

JULY 16, 1990

SPEECH TO LA RAZA

I AM DELIGHTED TO BE HERE TODAY. I NOT ONLY APPRECIATE THE OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK WITH YOU ABOUT THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IN THE FUTURE OF OUR FAMILIES AND OUR LIVES, BUT AM EQUALLY AS INTERESTED IN HEARING YOUR THOUGHTS AND YOUR CONCERNS.

I THINK WE CAN BUILD A DIALOGUE THAT HELPS TURN THE ATTENTION OF LAWMAKERS TO THE NEEDS OF OUR CHILDREN, AND TO THE NEEDS, IN PARTICULAR OF THE HISPANIC COMMUNITY. YOU KNOW, THERE ARE MANY THINGS UPON WHICH WE CAN AGREE, AND WHICH SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR CONSENSUS. THE HISPANIC LINK RECENTLY POINTED THIS OUT IN TERMS OF OUR AGENDA AT HERITAGE IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS AREA. TODAY WE ARE JOINING WITH HUNDREDS OF GROUPS IN DEMANDING THAT MINORITIES BE EMPOWERED TO MAKE DECISIONS ABOUT THEIR LIVES; THAT AS OPPOSED TO TELLING PEOPLE WHERE THEY SHOULD LIVE, GO TO SCHOOL, WHAT PROGRAMS THEY SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN, MORE AND MORE WE ARE GIVING THEM CHOICES. CHOICES THAT AFFLUENT AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS ENJOYED, BUT CHOICES THAT HAVE BEEN DENIED TO POOR FAMILIES, POOR PEOPLE.

THE REASON GENERATIONS OF PEOPLE FROM OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE WANTED TO COME TO THIS COUNTRY IS BECAUSE OF THE FREEDOMS AMERICANS ENJOY. BUT EVEN WITH THIS WONDERFUL SYSTEM THAT ALLOWS US TO BE FREE, WE HAVE DENIED MILLIONS OF IMMIGRANTS AND NEW AMERICANS THE ABILITY TO ENJOY THOSE FREEDOMS -- IN ESSENCE, WE HAVE DENIED THEM CHOICES.

AND ONE OF THE WORST CONSEQUENCES OF THIS ATTITUDE HAS BEEN OUR INABILITY TO EDUCATE THOSE CITIZENS WHO WILL BENEFIT FROM EDUCATION MOST.

AFTER TEN YEARS OF TINKERING WITH EDUCATION, AND TRYING TO RESCUE FUTURE GENERATIONS OF CHILDREN, WE STILL HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO. *we have not been very successful as of*
BUT THE JOURNEY IS NOW EASIER, THANKS TO HUNDREDS OF INDIVIDUALS AND A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS - ALL KINDS - THAT BELIEVE WE MUST FUNDAMENTALLY REFORM THE SYSTEM - IF WE ARE EVER TO EDUCATE OUR CHILDREN WELL AGAIN.

AS MANY OF YOU ^{MAY} KNOW, THE LIBERAL BROOKINGS INSTITUTION RECENTLY SHOCKED THE EDUCATION ^{not} BUREAUCRATS ^{people and much of the public} WITH RELEASING A STUDY ON AMERICAN EDUCATION. THE BOOK HAS BEEN IN NATIONAL HEADLINES FOR THE PAST MONTH, AND EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY GROUPS ARE WORKING ACTIVELY TO PROMOTE THE AUTHORS' CONCLUSIONS.

(AD LFB) *The Problems of the education system were well-outlined*
THEY SAY THAT GOOD SCHOOLS, EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS BY NATURE GIVE THEIR EMPLOYEES AUTONOMY -- FREEDOM FROM BUREAUCRATIC RULES AND

REGULATIONS, FREEDOM TO DO YOUR JOB WELL, FREEDOM TO BE REWARDED FOR A JOB DONE WELL.

JOHN CHUBB AND TERRY MOE ALSO SAY THAT POORLY ^{performing} SCHOOLS, INEFFECTIVE SCHOOLS, STIFLE CREATIVITY. THEY ARE RUN BY CENTRAL OFFICES, NOT THE PEOPLE AT THE SCHOOL. THEY ARE TOLD WHAT TO DO AT ALL PHASES OF TEACHING, AND AS A RESULT THEY DO POORLY.

^{you find} THE GOOD SCHOOLS ARE TYPICALLY ^{the} PRIVATE SCHOOLS, AND ~~SOME IN MORE~~ AFFLUENT SUBURBS. ^{Schools that are held directly accountable for their work.}

THE BAD SCHOOLS YOU WILL TYPICALLY FIND IN OUR CITIES, ALTHOUGH THERE ARE PLENTY ALL AROUND. THESE SCHOOLS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR EDUCATING LARGE NUMBERS OF MINORITY STUDENTS. AND DESPITE HUGE INFLUCTIONS OF MONEY AND ATTENTION BY GOVERNMENT, BY BUREAUCRATS AND BY SPECIAL INTERESTS, THEY ARE STILL FAILING OUR CHILDREN.

^{that's why} ^{the} Fernandez, NY C Chaneller . . . site-based management THAT IS WHY POLLY WILLIAMS . . . a black former welfare mother

THAT IS WHY LIBERAL BROOKINGS . . .

THAT IS WHY WILLIAM RASPBERRY WROTE THIS MORNING IN THE WASHINGTON POST, THAT WHAT CHOICE ACTIVISTS CARE ABOUT IS QUALITY EDUCATION FOR THEIR CHILDREN.

Have article

(NO one best school₃ for all children)

HE'S RIGHT, BUT I'LL ADD ONE MORE CAVEAT, CHOICE ACTIVISTS LIKE ME, LIKE THE PEOPLE I WORK WITH THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, LIKE POLLY WILLIAMS, CARE, ABOUT EQUITY. AND EQUALIZING EDUCATION IS A LOT MORE THAN EQUALIZING FUNDING.

Quote newsletter...

Equalizing is ensuring the best education possible - good teachers, good textbooks, good program Turkey...

IN TEXAS, FOR EXAMPLE, THOUSANDS OF HISPANIC CHILDREN ARE AFFECTED BY THE COURT'S NEW ORDER TO EQUALIZE SPENDING AMONG RICHER AND POORER DISTRICTS. SPENDING DISPARITIES DO EXIST, IN TEXAS, AND IN MOST OTHER STATES. WHEN YOU COMPARE THE TEN RICHEST DISTRICTS TO THE TEN POOREST DISTRICTS, THERE IS A BIG DIFFERENCE. BUT DID YOU KNOW THAT UNDER THE COURT ORDERED FORMULA, THE EDGEWOOD SCHOOL DISTRICT, THAT ORIGINALLY FILED THE CASE, MAY ACTUALLY LOSE MONEY? YOU SEE, EDGEWOOD IS NOT ONE OF THE TEN POOREST DISTRICTS, SO MONEY MIGHT ACTUALLY BE TRANSFERRED FROM EDGEWOOD, TO ANOTHER DISTRICT, TO HELP MAKE A POORER DISTRICT RICHER. *At least, that's what the courts say.*

YOU SEE, THE FACT THAT THE COURTS ARE INVOLVED IN RECTIFYING EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS THROWS A WRENCH INTO ANY PLANS, DESPITE THE BEST OF INTENTIONS. THE COURTS DO NOT KNOW WHAT MAKES EDUCATION GOOD - AND THEIR WHOLE RULING WAS BUILT ON THE NOTION THAT INCREASING SPENDING WILL IMPROVE STUDENT PERFORMANCE. IT SOUNDS PRETTY LOGICAL, DOESN'T IT?

LET ME TELL YOU WHY IT'S ONE OF THOSE MYTHS THAT IS SO CONTROVERSIAL, SO OPPOSITE WHAT EDUCATION GROUPS HAVE BEEN SAYING

FOR YEARS. LET'S TAKE THE AVERAGE EXAMPLE OF HOW MUCH IS SPENT PER PUPIL, LET'S SAY, A LITTLE LOWER, AROUND \$4000.

NOW LET'S SAY THERE IS AN AVERAGE OF 25 KIDS IN THE CLASS. THE NATIONAL AVERAGE IS ACTUALLY 17-19 - AND IN SOME AREAS IT IS OVER 25. BUT 25 IS A GOOD PLACE TO START.

SO FOR A CLASS OF 25, AT \$4000 A PIECE FOR THE YEAR, \$100,000 IS SPENT. NOW THE AVERAGE TEACHER SALARY IS AROUND 31,000 TODAY. LET'S SAY FOR THE SAKE OF POORER SCHOOLS THAT HE OR SHE GETS PAID \$25,000. THAT LEAVES \$75,000, PER CLASS OF 25 THAT IS SPENT OUTSIDE OF THE TEACHER'S SALARY. AN AVERAGE SCHOOL PROBABLY PAYS ABOUT 100 DOLLARS PER CHILD FOR EQUIPMENT AND BOOKS. THAT MAKES THEIR TOTAL OUTLAY PER 25 KIDS \$2,500. TAKE OUT ANOTHER \$15,000 FOR BUILDING MAINTENANCE, AND THAT LEAVES US WITH OVER \$55,000--

THAT IS \$55,000 PER CLASS THAT IS NOT BEING SPENT ON OUR CHILDREN. IF YOU MULTIPLY THAT BY HOW MANY CLASSES ARE ACTUALLY SERVED, IT IS A CONSIDERABLE SUM. IN FACT, MOST SCHOOL DISTRICTS SPEND LESS THAN HALF OF WHAT THEY RECEIVE ON OUR CHILDREN.

A STUDY DONE BY A NEW YORK PROFESSOR ABOUT NEW YORK CITY SPENDING MAKES THIS EXAMPLE CLEAR. NYC SPENDS ABOUT \$6000 PER CHILD ON EDUCATION. THIS PROFESSOR FOUND THAT WHEN HE FOLLOWED THE DOLLARS, LESS THAN \$2000 ACTUALLY EVER REACHED THE CLASSROOM. THAT'S LESS THAN ONE THIRD!!!!

Quote in article

WHERE DOES THE MONEY GO? IT GOES TO PAY FOR LOTS OF CLERICAL STAFF - THAT HAVE TO BE HIRED TO ADMINISTER AND HELP ENFORCE THE COUNTLESS RULES AND REGULATIONS THAT THE GOVERNMENT SAYS WE NEED TO HELP OUR CHILDREN. AND CONTRARY TO POPULAR BELIEVE, FEW OF THESE RULES HAVE ANYTHING TO DO WITH ENSURING EQUITY AND PREVENTING DISCRIMINATION. THEY ARE RULES THAT GOVERN THE USE OF CLASSROOM MATERIALS, TELL TEACHERS WHAT EXACTLY TO TEACH, WHEN TO TEACH IT AND HOW TO TEST. THEY ARE RULES THAT SAY YOU MUST GIVE THESE OUTDATED STANDARDIZED TESTS, ABOUT 7-11 PER YEAR FOR EACH CHILD. THEY ARE RULES THAT REQUIRE TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS TO FILL OUT TONS OF PAPERWORK. AND THEY ARE RULES THAT HAVE VERY LITTLE TO DO WITH EDUCATING CHILDREN.

NOW BUREAUCRACY HAS ALWAYS BEEN TOUTED AS ENEMY NUMBER ONE FOR CONSERVATIVES. IN FACT, MILLIONS OF AMERICANS DO NOT LIKE THE GOVERNMENT ON THEIR BACKS. TODAY, LIBERALS, ALL KINDS, AND SPECIAL INTEREST GROUPS ARE CALLING FOR LESS BUREAUCRACY AND INCREASED AUTONOMY FOR THE SCHOOLS. SO WHEN IT COMES TO REAL EDUCATION REFORM, REFORMS LIKE SCHOOL BASED MANAGEMENT, AND EDUCATIONAL CHOICE FOR PARENTS, NATURALLY, MOST ADMINISTRATORS ARE OPPOSED.

BACK TO THE MONEY ISSUE FOR A MOMENT -- WHAT JOHN CHUBB FOUND, AND WHAT JAMES COLEMAN FOUND IN THE 1960S, AND WHAT COUNTLESS OTHER RESEARCHERS HAVE FOUND IS THAT MONEY HAS NO BEARING ON

PERFORMANCE, BECAUSE THE MONEY IS NOT SPENT ON OUR CHILDREN. IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS, THE MONEY IS SPENT ON CHILDREN. THERE IS VIRTUALLY NO BUREAUCRACY, AND NO CENTRAL OFFICE OF COURSE BECAUSE THE SCHOOL RUNS INSELF. IN SHORT, THE CHARACTERISTICS THAT MAKE A GOOD SCHOOL ARE THOSE THAT EXIST BECAUSE OF THE LACK OF BUREAUCRACY, BECAUSE SCHOOL EMPLOYEES HAVE DISCRETION AND THE AUTONOMY TO DO THEIR JOB.

BUREAUCRACY IS SELF-PERPETUATING. AND BUREAUCRACY DOES NOT EQUAL GOOD RESULTS.

CHOICE MAKES BUREAUCRACY OBSOLETE. AND THAT'S WHY I AM SUCH A BIG ADVOCATE OF EDUCATIONAL CHOICE.

YOUR CHILDREN, ALL CHILDREN, HAVE A BETTER CHANCE FOR SUCCESS IN A SYSTEM WHERE THEY CAN CHOOSE TO GO TO A SCHOOL, AS OPPOSED TO BEING TOLD BY LAW, TO ATTEND BAD SCHOOLS.

***CHOICE - HOW IT WORKS - MYTHS - INCENTIVES - DON'T HAVE TO GO FAR. *East Henshaw, PG County, Minnesota, Montclair*

***SCHOOL BASED MANAGEMENT A FORM OF CHOICE.

DECENTRALIZATION - AUTONOMY -- ALL THESE WORDS SIGNAL CHOICES FOR PEOPLE - THOSE TEACHING AND THOSE ATTENDING.

(Close)

LET ME MAKE A SORRY PREDICTION ABOUT WHATS GOING TO HAPPEN IF WE DO NOT ALL GET ON THE CHOICE BANDWAGON. LET'S SAY WE WERE CONTENT TO LET THE COURTS EQUALIZE SPENDING, BUT DID NOT PUSH THE LEGISLATURE TO PROVIDE ANY REAL CHANGES. LET'S SAY THAT BY THE YEAR 2000, ALL TEXAS SCHOOLS FOR EXAMPLE, OR ANY OTHER STATE, HAD FAIRLY EQUAL SPENDING FOR EDUCATION, AND BESIDES BASIC NEW PROGRAMS FOR DROPOUTS, MORE BILINGUAL AID AND THINGS LIKE THIS, THE SYSTEM WAS NOT REALLY CHANGED. SO HERE WE ARE, IN THE YEAR 2000, AND IN TEXAS, WE SEE NO IMPROVEMENT IN THE PERFORMANCE OF OUR CHILDREN. OUR DROPOUT RATE IS JUST AS HIGH, IF NOT HIGHER, AND THE SCHOOLS ARE STILL IN DISREPAIR. AFTER TEN YEARS OF A SUPPOSEDLY NEW SYSTEM, A NEW FUNDING SYSTEM, THAT IS, WHAT DO YOU THINK WOULD HAPPEN? WELL I SUBMIT THAT LAWMAKERS WOULD COME FULL CIRCLE -- LOATH TO ADMIT TO FAILURE, THEY WOULD BLAME THE FAILURE ON THE KIDS. HISPANIC KIDS IN PARTICULAR, WILL BE BLAMED FOR FAILURE. AND MUCH LIKE MANY OF THE FAILED SOCIAL POLICIES THAT DID NOT HELP THE BLACK COMMUNITY OUT OF THEIR PLIGHT, THE PREVAILING WISDOM IN THE YEAR 2000 WILL BE NOT THAT THE SCHOOLS FAILED, BUT THAT THE HISPANIC CHILDREN ARE JUST NOT UP TO SNUFF. I HAVE A SCARY PREDICTION THAT I WILL SHARE WITH YOU -- ALL THINGS BEING EQUAL, AND ASSUMING NO ONE HAD ANY MORE CHOICES IN THE YEAR 2000 THAN THEY DO TODAY, LEGISLATORS WILL SUGGEST THAT YOUR CHILDREN NEED TO BE WITH AN EQUAL NUMBER OF ANGLO CHILDREN TO SUCCEED, AND MARK MY WORDS - BUSING -- THIS TIME WITH HISPANICS, WILL OCCUR.

AS MANY PROMINENT BLACK LEADERS TODAY CONTEND, BUSING WAS BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT BLACK CHILDREN WILL DO WELL BY BEING NEXT TO WHITE CHILDREN IN CLASS. IT IS ONE OF THE MOST PATRONIZING ARGUMENTS I KNOW OF, AND AS POLLY WILLIAMS SAYS, IT WAS BROUGHT ABOUT TO SATISFY RACIAL BALANCING, NOT TO IMPROVE EDUCATION. I DON'T WANT TO GET INTO THE WHOLE DEBATE ON THE BUSING ISSUE, BUT I WOULD GUESS THAT NO ONE IN THIS ROOM WANTS TO END UP THERE IN THE YEAR 2000.

SO WHAT DO WE DO? --- WE TAKE A RISK. WE TRY THE ONLY REFORM TO DATE THAT HAS WORKED FOR THOUSANDS OF CHILDREN - FROM EAST HARLEM TO SEATTLE, WASHINGTON. CHOICES ARE BEING EXERCISED DAILY BY MILLIONS OF AMERICANS. EVEN PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO PRIVATE SCHOOLS -- 20% OF THEM. IN CHICAGO, THE FIGURE IS 40%, IN DALLAS 25%. WHAT WOULD YOU THINK IF THE PEOPLE THAT WORK AT YOUR GROCERY STORE DIDN'T SHOP THERE? IF THEY HAD STRONG REASONS FOR AVOIDING THE MEAT DEPARTMENT? WELL, THE SAME HOLDS TRUE FOR TEACHERS. IF THEY DO NOT WANT TO SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO THEIR OWN SCHOOLS, THAT I THINK IS THE BEST CASE FOR SHOPPING ELSEWHERE, TOO.

CHOICE IMPROVES THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. IF FORCES THEM TO WORK HARD TO ATTRACT CUSTOMERS, BECAUSE WITHOUT THEM, THEY DO NOT STAY IN BUSINESS. IT CREATES INCENTIVES FOR THE SCHOOLS, AND REMOVES EXCESSIVE CONTROLS FROM DISTRICT OFFICES. ~~EIGHT STATES... 125 CITIES....~~

CHOICE IS A CIVIL RIGHT, AND IT IS THE ISSUE OF THE 90s. WHILE PEOPLE ACROSS THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM ARE EMBRACING CHOICE, PEOPLE FROM EDUCATION, FROM BUSINESS, WE CANNOT LET THE TIDE CONTINUE WITHOUT JOINING IN THE BATTLE AND HELPING MAKE REFORM A REALITY FOR THE HISPANIC COMMUNITY. YOU ARE A KEY PART OF THE EQUATION, AND YOU SHOULD BE INVOLVED IN PLANS TO REFORM THE SCHOOLS. YOUR VOICE COULD MAKE THE CRUCIAL DIFFERENCE IN IMPROVING EDUCATION - AND RADICAL AS IT MAY HAVE SOUNDED TEN YEARS AGO, CHOICE ADVOCATES ARE NOW IN THE MAINSTREAM.

EDUCATION REFORM HAS TAKEN AN AMAZING TURN FOR THE BETTER.. REFORMS THAT ARE PUSHED AT THE STATE LEVEL, WHERE LAWMAKERS STILL CARE ABOUT YOUR THOUGHTS, ARE THE BEST TYPE. CONCLUDE...