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MILTON FRIEDMAN'S VOUCHER IDEA Free-Market Strategy and Tactics in K Education Myron Lieberman discussion of education.

Teachers Unionism Comes of Age The social setting for teacher unionism in the s resembles its early years in the s. Despite a superficial prosperity, the gap between the haves and the have-nots widened, and previous social commitments to helping people on the bottom of society were eroded by those in power. Appeals to free market ideologies allowed corporate interests to wield uncontrolled command over the rest of society. If the Reagan years have not been kind to organized labor, civil liberties and education, it is all the more remarkable that teacher unionism has managed not just to survive but to thrive. One of the few bright spots for labor in the 70s and 80s, in fact, has been public sector organizing, not least with a half million teachers joining labor through the AFT since Consequently, the growth pains for the CFT have been of a different magnitude than in the 20s or even the 50s: But with the settling of the question of collective bargaining, long deferred problems have come to occupy center stage. In some respects the most critical of these is the challenge to define teaching - finally - as a profession. Still, several important elections took place. On this level the CFT lost the war, but achieved a long-sought objective: The CFT made headway in another realm of higher education the following year. The addition of these two statewide bargaining units brought full union representation to all levels of public education in California. The Council and its constituent locals had represented UC employees in a non-bargaining agent status since Although several hundred sympathetic full-time professors continue to belong to AFT anyway, senate faculty at UC remain outside the collective bargaining framework. With that exception, the 80s witnessed the institutionalization of collective bargaining in virtually all sectors of public education in California; and AFT locals achieved bargaining rights for at least one major unit in each sector. During the implementation of collective bargaining the CFT gradually increased its attention to professional issues. This did not represent a change of opinion for the organization. Short shrift has been given in these pages to all that the CFT accomplished for the field of teaching itself, for innovative pedagogy, and the creation of sound educational theory and practice. Even as the fierce picket line, legal and legislative battles were being waged for teacher rights, the work of a profession in process of formation was carried forward by the union. Meanwhile the early 80s heard a chorus of conservative voices call for schools to go "back to basics", blaming various teacher unions, contemporary curricula and lax standards for declining test scores and high dropout rates. The mobilization against public education, while seriously damaging the ability of teachers to teach and students to learn, did have one positive outcome: Fortunately the discussion occurred at an historic moment when teachers could participate as equals in the debate, thanks to the growth of teacher power through their unions. As a result, in much the same way as the struggles for teacher rights and collective bargaining could be said to have defined the 60s and 70s for the CFT, the closely related issues of achieving professionalism and education reform have shaped the events of the most recent decade. National task forces such as the Carnegie Commission and state bodies like the Joint Legislative Committee to Review the Master Plan for Education examining education reform issues were careful to invite the full participation of teacher union representatives. Proposals for more rigorous entry standards and professional certification procedures have been coupled with acknowledgement of the need for higher pay and more control by teachers over the learning environment. In this way the ideological assault of the New Right against teacher power and public education has been blunted and partly turned around. A significant reason for the successes in this war for education waged in the schools, the media and government is the new-found unity being forged between teachers and their co-workers in public education. One of the fastest growing sectors of the AFT in this period is its paraprofessional group, several thousand of which live and work in California. Conscious of the changing nature of the CFT, and concerned that its classified members possess the democratic tools to participate fully within the union, the union created the Council of Classified Employees in An implication of

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this change is that the quest for teacher professionalism has to take into account non-teachers. This is, at first sight, a paradox: In the 80s, belonging to the united AFL-CIO, the teachers union recognizes that professional development, career ladders, and the restructuring of the classroom involve both teachers and paras. The union is making sure, through legislation and contract language, that all its members move together towards change. All of these changes have been transpiring within an overarching context of fiscal uncertainty. In SB opposed by the CFT alone among education organizations - set a limit on the amount of tax money that could go to education. This was the first blow to public education funding in a long, unequal brawl, during which Prop 13 was merely the most effective blunt instrument. The CFT, and even a united front of teacher organizations, could not fight back without assistance. After Proposition 13 the new political reality necessitated formation of close working alliances between erstwhile opponents in the legislative arena. The CFT joined in broad coalitions with public employee unions and education groups to strategize and act to defeat the continuing stream of regressive tax legislation and to create and support legislation and ballot initiative petitions seeking to equitably fund education. The Governor made clear his intent to balance the budget on the backs of the workers, minorities and poor students who comprise a majority of the community college student population. The CFT opposed tuition until the bitter end, and the reason why became clear immediately upon its implementation: The Council matured, having grown from a group of locals trading war stories at its inception to a major player in the community college system. As with the CFT fifteen years earlier, the Council and its membership had expanded to the point where it needed a full-time president for effective leadership. In another of the continuing battles against anti-public services initiatives during the decade, the CFT joined with other public employee unions in to defeat Proposition 36, written by Prop 13 co-author Howard Jarvis. This would have eliminated billions of dollars in tax revenues to the state, mostly from the wealthy, including large amounts for schools. The coalition achieved its success through a dawning recognition on the part of significant segments of the public that Prop 13 may not have been worth it. A similar sensibility pervaded the streets of San Francisco in July on the eve of the Democratic Party convention, when teachers marched with their union brothers and sisters in a massive labor parade of , protesting the effects of four years of Reaganism on working people. Teilhet stepped down at the CFT convention after leading the union for 17 years, the longest tenure of any CFT president. He was remarkably suited to guide the organization through its period of greatest change and growth - a political leader in politicized times, and a dedicated organizer able to help charter dozens of locals. He was - and as the current Administrative Director of the CFT, remains - enormously popular with the union membership. No members called him "Mr. Teilhet", or if they did they learned quickly; he is simply "Raoul", the president who was always there on the picket line or testifying on behalf of teachers in courtrooms or legislative hearings. The CFT leaders who were worried about the organization becoming like the bureaucratic, remote CTA when Teilhet transformed the presidency into a full-time position voiced a legitimate concern, one that needs to be monitored by every union continuously. When a strong leader heads an organization the possibility always exists for undemocratic practices to creep in and take root. A hallmark of the CFT is that opposition groups have always had access to convention microphones and the freedom to organize for their positions; in other words, the union has been and remains a model of union democracy. Teilhet served that spirit well, understanding the impossibility of fighting for social justice without an organization run according to the same principles itself. It was for these ideals that his membership kept electing him president for 17 years. Its opponents, he said, are equally clear: The crowd gave a standing ovation and many reached for their handkerchiefs as he ended his remarks by recalling both the pride and humility he had felt over the years each time he said: In Myers the CFT once more found a president well equipped to steer the union into yet another period of transformation: Myers began teaching in the Oakland School District in the late 50s. Serving in practically every seat on the Executive Board of Local , he became a vice-president of the CFT in the late 60s. He edited California Teacher for 15 years, from until his election as president. Despite his activist history - or perhaps because of it - Myers is at heart a scholar. Like Ben Rust before him he has published numerous articles and books on teaching, including a respected

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monograph on writing assessment procedures, and a model for achieving professional authority for teachers, *The Teacher Researcher: How to Study Writing in the Classroom*. The Toledo Federation of Teachers, for instance, has established a program for guiding the professional growth of "interns", probationary teachers working closely with consulting teachers. The interns are subject to the oversight of a Review Board comprised of 5 union teachers and 4 administrators, to whom the consulting teachers report. Emphasis is placed on helping beginning teachers learn how the system works and giving them proper levels of material support and professional guidance by their more experienced colleagues. Another Toledo program developed a means for intervening when a non-probationary teacher is in serious trouble; again, the emphasis is on collegial assistance under union protection. Both programs seek to empower teachers through professional control of their own ranks. Teachers received higher pay and were released from nonteaching duties and excessive paperwork, in exchange for increased responsibilities for instruction and professional leadership. The Rochester union and district created a career path with four steps: In Rochester lead teachers take the most difficult class assignments and assist interns. To encourage them to remain within the teaching ranks, lead teachers are forbidden to take administrative jobs during their tenure and for two years afterward. Teachers in Rochester also have taken on the responsibility to assess and offer assistance to poorly performing teachers. The CFT sent leaders and rank and file members to testify before the Master Plan Commission on the condition of education and what to do about it. One of the first areas examined, the Community Colleges, ended with its mission essentially reaffirmed, but with significant changes recommended by the Joint Legislative Committee to Review the Master Plan. Included in these were an increase in funding, greater faculty involvement in governance, professional development for faculty and staff, and steps toward redressing the system-wide exploitation of part-time instructors. Gabriner chaired the Californians for Community Colleges coalition, consisting of all major community college groups, which steered the Commission and Joint Committee toward their conclusions. AB is a path breaking piece of legislation. For the first time, a state has pledged to enlarge its full-time faculty by converting part-timers to full time positions, and to commit funding to the process. AB sets Affirmative Action goals and allocates the money to achieve them. The bill also begins to correct the chronic underfunding of the community colleges. It is an achievement of which the CFT can be proud. Local initiatives coordinated by the CFT during the 80s complemented and extended the work achieved at the state legislative level. Perhaps the most important foray into uncharted terrain by the CFT was the establishment of "Educational Policy Trust Agreements" in a number of school districts in and Meant to give faculty and administrators a mechanism by which to grapple with problems outside the scope of the collective bargaining law, the idea of Trust Agreements emerged from the report of yet another education reform commission, the privately-funded California Commission on the Teaching Profession, or "Commons Commission", named after its chair Dorman Commons. One of these was the establishment of Trust Agreements. In March of the Petaluma Federation of Teachers, Local , signed the first Trust Agreement in California after protracted negotiations, providing for a major staff development in-service program. The following year the CFT and the California School Boards Association, in a nationwide first, worked together with local districts to create six new Trust Agreement programs. At the same time as the CFT pursued new directions for public education it continued to carry out its habitual activities on behalf of educational employee rights, supporting local collective bargaining responsibilities, and anticipating in statewide coalitions for adequate funding for schools and other public services. Nor has the union abandoned its longstanding support for movements for social justice. At the convention, resolutions were passed against US support for the Nicaraguan Contras and xenophobic "English-only" initiatives. Eliminated by Governor Deukmejian with a stroke of the pen, Cal-OSHA is today back in operation, thanks to a successful campaign mounted by the union coalition through the ballot initiative process. The CFT also contributed money, effective lobbying and grassroots local petition signature gathering to the coalition efforts to lift the regressive Gann state spending limit and put a school funding initiative on the ballot in As one of the four dozen organizations making up Californians for Quality Government, the CFT helped gather over one million

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signatures to qualify the Gann Limit Revision proposition for the ballot in June. The voters failed to pass the Revision. They did, however, vote Proposition 98, initiated by CTA and supported by CFT, into law in November, ushering in what may be a new era of stable funding for the state public education system.

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Chapter 2 : The Educational Morass : Myron Lieberman :

/ Eric A. Hanushek --Free-market strategy and tactics in K education / Myron Lieberman --A critique of pure Friedman: an empirical reassessment of "The role of government in education" / Andrew Coulson --Discipline is the key to Milton Friedman's gold standard for education reform / John Merrifield --From universal to targeted vouchers.

The purpose of my research was to learn about legal issues related to parent activism in education. Therefore my research into legal issues has focused on that area. I also expanded the paper to include an overview of background topics that I found it necessary to be informed about. The style also vacillates between literature review and a general interest article for publication. Writing this report was a very emotional experience for me. I went through stages of anger, shock, and grief. I started off angry. Why, when I was young, did I have a happy year with about half of my teachers, and a miserable year with the other half? For the most part, researching this paper resulted in my long-term misgivings, based upon my own experiences as a student, parent and teacher, being confirmed and explained in detail. But there were other things that were true surprises. In fact, my shock and dismay grew larger on a daily basis. The first shock was that not only is it almost impossible to fire unfit teachers, but they very rarely even receive negative evaluations. In other words, they receive little feedback, and principals are not doing their job on a massive scale. In fact, supervision of teachers is so meaningless that teachers are virtually mavericks, ruling worlds unto themselves, with children at their mercy. The second biggest shock was the mounting evidence that any college graduate off the street who is psychologically well-adjusted, enthusiastic about learning and loves kids could probably walk into a classroom and do a better job than a typical elementary school teacher. So teachers are not only unsupervised, and not the brightest, but also not meaningfully compensated, and hence unmotivated. I always thought the two big variables in teaching were curriculum and instruction. I now believe there are three: How could I have not known this? According to most school principals, there is no art to teaching, none of their teachers is better than another, and all their teachers are qualified. Through my research, my thinking changed from the challenge of even mentioning the denied and suppressed problem of bad teachers, to becoming aware of the legitimate field of teacher quality, and seeing it less as a black and white issue than as a continuum of quality, that all teachers fall somewhere along. Lastly, I guess the shocks just never end. History This project was prompted by my nine-year involvement with Smug Elementary pseudonym , our local public school. My involvement with Smug began as I enrolled our oldest child in kindergarten there. I was full of optimism, hope, and a commitment to making this neighborhood school into a suitably wonderful environment for our three beloved children. I became a Highly Involved Parent Volunteer, and started an after school arts and foreign language program " a huge undertaking " which I ran for five years. During that time, I began advancing to stage two of my involvement at Smug: So in other words, only to protect a teacher against her own embarrassing and inappropriate behavior would the principal ever take any action. All of this resulted in our pulling our third grader out of Smug midyear, and never starting our youngest child there. I barely set foot inside Smug for several years, although one of our children still attended school there. After all I had done for the school, and how I had been treated, it was too painful. Stage three " Parent Activist " began when I learned that the inept principal was departing. I got a sudden urge to jump back into my involvement at Smug, and joined the Governance team. The problems I saw at Smug, then and now, were basically of two types. The other was that Smug needed to be transformed from a bastion of mediocrity into a shining paragon of excellence. I did a lot of thinking about why these problems existed in the first place. One obvious explanation was that the former principal was status quo oriented, afraid to look at or deal with problems in any way whatsoever, and did not encourage anyone to aspire to greater heights. Although they were not financially, technically or morally supported by the school, a few parents did do terrific things, such as creating a school garden, installing mosaics in the lunch arbor, and the aforementioned afterschool program. Finally it all became clear to me when I realized that nobody at Smug had ever had to lift a finger in order to improve the

school. So the test scores were relatively high, none of the teachers or administrators at Smug had to do anything jointly or individually to improve things, and they rarely did. The first grade teachers team-taught for awhile, with excellent results, until that was quashed by the new District mandates. One of the third grade teachers, immensely talented and popular among students and parents – he was shunned by the other teachers at his grade level, taught all his students piano and chess, took them on numerous field trips before all of that was quashed by the district, and started a native plant propagation project at a park adjacent to the school. Consequently, as neighborhood families got fed up and left Smug in increasing numbers, there was always someone to take their place. The principal made a point of showing no concern over these departures, no matter how much the parents had done for the school. The final blow came when a charter school opened nearby, and over 30 families left Smug, including most of the PTA and other most involved and committed parents. That was the same summer in which the principal gained her new position, with no hint of a sullied reputation. The question of why unfit teachers were left alone to do their ignoble deeds became the subject of a large research project on my part. At the same time as I had joined Governance, and also become its chair, I was also taking a class on Educational Research. I told the professor about my school activism project, and that I wanted to make it the subject of my report for the class. He had concerns about that, and encouraged me instead to research all the legal issues related to school activism, as the basis of my final report. I readily agreed, since the legal research was something I needed to do anyway. To do this research, I printed out a six inch stack of articles from the internet, bought several books, and interviewed numerous people connected with education. I can only chalk the latter up to a common pitfall of human nature: This is understandable, since the battle against unfit teachers is truly leviathan. But it has to be done: Did you get a great teacher? Or a lousy teacher? When you consider that there are 2. Multiplied by the hundreds of thousands of students each of those teachers affects during her career, the number of students affected is astronomical, virtually all students at some point or another. Unfit teachers are of three types. The effects of such teachers can be long-lasting. Robert Mendro, assistant superintendent for research and evaluation at Dallas public schools, declines in achievement can last for up to three years after a student leaves a bad classroom. Teachers who dislike children can be the most troubling Parks, Another way to summarize it: Some are just burned out. Many families pull their children from abusive classrooms and put them in private schools, at a huge cost to the family budget. Or they simply have a miserable child, which can throw a wrench into all aspects of family functioning, chores and recreation. Unfit teachers have an equally bad effect on the entire teaching profession. In the words of Richard Schwartz, attorney and expert in teacher terminations: The fact that we allow this problem to persist is an indictment of school administrators and, in some cases, represents an abandonment of professional, moral, and ethical responsibilities. Beyond that, it represents perhaps the greatest public relations problem we face in the schools today. By tolerating or offering excuses for poor teaching in our classrooms, we add to the credibility problems facing public schools. Just as bad, we damage the credibility and reputation of the teaching profession in general by allowing poor teachers to taint the reputations of all teachers and make their challenging job more difficult. These types of unfit teachers are often removed, though typically it is only after many years, and having been passed through many districts. Studies have shown that there is no difference in the impact on student achievement between teachers with certification and emergency certification. So forget the certificates. Likewise, studies have shown that teacher experience has almost no relationship to student achievement. Teacher effectiveness increases for the first two years of teaching, and then remains flat Rivkin in Dawson, I can say from my own experience: Sanders, former director of the Value-Added Research and Assessment Center at the University of Tennessee, says that in comparing the importance of teacher effectiveness with other variables such as class size, whether schools are urban, suburban, or rural, ethnic makeup, and the percentage of children eligible for subsidized lunches, teacher effectiveness is 10 to 20 times as significant as these other factors Sanders in Dawson, The Causes So what allows this dreadful situation of unfit teachers to exist? The relevant legal principles are those of due process, just cause, and contract law. These are embodied in one or more of the protective layers. Political Structure

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First it is necessary to review the legal and political hierarchy within which our educational system operates. State law in California is contained within the California constitution, 29 codes including the education code , and statute law, or new laws that are constantly being passed. State law is the framework within which collective bargaining takes place, and collective bargaining agreements are the framework for individual teacher contracts for particular positions, at a given rate of pay. State educational policies are supposed to be interpreted locally, by locally elected school boards. But we do elect school board members, no matter how absent minded, and they are supposed to represent the will of the public regarding public schools. The reason is that the public has its children in the local public schools, and is footing the bill for them. The school board then hires the superintendent, who is the manager of the school system, much like the CEO of a company that has a Board of Directors. In practice, however, the balance of power between superintendents and school boards varies by locality. School board members are often not educators, while superintendents usually are, so often the superintendent sets policy more than vice versa.

Civil Service The first layer of protection for teachers is civil service protections. These are based on the U. Lastly, even within the context of state employment law, teachers have special status. This can cause court cases to be dragged out for years, and is the biggest reason for the high cost of teacher dismissals add footnote. See Appendix C for the steps of dismissal.

Teacher Unions The second layer of protection is teacher unions. Teacher unions are such a huge and important subject that I had a very hard time with what to include in this paper, and included much of the material in another appendix.

Chapter 3 : Libertarian Bibliography

Free-market strategy and tactics in K education / Myron Lieberman 8. A critique of pure Friedman: and empirical reassessment of "the role of government in education" / Andrew Coulson.

Markets Versus Monopolies in Education: A common point of contention among educators and economists is the likely effect a free market would have on modern education. Most supporters of public schooling maintain that the field would either be adversely affected by competition and choice, or that the effects would be insubstantial. Conversely, a significant number of critics argue that education, like all other human exchanges, would respond to market incentives with improved performance, increased attention to the needs of families, and greater innovation. Historical evidence is presented indicating that teachers and schools are indeed affected by the financial incentives of the systems in which they operate. In particular, the data show that economic pressures have forced schools in competitive markets to meet the needs of families, through methodological advancements and diversity in curriculum, while centralized bureaucratic systems have generally been coercive and pedagogically stagnant.

Introduction The debate over educational funding and administration is an old one. Writing to his friend Tacitus almost two thousand years ago, the Roman lawyer Pliny the Younger described his plan to establish a secondary school in his hometown, but added that he had decided to pay only one third of the total cost. There is only one remedy to meet this PAGE 2 2 of 28evil: In some cases, such plans are already in place. Though private schooling exists in most industrialized countries, there is only limited competition at the primary and secondary levels. The comparatively heavy burden of tuition, when compared to the "free" status of tax-supported schools, greatly limits the clientele for private education. This in turn keeps the density of private institutions to a much lower level than if government did not provide schools. As a result, there is no nation currently offering a truly free and competitive market in education. The Case Against As market-inspired reform has gained in popularity it has been subjected to a great deal of criticism. Attacks have been directed at the possible ill-effects of parental choice, of for-profit schools, and of market systems as a whole. The most often heard argument against a market is that parents cannot be expected to make sound educational choices for their children, and must instead leave the key decisions to experts. A significant number of parents, it is assumed, would either fail to inform themselves about competing schools, or would base their choices on the "wrong" criteria. A related criticism is that racial and economic isolation might be increased if families selected their schools based on race, ethnicity, or social status Cookson, ; Kozol, On the supply side, skeptics argue that for-profit schools with bold promises, flashy advertising, and special programs would lure customers away from academically superior institutions Krashinsky, Murnane , and others have noted the possibility of fraud in voucher systems, in which corrupt principals could offer kick-backs to parents who chose their institutions. Profit-making schools are also expected by some critics to reject difficult-to-educate children, e. According to Shanker and Rosenberg , these children would be more expensive to teach and hence would either be expelled more readily or refused admission entirely All these objections have in common the idea that education is fundamentally different from other human exchanges, and that as a result, the natural checks and balances of the market would fail to operate as they normally do. There is a second line of argument that takes the opposite position, namely, that an educational market would fail precisely because it would operate in the same way as other markets Krashinsky, Education, so the argument goes, benefits not only the students and their families, but their fellow citizens as well. These indirect benefits are said to include social harmony, political stability, and a thriving economy. According to Levin , public school systems are capable of producing the aforementioned benefits, while a competitive market of private schools could either not produce them at all, or do so only at prohibitive regulatory expense. The remaining criticisms are based on the results of "limited choice" or "public school choice" programs, which place many restrictions on schools and families, and generally do not PAGE 3 3 of 28allow the participation of private or parochial schools. Smith and Meier , for example, argue that since

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programs allowing parents to choose from among different public schools have failed to substantially increase student learning, the same should be expected of an unregulated market. The experience with heavily regulated parental choice in the Netherlands Brown, ; Elmore, is also cited in arguments against the effectiveness of competition. In the United States, comparisons between existing public and private schools have led Cookson to conclude that a market would not improve education. The same author also reasons that since private schools have rarely been included in choice programs, there is insufficient evidence to support free market educational reform. The Case in Favor Virtually all of the criticisms discussed above have been disputed by proponents of parental choice. State representative Polly Williams, herself an African-American single parent, championed a private school choice plan in Milwaukee Wisconsin on the grounds that public schooling had failed the urban community and that competitive private provision offered a superior education. Similar arguments have been made by Native American educator Ben Chavis Empirical studies have shown that poor parents with limited formal education, from Massachusetts Fossey, to the mountain villages of Nepal Pande, 7, can and do choose schools on rational grounds see also U. Arguments that racial segregation would increase under a free market have been challenged from two different perspectives. The late James Coleman observed that racial segregation within the American public school system was greater than that among private schools. So, while the percentage of African-American students in the public sector is greater than the percentage in the private sector, public schools are more likely to be all-white or all-black than their private counterparts. Opposing the very essence of the segregation claim are educators such as Derrick Bell, who believe that the freedom to create separate schools for African Americans would be a boon rather than a hardship. The assertion that private schools might defraud parents is commonly countered with the argument that such problems exist everywhere, including public schools. The cases of East St. Louis Schmidt, and Washington D. Rinehart and Lee note that a competitive market would at least exert pressure on a school to deal honestly and fairly with parents in order to maintain a healthy reputation, while the public monopoly offers educators no such incentive. Along the same lines, John Coons has observed that public schooling has not engendered the external benefits of social harmony and effective democracy assumed by its defenders. The American experience of Protestant bias in the education of immigrants at the turn of the century, as well as government-enforced racial segregation, are presented as evidence of this claim. Coons also contends that by removing the coercive element from school selection and allowing parents to choose for themselves, the goal of effective democracy would be strengthened. To resolve the issue of difficult-to-educate children, Myron Lieberman, investigated the current practices among private institutions. He found that rather than focusing on easy-to-educate students, the single largest group of for-profit schools actually serves the disabled. Studies have also suggested that urban private schools are able to maintain a higher level of discipline than their public counterparts with few if any admissions requirements, and only infrequent student expulsions Blum, For the supporter of free markets, objections based on public school choice programs are seen as misguided. To function effectively markets require significant competition, the lure of PAGE 44 of 28 profit-making, and a minimum of restrictions on buyers and sellers. Few if any of these criteria hold among existing choice programs OECD, and as a result it is argued that they cannot be expected to show any significant benefits Lieberman, The above rebuttals aside, the economic case for an educational market rests on two main presumptions: While inflation-adjusted per-pupil spending in U. Department of Education, test scores either held constant or declined Sowell, ; Boaz, Comparisons between public school administrations and those of the private Catholic sector have shown the public bureaucracy to employ as many as thirty times the number of administrators per-pupil Boaz, On a school by school basis, Eric Hanushek; studied correlations between spending and student achievement only to find that the relationship was not statistically significant. Because of the absence of any truly competitive market in education, little direct contemporaneous evidence is available to demonstrate its effects on efficiency or achievement. In those cases where a limited degree of competition does exist, however, Hoffer et al. Outside the field of education, the superiority of markets to monopolies is widely accepted, and Winston has demonstrated that reductions in regulation are generally associated with

lower prices and better services for consumers, and even yield higher revenues for producers. The Present Work As can be gleaned from the arguments cited above, the debate over a market in education has drawn almost entirely from the limited body of contemporary evidence. With the exception of E. Education, however, is not a recent invention. Two and a half thousand years of schooling, from the informal to the regimented, from complete parental freedom to totalitarian domination, have preceded current practice. The study of educational history thus offers a wealth of insights into the effects of monetary incentives and centralized administration on the actions of parents and educators. The next section looks at the educational experiences of four historical periods and places: This selection is a more or less representative sample from a larger survey of the subject currently in progress. The most valuable lessons these histories have to teach us concern the relationship between school governance and school quality. In particular, they highlight the differences between markets and centralized bureaucratic school systems on three important measures of school performance: Over Time and Around the World Greece Formal education made perhaps its earliest appearance in China, well before the first millennium B. Unlike the uniform system of the Chinese, an ancient Greek education developed along disparate and conflicting lines. This contrast, between parental freedom and state control, was best represented by the city-states of Athens and Sparta. By the fifth century B. It is with this organizational juxtaposition that we begin. With the exception of requiring two years of mandatory military training, the government played little or no role in Athenian schooling. Socrates is said to have described the practice of the day as follows: When boys seem old enough to learn anything, their parents teach them whatever they themselves know that is likely to be useful to them; subjects which they think others better qualified to teach, they send them to school to learn, spending money upon this object. Freeman, Anyone who wished might open a school, setting whatever curriculum and tuition they deemed appropriate. The schools were operated as private enterprises, and so the subjects taught and fees charged were established by what parents wanted their children to learn, and how much they were willing to pay for that learning. Choosing a teacher was considered an important decision, and it was expected that a person would consult with friends and relatives, deliberating for several days on the matter Plato, Competition to attract parents and students seems to have held costs to a relatively low level, since even the poorest families are thought to have sent their sons to school for a few years, despite the absence of state funding Cole, It should be noted, however, that most girls and much of the slave population received little or no education in Athens, as in so many cultures up to modern times. Schooling began at the age of six or seven, but wealthy parents likely sent their children to school earlier and kept them there for longer than did parents with limited means. This occurred not only because of the need to pay school fees, but also because poor and middle class families could not afford to support their children indefinitely, and so had to ensure that they learned a trade or craft through apprenticeship; an experience quite distinct from schooling. Even in this time-honored tradition, however, the Athenians were innovators. When a boy was apprenticed to a tradesman other than his father, his parents would draw up a statement indicating which skills they expected him to be taught and the tradesman received payment only if he provided the stipulated training Freeman, At the elementary level, Athenian parents sought three general categories of education for their children: Competence in each of these areas was of great practical importance. Stamina, strength, and agility meant the difference between life and death at a time when wars were a constant threat, and every able bodied male citizen was expected to serve in the army. To understand the importance of musical instruction it must be remembered that Greek culture had been orally transmitted, largely in song, for centuries prior to the rise of Athens. Just as a grasp of reading and important works of literature are crucial to modern education, so was the knowledge and appreciation of epic poetry important in the 5th and 4th centuries B. Even as the social mores embodied in the oral tradition were codified and written down, the value Athenian citizens placed on music and poetry remained high. Writing began to rise in significance in the 5th century, as a tool for improving the political and judicial systems, for accurately recording the works of scientists, playwrights, and philosophers, and for making economic transactions more reliable. While music and reading were probably taught in the same school, the study of gymnastics was

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carried out at a special location, called a palaestra, which consisted of changing PAGE 6 6 of 28rooms and an exercise field. The gymnastics teacher was expected to have an organized method of instruction which would improve stamina, strength, and agility, while keeping the risk of injury to a minimum. Physical trainers also seem to have provided their students with nutritional advice. Plato, Children began their gymnastics training by performing aerobic exercise routines to build stamina and flexibility. As their bodies and skills developed, they were taught javelin and discus tossing, a variety of ball-games and other sports, and also wrestling and boxing.

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Chapter 4 : The Educational Morass - Myron Lieberman - Bok () | Bokus

In Milton Friedman published an essay, [The Role of Government in Education,] that articulated an old idea of liberty in a fresh way. The centerpiece of that essay was a proposal to improve learning in elementary and secondary schools by separating the government financing of education from the.

A Primer complement each other nicely. Murray calls himself "a lower-case libertarian," to distinguish himself from "Libertarians with a capital I" -- such as Boaz -- whose "logic of individual liberty. Libertarianism is a political philosophy based on a passionate belief in individual freedom and espousing the strictest limitations on government. Like Ralph Waldo Emerson, libertarians hold that, "The less government we have, the better. Nor are all libertarians members of the Libertarian Party, which fields candidates for public office. While Boaz would go further than Murray in dismantling the works and pomps of the modern state, their differences are only of degree, and the degree of difference is in most cases not so great. The two principal intellectual forebears of libertarianism are John Locke , with his notion that governments are compacts arrived at for the securing of individual rights, and Adam Smith , with his doctrine of a "spontaneous order" brought about by the "invisible hand" of the marketplace. Indeed, the first principle of libertarianism is self-ownership, and the reason libertarians place such emphasis on property rights is that all human action involves the use of property. For the libertarian, all rights are property rights. The libertarian position on abortion, in fact, illustrates the libertarian stance overall: A consistent libertarian and most libertarians are nothing if not consistent -- even one who regarded abortion as wrong -- would not advocate making it a crime. Nor would a libertarian who finds abortion morally acceptable advocate public funding for it. Not surprisingly, Boaz not only approves of separation of church and state, but he further advocates separation of state from family, school and art. So the aims of latter-day libertarians are the same as their Whig predecessors two centuries ago: The only proviso would be that those taking advantage of the option prominently advertise that they are unregulated. Businesses that did not opt out could proudly advertise that they were in full compliance with government regulations. They may continue to buy government-regulated products and services. They may also write angry articles, declaim on television, and take out advertisements in newspapers warning the public when they discern a danger. Individuals are the reality. Critics of libertarianism, Marxists especially, have used this emphasis on the individual to argue that libertarianism in practice leads to atomization and alienation. Libertarians counter that individuals are social by nature, that it is in their self-interest to cooperate. Boaz puts it this way: This is not a proposal that Boaz, who favors a sharp reduction in taxation, would be likely to support. But such is the way among libertarians. One of the most appealing things about libertarianism is that it is not a monolithic system. It encompasses a wide variety of views, as becomes apparent from the anthology of libertarian writings Boaz has compiled in *The Libertarian Reader*. These essays and excerpts share an uncommon lucidity, which is something else that distinguishes libertarianism from Marxists and other statists with their obscurantist rhetoric. Interestingly, neither Murray nor Boaz has much to say about what is likely to become the wedge issue for libertarians in the coming months: Boaz deplors certain U. Supreme Court decisions regarding contract law and the right to privacy, but neither he nor Murray goes so far as former Judge Robert Bork does in suggesting a constitutional amendment to place constraints on judicial review. These books deserve to be read, not because they are going to persuade anyone to change long-held views, but because they offer well-written and soundly reasoned presentations of views deserving of consideration, views with a long and honorable intellectual pedigree. Boaz titles his opening chapter "The Coming Libertarian Age. Moreover, if public dissatisfaction with government continues to grow, both major political parties are likely to be weighed in the balance and found wanting. A very good time to offer some soothing thoughts on Liberty and the real maning of liberty. Rather than get bogged down on the trivial issues normally argued about libertarian thought and belief. Where is the dividing line between individual Liberty and State Government restrictions on Liberty? There are no easy answers. These books look

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at the real intent of our founders and attempt to answer these questions.

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Chapter 5 : results in SearchWorks catalog

No one demolishes 'groupthink' about K-12 reform proposals better than Myron Lieberman. This latest, much-needed assault on the false claims and assumptions that pervade much of the debate and research agenda of established K-12 education interests is a must-read.

Chapter 10 Individual Representation: Back to the Future? He does not try to soften his message or avoid blunt criticism of the leading conservative public intellectuals on education issues. Lieberman stands as good a chance as anyone Stanley Marshall, former president, Florida State University, and founding chairman, James Madison Institute Perhaps no one has the lengthy, in-depth and varied experience with public education of Myron Lieberman. His writing is pertinent, perceptive, provocative, persuasive and eminently readable. His unmatched experiences with, and knowledge of, teacher unions merits particular attention to that section of this volume. Some of his prior books were selected as outstanding education books in the years published. The Education Morass merits similar recognition. Kirkpatrick, Senior Education Fellow, U. Freedom Foundation, Washington, D. This latest, much-needed assault on the false claims and assumptions that pervade much of the debate and research agenda of established K education interests is a must-read. His critiques of teacher unions, school boards, and many would-be reformers are equally sharp. But he points a way out of the morass: Lieberman clearly shows that education is a morass because several key groups have veto power over educational reform, and no interest group or coalition of interest groups controls the factors essential to effectuate a major educational reform. His book shows that collective bargaining in public education violates the basic norms for determining public policy, and as a result, is heavily biased in favor of the status quo. The thoroughness of his research, the clarity of his writing, and the objectiveness of his reasoning in The Educational Morass show why he is one of the true intellectual champions of American education. It takes courage to tell the emperor he wears no clothes. School reform advocates as well as defenders of traditional public education will find a lot of the analysis in this book uncomfortable. He analyzes that knowledge from a position of independence. He is a stubborn and fearless critic of the massive follies, both right and left, both Democrat and Republican, that plague us. His work is a spur to reform. Arnn, president, Hillsdale College, Michigan Leaving no ox un-gored, Myron Lieberman has written a terrific-but unsettling-book on the sad state of American education. It is a must-read for anyone who wants to know why none of our reforms du jour ever work, and to understand the heavy-lifting that must be done to get us out of our public schooling quagmire. How Big Government Illuminating Lieberman, having served as a union organizer, school board negotiator, schoolteacher, lobbyist, and university professor, is able to present key issues in K education from perspectives that most have never considered Myron Lieberman is widely regarded internationally as a leading authority on educational policy and practice. In addition to service as a public school teacher, university professor, school board labor negotiator, union leader, legislative consultant in the United States and Canada, and author or coauthor of 18 books and scores of articles in professional and lay media, Dr. Lieberman has been a faculty member at leading universities and speaker on educational employment relations at professional meetings.

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Chapter 6 : What Should Be Done with America's Schools?: Events: The Independent Institute

The Educational Morass by Myron Lieberman, , available at Book Depository with free delivery worldwide.

This is one issue on which there is near unanimous agreement amongst the Left, Right, and everyone in the middle; our Government is Broken. Throughout the week CNN correspondents and contributors will file in-depth reports on issues including the debate over government spending, congressional gridlock, outrageous medical expenses, Wall Street bonuses, the disappearing middle class, and the rise of Independents as partisan extremism grows. Democrats will blame Republicans, and Republicans will blame Democrats, and the Tea Party cult will blame everyone, as will I, which does not, a bridge from me to the Tea Party, build. I find this very telling of an underlying dynamic behind why our government is broken. It is not one sided, either. The politics of elections, is, in the final analysis, why our government is broken. Historically, the Parties reflected the differing values of the American people in a competitive bid to legislate policies which reflected those values. Today, the Parties themselves define policy values for their constituents and spend billions of dollars persuading their constituents to make those values their own. Poll after poll demonstrates that Republican and Democratic voters are appalled by the absence of progress on the issues and challenges facing our nation. These polls would lead one to expect that Republican voters would oppose the grid-lock created by their representatives. But, the opposite is true. Get Republicans together in a rally room like CPAC, and a kind of mob hysteria takes over in which these same voters hail and adamantly support the very grid lock they oppose when talking to pollsters. A great many Americans however, reject the Party giving them their values and priorities on the issues. The same has been happening with the Democratic Party. While President Obama was able to garner the vote for change from Independent voters who had defected from the Democratic Party, those voters remain Independent, and have not rejoined the Democratic Party, recognizing that the Party remains primarily focused on elections, not governing. Evan Bayh , Sen. Joe Lieberman , and Sen. Ben Nelson in order to gain the power of a majority in the Senate. The end result, however, was a Democratic majority in the Senate that could not pass Democratic legislation with Democratic votes without damaging compromises made to these conservative Democrats. The concessions and compromises made in the Senate to conservative Democrats, in order to get their votes, included dumping the Public Option in the Health Care Reform legislation, which the majority of both Democrats and Independents, demanded and expected in health care reform. When the top priority of a political party is acquiring power, all other principles and values the Party says it stands for, will be compromised when it comes to shaping policy. Similarly, the Republican Party and their agents in the media have a public mantra of higher taxes under Democrats going. In other words, the GOP is in perpetual campaign mode, effectively spreading false allusions and distortions of reality in order to acquire power on election day, rather than focusing on giving the people at least some legislation the people want. In the House, Republicans routinely refer to higher taxes under Democrat rule in floor speeches. In the Congress and media, Republicans are shaping the election issues, railing against debt and deficits. Hence, the need of the Republicans to convince the public of the lie that their taxes have not been cut. Even Democrats are complicit in fostering the false notions held by the general public, by not choosing to engage the public with the facts. Democrats act as if complexity is a loser with the American public, and therefore, TMI, Too Much Information , is something Democrats fear, as it might confuse the public. Having found the health care reform legislation too complex to explain to the public, and that complexity taken advantage of by Republicans, Democrats are avoiding TMI like a plague. Our government is broken because The Parties in Congress are now in perpetual, non-stop election mode from one election to the next, leaving no time or room for governing the national affairs of the American people, for which they were hired. This is obvious by their legislative voting record and threat of use of the Obstruct-A-Vote procedure filibuster to halt progress by Congress under a Democratic majority. It is all about power and elections, and no longer anything to do with representing the governance needs of the people and

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nation. Not surprisingly, then, those voters who are aware of these goings on for years, have been defecting from the Democratic and Republican Parties. Nationwide, Independent voters outnumber either Democratic or Republican voters. These facts are dramatically changing the political landscape in America. Though what the end result will be for good or ill, is yet unknown. The hard core Progressive base of the Democratic Party is ideologically different on some crucial issues from Independent voters, like deficits and debt, escalating the fight and nation building in Afghanistan, and tax issues. The hard core social conservative base of the Republican Party similarly diverges from the Independent voters on issues like Gay marriage, Gays in the military, abortion, separation of church and state, and corporate financing of election campaigns. What these trends portend, however, is more broken government as the focus of the Parties increases on campaigning and away from governance and process reform. The Parties have to be forced back to governance and away from the tug of war between wealthy special interests and lobbyists, election fund raising with the consequent legal bribery and blackmail that attends it, and the filibuster rules which have been seized upon as the weapon of choice by the minority Party to govern, not legislation, but the coming election. It is difficult to imagine at this time how our government can be repaired without an overwhelming backlash and mandate by the voters which, punishes the Parties to the point of their crying "Uncle", succumbing to the will of the voters. CNN describes current polling results correctly as reflecting anti-incumbent sentiment growing amongst the American public. A movement however, is different than sentiment in that it is organized toward a specific call to action to implement strategy and tactics. The Tea Party actually a conglomerate of three registered conservative organizations and Vote Out Incumbents Democracy, VOID an entirely non-partisan organization are the only organizations registered with the FEC as far as I can tell researching the FEC database to focus on anti-incumbent voting in elections as a primary strategy to force the changes required in government. And they are both small organizations, though growing. That depends entirely upon you, the voter, who becomes aware of these movements and chooses either to join, or not. The political parties have decades of fund raising relationships under their belts to tap from. These new anti-incumbent movements rely on small donations from the working public as a budget for getting their message out to the public. This means the two Parties are not really threatened by these anti-incumbent movements, as long as their funding remains competitively small. The political parties will not accept a coin toss chance to determine their election fate. Before the reelection rate drops that low, they will have no choice but to devise ways to appease those anti-incumbent voters, and that will mean reforming the broken process as discussed above. If our broken government is to be fixed, it will be the American voters who will have to fix it with donations and support of the anti-incumbent movement. The politicians in the two Parties will not fix our government, otherwise. They like the musical chairs of revolving power just the way it is. It is familiar to them, they understand the game, and will preserve the rules now in place to keep it that way. Posted by David R. Remer at February 20,

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Chapter 7 : Educational policy analysis archives

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He does not try to soften his message or avoid blunt criticism of the leading conservative public intellectuals on education issues. Lieberman stands as good a chance as anyone Stanley Marshall, former president, Florida State University, and founding chairman, James Madison Institute Perhaps no one has the lengthy, in-depth and varied experience with public education of Myron Lieberman. His writing is pertinent, perceptive, provocative, persuasive and eminently readable. His unmatched experiences with, and knowledge of, teacher unions merits particular attention to that section of this volume. Some of his prior books were selected as outstanding education books in the years published. The Education Morass merits similar recognition. Kirkpatrick, Senior Education Fellow, U. Freedom Foundation, Washington, D. This latest, much-needed assault on the false claims and assumptions that pervade much of the debate and research agenda of established K education interests is a must-read. His critiques of teacher unions, school boards, and many would-be reformers are equally sharp. But he points a way out of the morass: Lieberman clearly shows that education is a morass because several key groups have veto power over educational reform, and no interest group or coalition of interest groups controls the factors essential to effectuate a major educational reform. His book shows that collective bargaining in public education violates the basic norms for determining public policy, and as a result, is heavily biased in favor of the status quo. The thoroughness of his research, the clarity of his writing, and the objectiveness of his reasoning in *The Educational Morass* show why he is one of the true intellectual champions of American education. It takes courage to tell the emperor he wears no clothes. School reform advocates as well as defenders of traditional public education will find a lot of the analysis in this book uncomfortable. Myron Lieberman is widely regarded internationally as a leading authority on educational policy and practice. In addition to service as a public school teacher, university professor, school board labor negotiator, union leader, legislative consultant in the United States and Canada, and author or coauthor of 18 books and scores of articles in professional and lay media, Dr. Lieberman has been a faculty member at leading universities and speaker on educational employment relations at professional meetings.

Chapter 10 Individual Representation: Back to the Future? The Public School Establishment.

Chapter 8 : Groups\Organizations | The Black Past: Remembered and Reclaimed

The teachers' unions are the single most powerful interest group in the country, and are particularly influential in the Democratic Party — 6 million members, accounting for 2% of all U.S. adults.

I want to welcome you all to our Independent Policy Forum this evening on education and school choice. We started this back in January on a regular basis. We invite you to join with us then. For those of you who are new to the institute, The Independent Institute is a non-profit, public policy research institute. We produce many books by various scholars. We have a quarterly journal called The Independent Review, which you are welcome to see upstairs. I also wanted to point out two additional items in your packets. The first one is about our Summer Seminar in Political Economy program that we conduct each year. This is a one-week program for high school and college students. Professor Fuhrig is somewhat unusual in the academic world in that he actually likes to teach. He is extremely good with young people, and we have had very high marks from children and their parents who have been involved in the program in past summers. Incidentally, the flier in your packet is a rough draft of the actual flier that is in production, but it does give you some of the basics for the program. Unlike our other programs, this particular program will be limited geographically, to students and schools which are located in the East Bay of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties. Initially, the program will start out modestly, with about 50 scholarships for this coming academic year. Then it will be expanded to and more, as high as we can raise money for, for subsequent academic years. For those of you who are familiar with the concept of private scholarships, they are now being implemented in scores of cities around the country. The district has been viewed as a model of how to improve school scores around the country. In fact, the head of the district has won a national award, has gotten a lot of recognition for it. Well, the Examiner decided to look at the issue, and found out that what they had been doing is increasing the number of low-scoring students who are removed from the survey. So, over the years with the same number of students, of course the test scores have gotten higher each year. The sad thing about it is that the actual performance of the school is not being reported to the public, and to those who are most in need of educational help. We are very fortunate today to have three distinguished experts in education. All three of them are authors of important books. I hope everyone has gotten at least one of them. There really are very few issues in my mind that are more fundamental than education. The ability to communicate information in society, especially across generations and over time, is a requisite to the very existence of civilization itself. However, our ability to educate young people has fallen to a sad state, as the poor performance of so many public schools continues to become more evident. More and more people, of course, are opting for alternatives, and that is part of what our discussion is about this evening. The first one is, what exactly is going on in the schools? What are the problems, as far as curriculum content and so on and so forth? The second is a question of why there are these pervasive problems. Why does it continue to endure despite the concerns that many people have? Are there obstacles of different types, political or otherwise? And the third question is what kind of a system do we want? Are there precedents for it? And if so, what should we do to move toward them? My suggestion was to have each of the three speakers to speak for about 20 minutes or so and then open it up to questions and answers from the audience. So, if I may, I would like to introduce our first speaker. Evers received his Ph. He was founding editor of Inquiry Magazine. So, I am very pleased to present Bill Evers. Since then, I have served on the Mathematics Test Question Selection Panel for the statewide test that is given each year to all public school students, grades 2 through 8. This means that if a teacher has some proposal or somebody has a proposal to better teach history and social studies in the public schools, they come to us for review and funding and things like this. Let me say two things. You might have read in the newspapers about the controversy over math instruction in California. I was centrally involved in this, and so it may be sort of interesting to hear. Because that is what we would want, I would think, in terms of trying to change curriculum or put in a new textbook or new style of teaching or whatever. So, one of the writers, Bonnie Grossen, who is

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in here, talks about this in great depth, of what constitutes good solid research. Basically, this is the idea of hands-on learning, that learning should be fun. Its ideas, to some extent, go back to Rousseau, maybe even farther back. If you just put them in an attractive atmosphere, they would go learn things themselves, such as memorizing the multiplication tables, maybe, or learning long division. The idea is that the children naturally want to learn, and the teacher should be a coach and a helper to them, and it should be fun. Jack Fletcher and Reid Lyon have been deeply involved with a program that the federal government has done through the National Institutes of Health in terms of studying both people who have serious trouble with reading, and normal readers. This is the kind of program where they have really looked at thousands and thousands of kids. This is the research base that the return to phonics that we have seen in the last couple of years is really based on. Reid Lyon actually coordinates this research in the national government, and there is about a year base of study that shows that. You have to learn the basis of the language: This is something that both Lyon and Fletcher, and also Bill Honig, are writing about here. Honig is the past State Superintendent of Public Instruction here in California, and indeed, as he would freely admit, responsible for a lot of the whole-language instruction in reading that we have had in California for the last 10 years. After he was in serious legal trouble, and forced out, he spent time looking how it was that we were doing reading and whether it was the right way. You have to have ways of getting at this word, breaking it down, decoding it. These are just squiggles, after all, that are connected to sounds that we use in our language. Part of what this research shows is that guessing is not a very productive strategy. There is an excellent discussion of spelling by Louisa Cook Moats. Some people claim that being the President of the United States is the hardest job in the world. Some people claim being Mayor of New York City is. Some people claim being Mayor of Oakland is. This woman is the head of the early intervention projects in the District of Columbia public schools. This could be very close to one of the most difficult jobs in America. She is a specialist on spelling. There are additional aspects to this. Looking at the structure of the language and the form of the words is called a morphemic way of approaching spelling. This is the Greek word for form. Maureen DiMarco has a chapter on the history of testing, particularly in California. She particularly talks about the CLAS test, which is a famous debacle. There are a lot of things wrong with it. They inflamed the cultural conservatives of the state by having questions that pried into things cultural conservatives reasonably thought were private matters. There was no per-pupil assessment, and of course, the scores were incomparable to any other scores. I could go on. This test was thrown out. We are now in the process of having a new test that is coming in incrementally. Then there are added questions that relate directly to the state standards in the core subject matter of English, math, history, social studies. The kids are having it right now in the public schools. He is a psychologist. He is also probably the leading expert in the world on comparative study between the United States and East Asian countries in terms of the instructional practices. The Learning Gap, authored by Stevenson and Stigler, is one of the most important, accessible books that you could possibly read on education. He looks at what goes on in Chinese schools and Japanese schools and in American schools. In this essay in here, he does some of the same thing, with particular attention to attitudes that we have; that students have. Students in America tend to think that luck is very important. Students in China tend to think that effort is very important. Well, that can have a big effect. We have this controversy over math instruction. The war was on how to teach mathematics. There are two big sides. One side says throw them in the swimming pool. Immerse them in novel, non-routine problems and ask them to use their imagination. They will re-invent for themselves the past several thousand years of mathematics. Every child, his own Archimedes or his own or her own Pythagoras, Euclid. It is, problems first.

Chapter 9 : Unfit Teachers | Daria Doering

America and American History Bernard Bailyn, The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution Robert A. Caro, The Power Broker: Robert Moses &.