

By Norman Mailer

Parade

Published: January 23, 2005

Many years ago, I had a good friend who died from a grievous impasse in his body. Open-heart surgery was not then as highly developed, and he had high blood pressure plus a heart valve that passed blood. The high blood pressure aggravated the leak, but the drug to lower such pressure relaxed the valve. Then, more blood seeped forth. He was caught in an insuperable bind.

Something comparable may be going on today in our educational system. Three Presidents so dissimilar as George H.W. Bush, William Jefferson Clinton and George W. Bush have all been equally concerned with the need to improve our public schools. These three men are not at all alike, but they have been in general agreement on this matter for the last 16 years. In 2001, a most important bipartisan bill, No Child Left Behind (NCLB), was passed by a vote of 87-10 in the U.S. Senate. It was a major attempt to solve a major difficulty. Our test scores, in comparison with those of other developed countries, showed that America's best students might be on par with the best from other developed countries, but when we looked at the size of the gap in scoring between our average students and our poor ones, we ranked as the 21st lowest of 24 industrial nations. That was shocking.

The 21st century opened with an emphasis on globalism and technological development. But to succeed in global competition, literacy is necessary among even the lower-paying jobs. Small clerical errors that might be committed at the bottom can build up into large errors at the top, and the consequent need for close checking can consume valuable productive hours.

Moreover, technology and globalism depend on high skills in the STEM subjects (science, technology, engineering and mathematics), yet this is precisely where our best students do not excel. Foreign students who come to study in this country seem happier in these matters. To quote Scott Bass' piece in *The Boston Globe* in February of 2003, "Between 1986 and 1996, foreign students earning STEM field Ph.D.s increased at a rate nearly four times faster than domestic students. In 2000, 43 percent of our physical science Ph.D.s went to non-U.S. citizens."

"If the desire to read diminishes, so does one's ability to read. The search for a culprit does not have to go far."

So, NCLB became one of George W. Bush's first priorities. Many hopes were attached to it. The underlying concept was that our public schools, from kindergarten through to the 12th grade, had to do better. Yearly testing would now begin, and federal money to encourage better training for the weakest students would be made available to every one of our 50 states. There would be annual tests, and those schools that failed to improve would be penalized or, in the most drastic cases, closed. AYP (Adequate Yearly Progress) became the benchmark. Each school would be held accountable for its results.

One large obstacle remained. There was not enough money to take care of the problem. By 2003, the states were already suffering a

combined budget deficit of \$58 billion, but the new cost for NCLB would come to an additional \$84 billion. Corporate, property and state income taxes would have to be raised drastically. That could prove to be political suicide for many state legislators. The U.S. government also came up short, and to the tune of \$27 billion. The combination of tax cuts plus the war in Iraq had swollen the national deficit. As one of the finer educational minds in America, William J. Mathis, put it: "There is scant evidence that the AYP train can even get out of the station."

Even with appropriate funding, educators saw other problems awaiting them. NCLB would call for an unholy emphasis on doing well in tests. This could produce a narrowing of educational goals. Answers to true-or-false or multiple-choice questions would become the drill, and the ability to write essays might fall to the side. That was bound to aggravate another weakness: High school students were showing reduced interest in books. In 2002, among our teenagers and young adults, the drop from 1982 in books read annually came to more than 25 percent.

If the desire to read diminishes, so does one's ability to read. The search for a culprit does not have to go far. There are confirming studies all over academia and the media that too many hours are devoted each day to the tube. Television is seen as the culprit, since the ability to read well is directly related to one's ability to learn. If it is universally understood that the power to concentrate while reading is the royal road to knowledge, what may not be perceived as clearly is how much concentration itself is a species of psychic strength. It can be developed or it can go soft in much the manner that body muscle can be built up or allowed to go slack. The development of physical ability is in direct relation to use. Reading offers its analogy. When children become interested in an activity, their concentration is firm—until it is interrupted. Sixty years ago, children would read for hours. Their powers of concentration developed as naturally as breathing. Good readers became very good readers, even as men and women who go in for weight-lifting will bulk up. The connection between loving to read and doing well in school was no mystery to most students.

"If we want to have the best of all possible worlds, we had better realize that we cannot have all the worlds. I believe that television commercials have got to go."

With the advent of television, the nature of concentration was altered. Yet children could still develop such powers by watching TV. Video and books had a common denominator then—narrative.

In the early years of television, it was even hoped that the attention children gave to TV would improve their interest in reading. Indeed, it might have if TV, left to itself, consisted of uninterrupted narratives. That, of course, was soon not the case. There were constant interruptions to programs—the commercials.

Every parent has had the experience of picking up a 2- or 3-year-old who is busy at play. All too often, a tantrum occurs. Even as adults, we have to learn to contain our annoyance when our thoughts are broken into. For a child, an interruption to one's concentration can prove as painful as a verbal rebuke.

Yet this is what we do to our children for hours every day. On the

major networks, the amount of time given to commercials and other promotional messages increased by 36 percent from 1991 to 2003. Each of the four major networks now offers 52 minutes of commercials in the three hours from 8 p.m. to 11 p.m. every day. It is equal to saying that every seven, 10 or 12 minutes, our attention to what is happening on the tube is cut into by a commercial. It is as bad for most children's shows. Soon enough, children develop a fail-safe. Since the child knows that any interesting story will soon be amputated by a kaleidoscope of toys, food, dolls, clowns, new colors and the clutter of six or seven wholly different products all following one another in 10-, 20- and 30-second spots all the way through a three-minute break, the child also comes to recognize that concentration is not one's friend but is treacherous. For soon enough, attention will be turned inside out. The need to get up and move can become a frantic if routine response for highly keyed children. Other kids, stupefied by the onslaught of a quick series of ads that have nothing to do with each other, suffer a dire spiritual product—stagnation. They sit on the couch in a stupor, they eat and drink, and alarms are sounded through the nation. Our children are becoming obese.

What, then, is to be done? These six words falter before problems that are comparable to the impasse that visited my old dead friend. We have an economy that is stimulated by TV advertising. Yet the constant interruption of concentration it generates not only dominates much of our lives, but over the long run also is bound to bleed into our prosperity. The rest of the world is getting into position to do far better than us with future economic conditions.

If we want to have the best of all possible worlds, we had better recognize that we cannot have all the worlds. I believe that television commercials have got to go. Let us pay directly for what we enjoy on television rather than pass the spiritual cost on to our children and their children.

— Gerald W. Bracey and Norman Mailer

Parade

2005-01-23

http://archive.parade.com/2005/0123/0123_one_idea.html

INDEX OF ATROCITIES

Pages: 177

[1] 2 3 4 Next >> Last >>

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Perable Place

Many years ago, I had a good friend who died from an intolerable condition. This in his system, this was in the period, after would wait it when heart surgery was not yet highly developed, and he had high blood pressure and a heart condition that passed blood when it should not. The high blood pressure aggravated the condition, but the drugs to lower his blood relaxed the valves too much. His heart caught in an infarcted kind.

There is even more in America, that something comparable is going on with the educational system. ~~There are~~ some small examples: In — — — — — a local school board refused to pay for the ~~required~~ required maintenance money to receive Federal funds for Head Start which would presumably help in educating taped pupils. The township wanted to use that money to ~~maintain~~ maintain a parking lot for the high school. Goodell stood up. It came to a vote and the mothers who wanted Head Start funds for their children were soundly defeated. Goodell, felt the town was

more important part of the education process. 2

All the same, three presidents or vice-presidents as George H.W. Bush, William Jefferson Clinton, and George W. Bush have all been equally concerned (and in particular) with the need to improve our educational system. All three men may be considerably different in every other way, but for the last sixteen years, they have agreed on their priority and in ^{2,000} ~~1999~~ a most important bill - No Child Left Behind - was passed by a vote of 97-10 ^{in the U.S. Senate} ^(statute text).

What was involved? Our focus in comparison with other countries, tell us that our best students are at a par with the best in other developed nations, but our lower scores are a disaster. In a ranking of 24 industrial nations, there is a gap between our average scores and our best scores that is no less than shocking. We rank as the 21st lowest of the 24 nations ^(our scores).

This ~~gap~~ ^{disparity} has the makings of a future disaster. As seen by the ~~century~~ ^{century} of power in Washington, the future will belong to globalization and technological development. For that, a sufficient number of high-liters is necessary. ~~There is~~ ^{There is} a need to the lower paying jobs & small

has been attracted to it. The ~~following~~ ^{underlying} concept was that all the ~~elementary and high~~ ^{elementary and high} schools in America from kindergarten through the eight years of high school K-12 and the four years of high school K-12 as it was inevitably termed were going to be improved across the board. Testing would begin in every one of the 35 states, and ~~general~~ federal money, in excess of \$1 billion, would be available to each of the states and their local governments ~~providing~~ ^{providing} they accepted in with matching funds. The emphasis would be on literature, science, and mathematics. These schools would be required to pass their annual tests or be penalized, attacked and/or closed. It was a cult of draconian efforts for ~~adequate~~ ^{adequate} yearly progress AYP, became the touchstone. Test scores were to be measured annually and were obligated to improve annually. Every school was to be held accountable, it was ~~possible~~ ^{possible} and penalties would be attached to every vestige of failure.

One of the firm educational purveyors, Amos, William J. Mattar, in a close study of the problems that ensued, remarks that "there is scant evidence that the AYP team can ever get out of the station."

Q. ~~Why, why?~~ And the answer is, it is back to my old dead friend, reality.

helpless physiological constraints then (B)
 has not enough money to take care of the
 problem. The State Deficit to go states
 were in arrears with their budgets to the
~~transferring~~ ^{at least} ~~than \$55 billion dollars~~
 were facing deficit in 2002 of \$15 bn/
 \$55 billion dollars. Now, with the assistance
 of NCLB they would have to ~~pay~~ ^{paying} ~~an~~
 estimated increase of ~~\$1.6 billion dollars~~
^{already} \$472.7 billion dollars had been
 spent in 2001-2002, but ~~the~~ ^{in the US, by education} if no other
 way to be left behind, the states would
 now have to increase their corporate
 property and income taxes in order to
 qualify for the matching funds. For that
 reason many states might fail to
 join the program. They could not afford
 it. The Fed has to give them more
 money. But the US government would not
 the combination of the tax cuts and
 the war in Iraq had created the very
 budgetary limitations - to use a
 modest word.

(expenditure)

of all cases \$94.5 billion
 or at most \$148 billion

FROM : nm

FAX NO. : 5084872138

02/11/11 11:53 PM

FROM : JMWORDCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186243782

02/11/11 02:53 PM

Parade draft

*Indict - send me
trifle - space tomorrow morning
with word count*

Many years ago, I had a good friend who died from an intolerable contradiction in his system. This was in the period after World War II when heart surgery was not yet highly developed, and he had high blood pressure and a leaky valve that passed blood when it shouldn't. The high blood pressure aggravated the condition, but the drug ^{he took} to lower his rate relaxed his ^{and so even more blood seeped} valves ^{too much.} He was caught in an insuperable bind.

There is an anxiety in America today that something comparable is going on with the educational system. ^{Three presidents ago} Here are some small examples: in the

Lake Orion School District (Michigan), the local school board refused to put

up the required matching income to receive Federal funds for Head Start

FROM :nm

FAX NO. :5084872136

01/20/02 10:13PM F1

FROM :JMWORDCRAFT

FAX NO. :17186243782

01/20/02 2:08PM F1

2

which would presumably help disadvantaged pupils. The townspeople wanted to use the money to pave a parking lot for the high school football stadium. It came to a vote and the mothers who wanted Head Start funds for their children were soundly defeated. Football, felt the town, was a more important part of the educational process.

~~All the same, three presidents as different~~ *disparately* (as George H W Bush

William Jefferson Clinton, and George W. Bush have all been equally

concerned ~~(and in bipartisan fashion)~~ with the need to improve our

educational system. ~~Three~~ *Those* ~~three men~~ may be ~~considerable~~ different in every

other respect, but for the last sixteen years ~~they have agreed~~ *been in agreement* on this priority

and in 2002, a most important ~~bill~~ *bipartisan* (bill, No Child Left Behind, was passed by a

vote of 87-10 in the US Senate. *It was a major attempt*

to solve a major difficulty

What was involved? Our students' test scores in comparison with other

American

developed *showed that we are on par*
countries tell us our best students are at a par with the best in other developed ~~countries~~

~~countries, but that these are~~
~~nations, but our low scores are~~ *disastrous*. In a ranking of 24 industrialized

Counties but when we noted the difference, *which*

~~nations there is a gap between our average scorers and our low scorers~~ *that is*
shocking. When we wanted to see the difference between
our general average and our lowest scoring
no less than shocking. We rank as the 21st lowest of the 24 nations. That was the thing

To Bush, Clinton and Clinton
This has the makings of an ongoing disaster. As seen by the centers of

as well as Bill Clinton and Al Gore, the future of
Twenty-first Century as seen in the year 2000 *relayed*
power in Washington, the future will belong to globalism and technological

and this applies
development. For that, a support system of high literacy is necessary. *many of*

even to the lower paying jobs. Small clerical errors and minor mistakes *can add up*

at the bottom could
~~transmission can~~ extrapolate into large errors at the top. *if for nothing else*

situations the need to oversee
over the smallest detail could
demands for point-by-point checking *can consume productive hours*

Moreover, it was evident that
Nor is our educational system free of a *handicapped* among our

concerning our
best students. Technology and globalism depend on high skills in science

STEM subjects

FROM :nm

FAX NO. :5084872136

05/10/01 3:12 PM P2

FROM :JMWORDCRAFT

FAX NO. :17186243782

05/24/02 3:02 PM P1

4

(science)

technology, engineering and mathematics) yet this is precisely where ~~our best~~ ^{they do}

^{exactly} ~~students do not shine. These studies, called STEM subjects for short, appear~~

^{considerably} ~~to have greater appeal to foreign students in this country than to our own~~ ^{the study} ~~it~~

~~seems as if the academic demands appear a little awesome to too many~~

~~young, qualified Americans.~~ To quote Scott Bass's piece in the Boston Globe

<sup>OK
delete
Giff
the</sup> in January of this year, "Between 1996 and 1999, foreign students earning

STEM field Ph.D.'s increased at a rate nearly four times faster than domestic

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So, NCLB (No Child Left Behind) became one of George W. Bush's

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Oct 10 1991 02:13PM ET

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Oct 10 1991 02:13PM ET

5

~~state~~ ^{had to get better}
school (K through 12 as it was inevitably termed) were ~~going to be improved~~

across the board; ^{now} yearly testing would begin in every one of the 50 states and

^{every state}
and Federal money would be available to each of the states and their local

^{that came}
~~governments provided they weighed in with matching funds.~~ The emphasis

would be on literacy studies and ^{on} mathematics. Those schools which failed to

pass ~~their~~ annual tests would be penalized, altered, ^{or} ~~and~~ or closed. It was

~~call to draconian efforts.~~ Adequate Yearly Progress, AYP, became the

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~~and penalties would be attached to every vestige of failure.~~

^{INSERT 4-2 p. 61 put it}
One of the finer educational minds in America, William J. Mathis, ~~in~~

~~close study of the problems that ensued remarked that~~ "there is scant

evidence that the AYP train can even get out of the station."

FROM : nm

FAX NO. : 5084872135

DATE OF : 11-06-01 PM F5

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FAX NO. : 17186243782

DATE OF : 11-06-01 PM F5

humungous
One problem arose however, *that's 16*
~~what? Because it's going strong~~
Again, why? And the answer takes us back to my old dead friend with,

~~his hopeless physiological commitments. There~~ was not enough money to take

By 2003 the U.S.
care of the problem. The separate 50 states were already *in the* falling under a

given the news
a budget deficit ~~in 2003~~ of \$58 billion dollars. Now, with the fiscal demands of

new sources of income? it's a
NCLB, they would have to find ~~estimated increases of at least \$84 billion a~~
amount to another \$84 billion dollars
~~at most \$148 billion. Already, \$422.7 billion dollars had been spent in 2001~~

2002 in the US on education, but *if* no child was to be left behind, the state

would ~~now~~ have to increase their corporate, property, and income taxes *drastically*

If they failed to do this, they couldn't not do it
order to qualify for the matching funds. For that reason, many states might

such a way, they would not be able
fail to join the program. They couldn't afford it—the Feds have to give them

The U.S. government, however, was no better off
more money. But the US government wouldn't. The combination of the tax

magnified the national deficit
cuts and the war in Iraq had created its own budgetary limitations to use at

The Feds
They ~~too~~ did not have the money *to do it*
to be left behind. As one of the
modest word. *896 words*

UNNOT
P5

Even with appropriate funding, many (7) educators saw other problems. There ~~was~~ ^{was} an unhealthy emphasis on testing scores in tests and this could produce ~~an~~ ^a narrowing of educational goals. Do you well-rounded students would be needed? Trained and drilled to raise their scores, the power to write intelligent essays might ~~even~~ ^{an} intelligent manner might fall to the side, and this could aggravate another problem. High school students were reading less. Dana Gioia, the Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, assessing the results of a survey undertaken by the Census Bureau in 2002, stated, "What this study ~~gives us~~ ^{gives us} does is giving accurate numbers that support our worst fears about American reading." It was in decline in every ethnic group and within every educational level, and the steepest decline in the twenty years from 1982 to 2002 were among the ~~the young, 18 to 24 year olds~~ ^{young adults} a drop on average of between 15 and 30%. ~~But~~ Gioia called ~~this~~ ^{the} "deeply alarming."

Parade draft

Many years ago, I had a good friend who died from an intolerable contradiction in his system. This was in the period after World War II when heart surgery was not yet highly developed, and he had high blood pressure and a leaky valve that passed blood. The high blood pressure aggravated the condition, but the drug he took to lower his rate relaxed his valves and so even more blood seeped forth. He was caught in an insuperable bind.

There is an anxiety in America today that something comparable is going on with the educational system. Three presidents so dissimilar as George H.W. Bush, William Jefferson Clinton, and George W.Bush have all been equally concerned with the need to improve our educational system.

These three men may be different in every other respect, but for the last sixteen years they have been in agreement on this priority, and in 2002, a most important bi-partisan bill, No Child Left Behind, was passed by a vote of 87-10 in the US Senate. It was a major attempt to solve a major difficulty. American students' test scores in comparison with those of other developed countries showed that our best students were on a par with the best in other developed countries, but when we rated the differences between our average scorers and our low scorers, we ranked as the 21st lowest of the 24 nations. That was shocking.

To Bush, Sr. and Junior, as well as Bill Clinton and Al Gore, the Twenty-First Century as seen in the near term belong to globalism and technological development. For that, a support system of high literacy was necessary, and this applied even to many of the lower paying jobs. Small

clerical errors and minor mistakes committed at the bottom could extrapolate into large errors at the top. In such situations, the need to oversee point-by-point checking over the smallest matters could consume valuable productive hours.

Moreover, it was evident that our educational system was hardly free of other deficiencies concerning our best students. Technology and globalism depend on high skills in STEM subjects (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) yet this is precisely where they did not excel. STEM subjects have considerably greater appeal to foreign students who study in this country. To quote Scott Bass's piece in the Boston Globe in January of 2003, "Between 1996 and 1999, foreign students earning STEM field Ph.D.'s increased at a rate nearly four times faster than domestic students. In 2000, 43% of physical science Ph. D.'s went to non-US citizens."

So, NCLB (No Child Left Behind) became one of George W. Bush's first priorities, and a great many particular hopes were attached to it. The underlying concept was that all the schools in America, from kindergarten through eight years of elementary school and four years of high school had to get better across the board. Yearly testing would now begin, and Federal money would be available to every state that came in with matching funds. The emphasis would be on literacy studies and on mathematics. Those schools which failed to pass annual tests would be penalized, altered, or closed. Adequate Yearly Progress, AYP, became the benchmark. Test scores were now obliged to improve annually. Each school would be held accountable for its results.

One humongous problem arose, however. There was not enough money to take care of the problem. By 2003, the separate 50 U.S. states

were already suffering a budget deficit of \$58 billion dollars. Now, given the new fiscal demands of NCLB, they would have to find new sources of income that could amount to another \$84 billion dollars. If no child was to be left behind, the states would have to increase their corporate, property, and income taxes drastically to qualify for the matching funds. If they failed to do this, they would not be able to join the program. The US government, however, was no better off. The combination of the tax cuts and the war in Iraq had magnified the national deficit. The Feds did not have the income either to fund No Child Left Behind. As one of the finer educational minds in America, William J. Mathis, put it: "there is scant evidence that the AYP train can even get out of the station."

Even with appropriate funding, many educators saw other problems.

There would be an unholy emphasis on doing well in tests and this could

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872 words

Daniel Menaker

Executive Editor in Chief

Random House Adult Trade Group

(The old "little Random," sort of!)

David Ebershoff's boss

Ann Godoff's replacement.

He reports to Gina.

FROM : nm

FAX NO. : 5084872138

0-11-13 PM F

FROM : JMWORDCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186243792

0-11-13 PM F

draft2 6 October 04

Parade draft

Many years ago, I had a good friend who died from an ~~unbalanced~~ ^{unbalanced} intolerable

contradiction in his system. ~~It was in the period after World War II when~~ ^{It}

~~Some~~ ^{they} heart surgery was not yet highly developed, and he had high blood pressure

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FROM : nm

FAX NO. : 5084872136

DATE OF 11 12 2PM F2

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FAX NO. : 17186243782

DATE OF 11 12 6AM F2

draft 2 6 October 04

2

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FROM : nm

FAX NO. : 5084872136

Oct 06 2004 12:42PM F4

FROM : JMWORDCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186243782

Oct 06 2004 10:45AM F4

dm82 6 October 04

4

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Oct 01 11:12 AM F5

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be left behind, the states would have to increase their corporate, property, and

~~In all too many places, that using~~
income taxes drastically to qualify for the matching funds. If they failed to do

~~close to political suicide for the legislators.~~
~~Yet, if they failed to find the funds, they~~
~~this, they would not be able to join the program. The US government~~

~~In addition, the U.S. government came~~
~~up short to the tune of \$27 billion dollars~~
~~however, was no better off. The combination of the tax cuts and the war in~~

~~guy~~
Iraq had magnified the national deficit. ~~The Fed did not have the income~~

~~other to fund No Child Left Behind.~~ As one of the finer educational minds in

America, William J. Mathis, put it: "There is scant evidence that the AYP

train can even get out of the station."

Even with appropriate funding, ~~many~~ ^{many} educators saw other problems.

There would be an unholy emphasis on doing well in tests, and ~~this~~ ^{this} could

FROM : nm

FAX NO. : 508487213E

Dec 01 12:38 PM F5

FROM : JMWORCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186243782

Dec 01 11:56 AM F5

draft 6 October 04

6

Answers to questions
produce a narrowing of educational goals. ~~No more well-rounded students~~
on yes or no, true or false, or multiple
choice questions. ~~Students would become the drill,~~
~~trained and drilled to raise their scores, the power to write~~
~~Any ability to write~~
essays in an intelligent manner might fall to the side, and this could aggravate

another problem. High school students were ^{now} reading less. Dana Gioia, the

Chairman for the National Endowment for the Arts, assessing the results of a

survey undertaken by the Census Bureau in 2002, stated, ~~that~~ "This study (supports)
~~does is to give us accurate numbers that support~~ our worst fears about

Reading itself was in decline, and
American reading." ~~It was in decline in every ethnic group and~~ ~~and this was true for~~
Indeed,
educational level, ~~and~~ the steepest decline in the twenty years from 1982 to

our teenagers and young
2002 was among ~~the youngest~~ adults, a drop on average of between 25% and

30%. Gioia called the study "deeply alarming."

If the desire to read diminishes,
so does one's ability. The search for
a culprit does not have to go
far. Everyone concerned that the
children are ready to blame television

FROM : nm

FAX NO. : 5084872136

DATE : 11/13/04 3PM F5

FROM : JMWORDCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186243782

DATE : 11/13/04 3PM F5

draft 6 October 04

6

produce a narrowing of educational goals. ^{Answers to given facts:} ~~No more well-rounded students~~
~~on yes or no, true or false, or multiple~~
~~choice questions would become the drill,~~
~~would be needed to train and drilled to raise their scores, the power to write~~
~~instead Any ability to write,~~
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Chairman for the National Endowment for the Arts, assessing the results of a

survey undertaken by the Census Bureau in 2002, stated, ~~what~~ ^{"This study (supposedly)}
~~does is to give us accurate numbers that support~~ our worst fears about

~~Reading itself was in decline, and~~
American reading." ~~It was in decline in every ethnic group and within every~~
~~and this was true for~~

~~Indeed,~~
educational level, ~~and the~~ steepest decline in the twenty years from 1982 to

~~our teenagers and young~~
2002 was among ~~the youngest~~ adults, a drop on average of between 25% and

30%. Gioia called the study "deeply alarming."

~~872~~
If the desire to read diminishes,
so does one's ability. The search for
a culprit does not have to go
far. Everyone concerned that the
children are ready to blame television

Parade draft

Many years ago, I had a good friend who died from an unbalanced contradiction in his system. Heart surgery was not then highly developed, and he had high blood pressure plus a leaky heart-valve that passed blood. The high blood pressure aggravated the leak, but the drug he took to lower such pressure relaxed his valves and so even more blood seeped forth. He was caught in an insuperable bind.

There is an anxiety in America today that something comparable is going on with our educational system. Three presidents so dissimilar as George H.W. Bush, William Jefferson Clinton, and George W. Bush have all been equally concerned with the need to improve our schools. These three

men may be different in every other regard, but for the last sixteen years they have been in agreement on this, and in 2002, a most important bi-partisan bill, No Child Left Behind, was passed by a vote of 87-10 in the US Senate. It was a major attempt to solve a major difficulty. Our test scores, in comparison with those of other developed countries, showed that America's best students were on a par with the best from other developed countries, but when we looked at the gap in scoring between our average and our poor students, we ranked as the 21st lowest of 24 nations. That was shocking.

For the three presidents just named, the Twenty-First Century must certainly appear to belong to globalism and to technological development. For that, a support system of high literacy is necessary. This requirement even concerns the lower paying jobs. Small clerical errors and minor mistakes that might be committed at the bottom can build up into large errors

at the top. The consequent need to oversee point-by-point checking on even the smallest matters can consume valuable productive hours.

Moreover, our educational system was not free of other deficiencies.

Technology and globalism depend on high skills in STEM subjects (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) yet this is precisely where our best students did not excel. Foreign students who study in this country excel us in these matters. To quote Scott Bass's piece in the Boston Globe in January of 2003, "Between 1996 and 1999, foreign students earning STEM field Ph.D.'s increased at a rate nearly four times faster than domestic students. In 2000, 43% of physical science Ph. D.'s went to non-US citizens."

So, NCLB (No Child Left Behind) became one of George W. Bush's first priorities, and a great many particular hopes were attached to it. The underlying concept was that all the schools in America, from kindergarten

through eight years of elementary school and four years of high school had to become better. Yearly testing would now begin, and Federal money to encourage better training and teaching would be available to every one of our fifty states who were ready to offer matching funds. The emphasis would now be on literacy studies and on mathematics. There would also be annual tests. Those schools which failed to pass would be penalized, altered, or closed. AYP (Adequate Yearly Progress) became the benchmark. Each school would be held accountable for its results.

There was one large obstacle, however. There was not enough money to take care of the problem. By 2003, the separate 50 U.S. states were already suffering a budget deficit of \$58 billion dollars. Now, given these new fiscal demands for improving education, new sources of state income would have to account for another \$84 billion dollars. If no child was to be

left behind, the states were obliged to increase their corporate, property, and income taxes drastically. In all too many places, that was close to political suicide for the legislators. Yet if they they failed to find the funds, they would not be able to join the program. In addition, the US government came up short to the tune of \$27 billion dollars. The combination of tax cuts and the war in Iraq had swollen the national deficit. As one of the finer educational minds in America, William J. Mathis, put it: "There is scant evidence that the AYP train can even get out of the station."

Even with appropriate funding, educators saw many other problems. There would be an unholy emphasis on doing well in tests. This could produce a narrowing of educational goals. Answers to yes or no, true or false, or multiple-choice questions would become the drill. Any ability to write essays in an intelligent manner might fall to the side. This was going to

aggravate another problem. High school students were now reading less.

Dana Gioia, the Chairman for the National Endowment for the Arts, assessing

the results of a survey undertaken by the Census Bureau in 2002, stated,

"This study [supports] our worst fears about American reading." Reading

itself was in decline, and this was true for every ethnic group, every

educational level. Indeed, the steepest decline in the twenty years from 1982

to 2002 was among our teenagers and young adults, a drop on average of

between 25% and 30%. Gioia called the study "deeply alarming."

If the desire to read diminishes, so does one's ability. The search for a

culprit does not have to go far. Everyone concerned but the children are

ready to blame television. 880 words

~~Contaminated~~ Contamin. To be so and
interest interrupted is painful at
best. Even a subtle warning to
contaminate our innocence when our
thoughts are reaching into. To a child
it can prove as offensive as a slap
or verbal rebuke or even a spanking.

Yet this is what we are watching
do to our children, and ourselves
for hours every day. On the major
networks, the amount of time given
to commercials has increased by 36%
from 1991 to 2003, that is the four
major networks offered 57 minutes
of commercial in the three hours
from 8 to 11 P.M. every day. It is
equal to saying that every seven
ten, or twelve minutes ~~of~~ ^{the}
attention we offer to what is going
on in the TV show we watch is
broken by a commercial. The
same impact of stopping in the
middle of one's attention while
watching occurs in every children's
show. One no longer enjoys
the safety of uninterrupted ~~viewing~~ ^{viewing} →

Concentration, to the contrary. (11)
each child develops a fail-safe
Since it knows viscerally ~~that~~
(through the daily prement of
interruption) that any story, when
interests one will be ambulated
briefly and replaced by a period
of one to three minutes of ~~other~~
matters, sounds, cars, clowning, and
a kaleidoscope of new colors, and
clatter. ~~only~~ ^{soon} ~~but~~ ^{soon} ~~or~~ ^{soon} ~~it~~ ^{soon} ~~will~~ ^{soon} ~~be~~ ^{soon} ~~replaced~~ ^{soon}
followed by another in ten, twenty and
thirty second slots ~~the~~ through
the three minute week, so the
child comes to recognize that concen-
tration is not one's friend but
~~interruption~~ is teacher's, for
it goes nowhere. One could even
go far as to argue that a touch
of violence or, at least, the need
to get up and move about, to switch
over energies from the mental to
the physical becomes a matter of
response from highly keyed children.

For others, stupefied by the
overweight of a quick ^(B) ~~idea~~ ^{idea} which ~~was~~ ^{is} nothing to do
with cashotten, the spirit
~~the~~ product is stupefied is
stagnation. Our city is on the
couch and eat and drink, and
alarm ring ~~down~~ through the
nation. Our children are becoming
too obese.

What then is to be done? These
six words falter in variety
before problems that are rife with
contradiction (like the ~~infamous~~
that visited my old dead friend.)
We have an economy that depends
on TV advertising to an immense
extent and yet the constant inter-
ruption of commercials ~~is~~
dominates much too much of
our lives.

To focus on the problem is, however,
the first obligatory step. There are
solutions. Television is not ~~become~~

an inextricable part of the ^{US} American experience, but the same is not necessarily true for the advertising that pays for it and infects it, and stunts the power of concentration in the young.

There are answers, there are resources, every small part of the ~~US~~ income ~~taxes~~ taxes we pay each year would be sufficient to support every television station in America. (I know - any chance of getting the figures?) Of course, the products might feel left out in the cold until they decided to return to the old wisdom of Adam Smith, the first great theoretician of capitalism, whose fundamental notion came down to this ~~idea~~ ^{idea} - let the best product win. ~~Advertising~~ ^{Advertising} depends on mendacity and manipulation and harassment in using these techniques to the point where it has become its own peculiar art form. But the ~~fundamental~~ ^{question} may

be ready to knock this all ^{off}
over on its return swing. ~~Because~~
the essence of good ~~capitalism~~
Capitalism is free products not
state-of-the-art marketing of
undistinguished goods. Are we
ready to ponder the defects of
some of the difficulties we
have constructed for ourselves
since the end of the Second
World War,

word count for the new stuff.
I have total word count. F

Parade draft

Many years ago, I had a good friend who died from an ~~undetermined~~

contradiction in his system. Heart surgery was not then highly developed.

and he had high blood pressure plus a ~~leaky~~ heart-valve that passed blood.

The high blood pressure aggravated the leak, but the drug he took to lower

And of course, whether the demon of interruption is a video game, such pressure, VCR, or your nagging mother, all but the final one has an "off" switch!

So—spending one's childhood assaulted by the interruptions of TV toughens one up for success out in the big nasty world.

Executive some peace and quiet in which to do substantial work. Barring nepotism or blackmail, one gets promoted to that exalted rank by being one of those support ~~clerks~~ ~~and still keeping enough patience and creativity to take on extra responsibility and do some creative work of one's own~~ (in spite of a environment set up to sabotage same.)

To play devil's advocate for a moment:
George H. W. Bush, William Jefferson Clinton, and George W. Bush have all

been equally concerned with the need to improve our schools. These three

draft3 6 October 04, 2nd version

2

very from one another
 men may be ~~different~~ in every ~~other~~ regard, but for the last sixteen years they
general matter
 have been in agreement on this, and in 2002, a most important bi-partisan bill,

No Child Left Behind, was passed by a vote of 87-10 in the US Senate. It

was a major attempt to solve a major difficulty. Our test scores, in

comparison with those of other developed countries, showed that America's

might be
 best students were on a par with the best from other developed countries, but

(size of the) *students*
 when we looked at the gap in scoring between our average and our poor

ones *industrial*
~~students~~, we ranked as the 21st lowest of 24 nations. That was shocking.
 total 1869
 new section 988

political leadership
 For the three presidents just named, the Twenty-First Century, *at least*
 the end of the Second World War

in its first decade

small
 certainly appears to belong to globalism and to technological development

appear
 wonder if the three presidents just named
 concerned in the global competition to succeed in global
 state of the art in the world of high literacy is necessary. This requirement

It is even required for
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 over on its return swing. The essence of good capitalism is not

mistakes that might be committed at the bottom can build up into large errors

FROM : nm

FAX NO. : 5084872135

FROM : JMWORDCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186243782

DATE : 2004 10 2 P3

draft3 6 October 04, 2nd version

at the top. The consequent need to ^(minute)oversee point-by-point checking ~~on even~~

~~the smallest numbers~~ can consume valuable productive hours.

Moreover, our educational system ^{is} ~~was~~ not free of other ^{deficiencies} ~~deficiencies~~.

Technology and globalism depend on high skills in STEM subjects (science,

technology, engineering and mathematics) yet this is precisely where our best

students ^{do} ~~are~~ not excel. Foreign students who study in this country ^{excel in} ~~excel in~~

^{happier in} these matters. To quote Scott Bass's piece in the Boston Globe in January of

2003, "Between 1996 and 1999, foreign students earning STEM field Ph.D.'s

increased at a rate nearly four times faster than domestic students. In 2000,

43% of ^{our} physical science Ph. D.'s went to non-US citizens."

So, NCLB (No Child Left Behind) became one of George W. Bush's

first priorities, and a great many particular hopes were attached to it. The

underlying concept was that all the schools in America, from kindergarten

FROM : nm

FAX NO. : 5084372136

Page 2 of 1 1: P4

FROM : JMWORDCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186243782

Oct 26 04 12:1 P4

draft 3 6 October 04, 2nd version

the twelve
through ~~eight~~ years of elementary school and ~~four years of~~ high school had to

do
become better. Yearly testing would now begin, and Federal money to

encourage better training ~~and teaching~~ would be available to every one of our

provided they would
fifty states ~~who were ready to~~ offer matching funds. The emphasis would

~~now be on literacy studies and on mathematics.~~ There would also be annual

and those tests. *improve* These schools which failed to ~~pass~~ would be penalized, ~~altered~~, or

closed. AYP (Adequate Yearly Progress) became the benchmark. Each

school would be held accountable for its results.

unusually
There was ~~one~~ large obstacle, ~~however~~. There was not enough money

to take care of the problem. By 2003, the ~~separate~~ 50 ~~U.S.~~ states were

combined
already suffering a budget deficit of \$58 billion dollars. ~~Now~~ *given* these

the states would have?
~~new~~ fiscal demands for improving education, new sources of state income
to find new sources of income ~~another~~

that means
~~would have to account for another~~ \$84 billion dollars. ~~If no child was to be~~

FROM : nm

FAX NO. : 5084872136

10/06/04 11:14 PM

FROM : JMWORDCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186243782

10/06/04 01:22 PM

draft3 6 October 04, 2nd version

~~left behind, the states were ^{had} obligated to increase their corporate, property and ^{state}~~
income taxes ^{had to be raised} drastically. In all too many places, that ^{could be} ~~was~~ close to

suicide for the legislators. ~~Yet if they they failed to find the funds, they~~

~~would not be able to join the program.~~ In addition, the US government came

up short to the tune of \$27 billion dollars. The combination of tax cuts and

the war in Iraq had swollen the national deficit. As one of the finer

educational minds in America, William J. Mathis, put it: "There is scant

evidence that the AYP train can even get out of the station."

Even with appropriate funding, educators saw ~~many~~ other problems

^{awaiting them,}

(There would be an unholy emphasis on doing well in tests. This could

produce a narrowing of educational goals. Answers to ~~yes or no~~ true or

false, or multiple-choice questions would become the drill. Any ability to

write essays in an intelligent manner might fall to the side. ^{This was going to} ~~This was going to~~

FROM : nm

FAX NO. : 5084872135

Oct 05 2004 12:11 P6

FROM : JMWORDCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186243782

Oct 05 2004 12:12 P6

draft3 6 October 04, 2nd version

aggravate another ^{weakness} problem. ^{showing a reluctance} High school students were now reading less

interest in books,

Dana Gioia, the Chairman for the National Endowment for the Arts, assessing

the results of a survey undertaken by the Census Bureau in 2002, stated,

^{what this study does is to give us accurate numbers that support} ~~numbers that support~~

"This study ^{Yes, reading books} supports our worst fears about American reading." ~~Reading~~

^{leaves} ~~leaves~~

itself was in decline, and this was true for every ethnic group, ^{and} every

^{top to bottom} educational level. ~~Indeed, the steepest decline in the twenty years from 1982~~

In ^{the drop from 1982} 2002, was among our teenagers and young adults, a drop on average of

^{came to more than 25%} ~~came to more than 25%~~

~~between 25% and 30%. Gioia called the study "deeply alarming."~~

^{to be able to read,} If the desire to read diminishes, so does one's ability ~~to be able to read,~~ he search for a

culprit does not have to go far. Everyone concerned ^{confirming} but the children are

ready to blame television. ^{There are} ~~880 words~~ ~~street~~

draft 6 October 04, third version

~~There are studies~~ ^{to say as much} all over academia and the media ~~and~~ it is by now

commonplace that too many hours devoted each day to the tube reduces the

desire to read.

What may be ^{not} taken for granted, and is ~~not~~ explored enough, is the

^{direct} ~~simple~~ relation of reading to ^{one's} the ability to learn. It is universally understood

that the power to concentrate is the royal road to knowledge, but what may ~~not~~ be

^{not} be perceived as clearly is ^{how much itself} that concentration is a species of psychic strength

that can be developed ^{or go soft} in force or ~~weak~~ in much the manner ^{of a muscle} of a muscle ~~that~~

is exercised or ignored.

~~The~~ Building ~~a~~ muscle is relatively simple. Most of the time, ^{such capacity} ~~it is~~

ⁱⁿ direct relation to ^{use} the number of repetitions ~~one~~ exerts with a given weight.

Reading has its analogy to this. When children become interested enough in

^{firmly with} in a story, their concentration is firm ~~until~~ (it is interrupted. Fifty and sixty years

draft 3 6 October 04, third version

ago, children would read for hours. Their powers of concentration developed

as naturally as breathing. Good readers became very good readers even as

men and women who go in for weight lifting ^{wild} bulk up. The connection

between loving to read and doing well in school was ^{obvious} ~~clear~~ for most students

With the advent of television, the nature of concentration ~~was~~ altered.

Children could still develop such powers for books and ^{watching TV that is} ~~video~~ shared one

^{because video and books have} ~~same~~

(common denominator) narrative. The medium is important, but ~~its~~ interest

^{one reads or watches is what} in the story ~~itself~~ that develops the power of concentration. ^{Given such} ~~Once one has~~

^{a faculty it is not} developed the natural power of concentration, ~~it is less~~ difficult to shift ^{ones} ~~that~~

^{ability} ~~strength~~ from one medium to another.

In the early years of television, it was even ^{hope} ~~thought~~ that the attention

~~the~~ children gave to movies and short plays on TV would work to improve

their interest in reading. Indeed, it might have, if TV, left to itself, consisted

could even go so far as to argue that a bit of the amount of time given to

to get up (and move about) to switch one's energies from the mental to the
Yet this is what we as a nation do to our child

physical becomes a matter-of-fact response from highly-keyed children. For
~~and a spanking~~

others, stupefied by onslaught of a quick series of ideas which have nothing
are broken into. To a child, it can prove as offensive as a verbal rebuke or

to do with each other, the spiritual product is stupor, is stagnation. One sits
at best. Even as adults, we learn to contain our annoyance when our thought

on the couch and eats and drinks, and alarms rings through the nation. Our
and thereby making a tantrum. To have one's interest interrupted is painful.

children are becoming too obese. *Dependably, a tantrum can be handled.*
had the experience of picking up a two or three-year-old *who is busy on the floor.*

What, then, is to be done? These six words falter invariably before
~~Attention in a child is, of course, highly sensitive.~~ Every parent has

problems that are rife with contradictions (like the impasse that visited my
~~the interruptions to programming — the commercials — that do the damage.~~

old dead friend.) We have an economy that depends on TV advertising to an
~~erupted the interest of young Americans in reading, but, to the contrary, it~~

immense extent, and yet the constant interruption of concentration dominates
~~argument here that television programming by itself is not the villain who has~~

much too much of our lives. *we are constantly interrupted by commercials*
of uninterrupted narratives, but that, of course, was not the case. *It is the*

FROM : nM

FAX NO. : 5084372136

Oct 26 10:43 P10

FROM : JMWORDCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186243782

Oct 26 10:44 P4

draft: 6 October 04, third version

(now offer)
major networks offered 52 minutes of commercials in the three hours from 8

~~that is more than 17 minutes every hour~~
to 11 P.M. every day. It is equal to saying that every seven, ten, or twelve

happening on the tube
minutes the attention we offer to what is going on in the TV show we watch

It is as bad a worse as
is broken by a commercial. The same impact of stopping in the middle of

for nearly
~~one's attention while watching occurs in every children's show~~ *one can*

~~longer enjoys the safety of uninterrupted concentration. To the contrary, each~~
most children
soon enough ~~child~~ *the child* *instructively*
(child develops a failsafe. Since it knows viscerally (through the daily

interesting
punishment of interruption) that any *story* ~~which interests one~~ *soon* will be

by a kaleidoscope of toys, food, dolls,
amputated by a period of one to three minutes of other matters, foods, cars,

clowns,
~~clowns, products, a kaleidoscope of new colors and clutter~~ *the* ~~six or seven~~

wholly different
(products all following one another in ten, twenty, and thirty second spots

a.
through the three-minute break, so the child *also* comes to recognize that

For, soon enough, it will be the same
concentration is not one's friend but is treacherous, for it goes nowhere. ~~One~~

FROM : nM

FAX NO. : 508487213E

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11

One could even go so far as to argue that ~~a touch of violence, or at least~~ the need
to get up and move about ~~to switch one's energies from the mental to the~~
~~physical~~ becomes a matter-of-fact response from ~~highly-keyed children~~ ^{for}
others, stupefied by ~~the~~ ^{the} onslaught of a quick series of ~~ads~~ ^{ads} (which have nothing
to do with each other, the spiritual product is ~~stupid~~ ^{stagnation}). One sits
on the couch ~~and eats and drinks, and alarms ring~~ ^{in Japan, one} through the nation. Our
children are becoming too obese.

What, then, is to be done? These six words falter invariably before

~~the~~ ~~then~~ equal to
problems that are ~~like with contradictions~~ (like the impasse that visited my ~~my~~

old dead friend.) We have an economy that depends on TV advertising to an

immense extent, and yet the constant interruption of concentration ^{not only} dominates

much too much of our lives, but reduces our possibilities

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2

To focus on the problem, however, is the first obligatory step. There

are solutions. Television has become an inextricable part of the American

is that also true
experience, but ~~the same is not necessarily true~~ for the advertising that pay.*the networks, infests the networks,*
~~for it but infests it~~ and stunts the powers of concentration in the young. *?**Can it be that a*
~~There are answers, there are responses.~~ A very small part of the income*might*
taxes we pay each year ~~would~~ be sufficient to support every television station*that depends on advertising rather than sales?*
in America. Of course, the products might feel left out in the cold ~~until they~~
they have put their emphasis on manufacturing
for decades. Now, they might be about to
decided to return to the old ~~window~~ *wisdom* of Adam Smith, the first great*he had a* *It* *on*
theoretician of capitalism, whose ~~fundamental notion~~ came down to ~~the~~ idea

Let the best product win.

manipulation
TV advertising depends on ~~manipulation~~ and has

succeeded in using these techniques to the point where it has become its own

many an
even on occasion, humorous.
peculiar art form. But the historic pendulum may be ready to knock ~~this off~~ *manipulation*

NYRB Draft

Six weeks before the election, one is glum. Kerry's declaration that he would have voted for the war even if he had known then what he knows now, did no service to his chances.

There was an electoral logic for moving to the center, but Kerry tacked too far and lost headway. He did not forfeit the loyalty of those who will vote for him no matter what—to rid America of Bush is their given—but he squandered whole funds of campaign energy. A movement that looks to breach the fortifications of a well-entrenched opponent needs white-hot allegiance to its general. Kerry doused too many campfires.

A victory for Bush may yet be seen as one of our nation's unforgettable ironies. No need to speak again of the mendacities, manipulations, and spiritual mediocrity of the post-9/11 years; the time has come to recover from the shock that so abysmal a record, (and so complete a refusal to look at the

Parade draft

Many years ago, I had a good friend who died from a grievous contradiction in his body. Heart surgery was not then highly developed, and he had high blood pressure plus a heart-valve that passed blood. The high blood pressure aggravated the leak, but the drug he took to lower such pressure relaxed the valve. Even more blood seeped forth. He was caught in an insuperable bind.

There is an uneasiness in America today that something comparable may be going on in our educational system. Three presidents so dissimilar as George H.W. Bush, William Jefferson Clinton, and George W. Bush have all been equally concerned with the need to improve our public schools. These

three men may vary from one another in every regard, but for the last sixteen years they have been in general agreement on this matter, and in 2002, a most important bi-partisan bill, No Child Left Behind, was passed by a vote of 87-10 in the US Senate. It was a major attempt to solve a major difficulty. Our test scores, in comparison with those of other developed countries, showed that America's best students might be on a par with the best from other developed countries, but when we looked at the size of the gap in scoring between our average students and our poor ones, we ranked as the 21st lowest of 24 industrial nations. That was shocking.

The Twenty-First Century, at least in its first decade, certainly appears to belong to globalism and to technological development. Small wonder, then, that that the three presidents just named were so concerned. To succeed in global competition, high literacy is necessary. It is even required

for the lower paying jobs. Small clerical errors and minor mistakes that might be committed at the bottom can build up into large errors at the top. The consequent need to oversee minute point-by-point checking can consume valuable productive hours.

Moreover, our educational system is not free of other lacks.

Technology and globalism depend on high skills in STEM subjects (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) yet this is precisely where our best students do not excel. Foreign students who study in this country seem happier in these matters. To quote Scott Bass's piece in the Boston Globe in January of 2003, "Between 1996 and 1999, foreign students earning STEM field Ph.D.'s increased at a rate nearly four times faster than domestic students. In 2000, 43% of our physical science Ph. D.'s went to non-US citizens."

So, NCLB (No Child Left Behind) became one of George W. Bush's first priorities, and a great many particular hopes were attached to it. The underlying concept was that all the schools in America, from kindergarten through the twelve years of elementary school and high school had to do better. Yearly testing would now begin, and Federal money to encourage better training would be available to every one of our fifty states provided they would offer matching funds. There would be annual tests, and those schools which failed to improve would be penalized, or closed. AYP (Adequate Yearly Progress) became the benchmark. Each school would be held accountable for its results.

One large obstacle remained. There was not enough money to take care of the problem. By 2003, the states were already suffering a combined budget deficit of \$58 billion dollars. Given these fiscal demands for

improving education, the states would have to find new sources of income—another \$84 billion dollars. That meant corporate, property, and state income taxes had to be raised drastically. In all too many places, that could be political suicide for the legislators. In addition, the US government came up short to the tune of \$27 billion dollars. The combination of tax cuts and the war in Iraq had swollen the national deficit. As one of the finer educational minds in America, William J. Mathis, put it: "There is scant evidence that the AYP train can even get out of the station."

Even with appropriate funding, educators saw other problems awaiting them. There would be an unholy emphasis on doing well in tests. This could produce a narrowing of educational goals. Answers to true or false, or multiple-choice questions would become the drill. Any ability to write essays in an intelligent manner might fall to the side. That was bound to aggravate

another weakness. High school students were showing reduced interest in books. Dana Gioia, the Chairman for the National Endowment for the Arts, assessing the results of a survey undertaken by the Census Bureau in 2002, stated, "What this study does is to give us accurate numbers that support our worst fears about American reading." Yes, reading books was in decline. This was true for every ethnic group, and every educational level, top to bottom. In 2002, among our teenagers and young adults, the drop from 1982 came to more than 25%.

If the desire to read diminishes, so does one's ability to be able to read. The search for a culprit does not have to go far. Everyone concerned (but the children) is ready to blame television. There are confirming studies all over academia and the media. It is by now a commonplace that too many hours devoted each day to the tube reduces the desire to read.

What may not be explored enough is the direct relation of reading to one's ability to learn. It is universally understood that the power to concentrate is the royal road to knowledge, but what may not be perceived as clearly is how much concentration itself is a species of psychic strength that can be developed or go soft in much the manner that muscle is exercised or ignored.

Building muscle is relatively simple. Most of the time, such capacity is in direct relation to use. Reading has its analogy. When children become interested in a story, their concentration is firm—until it is interrupted. Fifty and sixty years ago, children would read for hours. Their powers of concentration developed as naturally as breathing. Good readers became very good readers even as men and women who go in for weight lifting will

bulk up. The connection between loving to read and doing well in school was obvious for most students.

With the advent of television, the nature of concentration altered.

Children could still develop such powers watching TV. That was because video and books have a common denominator—narrative. The medium is important, but interest in the story one reads or watches is what develops the power of concentration. Given such a faculty, it is not difficult to shift one's ability from one medium to another.

In the early years of television, it was even hoped that the attention children gave to movies and short plays on TV would work to improve their interest in reading. Indeed, it might have, if TV, left to itself, consisted of uninterrupted narratives, but that, of course, was not the case. There were built-in interruptions to programs—the commercials.

Every parent has had the experience of picking up a two or three-year-old busy at play. Dependably, a tantrum can be expected. Even as adults, we have to learn to contain our annoyance when our thoughts are broken into. For a child, interruption can prove as offensive as a verbal rebuke or, indeed, a spanking.

Yet, this is what we as a nation do to our children (and to ourselves) for hours every day. On the major networks, the amount of time given to commercials has increased by 36% from 1991 to 2003. The four major networks now offer 52 minutes of commercials in the three hours from 8 to 11 P.M. every day. It is equal to saying that every seven, ten, or twelve minutes the attention we offer to what is happening on the tube is broken by a commercial. It is as bad, or worse, for every children's show. Soon enough, most children develop a fail-safe. Since the child knows instinctively

Now, they might be able to return to the old wisdom of Adam Smith, the first great theoretician of capitalism. He had a fundamental notion. It came down to one idea: Let the best product win.

TV advertising depends on mendacity and manipulation and has succeeded in using these techniques to the point where it has become its own peculiar, even, on many occasions, humorous, art form. But the historic pendulum may be ready to knock much of this over on the return swing. The essence of vital capitalism is to have the finest product possible for the price, rather than state-of-the-art marketing of undistinguished goods. Are we ready to ponder the depths of some of these difficulties we have constructed for ourselves? The happy life of a democracy can depend on our ability to look critically into our indulgences and our evasions of truth when the recognitions prove harsh. Word count 1775

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the over on ~~its~~ return swing. The essence of ^{vital} good capitalism is ^{to have the} fine products, not ~~the~~ ^{finest} products possible for the price, ~~but~~ ^{rather} than state-of-the-art marketing of undistinguished goods. Are we ready to bond:

the depths of some of ^{these} ~~the~~ difficulties we have constructed for ourselves, ~~since~~

~~the end of the Second World War?~~ ^{happy} The ^{life of a democracy} ~~life of a democracy~~ can depend on our ability to look ^{critically} ~~for~~ ^{at} our indulgences and our evasions of truth when the ~~recognition~~ ^{reality} ~~total 1869~~ prove harsh.

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Online Article

NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND

Costs and Benefits

The promise of providing all children with a high-quality education is a noble one. But after looking at the projected costs for 10 states to fulfill the requirements of NCLB, Mr. Mathis fears that the federal government is asking too much and giving too little.

By William J. Mathis

IT IS THE cruelest illusion to promise far more than we will ever deliver. Yet throughout time reformers of all persuasions have offered Utopian visions in exchange for permission to shape the world to their view. With great fanfare about historic turning points and fervent promises to America's children, in January 2002 President Bush signed into law the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act, the latest reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA).

The rhetoric was certainly noble, and the law was sold with the guarantee that, at last, we would leave no student behind. The poor would have the same as the rich, and the strong arm of a resolute government would make it so. Public support for equality, periodic testing, highly qualified teachers, and other provisions of the law was strong. 1 As shown by the 87-10 Senate vote, the law passed with substantial bipartisan support.

President Bush and Secretary of Education Rod Paige have said much about the great investments the federal government has made in education. And in strident tones, the material accompanying the passage of the law says that the public has a right to demand great returns on this investment. 2

Alas, the promises are far greater than the reality. When the "historic" federal investments in education are scrutinized, the first-year increases to Title I compensatory funds amount to a mere 0.4% of total education spending. When the much-touted "flexibility" procedures that NCLB gives to local districts are examined, they allow, at best, a local district to shift around about 4.3% of its already-committed money. 3 When the so-called adequate yearly progress provisions of the law are examined, independent reviewers, almost without exception, say the plans are unrealistic. 4 Submerged beneath emotional appeals and rhetorical demands, hard questions about costs, the adequacy of resources, and the strength of commitments lie hidden.

The Nation's Financial Commitment

Throughout the last century, critics loudly proclaimed the nation's peril owing to the alleged poor condition of the schools. Yet results from the National Assessment of Educational Progress show that at the end of the century scores in reading and mathematics had leveled off at a 30-year high, dropouts were near all-time lows, and our nation's economic supremacy was unquestioned. 5 This is hardly a picture of a "failed" system. But these facts hide the nation's true educational problems.

Much has been made of the "merely average" test scores of U.S. students in comparison with those from other countries. To be sure, U.S. scores on international examinations — such as the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and the Program of International Student Assessment (PISA) — are at international averages in reading, math, and science. 6 However, it is just as clear that the U.S. investment in K-12 education is also less than stellar. We spend the same average amount of our gross domestic product on elementary schools as other developed countries, but we fall to the bottom half in our commitment to high schools. 7

The greater and more insidious danger, however, is the disparity in achievement within the United States. International test data tell us that we have the greatest inequities between our highest- and lowest-scoring students of any nation. 8 In a UNICEF follow-up study, the gap between our average scorers and our low scorers gives the U.S. an abysmal ranking of 21st out of 24 industrialized nations in educational equality. 9 While we are getting more productivity than we pay for, the troubling disparities in achievement reflect our disparities in funding

NCLB Costs: What We Spend Versus What We Need

In 1989 the Kentucky Supreme Court ruled that the state constitution requires the state to provide schools and students with the resources necessary to meet high state standards. Since that time, state courts in New Hampshire, Tennessee, Arkansas, Ohio, North Carolina, and New Jersey have issued similar rulings on behalf of children. In addition to court actions, the vast majority of states have enacted standards-based reforms. NCLB adopts these state standards and imposes progressively harsher penalties on schools if students do not get passing scores.

Thus figuring out how much NCLB will cost requires knowing how much it will take to ensure that all students meet the standards and pass the tests. But how do we know how much money is enough? Different methods have been used to estimate what is an adequate amount of money.

The "professional judgment" method uses panels of experts to carefully define the resources needed for each child to meet the standards. These resources are then added up to arrive at a state figure. The "successful school" technique identifies a set of high-achieving schools, examines their resource allocations and spending levels, and generalizes to other schools. The "statistical analysis" approach calculates what it takes to predict a passing score. These models are particularly useful in determining regional costs, such as what it would take to attract qualified teachers to a remote location.

Within the last four years, a new generation of finance studies has estimated the costs of raising all children's test scores up to a particular state's standard. While some of these studies expressly include NCLB costs, most have been based on achieving the state's own standards — which have since been folded into each state's NCLB system. Since each state determines its own standards, has its own social and political culture, and has its own level of student needs, a great variety of outcomes exists.

Nevertheless, recent studies in different states, by different researchers, using different methods, reveal a picture of the massive costs of making sure all children pass the mandated NCLB tests.

Indiana. To enable a school to meet the "commendable" level on state tests, Indiana would have to increase its base spending from \$5,468 to \$7,142 per pupil — a 31% increase — according to an analysis by Augenblick and Myers, Inc. These estimates do not include any added costs for special education students, which range between \$7,500 and \$8,300 per pupil. They also do not include the cost of "hard-to-serve students," who average an additional \$4,200 to \$5,300 per student.¹⁰

Maryland. Calculating the costs for Maryland students to meet state standards, Augenblick and Myers, Inc., arrived at a total education cost of \$12,060 per pupil for elementary schools, \$9,000 for middle schools, and \$9,599 for high schools. The firm further calculated that having a low-income student meet standards would require an average excess cost of \$7,748 per student, or 1.7 times the base cost. The analysts used both a market-basket model and a high-achieving-school model to arrive at costs for their standards-based models. The results from both methods were similar.¹¹

The total cost for the system for fiscal-year 2000 would have been between \$7.9 and \$8.8 billion. Since the expenditures for that year were \$5.9 billion, the required percentage increase was between 34% and 49%. To Maryland's credit, its lawmakers boosted education spending by \$1.3 billion in spring 2002.¹²

Montana. Montana's 2002 study was sponsored by five education organizations and assisted by the National Council of State Legislators. The analysts used a professional-judgment approach to cost out meeting NCLB requirements based on the current level of performance. They found that a base cost between \$6,004 and \$8,041 per pupil (depending on district type) was required, while the current base was only \$4,471. Additional special-needs and remedial costs were \$8,000 and \$2,000 per pupil respectively. Thus base costs in Montana would increase between 34% and 80%, depending on location and level of need.¹³

Nebraska. The state department of education, in cooperation with various education organizations, commissioned a study of what it would take to meet current Nebraska standards under NCLB in 2002-03. Estimated costs range from \$5,845 per pupil in a large K-12 district to \$11,257 in a small, isolated K-12 district.

On top of this figure, at-risk and special-needs students would require an *additional* \$1,500 to \$12,000 each, depending on the level of need. "Total costs would vary, on average, from \$8,103 per student in large K-12 districts to \$13,525 per student in very small K-12 districts," says the report.¹⁴ Nebraska currently spends about \$5,600 per pupil. Thus the state is looking at a 45% cost increase. NCLB testing and labeling have brought cries of outrage from Nebraska state and local officials. The state senate called for full federal funding of the mandate.¹⁵

New Hampshire. Mark Joyce, executive director of the New Hampshire School Administrators Association, sent his members and the citizens of the state his analysis of NCLB costs. He found that the state will receive an average of \$77 of new federal money for each of the Granite State's 220,000 students, while the obligations imposed by the law will cost \$575 per student. In other words, New Hampshire will receive about \$17 million in new money for new obligations of \$126.5 million.¹⁶

To arrive at this number, Joyce estimated a state cost for each of the elements of the law and added them together. He contends that his estimates are conservative, and he is probably right. The reason is that his analysis was confined to increased costs for local and state staff and administration. He assumed that the number of special education students would increase by 2%, but he did not include the costs of remedial

programs for underachieving children. As compared to other states, this procedure results in a significant underestimate.

New York. Using a statistical technique primarily focused on regional differences in the costs of meeting standards, Professors William Duncombe of Syracuse University and Anna Lukemeyer of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, arrived at a median statewide figure of \$7,927 for extra remedial costs, on top of the regular per-pupil expenditure of \$9,781. They provide several regional cost variations at different proficiency standards. Their overall regional cost adjustments add 16% to total education spending. New York's Campaign for Fiscal Equity launched a major costing study using both the successful-schools and professional-judgment models. A report of the results is expected in early 2004.¹⁷

South Carolina. To estimate the costs of getting 85% of South Carolina students to the "basic" level of the state's Palmetto tests and all students to pass the graduation tests in 2011, the 1999 base cost of \$4,990 would have to be increased to \$6,189 by 2005-06. This figure represents a 24% increase. However, it does not include the costs of at-risk and special education students. When figures for these populations are added in, the cost rises to \$9,182 per pupil (an 84% increase), according to Augenblick and Myers, Inc., whose analysts used a professional-judgment model.¹⁸ Spending in South Carolina must nearly double -- going from \$3.1 billion in 1999 to a projected \$6 billion in 2006.

Texas. While Texas saw large increases in the percentage of students passing the state test, these tests were at an eighth-grade, basic-skills level.¹⁹ Even with the low standards, statistical modeling of NCLB costs on earlier data would require an increase in state aid of 101% or 6.9 billion new state dollars. Assuming the local contribution remained the same, this is about a 35% increase in spending. For comparison purposes, the Bush Administration has proposed a \$1-billion increase for the nation as a whole for fiscal year 2004.²⁰ In Texas, the largest increases are needed in the districts with very low-wealth populations and in the very large-city districts. A new test is being implemented in Texas. Obviously, if the standards are raised, the remedial costs will go up proportionately.

Vermont. In my own study of Vermont's situation, I counted the number of students below state standards. Depending on the test and grade level, Vermont scores between 22 and 32 percentile points above national norms, and this advantage over the nation is increasing. Nevertheless, because Vermont has extremely high standards, 46.5% of the students "fail" one of the tests. I assumed that one-fourth of these students would be able to reach the standards within existing resources. Using estimates from adequacy-cost studies and looking at the number of students affected by poverty and those with moderate needs, I arrived at additional remediation costs for the state of \$149.5 million. Testing costs and lost instructional time added \$8.7 million to that figure, for a total of \$158.2 million in new costs. However, the state receives only \$51.6 million in all titles of ESEA combined.²¹ Vermont would add 15.5% to its total school costs for remediation and testing alone.

Wisconsin. Using parameters supplied by the Institute for Wisconsin's Future, Whitney Allgood and Richard Rothstein found that adequate funding in Wisconsin would be \$11,231 per pupil, averaged across all pupils in the state. For high-risk pupils, the cost would be \$27,879 per pupil -- more than 2.5 times the cost of previous estimates. In arriving at this figure, the authors demonstrated that overcoming the effects of poverty requires interventions beyond the traditional school. Thus they included community clinics, before- and after-school programs, early childhood intervention, and summer school programs.²²

Simply teaching children will have little effect if they return to bad neighborhoods, single-parent homes, foster care, inadequate health care, and a general lack of support. The authors marshaled convincing evidence that expecting students to reach high standards without essential support systems in place overestimates the ability of schools to cure social ills.²³

A follow-up study in 2002 by the Institute for Wisconsin's Future determined that \$11,121 per pupil in school spending was needed, but the current level was only \$8,241. The difference represents a 35% increase for Wisconsin spending.²⁴

Estimating the National Costs of NCLB

These cost studies from 10 states are all based on bringing the state's children up to an academic standard. As we have seen, they vary considerably in methods, assumptions, and procedures, and they use a variety of analytic techniques. All are recent. Yet, for all their diversity, a number of unambiguous findings emerge.

- Providing a "standards-based" NCLB education for all children will require massive new investments in education spending. Seven of the 10 studies show increases in base cost that are greater than 24%, and of these, six were between 30% and 46%; two were in the 15% range; one did not directly address the base cost.
- Traditional estimates of the costs of remedial instruction, such as Title I or state-funded programs, are clearly underestimates at both the state and federal levels.²⁵ Eight of the 10 studies found the real additional costs to be approximately 100% higher -- that is, double the cost of regular instruction. The other two studies did not address or break out these costs.
- The federal government boasts that it is fully paying Title I NCLB costs with the additional \$1 billion planned for fiscal year 2004. As indicated by the New Hampshire study, it is not likely that such a small appropriation will pay for the added bureaucracy, testing requirements, qualified-teacher costs, paraprofessional tests, and other mandates in the law.

- Perversely, states with high standards, such as New York, Michigan, and Vermont, will have the highest remedial needs and costs while those with low standards will have the lowest costs.²⁶

Public spending on K-12 education was \$422.7 billion in 2001-02.²⁷ If we use a broad -- yet easily justified and extremely conservative -- estimate of 20% added costs for the nation as a whole, that translates into a national increase of about \$84.5 billion. An estimate of 35% additional costs yields a national increase of \$148 billion.

For comparison purposes, the current federal Title I appropriation is \$11.3 billion, and the Administration's budget request of \$12.3 billion is below the authorized amount of \$18 billion in NCLB.²⁸ President Bush said in his weekly radio address of 4 January 2003 that the additional \$1 billion was "more than enough money" and that "we are insisting that schools use that money wisely."²⁹

Who Has to Pay the NCLB Bill?

Legal scholars have opined that the federal government cannot be sued to force adequate funding of the law. In fact, Secretary of Education Richard Riley in a letter dated 19 January 2001 said that states have the responsibility of providing educational resources to meet new standards: "Indeed, raising standards without closing resource gaps may have the perverse effect of exacerbating achievement gaps and of setting up many children for failure."³⁰

The alternative for states is to reject the federal money and, along with it, the mandates. However, if states take the money and require local districts to meet state standards, then these same local districts can legally demand that the state provide adequate money to meet these standards. Local districts can cite a growing number of financial adequacy studies to support their case in the courts.

With the National Governors' Association estimating that states face a total fiscal-year 2003 deficit of \$58 billion, state governments will be hard pressed to fund an additional \$84.5 billion -- to say nothing of \$148 billion. In many states, budgets are being balanced in part by cutting education dollars. Tax cuts, a sluggish economy, and the cost of war in Iraq all suggest that significant fiscal help will not be forthcoming from the federal government.

Few reasonable people argue against the idea that all children must be well educated or that extra services must be made available for our most needy. In fact, it has been the dream of many educators throughout our nation's history. However, if funding remains inadequate, then at best the law will represent the attenuated efforts of an overpromising government, which will leave behind our poorest and most needy children.

Promised Benefits: Accountability

The primary promised benefit of NCLB is that 95% of all student groups will reach their state test standards by 2014. Obviously, we don't know if that goal can or will be reached. But if the system is not adequately funded, then reaping that benefit is a remote and forlorn hope.

Assessing the possible benefits of NCLB requires answering two questions -- one technical, the other about values. The technical question is whether the system can ever work. At the heart of the plan is the requirement that each subgroup of students in each school improve test scores in equal yearly increments. That is, they are required to make "adequate yearly progress" (AYP). The values question is whether the goals of the system, narrowly conceived as improved test scores, are the right goals for public education in a democratic society.

Promised Benefits: 'Adequate Yearly Progress'

There is simply no body of accepted scientific knowledge that says that all students and all subgroups of students can reach meaningful high standards, at the required AYP pace, given the levels of funding and the lack of social, economic, and family assets of many of our children. It is also doubtful that the "machinery" will work. Indeed, there is scant evidence that the AYP train can even get out of the station.

Test score reliability. The centerpiece of NCLB is the requirement that test scores must improve annually. Before NCLB became law, Thomas Kane and Douglas Staiger demonstrated that 70% of the year-to-year change in test scores for grade levels or schools is simply random variation.³¹ Differences in the student body from one year to the next, combined with the statistical error in the tests themselves, make it impossible to know whether the tests are measuring real gains (or losses) or whether the changes are merely random noise.

Similarly, Walt Haney examined the scores of all Massachusetts schools. He found that those that received a medallion for large gains in one year saw those gains disappear the following year.³² In Florida, the same pattern emerged, with 69% of the schools that posted gains in the first cycle of testing falling back in the next cycle.³³ In Maine, Jackyung Lee found the same phenomenon and noted that the random fluctuation, not surprisingly, increased as the size of the school decreased.³⁴

The problems become far more difficult as the number of subgroups increases. A school with a diverse population (and many subgroups) has many more opportunities to fail. Thus the diverse school, which faces greater challenges, is penalized.

Likewise, many rural and small schools do not have enough students in a grade level or a population subgroup to draw valid conclusions. While some states call for a minimum of 30 or 50 students in a subgroup, new analyses are finding that these cell sizes are still too small to validly measure AYP gains. For example, modeling in Vermont shows that 170 students per grade level are needed for the scores to be stable.³⁵

Validity. Most states claim that their testing systems are "aligned" with their state curriculum standards. Generally, this means that they are not grossly incompatible. It does not mean that they are a faithful, accurate, and balanced representation of the state's standards for instruction. Since most tests are geared toward reading and mathematics, social studies and science get short shrift. Even within math and reading, the ability of any test to sample validly an ever-expanding knowledge base is suspect. The reading and math wars demonstrate that even these basic areas are subject to great controversy. Moreover, different tests give different results for the same students — even when they are supposedly measuring knowledge of the same subject matter.³⁶

Testing companies, state agencies, and local districts all have their own incentives to keep the time, amount, and expense of testing to a minimum. The result, unfortunately, is a tradeoff. Thus it is doubtful that any state accountability test can be considered a valid and representative sampling of the state's curriculum expectations for an educated youth.

Improvement of learning through tests. Each year, the NCLB system progressively increases sanctions against schools that do not meet annual growth targets. Ultimately, the state could take over the school, change its management, or disband it altogether. The assumption is that the fear of these penalties will drive schools to even higher levels of performance.

Leaving aside whether schools have the resources and whether students have the social capital to reach the high levels sought by NCLB, it is questionable whether punitive incentive systems work. (B. F. Skinner disproved negative reinforcement systems 45 years ago.) In looking at 18 states with high-stakes testing systems, Audrey Amrein and David Berliner considered the scores on the high-stakes tests along with the scores on other tests. If all scores went up, they concluded that learning was taking place. If only the high-stakes scores went up, they concluded that test preparation and curriculum narrowing were taking place. They found that scores on the other tests were not related to scores on high-stakes tests. Thus the basic assumption that high-stakes systems lead to improved learning must be suspect at least.³⁷

Texas is cited as a state in which the increase in the percentage of students meeting the standards was paralleled by increases in the state's scores on the National Assessment of Educational Progress. However, the low level of the state's tests and the very different trend lines of the state and NAEP tests call this conclusion into question. More troubling still is that the increase in test scores was *not* accompanied by increases in outcomes of high value, such as increased high school completion or college attendance.³⁸

Unintended Consequences

The assumption of the NCLB system is that the test results represent what an educated person should know and be able to do. Few would say that an educated person only has high test scores. Most would say good scores are desirable but not sufficient to define an educated person. Most would say that schools must also produce good citizens, strong family members, contributors to society, and people engaged in democratic governance. None of these characteristics are measured by or deemed of importance in the federal accountability system. Along the way, a number of unintended consequences also appear likely.

Curriculum narrowing. As noted above, statewide achievement tests do not measure the vast expanse of curriculum set forth by states and school districts. Tests tend to measure those things that are easy to measure, in an efficient and economical way. This means that the focus is on lower-order thinking skills, with a light smattering of higher-order skills, such as writing a short essay.³⁹ Schools and teachers, faced with ever-increasing demands to avoid the "failing school" label, will logically focus on the curriculum content that is most likely to improve test scores. Leaving aside the fact that these tests provide little useful instructional feedback, the inevitable results will be that the nation's curriculum will be narrowed and the level of expectations will be lowered.⁴⁰

Failing schools. While the federal government has recently announced that the "failing" label for schools should be replaced with the more politically acceptable term "in need of improvement," the negative moniker sticks in the minds of the people and of the media. Regardless of the solid record of achievement test scores and the good graduation rates of the nation's schools, public school critics have been successful in painting schools as "failing," and they have made the most of the cooperation of the media, which have natural incentives to report negative news.

A plethora of estimates have been put forth regarding the number of schools across the U.S. that will turn out to be failing under NCLB. The Center for Assessment says 75%, North Carolina estimates 60%, Vermont calculated 80% over three years, and Louisiana reports 85% — even though two-thirds of their schools show improved scores.⁴¹

Furthermore, as Lowell Rose has pointed out with regard to Indiana, "A failing label will be assigned frequently, based on the crushing impact of poverty." Students with large and diverse populations will find it most difficult to show progress while schools with a breakout group in special education will find it impossible.⁴² Black students showed a 94% failure rate, while Hispanics registered a 68% failure rate. Students who received free and reduced-price lunches showed a 56% failure rate.

Schools labeled as "failing" will not receive their label because they have failed. Rather, schools will be branded because they are in poor or diverse neighborhoods, because they are small and rural, because they are underfunded, and because the AYP system cannot tell the difference between a learning gain and random noise.

Dropouts. While it is still too early to determine whether students will drop out of school as a result of the NCLB requirements, an examination of the national longitudinal database shows that students subjected to eighth-grade promotion examinations are more likely to drop out by 10th grade.⁴³ Anecdotal evidence suggests that some students are encouraged (or provided subtle incentives) to drop out. This is consistent with the "uncertainty principle" mechanisms set forth by Amrein and Berliner. Simply put, the more intense the negative consequences held over a system in an effort to get high results, the more likely the system is to game the rules to show better results.

Conclusion: Sure Costs, Uncertain Benefits

The No Child Left Behind law claims noble aims and sets unyielding expectations for schools. Yet there is a troubling difference between the language of the federal government and its actions. While asking for the highest educational achievement scores in the world, we ignore that we are, at best, mediocre in the commitment of our substantial wealth to our schools. When it comes to equality for all our children, the U.S. is among the least equitable nations in the world.

It is in this context that NCLB has promised equality for all. Yet in the 10 states profiled in this analysis, the costs for making these promises a reality are far from being met. Seven of the 10 states require new base investments in education of at least 24%. The federal Administration has asked for an increase of \$1 billion in Title I, but we need at least \$84.5 billion if we are to make a realistic effort to leave no child behind. The states, currently wallowing in deficits totaling \$58 billion, will be legally forced to take on these added burdens, but they lack the capability. With war pushed to the front burner and another tax cut planned, there is little reason to believe that federal commitment in the form of federal dollars will follow federal rhetoric.

If we were willing to fund our educational obligations to the poor and the needy, the social benefits would be enormous. But funding alone will do little to stop an unworkable AYP system from randomly assigning punitive sanctions to our schools. The system does not recognize that a hungry child with a poor, single parent and a violent home may not be focused on phonics each morning. The system does not ensure adequate money for an underfunded school. It gives no promise that children will not have to go to a dilapidated school. The system makes no distinction between a school with well-educated parents and generous resources and an impoverished school. Both schools are held to the same standard.

The program is likely to increase the number of dropouts, narrow the curriculum, and label a great many schools as failing — even as NAEP reading and mathematics scores are at very high levels. The effect will not simply be to punish schools and children for failing when they never had a chance. The effect will be that our society accepts a meaner vision of what it means to be educated in America. The effect will be to take money from those schools and those communities that need it most and transfer it to "successful" schools. Ultimately, the effect will be to shift the purpose of schools away from education for a democracy and away from the provision of equal opportunities for all children.

If we are to work seriously to attain the goal of educating all children, there are a number of requirements that must be met.

- Funding for education, prevention, and remediation must be adequate. This will require major new investments — particularly in poor, rural, and inner-city environments. We must undertake this effort not because it is the law but because it is what we should do.
- Ultimately, adequate funding is not a matter of fiscal capacity as much as it is a matter of political will. Obtaining adequate funding will require a level of political involvement not traditionally seen from educators.
- States and districts must conduct their own cost/benefit analyses. Even though schools desperately need the small Title I sums they receive, districts and states should reject Faustian bargains that fail to compensate them adequately for the obligations they take on. The inevitable result is that the district agrees to being publicly branded a failure when it never had a reasonable chance for success.
- States and districts must work with federal officials — elected and appointed — for the repeal or massive revision of the NCLB law so that it provides a workable accountability system. This system must include comprehensive and democratic conceptions of educational goals rather than a narrow reliance on tests. It must also measure gains according to where students are coming from as much as where they are going.
- Finally, educators must embrace accountability. We must work to ensure that no school provides substandard, inadequate, or inequitable educational programs. We must do so not because it is politically expedient but because it is what we owe the children, our society, and ourselves.

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Phi Delta Kappa

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Noman—

sigh.

They sure don't make it easy on govt websites.

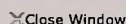
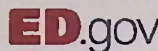
Herewith a very interesting article from a national magazine for teachers which is an overview of school funding—the feds only kick in SEVEN percent!!!

Also note the final paragraph—just throwing money at problems does not create literacy or good schools (no matter who's throwing it) Note the highest per-pupil spending is in DC, 11K—which has some truly abysmal literacy problems—heavy minorities, slum schools, etc—and Utah spends least—but I'd cheerfully bet the rent most of those Mormon kids can read. Can we conclude the local school reflects the surrounding local culture? And if we want the opposite to happen—i.e., the school to be a change agent and improve the local culture—we need teachers who approach the profession with rarely-found sense of vocation.

The intro to No Child Left Behind (apparently NOT universally beloved by teachers for a variety of good and bad reasons) does give some budget figures—as you can see, the Fed Dept of Ed spending is divided into many "grant" programs—Title I, NCLB, and about 15 others—so how enterprising state education bureaucrats are at grant-getting seems to have a lot to do with who gets how much of the federal goodies. The graph on p. 2 is telling—federal spending goes up and UP and the reading scores don't budge!!

On the Reagan commentary, p. 2 offers some important history—dear Ronnie did his best to slash the fed education budget, but in later years much was restored.

Sorry for the small print—maybe D. can blow these up for you.



Introduction: *No Child Left Behind*

INTRODUCTION

Related Resources

- [No Child Left Behind Powerpoint Presentation](#)

The *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001* (*No Child Left Behind*) is a landmark in education reform designed to improve student achievement and change the culture of America's schools. President George W. Bush describes this law as the "cornerstone of my administration." Clearly, our children are our future, and, as President Bush has expressed, "Too many of our neediest children are being left behind."

With passage of *No Child Left Behind*, Congress reauthorized the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)*--the principal federal law affecting education from kindergarten through high school. In amending *ESEA*, the new law represents a sweeping overhaul of federal efforts to support elementary and secondary education in the United States. It is built on four common-sense pillars: accountability for results; an emphasis on doing what works based on scientific research; expanded parental options; and expanded local control and flexibility.

WHAT NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND DOES FOR PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Supports learning in the early years, thereby preventing many learning difficulties that may arise later

Children who enter school with language skills and pre-reading skills (e.g., understanding that print reads from left to right and top to bottom) are more likely to learn to read well in the early grades and succeed in later years. In fact, research shows that most reading problems faced by adolescents and adults are the result of problems that could have been prevented through good instruction in their early childhood years (Snow, Burns and Griffin 1998). It is never too early to start building language skills by talking with and reading to children. *No Child Left Behind* targets resources for early childhood education so that all youngsters get the right start.

Provides more information for parents about their child's progress

Under *No Child Left Behind*, each state must measure every public school student's progress in reading and math in each of grades 3 through 8 and at least once during grades 10 through 12. By school year 2007-2008, assessments (or testing) in science will be underway. These assessments must be aligned with state academic content and achievement standards. They will provide parents with objective data on where their child stands academically.

Alerts parents to important information on the performance of their child's school

No Child Left Behind requires states and school districts to give parents easy-to-read, detailed report cards on schools and districts, telling them which ones are succeeding and why. Included in the report cards are student achievement data broken out by race, ethnicity, gender, English language proficiency, migrant status, disability status and low-income status; as well as important information about the professional qualifications of teachers. With these provisions, *No Child Left Behind* ensures that parents have important, timely information about the schools their children attend--whether they are performing well or not for *all* children, regardless of their background.

Gives children and parents a lifeline

In this new era of education, children will no longer be trapped in the dead end of low-performing schools. Under *No Child Left Behind*, such schools must use their federal funds to make needed improvements. In the event of a school's continued poor performance, parents have options to ensure that their children receive the high-quality education to which they are entitled. That might mean that children can transfer to higher-performing schools in the area or receive supplemental educational services in the community, such as tutoring, after-school programs or remedial classes.

Improves teaching and learning by providing better information to teachers and principals

Annual tests to measure children's progress provide teachers with independent information about each child's strengths and weaknesses. With this knowledge, teachers can craft lessons to make sure each student meets or exceeds the standards. In addition, principals can use the data to assess exactly how much progress each teacher's students have made and to better inform decisions about how to run their schools.

Ensures that teacher quality is a high priority

No Child Left Behind defines the qualifications needed by teachers and paraprofessionals who work on any facet of classroom instruction. It requires that states develop plans to achieve the goal that all teachers of core academic subjects be highly qualified by the end of the 2005-06 school year. States must include in their plans annual, measurable objectives that each local school district* and school must meet in moving toward the goal; they must report on their progress in the annual report cards.

Gives more resources to schools ★

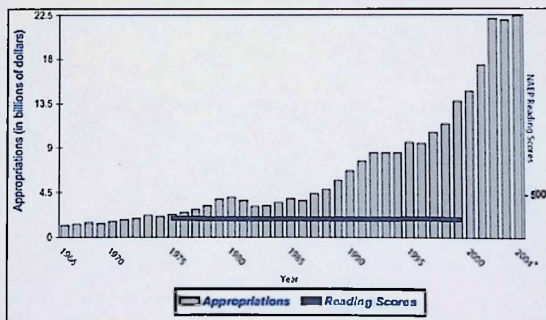
Today, more than \$7,000 on average is spent per pupil by local, state and federal taxpayers. States and local school districts are now receiving more federal funding than ever before for all programs under *No Child Left Behind*: \$23.7 billion, most of which will be used during the 2003-04 school year. This represents an increase of 59.8 percent from 2000 to 2003. A large portion of these funds is for grants under Title I of *ESEA*: Improving the Academic Achievement of the Disadvantaged. Title I grants are awarded to states and local education agencies to help states and school districts improve the education of disadvantaged students; turn around low-performing schools; improve teacher quality; and increase choices for parents. (For more about Title I, see the [introductory paragraph to Q-and-As](#).) For fiscal year (FY) 2003, funding for Title I alone is \$11.7 billion—an increase of 33 percent since the passage of *No Child Left Behind*. President Bush's FY 2004 budget request would increase spending on Title I by 48 percent since he took office.

Allows more flexibility

In exchange for the strong accountability, *No Child Left Behind* gives states and local education agencies more flexibility in the use of their federal education funding. As a result, principals and administrators spend less time filling out forms and dealing with federal red tape. They have more time to devote to students' needs. They have more freedom to implement innovations and allocate resources as policymakers at the state and local levels see fit, thereby giving local people a greater opportunity to affect decisions regarding their schools' programs.

Focuses on what works

No Child Left Behind puts a special emphasis on implementing educational programs and practices that have been clearly demonstrated to be effective through rigorous scientific research. Federal funding will be targeted to support such programs. For example, the Reading First program makes federal funds available to help reading teachers in the early grades strengthen old skills and gain new ones in instructional techniques that scientifically based research has shown to be effective.

WHY NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND IS IMPORTANT TO AMERICA**Federal Spending on K-12 Education under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and NAEP Reading Scores (Age 9)**

Note: Appropriations for ESEA do not include funding for special education. Reading scores are the average scores for 9-year-olds, according to the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). A score of 200 implies an ability to understand, combine ideas and make inferences based on short, uncomplicated passages about specific or sequentially related information.

*Reflects the President's budget request for 2004.

Source: U.S. Department of Education Budget Service and NAEP 1999 Trends in Academic Progress.

Since the Elementary and Secondary Education Act first passed Congress in 1965, the federal government has spent more than \$242 billion through

2003 to help educate disadvantaged children. Yet, the achievement gap in this country between rich and poor and white and minority students remains wide. According to the most recent National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) on reading in 2000, only 32 percent of fourth-graders can read at a proficient level and thereby demonstrate solid academic achievement; and while scores for the highest-performing students have improved over time, those of America's lowest-performing students have declined (National Assessment of Educational Progress 2001).

The good news is that some schools in cities and towns across the nation are creating high achievement for children with a history of low performance. If some schools can do it, then all schools should be able to do it.

UNITED FOR RESULTS

Because of No Child Left Behind:

Parents will know their children's strengths and weaknesses and how well schools are performing; they will have other options and resources for helping their children if their schools are chronically in need of improvement.

Teachers will have the training and resources they need for teaching effectively, using curricula that are grounded in scientifically based research; annual testing lets them know areas in which students need extra attention.

Principals will have information they need to strengthen their schools' weaknesses and to put into practice methods and strategies backed by sound, scientific research.

Superintendents will be able to see which of their schools and principals are doing the best job and which need help to improve.

School boards will be able to measure how their districts are doing and to measure their districts in relation to others across the state; they will have more and better information on which to base decisions about priorities in their districts.

Chief state school officers will know how the schools in their states and in other states are doing; they will be better able to pinpoint where guidance and resources are needed.

Governors will have a yearly report card on how their states' schools are doing; they will be able to highlight accomplishments of the best schools and target help to those schools that are in need of improvement.

Community leaders and volunteer groups will have information they can use to rally their members in efforts to help children and schools that need the most help.

*Note: For the purpose of discussion in this book, the terms "district" and "local education agency" are used interchangeably in discussing the agency at the local level responsible for maintaining administrative control of public elementary and secondary schools in a given area or political subdivision of the state. [return to text]

The Irascible ProfessorSM

Irreverent Commentary on the State of Education in America Today

by Dr. Mark H. Shapiro

see p. 2

"Politics is just like show business, you have a hell of an opening, coast for a while and then have a hell of a close."... ..Ronald Reagan.

Commentary of the Day - June 8, 2004: Reagan - The Ultimate Salesman.

Ronald Reagan's passing at age 93 this past week brings to mind the complex nature of the 40th president of the United States of America. Reagan had an uncanny ability to convince the public of his sincerity even though the veracity of his public remarks often were in doubt. His optimism and affability were infectious, and unlike some of his conservative colleagues, he maintained cordial relations with many in politics who did not share his views. And, unlike many on the right, he was able to compromise. Though he held strong core beliefs, he was more pragmatic than most other conservative politicians.

Reagan honed his communication skills as a sportscaster, a motion picture and television actor, and as a pitchman for General Electric. In the end he had become the ultimate salesman. He had both a great sense of humor, and the ability to believe fully in the product that he was selling. Although he often conflated myth with reality when he was speaking, he never came across as phony.

History ultimately will render a judgment about the effectiveness of his two terms as Governor of California and his eight years in the Presidency. But, his popularity during his tenure in these offices cannot be denied. He was dubbed the "teflon president" because the scandals of his administration never seemed to tarnish his reputation. Though the Iran-Contra affair remains one of the low points in American diplomacy and probably would have sunk most other presidents, Reagan somehow avoided being tarnished by it by being rather straightforward in accepting blame while telling us most sincerely that the wrongdoing was carried out by underlings without his knowledge.

While the economic and foreign policy aspects of the Reagan presidency rightly will be the focus of historians and political analysts for years to come, he also had an effect on other aspects of public policy (including education) that often is not widely appreciated. For example, during his tenure as governor here in California he closed most of the state mental hospitals. He and his advisors recognized that the advent of psychotropic drugs made it possible to control many of the symptoms of serious mental illnesses such schizophrenia, and to allow those suffering from these diseases to function again in society.

He convinced the legislature (controlled at the time by Democrats) that it would be cheaper, more humane, and more effective to treat the mentally ill in community "half-way houses". The legislature, with some help from civil libertarians, bought into the idea and closed many of the state mental hospitals. This trend eventually worked its way across the country. Unfortunately, the money needed to set up community mental health clinics never materialized at the level needed for an effective system; and, changes in the laws championed by advocates for the mentally ill made it nearly impossible to force mentally ill individuals to

remain on needed medications. The unintended consequence of Reagan's no doubt sincere efforts to reduce government expenditures for the mentally ill and to provide them more humane treatment surrounds us every day. A significant part of our homeless population is comprised of mentally ill people who do not take their medication on a regular basis, and who do not receive the support that they need to cope with the stresses of everyday life.

Reagan became governor at a time when student unrest over the war in Vietnam was reaching a crescendo. Protests on campuses up and down the state were becoming uglier by the day, and the Reagan administration cracked down hard. Some of the most vocal and violent protests took place on the University of California Berkeley campus. In response, Reagan sent in the national guard to quell the demonstrations and used his position as an ex officio member of the Board of Regents to engineer the dismissal of U.C. president Clark Kerr.

The animosity between Reagan and his adversaries on the University of California campuses led him to cut the budget of the "elitist" U.C. system by 10%. At the same time, he ingratiated himself to middle-class voters by approving modest increases in funding for the more egalitarian California State University system. State budget shortfalls during his first term required further cuts to the higher education budget, but throughout his two terms as governor Reagan consistently favored the California State University system over the U.C. system. But, for all his rhetoric about cutting budgets by the end of his second term the state's overall higher education budget actually had increased slightly. Neither the U.C. nor the State University System fared very well under his Democratic successor, but the gradual erosion in the quality of the University of California had its origins in the first Reagan term.

When he was running for his first presidential term Reagan campaigned on the abolition of the federal Department of Education, and on cutting the federal education budget (along with the remainder of the federal budget). However, he never was able to do either. Early in his first term as president he did succeed in eliminating most of the National Science Foundation's science education programs. Initially, only the graduate fellowship programs survived Reagan's budget ax. But without Republican majorities in Congress, these programs eventually were restored and expanded.

Reagan had more success in cutting student aid funds and in shifting federal education programs to the states through block grants. Terrel Bell, Reagan's first Secretary of Education, actually resigned in protest over the extent of these budget cuts. This was unfortunate because his replacement, William Bennett, was a far more doctrinaire critic of higher education. Many of the political appointees on Bennett's staff seemed to take great joy in running down public education, and in maneuvering around court-ordered desegregation programs. However, in the final year of Reagan's second term, Bennett actually supported increases in student aid funds, and in the federal education budget. Perhaps the most significant policy shift that took place during this period was the transition from student aid grants to student loan programs. These programs, which had strong support from conservative banking interests, helped to broaden the base of support for students seeking higher education but in the end leave most college graduates heavily in debt upon graduation.

In the end Reagan's quest for a smaller, less expensive federal government was a failure. The size of the federal bureaucracy had increased by some 68,000 workers, taxes had been raised, and the deficit had doubled by the time he left office. But, he was such a good salesman that most Americans thought otherwise.

[Return to main commentary.](#)

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Glossary

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School Finance

worthwhile overview

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Running schools—and improving them—cannot take place without the proper resources. And many advocates and educators think that money is perhaps the biggest resource to consider.

School budgets and the ways they are financed vary from state to state and school district to school district. Generally, though, states use a combination of income taxes, corporate taxes, sales taxes, and fees to provide about 50 percent of the budget for elementary and secondary schools. Local districts contribute around 43 percent, drawn mostly from local property taxes. And the federal government antes up approximately 7 percent of state education budgets (National Center for Education Statistics, 2003). Altogether, these funds are distributed to school districts on a

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"Consortium of Georgia
Schools Files Funding
Lawsuit," Sept. 22, 2004.

"Texas Judge Rules Funds Not
Enough," Sept. 22, 2004.

"House Boosts 2005 Spending
on Education," Sept. 15, 2004.

"Mich. Lawmakers Reach Deal
on K-12 School Budget," Sept.
15, 2004.

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per-pupil basis (to ensure there is enough to cover each child's education) and categorically (to ensure there is enough for each special program or facility).

But school funding isn't quite that simple. Every state has different formulas and systems for financing education. Forty-five states and the District of Columbia use some version of a foundation program as the basis of their school funding systems, where responsibility for providing a level of funding necessary for a basic education is shared between the state and local districts. But beyond this, there are few similarities in state mechanisms for funding education. And because local funding is so important to most states' public education systems, the amount of money particular schools receive tends to vary dramatically, depending on property values, not just from state to state but from district to district, and from year to year.

One way to better understand school finance is to think of it in terms of the adequacy and equity of resources. Adequacy is based on the principle that states should provide enough funding for all students to be able to meet academic expectations. According to the most recent data available from the National Center for Education Statistics, nationwide, the average state spending per pupil was \$7,376 in 2001 – ranging from a high of \$11,216 in the District of Columbia to a low of \$4,895 in Utah (NCES, 2003). It is difficult, however, to determine exactly how much money is needed to give all students an adequate education. Most experts agree that educating low-income or special education students costs more than educating the average pupil. Adequate spending on education is often determined through studies that rely either on an analysis of the expenditures of successful schools,

"State Steps Up Role in Ailing Texas District," Sept. 8, 2004.

"Alaska School Aid System Challenged in Court," Sept. 8, 2004.

"Ohio Schools Brace for Fallout From Levy Defeats," Sept. 1, 2004.

"With \$1 Billion Pledge, Calif. Settles Lawsuit," Sept. 1, 2004.

"Why Adequacy Lawsuits Matter," Commentary, Aug. 11, 2004.

"As Lawmakers Stall, N.Y. School Aid Case Gets 'Special Masters,'" Aug. 11, 2004.

"N.C. High Court Rules State Must Spend More on Schools," Aug. 11, 2004.

"Lawmakers Greet Rosy Budget Picture With Caution," July 28, 2004.

"Pa. Wagers on Slot Machines to Pay for Property-Tax Relief," July 14, 2004.

"Settlement of School Equity Case Caught Up in Calif. Budget Battle," July 14, 2004.

"Second Time a Charm for Maine Measure," June 16, 2004.

"Fiscal Woes Make for Long Year at Calif. School," June 16, 2004.

"'Robin Hood' Still Alive After Texas Special Session," May 26, 2004.

"Kansas Judge Orders State to Shut Schools," May 19, 2004.

"'Robin Hood' On Ropes in Texas School Aid Tilt," May 12, 2004.

"New Dollars to Shrink Fla. Class Sizes OK'd," May 12, 2004.

"Private Schools in Australia Share in Public Largess," May

or the professional judgment of practitioners (Advocacy Center for Children's Success with Standards, 2003).

12, 2004.

"Mass. School Funding Comes Up Short, Judge Rules," May 5, 2004.

The notion of equity in school funding focuses on strategies for closing the gap between local districts' abilities to raise revenues for their schools. Since local funds are commonly based at least in part on property taxes, less wealthy communities are not able to raise as much money for schools as wealthier districts, leaving their children at a considerable disadvantage. The higher the share of funding that states provide for education, and the more states target that money, the better the chances for increasing equity in the system. According to an analysis of education spending in *Education Week's Quality Counts 2004*, states such as Delaware, Minnesota, and Nevada target funds toward property-poor districts and provide more than 60 percent of total (state and local) funding.

"Two School Aid Ballot Initiatives Pushed in Nevada," April 21, 2004.

"Ore. Activists Seek to Dismantle Special Local Tax," April 21, 2004.

"Report Finds State Preschool Funds Fall Short of Rhetoric," April 21, 2004.

"N.C. Cites Progress in Satisfying Equity Lawsuit," April 14, 2004.

"Texas Governor Unveils School Funding Plan," April 14, 2004.

"Panel Urges N.Y. to Enrich School Funding," April 7, 2004.

Court battles have repeatedly determined that states are responsible for all education spending and that even when their funding is simply a minor supplement to local budgets, states should not allow one district to spend vastly more than another.

A wave of state school finance lawsuits that started in California in 1971 has served as one of the main means for spurring changes in states' education finance systems. There have been lawsuits challenging the state funding systems in 45 states, and recently, new cases have been filed in Kentucky and Nebraska (Advocacy Center for Children's Success with Standards, 2003). According to *Quality Counts 2004*, nine states have funding systems in place that have been ruled unconstitutional.

From that first lawsuit in California through the 1980s, most cases were waged as challenges to the equity of state finance systems on behalf of disadvantaged children. In the late 1980s, however, many finance litigants shifted their focus to addressing the overall adequacy of finance systems.

While some school reformers are concentrating on getting more money for schools and spreading it around more equitably, others are concentrating on another question: Are schools spending their money intelligently? This question is especially important considering the current economy. Although states have seen an improvement in revenue shortfalls and budget gaps for fiscal 2004, states still face a total budget gap of \$2.8

Parade draft

Many years ago, I had a good friend who died from an intolerable contradiction in his system. This was in the period after World War II when heart surgery was not yet highly developed, and he had high blood pressure and a leaky valve that passed blood when it shouldn't. The high blood pressure aggravated the condition, but the drug to lower his rate relaxed his valves too much. He was caught in an insuperable bind.

There is an anxiety in America today that something comparable is going on with the educational system. Here are some small examples: In the Lake Orion School District (Michigan), the local school board refused to put up the required matching income to receive Federal funds for Head Start

which would presumably help disadvantaged pupils. The townspeople wanted to use the money to pave a parking lot for the high school football stadium. It came to a vote and the mothers who wanted Head Start funds for their children were soundly defeated. Football, felt the town, was a more important part of the educational process.

All the same, three presidents as different as George H.W. Bush, William Jefferson Clinton, and George W. Bush have all been equally concerned (and in bipartisan fashion) with the need to improve our educational system. All three men may be considerable different in every other respect, but for the last sixteen years they have agreed on this priority, and in 2002, a most important bill, No Child Left Behind, was passed by a vote of 87-10 in the US Senate.

What was involved? Our students' test scores in comparison with other countries tell us our best students are at a par with the best in other developed nations, but our low scores are a disaster. In a ranking of 24 industrialized nations there is a gap between our average scorers and our low scorers that is no less than shocking. We rank as the 21st lowest of the 24 nations.

This has the makings of oncoming disaster. As seen by the centers of power in Washington, the future will belong to globalism and technological development. For that, a support system of high literacy is necessary down even to the lower paying jobs. Small clerical errors and minor mistakes in transmission can extrapolate into large errors at the top. If, for nothing else, demands for point-by-point checking can consume productive hours.

Nor is our educational system free of a few deficiencies among our best students. Technology and globalism depend on high skills in science,

technology, engineering and mathematics, yet this is precisely where our best students do not shine. These studies, called STEM subjects for short, appear to have greater appeal to foreign students in this country than to our own. It seems as if the academic demands appear a little awesome to too many young, qualified Americans. To quote Scott Bass's piece in the Boston Globe in January of this year, "Between 1996 and 1999, foreign students earning STEM field Ph.D.'s increased at a rate nearly four times faster than domestic students. In 2000, 43% of physical science Ph. D.'s went to non-US citizens."

So, NCLB (No Child Left Behind) became one of George W. Bush's first priorities, and a great many particular hopes were attached to it. The underlying concept was that all the schools in America, from kindergarten through eight years of elementary school and through the four years of high

school (K through 12 as it was inevitably termed) were going to be improved across the board; yearly testing would begin in every one of the 50 states; and Federal money would be available to each of the states and their local governments provided they weighed in with matching funds. The emphasis would be on literacy studies and mathematics. Those schools which failed to pass their annual tests would be penalized, altered, and/or closed. It was a call to Draconian efforts. Adequate Yearly Progress, AYP, became the benchmark. Test scores were to be measured annually and were obliged to improve annually. Each school was obliged to be accountable for its results, and penalties would be attached to every vestige of failure.

One of the finer educational minds in America, William J. Mathis, in a close study of the problems that ensued remarked that "there is scant evidence that the AYP train can even get out of the station."

Again, why? And the answer takes us back to my old dead friend with his hopeless physiological contretemps. There was not enough money to take care of the problem. The separate 50 states were already falling under a budget deficit in 2003 of \$58 billion dollars. Now, with the fiscal demands of NCLB, they would have to find estimated increases of at least \$84. billion or at most \$148 billion. Already, \$422.7 billion dollars had been spent in 2001-2002 in the US on education, but if no child was to be left behind, the states would now have to increase their corporate, property, and income taxes in order to qualify for the matching funds. For that reason, many states might fail to join the program. They couldn't afford it—the Feds have to give them more money. But the US government wouldn't. The combination of the tax cuts and the war in Iraq had created its own budgetary limitations—to use a modest word.

896 words

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NEWS

In this corner, Alex Wallau, ABC Television's new president

For your
edification -
see p. 2

Boxing commentator replaces Fili-Krushel

By Gabriel Spitzer

ABC has announced that Alex Wallau has been promoted to President of ABC Television **Network**.

Wallau was quick to reassure the public that his new job will not take him away from his responsibilities as one of ABC's on-air boxing commentators.

As president, Wallau will be in charge of ABC News, ABC Sports, ABC Entertainment, ABC Children's Programming and Daytime. He will also assume responsibility for Television **Network** Sales, Marketing, **Network** Public Relations, Finance, Research, Affiliate Relations, and Broadcast Operations and Engineering.

Wallau has been serving as interim president since the March departure of Patricia Fili-Krushel for the internet company Healtheon/WebMD. Fili-Krushel has been widely credited with ABC's resuscitation, as "Who Wants to Be a Millionaire" has lifted the **network** from third place to first.

Wallau, an ABC veteran of 24 years, joined the **network** as head of on-air production for ABC Sports in 1976. He has remained closely involved with ABC Sports over the years, and in 1986 he became the **network**'s award-winning boxing analyst.

He has also served as president of ABC Television **Network** operations and administration, as well as vice president and executive vice president of ABC Television **Network**.

'There's
nothing more
chaotic than
the world of
boxing'

Look for Wallau to attempt to diversify ABC's appeal beyond "Millionaire," which has more or less single-handedly carried the **network** to dominance since its debut late last summer.

The hit game show is slated for four episodes per week next season, raising the danger of over-saturation. At present, a sudden drop in "Millionaire's" popularity, though unlikely, could send the **network** reeling.

Also, Wallau is taking the helm at a time when CBS's "Survivor" is giving ABC its first serious challenge for viewers.

Wallau will likely try to renegotiate contracts with many of ABC's affiliate stations. ABC would like to restructure the agreements with its affiliates, many of which are now contracted through 2004, to reduce or eliminate the amount of money ABC pays to have its programming aired.

Wallau also indicated that ABC may soon redefine the way it sells advertising.

Instead of buying ad time on a spot basis exclusively, Wallau says he like to have advertisers sponsor entire genres of programming. He has mentioned "reality programming" and sports as good opportunities for advertisers to buy shows or blocks of shows outright.

Wallau and ABC will also push advertisers to back up television commercials with ad space in other ABC-owned media, including print magazines and ABC's web properties.

Among the trophies on Wallau's shelf are two Emmys he won for producing and directing ABC's sports coverage.

Wallau told the Associated Press that he believes his experience as a boxing commentator will come in handy in his new position: "There's nothing more chaotic than the world of boxing."

and all of
ABC is owned
by The Walt
Disney Company!

◀ -Gabriel Spitzer is a staff writer for Media Life. ▶

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Research breakdown

The ABC_TV Network is owned by the Walt Disney Company and includes
ABC Entertainment
ABC Sports
ABC Daytime
ABC Kids
ABC owner TV stations
and some 226 local affiliates.

The Walt Disney Company annual report for 2003 is online. Google "Walt Disney Company" and the corporate website is easy to find. Click on "financials" to see the annual report.

From that document:

ABC Media revenues for 2003 \$10,940 (millions)

breaking it down further, Broadcasting revenues (which exclude Cable and include ABC TV Network)
\$5,419 millions

Federal tax revenues

Google "Congressional Budget Office" and go to their homepage. They seem to live up to their self-description as "non-partisan" and therefore, one can actually FIND (as opposed to going on an archaeological dig for) data on their site.

Follow the links to Table 3, which breaks down Federal tax revenues for the last 20-30 years in billions of dollars. Data from 2003 (in billions)

personal federal income taxes	\$793
corporate taxes	\$131
Social insurance taxes	\$713
Excise taxes	\$ 67.5
total federal tax revenues	\$1,782

note: the gap between the total and the listed figures is from several quite small (comparatively speaking) federal tax sources, namely, Customs, Estate and Gift Taxes, and "Miscellaneous."

billion (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2003a). This is true even though 31 states have made across the board spending cuts, and 11 have made targeted cuts to K-12 education (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2003b).

Some reformers are also examining ways schools could use money more like the private sector does—as an incentive. For instance, they ask, instead of paying teachers and administrators according to an unbending formula, is there a way to reward superior performance? Others are looking at ways to cut central-office spending, and in turn increase the amount of money that actually flows down to the school level.

Finally, some argue that spending has absolutely no correlation to academic achievement (Hanushek, 1997). They say no matter how much money is pumped into the educational system, it won't make a difference unless schools fundamentally change how they operate.

—Jennifer Park

SOURCES

"Projected Costs of Implementing The Federal 'No Child Left Behind Act' in Ohio," December 2003, from the Ohio Department of Education, is an independent cost analysis of implementing NCLB. The department also posts reviews of its study. (Requires Adobe's Acrobat Reader.)

Advocacy Center for Children's Success with Standards (ACCESS), "Ensuring All Children the Opportunity for and Adequate Education: A Costing-out Primer," No date.

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Education Week, Quality Counts 2004: Count Me In, Jan. 7, 2004.

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U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, "Revenues and Expenditures for Public Elementary and Secondary Education: School Year 2000-01," (NCES 2003-362), 2003.

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ON THE WEB

The Feb. 17, 2004 report "Investing in Learning: School Funding Policies to Foster High Performance," from the Committee for Economic Development, says as education policies focus more forcefully on student achievement, policymakers need to overhaul 20th-century school finances in ways that support and encourage learning.

The U.S. Department of Education provides summary materials on the president's FY 2005 budget request. The agency also posts general resources on the **federal education budget**, including budget history tables and a primer on the federal role in education.

"Projected Costs of Implementing The Federal 'No Child Left Behind Act' in Ohio," December 2003, from the Ohio Department of Education, is an independent cost analysis of implementing NCLB. The department also posts reviews of its study. (Requires Adobe's Acrobat Reader.)

The May 2003 report, "Characteristics of Tests Will Influence Expenses; Information Sharing May Help States Realize Efficiencies," from the United States General Accounting Office, found that states will be required to expend "between \$1.9 and \$5.3 billion" to implement the testing provisions of the law. (Requires Adobe's Acrobat Reader.)

People for the American Way outline objections to school vouchers, including the Florida voucher programs.

Learn more about Florida School Choice Scholarships, including the John M. McKay Program for disabled students, and the Opportunity Scholarships Program for children who attend failing schools. Posted by the Florida Department of Education.

On public radio's "The Diane Rehm Show," Wednesday, Sept. 4, 2003, *Education Week* Assistant Managing Editor Robert Johnston joined other commentators to discuss the effects of state budget crunches on schools. Listen to the show. (Requires the Real Player.)

The Department of Education provides information on its 2004 fiscal year budget, including a budget summary and a detailed program budget table. (Table requires Adobe's Acrobat Reader.)

The National Conference of State Legislatures has a searchable Education Finance Database that provides detailed state-by-state information on K-12 finance.

An article by William J. Mathis, "No Child Left Behind: Costs and Benefits," May 2003, is available from the Phi Delta Kappan.

"Overview of K-12 Education Finance," Nov. 5, 2002, from the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, "provides basic background on how public K-12 education is funded in the United States."

In "Title I Funding: Poor Children Benefit Though Funding Per Poor Child Differs," January 2002, the U.S. General Accounting Office examines the effects of Title I. Targeting disadvantaged students, Title I is the largest federal education funding program. (Requires Adobe's Acrobat Reader.)

"Developments in School Finance: 2001-02," from the Education Finance Statistics Center, contains papers presented at the National Center for Education Statistics' 2002 Summer Data Conference. (Requires Adobe's Acrobat Reader.)

See the Education Commission of the States' issue paper on school finance, "21st Century School Finance: How Is the Context Changing?," July 2001.

The American Education Finance Association is a forum and information network for the exchange of ideas concerning education finance issues among academic researchers, program administrators, and policy makers in the United States,

Canada and other jurisdictions.

Read "Still a Reasonably Equitable Share: Update on Educational Equity in Vermont, Year 2001-02," from the Rural School and Community Trust, on how Vermont's retooled system of school finance is proving an effective way to provide equitable spending on students.

The National Academies Press has published an online book, *Equity and Adequacy in Education Finance: Issues and Perspectives*, 1999. Chapters include "Concepts of School Finance Equity: 1970 to the Present," and "Performance Standards and Educational Cost Indexes: You Can't Have One Without the Other."

The National Education Association provides a press release on the accusation of unspent funds. See more in a statement from Rep. George Miller and Sen. Edward Kennedy on the issue.

For current information on the outreach program, read "Overview of Outreach Programs and Funding," Jan. 7, 2004, from California's Legislative Analyst's Office. (Requires Adobe's Acrobat Reader.)

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Review of Educational Research (RER)

Vol. 66, No. 3 (Fall 1996)

A More Complete Picture of School Resource Policies

Eric A. Hanushek

University of Rochester

Meta-analytic techniques for summarizing information about the relationship between school resources and student performance are capable only of addressing the narrow and uninteresting hypothesis that resources are never used effectively by schools. The data show clearly that resources are sometimes used effectively, although this happens infrequently and there is no description of the circumstances under which resources are used effectively. This article relates the basic evidence on school effectiveness to the specific application of meta-analytic methods employed by Greenwald, Hedges, and Laine (1996). Their analysis, suffering from the narrowness of the inquiry inherent in their statistical methods, is also based on a very highly selected sample of results that biases their analysis precisely toward their conclusions. As a result, their summary of existing work provides a distorted and misleading view of the potential implications of school resource policies. Both detailed econometric evidence and aggregate performance of U.S. schools point toward serious problems with inefficient use of resources. This evidence in turn suggests that lack of resources is not the largest problem facing schools and that more fundamental reforms are needed in schools.

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Review of Educational Research, v66 n3 p397-410 Fall 1996

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Mailer/Parade 7 October 04

5

With the advent of television, the nature of concentration has changed. Yet children could still develop such powers by watching TV. Most television books had a common denominator then—narrative.

In the early years of television, it was even hoped that the time that children gave to TV would improve their interest in reading. Indeed, it might have, if TV, left to itself, consisted of uninterrupted narrative. But of course, was soon not the case. There were constant interruptions in programs—the commercials.

Every parent has had the experience of picking up a two or three year-old who is busy at play. All too often, a tantrum occurs. For adults, we have to learn to contain our annoyance when our thoughts are broken into. For a child, an interruption to one's concentration can be as painful as a verbal rebuke.

Yet, this is what we do to our children for hours every day. On the major networks, the amount of time given to commercials has increased by 36% from 1991 to 2003. *Each of the* The four major networks now offer 52 minutes of commercials in the three hours from 8 to 11 P.M. every day. They are saying that every seven, ten, or twelve minutes, our attention to what is happening on the tube is cut into by a commercial. It is as bad to ~~most~~ *most* children's shows. Soon enough, ~~the~~ children develop a taste for the

Mailer Parade 7 October 04

the child knows that any interesting story will soon be amplified by a kaleidoscope of toys, food, dolls, clowns, new colors, and the like. Or seven wholly different products all following one another in ten, twenty and thirty second spots through a three-minute break, so the child does not come to recognize that concentration is not one's friend but is treacherous. For soon enough, attention will be turned inside-out. The need to get up and move about somewhat frantically can become a matter of fact, especially for highly-keyed children. Other kids, stupefied by the onslaught of a quick series of ads which have nothing to do with each other, suffer a dire sort of product—stagnation. They sit on the couch in stupor, they eat and drink and alarms are sounded through the nation. Our children are becoming obese.

What, then, is to be done? These six words falter before problems that are comparable to the impasse that visited my old dead friend. We have an economy that is stimulated by TV advertising. Yet the constant interruption of concentration it generates not only dominates much of our lives, but over the long run may even reduce our national prospects. *looks bound to bleed into*
~~our ~~national~~ economic prosperity~~ *the rest of*
 Can it be that one-fiftieth of the income taxes we pay each year ~~and~~
by rough estimation
 would be sufficient to support every television station in America which depends on advertising rather than cable fees? Of course, all too many second-rate

the world is getting into position to do far better than it is now. economic revolution ahead

the world is getting into position to do far better

Mail/Parade 7 October 04

products might feel left out in the cold. They have put the emphasis on
 marketing for decades. Now, they ^{would} ~~might~~ be obliged to return to the
 wisdom of Adam Smith, ^{whether they had it or not} the first great theoretician of capitalism, his
 fundamental notion. It came down to one idea: Let the competition prevail.
 Let the best product win. The assumption ^{was} ~~is~~ that a vital capitalism ^{works}
 strive to have the finest product possible for the price, rather ^{than rushing to} depend on
 state-of-the-art marketing for undistinguished goods. Are we ready ^{even sleazy} ~~to~~
 ponder the depths of some of these difficulties we have constructed for
 ourselves? ^{look into} * On our ability to look critically into our industries and
 evasions of truth may depend the honor and the happy future of our
 democracy.

~~Or, are we too weak to be complacent~~
~~too settled into far away from~~
~~* I doubt it we have gone as far away from~~
~~Adam Smith. We are weak, we are~~
~~complacent. All too many big businesses~~
~~now take more pride in marketing~~
~~than in the product. They know the 99 in~~
~~99 will bail them out. A need for~~
~~commercial will bail them out. A need for~~
~~to say, their attention is not focused~~
~~on the loss of attention they are injecting~~
~~the system is broken. The system is broken.~~
~~the system is broken. The system is broken.~~

into the American mind, now so the
price we have to pay for such
high level indifference, ~~the~~ ~~it~~ ~~is~~
want to have the best school
possible worlds, ~~that~~ we have
better recognize that we cannot
have all the worlds we want.
Television supported (and
interrupted) by commercials has
got to go.

~~end~~

Talk

hypotheses + my the (encaps) ... my p. 15 ...

Jealousy *

revenge

2 Horns
14 it possible
do to have

* Am Dir love?
 before me
 (Chilobee) ←

fig my ca
getting
better (t
an loose
19.
my country
night an
worse
(my other)

732

Matriculation - good conclusion first conclusion

The prothesis and the fundamentally at

~~typical~~ cup like related to
in being cut and sex
poem, short story, naa,
early)

The ^{cont'd} my footprints on Iraq. See 1:140-141

Early hypotheses

- ① Fatherly say - a psychomotor
- ② No blood for a 90
- ③ degrading the mental
- ④ W.M.D - an intelligent
- ⑤ Control of the

The hypothesis I've arrived at is:

~~8~~ Problems in U.S.

STEAD studies

need to outsource - 19.1%

2-2

~~the~~ ^{the components are} a power grip or hose
if they don't blow the ketchup in

The religious divide of the country is
~~(Abu Ghurba)~~ Abu Ghurba is a religious
 divide.

(1111) M's are my postulates & dogmas
the base can be human contemplation
the 9 core and postulate
Chinese inheritance: from
virtue to power & power
not a working & balance

$t = t_{\text{max}}$

~~Offshoot~~ - the neoclassical Paulsen Review -
Warning McCaffrey the RUS has produced
Daisy Elliott Adams

Further problems

Catholic Church, FBI (b)(7)(C)

The tax cut

A hand-drawn sketch of a mechanical component, likely a piston and crankshaft assembly. It shows a central shaft with a piston pin at one end. The piston pin is labeled '1' and the shaft is labeled '2'. The drawing is done in a simple, schematic style.

→ The solution from the exceptions

heart of the land

Myths - the evolution of the myth

the need for a narrative - the other ^{can} ~~can~~
narratives can confirm ^{or}

narrators can confirm

Ob fusate by pathogen and fusate
In some the mycelia to ~~the~~

In case the material

The new enemy - Islam. b.c. 14.

than Communism with all its...

quite got around 400000

43 Battery

A can fishing question ~~about~~ (c)

do anything wrong 19 Nov 2002

by the new enemy - as a result

T-4

length of the front, i.e.
staple

Heart of talk

The only
solution
is emulsion,
and mineral water
oil,

→ Cotton Mather - the Puritan
 Truly Remarkable King of the

Trudy Russell Kingdon Oct. 22.

(We stand at Armageddon and
battle for the Lord.)

Battle for the Land

The freezing of the water

the mother for each 9.12

It enriches our lives

Also, it does not require any

9. Verfügen

~~022~~ p 3

~~SECRET~~

The real problem - stupid to

fruit of Republican dominion.

The small town full of ~~heretics~~ ^{the} ~~heretics~~ ^{mult} ~~heretics~~ ^{heretics}

The contained violence of control. (the 125 yrs of lower house)

add to it that reinforcement

The frontiers - perpetual growing

Fight without limit

Does it take

Being an an,

My th can out & trap near station

Heart of
the truth.
they know
what they
are doing,
Empire

never to
be
openly
admitted.

We are
back
to oil.
Now it is
a private government
in a major
move by
Brieger &
like Frank
Carperman
(CK name) they
are moving off
in the water

My new hypothesis, they know what

Hence, the triumph of the discovery that is
an editing narrative - independent of
the professed motive - is the fact
democracy to author's ex

~~The~~ The collateral help.

L. Kennedy - Bell Kellen RST

David R. Smith, Jr. 1006 1/2 N. 1st St. N. 1st St. N. 1st St.

The CIA

the CMA ^{Send me the Marketing Selection} Information Marketing the way

The neo-cons - Pan Am. Airlines,

planning also can they, they are not

Palhovetz, Detsk, 5/11/24 4 years;

the holocaust Victims - not again

never - at all cost?

~~Destroy reciprocity~~ never - at all costs
to Europe - don't

Meanwhile the ~~water~~^{wood} the mag. 70

Quit - back to square D.

the Kerry Campaign

The Good Scale of Polysat.

the Massad - Jews the 1st day

the future, — the real character

~~... in the ...~~

~~McLuhan~~ ^{has the same} ~~removes me with~~
~~substantially~~ ^{what} ~~starched~~
~~McLuhan~~ ~~even if it is~~
~~written as a quantitative~~
~~to understanding of~~
~~It has the same~~ ~~lineage~~
~~and intense intellectual~~
~~of man with the same~~ ~~understanding~~
~~which is away of~~ ~~idea~~
~~saying that~~ ~~there is~~
~~anywhere from~~ ~~once to~~
~~also~~ ~~stimulation~~ ~~idea~~
~~and/or subtle~~ ~~problem~~
~~post-modern~~ ~~problem~~
~~cited~~ ~~that can be~~
~~on every page~~ ~~Let me~~
~~let me~~ ~~let me~~
~~for~~ ~~it is~~
~~seeing~~ ~~book~~
~~after my salute to~~
~~Thomas de Zengstitt~~

As McLuhan ~~intro~~ presented us w/ the
 real that mod us in to an

end, so did he get it
to say abt the saturation
of ~~our lives w/~~ ^{of} post-mod in our
experience
today. Let me offer

In the early years of television, it was even hoped that the attention children gave to TV would improve their interest in reading. Indeed, it might have, if TV, left to itself, consisted of uninterrupted narratives. That, of course, was soon not the case. There were constant interruptions to programs—the commercials.

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spots through a three-minute break, so the child also comes to recognize that concentration is not one's friend but is treacherous. For soon enough, attention will be turned inside-out. The need to get up and move about somewhat frantically can become a matter-of-fact response for highly-keyed children. Other kids, stupefied by the onslaught of a quick series of ads which have nothing to do with each other, suffer a dire spiritual product—stagnation. They sit on the couch in stupor, they eat and drink, and alarms are sounded through the nation. Our children are becoming obese.

What, then, is to be done? These six words falter before problems that are comparable to the impasse that visited my old dead friend. We have an economy that is stimulated by TV advertising. Yet the constant interruption of concentration it generates not only dominates much of our lives, but over the long run looks bound to bleed into our prosperity. The rest of the world is getting into position to do far better than us in the economic conditions ahead.

By rough estimate, one-fiftieth of the income taxes we pay each year would be sufficient to support every television station in America which depends on advertising rather than cable fees. Of course, all too many second-rate products might feel left out in the cold. They have put their emphasis on marketing for decades. Now, they would be obliged to return whether they liked it or not to the old wisdom of Adam Smith. The first great

theoretician of capitalism, he had a fundamental notion. It came down to one idea: Let the competition prevail. Let the best product win. The assumption was that a vital capitalism works to have the finest product possible for the price, rather than rushing to depend on state-of-the-art marketing for undistinguished, even sleazy, goods. Are we ready then to look into the depths of some of these difficulties we have constructed for ourselves? I doubt it. We have gone far away from Adam Smith. All too many big businesses market second-rate stuff because they know the spin offered by commercials will bail them out. Needless to say, their attention is not focused on the lack of attention they are injecting into the American mind, nor the price we have to pay for such high-level indifference. If we want to have the best of all possible worlds, we had better recognize that we cannot have all the worlds we want. Television, supported (and interrupted) by commercials has got to go.

FROM : nm

FAX NO. : 508-4872135

DATE : 11/10/04 1:36PM F4

FROM : JMWORDCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186243782

DATE : 11/10/04 1:36PM P1

Mailcr/Parade 11 October 04

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FROM : AM

FAX NO. : 5084872136

FROM : JMWORDCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186243782

Mailin/Parade 11 October 04

all the way
spots through a three-minute break, so the child also comes to recognize that concentration is not one's friend but is treacherous. For soon enough attention will be turned inside-out. The need to get up and move ~~about~~ *(frantic if routine)* somewhat frantically can become a ~~matter of fact~~ *(response)* for highly-keyed children. Other kids, stupefied by the onslaught of a quick series of ads ~~that~~ *which* have nothing to do with each other, suffer a dire spiritual production stagnation. They sit on the couch in stupor, they eat and drink, and alarms are sounded through the nation. Our children are becoming obese

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FROM : nm

FAX NO. : 5084872135

10:07 PM F

FROM : JMWORDCRAFT

FAX NO. : 17186243792

10:23 PM P

Mailers/Parade 11 October 04

7

theoretician of capitalism, ^{concept} he had a fundamental ~~notion~~. It came down to one

idea. Let the competition prevail. Let the best product win. The assumption

was that a vital capitalism ^{wants} works to have the finest product possible for the

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has got to go. ^{develop at last into a fine} ~~but it also became a~~ ^{fine} ~~product~~

rather than a slovenly servant to
the hyped-up interruptions ^{to}

support it.