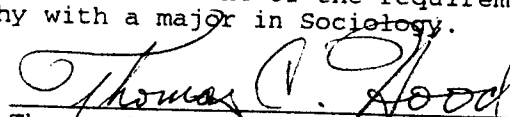
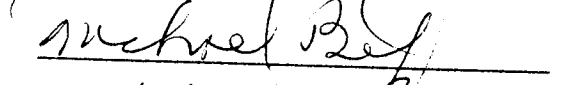


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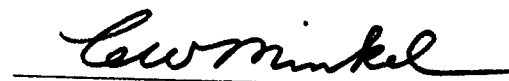
I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Leslie L. Daniels entitled "Educational Choice: A Sociological Exploration." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy with a major in Sociology.


Thomas C. Hood, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:


Accepted for the Council:


Associate Vice Chancellor
and Dean of the Graduate School

EDUCATIONAL CHOICE: A SOCIOLOGICAL EXPLORATION

**A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree**

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Leslie L. Daniels

May 1994

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to members of my family

My brothers

Stephen, Chuck, Guy (his wife, Deborah), John, Douglas

My sister

Ruth Ann (her husband, Steve)

My nieces and nephews

Guy, Leslie, Jennifer, Jonathan, Megan

and

Most especially to my parents

Mr. Charles E. Daniels

and

Mrs. Florence C. Daniels

Each of these persons contributed to this effort. Each, in their own special way, believed in me and encouraged me to continue when completion seemed impossible.

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ABSTRACT

The move to improve education through choice provides the most recent impetus for debate about the structure and function of education, and about the feasibility of the current direction in educational reform. On the one hand, the debate is centered around the failure of education as an outcome of the monopolistic structure that has historically characterized this society's educational system--failure due to a lack of competition and market forces in education. On the other hand, the problems confronting education are said to stem from the inadequate resources and the unequal distribution of those resources that are available--infusing choice will only exacerbate existing socio-economic inequities.

Before society can resolve its decade-long struggle to reform education, before it can transcend the current educational crisis, before it can successfully move, educationally, into the next century, key policy makers must address substantive issues about the structure and purpose of education. They must examine what choice promotes and who is being served by choice.

The time has come to step back and examine the process by which those involved in educational policy make sense of an educational system guided by choice. This research creates a paradigmatic synthesis of the works that comprise the theory and substance of education as a sociological phenomenon. Supported by this synthesis, and recognizing that as one this of society's principal institutions, education is critical to the maintenance of the social order, this treatise explores the socio-political and economic dynamics inherent to the emergence of choice, inherent to the understanding of what choice promotes. It explores a single occurrence of choice to determine who is being served by choice.

This preliminary exploration concludes that choice is about school improvement, about how to produce results that will satisfy stakeholders, and about how to gather and maintain the commitments and resources needed

to sustain the educational system in the pursuit of its purpose. Choice is also about values, identity, and freedom, about who will control the educational agenda, about what that agenda promotes, about who, as participants in that agenda, will lead this nation into the next century.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The fundamental values of the founders must still be cherished. The Founding Fathers of the United States foresaw that an educated electorate was essential for a successful democracy... It is necessary (thus) that in our devotion to curricular changes and related matters we do not lose sight of our basic purpose...Democracy will only persist though devoted cultivation...(unknown)

Education still ranks high on the list of what American people believe to be socially and politically important (Martin, 1992); and, according to The National Education Association (1991), Americans are becoming increasingly concerned about the state of education. These concerns are, largely, centered around the apparent inability of education to prepare this nation's students to function adequately in post secondary institutions or in the work place. In response, former President Bush in April 1991 signed into legislation, "America 2000: An Educational Strategy."

The centerpiece of President Bush's legislation was school choice (Eisner, 1992). Emphasizing a customer focused approach, school choice is, by design, a consequence of competition in the public school system (Bush, 1987), and it allows the expenditure of public money for private school enrollment (Miller, 1992). The essence of this legislation is centered on the notion of empowering parents to choose the schools their children would attend (Gwartney, 1993).

The move to improve education through choice as an effect of competition provides the most recent impetus for controversy and debate about the structure and function of education, and about the feasibility of the current direction in educational reform. Facing a similar position it faced on the eve of the 20th century, education, today, stands on the eve of the 21st century less affected by methodologies and intellectual concepts than by alliances with the complex forces of social, political, and economic reforms. In this context, Apple (1987) suggests, "the

theories and practices of education are not technical. They are inherently ethical and political, and involve intensely personal choices about the common good" (p.16).

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Currently, almost all scholarly literature, political debate, and media events include some research or discussion about education. There is general consensus that the schools are mediocre, the students perform poorly, and this nation's education system has failed to prepare students to function in postsecondary institutions and in the work place (Alexander, 1991; Apple, 1991; Baker, 1991; Cremin, 1991; Finn, 1991; Schlechty, 1990; Giroux & Simon, 1989; Bennett, 1989). The consensus, however, stops here. While there is considerable agreement regarding the concerns for education and the need to seek solutions that will improve education, there is little agreement regarding resolution, particularly resolution predicated on competition and choice. On the one hand, the argument is centered around the failure of education as an outcome of the monopolistic structure that has historically characterized this society's educational system, failure due, largely, to the lack of competition and market forces in education. On the other hand, the problems confronting education are said to stem from the inadequate resources and the unequal distribution of those resources that are available.

In the face of this debate, there is a more immediate problem confronting education. Before society can achieve educational reform, before it can transcend the current educational crisis, before it can successfully move, educationally, into the next century, it must address substantive issues about the structure and purpose of education. And, on the strength of the response, it must examine what choice promotes and who will be served by choice.

In Support of Choice

On the one hand, politicians and corporate heads, driven by the assumption that the nation's economy is directly influenced by the nation's educational system are demanding a more assertive role in education by mobilizing public opinion and focusing national energies on what they believe to be the most pressing issue of this era (Finn, 1991; Sewell, 1991; Apple, 1990). Largely in support of the choice agenda, individuals and groups representing these sectors typically view education as teetering disastrously on the brink of total failure.

The scenario put forth by choice advocates, (i.e., scholars, corporate heads, and public policy experts) who seek to encourage competition in public education, centers on several factors. Key among these is the realization that the dominant American Century is ending. The Japanese, the new European bloc, the Pacific Rimsters, or someone else will soon inherit the world. America will no longer be number one (Houston, 1992). Among the principal causes for this perceived catastrophic occurrence are the twin deficits--budget and trade, the failure of the education system, the resultant growth in the rimsters, and stagnating income (Wattenberg, 1992).

Emphasizing this view, a key figure in the development of the America 2000, David Kearns (1988), suggests, "Educational concerns are economic concerns...education's goal should be to nurture, develop, and encourage human intelligence. For it is human intelligence that produces wealth" (p.11). Similarly, advocates of choice posit the belief that improvements in the education system must occur to maintain America's competitive advantage in the world markets (Graham, 1992; Sculley, 1991).

Their position also assumes that educational improvements will result from competition and choice. They believe choice will require less bureaucracy and more school-level autonomy (Bolick, 1992), parents will become more involved in their children's education, schools will become

more diverse, innovative, and flexible, student achievement will increase, and competition and market forces will reduce costs and increase efficiency (Bolick, 1992; White, 1978).

An Opposing View

Others have suggested that in the tradition of a "Nation at Risk" the promises and rhetoric of choice are built on a framework of social and political power (Howe, 1991; Kirkpatrick, 1991; Kozol, 1991). In this context, the failure of education is intrinsically linked to the proposed solution--the dynamics of the social system and the function of education within the context of that system (Apple, 1988).

This charge is predicated on assumptions about the significance of the social and political dynamics that structure the function and delivery of education and on the belief that, as part of the "American Dream," society promises all children, regardless of their family background, a formal education that purportedly will provide them fair and equal access to meaningful and rewarding social roles (Ballentine, 1989; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985).

In support of this view, Kozol (1991) and others suggest that with the unprecedented intervention of corporate America in education, with the onset of choice and competition, "we would almost inevitably end up with two quite separate, thoroughly unequal and de facto racially and economically segregated school systems" (p.15). "One would be a well-funded public, private and parochial system, serving a primarily white, middle class, and largely suburban student body. The other will be a minimally funded public school system, serving largely urban and poor minority students" (Goodlad, 1992, p.25).

Choice also raises concerns about taking a child out of one school and sending him or her to another one that seems better according to some criteria (Schlechty, 1990). This, some suggest, is not the same as becoming involved in a local school and having a voice in the decision to

create strategies for improvement (Tye, 1992; Kozol, 1991). Choice would mean the difference between getting more for oneself and working for the common good (Tye, 1992; Schlechty, 1990). Opponents further question the utility of choice as nothing more than a veiled maneuver for allowing some people to avoid the inclusive nature of public schooling (Goodlad, 1992, Tye, 1992). According to Tye (1992), choice offers a way of ignoring the concern for the common good by allowing those with capital (money or knowledge) to ensure that their children are well taken care of by the system. This idea runs counter to the central theme of the "Great American Experiment," equity and quality in education for all (Kozol, 1991; Sculley, 1990).

Consistent with the concerns about selection are social and political issues about labeling children as winners or losers, the separation of the academically successful from the academically unsuccessful, and the tracking of some students into institutions of higher education (and thus positions of power in society), while others are positioned (simply) to enter the job market (Kozol, 1991; Sewell, 1991; Bernstein, 1977). For those who oppose choice, educational improvement lies in the creation of policies and structures that will result in high achievement for all of this nation's students (Kozol, 1991; Schlechty, 1990). Hornbeck (1992) suggests, "We cannot succeed economically or in sustaining our democracy unless we succeed educationally with those with whom we have historically failed" (p.31).

PURPOSE

Although not explicitly stated or directly addressed by either side, the fundamental issue pervading both positions centers on the purpose and function of education. As one of this society's five major institutions, education, its structure and function, is key to maintenance of the social order. While not a surprising nor a particularly original discovery, this realization does suggest that this issue historically lends itself to ongoing investigation.

Resolution of the choice debate begins with investigation, recognition, and understanding. While it is not the intent of this effort to resolve the debate, nor to prove or disprove specific hypotheses, it is the intent of this dissertation to develop a sociological discourse that will facilitate knowledge and understanding of the phenomena. This dissertation has a dual purpose: (1) to create a paradigmatic synthesis of the works that comprise the theory and substance of education as a sociological phenomenon; and (2) to use this interpretation to explore the socio-political and economic dynamics inherent in school choice as an educational reform strategy. Specifically, two issues will be addressed in this interpretation:

- * What does choice promote, i.e., what kinds of educational results are expected by implementing choice?
- * Who will be served by choice?

To suggest that the choice debate is intrinsically related to the socio-political and economic dynamics inherent in determining educational policies that will determine the purpose and function of education is to move decidedly into an extended discussion about the politics and economics of education. What is the purpose and function of education? Who decides or determines what the purpose and function of education is or will be? What are the socio-political and economic factors that influence these decisions? What are or will be the effects on the educational system?

Underlying Assumptions

At the center of the choice debate are numerous assumptions about the current state of this nation's education system. It is assumed that formal education has been rendered ineffective by the monopolistic nature of today's public education (Kaplan & Usdan, 1992). As they currently exist, schools are virtually guaranteed a clientele without regard to their levels of performance or to the satisfaction of their clients (Bolick, 1992; Lessinger, 1992). Thus, they are economically insulated

from the demands to become more productive (Lessinger, 1992; Pipho, 1992)-to provide a 21st century workforce that can compete in the increasingly information intensive, expanding global market place (Sculley, 1990).

To assume that the current system of education is outmoded and ineffective, further suggests: education is in a state of crisis; the current crisis in education is largely centered on the increasing number of students who are passed through the system, enter the job market, and who cannot demonstrate skills necessary to function in the job; choice will improve the structure and function of education; an improved educational system will result in increased academic performance; increased academic performance, particularly in mathematics and science, is necessary to maintaining our global status; if this society is to continue to survive, and to thrive, it must be globally competitive (Graham, 1992; Sculley, 1990); society must move education away from the custodial approach wherein the embedded expectations and practices of schooling are seldom questioned or challenged (Tye, 1992) and into the market place wherein competition and choice will prevail.

The Impetus for Research

The initial motivation for this effort came through the researcher's association and experience with the Florida Institute of Education. An instrument of collaboration for the State, the Institute seeks to establish a coherent approach to research, development, and implementation of authoritative best practices in teaching, learning, and management.

As a researcher for the Institute, the tasks and responsibilities have revealed the myriad of problems confronting education in Florida. Moreover, this experience has generated for this researcher an acute awareness of the broader issues confronting education at all levels--an awareness that the issues confronting education in Florida are (perhaps more than any other region) representative of the issues confronting education nationally. And the realization that on any level,

the scope, and magnitude of these issues are intrinsic to the changing social, political, moral, and economic philosophies and ideologies.

The impetus for this effort is also grounded in the passage of recent national and statewide legislation that seeks to reform education using choice. A recent addition to the public education agenda, choice has been historically associated with decisions about whether or not to send children to private or parochial schools (Miller, 1992). With the advent of Bush's legislation, choice has become a key social and political issue, an issue that is not likely to be diminished with the recent election of President Clinton. As the Governor of Arkansas, President Clinton participated in drafting the America 2000 legislation and is a supporter of school choice.

Finally, motivation lies in the recognition that in the aftermath of numerous and ongoing efforts to address the growing concerns about the failure of education, education continues to be the focus of much debate. This debate is attributed, at least in part, to the realization that the focus of many of these efforts has been fragmented. The role of education relative to the progression and preservation of society is critical to the development, involvement, implementation, and operation of recent strategies for reform. Yet, amid the volumes of research that address key educational issues, no single, comprehensive work examines choice as a realistic response to the educational crisis; or, perhaps more importantly, addresses current trends in educational reform within the context of the sociological determinants of such phenomena.

DEFINING THE STUDY

Beyond the assumptions that underlie the specific purpose of this effort, certain broad theoretical assumptions about education provide the foundation upon which to develop this treatise. Perhaps the most basic of these is that education is one of this society's principal institutions. As such, it is necessary to the maintenance and to the survival of the basic social order. A second assumption is that, as an institution,

education, always has been less affected by methodologies and intellectual concepts than by alliances with the complex forces of social, political, and economic reforms. Finally, a significant part of this effort is based on the assumption that the goal of sociological investigation, a social science, is to explain (to describe) social reality.

A Theoretical Framework

During the past decade there has been much emphasis on the changing political and economic structures in this society. The essence of this focus centers on the apparent structural changes in the nature of the economy itself (Dolbeare, 1986). A complex and substantive issue, the factors underlying this emphasis are primarily linked to the realization that: (1) production is shifting from heavy industry and primary metals to high technology and services (Phillips, 1990; Schlechty, 1990; Eitzen & Zinn, 1989); (2) production methods are shifting from labor-intensive and high volume practices to highly automated and more flexible methods (Phillips, 1990; Schlechty, 1990); and, (3) employee roles are also changing, with many assembly-line tasks shifting to the Third World countries (Howard, 1989).

In the United States more people are needed in service industries and technical jobs, and fewer are needed in traditional blue collar, mass production occupations (Phillips, 1990; Schlechty, 1990; Dolbeare, 1986). The concern with this changing structure rests largely with the realization that if the United States does not make changes necessary to keep up with foreign competition, it risks losing the profits and jobs it needs to sustain its economy (Phillips, 1990).

Underlying this concern is the debate about politics, ideologies, the redistribution of power and wealth, who has it, who lost it, and through what policies (Phillips, 1990; Dahl, 1991). It is also about the extent to which these changes impact upon education. Understanding how social science, the discipline and the social movement, emerged from philosophy in the second half of the nineteenth century is crucial for understanding

both educational thought and the philosophy of education (Kaminsky, 1992). Considerable refinement has occurred during the past half-century in the study of education's philosophies and ideologies. As a discipline, much of this effort has come through the sociology of knowledge and political beliefs (Kaminsky, 1992; Curtis & Petras, 1977). The Marxists, as well as Pareto, Scheler, Mannheim, and others, have demonstrated that in the realm of political and social ideas, expressed thoughts can not always be taken at their face value, and that social theories and doctrines are likely to be influenced by their authors' position in the social stratification of their society and by the historical situation in which the ideas were conceived (Apple, 1983; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1981; Mannheim, 1936).

Basic to this approach is the realization that knowledge is socially constructed, contextual, and requires interpretation (Giarelli, 1991; Slater, 1992; Berger & Luckmann, 1976; Hearn, 1974; Jay, 1973). As noted by Jay (1973) and others the task of critical theory is to hasten the interpretation and understanding of society without injustice.

Born of criticism for the positivist approach, every part of critical theory presupposes a criticism of the existing order. It has for its object human beings as producers of their own historical existence (Slater, 1977; Bottomore, 1975). It is not concerned just with the goals imposed by existing ways of life, but with the people in all their capacities (Martindale, 1981). It is, in effect, a strategy to join empirical investigation (the task of interpretation) with a critique of the reality that is or proposes to be education.

In sum, it is through research into the particular phenomena studied, into how knowledge bases are developed and influenced socially, politically, and economically, into how they interact in the planning and development of such strategies, and into how this knowledge becomes imbedded in action that informs the educational system, that new conceptualizations and understandings of how and why they emerge can be

proffered. Within this framework, this effort seeks to illuminate the current educational predicament, to trace the origins of the institutions and policies that comprise education today, and to explore the impact of these policies upon education.

To enrich the essential background for this work, and to provide a foundation upon which to build this treatise, the researcher has examined the critical works that comprise the theory and substance of the sociology of education. On the strength of this effort, three key paradigms emerge: the functionalist approach (Durkheim), the Marxist perspective (historical materialism), and the interpretative perspective. Emphasizing different approaches, each of these perspectives views education as a key instrument of social purpose. Collectively, they provide a substantive framework for managing this exploration.

Separately, the functionalist and the conflict perspectives will provide the locus for deliberating the choice debate. The rationale rests with the recognition that the fundamental issue for those who oppose choice is that choice reflects the desires of the elite society, and that it is, or will, become a vehicle for perpetuating the status-quo. Choice opponents believe that education ought to be one of the levelers of society, providing individuals with an opportunity to get ahead and providing society with skilled human capital necessary for economic development.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Because this is a preliminary effort intended to satisfy this researcher's curiosity and desire to better understand the choice phenomenon, it will be conducted as an exploratory study. As a basic strategy for social science investigation, this approach will facilitate a more clear definition of the research problem, and yield insights into the topic thus establishing the foundation for additional and more indepth study (designed with greater understanding and precision).

Exploratory Research

Exploratory research represents the essence of field research strategies necessary and appropriate for collecting and interpreting official and personal documents, in person interviews, library and media resources, media events, internal and external communications with relevant individuals and groups, relevant research documents, newspaper and magazine accounts, student records and personnel files, and other data sources as deemed necessary and appropriate to respond to the key issues confronting choice. This approach is intended to facilitate an account of the process in which those involved at the national, state, and district level in education make sense of an educational system guided by choice.

A Quasi-Representative Sample

Critical issues confronting any research are questions surrounding the representativeness of the sample studied (Babbie, 1975). To this end, it is suggested that Florida, perhaps more than any other state, represents the nation, socially, politically, economically, and culturally (Florida Department of Education, 1991).

It is suggested that to the extent that America in the year 2000 and beyond will consist of: a rapidly aging white population; a large but stable black population; a new blend of service and high tech jobs; rapid immigration from many and varied nations; a declining base of middle class working age people; transiency and crime; environmental vulnerability; contrasts in wealth; social systems that cannot keep up with the anticipated growth; exciting new social and political innovations and the agony of unfilled expectations; then Florida represents the future of America (Hodgkinson, 1988).

Florida's history is, indeed, fraught with population among rich and poor, while the middle class income distribution has remained relatively stable (State Board of Community Colleges, 1988). The future of Florida's workforce will emphasize both low-level service jobs that pay very little and have little opportunity for advancement, and jobs in technology and

high-end services which have more potential (Florida State Comprehensive Plan, 1988).

Currently, Florida ranks 4th in total U.S. population. Six of the fastest growing areas in the United States are in Florida. By the year 2000, Florida will add to its existing population the population of the state of Virginia, and will grow to over 17 million residents. Eighty-percent of Florida's residents were born outside of the state, 10 percent were born outside of the country. Predictions indicate that within eight years, Florida will rank 4th in the number of high technology industries. And by the year 2000, 83 percent of Florida's new workers will be minorities, females, or immigrants (Florida Department of Education, 1990)

Appendix A provides a comparison of some basic population characteristics for a selected Target District (to be used in exploring a single occurrence of choice), the State of Florida, and the United States. Given the wide discrepancy in the total population of the three locations, data suggests that the Target District and the State of Florida are, both, representative of the nation in terms of percent minority population, percent adults (16 years old and older) employed, percent high school graduates, percent four year college graduates, and mean family income.

Florida's schools face increasing challenges in terms of the continued expansion of school enrollments. Consider, for example, that Florida's student population is increasing yearly by as much as 19 percent; its student ethnicity is increasingly diverse; it ranks, along with California, Texas, and New York, among the bottom ten in terms of high school graduation; and Florida currently sends about one-third of its youth into adult life without the minimum benefits of a high school diploma (Florida Department of Education, 1990). In addition, the cost of education in Florida will be burdened by increasing numbers of students who are coming to school "at-risk"--who are entering the school system without the benefit of social and/or economic stability (Florida Department of Education, 1991). These children will represent a

significant part of the workforce for the year 2000 and beyond (Florida State Comprehensive Plan, 1988).

Exploring a Single Occurrence of Choice

According to a recent report from the Carnegie Foundation (1992), 13 states currently offer choice or are developing programs that will offer choice in education. Florida is among these in terms of seeking passage of choice legislation and providing educational choice to parents. In an attempt to move beyond just the abstract, to mediate theory with application, this effort will focus its exploration on Florida's statewide educational improvement initiatives, and its choice agenda. Exploring a single occurrence of choice, it will focus on a single Florida school district as a case study from which to respond to the issues that guide this effort.

Gaining Access

Access to the discipline (education), to the corporate and government sectors, and to necessary and relevant information and data, was gained, in large part, through the researcher's association with the Florida Institute of Education (an entity of the Florida State University System). On the strength of this association access was additionally available to local and nationally recognized persons who function and participate in education, in the development of educational policy, in government, and in corporate sectors, who are involved in education, the proposed choice agenda, and the debate surrounding both. The availability and access to the wealth of written and published documents that address the both education as a social, political, and economic institution and the choice debate was readily accessible through the State University System. And, finally, access was obtained through this author's established entry into Florida school districts that characterize both sides of the debate.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Basic to the social and political issues inherent to post-war society, education has received much emphasis during the past half-century as a unique institution and objective field of study. As a testament to its ongoing relevance, education, on the eve of the 21st century, is being targeted as a key factor influencing this society's ability to function and compete in the "New World Order" (Kearns, 1989; Clinton, 1988). Reflecting the parent discipline, the sociology of education provides a unique look at the social variables which affect education and illustrates the interdependence among the major institutions in society (Ballantine, 1989).

THE SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

A rapidly changing discipline, education has long held a unique place in our political and cultural existence (Giroux, 1985). Everywhere and always education is being transmitted--either formally in a school setting or informally by family, peers, media, and other life altering influences. Recently education has become the target of much national debate regarding its effectiveness. Education has also become, theoretically and substantively, the principle arena from which to search for answers to concerns about how to move society into the next century (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). Albeit a popular trend, this is not a recent concern for education. Indeed, the response to this issue has been and is a major focus of sociological inquiry. To establish a practical base upon which to provide a historical perspective of the field, this section will focus on three of the mainstream sociological approaches to education--Durkheim and the functionalist tradition, the Marxist perspective, and the interpretative approach.

Durkheim and the Functionalist Approach

Perhaps stemming from his position at the Sorbonne as the first professor of sociology, a position that was combined with education,

Durkheim was the first person to suggest a sociological approach to the study of education, to attempt to understand why education took the form it did (Martindale, 1981; Lukes, 1973). Durkheim's thinking about education reflects his attempts to establish sociology as a discipline of academic standing: to apply the methods of natural science, as he understood them, to the study of society; and to discover how an orderly society was maintained, particularly in a complex world (Richardson, 1986; Robinson, 1981; Lukes, 1973).

To establish sociology as an academic discipline, Durkheim attempted to demonstrate that its subject matter is distinct from that of other areas. To accomplish this he strove for precise concepts and argued that society is the subject matter of sociology and that the social dimension of things is distinct from the individual dimension (Richardson, 1986; Robinson, 1981; Barnes, & Becker, 1952).

According to Durkheim (1964), society, like nature, is something real, and can be understood by the methods of natural science. Therefore social phenomena (referred to by Durkheim as social facts) must be treated like things in nature; and attempts to understand any particular part of society, such as education, must be preceded by a definition of the phenomenon to be studied (Lukes, 1973).

Throughout his major works in the field, Durkheim outlined both a definition of education and the concerns of the sociology of education as he viewed them. Defining the field for future sociologists, Durkheim (1956) wrote:

"Education is the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole, and the special milieu for which he is specifically destined..." (p. 28).

On the strength of his observation, Durkheim posited the notion that education takes different forms at different times and places. He further demonstrated that education can not be separated from society--they reflect each other (Brookover & Erickson, 1975). In The Evolution of

Educational Thought (1977) he described the history of education in France, integrating ideas from some of his other works (i.e., The Division of Labor in Society (1964), The Rules of Sociological Method (1964)) to produce a historical-sociological analysis of the institution of education. Always, he emphasized, in every time and place, education is closely related to other institutions and to the current values and beliefs in society (Turner, 1976; Lukes, 1973).

It should be noted, in his view of the institution as the mechanism through which society functions, Durkheim was responding to what he perceived as the dominate problem of modern history--the decline of social cohesion by industrialization and secularization (Turner, 1976). This, Durkheim suggested, was due not to any inherent imperfections in the division of labor or to the specialization of the institution in and of itself. Rather, it was because the transition from a European society based on mechanical solidarity to one based on organic solidarity was not yet complete (Martindale, 1981; Turner, 1976; Lukes, 1973). Moral codes appropriate to the mechanical state still endured, although they had become obsolete (Turner, 1976; Durkheim, 1961; Becker & Barnes, 1952). According to Durkheim, the society of the future would be based on spontaneous interaction developed from an occupational base (Turner, 1976; Lukes, 1973; Durkheim, 1961).

Education's function in this new, developing society was to maintain stability and to socialize man (Lukes, 1973). In Moral Education (1961), Durkheim delineates his beliefs about the function of schools and their relationship to society (Brookover & Erickson, 1975). Believing moral values are the foundation of social order, Durkheim established what he termed the basic elements of morality. The essence of Durkheim's long and complex argument is that moral conduct involves abiding by norms which we are not free to change (Robinson, 1981). Morality, thus, makes our conduct consistent and regular, and demands we submit to the authority of moral rules (Richardson, 1986; Lukes, 1973; Durkheim, 1961). To do this

we must exercise self discipline. We must be able to restrain our desires and appetites (Lukes, 1973; Durkheim, 1961). However, Durkheim emphasized this spirit of discipline is not the same as blind submission to society. Rather, we should teach children the benefits of self-restraint and show them the only way to be happy is to set proximate and realizable goals (Richardson, 1986; Lukes, 1973; Durkheim, 1961).

Attachments to social groups is Durkheim's second moral precept. In one of his most extreme statements on the nature of society, Durkheim (1961) attempted to show moral action involves acting in the interest of society:

"to act moral is to act in terms of the collective interest... now, it is evident that a moral act must serve some living sentient being and even more specifically a being endowed with consciousness...Above and beyond me as a conscious being, above and beyond those sentient beings who are other individual human beings, there is nothing else save that sentient being that is society" (p. 274)

His reasoning for this argument is any action dedicated to the furthering of an individual's own interest is not moral action (Robinson, 1981; Turner, 1976). If this is so, then to do something which benefits another individual is equally a non-moral action; and to do something which results in all individuals benefiting, or getting what they, as individuals, want, is also non-moral (Martindale, 1981; Turner, 1976; Lukes, 1973). Thus, for Durkheim, moral actions are those which benefit the reality of society (Durkheim, 1961).

The third characteristic of morality is autonomy. Durkheim maintains "one of the fundamental axioms of morality, perhaps even the most fundamental axiom, is the human being is the sacred thing par excellence" (1961, p. 107). As a result, we are unable to accept the imposition of morality. We demand to know the reason why we should follow rules and regulations. In other words, we demand autonomy (Turner, 1976; Lukes, 1973; Durkheim, 1961).

Autonomy for Durkheim meant the rational acceptance of society's morality; it does not imply that a person can choose his own, personal

moral code (Lukes, 1973). Durkheim believes this form of rational acceptance of moral precepts to be unique to modern society (Richardson, 1986). Previous religious and moral systems have rested on the belief in God as the giver of morality (Richardson, 1986; Robinson, 1981). Only secular morality can give rise to a rational understanding of why a person should accept a moral code (Richardson, 1986; Lukes, 1973).

On the strength of his concept of moral principles, Durkheim analyzed classrooms as small societies, as agents of socialization (Durkheim, 1961). According to Durkheim (1961), the school serves as an intermediary between the affective morality of the family and the rigorous morality of life in society. Discipline is the morality in the classroom, and without it the class is like a mob (Meyer, 1986; Durkheim, 1956).

Although he did not address some of the educational issues that are of concern today--the function of selection and allocation of adult roles, and the gap between societal expectations of schools and actual school performance--Durkheim's conceptions of education established the foundation upon which the sociology of education has emerged and developed as a unique discipline (Richardson, 1986; Lukes, 1973). Albeit a conservative functionalist approach, Durkheim outlined specific areas which he believed to be important for sociologists as researchers to address; and these areas have been and are currently being addressed by sociologists regardless of their theoretical bias (i.e., the functions of education, the relationships of education to societal change, cross-cultural research, and the social system of the school and the classroom) (Bernstein, 1975; Durkheim, 1961).

Contemporary Approaches to Durkheim

For many years, Durkheim's functionalist approach to education has been thought of in terms of its socializing aspects (Musgrave, 1987; Hargreaves, 1975). That is, the purpose or function of education is to socialize children into society's values (Musgrave; 1987; Lukes, 1973), that through these learned values, children will learn the skills

necessary to become productive, law abiding members of society (Richardson, 1986; Robinson, 1981). While efforts to interpret Durkheim's work are numerous and varied, modern approaches, particularly those of contemporary sociologists Basil Bernstein and David Hargreaves, have applied the substance of Durkheim's theories to current issues in education (Robinson, 1981; Richardson, 1986; Hargreaves, 1975).

While Hargreaves has devoted much of his effort to a subjectivist or interpretative approach different from that of Durkheim, he has adopted Durkheim's ideas about the threats of social solidarity in modern society (Musgrave, 1987; Richardson, 1986; Robinson, 1981; Hargreaves, 1975). The focus of much of Hargreaves work is derived from his argument that the social needs of the nineteenth century jeopardized the education of the individual, we have, today, gone to the opposite extreme (Richardson, 1986; Hargreaves, 1975). Recent trends toward exclusive attention in education on the individual prevents us from attending to the needs of society (Hargreaves, 1982).

According to Hargreaves (1982), individualism in education begins with Rousseau and runs through the progressivism of Dewey to the child-centered philosophy of the present day. It concentrates exclusively on the development of the individual and his or her capacities and personalities, and has spread throughout the educational system. Today, when teachers and educators speak of their goals, they talk about personal growth, independence and autonomy, self reliance, and initiative, etc. Thus, he argues education is not primarily concerned with creating a certain kind of society; rather its primary responsibility is the promotion of the educated individual.

For Hargreaves, the primary function of the school is to promote dignity. However, he argues given the current trends the school is more likely to develop a form of individualism which is either egoistic or anomic rather than moral (Richardson, 1986; Hargreaves, 1982). While he believes the promotion of dignity has a strong social and corporate

element, he also argues we must rescue the concept of dignity from the individualistic connotations placed on it through/by the school. Recognizing that to acquire dignity a person must achieve a sense of competence, of making a contribution to, and of being valued by the groups to which he/she belongs, Hargreaves suggests the culture of individualism which has emerged has only served to trivialize the social functions of education (Richardson, 1986; Robinson, 1981; Hargreaves, 1982).

Pursuant to the social functions of education: Hargreaves (1982) suggests two questions must be asked: first, what sort of society do we want to create and maintain? Second, what is the role of education in creating and maintaining such a society. Relative to the first, he believes the concepts of Durkheim (primarily his concern with the threats to solidarity in advanced industrial society) are still sound. Moreover, he suggests if Durkheim had lived to the present day he would...now judge our society to be more deeply affected by egoism and anomie than it was in his own day.

Relative to the second question, Hargreaves (1982) argues education has a vital role to play in the process of creating and maintaining society. He proposes a form of individualism in which collective experiences are central; and schools have a vital role to play in the maintenance of the social order. He suggests collective experiences in school are embryonic experiences of social solidarity; and because such experiences will sometimes threaten the rights of individuals, they are experiences in learning to recognize and respect the rights of others, 1982).

Although there is some disagreement with Hargreaves argument, he does provide some interesting interpretations of Durkheim's original ideas (Musgrave, 1987; Robinson, 1981). He brings out the tension between the needs of the individual and of the collective and suggests ways in which the school could be reorganized to counter the malaise he detects (Richardson, 1986; Robinson, 1981).

Although his writings are less directly related to the work of Durkheim than those of Hargreaves, Basil Bernstein incorporates Durkheim's concepts (particularly his distinction between mechanic and organic solidarity) in the development of his views about the way education is changing, and attempts to relate the changes to the principles of solidarity in society (Robinson, 1981; Bernstein, 1977). The essence of Bernstein's approach is predicated upon his notion that the school is moving from mechanical to organic solidarity (Bernstein, 1977). To this end, he suggests in the tradition of mechanical solidarity individuals within the school share a common set of beliefs; conduct in the school is regulated in a very detailed way (Musgrave, 1987; Bernstein, 1977); rules are ascribed, punishment is repressive; there is little tension between an individual's private beliefs and his role obligation (Richardson, 1986; Robinson, 1981; Bernstein, 1977). In the tradition of organic solidarity, education is moving toward schools with individuals who relate to each other through a complex interdependence of specified functions; roles are achieved; there is more variation in people's values (Robinson, 1981; Bernstein, 1977).

Bernstein's efforts are intended to illustrate that change is evident in some parts of the educational system; and this change can be viewed as a move from education in depth to education in breadth (Richardson, 1986; Robinson, 1981). According to Bernstein (1977), there has been a move away from the transmission of common values in schools, with control based on position or status, to a situation in which control is based on recognition of differences between individuals. This movement has affected the role of the teacher and student, the organization of knowledge and the authority structure within the school (e.g., there are more subjects taught, student and teacher roles are more complex, more people are involved in the authority hierarchy) (Robinson, 1986; Bernstein, 1977).

While he offers little to suggest why such a shift has taken place, Bernstein (1977) does put forth an extensive thesis in Class, Codes and Control on the class nature of society and the impact of class on education. Suggesting class values affect the pattern of socialization of children, Bernstein (1977) argues some members of a group will adopt a personal approach to raising their children--an approach in which they are sensitive to the changes and development of the child, and modify their demands and expectations depending on the changing level of development. Whereas others will adopt a positional approach--one in which their the demands made on the child are related to the age, sex and status of the child (Bernstein, 1977). In the latter, the child learns what is expected of him/her depends on factors not under its own control. In the personal approach, the child learns from this type of parental treatment that the different parts of his life are related and flow into each other (Bernstein, 1975). According to Bernstein (1977), the language code used in the different patterns of socialization is the key to such socialization (Robinson, 1986). For example, positional socialization patterns are generally accompanied by a restricted language code--the assumption that the listener has the same experience as the speaker and has an implicit understanding of the speaker's meaning. The personal approach is predicated upon a more elaborate language code--the user sees relationships between aspects of experience that are hidden to users of the restricted code (Richardson, 1986; Bernstein, 1977).

Focusing on what is often referred to as the new sociology of education, Bernstein is one of a group of theorists who stress the need to understand a common-sense view of reality--how we come to view the events and situations around us and react to them (Richardson, 1986; Atkinson, 1981; Bernstein, 1977). In contrast to the macro-cosmic approaches that place little emphasis on interaction, interactionist theorists base their assumptions on symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, and phenomenology (Robinson, 1981; Turner, 1974). In

his attempt to integrate the structural aspects of the educational system with the interactional aspects, Bernstein (1977) illustrates a synthesis of macro-cosmic and micro-cosmic approaches.

Modern Functionalist Approaches

In the tradition of Durkheim and other early functionalist theorists, modern functionalist who write about and study education are typically responding to the basic issues of functionalism: what needs does education satisfy; and/or what contribution does it make to society (Richardson, 1986; Robinson, 1981; Parsons, 1974). Although there is some disagreement as to which is the most significant, two responses are continually proffered--socialization and selection (Parsons, 1974; Turner, 1969). Talcott Parsons (1951) stresses the former, Ralf Turner (1969), and Earl Hopper (1971) the latter.

One of the most influential and prolific writers in the functionalist tradition, Talcott Parsons (1951) argues that society has shared values and norms by which to judge and evaluate its members. Those who come closest to meeting the established needs and values of society are likely to have higher status and occupational prestige (Turner, 1976; Mills, 1975; Parsons, 1951). Thus, according to Parsons (1951), inequality is inevitable. Some will always be at the top because of their value to society, others will fall to the bottom. The question for Parsons, then, becomes not whether inequality exists, but rather how much inequality is justifiable (Richardson, 1986; Turner, 1976). While there is no easy answer, he suggests that some inequality is useful in motivating members of society to work hard, get ahead, and fill the positions necessary to keep society functioning (Turner, 1976; Parsons, 1974). Parsons' (1961) view on education can best be summarized as follows:

"Probably the most fundamental condition underlying this process [of education] is the sharing of common values by the two adult agencies involved--the family and the school... It includes... recognition that it is fair to give differential rewards for different levels of achievement, so long as there has been fair access to opportunity, and fair that these rewards lead on to higher-order opportunities, for the successful. There is thus

a basic sense in which the elementary school class is an embodiment of the fundamental American value of equality of opportunity, in that it places value both on initial equality and on differential achievement" (p.445).

The main thesis of his work in education is education, having engendered new forms of inequality and thus potential division and conflict in society, helps to counteract the strain involved by legitimizing such inequalities (Parsons, 1961). According to Parsons (1961) this is the primary function of education. It does this through the process of socialization. Education inculcates the view that inequalities of income and status, which are a consequence of differences in educational attainment, are acceptable; that it is proper for those who do well in education to be highly rewarded.

Conversely, Turner and Hopper argue selection is the major function of education (Richardson, 1986; Robinson, 1981; Turner, 1976). In his "Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System", Turner (1969) examines two normative systems which stand as ideal types in our society--contest and sponsored mobility norms. According to Turner (1969), the system provides for open competition (contest mobility) and rewards high achievers with acceptance to better academic institutions. However, sponsored mobility, because it singles out (selects) favored or elite students and trains them for particular positions in society, eliminates some of the slots from open competition.

According to Turner (1969), the contest system delays selection and minimizes its consequences. Contest mobility instills insecurity in the elite position, there is, in a sense, no final arrival under contest mobility, since each person may be displaced by newcomers throughout his life (Rosenbaum, 1976; Turner, 1969). Nor are there any final losses, since everyone is kept in the running and offered another chance to qualify for achievement (Turner, 1969).

Conversely, sponsored mobility emphasizes efficiency (Rosenbaum, 1976; Turner, 1969; Musgrave, 1965). It suggests selections occur as

early as possible so the system can benefit from the efficiencies of specialized training and socialization (Turner, 1969). In the selection that follows the sponsored norm, individuals are selected for their careers early in life, and any departures are not permitted. Those who are selected for elite status are separated from others, given specialized training/education and socialization, and guaranteed that they will attain elite status (Sorensen, 1977; Turner, 1969).

Although Turner primarily attributed his concept of the sponsored norm to England, it is evident there are elements of this norm in the United States. For example, the United States is clearly a country that values efficiency. The widespread existence of ability and curriculum grouping in the public schools, and of manpower in industry suggests the importance of the notion of efficiency in the selection of individuals for specialized training (Goldthorpe, 1980; Rosenbaum, 1976; Musgrave, 1965).

Building upon Turner's work, Hopper (1971) also suggests the structure of educational systems especially those in industrial societies, can be understood primarily in terms of the structure of their selective processes. He assumes there exists some ideological consensus within society which ensures the efficiency of the selection process, and believes that selection is the primary function of education (Robinson, 1981; Hopper, 1971).

In his essay "A Typology for the Classification of Educational Systems", Hopper (1971) attempts to devise a system of characteristics which would facilitate efforts to compare and contrast educational systems in advanced industrial societies. The substance of this essay is based upon his belief in four basic questions tied to a selection process made up of three stages: (1) selection into types and levels of activity, (2) determination of appropriate instruction, and (3) allocation to jobs or further training. The four questions are: how does selection occur; when does it occur; who is selected; and why are they selected (Blackledge & Hunt, 1985; Robinson, 1981; Hopper, 1971).

The Function of Education (A Summary Statement)

The functionalist perspective is a starting point from which to understand education and plays a key role in the emergence of the sociology of education. It suggests certain functions for education and specifies certain relations between education and other parts of society. Education can be viewed as a social universe displaying systemic features that are understood through the parallel ordering of abstract concepts (Hargreaves, 1982; Robinson, 1981; Parsons, 1951). Analyzing education involves developing a system of concepts that first must capture the systemic features of education at all of its diverse levels, and second must point to the degree of articulation among personality systems, social systems, and cultural patterns (Turner, 1976; Parsons, 1974).

Not surprisingly, a number of theorists reject the over-socialized concept of man implicit in functionalism, and argue it is people in interaction who make society possible (Richardson, 1986; Davies, 1971; Coser & Rosenberg, 1966). The principle thesis underlying this argument is understanding society (or any part of it) must involve observing the interactions of people and, on the basis of these observations, determining how they think and feel (Turner, 1976; Mead, 1934). For the sociology of education, this involves looking at the various interpretations of those who participate in the organization, structure, content, and delivery of education (Robinson, 1986; Cartwright & Zander, 1953).

Prior to examining this perspective in detail, an overview of the Marxist view of education is provided. A review dictated by the relevance of the Marxist (conflict) perspective to the emergence and development of sociology, and the apparent affinity that exists between the Marxist and the functionalist approach. In the face of their numerous differences, both the functionalist (consensus) and Marxist (conflict) perspectives attempt to explain how education contributes to the maintenance of the status quo (Coser & Rosenberg, 1966); they both tend to deal with the

relationship of education to the broader society, particularly the economy (Bottomore & Rubel, 1963).

Marxist (Historical Materialism) Perspective

Less concerned with education than was Durkheim, Marx's work focused more on a way of thinking about education than on the substantive development of the sociology of education (Robinson, 1981). The Marxist perspective encompasses two major components: the economic structure, or base; and the superstructure, or other social institutions and practices (e.g., politics, education, religion, family, ideas, beliefs, and values) (Milliband, 1977; Turner, 1976; Althusser, 1972; Coser, 1971). For Marx, the fundamental principle underlying society's existence is economic activity or production (Sarup, 1978; Turner, 1976; Coser, 1971). Everything in society is related to or derived from economic activity, which, in turn, is derived from class structure and conflict (Sarup, 1978; Bottomore, 1975; Coser, 1971). Marx's materialistic view is dialectical--he views society as being in constant interaction with the material world (Robinson, 1981). According to Marx, we change the world, but in turn are changed by it (Sarup, 1978; Turner, 1976).

Education, according to Marx, is one of society's institutions that reflects the interests of the dominant groups, or ruling class (Sarup, 1978; Wexler, 1977). It serves to reproduce and maintain the inequalities that exist in the distribution of power, income, and social status (Sarup, 1978; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Bottomore, 1975; Carnoy, 1974). For Marx, the principle function of education is to maintain the capitalist economic system (Bowles & Gintis, 1976).

In his article "Unequal Education and the Reproduction of the Social Division of Labor", Samuel Bowles (1977) outlines the role of education from the Marxist perspective:

"...schools have evolved in the U.S. not as part of a pursuit of equality, but rather to meet the needs of capitalist employers for a disciplined and skilled labor force, and to provide a mechanism for social control in the interest of political stability; that as the economic importance of skilled and well

educated labor has grown, inequalities in the school system have become increasingly important in reproducing the class structure from one generation to the next; that the U.S. school system is pervaded by class inequalities, which have shown little sign of diminishing over the last half century..." (p.76)

For Marx, the origins of inequality are found in class structure; and education not only reflects the class structure, it perpetuates it (Bowles, 1977). Marxists argue that while research shows that there is a narrowing of the educational gaps among social and economic groups, this has not resulted in a more equal sharing of society's wealth (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Coser, 1971). Class groups have remained in the same positions relative to each other over time (Coleman, 1974).

Adopting a more voluntaristic approach, Giroux (1983) points out that the Marxian theories have down-played the importance of human freedom and self determination in the educational system. He suggests that the Marxist theories of direct reproduction tend to view schools as factories or prisons, and teachers and students as pawns and role bearers constrained by the logic of social practices (Giroux, 1983). Thus, the notion that people make history, including its restraints, is neglected (Richardson, 1986; Giroux, 1983). In his Ideology, Culture and the Process of Schooling, Giroux (1981) suggests the culture of groups is constrained as much by the group as by the dominate society. What students do within the educational culture thus is not just the result of external forces operating on them, but in part is derived from their own decisions and actions. The school is the arena for ideological struggle and for competition between competing class cultures (Simon & Giroux, 1989).

Carnoy (1974) notes the institution of schooling is capable of generating awareness of the dependent relationship of one society to another and of the role of the dominant groups in maintaining that dependency, though in fact this capability is seldom realized. Freire (1972) suggests this failure serves to uphold the domestication of man, rather than his liberation.

There are, of course, numerous other wide range theories that seek to explain, criticize, and/or expand upon Marx's approach (Galbraith, 1984; Reynolds, 1984; Giroux, 1983; Hargreaves, 1982). However, given recent changes in Western society, the state is no longer subservient to the capitalist class (Collins, 1977). Moreover, contemporary society continues to witness the growth of a large number of organized groups competing for power. According to the pluralists, not one of these groups is able to dominate the others or the government (Bourdieu, 1971). Power has thus become more dispersed and less concentrated (Collins, 1977). Save for the work of Robert Dahl (1961), who suggests there is no ruling class controlling education, there is, today, little in the way of pluralist analysis of education (Galbraith, 1984).

Both the functionalist and Marxist perspectives focus on a macro-sociological approach. Particularly in terms of their approach to education, they share some assumptions that education can be understood only within the larger society, and that the everyday activity of teachers, students and administrators is dominated by such things as society (Durkheim), the needs of society (functionalist) and the economy, class system or ideology (Marxists). The outcome of education is therefore predictable, leading to the maintenance of the status quo (Robinson, 1981; Martindale, 1981; Sarup, 1978).

Criticisms of the macro approaches center on the notion they often regard human beings as little more than products of socialization, and ignore human creativity and human freedom (Hammersley, 1984; Robinson, 1981). Further, the macro approach reveals little about the complexity of human life, it does not grasp the reality of life in school and does nothing to facilitate an understanding of what makes teachers and students function in the way they do (Hammersley, 1984).

Interpretative Approaches

Micro-interpretative approaches are very different in their assumptions. They view everyday activity as the building block of society

(Woods, 1983; Turner, 1976; Hargreaves, 1975). In fact, for micro sociologists, every aspect of society can be traced to the way people function in everyday life (Hammersley, 1984; Martindale, 1981; Turner, 1976). Interpretive approaches are understood typically through one of three perspectives--interactionist, phenomenological, and/or ethnomethodological.

For interactionists, it is the day-to-day activity of the teachers, students, and administrators that keep the educational system operating (Hargreaves, 1975; Waller, 1932), changes in education or in society are the result of changes in such interaction (Hammersley, 1984). Everyday life, however, is never totally imposed, there is always some autonomy and freedom (Hammersley, 1984; Woods, 1983). This does not mean there are no constraints on everyday actions, nor does it imply individuals are not influenced by their backgrounds (Woods, 1983; Blumer, 1969). However, to some extent, people can and do create their own activity; everyday life is the product of people acting and interacting together to produce their own roles and patterns of action and interaction (Woods, 1983).

Because individuals seldom act in isolation, everyday activity involves the interactions of people (Woods, 1983; Berger, 1966). Therefore individuals give meaning, not just to their own actions, but to the activity of others (Hargreaves, 1975; Turner, 1976). Meaning and interpretation are not static and unchanging (Blumer, 1969). Individuals and groups continually modify their views and actions (Mead, 1934). Over time, interacting individuals and groups arrive at some shared understandings and interpretations, and this sharing is brought about through the process of negotiation (Blumer, 1969; Kuhn, 1964; Mead, 1934). A continuous process, negotiation occurs in subtle ways, with modifications to the actor's understanding of what is going on (Woods, 1983). Shared assumption emerges from negotiations. However, it should be noted not all parties involved in the negotiation have equal power (Hammersley, 1984).

To understand an actors' meaning in a given situation, the interpretive approach fosters subjective interpretations and definitions of particular situations (Blumer, 1969; Becker & Geer, 1961; Goffman, 1959). Of course, the one who is interpreting brings to the interpretation his/her own assumptions and observations of the situation (Woods, 1983; Goffman, 1959).

The interactionist approach views the relationship between teacher and student as a situation of conflict in which teachers and students have different goals (Hargreaves, 1975). Strategies are developed by each party in an attempt to impose their particular definition of the situation on the other (Richardson, 1986). Although it is accepted that the teacher has more power than the student, this domination is never total. As a result, negotiations take place and the classroom is viewed as negotiated order (Karp & Yoels, 1976).

While there are differences in emphasis of these micro interpretative approaches, there is also much common ground. Phenomenologists, for example, focus on the actor's knowledge of the situation and on the other individuals involved (Berger & Luckmann, 1976). In this context, Davies (1971) argues the need to look at the power structures of society and the educational system; and the need to examine the definitions of the structures held by those who participate in education (Berger & Luckmann, 1976). He believes the educational system with its structure of knowledge and its processes of selection is seen as the outcome of the interaction of parties (both inside and outside education) who hold different degrees of power (Berger & Luckmann, 1976; Davies, 1971; Hopper, 1971). Thus, the type of knowledge to which students are exposed and the future life they will attain as a result of their participation in the educational system are constructed through interaction (Davies, 1971).

Ethnomethodologists share many of the assumptions of the other interpretative sociologists. They recognize the importance of adopting a subjectivist approach; and they regard the understanding of meaning as

critical (Garfinkel, 1967). However, there are certain ideas that are characteristically ethnomethodological. Distinguishing between topic and resource, ethnomethodologists are concerned with discovering the procedures which actors use to make the world intelligible (Garfinkel, 1967). Society may be perceived as chaotic, but this is not how ethnomethodologists view it. People impose order on chaos to make it intelligible to themselves (Denzin, 1969; Garfinkel, 1967).

Mostly predicated upon the seminal work of David Hargreaves (1972), numerous studies have focused on the interpretive approach to understand education (Hargreaves, 1982; Woods, 1983; Sharp & Green, 1975; Hammersley & Turner, 1977). Moving beyond the discussion and debate regarding the structure and function of education, the sociology of education began to focus on the role of the school, the teachers, and the students, together with the actions and interactions of each (Hammersley, 1984; Woods, 1983).

Interpretive accounts of the sociology of education address such issues as why and how teachers organize and evaluate students' learning (Hargreaves, 1975; Sharp & Green, 1975); how students view schooling (Woods, 1983); and how both students and teachers develop and utilize negotiations and coping strategies (Hargreaves, 1978).

In his volume of Knowledge and Social Control, Young (1971) focuses on knowledge as a social construct, combined with a relativist view to establish a new sociology of education. Drawing upon the insights of Berger and Luckmann (1976), the "new sociology of education" is principally concerned with the content of education rather than with the structure and organization of the educational system (Karabel & Halsey, 1977). Those who advocate this approach focus on the curriculum, on the knowledge imparted by the school, and on the schools conception of what it is to be educated (Bourdieu, 1973). The argument of these sociologists can be delineated on the basis of three assumptions: knowledge is socially constructed (Whitty, 1977; Berger & Luckmann, 1976); truth and validity

are socially constructed (Esland, 1971; Mills, 1959); and ability and intelligence are social products, from which failure is derived (Lacey, 1970).

Summary

The effort to this point has focused on providing a framework that delineates the principle sociological approaches to education. Encompassing three of the discipline's key paradigms, this framework has been structured around the functionalist, Marxist, and interpretive perspectives. In summary, functionalist theories characterize a model of society in which all social institutions, including education, have specific functions (Martindale, 1981; Turner, 1976; Coser & Rosenberg, 1966). These institutions are divided into sub-systems which are comprised of roles (Turner, 1976; Homans, 1974). Individuals are socialized into the values of society and into the norms of the roles they occupy (Martindale, 1981). Functioning in their roles, members maintain the social and cultural order of society (Turner, 1976).

The functionalist theories were the first major sociological approaches to education to relate education to the economy, social mobility and the political order (Blackledge & Hunt, 1985). In addition, functionalism has demonstrated applications in the study of school organization and, through role theory, the study of teacher/student interaction (Robinson, 1981).

The functions of education are socialization, selection, and management of knowledge (Davies, 1971; Turner, 1969; Durkheim, 1964; Parsons, 1961). Education teaches the norms and values of society, assigns individuals to their roles (particularly economic roles), and structures reality through the organization and distribution of knowledge (Berger & Luckmann, 1976; Durkheim, 1964). There are numerous criticisms of the assumptions associated with functionalism. Key among these is the reification of society and the diminished status of man (Martindale, 1981; Turner, 1976). Society is viewed as a reality in its own right (Durkheim,

1964) with little or no recognition of man's capacity for creativity or of his free will to change the social structure. In response to these limitations, some theorists argue society should be viewed as a product of the activity of social groups who have their own goals (Musgrave, 1965; Weber, 1964). In this context, education is defined by the activity of groups attempting to further their own aims (King, 1973). This view is not intended to diminish the function of socialization and/or selection. Rather, it suggests how and why socialization and selection occur needs to be understood in terms of actors' goals and the conflicts and negotiations that are inherent to social action (King, 1973; Musgrave, 1965).

In some ways similar to the functionalist perspective, Marxist sociology argues education cannot be understood independently of the society of which it is a part (Sarup, 1978; Bottomore, 1975). The Marxist approach seeks to explain how education contributes to the maintenance or reproduction of the existing social and economic order (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). For Marxists (as for functionalists), this occurs through the process of socialization and selection (Sarup, 1978). Education fosters the qualities and values required by the capitalists economic system, and assigns individuals to their roles within the hierarchial divisions of labor (Sarup, 1978; Musgrove, 1965). In the tradition of Parsons (1961), Marxists believe education helps to legitimize the inequalities in society through the dissemination of ideological notions of equal opportunity and meritocracy (Sarup, 1978; Milliband, 1977).

The criticisms of the Marxist view of education and society are very similar to those made of functionalism--typically, such an approach is overly deterministic and fails to take into account the role of people in shaping the social system as well as being shaped by it (Musgrave, 1965). It has also been argued there is little empirical evidence to support the idea of reproduction through the process of legitimation and socialization (Reynolds, 1984; Hickox, 1982). Other criticisms assert that the notion of equal opportunity and meritocracy is not accepted by the majority of

the population, and there is no link between the attitudes and values fostered by the schools and those requisite to the capitalists means of production (Robinson, 1981; Sarup, 1978).

In response to these criticisms, the Marxist view of education has been modified. Rejecting the basic assumptions of the reproduction process, some Marxist theorists suggest there is resistance to the alienating aspects of school; the school cannot simply mold students to accommodate the needs of the capitalists society because there are counter-school cultures whose roots reflect weakening class attitudes and values (Richardson, 1986; Shor & Freire, 1986). There are also those who argue education has some independence from the wider society--possessing relative autonomy, schools do not respond to the demands of the economic system. Rather, they, in part, control their own development (Giroux, 1982).

Somewhat in contrast to both the functionalist and Marxist perspectives (both macro approaches), the micro-interpretative approaches argue man is the key to society (Hammersley, 1984; Woods, 1983; Turner, 1976; Mead, 1934). Primarily focused on the actor's definition of the situation, interpretative sociologists seek to investigate the actors's self definition, their goals and/or aims, their typifications of others, and their inherent assumptions (Turner, 1976). The interactions of teachers and students is conceptualized either as a process of negotiation, or as a series of strategies initiated and carried out by both parties (Hargreaves, 1975). The micro- interpretative approaches thus foster creativity and freedom among those who participate in the educational process (Woods, 1983).

The most frequent criticism of the interpretative approach is it fails to take sufficient account of the fact that action is constrained by the situation in which it takes place (Sharp & Green, 1975; Berger, 1966). The goals, definitions, and typifications created by teachers and students, for example, are constrained by the purposeful action and social

relationships of teachers, students and others involved in the educational system (Pollard, 1984; Furlong, 1976; King, 1973). Thus, no explanation of education can be adequate without some understanding of the subjectively meaningful actions of individuals (Weber, 1964).

To this end, Weberian sociology seeks to understand the subjective meaning of actions (Archer, 1984; Weber, 1964). In contrast to attempts by functionalists and Marxists to locate the causes of change in education within the larger society, Weberian sociologists seek to explain education in terms of the various subjective processes that underlie the system (King, 1973). This perspective argues neither the functionalists nor the Marxists take into account the purposeful action and social relationships of those involved in the educational system (King, 1973; Weber, 1964), and suggests that some consideration must be given to the interpretations social actors give to certain situations relative to what they are trying to achieve, and the consequences of their actions (Collins, 1977). This, however, is not intended to imply the situation in which individuals find themselves is of their own making, that they have the complete autonomy ascribed to them by phenomenologists and interactionists. The situation in which individuals find themselves is, indeed, not of their own making, and it sets limits on what they can do (Collins, 1977; King, 1973; Weber, 1964).

The Weberian approach establishes the basis for studying and explaining the nature of society which recognizes its fundamental duality in being constructed and maintained by the actions of people, and its constraints upon their actions. King (1973) suggests to regard teachers and students as both bound and free does not make for a simple explanation, but it is honest to the experience of what it is to be social.

This focus has moved the sociology of education beyond discussions and debate regarding just the structural aspects of the purpose and function of education. Weberian sociology links the macro and micro

approaches to education by arguing that what goes on in schools and classrooms must be related to wider social processes. For example, the action and interaction of teachers and students are clearly important to the development of the educational system; however, the existing social and economic structure, both of which are critical influences on the actions that individuals and groups take, are equally important.

CHAPTER III

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHANGES INFLUENCING THE CHOICE AGENDA, INFLUENCING THE PURPOSE OF EDUCATION

Viewed by Eitzen and Zinn (1989) as the final stage of the Industrial Revolution, recent technological breakthroughs (i.e., atomic fission and fusion, supersonic aircraft and missiles, television, biotechnology, computers, etc.) are giving way to a new era. Labeled by some as the "New world Order", by others as the "Globalized Economy", the new era is driven by a transforming economy. The ongoing and profound transformation of the national and international economy is largely the result of instant global communication and transportation (Eitzen & Zinn, 1989). The ramifications of the dramatic advances in communication and transportation have resulted in the rapid diffusion of technological advances, and the enhanced mobility of capital (Dolbeare, 1986).

As Bluestone and Harrison (1983) suggest: "The ability to move managers and key components at nearly the speed of sound by jet and to move money and the information needed to coordinate production at nearly the speed of light enables capital, as never before, to go anywhere in the world" (p.43). The globe has become the unit of planning (Sculley, 1990; Kearns, 1989). Corporations seek cheap labor, which means a transfer of jobs--millions of jobs--to other nations (Coates, 1986). Americans now buy more foreign goods than foreigners buy American goods, driving down the number of American jobs and the wages of American workers (Eitzen & Zinn, 1989). The result has been a shift in employment toward service occupations (Kearns, 1989).

The structural realignment of global, national, and local economies is also resulting in a shift in the balance of power within the national and local political arenas (Marshall, 1992; Dahl, 1991). As observed by Lustig (1989):

Contemporary shutdowns, relocations, and dismantelings reveal not simply movements of capital and misfortunes of communities, but more importantly shifts in the relations of power between corporations on one hand and communities and unions on the other... The basic story with plant closures to put it differently, is a political one, and it raises serious questions for citizens even beyond the precincts of the affected community. (p.24).

The power and influence of labor unions and other organizations that have traditionally impacted the exercise of political power have declined (Dahl, 1991; Eitzen & Zinn, 1989). Expanding control by the owners of American capital suggest a new political configuration is at hand, calling forth new power arrangements and new forms of political action (Dahl, 1991; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985).

This chapter will highlight the socio-economic and political changes that are influencing the current direction in education. It will also explore the purpose of education, as one of the principle institutions necessary to the function and stability of society. In so doing, it will provide the foundation upon which to construct the ongoing debate about educational choice (Chapter IV).

The Socio-Economic Transformation

The ongoing shift in this nation's economy is well documented. However, nowhere is the essence of the economic transformation better reflected than in Dolbeare's (1986) comments.

In 1960, the United States led the world in per capita gross domestic product (GNP less income from abroad) by a comfortable margin. In 1980, the United States stood eleventh among nonsocialist countries, and the leader outpaced the United States by 19 percent. U.S. Steel production accounted for 26 percent of the world's total output in 1960, while Japan was just over 6 percent. By 1980, Japan was 15.5 percent and the United States was at only 14.0 percent. In 1967, the U.S. built more cars and trucks than the rest of the nonsocialist world combined. By 1982 the United States was third behind Japan and Europe (p.62).

According to Sculley (1990), Kearns (1989), Dolbeare (1986) and others, increased competition from abroad has resulted in reduced profits to American corporations. A response has been to cut costs by demanding concessions from workers. For example, because of intense competition from Japan, and in an effort to reduce labor costs, the semiconductor industry laid off sixty-five thousand workers over a two-year period (Eitzen & Zinn, 1989). More drastic measures have included the complete shutdown of numerous corporations in the hardest hit areas (i.e., steel). Such closures have forced thousands of employees out of work, and forced

the communities in which these corporations were located into difficult social and economic situations (Eitzen, 1986; Oxford Analytica, 1986). In another example, General Motors spent in excess of \$40 billion from 1980-1984, but reportedly, these dollars were spent on labor saving devices to facilitate their ability to compete with overseas markets (Dolbeare, 1986). Thus, providing little benefit to workers who lost jobs to international competition.

In the face of the ongoing shift in this nation's economy, a key issue for the corporate, business, and industrial sectors is centered around whether we can provide an adequately educated workforce such that society can sustain a competitive level of domestic and economic growth and can compete into the 21st century while maintaining its position as a world power (Marshall, 1992; Sculley, 1990; Dolbeare, 1989; Kolberg, 1991; Meeks, 1989; Kearns & Doyle, 1988).

Current figures suggest that from 1985 to 1995, the number of jobs will jump by more than 15 million, raising the total to nearly 123 million jobs (Oxford Analytica, 1986). During the same period, the number of persons in the labor force, those either working or looking for work, will increase by only 14 million, for a total of over 129 million (Oxford Analytica, 1986). In effect, creating a gain of 2 million jobs, enough to cut the unemployment rate by two percentage points and bring it down to about five percent--a percentage generally recognized as the "full employment level" (Kolberg, 1989; Eitzen & Zinn, 1989).

Of course, leading economists warn that this is not going to just happen (Sculley, 1990; Eitzen & Zinn, 1989). To obtain a net increase of 2 million jobs, the economy will have to witness virtually continuous growth (Kolberg, 1989; Kearns & Doyle, 1988). Corporations and business will have to eliminate unneeded positions and fill new ones almost immediately (Eitzen & Zinn, 1989). Congruent with the shift away from manufacturing, the new jobs will not be the same type jobs of the past, or even the present (Eitzen & Zinn, 1989; Kolberg, 1989). Rather,

representing the ubiquitous economic trends toward service and information industries, during the past 15 years, 90% of the new jobs created have been, and will be, service and information related (Sculley, 1990).

What this means, according to corporate and political leaders, is that fewer job seekers will be able to function in the workplace without additional education (Kearns & Doyle, 1988). Economists are predicting that by the year 2000 and beyond, three out of four jobs will require education or training beyond the high school level (Kozol, 1990; Sculley, 1990; Eitzen & Zinn, 1989; Kolberg, 1989; Kearns, 1989; Clinton, 1988). Yet, according to the U. S. Department of Education (1983), about 23,000,000 adults in the United States are functionally illiterate.

The Conservative Restoration

The power and influence of labor unions and other organizations that have traditionally impacted the exercise of political power have also declined (Dahl, 1991; Eitzen & Zinn, 1989). Expanding control by the owners of American capital suggest a new political configuration is at hand, calling forth new power arrangements and new forms of political action (Dahl, 1991; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985).

Every society is sustained by a core of values that are central to its way of life (Apple, 1991; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). These values, rarely articulated by the average person, intuitively provide essential organizing principles for the integration of individual or group goals (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969). The values of a given culture provide reason and spirit for the economic, the political, and ultimately the educational process (Procter, 1991; Plamenatz, 1970). Moreover, each of these institutions provides an arena in which different groups with different notions about what is important to know vie for supremacy (Apple, 1990; Shor, 1988). Consider for example, that educational policy is constantly subject to existing and ongoing crises in the economy, to the power shifts in government, and to the often exacerbated ideological tensions in larger society (Procter, 1991; Bennett, 1988; Apple & Weiss,

1986). How the school ultimately functions and what it delivers as education is very often the result of this socio-political and ideological struggle (Apple & Weiss, 1986; Finch, 1984).

The conservative, back-to-basics approach to education came, in part, in response to the protest movements of the 1960s (Giroux, 1989; Shor, 1988; Blumenthal, 1986; Young, 1971). For many, the sixties was a decade of rampant individualism, a period during which a more liberal philosophy--an orientation based on a belief in the importance of freedom and the welfare of the individual--guided the actions of numerous movements (Liston, 1988; Blumenthal, 1986). During this period, liberal activism included massive protests against the Vietnam War, demands for racial and sexual equality, numerous publications espousing rebellion, the formation of radical causes inside unions and academic professions, and the spread of alternative education ideas (Liston, 1988; Blumenthal, 1986; Shor & Freire, 1986). Whatever the specific venue, this primarily grass roots approach posed immediate and long term threats to established authority (Liston, 1988; Blumenthal, 1986; Apple, 1983; Giroux, 1983), and it placed government, business, and education in a defensive posture (Levine & Havighurst, 1991; Liston, 1988; Blumenthal, 1986).

The movement to restore the conservative doctrine, to return society to more traditional cultural values and mores, emerged with the 1968 election of Richard Nixon (Shor & Freire, 1986; Blumenthal, 1986). In economics and in education, the Nixon administration began to reverse the activist movement (Shor, 1988; Blumenthal, 1986). In an effort to stem the eagerness and enthusiasm of the sixties activists, Nixon initiated a vast national program of career education (Liston, 1988; Blumenthal, 1986; Shor & Freire, 1986). The essence of this plan focused on work, discipline, and job training (Liston, 1988; Shor & Freire, 1986). This move was followed in the mid 1970s by reports of a literacy crisis which further prompted support for the back-to-basics approach (Blumenthal, 1986; Shor & Freire, 1986; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985; Giroux, 1983). In 1983 a new

crisis of mediocrity in education was officially declared and a new call for excellence was sounded (Shor & Freire, 1986; U.S. Department of Education, 1983).

Today, the impact of the conservative alliance is evident not only in the numerous educational policies and proposals, but also in the words of former Secretary of Education, William Bennett (1988):

The national debate on education is now focused on truly important matters: mastering the basics...insisting on high standards and expectations; ensuring discipline in the classroom; conveying a grasp of our moral and political principles; and nurturing the character of our young (p.10).

The focus on what Bennett calls "truly important matters", is linked to the growing emphasis on closer business/education alliances (Apple, 1991). According to the "Business Roundtable" (1989), education "is not keeping up with the pace of change in business, technology, and commerce... To few of our young people are equipped with the skills, versatility and values needed in our growing and changing economy. When our young people cannot compete as individuals, we cannot compete as a nation" (p.10).

At the core of these concerns is the issue of productivity (Kearns & Doyle, 1988). According to leading business publications and economists, productivity is among the nation's most serious economic problems (Sculley, 1990; Eitzen & Zinn, 1989; Business Roundtable, 1989; Kearns, 1988). According to Giroux (1985), productivity is as relevant to knowledge as it is to the surplus extracted from manual labor. Marshall (1992), Sculley (1990), Kearns and Doyle (1988), and Giroux (1983) further suggest America's corporate sector, paralleling the decline during the Reagan era in research and development activities that were not tied to the military, has endured serious declines in advanced technological industries where knowledge production is central.

More succinctly, as U.S. economic power diminishes, Americans will need different skills and understandings to deal with an increasingly interdependent world. Such political sophistication was, surely, not as

needed in the postwar era when U.S. economic power outweighed its parochialism. The American academic system is the only place where a new generation of serious scholars about the world economy, diverse political systems, and different cultures can be educated (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985).

This position is further evident in the recent obsession with the goal of academic achievement (Apple, 1991). Calling for vast and significant improvements in science and mathematics curriculums and in the grades of science and mathematics students, today's leaders view academic achievement as a goal critical to this society's ability to compete economically into the next century (Shor & Freire, 1986). Altering the more liberal landscape regarding the way this society thinks about education, its purpose and structure, the conservative movement posits the prevailing view that education can be reformed to achieve tremendous political, economic, and social outcomes (Levine & Havighurst, 1991).

Another essential issue underlying the current movement toward the right is focused on restoring the idea that individuals are responsible for their behavior (Jencks, 1991); that individuals must take on the more specialized and segmented roles that accompany increased social, political, and economic complexities (Liston, 1988; Levin, 1990). During the 1960s society's virtual carte blanche removal of the stigma associated with dependency, illegitimacy, and the dysfunctional family amounted to what Jencks (1991) called "tearing up the moral contract". In accordance with the conservative philosophy, recreating the moral contract, with the power to dispense guilt and humiliation, will return to those in the lower socio-economic groups as an essential weapon in their struggle against despair and decline.

Also characteristic of the conservative restoration is the notion that civil rights are not necessarily best protected by the seemingly endless extensions of the definitions of oppression and the subsequent discovery of new classes of victims (Meiner, 1992). This position further

suggests the weight of the law should be brought to bear upon individual acts of discrimination rather than be used to create blatant group entitlements (Meiner, 1992). So, too, attention must be directed toward helping the genuinely handicapped rather than expanding the categories of disability (Meiner, 1992). Lawmakers and juries must remain skeptical of any creative attempts by liberals to further redefine abhorrent conduct as psychological infirmity (Meiner, 1992).

Ultimately, and some would argue transcending purely right or left politics, most Americans, today, believe that society needs to reaffirm it's moral vocabulary declaring that it is wrong to steal, to lie, to abuse children, to father babies and not support them, or to gamble away the family's resources. And, if one commits these offenses, there is no one to blame but himself (Hartmann, 1989). Congruently, recognition of our own responsibility and the need to stop blaming society is an initial step toward dismantling the culture of victimization (Tilly, 1989). This does not mean, however, that we should suspend the search for justice, but it does mean we are striving for moratorium on the politics of blame (Jencks, 1991).

Underscoring what they have successfully labeled the negative effects of the liberal policies, conservative policy makers point to the leading economic indicators to suggest the American economy is stagnating (Meiner, 1992; Eitzen & Zinn, 1989). They build their case on the realization that America's history has been one in which each generation could expect to live better than the previous generation. This was not an illusion. Until about 1970 real economic growth per-person in this country averaged 2 percent per-year (Eitzen & Zinn, 1989). Certainly, the baby-boomers growing up in the 1950s and 1960s knew they would live better than their parents lived in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s (Clinton, 1988; Forbes, 1986).

However, today there exists an atmosphere of concern and pessimism unknown since the great depression (Meiner, 1992). Leading financial

publications report, on the one hand, as a nation we are much wealthier than we were in the 1930s (Forbes, 1986). Yet, on the other hand, those who are starting out after high school or college are finding the real world difficult (Eitzen, 1986). Jobs and opportunities are scarce (Meiner, 1992). For those who are employed, there have been no real gains over the past twenty years. And, the financial burden of the multi-trillion dollars worth of entitlements the democratic congress has mandated threatens the next generation's hope of even matching the income of the present generation (Forbes, 1986).

Emphasizing the politics of blame, a recent conference on urban poverty reported local businesses blamed schools for the poor quality of graduates, the schools blamed parents, parents blamed the schools, both blamed institutionalized racism, social workers blamed the business people, clergymen blamed MTV, and so on (Kearns, 1989). The single most agreed upon point was that nothing can be done to fix the lives of ones neighbors unless one first fixed their own lives (Business Week, 1991).

Politics in Transition

Many of today's successful politicians will argue that there is no real ongoing liberal-versus-conservative debate. They would suggest that these terms are typically used for window dressing. Rarely standing openly by the strict ideological principles characteristic of a particular party affiliation, members of congress will typically boast they make most decisions based on what they perceive will serve the best interests of constituents in their district (Meiner, 1992).

According to the James Madison Institute (1992) what is often portrayed as big differences between conservatives and liberals look like disagreements over nickels and dimes in terms of the larger view of the American scene. The budget battles that often label one party as "big spenders" and the other as tight-fisted conservative are typically nothing more than votes over some trivial share of the budget dollars.

President Clinton, throughout his campaign and on numerous occasions since his election, has voiced his belief that liberal versus conservative politics was not the key issue in resolving this nations problems. Rather, according to Clinton (1988), we must as a nation collectively focus on those strategies necessary to move forward. Forward for Clinton is interpreted as the need to control our own future and to deal with all of the difficulties we face, be they economic, educational, political, or social. In what some interpret as an ideologically conservative move, President Clinton recently unveiled his plan to "reinvent government" (Clinton, 1993). This plan (albeit multidimensional and complex) seeks to significantly reduce and streamline the federal government (Hartmann, 1989). Further suggesting the occurrence of the Conservative Restoration that has characterized this nation's politics for more than a decade, conservative politicians are quick to point out that many of the more than 800 recommendations put forth by Clinton in his plan have been previously proposed by conservative think tanks (Anderson, 1993). And, while politically, socially, and economically, we are not as far "left" as during the 1960s and not as far right as during the 1980s, we can expect to feel the continued impact of the Conservative Restoration upon the socio-political and economic policies that drive this nation.

Amid this ongoing restoration, however one attempts to politically characterize President Clinton, his views about educational reform as a key strategy for resolving the myriad of issues that characterize an "America in decline", parallel those of his predecessor, President Bush. Clinton's Education Secretary, Richard Riley, has openly stated his intent to "build upon the previous administrations America 2000 program" (U.S. Department of Education, 1993).

Transcending the politics of the liberal versus conservative parties, the philosophies of the Right are yet influencing the socio-political and economic agenda. When asked what they want from the schools, corporate, political, and social leaders echo the same response.

"We need people who know how to learn" (Schlechty, 1990, p.40). In his book Thinking for a Living, Marshall (1992) argues that knowing how to learn, to be able to learn of purpose, to learn from class, to learn from books and from instructors, to actively seek information to use in solving problems, to use others as resources in solving problems are all more complex qualities to develop than simple skills needed to decode words and manipulate numerical symbols.

The Paradox of Education

Amid this dominant political philosophy, there exists an interesting paradox for education (Fisher, 1989). On the one hand, education is perceived as an institution that provides equality of opportunity. The idea that education mirrors the larger society has long been recognized as a fact of life (Spring, 1978; Ziegler & Peak, 1969; Dreeban, 1976). Since the nineteenth century America's democratic philosophy and ideology has perpetuated the notion of "equal opportunity" for all (Domhoff, 1967). And, education has long been viewed as a means for providing such opportunity (Giroux & Simon, 1989).

On the other hand, there is a commonly held notion that education should prepare students for a future within the acceptable boundaries of the existent society. Equal opportunity in this context is meant to suggest that everyone has an equal chance to compete for any place in society, not that everyone can choose any social position (Spring, 1978). This is based on the notion that the United States was founded and operates as a meritocratic society guided by the principles of egalitarianism; further, an individual's life is viewed as a social race in which all members of society begin at the same starting point but finish the race in a different order through their own merit (Hurn, 1978; Domhoff, 1967). What has been taken for granted is that all participants of the race start at the same starting point and that the race is fair (Hurn, 1978).

This latter notion facilitates the use of education as a mechanism to reproduce existing inequality in terms of wealth, status, and social class (Bernstein, 1977). A condition that Kozol (1991) and others suggest is perpetuated as long as parents believe their children have a chance of getting ahead; a condition that masks the realities of stratification, and of unequal access and service. Not a new circumstance, the current debate regarding education is indigenous to this paradox. And, this paradox is indigenous to the purpose of education.

THE PURPOSE OF EDUCATION

In most modern societies, education is seen as a key instrument of social purpose. A process with broad relevance, it involves the transmission of technical knowledge and skills as well as the teaching of moral and political principles (Apple, 1990; Giroux, 1983). It functions as the mechanism through which socially desired skills, values, and attributes are instilled and maintained (Apple, 1991; Giroux, 1983; Hargreaves, 1982; Karabel & Halsey, 1977).

Many authors support the position that education is necessary for maintaining the social order and for promoting social change (Musgrave, 1988; Hargreaves, 1982; Martindale, 1981; Turner, 1976; Parsons, 1961). Education is expected to maintain the sacred traditions of society (i.e., respect for authority, obedience for the law, patriotism, etc.) and at the same time education is expected to promote political, economic, and social development (Carnoy & Levin, 1986; Anyon, 1986).

Education is responsible for the transfer from one generation to the next of society's beliefs, values, sentiments, knowledge, and patterns of behavior (Giroux, 1992; Apple, 1990; Shor, 1988; Karabel & Halsey, 1977; Bowles & Gintis, 1987). It is the mechanism for providing continuity between generations by preparing children to carry out the social roles that are traditionally performed by adults (Giroux, 1992; Wexler, 1977; Schwartz, 1975). In sum, education is a socialization process.

Socialization is thus defined as the activity that confronts and lends structure to the entry of non members into an already existing world or sector of that world (Musgrave, 1987). Socialization is, to some extent, deliberate (i.e., the mission of public education). Albeit less formal than the educational process, the family is also a key instrument of socialization (Apple, 1983; Woods, 1983; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Parents, teachers, and other numerous socializing agents purposely select the behaviors and values they deem to be desirable and present them to members of the younger generation in order to mold them into the kind of people they will become. In effect, to mold the kind of society they will maintain (Bernstein, 1975, Coleman, 1974). Many occurrences of socialization are neither formal nor intentional. People typically go about their usual activities within social groups, and for the most part socialization just happens (Mead, 1934).

The content of socialization, whether formal or informal, intentional or incidental, usually derives from the behaviors and values that are commonly expected of those who hold similar positions (Musgrave, 1987; Bourdieu, 1973). For example, the expectations of students in traditional public schools typically involves prompt arrival to class, deference toward teachers, completion of assigned work, etc. The expectations of parents include, among other things, providing children care, emotional support, and instruction in acceptable behavior. Socialization to social positions such as student and parent normally encompasses the behaviors and values that one must possess to satisfy the common expectations that accompany a given position (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990).

Socialization, then, produces social patterns by providing both a body of expectations and ways to meet them that are more or less shared by other members of the social group (Martindale, 1981; Turner, 1974). Shared expectations make it possible for people to predict within limits how others will behave and how others expect them to behave in return

(Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Musgrave, 1987). From the perspective of the individual, socialization helps them to cope with the demands of their social groups by providing them with the capacity to meet these demands (Musgrave, 1987). Socialization contributes to group stability and continued existence by transmitting established behavior and value patterns to the members (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Musgrave, 1987).

Cognizant that among the primary functions of schools is the passing on of the knowledge and behaviors necessary to maintain order, and since children are socialized into social beings and develop appropriate social values through contact with others, education is viewed from either side of the debate as an essential training ground (Saha, 1991). However, the dynamics of the training ground are viewed differently depending upon one's position relative to the politics of the choice debate.

A Paradigmatic Approach

Prior to the decade of the 1960s, there was little evidence of the controversy that currently surrounds discussions about education (Heller, 1979). Indeed, during this period ideas and thoughts about education were largely dominated by the functional paradigm (Hurn, 1978). This approach essentially viewed education as a rational device for sorting and selecting talented students who would function in an increasingly complex and esoteric society, a society that transmitted consensual values to its young (Bernstein, 1977). However, the infusion of increasingly widespread convictions that society's educational system taught values and ideas that were viewed by some as detrimental to the intellectual and emotional growth of the student led many to believe that the schools were instruments of a repressive and inhumane society (Hurn, 1978). Amid this growing concern, the radical paradigm became an increasingly popular approach. The radical paradigm views the educational institution as a mechanism for preserving the power of existing elites rather than facilitating the mobility of talents (Gelernter, 1990; Bernstein, 1977).

In western society, the functional paradigm has long been critical to the conventional wisdom of liberal intellectuals (Levine & Havighurst, 1989). Moreover, it has long nourished the elaborate framework that has sustained American democracy (Bottomore & Nisbet, 1978). Central to the paradigm are the unique elements of western society designed to illustrate the extent to which education serves society (Hyman, 1989).

Congruent with this paradigm, society's occupational roles are achieved on the basis of merit rather than ascribed on the strength of the position of one's parents or grandparents (Bernstein, 1977). Further, this paradigm demands that all children have an equal opportunity for the "prize"--elite status (Hurn, 1978; Bernstein, 1977). As a meritocratic model, functionalism views modern society as one in which ability and effort count for more than privilege and inherited status (Engle & Ochoa, 1988; Long, 1981).

The functional paradigm also views modern society as a cognitive and expert society. One that relies on increasingly sophisticated knowledge, expertise and resulting technology for continuous economic growth (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). Accordingly, the primary function of education can not simply be to teach useful vocational skills, but must also include teaching people how to think and learn (Marshall, 1992).

A key characteristic of the functional model views modern society as being democratic in nature, ever progressing towards social justice and egalitarianism (Butts, 1988; Freire, 1985). This paradigm suggests that increased levels of education not only reduce intolerance and prejudice in society, but also informs an increasingly educated citizenry about their responsibilities in the political process (Apple, 1983). According to Kogan (1978), education, more than any other social activity, is concerned with what ought to be rather than with what is. People become educated in order to promote changes in themselves and others. However, these changes are as varied as the range of human desires and feelings and, thus, they

may conflict with each other even within a single educational system (Hurn, 1978).

Finally, the functional paradigm asserts that the expansion of one's education takes place because there exists a consensus that more schooling is a positive thing and, overall, beneficial to society (Apple, 1983; Giroux, 1983). Education encompasses traditional arrangements for socialization of the young, reflects the increasingly complex requirements of a new industrial society for cognitive skills, and establishes a democratic, egalitarian moral consensus within society (Musgrave, 1987; Hurn, 1978).

Much of the criticism for this approach is centered on its apparent failure to recognize the numerous divergent interests, and ideologies in society (Floud & Halsey, 1958). In heterogenous societies, for example, various subgroups may have their own agenda for education, an agenda to further their own interests (Ballentine, 1989).

A second model, the radical paradigm emphasizes the demands and interests of society's elites (Liston, 1988). This view stresses the connection between education and the learning of docility and compliance rather than the acquisition of cognitive skills (Kozol, 1991; Bernstein, 1977). Implicit in this paradigm is the view that education reinforces existing inequalities and produces attitudes that foster the status-quo (Levine & Havighurst, 1991; Hurn, 1978; Bowles & Gintis, 1976).

Congruent with this view, key problems and concerns confronting education are a reflection of a social order demanding repression and requiring the perpetuation of inequality (Kozol, 1991; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1981). Attempts to create a more human and liberated educational system will be squelched by vested interests (Apple, 1990). New and progressive innovations may be tolerated, but fundamental changes in the social and political organization of education are not realistic occurrences in a contemporary capitalist society (Apple & Weiss, 1986; Shor & Freire, 1986). Thus, while education in America has not created a more

meritocratic society, it has convinced most Americans that social selection is indeed based on merit and achievement (Kozol, 1991).

Willingness to bring about major changes in the educational system is most often associated with those who ascribe to this approach, who when considering problems at the societal level, are open to questioning the continuance of the existing social class structure, a structure largely influenced by the predominate political agenda (Musgrave, 1987). As noted in Chapter II, this would be particularly the case for Marxist, though among them differences do occur. For example, more strict Marxist may be more willing to work for complete revolution than (as they might perceive it) to achieve only minor, temporary repairs to the education system (Sarup, 1978). Others would focus on specific points of alienation within the system and attempt to eliminate them by various means, all predicated upon their perceptions of conflict between the social classes (Musgrave, 1987; Sarup, 1978).

Characteristic of the radical approach, power and the struggle for power are the principle dynamics of social life (Apple, 1982; Bowles, 1976; Blau, 1962; Bottomore & Rubel, 1963). On the one hand, societies are held together by powerful social groups that coerce cooperation from the less powerful (Dahl, 1991). On the other hand, societies are perpetually changing and in danger of disintegration because power can result in new elite social groups replacing the old (Dahl, 1991; Dahrendorf, 1959).

Radical Marxist theorists view social systems as divided into dominant and subordinate groups (Bourdieu, 1973; Bowles & Gintis, 1972; Blau, 1962). The relationship between these groups is generally exploitative, with the dominant group possessing all or most of the societies resources (Sarup, 1978). The dominant group also imposes its values and world views on the subordinate group. The latter, however, are a constant threat to the stability of the system, forcing the dominant group to always be on guard (Bottomore & Rubel, 1963). In its effort to

retain control, the dominant group might create social myths which legitimize their position, ward off potentially threatening members of the subordinate group, buy-off the opposition, or use physical force (Sarup, 1978). In any case, the system can not last forever (Musgrave, 1987; Althusser, 1972). Violence may eventually erupt and the system might be destroyed or significantly changed. However, in time a new social system will emerge and the process begins anew (Hickox, 1982).

Arguing from the left, opponents of choice are primarily concerned that education cannot serve workers and other subordinate groups because it is, in fact, a reproducer of the dominant relations of production (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). Those on the right, whose critique and language have been appropriated from the Marxist tradition, are almost entirely sympathetic to an economic interpretation of the function of education (Finn & Johnson, 1982).

Implicitly, they maintain that choice has little to do with fulfilling the American dream of social, political, and economic equity. For the new conservative reformers, those who espouse choice in education, justice is beside the point. Their primary concern is the changing world economy and the new international division of labor (Freire, 1985; Finn & Johnson, 1982). Consider, for example, that following nearly a century of virtual non-existence in this nation's economic doctrine, recent neo-conservative wisdom has apparently rediscovered labor (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). Supply side economic theories typically blame the relative decline of U.S. manufacturing on lowered productivity in the new, more competitive environment (Finn & Johnson, 1982). In turn, much of the productivity picture is ascribed to declining educational effectiveness (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). In this context, the argument essentially follows the view that industry has rediscovered education because it has lost its previously secure markets (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985; Finn & Johnson, 1982). Supply side economics argues that government should get out of the way of investments by reducing taxes and thereby increasing business

incentives to enlarge and modernize this nation's outmoded productive plant (Finn, 1982). On the other side, education conservatives advocate reducing financial aid to education in the form of categorical programs, but have intensified their ideological intervention by insisting that education be upgraded through new more competitive management systems rather than massive financial inputs (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985).

Congruent with the discussion, thus far, this notion is concerned largely with the assumption that education is preparation for life, with the realization that our focus must be on the future; that what students are exposed to educationally, today, must be grounded in what they will need to function as a society tomorrow. Among both camps, the hope of improving society through public education has almost become an article of American faith (Sculley, 1990; Kearns, 1988; Spring, 1978). For many Americans education represents the symbol and hope for what society should be, the hope that the moral influence of education would reach out into the homes and neighborhoods of the nation (Spring, 1978). However, the real conflict revolves around the question, whose moral and social values will permeate the educational system; and, perhaps more importantly, should education even be involved in socio-political and economic reforms.

In the face of critical differences surrounding the key issue of equity, and in the firm belief that additional debate would only be counter-productive, society must now begin its search for common ground. As noted by the Carnegie Foundation (1992), "The stakes are far too high for policy makers...to divide into warring camps, driven more by politics and ideology than by ideas" (p.82). In search of the common ground, policy makers must be cognizant of key sociological determinants that relate directly to education with regard to its function and purpose in a class society, and with regard to its impact upon the socio-political socialization of this nation's student population.

The Ongoing Dialectic

As noted by Freire (1973), education, perhaps more than any other social institution, represents both a struggle for reason and the struggle over existing power relations. Education is a central arena where power and politics operate out of a dialectical relationship between individuals and groups who live out their lives within specific historical conditions and structural constraints as well as within cultural forms and ideologies that are the basis for contradictions and struggles (Domhoff, 1983; Althusser, 1972).

Freire formulated his educational theory within the framework of a historical and social understanding of the collective fates of classes within modern society (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). His objective, congruent with that of Gramsci (1984), is not so much to empower the individual, but to transform society itself to meet the collective needs of individuals. In this context, education is viewed as a mechanism for economic, political, and social change in which relations of power are transformed (Apple, 1990; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985).

CHAPTER IV

EXPLORING THE CHOICE DEBATE

During the 1980s, the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education presented an overwhelming indictment of public education in the United States and called for sweeping changes (U.S. Department of Education, 1983). Painting a grim picture of education, the Commission's report, suggested we are a "nation at risk" because of the poor quality of our educational system. Similarly, the Carnegie Foundation Report (1983) argued that "the teaching profession is in crisis in this country," and the National Task Force on Education for Economic Growth (1983) proclaimed "a real emergency is upon us."

These charges of a failed education system emerged in part from various reports on the inability of programs from the previous decades to meet the needs of all of this nation's students (Marshall, 1992; U.S. Department of Education, 1983). In contrast to the accomplishment oriented mood of the 1960s, today's educational outlook is fraught with gloom and suspicion (Kaplan & Usdan, 1992). With few exceptions such as career ladders, and some merit school incentive plans, previous reforms are largely seen as nothing more than heavier doses of the conventional wisdom behind such programs as the G.I. Bill, Title I, the Handicapped Children's Act, and a host of other similar programs, large and small (Bracey, 1991; Kaplan & Usdan, 1992).

The National Response

In response to what many have begun to label as education's "rising tide of mediocrity", and in a effort to "break the mold" of a tired, bureaucratic system of education, by involving communities, parents, and society in general in the function and delivery of education, the Bush administration sought sweeping reform. This reform was delineated in his legislation, America 2000: An Education Strategy. Authored in collaboration with the nation's governors during the 1989 Education Summit, and signed into legislation in April 1991, America 2000

encompasses six national goals. By the year 2000, (1) all children will start school ready to learn; (2) the high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent; (3) American students will be competent in the core subjects; (4) U.S. students will be first in the world in science and mathematics achievement; (5) every adult American will be literate and possess the skills necessary to compete in a world economy; and (6) every school in America will be safe and free of drugs (U.S. Department of Education, 1991).

In presenting his national goals, Bush noted that we as a nation "have moved beyond the days of issuing report after report about the dismal state of our schools." To achieve these goals he formulated a four part strategy that seeks: (1) "for today's students better and more accountable schools; (2) for tomorrow's students, a New Generation of American Schools; (3) for the rest of us a nation of students; (4) and the implementation of America 2000 communities where learning can happen" (U.S. Department of Education, 1991, p.16).

Arguably the most comprehensive education legislation of recent memory, America 2000 is replete with contradiction and controversy. For example, reported to be the first serious policy initiative in history to address the issue of the central role of government in education, America 2000, according to its supporters, "is not simply "more of the same...it is not a conventional spending program, nor is it anti-government. It embraces the private sector, but it does not reject the public role. It uses Washington for what it is best at--mobilizing public opinion and focusing national energy" (Doyle, 1991, p.18).

Taken as a whole, supporters of America 2000 suggest it may well be a program that transcends the politics of Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, and Reagan (Kaplan & Usdan, 1992; Doyle, 1991; Sculley, 1990). The support afforded this approach from past administrations is based, largely, on the realization that America 2000 calls for a return to the ethics of hard work, private

initiative, self reliance, and freedom from bureaucratic intrusion (Burbules, 1992; Doyle, 1991).

However, close examination of America 2000 reveals an interesting paradox. On the one hand, alluding to the limited role of the federal government in schooling, it proclaims the benefits of leaving significant decisions about education to individual schools; yet, on the other hand, it seeks the full influence of the presidency in a major program for educational change (Howe, 1991). For example, on the initial page of the document it states: "America 2000 is a national strategy, not a federal program. It honors local control, relies on local initiatives, affirms states and localities as the senior partners...It recognizes that real education reform happens community by community and school by school."

In comparing some of these disclaimers with some specific ideas and proposals of America 2000--new national tests, new national standards, vigorous federal encouragement of choice, new federally appointed agencies to oversee research, and a nationwide emphasis on five academic subjects (English, mathematics, science, history, and geography), the public is left somewhat weary regarding the specific role of the federal government in education for the 21st century (Howe, 1991; Kozol, 1991). Moreover, the paradox is further exacerbated when you consider the definition of the federal role as it appears in the America 2000 document: "the administration is committed to providing research and development, assessment and information, assuring equal opportunity and, above all, leading the nationwide effort to achieve the six national goals" (p.11). According to Howe (1991), "it remains to be seen what effects this new claim to educational leadership from the White House will produce, but the highly prescriptive nature of America 2000 certainly narrows the field in which governors, state legislators, state education departments, and local school boards will be encouraged to operate in the years to come" (p.3).

The Impact of the Recent Election

While there were numerous predictions that America 2000 would go the way of trickle down economics and pork rinds when President Clinton took office, he has embraced the essence of the America 2000 approach (U.S. Department of Education, 1993; Zook, 1992). Aimed at soliciting and focusing support for education, the key to America 2000 (among those who support it) is the impetus it provides for communities to decide on how to move toward the national goals. As noted by John Crisp, (1993), "it's a community by community approach, and Clinton sings from the same song book" (p.1).

While the rhetoric may vary along party lines, President Clinton was one of this nation's 50 governors who served on President Bush's task force for developing America 2000. Since taking office, however, he has changed America 2000 to Goals 2000: Educate America. Clinton's Secretary of Education, Richard Riley, announced the new name during a March 9, 1993 Satellite town Meeting. He told the audience taking part in an estimated 2,400 communities around the country that it will require a national commitment as well as active local leadership (U.S. Department of Education, 1993).

According to Secretary Riley (1993), "Achieving the goals (as set forth by America 2000) will take no less than the fundamental reform of our entire education system--from preschool and early childhood programs--to schools and colleges--to job training and lifelong learning. Our education department is ready to do its part. We will provide leadership, encouragement and resources needed to make these reforms a reality. Our guiding principle is simple: All children and all Americans, can and must learn--and they can and must achieve high standards" (p.1).

Promising the audience that Goals 2000: Educate America would build upon the previous administration's America 2000 program, he further promised the department will work (through Goals 2000) with states and local communities as they create strategies to improve and transform their

schools. The Department will (in keeping with the America 2000 approach) support a wide range of reforms, including changes in teaching and learning, school management and governance, and parental and community involvement in schools.

Educational Choice: A Strategy for Accountability

Undoubtedly a focus for much recent research, America 2000 (hereafter also referred to as Goals 2000) is in and of itself a topic for dissertation. However, among the major recommended strategies of this initiative--strategies to help teachers, choice as a strategy for school improvement, "New American Schools" and the "New America School Development Corporation," and "new world standards" and "American Achievement tests", less is said about choice than any other suggestion (Howe, 1991). In fact, one 85 word paragraph is all there is on the subject:

If standards, tests and report cards tell parents and voters how their schools are doing, choice gives them the leverage to act. Such choices should include all schools that serve the public and are accountable to public authority, regardless of who runs them. New incentives will be provided to states and localities to adopt comprehensive choice policies, and the largest federal school aid program (Chapter I) will be revised to ensure that federal dollars follow the child, to whatever extent state and local policies permit (p.15).

Albeit a brief statement, the extent and the heat of the nationwide discussion of this matter more than make up for the brevity of the proposal itself (Howe, 1991; Kozol, 1991). Encompassing a variety of strategies, educational choice comes in a variety of forms. First, there is a district-wide model, wherein parents and students select a public school within their home district (Boyer, 1992). In the context of creating better and more accountable schools, states and districts are encouraged to establish innovative learning centers wherein parents and students can choose based on their expectations and outcomes (U.S. Department of Education, 1991). Viewed by some as an expanded version of the magnet school concept, school administrators grant or deny admissions

requests on the basis of available space, and, in some instances, on the need to achieve racial balance (Boyer, 1992).

A second approach involves statewide choice (Boyer, 1992; Allen & Hulse, 1992). Within the parameters of this approach, students can attend public schools outside their home districts with the understanding that their selections may be restricted by available space, desegregation requirements, and by the student's ability to travel to preferred schools (Allen & Hulse, 1992). It is important to note that under this plan districts that lose students also lose state funding. Until about five years ago, interdistrict choice plans were limited mainly to big cities and surrounding suburbs that were seeking to achieve racial integration. In recent years, however, thirteen legislatures led by Minnesota, have adopted statewide plans and another twenty-one have considered them. The goal--to expand education options for all students.

A third option is private school choice. By far the most hotly disputed, this arrangement calls for a voucher plan, which permits parents to send their children to private schools, while using public funds. Currently, only Milwaukee, Wisconsin, has implemented such a plan. In November 1992, Colorado voters rejected by a two-to-one margin a ballot measure that would have made their state the first in the nation to make this kind of program available statewide. The Colorado program would have given vouchers up to \$2,500 to parents who send their children to private or parochial schools or who educate their children at home. At the federal level, Bush, as the centerpiece of his reform package, asked congress for \$230 million in fiscal year 1992 to support choice programs involving private schools. Another initiative from that administration, referred to as the "GI Bill for Children", proposed to give \$1,000 vouchers, useable at public or private schools to as many as half a million low-income families.

Beyond these three options, districtwide, statewide, and private school plans, choice has also become a catch-all term for a wide range of

alternative programs for gifted students, dropouts, and those who aren't making it in traditional classrooms (Allen & Hulse, 1992). Choice has even been used to describe programs that permit high school students early entry into college. The term has in effect, been stretched to include almost any innovation in which categories of students, particularly those with special needs, can enroll in nontraditional programs (Boyer, 1992).

Regardless of the specific approach, customer satisfaction is inherent to the choice agenda. As such, choice is rooted in the assumption that parents, as customers of the educational system, should be freed from the current practice of assigning children to neighborhood schools. A market-driven approach, choice makes it possible for them to shop around for a more profitable product. Therefore, for purposes of this effort, choice is defined relative to its socio-political and economic dimensions.

Choice: A Customer Focused Approach

This approach is perhaps best understood within the context of Deming's (1986) theories about Total Quality Management. Labeled by many as a thought revolution in management for business and industry, Deming's 14 principles of Total Quality Management (TQM) have created a fundamental paradigm shift. A value based, information driven management process, Deming's principles have refocused attention on the customer whose needs, requirements, and potentials must now drive the work process (Rhodes, 1992). In industry TQM, heralded as the voice of the customer, is a strategy through which the minds and talents of people at all levels are applied fully and creatively to a given organization's continuous improvement. It provides the information an organization must have to function effectively, and to compete successfully (Deming, 1986). A statistician and management theorist, Deming, in his book, Out of the Crisis (1986), emphasizes the advantages of teamwork; of investing in the ongoing training of all employees to increase their value to the company;

and the advantages of research and employee-gathered data that guide and inform every decision and every improvement effort.

On the strength of Deming's approach, employees at Toyota are reportedly working and thinking together in teams (Schmoker & Wilson, 1993). Practicing their own quality control, these teams are self managing, they meet regularly to identify ideas for improvement, to set their own goals, to gather and interpret their own data, and to check progress and adjust efforts relative to this progress (Schmoker & Wilson, 1993). As the title for a cover story in Fortune (1990) magazine put it, these advantages account for "Why Toyota Keeps Getting Better and Better and Better."

While business and industrial leaders recognize that Deming's theories are essential to the productive workplace, these same ideas are also strikingly parallel to what psychologists are learning (Rhodes, 1992). The work of Professor Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, former head of the Department of Psychology at the University of Chicago, has recently caught the attention of educators. In his book, Flow: The Psychology of Optimal Experience (1990), he describes those conditions that enable anyone, students or workers, to be most productive. Just as important, he points to what he terms an essential intersection between pleasure and productivity (Rhodes, 1992). Among his most significant ideas is the notion that given the right conditions, the best part of many people's lives occurs when they are engaged in their daily work. He cites the specific case of a factory worker who spends every moment of his day monitoring his own efforts and comparing them with his goals (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). For this employee, work is better than anything else, and it's a whole lot better than watching TV or otherwise being disengaged (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990).

In the face of Studs Terkel's interviews, published in Working (1974), that suggest work (particularly routine labor) does violence to human beings, one is prompted to ask what conditions ensure both pleasure

and productivity in one's work. According to Deming (1986), consistency of purpose is critical to quality and innovation. Similarly, Csikszentmihalyi (1990) studies reveal that people have to feel that their work is purposeful, that it has some meaning beyond just collecting a pay check. He also suggests people work with more commitment toward collective goals than toward individual ones. And, at work as well as at play, individuals need to see improvement in what they are doing (Rhodes, 1992). Paralleling this focus on constancy of purpose, ongoing learning and a sense of improvement are also essential to sustained effort (Rhodes, 1992). Finally, as regards the work of Deming, this sense of improvement must be both palpable and precise (Rhodes, 1992). According to Deming (1986), we need accurate and constant feedback that tells us what is working and what is not.

Albeit a brief overview of the central elements of Deming's work, the parallel between Csikszentmihalyi and Deming, combined with the success of Deming's methods in industry, suggest that the concept of TQM is, indeed, real. Deming's TQM approach has, according to Schmoker and Wilson (1993), Rhodes (1992), and others, accomplished much for the management of work processes. Deming's work with Toyota provided evidence that something not before believed possible was indeed possible. Total organizations could change, it could cost less to produce quality results, and the brain power of the workers on the front line could be an organization's most valuable resource (Rhodes, 1992).

In education, the paradigm shift also involves seeing things through the eye of the customer (Rhodes, 1992). To understand America's sudden interest in quality, one need only to focus on the economic news and media reports that daily report on America's poor showing in the productivity race to world-class competitors (Rhodes, 1992). Relative to education, Deming's ideas underlie a broadly applied constructivist approach within which students, staff, and the organization itself are each engaged in continually creating meaning, then acting based on the new meaning, and

being involved in the processes that increase their capability to act again (Schmoker & Wilson, 1993).

Like numerous revolutionary ideas before it, the rational underlying choice is rooted in this common sense approach. Choice is based on the simple but radical idea--the systematic implementation of the best of what we know, or what we can learn. Supporters of choice argue that Deming's methods are not only effective for managing schools; they are also useful in the management and use of knowledge to its fullest advantage. Moreover, even the most causal observer must recognize that competition fosters achievement.

A reality manifest in increasing numbers of schools and school districts, choice can no longer be dismissed as just an arcane textbook theory. It has become an aggressively promoted centerpiece of educational reform. It seeks to create an educational system that is effective, that is competitive, that is customer focused. It seeks to strengthen education through competition, to attract customers based on the quality of the product or outcome, based on the cooperative efforts of the stakeholders.

EXPLICATING THE CHOICE DEBATE

While the verdict on choice is yet pending, it has without question emerged as the single most debated idea in the current school reform effort. Topping the national agenda, the momentum for choice continues to build, while opposition to choice argues its socio-political and economic shortcomings.

In Support of Choice

Supporters of choice argue it as an essential ingredient of school improvement (Chubb & Moe, 1990). It would, they suggest, give to parents and students the right to select their own school. It would introduce much needed competition into a tired, monopolistic system (Boyer, 1992; Chubb & Moe, 1990; Kearns & Doyle, 1988). According to a recent Heritage

Foundation (1992) report, transforming parents into education customers will force the schools to shape up or lose customers. It forces teachers and school administrators to improve instruction and toughen standards, if they are to retain students--and with them funding." As part of his ongoing rhetoric in support of choice, former President Bush has repeatedly and succinctly suggested "for too long we've shielded the schools from competition and allowed a damaging monopoly of power.

Advocates of choice further argue choice would give disadvantaged families educational opportunities now only available to the more affluent (Perelman, 1993; Boyer, 1992; Doyle, 1991). Campaigning tirelessly on behalf of choice, former Delaware governor Pete DuPont asked "what better could we do for the poor, for those trapped in school systems that aren't working very well, than give them a little scholarship to vote with their feet, and send their children to a good school." Lamar Alexander (1991), former Secretary of Education under President Bush, suggests what we are simply trying to do is give people without money more of the same choices of schools that people with money already have,

What some view as an attempt to bridge the political chasm between conservative and liberal philosophies, and an attempt to appease more liberal constituents, choice is being hailed as a fundamental right, one deeply rooted in the American experience (Allen & Hulsey, 1992; Doyle, 1991). As noted by Ruth Randall, Minnesota's Commissioner of Education during the 1980s, "we can choose the religion we want to espouse. We can choose our grocery store and other shops depending upon our needs or desires...the one place in our lives where we have not been able to choose is education for our children...unless we have money to pay for private school or for tuition to a different public school."

David Kearns (1991), in the introduction to Taking Charge, the Hudson Institute's book on public education reform, wrote: "Our educational system is still in deep trouble, and if it is not getting worse, it is not getting better." However, as Kearns notes not for the

lack of trying. "Most sobering is the fact that expenditures increased dramatically in the 1980s--more than \$35 billion in inflation-adjusted dollars. But these increases were rarely seen by teachers and were not reflected in increased student performance" (Kearns, 1991). Where did all the money go? According to Doyle (1991), Chubb and Moe (1991), Kearns (1988), Brookes (1991), and those who support the choice agenda, these dollars went to enlarge the bureaucracy.

While Kearns (1991) readily admits the problem is a commentary on the nature of limited monopoly of which public schools are a conspicuous part, Brookes (1991) notes that neither Kearns nor the Hudson Institute publication ever place blame for what they view as the essentially socialist nature of U.S. public education, and thus its characteristic impact on the global marketplace. To this end, Warren Brookes (1991), a syndicated columnist for the Detroit News, suggests, "today we can say with some confidence that the decade of the 1980s will be remembered as the period when Marxism finally admitted it was wearing no clothes, and market capitalism swept the global economy with the telecommunications revolution, not to mention its twin weapons of liberty and opportunity" (p.6). Further, he suggests "the 1980s could well be the decade when that global information revolution left the U.S. market economy in the dust, falling behind the Pacific Rim nations. And the ironic cause of this demise could very well be our reluctance to privatize the most socialist enterprise in the Western world--that \$180 billion near-monopoly known as U.S. public education" (p.6).

In recalling his conversation with Nobel laureate and economist Milton Friedman, Brookes (1991) asked Friedman: "why, given the failures of socialism, do most American students still graduate from high schools with such a surprisingly socialist perspective." Friedman's response: "Because they are products of a socialists system--namely public education, how can you expect such a system to inculcate the values of

free enterprise and individual entrepreneurship and competition, when it is based on monopoly state ownership" (p.22).

Similarly, advocates of choice are asking how a nation can expect to compete in an increasingly dynamic and competitive global market when most of its important economic capital, its people and their ideas, talents, and energies, are the product of such an obviously failed monopolistic enterprise (Doyle, 1991; Kearns, 1991; Sculley, 1990; Brookes, 1991; Eitzen & Zinn, 1989; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985)). They cite, as an example, statistics that report U.S. students rank 13th out of 13 advanced nations in science and mathematics, 11th out of 13 in social studies and language, despite the fact that the U.S. has the highest per-capita spending on education in the industrial world (Lapointe, 1992; U.S. Department of Education, 1992; Chubb & Moe, 1990).

George Gilder (1993) notes, "unlike the industrial revolution which imposed economies of scale, and which so preoccupied Karl Marx, the information revolution imposes economies of microscale. Computer power continually devolves into the hands and onto the laps of individuals" (p.12). Current educational reform is rooted in the notion that this vast technological revolution has reversed the nineteenth-and twentieth century flow of power to central governments and corporate headquarters (Apple, 1990; Chubb & Moe, 1990). Education is once again being viewed as a key, reestablishing the individual as the center of his own economic universe, and, thus, the key to collective national wealth (Brooks, 1991; Chubb & Moe, 1990; American Education Week, 1990; Doyle, 1991; Kearns & Doyle, 1988). At the same time advocates of choice argue it has made the individual and his nation more dependent than ever for economic well being on knowledge, understanding, intelligence, and information (Eitzen & Zinn, 1989; Kearns & Doyle, 1988). This, they suggest, means that the key to competitive survival lies in extending, not limiting liberty, and improving our education system (Chubb & Moe, 1990).

Amid the increasingly competitive world marketplace, U.S. public education has reportedly become a kind of collectivist millstone around the neck of a nation which is now in the battle of its life for survival in a world where, as Gilder (1993) notes, "Knowledge is not merely a source of power-- It is supremely the source of power." To emphasize this position, choice advocates often borrow a favorite quote from Thomas Jefferson: "if a nation expects to be ignorant and free...it expects what never was and never will be" (p.18).

During the 1970s and 1980s much attention was focused on why this nation's productivity growth fell from nearly 3 percent annually to 1 percent (Eitzen & Zinn, 1989). John Kendrick (1990), Professor Emeritus at George Washington University, and a leading scholar on productivity, suggests, contrary to traditional capitalist nations, investment in business equipment explains only about a third of the nation's productivity trends. According to Kendrick (1990), the leading element accounting for nearly 70 percent of the total is what he terms the "knowledge factor." Simply stated, as knowledge advances, so does output (Kendrick, 1990). Thus, to the extent that Kendrick and this reasoning is correct, the primary reason productivity began to fade in the U.S. can be attributed to the rapid decline in America's knowledge factor, beginning in the 1970s (Brookes, 1991).

John Bishop (1989), an economist at Cornell University, as part of his preliminary study for the American Economic Review, provides support for Kendrick's thesis. Although he could attribute only about 10 percent of the unexplained productivity slowdown from 1973 to 1980 to the significant decline in achievement test scores that began in 1967, he argues its major impact on productivity growth has come in the 1980s, and has accounted for about 20 percent of that decline. Moreover, productivity decline is now accelerating as the better-educated workers retire, replaced by less and less well-educated workers (Bishop, 1989). Thus, according to Bishop (1989), by the 1990s, the "knowledge factor"

will account for as much as 40 percent of our productivity gap compared with earlier trends.

In attempting to establish a correlation between productivity and knowledge, Bishop (1989) further argues that "productivity growth and test scores declined almost simultaneously." In the middle 1960s he found that general intellectual achievement was rising about 5 percent per year and productivity was rising about 3 percent. By 1980 general intellectual achievement was falling at nearly 6 percent per year and productivity growth was down to less than 0.5 percent per year.

Economists report the direct economic cost of this lower knowledge-- in 1987 constant dollars, it was \$34 billion in 1980, \$86 billion in 1988, and \$334 billion (projected) in the year 2010 (Witte, 1992,; Chubb & Moe, 1990; Bishop, 1989; Eitzen & Zinn, 1989). Expanding upon this, Bishop (1989) suggests "if the forecasted shortfalls in output up to the year 2010 are cumulated, assuming a 3-percent rate of growth of Gross National Product...the total present discounted costs of the test score decline is about \$3.2 trillion..."

Focusing their arguments in support of choice directly on the school, advocates point to specific instances of educational funding and test score outcomes. For example, they cite that while the average U.S. public school currently receives about 57 percent of its funds from state and federal resources, and is thus indebted to the state and federal education bureaucracies, New Hampshire's schools are funded at nearly 90 percent through local property taxes (Witte, 1992; Allen & Hulsey, 1992; Chubb & Moe, 1990). Many suggest that this explains the anomaly that New Hampshire high school graduates consistently produce the highest average Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores in the nation, currently at 938 out of a possible 1600, with one of the lowest levels of school spending and one of the lowest levels of teacher pay (Boyer, 1992; Allen & Hulsey, 1992).

In contrast, neighboring Vermont funds only 60 percent of its education locally, has a large state education bureaucracy, and is regarded as a "progressive" education state (Education Week, 1992). Yet, findings from a recent study show that while Vermont spends 14 percent more dollars per student than New Hampshire--and 39 percent more per capita, it pays its teachers the same average salaries and has the same teacher-to-student ratio (Campbell, 1991). This means, essentially, that all of Vermont's extra spending goes into administrative bureaucracy; and since Vermont's average SAT scores are 24 points lower than New Hampshire's, centralization has added nothing of real instructional value, only higher costs (Allen & Hulse, 1992; Education Week, 1992; Campbell, 1991).

The Rand Corporation (1989) published a study comparing the performance of children from single-parent poverty level families in public and parochial schools in New York City. Only about one-sixth of all the students who entered the public high schools as freshman took the SAT test in their senior year. Even recognized as the most talented of the group, their average SAT score was only 632.

By contrast, over 75 percent of the Catholic high school students from precisely the same kinds of homes and with similar demographic profiles took the SAT's and scored an average of 804 (Boyer, 1992; Education Week, 1992; Rand Corporation, 1989). While this is not an exceedingly strong showing, it is reported to be 27 percent higher than the best of the public schools in New York City (Education Week, 1992). It is important to note that the average cost per student in the zoned public high schools in New York is nearly \$7,000, while the cost in the Catholic high schools ranges from \$2,500-\$3,500 (Education Week, 1992). While some of this difference can be attributed to slightly lower teacher pay in the Catholic schools, the largest share is far and away reflected in the enormous administration costs that exist in the public schools (Rand Corporation, 1989). For the Rand Corporation (1989) found that New

York City spends \$2.00 per pupil on overhead for every \$1.00 per pupil it spends in the classroom. Less than \$2,000 a year is spent on direct instruction, less than is spent in parochial schools. They found, for example, the New York City school system has over 7,000 central and regional office staff for 900,000 students, or one non-school-site staff member for every 128 students. The Catholic Archdiocese of New York City, on the other hand, employs 35 central-office administrators for its 51,000 students, one for every 1,400 (Rand Corporation, 1989).

While advocates of choice are quick to point out that this is but one example of the existing and growing bureaucracy that characterizes this nation's public school system, they are just as quick to note the Catholic schools in New York City are not only accountable to their tuition-paying parents, they are also locally run by a staff who have chosen to work there, and who are in total charge of the curriculum, teaching methods, and testing. As Peter Flanigan (1992), Managing Director of Dillon Reed & Company and Chairman of the Advisory Board of the Center for Educational Innovation wrote in the Wall Street Journal, everyone involved in the enterprise has bought into it, has become involved by choice. In contrast, in the zoned public, inner city school, the principal is assigned to the school, the curriculum is determined in detail by the central bureaucracy, the teachers are assigned, and finally the students are required by law to attend. Nobody has bought into such a school, nobody has made a choice, every aspect of the school is dictated from above.

In sum, those who support choice believe that if this nation is truly serious about better education, the time has come to launch a national effort on behalf of the children. Ultimately, to launch a national effort on behalf of this society if it is to survive into the next century. Through this effort, this nation must begin to acknowledge the interrelatedness of the home, health care facilities, preschools, the

workplace, any and all of those institutions and social forces that influence children's lives. Above all, they believe it is time to reaffirm public education and commit ourselves to having quality education within the reach of every child. To accomplish this they propose an education system replete with competition and choice; and in so doing, to reduce the bureaucracy and provide more school level autonomy. As part of this effort, parents will become more involved in their children's education; schools will become more diverse, innovative, and flexible; student achievement will increase; and competition and market forces will reduce costs and increase efficiency.

Directing his comments to critics of choice, Bolick (1992) suggests "the educational reform and social engineering efforts of the past three decades have failed completely to improve educational opportunities for the students who need them the most" (p.34). Former President Bush, David Kearns, Lamar Alexander, and others who pioneered the choice movement are convinced choice works. They argue that by definition, it expands educational opportunities and creates competitive incentives for improvement (Sculley, 1990; Kearns & Doyle, 1988). Only choice has the potential to cure what appears to be the core problem of education today, particularly in large urban school systems--bloated, inefficient educational bureaucracies that are more responsive to special interest political pressures than to the needs and desires of the clients--the parents (Bolick, 1992; Doyle, 1991; Sculley, 1990). Only by transferring the primary power over education from bureaucrats to parents can this nation move expeditiously toward a system in which basic educational opportunities are available to everyone (Bolick, 1992).

Opposition to Choice

Equalling the fervor of those who support the social, political, and economic advantages of choice, those who oppose choice suggest it is a strategy fraught with social, political, and economic inequities. Beginning with the pro-choice premise that education in this nation is in

a general state of decline, Bracey (1992) argues there is no real evidence that the educational system has ever worked any better. In fact, Schlechty (1990) notes there are more good schools today than at any other time in our history. This is, of course, not to say the system works perfectly nor to deny that it could--and perhaps should work better. But, most who oppose choice, deny that education in America is in the dismal condition delineated by the Bush and Reagan administrations (Bracey, 1992; 1991; Cremin, 1991).

Bracey (1992), Howe (1992), and Schlechty (1990) go so far as to suggest drop out rates, test scores, expenditures, and other indicators so often used to illustrate the failure of education, are, in fact, not nearly as negative as is often reported. American schools continue to provide a high quality--and in many ways vastly more sophisticated, education to the type student they have traditionally served (Schlechty, 1990). And, in some cases, are providing expanded services to large numbers of students previously excluded from the system (Bracey, 1992).

Visualizing public education from a more liberal posture, opponents of choice report that contrary to most perceptions, high school completion rates are at an all time high (U.S. Department of Education, 1988). For example, the number of 17-year olds completing high school rose from 10 percent in 1910 to about 75 percent in 1965 and has remained relatively constant since (U.S. Department of Education, 1988). Bracey (1991) points out this figure is raised to 83 percent when the General Equivalency Diploma figures are added. Representing the flexibility of the U.S. reentry system that allow people to return to complete their high school careers, the U. S. Department of Education reported that in 1986 91 percent of the class of 1980 had obtained a high school diploma.

In contrast to the figures choice advocates put forth as evidence of failure, Bracey (1992) argues if completion rates are high, the dropout rate must be low. He points out that based on figures released by the U.S. Department of Education (1988), they are. Moreover, Bracey (1992)

suggests it is declining for all ethnic groups except Hispanics, for whom it is stable. Although the stereotype of dropouts is low-achieving inner city minority youth, 66 percent of dropouts are white, 42 percent come from suburban high schools, and 71 percent never repeat a grade (Bracey, 1992).

Current educational reforms are, in part, predicated upon the notion that higher completion rates don't prove much if functionally illiterate students are being awarded diplomas based on a system of grade inflation and social promotion (Sculley, 1990; Kearns & Doyle, 1988). But, again, Bracey (1992) notes scores on achievement tests--the National Assessment of Educational Progress and the Scholastic Aptitude Test, don't necessarily support this notion. While it is true that standardized test scores during the 1960s and early 1970s, were indeed lower, test scores have recently begun to improve (Bracey, 1992; Chira, 1992; Singal, 1991). By 1986, some had attained 30-year highs, and scores have continued to rise since (Bracey, 1992). According to Herbert Rudman, a professor of educational psychology at Michigan State University, and co-author of the SAT for more than three decades, American children have made significant gains in their test performance. Bracey (1992) and Signal (1991) caution such gains cannot and must not be explained on the strength of charges that schools are aligning curricula with tests or otherwise cheating.

Results from the 1990 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) similarly used to rebut the notion of a nation in education decline. Except for those of 17-year-olds on science assessments, NAEP scores have remained remarkably stable since 1969. Science scores for older students declined from 1969 to 1982 and have recovered about half their decline since. As for reading and math, the 1990 NAEP publication Accelerating Math Achievement reports: "Across all three ages (9, 13 and 17), overall reading performance in 1988 was as good, if not slightly better, than it was nearly two decades earlier. In 1986, mathematics had changed very little from the levels achieved in 1973." Bracey (1992) and

Chira (1992) suggest this picture of stable or improving test scores becomes still brighter when the issue of a broader range of students who now take these tests is taken into account. Consider, for example, the single most relied upon academic measure is the SAT. The standards for this test were established in 1941 and a score of 500 on the verbal in 1991 means the same thing it meant in 1941 (Chira, 1992; Bracey, 1991; Signal, 1991). Thus, if students taking the test in 1991 had the same demographic characteristics as those of 1941, changes could be attributed to educational factors (Bracey, 1992). However, on either side of the debate, there is recognition that demographics have drastically changed (Chira, 1992; Kozol, 1991).

For example, in 1941 just over 10,000 students showed up to take the test. This group, primarily from the northeast, was largely male, white, and set to enter Ivy League and other private colleges (Bracey, 1992). They constituted by any measure an elite group (Kozol, 1991; Signal, 1991). In 1990, just over 1,000,000 seniors (about 42 percent of all high school seniors) took the SAT (Bracey, 1992). Representing a more diverse population, about 27 percent were from minority groups, 17 percent had family incomes of less than \$20,000, 52 percent were female, and 18 percent reported average high school grades of C or worse (Bracey, 1992; Chira, 1992).

Because of the lack of precise data on the 1941 group, perfect comparisons with the 1991 group are impossible. However, for the group that most approximates the 1941 group--white students who come from homes where at least one parent has a bachelors degree, there is a decline of about 30 points in SAT Verbal Scores and 7 points on the SAT Math since 1963 (Bracey, 1992; 1991).

Acknowledging that average SAT scores are often misleading, critics point to a decline in the percentage of students scoring at the highest levels of the SAT (Chira, 1992; Bracey, 1991). While only 1 percent of males and 1 percent of females score between 700 and 800 on the SAT Verbal

(2 percent of the 1941 group would have scored this high), fully 7 percent of males and 2 percent of females scored above 700 on the SAT math (Bracey, 1992).

Beyond citing academic failures, choice advocates often suggest we ought to be getting better performance from our schools, our teachers, and our students because education spending has soared (Doyle, 1991; Kearns & Doyle, 1988). But, as Kozol (1991) points out the facts don't support this premise. According to Educational Digest (1991), the U.S. spends only 3.6 percent of its Gross National Product on education, down from 4.2 percent in 1970. A recent study shows that the U. S. enrolls the greatest number of students and spends less of its resources on education than 11 out of 15 economically advanced nations (Eitzen, 1992; Bluestone & Harrison, 1983). Bracey (1992) suggests in order to obtain a true figure of the cost of education, we need to separate the cost of regular education from those of special education, keeping in mind that 12 percent of all students are enrolled in federally funded special education programs. Recent estimates of costs of special education programs vary from a low of \$9,600 per pupil to a high (and probably more accurate) \$17,600 (Educational Digest, 1991; Bracey, 1991). Using this latter figure and constant 1988 dollars, the cost of regular education has not risen dramatically in the last 25 years (Bracey, 1991; Kozol, 1991). In 1960, for example, the per pupil cost of education for regular education students was about \$1,800 in 1988 dollars. By 1988, it had climbed to only \$2,500 (Bracey, 1992).

From the corporate sector we hear the argument that U.S. students can not compete scholastically with foreign (particularly Japanese and European) students (Doyle, 1992; Sculley, 1990; Kearns & Doyle, 1988). Again, Bracey (1992) and, to some degree, Kozol (1991) argue that the most of the international comparisons to date are meaningless. This argument is predicated on the realization that the kids themselves are not the same, demographically, socially, attitudinally, or economically (Chira,

1992; Kozol, 1991). The real fault with such comparisons, according to Bracey (1992) and Kozol (1991), is that while most American students stay in school 12 years, many students in foreign countries have completed their formal education by age 13.

Cremin (1988) has offered perhaps the most incisive response to charges from the corporate sector regarding the status of U.S. productivity and economic competitiveness:

American economic competitiveness with Japan and other nations is to a considerable degree a function of monetary, trade, and industrial policy, and the decision made by the President and Congress, the Federal Reserve Board, and the federal departments of the Treasury and Commerce and Labor. Therefore, to contend that problems of international competitiveness can be solved by educational reform, especially educational reform defined solely as school reform, is not merely utopian and millennialist, it is at best foolish and at worst a crass effort to direct attention away from those truly responsible for doing something about competitiveness and to lay the burden on the schools. It is a device that has been used repeatedly in the history of American education (p.32).

Among the most outspoken critics of choice, Kozol (1991) and Howe (1991) express their concerns about the increased involvement of the U.S. Government in education and about what they view as glaring inequities that will most certainly occur as a result of choice. Howe (1991), for example, points out that while the current strategies for educational reform purport to leave significant decisions about education to individual schools, it enlists the full influence of the U.S. Presidency in a major push for educational change. He warns that the disingenuous message society is being given about the limited role of federal government in schooling is belied by the pressures already being placed on school curricula, on assessment, on teaching practices, and on school organization and management. Howe (1991) and Kozol (1991) both argue that current strategies, including choice, are nothing more than a move on the part of federal government to exert a powerful force in the affairs of schools, and to exert that force such that it will reflect the ideology of the dominant political voice.

Howe (1991) identifies three reasons why choice as a central strategy for school improvement generates such controversy. First, even in the face of some trial efforts, very little is known about how choice works and what its effects may be in given situations. Second, much of the literature about choice is based on the unproved theoretical argument that schools are currently ineffective and that choice will provide needed improvements. Third, regardless of one's position regarding the choice debate, most of the points made about choice are ideological rather than empirical.

Recognizing that ideology is a critical driving force behind choice, Kozol (1991) sees choice as nothing more than an opportunity for the politically conservative sector of this society to create two separate school systems. One would be a well funded public, private and parochial system serving primarily white, middle class, and largely suburban students. The other will be a minimally funded public school system serving largely urban, poor minority students (Goodlad, 1992). According to Goodlad (1992) and Tye (1992), choice will provide the impetus for allowing parents to avoid the inclusive nature of public schooling. It offers a strategy for ignoring the concern about the common good and allowing those with capital (money or knowledge) to ensure that their children are well taken care of by the system (Tye, 1992).

Kozol (1991), Jencks (1991) and others note that beyond a lot of rhetoric about equality of opportunity, most parents, in fact, seek for their children a more equal chance of success. Translating to competition, this means essentially that they want others, not necessarily all others, to have less than equal success. Citing health care, they argue, for example, that where most wealthy or affluent people clearly want to provide for their children something better than just an equal chance of being born alive and healthy, they have so apportioned health care resources to assure this (Kozol, 1991). So to will be the case in

education if choice becomes the guiding principle (Kozol, 1991; Jencks, 1991).

It should be noted that this is not intended to suggest that Tye, Goodlad, Kozol, Howe, and others who oppose choice do not recognize or acknowledge the changing global picture. Indeed, Schlechty (1990) notes that in the information based society--more so than either the agricultural society from which U.S. education was initially structured, or the industrial society which education came to serve--access to knowledge and the ability to use it will be critical determinants of an individuals success. Today's students who learn through their educational process to manipulate symbols, internalize and deal with ideas (abstract and concrete), and solve problems, will clearly be in a much better position to benefit from the opportunities made available by technological advances than will be the less well educated (Kozol, 1991; Schlechty, 1990)

Yet, at the same time, choice critics believe that reforms should and must be implemented on the basis of this society's founding principles--namely equality (Goodlad, 1992; Kozol, 1991; Howe, 1991). Overtly, Americans espouse an abhorrent view of the notion of a social order in which economic privilege and political power are determined by hereditary class (Kozol, 1991). Educational policy has long been predicated upon the "American Dream" wherein society promises every child fair and equal access to formal education (Ballentine, 1989). In this context, most politicians, citizens, and business executives will openly characterize ours as a society in which family wealth has no relation to the probability of future educational attainment and the wealth and station it affords (Kozol, 1991). Congruently, most will agree education offered to poor children should be at least as good as that which is provided to the children of the upper class (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985).

For the most part those who oppose choice believe that America's schools today are promising institutions upon which to build the schools

of tomorrow, and that they are being unfairly trashed by most school reform studies that seek to provide justification for competition and choice (Howe, 1992). Quoting from Cremin's (1991) last work, the fundamental argument of the anti-choice movement can be summarized in his few words:

If there is a crisis in American schooling, it is not the crisis of punitive mediocrity and decline charged by recent reports, but rather the crisis inherent in balancing the tremendous variety of demands Americans have made upon their schools and colleges (p.11).

In this context, Schlechty (1990) notes that the schools today are expected to take on tasks that they have never previously been held responsible for. For example, schools have never before been expected to serve such a diverse population (Kozol, 1991). And, never before have they been expected to teach all children "high order thinking skills" and what Peter Drucker (1987) calls "knowledge work"--work that requires one to use ideas, symbols, abstractions, and theories. In fact, during the 1920s and 1930s officials from agencies like the Carnegie Corporation, and university deans were more concerned that schools were trying to educate too many students too well than that they were educating too many too poorly (Schlechty, 1990). During the 1920s leaders assumed that excellent education should be reserved for the relatively few who, as the saying went, "had an aptitude for such learning" (Schlechty, 1990). Today, schools are expected to develop aptitudes, as opposed to simply identifying them (Schlechty, 1990; Drucker, 1987).

Beyond concerns about the failure of education to teach all children to read, write, and cipher, the fundamental issue today is centered on the ability of schools to prepare all of this nation's children to function effectively in the world of ideas (Schlechty, 1990). Education into the 21st century must prepare America's youth to think culturally and creatively, it must prepare them to be lifelong learners. In sum, schools must prepare students for a life of information based knowledge--a society in which they now live and in which they will be required to function as adults (Kozol, 1991). According to Kozol (1991), choice as it is being

sold to the American public will only accomplish this task for the privileged few.

WHAT DOES CHOICE PROMOTE: A SOCIO-POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION

Historically, few educational reform movements have sparked a more intense public debate than has educational choice (Cookson, 1992; Chubb & Moe, 1991; Kozol, 1991). There is clearly a socio-political and educational context for this debate (Cohen, 1991; Witte, 1991; Chubb & Moe, 1990; Liston, 1988; Hargreaves, 1982) as well as a related ideological and philosophical subtext (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985; Musgrave, 1987; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1981). In terms of its socio-political and educational context, this debate is primarily about school improvement (Chubb & Moe, 1990; Apple, 1990): how to effectively produce results that will satisfy the stakeholders; and, how to successfully gather and maintain the commitments and resources needed to sustain the educational system in the pursuit of its purpose (Chubb & Moe, 1990). The ideological philosophical subtext is about values, identity, and freedom (Cookson, 1992; Apple, 1990; Schlechty, 1990), about who will control the educational agenda, about what that agenda promotes, and about who, as students and participants in that agenda, will lead this nation into the next century.

A Socio-political and Educational Context

Characteristic of its position on most public issues in recent history, the neo-conservative, rightward focused coalition has seized the initiative and put the more liberal, left, and progressives on the defensive, politically, economically, and socially (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). The legitimacy of their argument concerning education rests not just with the realization that conservatism has emerged as the dominant ideological approach, but also with the recognition that this approach has been structured to correspond with actual and existing situations (Cookson, 1992; Burbules, 1992; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). The neo-

conservatives' strength lies, largely, in their bold invocation of morality in education, in their apparent belief that they know what truth and the supposed good life really are, and in their ability to speak the language of possibility even as they appropriate the left's critique of contemporary education (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). As noted by Aronowitz and Giroux (1985): "neo-conservatives have joined radical critics in announcing that the schools have failed to educate, a perception shared by most parents, teachers, and administrators" (p.12). With this announcement, they have coupled their point with a clear analysis of the causes and a program for curing the affliction.

Not a particularly original analysis, the neo-conservative coalition has gained additional legitimacy and strength from the more radical critics who maintain that schooling is merely an adjunct to the labor market (Bracey, 1992), and who criticize public schools for failing to fulfill this important function (Cookson, 1992; Kearns & Doyle, 1988; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). With few exceptions, they advocate and encourage the abandonment of the traditional liberal view that education is responsible for transmitting western culture and intellectual traditions (Procter, 1991; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). In its place, they have revived the 1960s radical notion that today's education is not relevant to student lives, particularly to student lives into the next century (Procter, 1991; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). In the context of the current widespread concern about one's place in the rapidly changing job market, relevance has become synonymous with job preparation (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1981). Yet, while most jobs, today, require literacy, and skills for specialized employment, few employers require from job applicants mastery or even familiarity with the literary canon, the arts, and music (Eitzen & Zinn, 1989; Kolberg, 1991). Moreover, there is increasingly less demand among employers for knowledge of history and the social sciences (Kolberg, 1991). Rallying around the catch phrase of the 1980s, neo-conservatives are demanding "excellence" (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985).

Literally translated, excellence means that schools should offer a more rigorous science and mathematics curriculum, a curriculum that will advance the market economy, and that will provide workers who can ensure this nation's ability to compete in the global economy (Kolberg, 1991; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). Pursuant to the notion that the mastery of techniques is equivalent to progress, the conservative language of achievement, excellence, discipline, and goal orientation translates to vocational education or in the most traditional conservative manner, a return to the characteristically authoritarian classrooms equipped with the three Rs (Kolberg, 1991).

The remnants of the left are, today, primarily organized around journals, magazines and academic publications (Giroux, 1989; Blumenthal, 1986). The few remaining counter institutions exist, today, as alternative schools (Chubb & Moe, 1990). During the past decades, the left has focused little political attention to the establishment of cultural sites where people who share a common language, set of problems, and cultural experiences can come to argue, to learn, and to interact collectively to transform their lives and the society as a whole (Blumenthal, 1986; Shor, 1986; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1981).

The obstacles inhibiting the development of alternative approaches are numerous (Blumenthal, 1986). The media, the power of the corporate sector, the culture industry, and, most recently, the government all currently function to keep oppositional groups on the defensive (Chubb & Moe, 1990; Shor & Freire, 1986). Given the limits imposed by their defensive posture, it has become increasingly difficult to establish a new or revised liberal agenda. In its place, we appear to be in the midst of an agenda built largely upon the notion that student centered education has, in part, destroyed the ability of the schools to help the economy as well as its workers to survive and function in the ever changing market economy--an agenda fraught with neo-marxism, espousing competition and choice (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985).

It is interesting to note that the ascendancy of the conservative agenda has, in large measure, been kindled by the success of the educational movements of the 1960s (Ballentine, 1989; Blumenthal, 1986). Primarily serving two purposes, these movements focused on preparing black and other minority students for the job market, and on changing the relations of power within the schools (Ballentine, 1989; Giroux, 1981). The latter focused, largely, on transferring curriculum determination and administrative authority--from teachers and administrators to parents and students (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985; Apple, 1983). Providing the basis and the rationale for these movements, the traditional liberal arts curriculums were constantly being criticized as culturally biased, thus incapable of preparing minorities for the job market (Eitzen & Zinn, 1989; Ballentine, 1983; Blumenthal, 1986). At the same time, because intelligence and achievement tests were based on knowledge that presupposed the "middle class" culture, and in general disregarded the disenfranchised minorities, grades and testing were scrapped by some elementary and secondary schools and, perhaps more importantly, were significantly devalued by many as measures of achievement (Shor & Freire, 1986; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985; Apple, 1983).

It was during this period that the fundamental impetus for educational reform, regarding how to help the excluded become part of the larger economic picture, emerged (Blumenthal, 1986). The widespread assumption among education critics was that the leveling function of the school remained unfulfilled as long as minorities and women were excluded from the upward mobility tracts that were more readily available to white men (Kozol, 1991; Apple, 1990; Shor & Freire, 1986; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). In their attempts to change this situation, their focus on education was based on the perception that because institutions of education were public, they were somewhat more controllable than the economic establishment (Giroux & Simon, 1989; Blumenthal, 1986; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985).

Paralleling their attempts to transform schools, the 1960s movements also sought to alter the restrictive policies of unions and corporations (Blumenthal, 1986). In so doing, they sought to bring minorities and women into the working class (Saha, 1991; Blumenthal, 1986). Beyond attainment of just the working class status, 1960s reformers also sought management and professional opportunities for all members of society, and looked to the education arena as the principle strategy to get them there (Apple, 1990; Ballentine, 1989; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1981). In this context, the schools were targeted as instruments of social and class mobility (Shor & Freire, 1986; Blumenthal, 1986).

However, based on their presumption that curriculum should be explicated relative to the labor market, reformers of this era did not question (save for the issues of class, gender, and race) the external and internal orientation of school knowledge (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). Rather, the key issue for the heretofore disenfranchised groups was about political power in schools, such as who could hire and fire the administrators, teachers, and other staff (Giroux & Simon, 1989; Shor & Freire, 1986). To wit, in 1968 the conflict between radical nationalists, school authorities, the unions, and liberal politicians culminated in a teachers strike over whether, and to what extent, the community should exercise power within the system (Blumenthal, 1986). Advocates of community control assumed that if they had power over employment in the schools, the rest, the complete control of the school, would follow (Shor & Freire, 1986). They made no profound critique of the existing curriculum, just who would implement it (Giroux & Simon, 1989).

One of the most significant victories of the 1960s educational reforms was open admissions (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). Within the guidelines of this Affirmative Action policy, minorities, women, and members of other disenfranchised groups who graduated from high school could attend postsecondary schools regardless of his/her grades or test scores (Blumenthal, 1986). While this approach did not lead to complete

democratization of higher education (because reformers did not demand integration at all levels of the academic system), it did result in a sharp rise in college enrollments, in vocational programs, and particularly in community colleges (Freire, 1972; Finn & Johnson, 1982). It also resulted in the wholesale creation of an entirely new level of education, what Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) refer to as the second tier public liberal arts colleges.

However, the gains were tempered somewhat when the Carnegie Foundation and other major institutional leaders among the elite institutions of higher education found a way to shield themselves from the open admissions policy (Giroux & Simon, 1989). For example, New York's City University Chancellor William Bowker, later president of the University of California at Berkeley, took measures to ensure that open admissions would not weaken the academic standards at Queens, Hunter, and other targeted top level city colleges (Giroux & Simon, 1989; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). He initiated the organization and establishment of new campuses as "open enrollment" institutions (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). While open enrollment provided an avenue and opened a new era for those historically left out of college, it also reinforced the hierarchial character of higher education (Ballentine, 1989; Blumenthal, 1986; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1981).

Pursuant to the philosophical beliefs that underlie this action, today's neo-conservative reformers also appear to be less concerned with fulfilling the American dream of social equality (Blumenthal, 1986). For them, the 1960s quest for an educational system that sought to balance the social order is beside the point (Giroux & Simon, 1989). Their major concern is with the changing world economy, the new international division of labor, and how this society can compete (Sculley, 1990; Kearns & Doyle, 1988). As information equipment (i.e., computers, video display terminals, etc.) becomes increasingly innovative, resulting in a plethora of new computer and software producing companies, and as the innovations are

integrated in increasing numbers into the work place, their concerns are equally focused on whether schools can meet the demands of the information intensive society (Marshall, 1992; Giroux, 1981).

In essence, the education debate has come full circle. Today's neo-conservatives, accepting the radical critique of the liberal view that schools are democratizing institutions, are embracing their function as suppliers of human capital (Apple, 1990; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). Their argument is relatively simple. To the extent that schools function as subordinate, yet vital instruments to the corporate capitalist order, they must be completely restructured (Schlechty, 1990; Giroux & Simon, 1989). In so doing, conservatives argue that the heretofore arms length relationship between schools and business must cease (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). They contend that educators need to remove themselves from the ivory towers and begin a new period of collaboration with employers throughout the business and corporate sectors (Apple, 1990). Through the explicit merging of both school and corporate interests, school administrators, policy makers, and faculty can discuss what outcomes employers require (Kearns & Doyle, 1988). This, they suggest, will eliminate the production of yet another generation of credentialized workers who possess irrelevant skills (Marshall, 1992; Sculley, 1990; Kearns & Doyle, 1988).

Conservatives seek the establishment of an educational system that will provide a curriculum to fit the short and long range business prospects and interests (Giroux & Simon, 1989; Kearns & Doyle, 1988). To the extent that schools have been training facilities masked as purveyors of the western intellectual tradition, they argue it is time to remove the mask and get down to the business of American education--specifically, business--more specifically, the production of cultural capital that will ensure an ongoing marketplace economy (Schlechty, 1990; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985).

An Ideological and Philosophical Subtext

The ideological posture and material practices that support the dominant group further the interests of the ongoing conservative agenda. Increasingly, during the past two decades, this nation has become a credentialized society (Collins, 1977). While a degree or certificate may not train labor to better perform job tasks (even in the professions such as medicine, engineering, and the law, most knowledge is acquired by performing tasks at the workplace), the educational credential has become a prerequisite for employment, a sign that a particular process of formation has taken place (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), completion of a prescribed educational course signifies existence and availability of cultural capital. However, the educationally credentialed (professionals and subprofessionals), most of whom are engaged in some form of wage labor, cannot achieve job security in an economy that is characterized by technological revolution, mergers, rapid-fire business starts, and massive regional and global shifts in capital location (Bourdieu, 1973). These changes have necessitated increased mobility among, both, the intellectual and the manual laborer (Sculley, 1991; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1981). For either, the acquisition of cultural capital in the form of an educational credential has become a code of legitimate formation--the recognition that an individual has gone through a process of educational socialization constituting adequate preparation of occupational status (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1981). For the employer it means essentially that the applicant has endured or at least recognized the rituals of initiation into the historically evolved occupations (Collins, 1977).

Today's more complex educational system has moved society beyond the craft and professional traditions that once identified one's position in the workplace, indeed, in the status hierarchy (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). Since these traditions of recognition were virtually eliminated by industrialization, the issue would become how to determine the

qualifications of a given worker for a job (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1981). Consider that for much of the first half of this century, the journeyman's card provided adequate credentials for the crafts. State certification was added via examinations, most of which were written by those whose own professional formation was obtained through reading law, assisting senior physicians or working for a self employed professional (usually civil) engineer (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). However, as labor became increasingly mobile, following the movement of industrial capital, a new mechanism had to be found to assure employers of both the technical and the more important social competence of prospective employees (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1981). The growth of the educational system as the principal mechanism for producing a credentialized labor force corresponds to the rationalization of production and its concomitant bureaucratization (Eitzen & Zinn, 1989; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). It was to be the objective criterion that would replace the tradition of certifying competence on the basis of impersonal evaluation (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985).

As education became the mechanism for producing cultural capital, the passing of the self-made person, the autodidact who gained fame and riches by entirely individual means, began to diminish (Giroux, 1981). Today, the term self-made suggests an individual's ability to maneuver and advance within a fairly well established corporate or bureaucratic hierarchy (Eitzen & Zinn, 1989; Bourdieu, 1973). However, it is argued by some that specific credentials are being overproduced, that there is no correlation between the degree and obtaining a particular job (Kozol, 1990). The degree, as noted above, is merely a rite of passage, a prerequisite, a sign of social, political, and occupationally correct formation. An individual's worth is increasingly measured by the place of one's social position, subsequently by the place of one's educational institution (most often selected on the basis of his or her social

position) in the academic hierarchy and his or her place within the school (Kozol, 1990; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1981).

Implicit to the rhetoric of the choice agenda, even these prerequisites by themselves are no longer sufficient to ensure placement. One's position in the job market becomes the responsibility of individual initiative. In this context, the reproduction of the ideology of status is made necessary, not by the facts of the academically linked labor market, but by the specific trait of American ideology--individualism (Apple, 1983). In contrast to many western European countries where students move through a centralized educational system with a sense of collective fate, American schools are not only localized, but the distinction between public and private is built into the status hierarchy (Giroux, 1981). Moreover, the grading system and the stress on individual achievement reproduces an ideology in which the student experiences his or her difference from all others (Apple, 1983). The two main points of distinction are presumed intelligence and the values placed upon hard work (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). In either case, students and, increasingly more so, parents are being encouraged to internalize their own responsibility for success or failure.

Beyond the production of cultural capital, the educational system performs a second vital function: it reproduces the ideology of opportunity (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985). This is not intended to suggest that ideology is merely a false consciousness. Rather, cognizant that credentials are necessary requisites to bureaucratic and technical job positions, they also suggest important knowledge for a system in which knowledge is viewed as capital (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1981). Attaining a degree or other educational credentials presupposes possession of this cultural capital (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985).

In America, ideology has long linked the struggle for social justice to economic and institutional expansion (Plamenatz, 1970). As noted in Chapter IV, Americans historically tend to equate equity with equality of

opportunity. The argument is essentially that only if the system grows can the excluded demand and obtain access to credentials, jobs, and other cultural capital necessary to enter and function in the labor market on a more desirable level (Procter, 1991). However, during periods of economic downturn (which in this society is typically fueled by more conservative ideologies that tend to legitimize exclusion using biological or cultural arguments that place responsibility on the individual) the discourses of exclusion subordinate the discourses of cultural and economic justice (Blumenthal, 1986).

For much of the previous two decades and continuing today, society is undergoing such a period. Society appears to be in the midst of a self conscious period where, on the one hand, man seems troubled by the paradox of his achievements, and, on the other, he is perplexed by his apparent ineptitude (Procter, 1991). Relative to the latter, society must be mindful of the tendency of one institution (in this case business and corporate sectors) to blame other institutions (such as education) for the loss of high paying jobs or for the inability to compete globally in the marketplace. Society must look beyond the rhetoric about a failed educational system for answers. It must also look to the corporate sectors to determine the motives for choice. Without more indepth exploration into these motives, without more critical interpretation and understanding of what choice seeks to accomplish relative to the structure and function of education, choice as a key strategy for educational improvement will continue to generate more controversy than solution.

CHAPTER V

NATIONAL AND STATEWIDE CHOICE AGENDAS

Among the key characteristics of choice is the ability to shop for education in much the same way one shops for a new car or some other needed commodity (Boyer, 1992; Schlechty, 1990). As part of the strategy intended to "break the mold" of existing schools, choice is being acclaimed as an essential component of this nation's agenda to restructure the rules, roles, and relationships that characterize education so that schools can serve existing purposes more effectively or serve new purposes altogether (Boyer, 1992; Chubb & Moe, 1990).

Opposition notwithstanding, advocates of choice continue to aggressively promote choice as needed educational reform that can only come about by "sweeping away the old and replacing it with the new" (Chubb & Moe, 1990). Amidst concerns raised about selection and resegregation as products of choice, choice has moved to the top of the educational agenda (Boyer, 1992). Consider, for example, during the recent presidential campaign, all three major candidates affirmed the virtues of choice (Boyer, 1992). According to a recent Carnegie Foundation Report (1992), thirteen states have approved choice strategies, and proposals are being considered in other statehouses across the nation. As of February 1993, 42 states have considered, introduced, or enacted some kind of choice legislation (Uchitelle, 1993).

This Chapter will highlight the nation's districtwide, statewide, and private school choice programs. Focusing on the state of Florida, a naturalistic setting where choice is both part of the political agenda and, in some districts, part of the strategy for education, This chapter will also explicate Florida's choice agenda. Finally, on the strength of this author's field experience, it will focus on a single Florida school district--to more closely explore the occurrence of choice.

EDUCATIONAL CHOICE: A STATEWIDE OVERVIEW

In 1986, the National Governors' Association joined the ranks of those calling for school choice (Carnegie Foundation, 1992). According to

this gubernatorial body, "schools that compete for students, teachers, and dollars will, by virtue of their environment, make those changes that allow them to succeed" (Chubb & Moe, 1990). Across the nation, choice plans have been, and are being, initiated in different ways. Some programs have been developed out of the need to rectify historic patterns of racial segregation--with choice emerging as an essential part of the solution. Others were created by teachers who sought to involve children and engage parents in their children's education. Some were developed by principals and other school administrators who were dissatisfied with the existing programs. And, still others come from state initiatives, in response to the national agenda on education (Uchitelle, 1993; Carnegie Foundation, 1992).

In 1987 Minnesota became the first state to grant students the right to attend virtually any school in the state for any reason. Twelve other states have followed, each permitting students far greater freedom to choose schools outside their resident district (Carnegie Foundation, 1992). Minnesota, Arkansas, Idaho, Iowa, Massachusetts, Nebraska, and Utah all have implemented comprehensive choice programs. Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Oregon, and Washington have all implemented more restrictive choice programs (Carnegie Foundation, 1992). Currently, considering choice are Alaska, North Dakota, and Virginia; and, beginning with the 1993-94 school year, every school district in Michigan with more than one school at a grade level must develop and implement a "schools of choice" plan. Failure to do so will result in lost state funding. Ohio, currently permits transfers between bordering districts, and requires each of its districts to develop a choice policy by the 1993-94 school year (Carnegie Foundation, 1992).

The Carnegie Foundation (1992) as part of its study on "The Advancement of Teaching, Survey of Chief State Officers", has assembled a state by state update of each state's choice agenda (Appendix B). The choice plans highlighted here are only a few among the many that are

currently operating. They are cited because they have been in existence for a minimum of three to five years and because they represent the different kinds of choice programs, thus providing the reader with a perspective on the various alternatives that exist.

The Minnesota Experience

Perhaps the most extensive options for choice are found in the state of Minnesota. This state has enacted legislation that opened the door to postsecondary enrollment options for high school students, open enrollment across district boundaries, area learning centers, and some public/private transportation opportunities (Paulu, 1989). Minnesota legislation, in effect, declares that school choice belongs to families, and the law establishes standard guidelines to encourage choice opportunities (Uchitelle, 1993). Legislation allows students in the public sector to attend any school they are interested in if they have transportation to the school and there is space. In 1987-1988 the school choice option was implemented giving Minnesota secondary students the opportunity to enroll in alternative schools, special classes in other school districts, college courses at local institutions, and some specific centers of learning for special students (Snider, 1989). The only criteria was that the transfer does not disrupt the racial balance of either the sending or the receiving school and that there is space in the receiving school (Uchitelle, 1993).

Minneapolis and St. Paul are two communities that have taken the greatest advantage of this statewide initiative. With its extensive magnet school program, St. Paul has about 55 of its schools involved at the elementary, middle school, and high school levels. Students may attend their neighborhood school or apply to attend a magnet school. In some cases the neighborhood school may be the magnet school. Students who live in a magnet school attendance area are given preference if they choose to attend that school. Some magnets are citywide and do not have an attendance area (Uchitelle, 1993; Snider, 1989).

Begun in 1969-1970, the city of Minneapolis has a smaller school choice program. Called the South East Alternatives, the project involves community and school staff in planning a system of alternative elementary schools located in the southeast neighborhood of Minneapolis. The alternatives include a traditional, open, continuous progress, and free school (Boyer, 1992; Snider, 1989). It is important to note that the South East Alternatives was initiated as a choice program, not as a desegregation program. However, when the district began to desegregate in 1973, the South East program became the model for the choice program used to facilitate desegregation (Uchitelle, 1993).

Initially, school districts across Minnesota could volunteer to participate in the State's choice agenda (Levin, 1990). By 1990 State legislation required every school district in the state to allow parents and students choice regarding the particular school, in whatever district they desired to attend (Uchitelle, 1993). A key incentive often used to sell the choice idea to parents, the state per-pupil funding follows the student to the receiving district (Chubb & Moe, 1990).

Today, approximately ten to fifteen percent of the students who comprise the Minneapolis School District participate (at some level) in the district's choice agenda (Carnegie Foundation, 1992). Statewide, however, less than 2 percent (13,000) Minnesota's total student population (749,000) participate in the state's choice plan (Uchitelle, 1993).

Exploring the effectiveness of Minnesota's choice plan, there is preliminary evidence to support both sides of the debate. For example, several of the state's smaller, more rural districts, in order to compete for students and education dollars, have established some of this nation's first rural magnet schools specializing in math, science, and technology (Rubenstein, 1992). One such school has become a science magnet center currently housing a thirty-terminal computer lab and a hands-on environmental science lab targeting students from the kindergarten level through sixth grade (Smetanka, 1991). On the strength of this magnet

center, indeed, according to choice advocates, on the strength of this district's ability to compete, in excess of sixty students from other communities travel (by bus) more than an hour to attend this farm community school (Rubenstein, 1992).

District administrators report that this program in and of itself is not the only factor attracting students from neighboring communities. Rather, emphasizing the rhetoric of choice advocates, they cite exemplary leadership, and generous outside funding as largely responsible for transforming a traditional elementary school to a well-equipped science magnet center (Procter, 1992). The school received a \$15,000 federal grant and another \$17,000 from the University of Minnesota's Center for School Change, enabling special science training for teachers (Rubenstein, 1992). While these monies and the subsequent training led to the school's outdoor environmental science curriculum (Rubenstein, 1992), of equal importance, was the effective leadership of the district superintendent and the school principal (Procter, 1992).

Near the Iowa border, another rural district reportedly has attracted 56 of its 406 students from neighboring districts (Uchitelle, 1993). According to the 56 students and their parents, the attraction is centered around creative, caring school leaders, solid community backing for education, special programs for high school students with reading problems, a deep commitment to values education in the elementary grades, and restructured class periods allowing students time for one-on-one instruction with any teacher (Smetanka, 1991).

The metropolitan St. Paul School District also reports some success from its choice initiative. According to the Carnegie Foundation (1992), the St. Paul School District aggressively markets itself with ads and brochures, and has gained in excess of one hundred students from nearby districts and parochial schools. Administrators and school officials are committed to the belief that the overall academic quality, particularly the International Baccalaureate program featuring language and liberal

arts studies, are largely responsible for the success of this magnet program (Uchitelle, 1993).

Just as these instances are cited as evidence suggesting choice is working, there are specific instances to suggest that the choice program in Minnesota is not as successful as citizens are led to believe. Focusing, largely, on the economic impact of choice, 22 percent of the state's superintendents report that choice would have a profoundly negative impact on their district's finances (Rubenstein, 1992). Highlighting this impact, the Carnegie Foundation (1992) reports that 239 students in a neighboring community have been lost to an adjacent district, about a ten-minute drive away. With these 239 students went approximately \$838,000 in state aid. The reason given for the movement of these students is that the high school in the receiving district has more resources; subsequently it has more facilities and course offerings (computer labs, a music library, and a gym replete with more than one hundred state and regional championship flags) than does its small town neighbor. According to school officials from the district that lost the 239 students, it is difficult to imagine how our district can compete successfully, without resources (Rubenstein, 1992). Taking this argument a step further, anti-choice advocates voice concern that without adequate resources not only is the school unable to compete, but the student whose parents lack the social and economic resources to enroll their children in the better equipped, more academically advanced school are also discriminated against by a system that would allow competition to determine educational opportunity (Kozol, 1993).

In another instance, a district located about thirty-five miles south of the Twin Cities has lost about sixty students to a nearby district. With these students needed educational dollars have been lost. However, according to the superintendent, 90 percent of the reasons parents give for sending their children to the neighboring district have little to do with either the quality of programs or the availability of

resources, and much to do with the availability of day care and the fact that the receiving district is conveniently located to their daily commute to the Twin Cities (Procter, 1992; Rubenstein, 1992). Echoing this argument, the superintendent of a 33,000 student school district, reports that virtually all of the several hundred transfer requests handled by his office list convenience and location, rather than quality of education at a given school as the reason for transfer (Procter, 1992). While many parents apparently base their school choice decisions on factors that have little if anything to do with quality of education, they will often use the freedom to choose to make unreasonable demands (Rubenstein, 1992). In one instance, a straight-A student and star athlete who wanted to play interscholastic hockey in another district (his home district had no team) demanded that the school assume the \$1,000 cost of allowing him to play in the neighboring program (Procter, 1992). Following lengthy discussions, the school board refused his request. The student transferred to the neighboring district, taking with him about \$4,000 in state aid (Procter, 1992). Another superintendent cited an instance where a parent threatened to remove his three students from a school district if the district did not pay the medical bill (about \$700) for the son's injury sustained on the school playground (Rubenstein, 1992). Yet to be resolved, the case has been turned over to the district's insurance company. If the district loses these three students, it will lose \$12,500 in state aid (Rubenstein, 1992).

In the face of Minnesota's experience, choice opponents suggest that the key issue in Minnesota, indeed across the nation, is not so much centered on whether most parents make good or bad educational decisions for their children, rather, the more salient question is whether choice will promote overall educational improvement for students across all segments of society (Uchitelle, 1993), and what impact choice will have on existing equity issues. They suggest that there is no real evidence that choice in Minnesota has been a real transforming influence on schools, or

has made a definitive impact on improved academics of the school or the student (Smetanka, 1991). They further suggest, however, that choice is having a very real impact on the issue of equity (Kozol, 1993).

Controlled School Choice Programs

Other types of school choice programs, found in Montclair, New Jersey, Boston and Cambridge, Massachusetts, are called "controlled school choice" options (Uchitelle, 1993; Boyer, 1992). They were introduced primarily to eliminate segregation, while at the same time allowing students access to all schools and special programs within the school district (Boyer, 1992). Student assignment is largely determined by space availability and racial balance (Boyer, 1992).

The choice plan in Montclair was designed to meet three goals: to voluntarily integrate schools, diversify programs, and raise student achievement (Carnegie Foundation, 1992). Early reports suggest this 5,400-student suburban New Jersey district has made great strides in accomplishing these objectives (Uchitelle, 1993; Clewell & Joy, 1990). However, school choice did not come to Montclair because its schools were failing. It traditionally has been a high achieving district with highly motivated parents. Rather, the events precipitating choice can be traced to the late 1960s, when Montclair was ordered to desegregate (Coons & Sugarman, 1993; Stobert, 1990). According to long time residents, tensions ran high. Crosses were burned. Real estate values fell. Racial unrest in neighboring Newark and East Orange intensified concerns that many residents would abandon the public school system. During this period, even the most open minded citizens insisted that they would not sacrifice their children to strife-torn schools (Carnegie Foundation, 1992; Linn, 1992).

During the early 1970s, forced busing resulted in significant "white flight" and increased racial imbalance (Stobert, 1990). In 1976 Montclair proposed and the state approved one of this nation's earliest choice plans designed to achieve voluntary desegregation. As part of this effort, the

district opened a gifted program in a minority neighborhood, hoping to attract whites. Similarly, a traditional program stressing basics was established in a predominantly white neighborhood, to attract blacks (Clewell & Joy, 1990). Yet, declines in white student population continued to increase; and in 1984 the district's already delicate racial balance was again threatened (Uchitelle, 1993; Carnegie Foundation, 1992).

In the face of this situation Montclair then took steps to move toward its present plan, doing away with all school boundaries and transforming all elementary schools into magnet programs, each with a distinctive curricular focus (Uchitelle, 1993). The plan's basic premise is that no school is right for every child, or for that matter every teacher. The belief is essentially that if choice is to lead to true diversity and excellence, then schools must be willing to tell parents and teachers that a particular school might not be right for them (Carnegie Foundation, 1992).

Spokespersons representing the Montclair school district report that while the initial moves toward choice were prompted by desegregation mandates, current choice strategies evolved out of discussions among parents, teachers, and administrators (Stobert, 1990), and out of the desire to encourage a strong entrepreneurial spirit that would generate competition to keep principals and teachers on their toes (Clewell & Joy, 1990). On the other hand, some principals report that competition does not always promote cooperation. According to one, "good education ideas are as grounded in jealousy as are industrial secrets" (Carnegie Foundation, 1992, p.26). Another principal said, "we don't do a lot of sharing, principal to principal. If I am doing something great, the success story is sent around the district. But we don't tell each other in advance" (Carnegie Foundation, 1992, p.30; Stobert, 1990).

Characteristically a diverse population, Cambridge, Massachusetts is faced with the dilemma of educating all of its students--the privileged children of professors along with those of the poor and working class

population. It is just a ten minute drive from Harvard Square to the multilingual neighborhoods of East Cambridge (Uchitelle, 1993; Stobert, 1990). Amid this situation, Cambridge has operated a choice plan since 1981 (Carnegie Foundation, 1992).

Directed toward achieving integration and bringing educational excellence to all Cambridge children, the choice plan evolved gradually. During the early 1970s each school formed a desegregation committee consisting of parents, teachers, and others in the community. In an attempt to head off court ordered desegregation, this group was represented on a citywide committee (Stobert, 1990).

There were few who participated in the initial plan because it did not offer transportation for students who selected schools outside their neighborhoods. Following some rough beginnings, a more comprehensive, grassroots plan emerged (Clewel & Joy, 1990). In March 1981 the current plan was enacted, ending neighborhood zoning, enabling parents and students to select a school based on their needs, and providing transportation to all students needing it (Stobert, 1990).

During the fall of 1981, news cameras expecting violence, met students as the buses began to arrive at Cambridge schools. According to the Carnegie Foundation Report (1992), it was during this period that the previous decade of planning and community participation began to yield dividends. Buses came and went without incident. With the help of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, schools with diverse ethnic mixes were combined and transformed. Bert Giroux, the district's public information officer, suggests "what evolved was a process of getting people together and instilling the notion of ownership in what eventually became the Cambridge Controlled Choice Plan" (Stobert, 1990, p.13).

According to Mary Lou McGrath, Superintendent, Cambridge School District, "choice has had a tremendous influence." Everybody started talking about education. Some teachers had to pay a little more attention.

Teachers began to realize we have customers. And these customers seem pleased" (Carnegie Foundation, 1992, p. 31).

District 4, East Harlem

One of the most widely publicized school choice programs is in Community District 4, East Harlem, in New York City. The program, which began in 1974, is based on the premise that choice is crucial to maintaining the vitality of educational institutions (Uchitelle, 1993). District 4 is often characterized as one of this nation's most blighted communities (Kozol, 1990; Stobert, 1990). Eight out of ten students qualify for free lunch, 10% do not speak English, and the median family income is under \$9,000 (Mitgang, 1989). Amid these conditions, District 4 was a likely site for educational choice. It serves 13,000 children, in a compact 2.2 square miles and has all the mass transit needed to take students from one school to another (Carnegie Foundation, 1992). Moreover, reports of declining enrollment from the 1970s through the mid-1980s meant there was plenty of room in existing schools for new programs and new students. During these years, the district replaced its thirteen overcrowded middle schools with twenty-nine alternative programs, each with about 200 or fewer students (Mitgang, 1989).

For East Harlem students the choice process begins formally during the fifth or sixth grade. During this time, students move from elementary schools to one of the district's alternative schools (Mitgang, 1989). Resembling the admissions process for private schools, parents receive an information booklet in the fall with brief descriptions of each program. They all are encouraged to attend orientation sessions to get more details. Sixth-grade teachers advise parents and students on how to make wise choices, and students complete an application listing up to six selections (Carnegie Foundation, 1992).

Perhaps the most celebrated plan in the United States, East Harlem's choice plan differs in a crucial way from that of Montclair or Cambridge. In East Harlem, admissions decisions are made in large part by the schools

themselves, not by the central school board (Uchitelle, 1993; Carnegie Foundation, 1992). According to residents of East Harlem, the significance of this is that choice came to East Harlem, not just as a result of pressure to integrate but out of the district's desire to innovate and improve quality (Mitgang, 1989).

While Montclair, Cambridge, and East Harlem have not solved all of their educational problems, choice advocates highlight these programs as proof that a single district can stimulate creative planning and promote widespread satisfaction (Uchitelle, 1993; Carnegie Foundation, 1992; Linn, 1992). They maintain that because of choice there is a strong desire in these districts to continue innovating, to offer more and better options, and above all to distribute opportunities fairly to all children (Boyer, 1992).

Opponents of choice are also keeping a close watch on these and other states across the nation where the essential characteristics of choice are being infused as part of the structure and operation of a given school system. In the face of their apparent inability to establish causality, their arguments against choice are based, to some degree, on the realization that to date there is no compelling evidence to suggest that choice is having a positive impact upon their most prevalent concern--equity in the structure and delivery of public education (Kozol, 1991).

A STATEWIDE CHOICE AGENDA

Like many other states, Florida's existing choice initiatives have emerged in response to desegregation issues. Thirty-three Florida school districts currently offer students choice via magnet school programs, alternative education centers, dual-enrollment programs, open enrollment opportunities, and partnership schools (Jamerson, 1993).

In response to the current national mandate to restructure and reform education, Florida has recently legislated comprehensive educational reforms. In support of this statewide initiative, an organization, Floridians for Educational Choice, has emerged, in part, to

oversee what they visualize as the completion of this work. Seeking to bring this approach full-circle, they view Florida's legislative efforts as the impetus upon which to legislate educational choice.

Florida's Response to the National Educational Mandate

During the past twenty-years education in Florida has faced numerous challenges posed by rapid growth and by the ever changing demographics of it's student population (Florida Commission on Education Reform and Accountability, 1992). According to a report from the Florida Commission on Education Reform and Accountability (1992), Florida has successfully met many of these challenges. The Commission's report cautions, however, that despite apparent success, the state's economy and quality of life are at risk as it prepares to enter the 21st century. Echoing the rationale that underlies America 2000, the Commission (1992) reiterates the notion that technological advances of the last 25 years have created a global economy, and it recognizes that at the state level as well as at the national level businesses face stiff competition from around the world. Moreover, if America and indeed Florida is to maintain (or improve) its economic position into the next century, its citizens need new and higher-level skills. In response to growing national concern (sparked by the 1983 report "A Nation at Risk", and rekindled by the 1991 America 2000: An Education Strategy) about this nation's future economic success, and the role of education relative to that success, a commission headed by the U.S. Secretary of Labor conducted a comprehensive study of American business and the work force. The SCANS report (Secretary's Commission on Achieving Necessary Skills), released in 1991, summarized its findings with this message: "Good jobs depend on people who can put knowledge to work. New workers must be creative and responsible problem solvers...High paying, but unskilled, jobs are disappearing" (p.3). Recognizing that schools do more than simply prepare people for a job, the Secretary's Commission chose to focus on "what work requires for schools" (p.2). On the strength of this massive study, three basic conclusions were reached:

- The qualities of high-performance currently found only in our most competitive companies must become the standard for the vast majority of our companies;
- Schools must be retooled into high-performance organizations, preparing students to be successful adults; and
- Students must develop a new set of competencies and foundation skills to be successful adults in this economy.

The findings of the SCANS report, coupled with the ever present demographic, economic, and societal changes that currently challenge the state's public education system, provide the impetus for Florida's legislative initiative. Passed in 1991, the legislative mandate, entitled Blueprint 2000, begins:

The Legislature recognizes that the children and youth of the state are its future and its most precious resource. To provide these developing citizens with the sound education needed to grow to a satisfying and productive adulthood, the Legislature intends that by the year 2000, Florida establish a system of school improvement and education accountability...(p.1).

In drafting this initiative, the intent of the legislature was to provide clear guidelines for achieving educational reform and accountability. It was also their intent through the spirit of this legislation to establish the importance of community involvement and collaboration. As noted in Blueprint 2000 (1992), Florida has approached school reform before. Over several decades, with good intentions, the state moved from legislating policy to dictating daily school operation. Members of the state legislature suggest the Blueprint 2000 plan reverses this trend by restoring to those closest to the students the ability to determine the how of public education. The intent of this legislation is to raise standards and decentralize the system so school districts and schools are free to design learning environments and experiences to better meet the needs of each child.

Emphasizing greater flexibility in both the approach and delivery of education as well as more funding flexibility, and more local control, Blueprint 2000 identifies seven State Education Goals. It is important to note that these goals are not optional, they are for all of Florida's 67

school districts, "the law of the land." They include: (1) readiness to start school, mandating that communities and schools collaborate to prepare children and families for children's success in school; (2) graduation rate and readiness for postsecondary education and employment, mandating that students graduate and are prepared to enter the workforce; (3) student performance, mandating that Florida students successfully compete at the highest levels nationally and internationally and are prepared to make well-reasoned, thoughtful, and healthy lifelong decisions; (4) learning environment, mandating that each school board provide a learning environment conducive to teaching and learning that includes sequential instruction in mathematics, science, reading, writing, and the social sciences, and the appropriate educational materials, equipment, and pupil teacher ratio; (5) school safety and environment, mandating that communities provide an environment that is drug-free and protects students' health, safety, and civil rights;; (6) teachers and staff, mandating that, at all levels, the schools, the district, and the state ensure the availability and utilization of professional teachers and staff; and (7) adult literacy, mandating that adult Floridians are literate and have the knowledge and skills needed to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship (Blueprint 2000, 1993).

Characteristically a collaborative plan, both in developing and delivering a restructured system, Blueprint 2000 (1992) represents the efforts of many--the State Board of Education, the Florida Commission of Education Reform and Accountability, the Commissioner of Education, all 67 district school boards and superintendents, and each district Supervisory Council. Blueprint 2000 (1992) also encourages the involvement and input of all stakeholders, and the Commission believes these stakeholders should be actively involved in school improvement. School advisory councils should be as inclusive as possible. Representation from postsecondary

education, the business sector, and other relevant community agencies and constituencies (e.g., retirees) should be included when feasible.

Emphasizing accountability, the legislation mandates the following requirements: the use of educational outcomes (i.e., academic measures, other relevant statistical data to be disaggregated and reported by gender, race, etc.) rather than educational processes to measure success; the redirection of existing state resources to assist school districts and schools in meeting goals for student success; the provision of methods for measuring, and public reporting of progress toward the seven state education goals; the recognition of successful schools; and the provision of assistance to unsuccessful schools to generate further activity or intervention (Blueprint 2000, 1992). To date, the source of financial assistance for unsuccessful schools is yet to be determined. It is a key item on the 1993-94 legislative session.

To guide the successful implementation (in all of Florida's schools) of the system of teaching and learning as set forth by Blueprint 2000, the state is currently in search of (and will support via funds sought from the upcoming 1994 legislative session) a cadre of Fast Track Schools. Fast Track Schools are identified as those schools that have developed and implemented, or propose the development and implementation, of school improvement programs and strategies that reflect the expectations of Blueprint 2000.

Contingent upon the availability of state funding, a maximum of 50 such schools will serve as Blueprint 2000 Training and Developmental Centers. They will be networked with other schools through the Florida Department of Education's School Improvement/Assistance system and will provide such services as training for SAC (School Accreditation Council) members, teachers and building administrators in developing and implementing effective school improvement programs and strategies representing Blueprint 2000 standards; assisting in the establishment of sites to model successful Blueprint 2000 programs and strategies;

mentoring, with the Department of Education, other schools in the development of Blueprint 2000 strategies; and assisting in the establishment of school improvement resource centers to publish and disseminate effective school improvement practices (Blueprint 2000 Transition, 1993).

Schools selected as Blueprint 2000 Centers will be eligible to receive waivers from current state standards and regulations covering all aspects of the school's operation except for student health and safety and fiscal accountability considerations. These "super waivers" have been initiated to allow Centers the freedom and the creative license to develop and implement restructured educational programs and learning environments as dictated by Blueprint 2000.

Although Training and Developmental Centers will be established in rural, suburban, and urban schools, a special emphasis in being focused on locating centers in rural and urban schools. Funded at \$5 million for fiscal 1993-94, Blueprint 2000 Centers will be eligible to receive up to \$100,000 (pending legislative approval) to support their training-demonstration/modeling and resource services. Each center will be eligible to have a Center Coordinator (classroom teacher on special assignment); will provide training, demonstration and resource service materials and equipment; and will have support services provided by public school educators, university staff and business and community participants (Blueprint 2000 Transition, 1993). In addition, each Blueprint 2000 Center will be required to establish a collaborative relationship with a public university that will enhance and support services provided to schools (Blueprint 2000 Transition, 1993)

Statewide Complementary/Supplemental Support Efforts

Congruent with the philosophies and principles that guide the development and implementation of Blueprint 2000, other statewide efforts are also ongoing. For example, Florida's School Year 2000 Initiative is a multi-year project that seeks to design and implement technology-based

models of schooling, and to incorporate established design principles derived from modern research in teaching, learning, motivation, and instruction (Center for Educational Technology, 1991). A collaborative effort between the Center for Educational Technology at Florida State University, and the Florida Department of Education, School Year 2000 outlines a strategy designed to enable all Florida students to engage in active technology-based learning; to participate fully in a career and in economic, social, political, and lifelong learning activities; and to participate successfully in a global information-based society (Center for Educational Technology, 1991).

A preliminary list of design requirements (for all school districts) based on this new model of schooling in Florida mandates that schools must treat students as individuals, and allow for learning and growth at developmentally appropriate rates; must provide an opportunity for all children to reach their highest potentials in academic, social, personal, and career opportunities; must provide an integrated curriculum that enables students to master basic objectives and to achieve thinking and problem solving skills; must meet the criterion of being incrementally improvable as new knowledge about development, instruction, and socialization becomes available; must minimize the lag time between the discovery of new knowledge and its incorporation into the schools curriculum; must be designed to minimize the environmental impact and potential hazards involved in schooling; must optimize the use of simulations and hands-on experience to ensure the most cost-effective solutions to learning; must involve communities in the mission definition process; and must be adaptable to existing facilities (Center for Educational Technology, 1991).

According to the Florida Department of Education (1992), the design process will also provide specifications for remodeling existing facilities and for the construction of new facilities. Touted as a continuous quality improvement system, which meets international quality

assurance standards, School Year 2000 is expected to guide the total schooling process in Florida (Center For Educational Technology, 1991).

Paralleling the state's improvement and accountability mandate as set forth in Blueprint 2000, a critical characteristic of School Year 2000 is the participation of the stakeholders in Florida's education system. This process has brought together various people and groups who have, and are, defining positions, gathering evidence, and preparing arguments for School Year 2000. Dialectics and consensus-building methods are being used to optimize negotiations to identify satisfying models (Salisbury, 1991).

To date, six formal coordinating mechanisms have been established. These groups are available as resources in the ongoing development and implementation of School Year 2000 at any level, school, district, or state. Briefly, these mechanisms include: the *Florida Department of Education Planning Committee and Resource Persons*, encompassing 19 DOE staff members who assist in all phases of development of School Year 2000; a *Policy Advisory Council*, a 25 member panel, representing a cross-section of the population, who provide overall advice regarding any part or activity relevant to the development and implementation of School Year 2000; a *National Panel of Experts*, consisting of over 40 members, representing such areas as technology, productivity, research and development, instructional design, expert systems, change management, systems design, quality control, and telecommunications; A *Public Schools Council and Collaborating Schools* involving participation from all 67 school districts, university developmental research schools, and the Florida School for the Deaf and Blind; and the *Florida Joint Developmental Research School Planning, Articulation, and Evaluation Committee* who serves as a sounding board for the School Year 2000 Initiative (Center for Educational Technology, 1991).

The School Year 2000 mission development process is targeted for completion during the 1994-95 school year. Like the Blueprint 2000 initiative, it too is based on the findings of the Florida SCANS

research and a (yet to be identified) procedure to identify local needs. An initial test to determine the impact of the mission process is also being developed (School Year 2000, 1993).

Florida's Education Extension Service

Another example of Florida's efforts to move its education system into the 21st century, to prepare its youth to work and function in the increasingly global market place, is the recently implemented Cooperative Education Extension System. The Governor, the Commissioner of Education, the Chancellor of the State University System, the Board of Regents, and the Florida Association of District School Superintendents have given support to the development of the concept of the Cooperative Education Extension Service. Designed to be America's first statewide effort to provide extensive logistical support for school improvement, the mission of the Extension System, modeled after the Agricultural Extension Service, is to provide a networking system which will enable schools and stakeholders to link with others in the field to apply proven practices for education improvement (Cooperative Education Extension Service of Florida, 1992). Also functioning within the framework and guidelines established by Blueprint 2000, the state's Extension Service seeks to accomplish its mission through existing structures by creating networks among people closest to the problem. According to the Extension's Chief Executive Officer (1992), "As Florida's new accountability and school improvement system develops, the need for a customer-focused support service becomes apparent. Proven extension models in agriculture, engineering, and medicine have demonstrated their effectiveness as methodologies for improvement in their respective fields."

The latest of Florida's educational improvement strategies, the Extension Service is establishing four Centers for Inquiry, each with a different governance, organizational structure, and environment. These Centers are intended to demonstrate extension capabilities in any environment, not just agriculture. Each Center will be charged with the

responsibility to assist in the coordination, networking, and communication efforts of the Department of Education in supporting Blueprint 2000 Learning Centers (Florida Extension System, 1993).

Implicitly a Choice Approach

It doesn't require much exploration of these strategies to realize that they are, largely, a response sanctioned by Florida Governor Lawton Chiles and Florida Education Commissioner Betty Castor, to the Educate America 2000 (America 2000) strategy. Florida's Blueprint 2000, is clearly the impetus for subsequent approaches and each is predicated on the assumption that the poor performance of the state's educational system is not totally the result of lack of effort by teachers, administrators, or parents. Rather, echoing national opinion, it is viewed as a function of the system's obsolescence (Salisbury, 1992). This notion of obsolescence, coupled with existing outcomes (state developed and administered norm-reference tests, dropout rates, etc.) the framers of these initiatives suggest education as it is currently conducted throughout the state of Florida is simply not capable of meeting the needs of students and the society for the future. Education as it is currently conducted, can not prepare Florida's student population to function in the global economy. What is needed, they suggest, is a new model of schooling that is capable of producing results far and above those possible within the contexts and constraints of the current system (Salisbury, 1992; Florida Legislature, 1989).

Florida's education initiatives each focus on the learner as the key entity and as the customer of the system (Salisbury, 1992). Each is designed to focus on the individual student's learning experience (rather than the needs of the classroom, the institution, or the administration) to create educational characteristics that are different from the characteristics of the traditional model of schooling. Each is about results, about better education for Florida's children, about concrete ways for them to succeed in the future, for them to function in the 21st

century. Implicitly each is about the creation of an atmosphere of competition and choice (Banathy, 1991).

A SINGLE OCCURRENCE OF CHOICE

Amid the state's ongoing efforts to restructure education, and in the face of uncertain funding to accommodate this effort, choice is occurring in no less than 33 school districts across Florida. This section will explore a single district's choice agenda to respond to the issue of who is being served by choice.

Florida's Public School System

Appendix C provides a demographic overview of Florida's public and nonpublic schools. Florida's total student population is over 1,800,000 and growing. There are 67 school districts (bounded by county lines) in the state. Student enrollment among the state's 2,198 (and growing) public schools is distributed to include over 600,000 PK-3rd grade, over 700,000 in grades 4-9, and nearly 450,000 in grades 10-12. In addition, Florida operates: a school for the deaf and blind (enrolling about 550 students); the P.K Yonge Laboratory School, K-12 (enrolling nearly 1,000 students); the Florida State University Developmental Research School, K-12 (enrolling over 850 students); the Alexander D. Henderson University School, K-8 (enrolling nearly 500 students); and the Florida A&M University School, K-12 (enrolling close to 600 students) (Florida Department of Education, 1990). There are approximately 50,000 students (K-12) enrolled in Florida's nonpublic schools. The ethnic distribution of Florida's student population is 63 percent white, 24 percent black, 11 percent hispanic, and 2 percent other (Florida Department of Education, 1990).

Florida currently enrolls the largest number of students per school of any state. Based on recent and expected trends in population growth across the state, Florida will need the equivalent of 110 new schools over the next four to five years to house 111,000 additional students. By the

year 2000 the Florida Department of Education (1992) predicts the state will need over 600 new schools at an estimated cost of \$9 million.

Florida's total public school budget for the 1992-93 school year was in excess of \$15 billion. Public school funds are generated from local, state, federal, and state lottery dollars--with about 31 percent of the total education budget coming from local funds, 53 percent coming from state funds, 7 percent coming from federal funds, and 7 percent coming from state lottery funds (Florida Department of Education, 1992).

There are currently in excess of 100,500 classroom teachers and over 10,000 other instructional staff paid by the state of Florida. Ethnically, Florida teachers are 80 percent white, 15 percent black, 4 percent hispanic, and 1 percent other. Forty-one percent of Florida's teachers have advanced degrees. The state ranks 28th in teacher salaries. It is predicted that over the next ten years Florida will need an additional 38,000 teachers. Florida colleges will produce only about 34 percent of the new teachers to fill this void (Florida Department of Education, 1990).

At the postsecondary level, Florida operates nine state universities (a tenth university has been approved and is under construction), and twenty-eight community colleges. In addition, there are 37 accredited private colleges and universities, and 625 licensed independent postsecondary schools and colleges throughout Florida (Florida Department of Education, 1990).

A Targeted School District

Located in Northeast Florida, one school district has been identified as the location for exploring a single occurrence of choice. Spanning 850 square miles and encompassing six county divisions (Appendix D), the target district was Selected on the basis of its size and the subsequent representativeness of its overall demographic characteristics (Appendix E). The target district currently enrolls in excess of 119,000 students in 150 public schools. The district's 150 schools include: 101

schools, grades PK- 5; 22 schools, grades 6-8; 9 schools, grades 6-12; and 18 schools, grades 9-12. Of the more than 119,000 students, 74,023 (62%) are white, and 45,381 (38%) are Black. There are approximately 250 Asian, Hispanic, and American Indian students enrolled, district wide.

There are a total of 6,868 teachers in the district's public school system--3,916 are elementary teachers, 2,952 are secondary teachers. There are 1,426 male teachers and 5,442 female teachers. Twenty-five percent (1,735) of the district teachers are black, 74% (5,059) are white, and 1% (74) are Asian, Hispanic, or American Indian. The average age of teachers for the target district is 43 years. There are approximately 17 students for every teacher.

Initiated in 1980, the choice program for the target district is characteristically a controlled choice approach, largely a magnet system implemented to achieve racial balance. Eighty-nine schools currently participate in the district's magnet program and are identified as choice schools. The district's first magnet school was implemented in 1980 at a traditionally all black high school. Located in a typically low socio-economic area (inner city) of the district, this school was floundering. Attendance was down, the dropout rate was high, academic performance was poor with little or no improvement in sight. Apparently surprising no one, there was no motivation among teachers and staff in this school. The school enrolled no white students and by the late 1970s virtually all of its black students sought enrollment in other areas of the city. In an effort to preserve and enhance this identifiably historic location, to encourage enrollment of both white and black students, to encourage academics and postsecondary enrollment, the district restructured and reopened the school as a college preparatory facility. Today, the school enrolls more than 1,100 students. Reflecting the ethnic diversity that characterizes the district, their participation is contingent upon district and school evaluation of their SAT scores. The waiting list for enrollment is long.

Shortly after the opening of the district's college preparatory school, and in response to the NAACP's (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) demands to desegregate the entire public school system, the target district was realigned to include seven attendance areas. Each attendance area is bounded to encompass some part of the inner city, a predominately black region of the district. Each of the seven attendance zones includes one or more of the district identified county divisions (neighborhoods). Zone one encompasses county divisions 11, 13, 14, and 15. Zone two encompasses divisions 1 and 7. Zone three encompasses division 6. Zone four encompasses divisions 5, 9, and 12. Zone five encompasses divisions 3, 4, 10, and 16. Zone six encompasses division 2. And Zone seven encompasses division 8.

The rationale for this zoning action stems from the realization that students could attend any school in their attendance area and the desire to enhance student choice to increase the enrollment of white students at predominately black schools and, conversely, to increase the enrollment of black students at predominately white schools. It did not take long for parents, students, local NAACP officials, city planners, and other interested parties to realize that voluntary desegregation using this plan was not working. Busing followed.

However, according to NAACP leaders, busing was not an equitable solution. They argued that with busing minority students were required to travel across much of the 850 square mile district to attend predominately white schools, and while some desegregation was, indeed, occurring, the gains were insignificant when compared to the time and distance traveled.

During the late 1980s, the district in collaboration with the leadership of the local NAACP began to look more closely at the success of its college preparatory school. Building upon this effort, the Desegregation and Stipulation Agreement between the local branch of the NAACP and the district school board was launched on June 30, 1990. The essence of this Agreement states that "...the school district and the city

branch of the NAACP agree to the following terms as a means of...achieving the maximum practicable desegregation in the county's public schools in the manner best calculated to (a) enhance the quality of education in the district; (b) allow parents and students an increased diversity of educational choice; and (c) involve parents, the community, students and staff in a planning process intended to produce highly innovative and successful educational programs which shall operate in a desegregative manner."

A lengthy and complex Agreement, the substance of this document encompasses the district's plan to establish magnet schools, to eliminate busing, to provide choice, to achieve racial balance. To date, 89 of the district's 150 schools are identified as magnet schools. The magnet programs include: Academic Enrichment and Learning Styles Centers; an Aviation and Aerospace Program; a Travel and Tourism Program; a Business and Finance Program; a Communications Program; a Computer and Technology Center; a Foreign Language Program; a Fundamental Academics Program; a Gifted and Academically Talented Program; a Government and Public Service Program; an International Studies and Cultural Diversities Program; a Mathematics and Science Center; a Pre Engineering Program; a Medical Professions and Health Care Center; a Montessori Program; a Physical and Academic Fitness Program; a Skills Center; and a Visual and Performing Arts Program.

For all of the district's magnet programs, excluding the district's college preparatory school, enrollment is open. There are no academic prerequisites to acceptance. However, in predominately white enrollment areas, magnet school enrollment is open only to black students until the quota for desegregation has been achieved. Conversely, in predominately black enrollment areas, enrollment is open only to white students until the quota for desegregation has been met.

As part of the development and implementation of it's magnet program, the district sought the expertise of Boston College Professor

Christine Rossell, author of Carrot or Stick for, School Desegregation Policy (1990). Following some indepth investigation and examination of the district's efforts, Dr. Rossell noted that for any functioning magnet program, it typically takes five to six years to realize real success. However, she praised the district efforts and suggested that it was, indeed, on the track for full desegregation using choice.

Who is Being Served by Choice

To explore the issue of who is being served by choice, this effort has examined the enrollment patterns of two of the target district's magnet high schools (grades 9-12). One (School A) is located in zone one, a predominately white populated attendance area (Appendix D), and one (School B) is located in zone 3, a predominately black populated attendance area (Appendix D). For each school, there is a fairly equal distribution of the population relative to social and economic variables. The 1993-94 enrollment for School A is 1,748 (1,182 white, 440 black, 38 Hispanic, 86 Asian/Pacific Islander, and 2 American Indian). For School B the 1993-94 enrollment is 1,317 (7 white, 1,309 black, 1 Asian Pacific Islander). There are 93 teachers at School A, 35 males, 58 females, 67 white, 25 black, and 1 Hispanic. There are approximately 19 students per teacher at School A. For School B, there are 74 teachers, 31 male, 43 female, 50 white, 22 Black, and 2 Hispanic. There are approximately 18 students for every teacher at School B (Appendix F). The mean family income for both attendance areas is approximately \$24,000 (Appendix F).

The magnet program at School A is Business/Finance and Legal studies. At School B the magnet program is Mathematics and Science.

Given that the purpose for implementing the magnet program was to attract minority students to predominately majority populated schools, one would expect to find increasing enrollments of black students at School A (the school with predominately white student enrollment) and increasing enrollments of white students at School B (the school with predominately black student enrollment). During 1993-94, 44 black students and 190

white students chose to attend school A. In other words, 234 students from outside the attendance area chose to attend this school presumably on the strength of their desire to participate in the school's Business/Finance and Legal Studies program. During the same period, 82 black students who live outside the attendance area for school B chose to participate in this school's Mathematics and Science program. However, only 7 white students, all of whom live in the attendance area, attended school B. According to district and school level administrators, the enrollment pattern at school A and school B is a fair representation of patterns at other magnet schools across the district.

On the strength of this researchers interviews with district spokespersons, teachers, staff, and parents, the magnet program is apparently attracting only a minimal number of Black students to predominately white schools, and virtually no white students to predominately black schools.

Explanations of why these schools are not attracting minority students are currently under investigation by the district's Magnet Program Office. While, according to the Director of the District's Magnet Programs, it is yet too early to quantitatively assess the impact of the magnet program on the achievement of its stated goal (to achieve racial balance), key variables in this assessment will include, student attitudes toward choosing a magnet program, student demographics, test scores and other pertinent academic data, parent attitudes and involvement, teacher, and school administrator attitudes and involvement, the dynamics of each magnet program in and of itself, and other variables that might be determined as the program continues or is changed. Specific evaluation of the Magnet Program using these variables is yet pending.

Amid the current and ongoing investigation, the explanation for why the magnet program is not attracting minority students to predominately majority populated schools is to a large extent dependent upon the source from which one seeks response. For example, one school board official, in

an interview with this researcher, suggested that the district, indeed the city's, position on the success of its magnet program stems from the audience being addressed at any given time. Publicly, city and district officials espouse the program's success. They frequently cite the fact that this is a program in its infancy, that given the demographics of a district this large, racial balance will not occur overnight. They vehemently suggest that the fact that black students are attending predominately white schools is, indeed, a victory that supports the choice strategy over busing. However, to more private audiences, city and district officials recognize that while there is a minimal transfer of black students to predominately white schools, the transfer of white students to predominately black schools is apparently not working. They place the blame for this occurrence on the fact that principals and administrators at the black schools lack commitment to the process. They argue that without commitment, without the implementation of subsequent and appropriate curricula, there can be no attraction, and no competition for students. Addressing the issue of travel time and distance, one (predominately all white) school administrator suggested that the enrollment from across the river (attendance area in the north region of the district), although somewhat successful, is yet lacking because to attend his school students had to be up, dressed, and at the school bus stop by 5:30 A.M. He further noted that while a few students desiring to participate in the magnet program at his school were meeting this challenge, the poor attitude and the lack of commitment from administrators and teachers at the school from which they came was a key factor influencing the decision of many parents and students to attend school in the attendance area in which they live. In other words, this school administrator argues there is little if any effort expended by school administrators, faculty, and staff to identify students who might be interested or possess the talent to benefit from a magnet program at a predominately white school. Just as this lack of commitment restricts

the transfer of black students, it is, he suggests, this lack of commitment and involvement that also prohibits white students from attending the magnet programs at predominately black schools. He notes that neither he nor members of his staff can in good conscious recommend for their students the magnet program at a school where the commitment is lacking.

On the other side of this debate, NAACP officials argue that such is not the case. They suggest that the black students who are attending magnet programs at predominately white schools are doing so because they come from homes that have the social and economic resources to transfer their children. They further argue that predominately black schools are not attracting white students because they are socially and economically inferior to the white schools, not just in terms of the socioeconomic position of the parents of these students, but also in terms of the facility itself. In this context, the director of the local NAACP chapter recently spoke out against the fact that the district has built four new state-of-the-art schools, and plans to build two new schools, all in predominately white attendance zones. She is currently seeking response from city and education officials, regarding how the predominately black schools, schools that lack necessary resources (district teachers and administrators have been moved and relocated to facilitate the implementation of the magnet process), can ever expect to compete with these new schools. How, she asks, are we expected to lure white students away from these new, technologically advanced schools. On the strength of her argument, the concerns of the NAACP are, largely, that this plan, implemented to facilitate choice, to use choice to achieve racial equity, has fallen woefully short. Parents, white, black, Hispanic, etc., who have the resources to send their children to the state-of-the-art school will do so. Others will simply be left behind at their neighborhood schools. Of course, NAACP spokespersons argue, this is more damaging to

black students, because while there are white students who lack resources, they tend to live in the attendance areas of the best schools.

Discussions with several parents of students who attend both School A and School B reveals similar attitudes. For example, one parent openly expressed her concern that the district was using the magnet program to position itself to respond positively to issues confronting the existing dual school system. She voiced her resentment that she and other parents of black students were clearly aware of the selling job the district was handing the local NAACP chapter about the so-called benefits and the impending success of the magnet program in achieving racial balance. Recognizing that while this sounds good on paper, she notes her discontent and that of other parents regarding the realization that only those black students whose parents are socio-economically positioned can or will be allowed to send their children to predominately white schools. Others, she suggests, will continue to attend predominately black schools, will continue to perpetuate a dual school system.

Building upon this concern, another parent voiced his belief that discrimination in the 1990s brings with it a new dimension. He noted that, historically, discrimination issues were centered around black/white issues. However, today, discrimination centers more openly around socio-economic factors. Inclusion of the socio-economic dimension enables the white population to boast of their accomplishments in achieving desegregation, when in fact all they have succeeded in doing is enabling a few black families who are positioned along the upper end of the socio-economic continuum to participate in previously all white segments of the society.

Albeit a small sample that yields little in the way of substantive conclusions regarding who is being served by choice, this exploration of a single occurrence of choice does bring the choice debate into focus. For both School A and School B, for the district, indeed for the nation, the response to who is being served by choice (via the magnet program)

rests, to a large extent, with who is providing the answer. For example, school and district administrators, local politicians, economic leaders, and supporters of the magnet program, suggest that school choice using this strategy is the key to successful desegregation and point to the increased enrollment of Black students at School A (and other magnet schools across the district) as evidence. Echoing national views on choice, their argument is essentially that this approach provides the impetus for innovation, for generating the spirit of renewal as a consequence of competition, and for moving the district towards the acceptance of school improvement ideas. They view choice via the magnet program as more than just a mechanism for desegregation. They see it as an opportunity for students to improve in significant ways, for students to attend schools that in some ways are better than the school they previously attended.

Viewing choice as the final step in the state's accountability plan, "Floridians for Educational Choice" have seized the opportunity to emphasize ongoing statewide efforts (particularly the Blueprint 2000 legislation) as the impetus upon which to legislate choice. A politically conservative movement, "Floridians for Educational Choice" (FEC) was founded (1986) to provide leadership to a statewide peoples' school reform movement (James Madison Institute, 1992). As noted by the FEC (1992), "school choice is the accountability plan's missing link to substantive school improvement" (p.1). The FEC seeks educational improvement through greatly increased parent, community (including business) involvement, greater school autonomy and local control, fewer restrictive top-down mandates leading to greater flexibility, and more focus on student achievement (results).

According to FEC spokespersons, interviewed by this researcher, choice translates to "real consequences for schools that fail to improve (as dictated by the statewide mandate) or refuse to involve parents in more than a superficial way." It means, they suggest, that parents are

no longer at the mercy of the bureaucracy. Choice will quietly expose schools and school districts that are only paying lip service to the accountability concepts. In this context, choice is viewed as far more than just a complement to accountability. It is the fuel that will ensure that the accountability engine cranks-up and runs (Future Force, 1992).

Echoing the views of those who are opposed to choice, district leaders and parents who see the magnet program as nothing more than an attempt to avoid desegregation, argue such approaches fail on their promises to create more diverse educational options for all students. In other words, they concede that choice exists but argue there are few distinctive choices. Either the public school across town does not offer anything significantly different from the neighborhood school; or to the extent that it does offer something better, it is not accessible to the low socio-economic minority student. Thus, they suggest this district's approach covertly encourages students to remain in their neighborhood schools, schools that by virtue of the population distribution solidifies the segregation patterns of past decades. According to one local leader of the NAACP, this district's magnet plan is nothing more than an attempt by the city's white leadership to restrain the black student.

For those in the district who are opposed to the magnet program, the Blueprint 2000 plan as nothing more than a strategy designed to enhance the choice agenda, to monitor schools across the state, to allocate funding on the basis of a school's ability to meet the standards as set forth in Blueprint 2000. To this end, they aggressively argue that state funding in and of itself is not sufficient to enable the schools at the lower end of the socio-economic continuum to compete with those at the upper end. For example, one school administrator, for an adjacent district, citing the obvious contrast in the population characteristics of his district, echoes similar concerns. Cognizant that his district like many other districts across the state is populated to include a more affluent (often beach dwelling) community, a less affluent (typically

rural farming) community, and a middle class community interspersed throughout, he argues that Blueprint 2000 is not yet fully in place and we are already seeing the impact. He notes the schools at the beach, those schools that enroll the children of parents who have the available resources, who participate in their children's education, who bring those resources to bear upon that education, are clearly offering a more innovative and technologically advanced curriculum than those schools in the farming community of the same district. How, he asks, are we going to justify this discrepancy. The state can call for parent and community participation, it can ask for collaboration in securing technological innovations, etc. but, if the community simply does not have the resources to provide these things for the school, then they will not happen. He continues, the choice advocates, and the Florida Department of Education is one, can promise choice, can promise the parents of those children who are attending the less equipped school the opportunity to send their children to the better school, but it is not going to happen because the parents are either not motivated or because they simply do not have the resources.

An Issue of Economics

In Florida as well as across the nation, the issue of money is often neglected in discussions relative to the choice debate. Indeed, in the discussions and interviews for this work, the issue of money was most typically the concern of those who see choice as the mechanism for separation and inequity. Among those who support choice, there is an apparent assumption that choice will require few if any additional dollars and may, in fact, reduce costs through competition (Procter, 1992). According to the Carnegie Foundation (1992), this is a major miscalculation. In every district program examined as part of the Foundation's (1992) efforts, significant additional administrative and financial support was identified as a critical factor in the success of the choice strategy.

Although Florida is yet grappling with the issue of funding to support its statewide mandate, there are several instances to suggest that choice programs must, indeed, have the backing of a solid financial base. For example, while Cambridge, Massachusetts is near the top in state per-student funding (\$9,200 in 1992-93), it is also very successful in attracting outside grants and support services from industry and from the distinguished academic institutions that surround it (Procter, 1992). Cognizant that this high level funding is not directly linked to school choice, it nonetheless, provides a strong financial base and is often credited as critical to the success of the Cambridge plan to date. The Montclair program is cited as yet another example of the success of choice strategies relative to the existence of strong financial support. It's per-student funding was \$7,478 for 1992-93 (Procter, 1992). Additionally, it has received over the past several years millions of dollars in state and federal desegregation funds to create distinctive magnet schools and train teachers (Procter, 1992).

An Issue of Equity

Many of the educational restructuring efforts posited nationally by the Goals 2000 agenda and locally via such strategies as magnet programs make sense. For example, most will agree there is nothing wrong with more parent involvement, with site managed schools, or with innovative curricula. There is also nothing wrong with providing students with magnet programs that seek to address their specific vocational and postsecondary goals. However, as this nation moves into the next century, it must do so mindful of the single most pervasive issue confronting the choice debate--equity and its relationship to the continued and perhaps exacerbated existence of a dual school system. In the face of this issue, society cannot and must not settle for what Kozol (1992) refers to as "a more efficient ghetto school or even for one with increased input from ghetto parents" (p.46). Indeed, Kozol (1992) warns that we must strive to abolish such educational institutions and not allow ourselves to be

seduced by any program that will create a parallel agenda to divert us from the goal of equity. The nation's current agenda predicated upon choice, Kozol (1992) suggests, promises nothing more than a triage solution. Parents with the most aggressive, driving instincts, with substantial economic resources will select the best schools for their children, thus leaving other children in poorly staffed and less equipped schools. Congruent with this argument, opponents of the choice agenda are primarily concerned that contrary to recent and recurring promises, the worst schools do not magically improve to meet the market competition, nor do they self destruct. Rather, they linger on as repositories for those children who do not have access to the resources necessary to enable them to attend the more competitive schools (Kozol, 1992).

Promoting the Common Good

Clearly viable concerns, the issues of equity and economics are typically framed by both sides of the choice debate almost exclusively in terms of the alleged benefits or lack thereof to individuals. This one-sided approach to educational policy, one that primarily stresses the individual benefits of schooling, departs sharply from a vast body of work by well-regarded thinkers and writers that underscores the social imperatives of education and recognizes that education also promotes the common good (Carr, 1991). Philanthropist David Rockefeller, Jr. (1992), has succinctly captured this point: "The emphasis on choice seems premised on the benefits that education confers on the individuals, not on society, whereas the genius of American public education is premised on its recognition of schooling's communal and civic purposes..." (p.374).

In his seminal work Social Ideas of American Educators (1959), Merle Curti documented the thesis that the formation of a sense of identification with an obligation to the larger society was fundamental to the American pedagogical enterprise from the beginning. According to Curti (1959), when the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia

sponsored an essay contest in 1795 to devise an American system of education, the essays almost uniformly stressed the importance of building a school system that would promote common national purposes and "inculcate in the youth of America loyalty to its institutions, purposes, and ideals" (p.47).

Believing it to be the duty of the state to establish laws for educating the common people, Thomas Jefferson (1984) wrote: "Education engrafts a new man on the native stock, and improves what in his nature was vicious and perverse into qualities of virtue and social worth. With the help of public education, tyranny and oppression of body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day" (p.25).

Practice, of course, does not always live up to theory. However, statesmen in the early republic did take seriously the task of instilling in children a sense of mutual social obligation and common citizenship (Procter, 1992). It was generally understood that educators had a democratic mission--to be accomplished not just through the subject matter taught but also through the realization that public schools were a community enterprise, with citizens in each neighborhood working together to advance the education of their children (Bellah, 1985). In this context, the question of who is being served by choice is subsumed by the more salient issue of what choice promotes in terms of its impact upon the structure and function of education. Recognizing that choice as a national strategy impacts first upon the structure and education as a large-scale social system, its impact upon the individual is contingent upon the social, political, and economic changes that may or may not occur within this system.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL CHOICE: SOME UNFINISHED BUSINESS

To this point this effort has provided an exploration of the socio-political and economic changes that are reshaping society, that are transforming our economy, redesigning and redistributing jobs, exacerbating inequality, reorganizing cities and regions, and, in general, profoundly affecting families and individuals. This work has explicated the choice agenda, as an educational response to this changing society, as a process intended to create competition, as the mechanism that will awaken a lethargic institution, that will emphasize a customer focused approach, and will move education into the 21st century. Chapter IV has delineated the choice debate, viewed, on the one hand, as a fresh idea, a key ingredient in school improvement that will enable this nation's students to function into the next century, and will strengthen this nation's ability to globally compete into the next century. On the other hand, those who oppose choice see it as an approach that will set education back several decades, as an approach that will resegregate this society, and will facilitate selection based on socio-economic and political status. Chapter V has explored the occurrence of choice from both a national and statewide perspective. And, it has focused on a single district to determine who is being served by choice.

The response to the issue of who is being served by choice brings this exploration full circle. Congruent with the findings of the recent Carnegie Report, "School Choice" (1992), there is evidence, on the national, state, and local level, to suggest that open enrollment programs are becoming increasingly more popular (particularly among predominately white schools), there does appear to be growing support for choice among the public sector, and current state choice plans appear to facilitate a widening of the gap between advantaged and disadvantaged students.

Some Factors Influencing Parental Choice

Educational choice is promoted as a strategy for bringing excellence to this nation's education system, and for ensuring equity of educational opportunity. Under the auspices of choice, parents, regardless of ethnic background, could choose schools of higher academic quality, thus challenging the low-performing schools to do better (Procter, 1992). Evidence suggests, however, that when parents do select another school, academic concerns are not central to the decision. For example, the Arizona Department of Education, in assessing the impact of choice on that state, surveyed nearly ten thousand parents to determine why they chose another school for their children. Only about one-third reported that the switch had been made primarily for academic reasons (U.S. Department of Education, 1992). The majority of parents said they chose a particular school based on its proximity to home, work, or day care, or other personal considerations. Similarly, in Iowa, only about one-third of the parents surveyed cited educational benefits or academic quality as the primary motive for exercising choice (Rubenstein, et. al., 1992).

For Minnesota, the evidence is less clear. A state-sponsored analysis of application forms in 1990 found that just 16 percent of the parents cited academically related reasons for participating in open enrollment programs. Others cited factors related to geographic proximity, school environment, convenience, and other matters (Procter, 1992). A more recent survey sponsored by the U.S. Department of Education found that a far greater porportion of parents (55 percent) cited learning climate as a reason for switching. However, many Minnesota school administrators disagree, asserting that geography and convenience are, in fact, the overriding motive for most transfers (Rubenstein, et. al., 1992).

On the strength of this evidence and recognizing that parents are not likely to knowingly send their children to schools that are academically deficient, the focus shifts to evidence that suggests

parents who select another school have other important considerations on their minds. Key among these considerations are socio-economic issues. In the affluent suburb of Montclair, New Jersey, for example, families with lower incomes (under \$50,000) tend to use fewer sources of information to make decisions than do higher income residents (Procter, 1992). In Montclair, only about half of lower income families actually visited schools before making a decision. In contrast, 84 percent of the highest income parents made visits to schools prior to selection. Only about one-third of lower income parents used written information about the schools as a resource for determining choice; for the more wealthy families, about 76 percent used written information to facilitate their decision (Lawton, 1992).

Similar findings are beginning to emerge for the target district (Chapter V). One of the major concerns voiced by Florida educators (at all levels) is the lack of involvement by parents in their children's education. According to district school administrators, teachers, and staff, parent interest and involvement in selecting an appropriate curriculum or school for their child appears to be related to one's socio-economic position. Those children who need this involvement the most, the at-risk, often low socioeconomic positioned students are those whose parents are seen least in the school, whose parents do not respond to school administrator or teacher requests for counseling sessions to discuss the student, and, generally, do not involve themselves in educational decisions regarding their children.

The issue of ethnic origin, the most apparent variable influencing parental choice for the target district, has long been associated with socioeconomic position (Kozol, 1993). For the target district and for the nation as a whole, a large number of black children and in some areas poor white children come from poor, uneducated, often single parent homes. According to discussions with district educators, and policy makers, these are, typically, the children whose parents are not involved in key

educational decisions, and who do not choose a "better" school for their children.

In sum, choice appears to work better for some parents than for others. Those with the education, sophistication, and especially the right location are apparently better able to participate in a market driven educational system. Others, those who are poorly educated, language deficient, and, in general, socioeconomically deprived, will be less well informed or be excluded altogether.

Perpetuating Inequity

Thus far, there is little evidence to suggest that increasing choices for families causes educational improvement, greater parental involvement, or increased student learning. The variables associated with student achievement are difficult to measure over time, and solid evidence must be collected in carefully controlled experimental studies before changing the fundamental structure and purpose of public education. Few real academic gains have been shown in the choice programs in Minnesota, in New Jersey, or in New York City. According to Raywid (1989), explanations of success in schools of choice cannot yet be directly related to cause and affect variables, and should be reviewed as hypotheses.

There is, however, evidence to suggest that choice may be a key factor in perpetuating the existence of a dual education system. This nation must be mindful of creating programs that will facilitate "creaming off" the more affluent, often viewed as the more talented students, relegating the remainder, those who are less well positioned, socioeconomically, to low achieving schools. Illustrating this concern, the Australian experience with choice has, indeed, enabled the upper middle-class students to be "creamed" from the public schools by elite private schools, which received state aid and charged substantial fees to students (Boyd & Kerchner, 1988). Boyd and Kerchner (1988) found that "the prestige and career advantages of attending private, elite schools

contributed significantly to a decline in the academic ethos and reputation of public schools. Once set in motion, this "creaming off" dynamic creates a vicious circle that insures its own maintenance" (p.3).

Somewhat ironically, Peterson (1985) demonstrates that the strength of American public education over time has depended on the support of the middle class and its ability to stave off competing institutions. He suggests that the middle class is, in fact, the result of increasing levels of education among the general populace, and that their increased sophistication, knowledge, and political activism is now leading them to challenge the very educational system that fostered their successs. They are, he suggests, increasingly quality conscious and unwilling to accept medicore or poor schooling services (Boyd & Kerchner, 1988). However, this quest for quality by middle-class parents must be juxtaposed with the rising numbers of racial, ethnic, and language minority groups. These groups tend to have low political activity and influence, are typically low on the economic ladder, and have a high incidence of single-parent families (Kozol, 1993). They often suffer learning and physical disabilities (Boyd & Kerchner, 1988).

Society must be wary of educational policies that directly or indirectly foster what has been labeled as "bright flight", policies that can lead to what Moore (1989) views as the "new, improved sorting machine." In their study of student placement and labeling in New York City, Chicago, Boston, and Philadelphia, Moore and Davenport (1988) found that educational choice was, in the main, operating to the detriment of students at-risk. Relating their findings to the issues of equity, they found that magnet schools (except in Boston) tended to admit students with high basic skills and test scores, good attendance, good behavior records, a mastery of English, no record of being held back, and no special learning problems. In all four cities, admissions criteria excluded a high percentage of at-risk students from attending magnet programs of choice.

Most parents of at-risk students did not understand nor comprehend the complex formal and informal intricacies of the high school admission process. Families that did have the time and the skills to master these intricacies were at a major disadvantage in that they were poor, had themselves failed in school, and did not speak English.

While these results come from only four cities, they highlight the essence of the equity concerns facing other choice programs. Specifically, they echo the concerns voiced by those who expressed their views about the magnet program in the target district (Chapter V). These equity issues clearly relate to recruitment, selection, placement, tracking, sorting, retention, and career growth of students and should cause educators and policymakers to carefully examine changes in their policies, practices, and attitudes regarding equal access to quality education for all students.

What Does Choice Promote

Reflecting the conflict that permeates this nation's public educational system, society, at once embraces and espouses the importance of education for everyone regardless of social, political, or economic position, while at the same time, it fosters and perpetuates existing inequities. In the face of ideologies and policies intended to create equal educational opportunities for everyone, research reports that 25 to 40 percent of this nation's students are destined for academic and social failure (Shipley, 1993). For example, public education in this society has traditionally endorsed a system wherein a student's destiny is determined as early as first grade. As a result, the system historically guarantees about 25 percent of the population will be well educated. The remainder fit into categories just below this 25 percent (i.e., those who finish school yet do not get well paying jobs; those who leave school, who often become disenfranchised members of the society; and those who are in some level of special education, who have largely been written off by a system that has yet determined an appropriate way to educate them) (Kozol,

1993). Historically, we have rationalized this occurrence with the quiet yet pervasive attitude that we really do not need for all of our students to do well in school--particularly women, minorities, and poor people (Shipley; 1993).

In the face of recent technological innovations and changes, and the ever changing, expanding and global economy, our attitude has also apparently changed. Today, making the educational system work for all who participate in it has become a key focus, particularly among government and corporate sectors. This change in attitude, however, did not occur because as a society we 'saw the light'. It changed because we felt the pressure of foreign competition, of unemployment, of inflation, of crime, and of all those other factors related to this phase in our national development.

The change in our attitude about public education has resulted in the development of a comprehensive educational reform strategy. At the heart of this new agenda is educational choice--a customer focused approach intended to infuse competition into a traditionally monopolistic system. Choice it is argued will enable parents and students to select a school based on their academic, social, economic and political needs. In so doing, it will force less successful schools into a position wherein they will have to reconsider their mission, and their method for delivering education that will achieve that mission. Driven by the conviction that this nation's public education system is in deep trouble, that without sweeping educational reforms the nation will be in deep trouble, socially, politically, and economically, advocates of choice are promoting their agenda from the most respected political, academic, and corporate arenas.

The argument for choice is often couched in the rhetoric of individualism and self interest. Focusing, largely, on economic issues, advocates of choice neglect the ways in which society's vision of public education has traditionally served larger social ends. This is not to

suggest that advocates of choice have no awareness of the social dimensions of public education, or of the importance of education relative to the preservation of society. However, in their enthusiasm to change, they must be careful not to look beyond this basic function. In structuring the debate within this framework, choice advocates must be wary of distorting society's vision of public education. From the earliest days of this nation's struggle for freedom and independence, it was understood that our educational system should and must serve both private benefit and public good. This was to be accomplished through the organization of our schools. Traditionally, local citizens and communities would collectively build schools and hire schoolmasters. The very fact, that children from a wide range of social and economic backgrounds came together in a common school setting, ideally, enhanced the dimensions of public education. Perhaps not yet achieving the established ideals, schools historically have functioned to provide the social anchors that have served the ideals of the nation.

The choice debate is, thus, not about past educational practice. Rather, it is about educational thought and the need to draw upon that thought as we confront the issues of today. Largely policy issues, some amount of focus must be directed toward recognizing and resolving the ongoing equity conflict, a conflict fraught with political and economic implications for the survival of society.

While there is an abundance of evidence to suggest that the equity issue is a long-standing concern and is yet ongoing, the choice agenda lends a new dimension. It openly seeks to infuse competition. By its very definition, competition creates rivalry in the quest to determine the best, the most powerful, the most successful, etc. Unbridled competition in public education may, indeed, facilitate the separation of the haves from the have-nots. Rather than a strategy for improvement, choice may create nothing more than an ideology for blaming the victim, for enabeling the haves to point to the have-nots and say "we provided the

opportunity for choice, you simply did not make the right choices."

In designing recent educational reforms, former President Bush declared "dollars don't buy education." He and his successor, President Clinton, emphasize restructuring existing approaches to education. Seemingly a cost free approach, wherein allocated educational dollars move with the student to the receiving school, or where vouchers are awarded to parents to send their children to another public or private school deemed better by the parent, this emphasis apparently appeals to the media and to business, both supporters of educational choice.

However, given the diverse socio-economic structure that characterizes the classes within society, can we afford, in the name of competition, to take dollars and other resources away from schools and school districts that cannot now, nor will they in the foreseeable future, be able to successfully compete with schools in more affluent sectors. Consider, for example, the allocation of educational dollars to parents who desire to send their children to a better school, a private school, or to school them at home. What happens to the children of parents who do not have the resources, even with the voucher, to send them across town to a better public school or to a private school? Moreover, can we afford to simply provide a voucher to parents who seek to provide home schooling for their children? What regulations, standards, and governance will we apply to ensure adequate education for students who participate in home schooling efforts? Perhaps, more importantly, what happens to the school losing educational funds to parents who select another, better school? Can we realistically or fairly take dollars from schools that are already attended by children at the low end of the socio-economic continuum, schools that do not have the resources to compete with the schools in the more affluent sectors, schools that will not attract new students?

In response to promises of corporate dollars to enhance technological and restructuring efforts, we must be careful not to confuse philanthropy with justice. Cognizant that corporate dollars are indeed

useful where applied, they amount to only about \$250 million a year for elementary and secondary public schools (Kozol, 1993). Is this sufficient to balance an existing lopsided system, or the basis for establishing an equitable national policy on education? Moreover, mindful of the principles upon which this nation was founded, business and governmental solutions to educational issues raise serious questions about the compelling interest of federal government and corporate entities in education. Should, for example, government and corporate involvement in public education extend beyond the preservation of abstract concepts of a free nation?

Finally, beyond economic selection and separation, choice always comes back to concerns about ethnic separation. Pervading the arguments against choice, it has been suggested that choice offers nothing more than a strategy that will facilitate selection based on socio-economic status, rather than ethnic origin. The concern is essentially that the segregation issue has become more sophisticated than it was during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. Minority leaders are voicing their concern that today society has found a way to achieve segregation without focusing on ethnic minorities. While total segregation is not likely to occur as a result of the choice agenda, those at the low end of the socio-economic scale, typically blacks, hispanics, and women, will comprise the overwhelming majority of those who will attend the schools that do not have the resources to compete in the choice arena. They will, in essence, become pawns in the corporate sectors need to staff the new economic order.

This is precisely the outcome that arouses the passions of those who oppose choice. Separation of students based on variables associated with socioeconomic position (i.e., income, race, level of education, etc.) is precisely the issue that joins the disagreement about choice to conflicting political and ideological approaches about the purpose and function of education. While both sides agree that education in this

society could and should be improved, the larger issue is historically linked to the socio-political and economic confrontations regarding the role of education to the larger society. In this context, restructuring education is no simple matter. Social, political, and economic structures (education among them) are embedded in systems of meaning, value, belief, and knowledge (Saranson, 1982). Such systems comprise the culture of society's institutions and to effectively change or alter the structure of education, one must attend, not just to the rules, roles, and relationships, but to the systems of beliefs and values as well (Blau, 1962).

Choice advocates must consider expanding their focus to include some investigation and discourse on the purpose and function of public education. They must draw upon early intellectual resources that define public education. In so doing, they must preserve the importance of education, secure in the knowledge that education is one of this society's principal institutions. As such, its mission, in part, is to sustain the democracy, to ensure educational excellence for all.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

A Comparison of Selected Population Characteristics: District, State, and National Comparisons, 1993

Population Characteristics	Target District	State of Florida	United States
Total Population	673,000	13,000,000	248,000,000
Percent Male	48	49	49
Percent Female	52	51	51
Percent Minority (All Ethnic Groups)	27	18	19
Percent Employed (16 Years and Older)	46	44	43
Percent High School Graduates	76	74	75
Percent Four Year College Graduates	13	14	13
Mean Family Income	\$35,500	32,000	\$35,000

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1993. (113th Edition) Washington, DC.

Bureau of Economic and Business Research, Florida Statistical Abstract: 1992. College of Business Administration, University of Florida.

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

STATEWIDE CHOICE PROGRAMS: AN OVERVIEW

ALABAMA

The 1991 Educational Improvement Act allows any of the state's 129 school districts to participate in inter- and intradistrict choice. Long-standing magnet school programs exist in Mobile, Jefferson, and Montgomery Counties, and in Huntsville. The choice plan is optional for all districts. Any two systems can agree to a plan but must file it with the state board. As of July 1992, not districts had done so. State officials predict limited impact due to court ordered desegregation plans, the large number of system with only one high school, and the lack of addition funding for transportation.

ALASKA

The Governor's Commission on School Choice, issued a report in the summer of 1992 proposing a three-year pilot program authorizing charter schools, expanding opportunities for cross-district transfers, and establishing a postsecondary options program allowing high school students to attend college courses for credit. Governor Walter Hickel had asked the commission to study the feasibility of a statewide voucher plan to include private-school choice, but the commission rejected the idea. The panel's recommendations will be discussed at public forums during the fall 1992, and the state board will make final recommendations to the legislature sometime thereafter.

ARIZONA

Open enrollment exists on a wide scale, but is left to the discretion of local districts. Since 1984, the state has allowed high school students to take college courses not offered in their high school. The legislature considered but failed to adopt a statewide choice plan in the 1992 session. Some 9000 of the state's 63,000 public school students attended school outside their districts as of March, while another 21,000 attended non-neighborhood schools in their own districts. Over 78 percent of the state's districts enroll non-resident students. A state survey of parents found that two-thirds of the students who made inter- and intra-district transfers were white. Only one-third cited academics as the reason for switching schools.

ARKANSAS

Statewide choice was enacted in 1989 and amended in 1991. Currently, 1,667 students--about 4 percent of the state's 430,000 public school students--are taking part in interdistrict transfers. District participation is optional. Districts can limit the number of students they accept depending on the space available, the impact of the class size, or the effect on existing desegregation plans. Parents are responsible for transporting students to the border of the receiving district. Transferring students are ineligible for interscholastic sports for one year.

CALIFORNIA

In 1992, legislators considered a statewide interdistrict measure allowing more freedom to transfer among public schools. A second proposal would open the way to state-funded transfers to private schools beginning in 1993. Neither has been adopted. In July 1992, a statewide voucher

initiative was ruled off the November 1992 ballot by the state supreme court due to the lack of validated signatures, but it's widely assumed that backers will try again for the June 1994 ballot. If enacted, this initiative would offer all students a scholarship equal to 50 percent of local and state per-pupil costs, spendable at any public or private school.

Since 1987 the state's education code has allowed parents to enroll their children in the district in which they work. Some 15,000 to 20,000 students are enrolled under this option. Many others are involved in local inter- and intra-district choice programs.

COLORADO

Some 5,000 students participate in a range of choice options and 134 of 176 school districts have open enrollment for outside students, depending mainly upon space considerations. Colorado's 1990 Interdistrict Public Schools Choice Program awards up to \$100,000 to participating districts. Other options: A Second Change Program enacted in 1985 allowing dropouts to attend any school in or out of their district, at state expense; and a Postsecondary Enrollment Options Program allowing eleventh and twelfth graders to take college courses at public universities. A plan to include private universities is under consideration.

In November, voters rejected by a two-to-one margin a citizen initiative that would have provided up to \$2,500 in public funds to parents sending their children to private or parochial school or educating their children at home.

CONNECTICUT

The state is using start-up grants to encourage regional magnet school programs aimed at promoting urban-suburban student transfers to achieve racial balance. By 1992 only one such magnet existed, in East Lynne. The state also contains seventeen intradistrict magnet schools mostly in urban districts.

DELAWARE

The choice debate has not led to statewide action as yet.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

In the summer of 1992 Superintendent Franklin L. Smith proposed a controlled choice plan to convert every public school in the district into a magnet school within five years and allow parents to choose among them.

FLORIDA

In the 1992 session, the legislature rejected a statewide plan providing choice certificates redeemable at any public school, or grants to low income families at eligible private schools. Charlotte County has had an open enrollment policy for years, and many districts operate magnet school programs. Since 1987, the state has had a postsecondary options plan allowing qualified high school students to enroll in community college courses.

GEORGIA

The state has no law authorizing choice, but does permit non-resident transfers for compelling reasons.

HAWAII

Hawaii does not have statewide choice, but parents may apply for a geographic exception that would allow their children to go to schools outside their attendance area, as long as both the sending and receiving schools agree.

IDAHO

An open enrollment law was adopted by the state in 1990. According to a statewide survey, some 2,580 students attended schools outside their home districts during the 1990-91 school year, up 20 percent from the preceding year. Local superintendents surveyed said remoteness and lack of space limited participation.

ILLINOIS

There are no statewide choice plans or initiatives here at present. A plan to pay up to \$2,300 per child in state money to help Chicago parents send children to private schools was not approved by the legislature. A policy study in 1990 supported local choice initiatives but declined to recommend statewide open enrollment because of widespread disparities in local funding. Several districts including Carpentersville and Kankakee have districtwide plans. Rockford and Waukegan are developing comprehensive controlled choice programs, and Chicago has operated a magnet school for years.

INDIANA

Lawmakers have rejected several open enrollment plans, pilot programs for various choice options, and a public-private school voucher program. The Indianapolis school board in 1992 approved a controlled choice plan, breaking the district into zones with equal minority populations and allowing options for elementary and middle school students. The plan is on hold pending court approval. Critics including teachers and community leaders have denounced it as a hastily drafted response to a voucher program funded privately by the Indianapolis-based Golden rule Insurance Company that allows poor inner city children to attend private or parochial schools.

IOWA

in 1991-92, some 5,000 students participated in a statewide choice plan enacted in 1989. Another 2,000 were expected to participate in the fall of 1992. All districts must participate, but transfers can be limited in the dozen districts with desegregation plans. State aid follows students, and state subsidizes transportation for poor students. Transfer students has been required to wait one year before participating in interdistrict athletics, but the legislature reduced this waiting period to 90 days. A state survey of parents found a high level of satisfaction with choice. The typical family taking part in choice was white, had above average family income and education, and was transferring from a smaller district to a larger one with more course offerings or extracurricular activities. The four main reasons for transfer were, in order: general education benefits, family convenience, values and philosophy, and nearness to home.

KANSAS

No statewide open enrollment laws are under active consideration. Students can transfer at the discretion of participating districts, and some 6,500 attend schools outside their home district.

KENTUCKY

Several statewide choice measures died in the legislature during 1992. One would have allowed students to attend any public school in the state by-out required them to provide their own transportation

LOUISIANA

Numerous school choice bills have died in the legislature in recent years, including some permitting private-school participation. But the state has a number of magnet schools, programs for gifted and talented students, and a postsecondary options program for high achieving high school students.

MAINE

No statewide plan exists at present, though individual schools allow student transfers. The rural nature of the state and thus the high transportation costs make widespread choice difficult. For years the state has allowed public funds to follow students to nonreligious private schools if public schools are unavailable in their home district. In 1987 the legislature adopted a postsecondary options plan allowing high school students to attend colleges for credit, with tuition paid by the district.

MARYLAND

Maryland has no statewide choice plan, but since 1985 Prince Georges County has had an extensive magnet-school program as a result of desegregation.

MASSACHUSETTS

A statewide choice plan that took effect September 1991 permits interdistrict transfer by any student, provided that the receiving district agrees. Participation is optional for all districts, though none can bar its own students from leaving. About 30 districts opted into the plan in its first year, and 1,100 students took part. As originally adopted, the plan required a transferring student's home district to reimburse the receiving district for the full per-pupil cost. The legislature amended the law in July 1992 to cap reimbursements at \$5,000 per pupil, but the law remains among the nation's most punitive. The state has highly acclaimed intradistrict controlled choice programs in Cambridge, Boston, Lawrence, and Fall River.

MICHIGAN

A statewide choice program was to take effect in the 1992-93 school year, but the legislature decided in 1992 to postpone it for a year because budgetary problems left the state unable to provide needed transportation aid. The plan which will be mandatory for all districts in the 1993-94 school year, requires every district with more than one school at a particular grade level to develop and implement a school choice plan. Local plans must provide, among other things, adequate transportation and parent information about available programs. Districts failing to do so may lose state funding

MINNESOTA

Widely regarded as a pioneer of choice, Minnesota has had strong magnet school programs in the Twin Cities since the late 1960s. It adopted a postsecondary options plan in 1985 and became the nation's first to adopt a phased-in statewide open enrollment policy in 1987. The state also operates a second chance program for high school dropouts. About 13,000 of the state's 749,000 students participated in the open enrollment plan in 1991-92. Few districts have gained or lost significant numbers of students, however, and choice's impact on the quality of instruction has been inconclusive.

MISSISSIPPI

Governor Kirk Fordice has propose a pilot choice program. But state education officials say choice would prove difficult in a rural state where transportation costs run far ahead of available funding, severe local funding inequities exist, and school climate and racial history raise much suspicion about school choice.

MISSOURI

Voters last November rejected by a 2-1 margin an education funding reform package that included statewide choice. For many years, districts with only elementary programs gave students the choice to attend any school in an approved district in the county of residence, or an adjacent county. Both Kansas City and St. Louis have operated interdistrict programs designed to achieve racial balance. Under the court ordered plan in St. Louis, some thirteen thousand students attend schools of their choosing outside their districts.

MONTANA

Choice is not deemed a meaningful statewide option for most of the 155,000 students in a sprawling rural state of 147,000 square miles. For years, the state has allowed students to attend other districts, however, and receiving districts may or may not charge tuition. A lack of state transportation subsidies makes choice unrealistic for most residents.

NEBRASKA

In 1989, the legislature adopted a statewide interdistrict choice plan which currently involves 3,300 students. Transferring students have to wait 90 days before participating in interscholastic athletics. All but poor parents are required to pay for transportation to the receiving district. Unless they move, students can change districts once prior to graduation.

NEVADA

Legislators may consider choice in the 1993 session. State education officials predict a hard fought battle, particularly if the plan includes private schools.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

In October 1991 a policy statement from the state board of education supported school choice, but left action up to the local districts. Portsmouth voters turned down a choice referendum by a margin of 5-1. A statewide proposal allowing dissatisfied parents send their children to any state-approved school may be sent to the state Supreme Court for an opinion on its constitutionality.

NEW JERSEY

A wide-ranging choice initiative promoted by Governor Thomas Kean was stalled by the 1990 budget shortfall. A pilot program was proposed in 1988 but received no funding. Pending legislation would provide a minimum level of state funding to follow students transferring to schools outside their districts. But it would include private schools, and participation by districts would be optional.

Montclair operates a nationally acclaimed magnet-school program, and Newark, Atlantic City, and Franklin Township also have extensive magnet-school choice programs.

NEW MEXICO

Since 1978, state law has allowed local districts to admit nonresident students, if space is available. State aid follows the student, but the receiving districts are only responsible for transporting students within their own borders. The state also has a postsecondary options program and numerous intradistrict choice plans.

NEW YORK

Although there is no legislatively prescribed plan, the Board of Regents "New Compact for Learning" embraced choice and committed the state to removing and administrative obstacles. The board last summer rejected nonpublic school choice. Locally, East Harlem's District 4 and several Manhattan districts have extensive open enrollment programs. In September 1992, New York City's school chancellor, Joseph Fernandez, proposed allowing elementary and junior high school children to attend any school they wish in any of New York's 32 local districts beginning in the fall of 1993. Buffalo and Yonkers have long-standing magnet school programs, and Rochester and Buffalo operate urban-suburban transfer programs allowing interdistrict choice to achieve racial balance. The state provides transportation to participating students.

NORTH CAROLINA

Choice has not yet surfaced as a statewide issue.

NORTH DAKOTA

Early discussions are under way for a possible statewide plan similar to Minnesota's pioneering open enrollment system. There is great concern, however, that choice would increase pressures to consolidate or close the state's many small schools.

OHIO

The state's current interdistrict law gives local districts the option of participating. So far, only 115 students have transferred. Beginning in July 1993, state law requires all districts to adopt intradistrict choice policies, as well as policies either prohibiting all student transfers from adjacent districts or allowing such transfers to occur tuition free. A 1991 state report predicted that open enrollment is not likely to result in massive student movement.

OKLAHOMA

The legislature has failed so far to pass an open enrollment plan. among the problems cited by state officials is the lack of funding for transportation. Many districts have intradistrict programs, however.

OREGON

State officials say that 5 percent of Oregon's roughly 500,000 students are in inter- and intradistrict choice programs that were enacted in 1991. In July 1992, the state board of education issued guidelines to help districts that want to establish programs. Extensive programs already exist in Eugene and Portland.

PENNSYLVANIA

In December 1991, legislators rejected, by a 114-89 vote, a plan allowing students to attend any public, private, or parochial school they wished and providing \$9,000 tuition waivers.

RHODE ISLAND

Choice has not assumed a significant role in this state. There is no law mandating statewide choice, but thirty-two hundred students take part in local school option plans in fourteen of the state's thirty-seven districts. More than twenty-four hundred of those students are in Providence.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Choice remains entirely a local school district option. A few districts, notably Richland School District Two, are experiencing with their own plans.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Choice hasn't surfaced as a major school reform issues in this sparsely populated state. However, the state has one of the nation's more liberal home schooling guidelines: in 1990-91, some 400 home schools served 727 students, and 39 church sponsored schools served another 731 students.

TENNESSEE

Choice has a seventy-year history in this state. State law allows any student to attend the school nearest home, even if that school lies outside these student's district. Transferring students are responsible for transportation costs. The state estimates that twenty-two thousand students attended schools outside their home districts in 1991.

TEXAS

Legislators are studying a variety of options including allowing state funding to follow students to non-public schools. Several districts, notably Garland and Houston, operate extensive magnet-school programs.

UTAH

A statewide choice law enacted in 1991 cleared the way for inter- and intradistrict programs which now involve an estimated four to five thousand students. The state is considering providing funding for interdistrict transportation.

VERMONT

For more than a hundred years, the state has allowed students from districts without public high schools to attend public or non-public schools, with taxpayers paying all or part of the cost. There are eighty such districts, most of them quite small. Some lawmakers now favor excluding high-cost prep schools from the program.

VIRGINIA

The state is in the midst of a three-phase study of possible statewide choice programs. Virginia operates one of the nation's only statewide magnet school programs, the "Virginia Governor's Schools," with

sixty-two schools. Portsmouth operates a system of magnet high schools, and Roanoke has twenty-nine magnet school programs.

WASHINGTON

A "Learning by Choice" program adopted in 1990 required all districts to establish policies allowing students to transfer within districts and giving them wider freedom to transfer to any district in the state; established a phased-in "Running Start" program allowing eleventh and twelfth graders to enroll in community colleges and vocational institutions while attending high school; and created a seventh and eighth grade program allowing students to earn high school credits at schools of their choice.

As of October 1991, twenty-four thousand students were involved in intradistrict choice programs. Another 9,900 were in interdistrict plans, 575 were in "Running Start", and 5,834 were in seventh and eighth grade choice programs.

WEST VIRGINIA

The state has no provisions for school choice, but students can attend schools in an adjoining county where space is available and when both school board agree to the transfer.

WISCONSIN

The Milwaukee Parental Choice Program passed by state lawmakers in 1990 is the nation's only local school choice plan allowing public school children to attend private school at taxpayer expense. The controversial plan provides about \$2,600 per student for up to a thousand poor students to attend qualified non-sectarian private schools. Some 632 students participated in the fall of 1992.

Governor Tommy Thompson has thus far failed to get the number of other statewide plans through the legislature, including interdistrict choice and postsecondary options.

WYOMING

Choice is not a burning issue in this state, particularly since the school population is low and the distances between schools are great. However, state officials say that district boundaries are often ignored.

Source: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1992.

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

Florida's Public and Nonpublic Schools A Demographic Profile

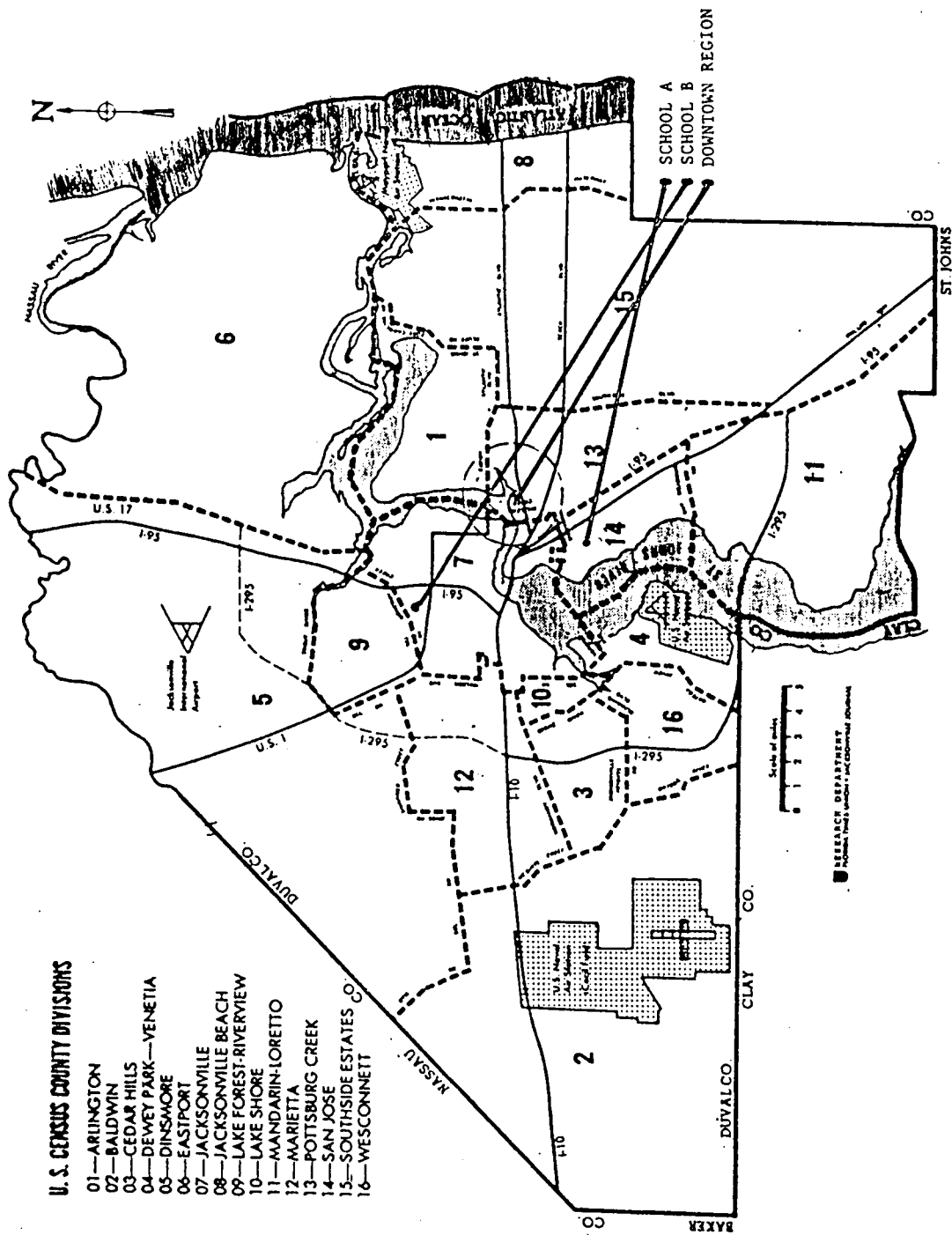
	Public Schools	Nonpublic Schools
Students	1,838,534	238,443
Counties Served	67	53
High School Enrollment	491,534	49,818
K-8 Enrollment	1,349,752	189,125
Pre-K Enrollment	20,184	55,860
Classroom Teachers	100,570	13,201
Other Instructors	10,495	1,088
Administrators	8,961	2,236
High Schools	363	412
Elem./Middle Schools	1,671	1,107
Upgraded/Except. Schools	123	155
Total Number of Schools	2,157	1,674
Ratio of Admin.to Schools	4.2:1	1.3:1
Religious Schools	0	896
Religious Enrollment	0	152,779
Spending Per Student	\$5,154	\$1,422 (Elm)
		\$2,545 (HS)

Source: MIS Statistical Brief, Membership in Florida's Public Schools,
Fall 1991: Florida Department of Education

Characteristics of Nonpublic Schools in Florida, October 1991:
Florida Department of Education.

APPENDIX D

A Map of the Target District



APPENDIX E

APPENDIX E

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF TARGETED SCHOOL DISTRICT

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS:

Total = 672,971
Black = 162,909
White = 479,604
Hispanic = 17,518
Other = 12,940

Male = 344,234
Female = 328,737

Native Born = 649,661
Foreign Born = 23,310

ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS:

Mean Family Income (by number of households)

\$ 0.00 - \$ 5,000 = 17,601 Households
\$ 5,000 - \$ 9,999 = 21,351
\$ 10,000 - \$14,999 = 23,307
\$ 15,000 - \$24,999 = 49,385
\$ 25,000 - \$34,999 = 44,083
\$ 35,000 - \$49,999 = 48,332
\$ 50,000 - \$74,999 = 34,797
\$ 75,000 - \$99,888 = 10,374
\$100,000 - plus = 7,538

EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS:

Persons 25 Years of Age and Older

Total = 424,040
0 - 9th grade = 30,801
9 - 12th grade = 67,261 (no diploma)
High school Graduate = 130,881 (includes equivalency)
Some college, no degree = 87,370
Associate Degree = 29,741
Bachelors Degree = 55,331
Graduate/Professional Degree = 22,655

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. U.S.
Government Printing Office, 1990.

APPENDIX F

APPENDIX F

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SELECTED SCHOOLS

	SCHOOL A	SCHOOL B
Total number of students	1,748	1,317
Total white students	1,182	7
Total black students	440	1,309
Total Hispanic students	38	0
Total Asian/Pacific Islander	86	1
Total American Indian	2	0
Total number of teachers	93	74
Total male	35	31
Total female	58	43
Total white	67	50
Total black	25	22
Total Hispanic	1	2
Mean Family Income	\$24,300	\$23,970

Source: District School Board, Personnel System, 1993-94.
District Public School Board, 1993-94.

VITA

Leslie L. Daniels was born in Beaufort, South Carolina on April 30. The fourth of seven children, whose father is a retired Army officer, she has been the recipient of a broad educational experience, attending both parochial and public schools across this nation and overseas. In 1981 she earned a Bachelor of Arts degree (Sociology) from the University of Alabama, Birmingham, School of Social and Behavioral Sciences. In 1984 she received a Master of Arts degree (Sociology), also from the University of Alabama, Birmingham, School of Social and Behavioral Sciences.

In the Fall 1984, she entered the Doctoral Program at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. In August 1986 she accepted a faculty/research position with the State University System (SUS) of Florida. While employed with the SUS, she reentered the University of Tennessee in 1992, and received a Doctorate in Sociology in May 1994. She is currently still employed by the Florida State University System.