, NBPTS President Betty Castror touted a study by researchers at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, who compared 31 teachers who won certification to 34 who applied unsuccessfully. The study was financed by the U.S. Department of Education and NBPTS.

That the nationally certified teachers ranked higher on criteria the NBPTS deems important to teaching, Castor said, merited “the absolute highest confidence.”

“Ifs a state found that it had 16 certified lifeguards who were only average swimmers, the finding would not be dismissed as statistically insignificant.”

J.E. STONE
EDUCATION CONSUMERS CLEARINGHOUSE

If Stone’s study was financed by the U.S. government and NBPTS, it is clear that NBPTS-certified teachers give students “a high-quality learning experience.”

In a May 15 advertisement in Education Week, NBPTS boasted National Board Certification is “Comparable to established standards in other professions,” and said the UNC-Greensboro study showed “National Board Certified Teachers outperform their peers in teaching expertise and student achievement.”

However, the touted study counted only student work samples gathered by the teachers themselves and deliberately excluded students’ test scores. Critics have continued to press NBPTS for hard, verifiable data.

In a statement, NBPTS officials slammed Stone’s work as “hardly independent research,” noting he has criticized the NBPTS and advocated market-based reform of teacher preparation and licensing. Stone countered that researchers—including those employed by the NBPTS—rarely study issues about which they lack opinions; the relevant question is whether opinions determined the outcome. The NBPTS also criticized the small number of teachers in Stone’s study—16—although the NBPTS’s own studies over the past decade have included as few as three teachers.

Measuring How Much Students Learn

Stone studied a small cohort of Tennessee’s 40 NBPTS-certified teachers teach in grades 3 through 8 and therefore have value-added reports of teacher effectiveness in the state database.

Stone, an education professor at East Tennessee State University, compared the “teacher-effect” scores of those 16 to the average achievement gains of their local school systems in as many as five subjects and over as long as three years. Tennessee’s performance standards grade an achievement gain of 115 percent or more as an “A” and a gain of 85 percent of less as an “F.” Stone found only 15 percent of scores earned by the NBPTS-certified teachers reached as high as 115 percent, while 11 percent were at 85 percent or below. The remaining three-fourths were within the average range for their school systems.

Noting Chattanooga gives $5,000 performance bonuses to teachers who reach 115 percent gains in math, reading, and language for the preceding three years, Stone pointed out none of the NBPTS-certified teachers would have qualified for that reward.

It is implausible that these 16 teachers are the only mediocre performers among the 16,000 NBPTS-certified teachers nationwide, said Stone, but “if a state found that it had 16 certified life guards who were only average swimmers, the finding would not be dismissed as statistically insignificant.”

Study “Well-Conceived”

Noted education researcher Eric Hanushek, a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, told School Reform News that, contrary to the NBPTS’ insinuations, “Stone’s study follows a well-conceived methodology.” He added that “Tennessee is not an aggressive NBPTS state” and therefore Stone had no choice but to rely on a mere 16 teachers in the database. “This weakness is not Stone’s fault, or his choice. It simply represents the available universe of teachers,” he said.

Hanushek observed, “John Stone’s provocative study underscores one extremely important feature of U.S. education: Widely acclaimed and expensive policies frequently escape any evaluation in terms of their true effectiveness.”

“John Stone’s provocative study underscores one extremely important feature of U.S. education: Widely acclaimed and expensive policies frequently escape any evaluation in terms of their true effectiveness.”

ERIC A. HANUSEK
HOOVER INSTITUTION

Review Panel Named

Soon after ECC’s release of the Stone report, the Education Commission of the States (ECS), which bills itself as a nonpartisan education policy organization, issued a press release calling for a review panel. The following panel members were appointed in mid-June: Susan Fuhrman, dean of education at the University of Pennsylvania; Dominic Brewer of the RAND Corporation; Robert Linn of the University of Colorado; and Ana Marie Villegas of Montclair State University.

ECS President Ted Sanders said in a statement his organization had an “obligation to determine the validity of this study and whether ECS constituents can depend on it for altering the course of their work to improve teaching quality.”

Sanders’ own objectivity on the matter could be in question. He was a founding commissioner of the NBPTS’ greatest champion, the National Commission on Teaching and America’s Future, an organization bankrolled by the Carnegie Foundation, as is the NBPTS itself. There is no record of the ECS ever having challenged the validity of NBPTS studies claiming to show the effectiveness of nationally certified teachers.

Robert Holland is a senior fellow at the Lexington Institute, a public policy think tank in Arlington, Virginia. His e-mail address is rholl1176@yahoo.com.
Findings Prompt Scrutiny of National Certification Board

By Robert Holland

The findings from a new study, showing that nationally certified teachers produce only average student achievement, should prompt a “wake-up call” for lawmakers and others to take a closer look at the organization that issues and promotes national certification, says a researcher familiar with teacher certification issues.

The study, conducted by East Tennessee State University education professor J.E. Stone, found Tennessee public school teachers who were certified by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS) performed no better than average in raising student achievement.

“Dr. George Cunningham, an education professor and testing expert at the University of Louisville, said Stone’s study is important because it points out a major reason why the effectiveness of our schools is below what it should be.”

No Competition in Certification

Dr. George Cunningham, an education professor and testing expert at the University of Louisville, said Stone’s study is important because it points out a major reason why the effectiveness of our schools is below what it should be.

Cunningham noted that NBPTS is one of four organizations that effectively control teacher training and teacher evaluation in the U.S.—including also the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (INTASC), and the group that lobbies for NCATE control over who may teach K-12 students: the National Commission on Teaching and America’s Future (NCTAF).

These four organizations “speak with one voice and have overlapping boards of directors,” Cunningham said. They are as one in the belief that school effectiveness “cannot be judged by assessing the academic achievement of students using tests.”

Instead, they define an effective teacher as one who uses progressive education methods—such as cooperative learning, Whole Language reading, and “discovery” math—and who is committed to “diversity” and the role of schools in promoting a particular vision of “social justice.” The NBPTS criteria for certification obligate teachers to depict themselves using progressive instructional methods and advancing social justice.

Too Much Money, Too Few Results

While Stone’s findings are important, they are hardly surprising, concluded Cunningham. But the research should serve as a wake-up call to governors, state legislators, and members of the general public who “do not realize” the NBPTS and its allied organizations “are absolutely opposed to the standards-based education reform adopted by all but one state, (excepting California), which is founded on the importance of increasing student academic achievement.”

Dr. Richard P. Phelps, former senior study director at WESTAT in Rockville, Maryland, said “we should be concerned that huge amounts of taxpayer dollars are financing a program that has shown no evidence of success. The NBPTS process costs the taxpayers money and, in addition, it requires an enormous expenditure of teacher time and school resources.” Phelps’ book, Kill the Messenger: The War on Standardized Testing, is scheduled for publication in Spring 2003 by Transaction Books.

The Education Commission of the States (ECS), he added, “should never have endorsed a program in the first place that could show no evidence of effectiveness”—but the ECS “has consistently endorsed pretty much any program or philosophy that ‘mainstream’ education professors like.”

Another testing expert, Dr. Louis Chandler, chairman of the Department of Psychology in Education at the University of Pittsburgh, held out more hope some good could come from an ECS study. He suggested Stone had made a “reasonable argument” that those designated as “better teachers” should show better results than their peers, and had come up with a useful “outcomes” test.

“Some facets of education lend themselves better to scientific study than others,” Chandler noted, “and this is one example where data are available which can be useful in informing decision makers. If further studies are called for, Dr. Stone has suggested a useful paradigm.”

A Form of Pedagogical Correctness

Some teachers who have looked at NBPTS closely believe it seeks to enforce a form of pedagogical correctness by obliging applicants to demonstrate they adhere to the progressive, learner-centered philosophy as opposed to teacher-centered instruction focusing on knowledge and skills.

John Tupeker, a high school history teacher in Long Beach, Mississippi, believes a connection exists between the growing clout of the NBPTS and stagnant U.S. history scores on the National Assessment of Educational Progress.

The National Board, he said, “saws history as social studies; that is, as an activity, not a real academic subject”; furthermore, it does not believe student achievement can be measured by standardized tests. “The result will be ever-lower history test scores as [NBPTS]-type progressive methodology will be forced on more and more teachers who want that bonus.”

Tupeker added some of the nationally certified teachers may prove to be effective: “Many of them temporarily adopt the learner-centered methods in order to pass the certification and get the bonus money and the status, and then return to the more traditional methods that produce higher scores on standardized tests.”

An applicants’ guide prepared jointly by the National Education Association and American Federation of Teachers, which actively encourage NBPTS certification, provides evidence to support Tupeker’s thesis.

The guide advises that even though teachers may believe in other, proven standards for effective teaching, “your sole focus should be the National Board standards, because it is those—and only those standards—on which your work will be evaluated.” The union guide goes on to commend teaching methods that allow children to construct their own knowledge, in accord with progressive doctrine.

Al Haskvitz, a Walnut, California teacher who has been selected as one of the nation’s top teachers by eight different organizations, including USA Today and Reader’s Digest, said Stone’s study is accurate in that the hoops NBPTS makes teachers jump through to win national certification are not designed to raise student performance. Instead, “they are designed to create uniformity.”

Haskvitz agrees with NBPTS officials that the Stone study is not definitive...but he also believes the study is accurate: “In the last 10 years, I have corresponded with about 100 certified teachers and not one says that their students did better in the classroom and not one principal has said anywhere that NBPTS teachers are superior at raising student performance over teachers with equal experience and education.”

Robert Holland is a senior fellow at the Lexington Institute, a public policy think tank in Arlington, Virginia. His e-mail address is rholl1176@yahoo.com.
Relentlessly pursuing school choice

an interview with HOWARD L. FULLER
by George A. Clowes

“I now understood what had been to me a most perplexing difficulty—to wit, the white man’s power to enslave the black man. It was a grand achievement, and I prized it highly. From that moment, I understood the pathway from slavery to freedom. ... Though conscious of the difficulty of learning without a teacher, I set out with high hope, and a fixed purpose, at whatever cost of trouble, to learn how to read.”

Frederick Douglass, aged about 10, after hearing his master say teaching him to read “would forever unfit him to be a slave.” Narrative of the Life and Times of Frederick Douglass

Although it’s now more common for school boards to hire a superintendent from outside the ranks of certified teachers and administrators, that wasn’t the case in 1991, when the school board in Milwaukee, Wisconsin selected Dr. Howard L. Fuller as chief executive of the city’s public school system—a system described at the time as being in “a crisis situation.”

Well-known locally as a civil rights activist and children’s advocate, Fuller had taught at several colleges and held a doctorate in the sociological foundations of education from Marquette University, but he had no working experience in elementary or secondary schools.

Within four years, Fuller had turned the Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS) into a nationally watched experiment in reforming schools for the benefit of students and parents. He put a rigorous curriculum in place, developed school-to-work programs, decentralized the district, and gave budgetary authority—as well as responsibility for student achievement—to individual schools. Attendance rates improved, reading scores rose, and standardized test performance advanced.

Not everyone welcomed Fuller’s reforms. The local teacher union, the Milwaukee Teachers Education Association, opposed his plans to hire private, for-profit companies—including Edison Schools, Inc.—to run some of the city’s schools. The union also opposed Fuller’s push to expand charter schools and his support of the city’s growing voucher program.

In April 1995, union-backed candidates won four of the nine MPS board seats. With the 5-4 board split likely to force significant compromises on key issues and make the superintendent an apologist for not moving forward with a campaign of aggressive reforms, Fuller resigned and pledged to work for reform outside of the system.

Now—as columnist Neal R. Peirce predicted—instead of being an annoyance just to the teacher union in Milwaukee, Fuller’s ideas, enthusiasm, and advocacy for children have made him a potent national figure in American education reform, prompting communities across the country to provide parents with more options for educating their children. Two years ago, he co-founded the Black Alliance for Educational Options (BAEO), a new black leadership organization which already has chapters under development in 29 cities in 22 states. He currently serves as its chairman.

Fuller is a distinguished professor of education reform?

CLOWES: How did you become involved in education reform?

FULLER: I got involved in education when I came back to Milwaukee in 1976 and got a job at Marquette University as director of special services in the Educational Opportunity Program. That was a part of the TRIO Program—Talent Search, Upward Bound, and Special Services for College Students—which had been set up through the Office of Economic Opportunity.

We were taking young people who had graduated from high schools around the country—but mainly from the Milwaukee Public Schools—and trying to get them enrolled at Marquette University. That’s when I first became aware of the fact that a lot of our young people were not getting the type of education they needed to be able to get into a college like Marquette University. These were the ones who had graduated from high school. We weren’t even dealing with those who weren’t succeeding.

Then a brand new high school was built to replace the one I graduated from, and MPS came up with a plan to deny the neighborhood children access to the new school and turn it into a citywide specialty school. As an alumus, I got involved in trying to save the high school as a neighborhood school, and that led me to see what was actually happening to low-income, black children as far as education was concerned.

I ultimately became involved with Governor Tony Earl, a Democrat. I urged him to set up a study commission to look at the quality of edu-
cation not only in the Milwaukee Public Schools but in all the surrounding schools as well. That’s when it became really clear to me that we had this huge gap in learning between black children and white children. When you added class on top of that, it was even more devastating. That’s when some of us called for the creation of a separate school district.

The idea was to create a smaller school district that would consist of seven elementary schools and two middle schools, all clustered around the high school I graduated from. Representative Polly Williams, Larry Harwell, and I were very involved in the leadership of that effort. We actually got it to a vote in the state legislature. Polly put together a bill to create the district. We got it through the Assembly and then we lost it in the Senate.

After that, Bob Peterkin came in as the superintendent, with Deborah McGriff as his deputy. They were asked to work with representatives of the community and Polly Williams to draft legislation to create a choice program. Peterkin and McGriff supported allowing low-income children in failing schools to get a voucher to attend existing private schools that had a record of success with these children. But when it got to the point of trying to put an actual bill together in 1989, they were not able to come up with language that children now are forced to stay in schools that simply are not working for them.

**CLOWES:** Can you shed any light on why there is so little political support for school choice in the black community, even though public opinion polls show a high level of support for school choice among black people?

**FULLER:** Most black people—even those who support school choice—are not like me. I’m a one-issue person.

Choice has not yet become a wedge issue for the black community in general, even for those who support choice, and so the choice issue gets caught up in other issues. People say, “Yes, but the people who support school choice oppose affirmative action. They’re against minimum wage.” Many black people think people who support school choice are opposed to other things they believe are necessary to improve their lives.

The other thing is there are a lot of lies out there about school choice. The people who oppose choice are ruthless. They will distort the truth. They will lie. They have a much, much stronger political machine than we ever have, and they use it effectively to try to defeat this issue.

For instance, our opponents say school choice is new and untested. People are honest enough to recognize nothing new or untested about school choice. People with money have always had choice, and will continue to have it. If schools do not work for them or their children, they will move to communities where they do work, or they will put their children in private schools. The only thing that’s different here is we’re talking about allowing low-income parents, through government intervention, to be able to have choice.

**CLOWES:** Another claim is that choice schools don’t foster the democratic ideals of the United States like public schools.

**FULLER:** Actually, there’s a lot of research out there showing private schools in some ways stress more of the democratic ideals than the public schools. I think that’s just a Bogus argument, frankly. For instance, many of the private schools participating in the Milwaukee choice program are much more racially integrated and class integrated than many of the public schools. It’s another one of those claims opponents throw out that is not supported by any evidence.

**CLOWES:** What about the call for more regulation of choice schools to make them more accountable?

**FULLER:** You can’t have any of these discussions in the abstract. You have to talk about them as they apply to existing political conditions.

People talk about vouchers as if there were a generic voucher program. There is no such thing. What we have are specific voucher programs designed in a variety of ways. For example, we have a particular situation in Wisconsin where the state Supreme Court has ruled the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program is legal and constitutional, in part because there is no excessive government entanglement.

What you find is that a lot of the people who are shouting about accountability are not really interested in accountability at all. What they’re interested in is creating more and more rules and regulations so that many of the private schools will no longer want to participate because of the government intrusion. Most important, the choice opponents would be able to take us back to court and argue that now is excessive government entanglement.

**CLOWES:** Then the Parental Choice Program would be struck down.

**FULLER:** Exactly. What we have proposed, with the agreement of the schools participating in the choice program, is a longitudinal study where the schools would voluntarily take the same tests as MPS students. We would do the study over a 10-year period, with yearly reports so the public could see what was actually happening in the choice schools. The challenge is to do this in a way that doesn’t expose the program to the risk of having our opponents come back and argue the program is now unconstitutional.

**CLOWES:** If religious schools weren’t a part of the choice program, would the government be free to add even more regulations to participating secular schools since the “excessive entanglement” deterrent applies only to religious schools?

**FULLER:** The issue is not so much about state and church as about public and private. Just because a school receives public funds doesn’t turn it into a public school. There are many private organizations in America that get money from the government, but just because they get money from the government doesn’t make them public entities.

The opponents of school choice argue they have a right to know what is happening in a school that receives public dollars. What we’re saying is, “Yes, and there’s a way to do that that doesn’t render the program unconstitutional.”

What’s been very interesting is that the people who oppose the Parental Choice Program are the ones who have taken our accountability plan out of the budget. Then they try to argue we oppose accountability. It’s simply not true.

There are all kinds of accountability measures. Just publishing reports is not accountability. One of the strongest accountability measures is when a parent has the ability to take his or her child out of one school and have the dollars follow that child to another school chosen by the parent. If you read the Wisconsin Supreme Court decision, what the court said was that the combination of the Parental Choice Program and the existing rules and regulations in the state statutes is strong enough to protect the private interests are being met. We’re going further than that and saying “We’ll voluntarily take tests, but it ought to be done in a longitudinal way.” It ought to be more than just standardized tests. It ought to be comprehensive. Parent satisfaction—attendance—a whole variety of measures that go into determining the success or failure of an individual school.

The issue will become even more severe. The reality of the opposition means we will have to become even more relentless in trying to make school choice a reality for our children.

There’s no question in my mind that we’ve been an even bigger fight ahead of us. We’ll hear all of the same arguments that have been made for the last 11 years. They will continue to be made, and they will be made even vehemently. Not only will they be made against vouchers, but increasingly those arguments will be made about charter schools, too. Charter schools are already under attack.

Given the situation we face, we should have every possible chance option on the table. We ought to be relentlessly pursuing as many different options as we can—publicly funded vouchers, tax credits, scholarship programs, partnership schools, charter schools, and so on. Because clearly, the system we have now is not working for large numbers of children.

We need to make a clear distinction between public education as a concept and a public education system that is a deliverer of the concept. They’re not the same thing. There are a lot of different ways we could organize the delivery of public education. If you’re rethinking the delivery system, it does not mean you are opposed to the notion of public education.


**Just the Facts: Public Education Revenues Hit $400 Billion**

Total taxpayer funds flowing into public schools in the United States increased 24.5 percent over a five-year period, reaching in 2001-02 an estimated $405.8 billion: $8,529 per pupil, $135,791 per teacher.

Per-pupil revenues thus were 13.6 percent higher than per-pupil expenditures, with some of the $1,006 per-pupil difference accounted for by capital spending and interest on school debt.

Revenues per student varied from $12,160 in the District of Columbia to $5,653 in Mississippi; expenditures per student varied from $11,009 in the District of Columbia to $4,769 in Utah; and the difference between revenues and expenditures per student varied from $2,562 in New Jersey to $117 in North Carolina. Revenues per teacher varied from $176,097 in Alaska to $84,818 in Mississippi.

These observations are taken from data reported in the U.S. Department of Education publication, Early Estimates of Public Elementary and Secondary Education Statistics: School Year 2001-2002, released on May 21 although dated April 2002. The estimates, as well as data for the previous years, are published annually by the National Center for Education Statistics’ Office of Educational Research and Improvement. In addition to total revenue and expenditure figures, the report includes the number of pre-K-12 students, teachers, and high school graduates.

Manipulation of the report’s raw data produces the following observations:

- In Fall 2001, there were 47.6 million students enrolled in pre-K-12 public schools in the U.S., up 3.1 percent from Fall 1997.
- Public school students were taught by an estimated 3.0 million teachers, up 8.8 percent from Fall 1997.
- The U.S. average pupil/teacher ratio fell 5.2 percent from 1997 to 2001, from 16.8 to 15.9.
- Pupil/teacher ratios in Fall 2001 varied from 18.4 in Hawaii to 13.0 in Idaho.

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21.8 in Utah to 12.1 in Vermont.

An estimated 2.6 million students graduated in the high school of 2000-01 school year—approximately one graduate for every 18.2 students.

The number of students per graduate varied from 25.3 in the District of Columbia to 33.2 in North Dakota.

### Early Estimate Data for 2001-2002

(47.6 million students, 3.0 million teachers, $405.8 billion in revenue, 2.6 million high school graduates)

<table>
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<th>State</th>
<th>Revenue/teacher</th>
<th>Revenue/Graduate</th>
<th>Productivity Indicators</th>
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Notes:
- Pupil/Graduate Ratio is a measure of how many students each graduate has in a school.
- Pupil/Teacher Ratio is a measure of how many teachers there are in a school; this ratio is declining, which is one way of raising the quality of education.
- Revenue/Teacher is a measure of how much revenue each teacher in a school gets.
- Revenue/Graduate is a measure of how much revenue each graduate in a school gets.

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