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ABSTRACT

In order to elicit discussion on issues of concern to policy-makers at all levels of government, the Regional Planning and Service Project of the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory invited educational policy-makers from its region to participate in a symposium on the impact of policy decisions on school performance. Symposium participants heard Dr. Arthur Wise of The Rand Corporation, Dr. Guilbert Hentschke of the University of Rochester, and Dr. Robert Scanlon, secretary of education in Pennsylvania. Dr. Wise concluded that policy intervention from federal and state government and from the judiciary have contributed to the bureaucratization of the classroom and that these changes are creating profound and unanticipated changes in American education. Dr. Hentschke maintained that the issue of equality in the delivery of educational services cannot be separated from the issue of productivity and that policy-makers need to examine both issues to determine whether the net benefit has been worth the net cost. Dr. Scanlon concluded that the crisis in American education is not one of low productivity but of diminished confidence of the community in the educational system and that the challenge today is to build or restore that confidence. (Author/IRT)

Educational Productivity

THE IMPACT OF POLICY DECISIONS ON SCHOOL PERFORMANCE

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REPORT OF AN INVITATIONAL SYMPOSIUM
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS—MARCH 1980

SOUTHWEST EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT LABORATORY
JAMES H. PERRY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
211 East 7th Street, Austin, Texas

PREFACE

We are in an age of self-examination, of assessing our needs, of measuring our achievements, of accounting for what we have done. The symposium on which this volume reports is a product of this era. It is appropriate to note that the event itself was stimulating, but that the questions and concerns which were its focus may be the very things which mitigate against the great productivity of which American schools are capable. It is also appropriate to note that if there are mechanisms to cause our schools to be brilliant forces for the thought and change which a free society demands, the men and women who presented and participated in these sessions are among that group in our country who will use these mechanisms to advantage.

Martha L. Smith
Director, Regional Planning
and Service Project

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PRESENTORS' BIOGRAPHIES

Arthur E. Wise

Dr. Wise, a senior social scientist at The Rand Corporation since 1978, has been a consultant to the President's Reorganization Project and to the Secretary of Education's Transition Team. Previously, Dr. Wise served as an associate director of NIE, a visiting scholar at the Educational Testing Service, and as both associate professor and associate dean of education at the University of Chicago. Dr. Wise has written widely on the topics of school finance reform and minimum competency testing and is the author of Rich Schools, Poor Schools: The Promise of Equal Educational Opportunity and Legislated Learning: The Bureaucratization of the American Classroom.

Guilbert C. Hentschke

Dr. Hentschke, Associate Dean of the Graduate School of Education and Human Development at the University of Rochester (New York), was director of the Center for Urban Education in the Chicago public school system from March 1977 to March 1979. Previously, he was associate professor of educational administration and of management at the University of Rochester, and assistant professor in management systems at Columbia University. Dr. Hentschke has written extensively on management in education and on various policy issues. Works in progress include The Practice of Management in Education and Introduction to School Business Management. Dr. Hentschke is a member of numerous professional associations and has served as abstract editor for the American Educational Research Association.

Robert G. Scanlon

Dr. Scanlon, Secretary of Education for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania since January of 1979, was formerly executive director of Research for Better Schools, Inc., a Philadelphia-based regional educational laboratory, from 1972 to 1979. Prior to this, he was an elementary teacher and administrator. Dr. Scanlon is currently president of the Pennsylvania Educational Research Association and serves on the editorial advisory boards of several professional journals, including Educational Researcher (American Educational Research Association), and Urban Ed Forum. Dr. Scanlon has published widely in leading educational journals and has contributed to several texts on instruction and the future of education.

SYMPOSIUM ON EDUCATIONAL PRODUCTIVITY

Productivity has come to be a major concern in assessing our educational system these days. Are the results that society receives equal to the resources invested? Perhaps the reason the debate continues year after year is because the definitive answer cannot be found. To assess the productivity of an activity in terms an economist would understand requires some method of measuring the product, the outcome. Educators and legislators have been arguing for years over how to measure educational achievement, how to hold schools accountable, how to assess the effectiveness of educational programs. Until such time as an accurate measure of educational output is developed (if ever), the question of productivity--be it of a school district, a particular building, a given program, or an individual teacher--will be a topic of great concern to many of us, but the source of no hard and fast answers.

As a topic of debate, however, questions on educational productivity can elicit important discussion on issues of vital concern to policy-makers at all levels of government. With this in mind, the Regional Planning and Service Project of Southwest Educational Development Laboratory invited educational policy-makers from this six state region to participate in an invitational symposium on "Educational Productivity: The Impact of Policy Decisions on School Performance" on March 20-21, 1980 in Little Rock, Arkansas. Symposium participants had the opportunity to listen to and discuss the issue with Dr. Arthur E. Wise of The Rand Corporation in Washington, DC, Dr. Guilbert C. Hentschke, Associate Dean, Graduate School of Education and Human Development at the University of Rochester in New York; and Dr. Robert G. Scanlon, Secretary of Education for the State of Pennsylvania.

The assertion these men discussed was posed by RPSP Project Director Martha L. Smith: "Problems of low productivity in the educational system generally cannot be solved by a policy intervention." Dr. Smith asked Drs. Wise, Hentschke and Scanlon each to modify or reinforce this assertion. Dr. Wise concluded that policy interventions from federal and state government and from the judiciary have contributed to the bureaucratization of the classroom, and that these changes are creating profound and unanticipated changes in American education. Dr. Hentschke maintained that the issue of equality in the delivery of educational services cannot be separated from the issue of productivity, and that policy-makers need to examine both issues to determine whether the net benefit has been worth the net cost. Dr. Scanlon, examining the very same assertion, concluded that the crisis in American education is not one of low productivity but of diminished confidence of the community in the educational system, and that the challenge today is to build or restore that confidence.

Margot E. Beutler
Regional Planning and
Service Project Editor

THE BUREAUCRATIZATION OF THE AMERICAN CLASSROOM

Arthur E. Wise
The Rand Corporation
Washington, DC

It should be no secret to any of you that there has been an explosion of educational policy-making in the United States. Twenty years ago it was certainly the case that local school boards made policy for local school districts; local college boards and trustees made policy for local colleges. What is happening today in the governance of American education? The schools are being buried in paper work by our federal and state governments, and the courts are beginning to lay oppressive requirements on our schools.

Today, educational policy is more and more being determined by the states, by the federal government, and by the courts, rather than by the schools and colleges themselves. State legislatures, demanding accountability, impose managerial accounting schemes adopted from industry upon the schools. State boards of education, concerned about diffuse educational goals, endeavor to reduce these goals to the basic skills alone. State courts require that schools become "thorough and efficient" as mandated by their state constitutions.

At the federal level, Congress, concerned about unemployment figures, calls for career education. The executive branch, responding to concerns for equality, promulgates affirmative action procedures and goals. The federal courts demand that schools observe due process with regard to individuals. Unions, dissatisfied with the protections afforded by civil service and tenure provisions, seek additional procedural safeguards through collective bargaining. Educational researchers, unable to discover what effects the schools are actually having, create models of efficient and effective schooling.

All these influences are designed to rationalize--to tighten or standardize--the operation of educational institutions.

We are witnessing at least three changes in the structure of educational governance: (1) federal and state governments are making policy in areas formerly reserved to local school boards and college boards of trustees; (2) general government is making policy in areas formerly reserved to educational government; and (3) as other levels of government make educational policy, schools are becoming more bureaucratic.

In the last decade or so, we have watched a number of lawsuits which have important things to say about the way we finance our public schools. Indeed, we have watched while as many as six or eight states have fallen under court order to reform the way they finance their local schools. It comes as no surprise to me that between 1964 and 1976 there was a dramatic explosion in federal legislation affecting our schools. In 1964, it was possible to write all education legislation on 80 pages. In 1976, it required 160 pages. Federal regulations pertaining to education could be written on 92 pages in 1965, but by 1977 it required 1,000 pages.

The situation with the federal courts is no different. Between 1946 and 1956, there were 112 lawsuits affecting the schools. In the next decade, the number of lawsuits numbered 729. And in the next four years there were 1200 decisions affecting the schools. So certainly something different is going on now than that which occurred in the last decade. We seem to be saying something important to our nation's schools. This activity, which I will refer to as educational policy-making, involves imposing requirements on the local school system which have been created from the outside. This is an unusual definition of the word policy, but I

would like you to think of policies as being statements which are required from outside the school system.

These policies, incidentally, are frequently based upon what I would call unassailable common sense. Frequently, people from outside the school system will assert that they will respect the school system for doing things differently than what has been done in the past. Yet many times there are exceptions, where the schools are told to do something which affords everyday common sense. Most of these educational policies are, in fact, based upon seemingly unassailable common sense. Most of us would agree that to have clear objectives is a good thing, to plan is sensible, to coordinate is reasonable, to regulate ensures equal treatment, to follow procedures is to ensure fairness. Yet, not only do educational policies based upon these principles often fail to achieve their intended results, but they increasingly are becoming the cause of profound, unanticipated, and unexamined changes in the conception and operation of education in the United States today.

Policy interventions tend to strengthen control from above, or require it to be created if it doesn't already exist. Despite the traditions of local control and institutional autonomy and the fact that the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution reserves education to the states, a hierarchy of control is emerging in the governance of education with the federal government at the top and state governments in the middle, leaving the local schools and colleges at the bottom.

Higher levels of government are coming to control schools and colleges by insisting that they rationalize their operations by complying with a growing number of regulations and procedures. Schools and colleges are already bureaucratically organized, of course, and their procedures have

already been extensively rationalized. Therefore, as these procedures multiply and increase in importance, schools become more and more rationalized. What we find, then, is that sometimes this process leads to the phenomenon which I call the "hyperrationalization" of the schools.

I would like to assert that there are two objectives which policy-makers consider as they formulate educational policy interventions: one is improving the equity in our school systems, and the other is improving the productivity. Improving equity in our school systems has to do with the allocation of human and material resources within school districts or across school districts. Here we are concerned with seeing a relatively equitable distribution of resources or with ensuring that all individuals, regardless of race, or regardless of sex, have access to all educational opportunities. Sex equity, in my frame of reference, has to do with allocation of resources. Productivity, on the other hand, has to do with the efficiency and effectiveness with which those resources are used. Often, policy-makers' only concern is to charge their local school systems with more efficient, more effective, more productive techniques. I maintain that it is one thing to regulate education in the interest of equity and quite another to regulate it in the interest of productivity.

Mandating Equity in Schools

Generally, problems associated with equality in education, with the distribution of opportunities or resources, are more political than technical. When schools or colleges discriminate on the basis of race, on the basis of economic status, on handicap, or sex, those who suffer discrimination tend to invoke higher authorities to redress the imbalance. As a result of this, the goal of equality has been

and still is being promoted by court decisions, by federal legislation, and by state legislation.

We can look to the list of court decisions regarding racial discrimination to see how the courts have tried to correct these social shortcomings through the decisions they hand down. In the Bolling v. Sharpe decision, the Supreme Court said in 1954 that classifying students by race for purposes of assigning them to schools was unconstitutional. Now this is an objective which I think is salutory and absolutely essential, and the purpose of education would have been hindered had we not had this decision. But lurking behind the Bolling v. Sharpe decision, and certainly underlying the earlier decisions, was the idea that as we desegregated our schools we ought to be simultaneously improving the productivity of those schools. Arguments in Brown v. Board of Education and in other lawsuits maintained that segregation causes psychological harm to black as well as white children. The conclusion, thus, was that if we desegregated our schools, we should be able to improve the performance, the productivity of our school systems.

What we have achieved through these and other desegregation decisions has been the implementation of a moral principle through judicial mandate: that all children have a right to equal educational opportunity. The ends, in these cases, justified the means, justified this interference of the Supreme Court into education, a constitutionally guaranteed obligation of the individual states. And what is wrong with that? I maintain that these decisions have taken us down a road that has culminated in a decision about which I have serious reservations. In Millican v. Bradley in 1977, the Supreme Court called for the desegregation of the Detroit public schools, and from that decision directed the Detroit Board of Education to institute a specific remedial

reading program, a specific in-service training program, a specific testing program, and a specific guidance counseling program. What we have here is the United States Supreme Court directing the local board of education precisely what curriculum is to be taught, precisely what in-service education they ought to have, and so forth. What then is left, I might ask, of the responsibility of the local boards of education?

Simultaneously, the Supreme Court held that the State Board of Education in Michigan was equally responsible for the segregation which had existed in Detroit. Since that time, the State Board of Education has been actively trying to fulfill its responsibilities. As a result, the State Board of Education is acting *vis-à-vis* the schools in Detroit the way the local school board is supposed to act, leaving the local board without a leg to stand on. So, with one decision, the U.S. Supreme Court has established two profound principles: one, that the court can, in effect, make curriculum and other educational decisions; and two, that the state is ultimately responsible for the decisions made by local school boards.

We see here, then, a growing willingness on the part of policy-makers to take on governing education. And why, may I ask, are policy-makers willing to do this? Because of their successes, I would say. The policy-making system has been able to overcome some problems which the local schools were unwilling or unable to solve. Other problems exist because power holders have no interest in solving them. It required the intervention of the United States Supreme Court to end segregation. It required an Act of Congress to cause local school systems to pay special attention to the disadvantaged. It required federal action to draw attention to the problem of sex discrimination. Court action has been necessary to redress inequalities in school

expenditures. Thus, we see that the effect of the intervention of higher authority has been to break a political stalemate and to bring about a result which the normal decision-making process will not otherwise bring out. We see that higher authorities in the United States have been successful in solving some problems of equity and in calling attention to other situations in which rights are being denied.

Mandating Productivity in Schools

So what we have here is success in solving problems of equity by using policy interventions, and this success is encouraging policymakers and those who appeal to them to try to solve problems of productivity as well. The resolution of problems of equity requires only an alteration in the balance of power; it does not require arcane knowledge. Usually some statistical demonstrations are enough to show that discrimination by race or by sex in the distribution of opportunities or resources has occurred. Statistical demonstrations are also sufficient to describe when discrimination has ended. To be sure, debates over parity and questions over intent sometimes remain, but scientific knowledge will not generally answer these questions.

With regard to productivity, however, the question becomes: With what degree of effectiveness or efficiency are opportunities and resources being employed? Perversely, the productivity question emerges from the concern for equity--often, but not always, at the instigation of those who would prefer the status quo. Thus, they ask in disbelief: Will desegregation help minority children to improve their self-esteem and reading test scores? Will additional resources help poor children improve their reading scores? And so the policy-makers begin thinking about productivity.

This concern for productivity extends beyond the socially disadvantaged to the general school population as well. If test scores are declining, and if children are not learning to read, the schools are not being productive. If schools can be directed to reassign children, reallocate resources, and hire certain classes of people, why can they not be required to improve themselves? Why can the schools not be made effective? The teachers made accountable? The students required to perform well on tests? Why not sue if the school or the teacher fails to teach? The students fail to learn?

What we have found is that productivity questions are intrinsically more difficult than equality questions because they arise not out of a political impasse but from a fundamental lack of knowledge about how to teach. Statistical demonstrations do not reveal how to increase productivity. Nonetheless, policymakers appear willing to give it a try.

Once policymakers have intervened in educational policymaking, they become less inclined to defer to the local schools. Several rationales are offered to explain why this is true. For legislators, it is that overall responsibility for the public welfare and the public purse rests with them, but this has always been so. Another rationale is that, although it is seldom said in a loud voice, superior wisdom resides at the center. Whether or not one accepts this view is likely to depend upon one's location vis-à-vis the center. It is said that since schools have failed to reform themselves, reform must come from outside the schools. This is the most persuasive rationale since it has already been noted that local institutions could not solve equity problems; that voluntary improvements to promote productivity have not been as effective as some would like; that emulation of lighthouse districts--typically wealthy districts--has not been

possible or appropriate for poor school districts; and that voluntary adoption of federally-sponsored "improved curricula" has not solved the problem. If a voluntary system of school improvement has not worked, it would seem logical, then, that improvement be required by law.

At the state level, this striving for educational achievement resulted in the enactment of at least seventy-three such laws in the years between 1963 and 1974. These laws clearly revealed a concern for ensuring educational achievement rather than for providing educational opportunities, and a concern with adequacy rather than equality. To satisfy this mandate for accountability, the schools have turned to the techniques of management science.

These purely management techniques have been perceived by some to be directly applicable to education. These techniques include: accountability; planning, programming, budgeting systems (PPBS); management-by-objectives (MBO); operations analysis; systems analysis; program evaluation and review technique (PERT); management information systems (MIS); management science; planning models; cost-benefit analysis; cost effectiveness analysis; economic analysis; systems engineering; and zero-based budgeting.

Perhaps more important, however, is the fact that the ideology of management science has focused concern upon the output of the educational system in two ways. First, numerous systems for focusing attention upon outputs have been devised. These include: competency-based education (CBE); performance-based education (PBE); competency-based teacher education (CBTE); assessment systems (federal, state, and local); program evaluation; learner verification; behavioral objectives; mastery learning; criterion-referenced testing; educational indicators; performance contracting. Second,

rubrics for minimum expectations for school outcomes have been devised to describe the nature of that education which is designed to transform the "output" of the school system to the "input" of society. The term "functional literacy" best captures this transformation, but other dimensions of education are captured by basic education, basic skills, career education, and moral education. And what, may I ask, is wrong with this?

These management science techniques have been extremely popular with various state legislatures. California and Florida have not missed a single year enacting one of these things or another. All of this has lead to my term "legislated learning" and its counterpart, "judicially-mandated learning." So far, this has not been achieved by legislation, has not succeeded through judicial mandate. The ideas seem to be that if only we can aim a law at it, we will cause that school system to be not only more equitable, but also more efficient and effective.

Bureaucratization of the Classroom

And what is the result of all these laws and decisions? These developments challenge a number of traditions and traditional conceptions of education. They challenge the principle of individual freedom by characterizing the individual welfare, the student welfare as subordinate to the welfare of the state. They challenge the traditions of local control of the public schools, the tradition of institutional autonomy in postsecondary and private education. They challenge the traditional "separation of education from politics" that has been institutionalized in the existence of local school boards. They challenge teacher autonomy and professionalism in schools and academic freedom and collegial governance in colleges. In place of these traditions, they offer us legislated learning and

judicially mandated learning. Whether legislation and court decrees can improve learning is questionable, but there is little question that legislated learning will increase the bureaucratization of the American classroom.

The traditional authority of local school boards, non-public school boards, and boards of trustees of postsecondary institutions is being increasingly challenged by state and federal authorities. There is an apparent growing belief by these central authorities that rules and regulations can make schools and colleges not only more equitable but also more efficient and effective. And what is wrong with that? What is wrong about requiring schools and colleges to be more efficient and effective?

These central authorities require the measurement of learning, apparently believing that measurement will improve learning. Incidentally, of course, the application of yardsticks provides information to central authorities which increases their capacity to rule the schools. The imagery suggested by "ruling" is strong--stronger than the terms "administering," "managing," or even "leading." While the question of governance is obviously at stake, what we also have are the more important questions of the proper relationships among the individual, the school, and the society.

Equitable and Productive Schools

This rationalistic vision of the educational system has strong implications for educational leadership. A rationalistic school system would require managers who are good bureaucrats rather than strong educational leaders. The system would value those people who are able to manage a process without being disturbed by the larger questions of the

role of education in society. Those best able to manage rules and procedures would be preferred over those who would worry about the direction of education. And so we could ask this question: What kinds of persons would be willing to serve as members of local school boards and as members of college boards of trustees? Who would be willing to serve in such a hyperrationalized school system?

The forces associated with this hyperrationalization threaten a number of traditions in education. They threaten local control of public education and institutional autonomy in higher education. They threaten teacher professionalism in schools and collegial governance in colleges. They threaten the independence of private education at all levels. They threaten the role of educational governance structures separate from general government. They threaten liberal education and the belief that education is important as an end in itself. These traditions have evolved to serve important societal functions. While it is wise to abandon traditions whose functions we no longer value or can otherwise accommodate, it is unwise to destroy traditions whose functions we value or cannot otherwise accommodate.

But I maintain that schools and colleges can become more equitable, schools and colleges can become more efficient and effective. However, I will assert that we must examine the impact of policy decisions before we make them and ask of every educational policy: Will it have the intended effect? and What other effects will it have? Problems of inequity in the allocation of educational opportunities, resources, and programs can be solved by policy intervention. And without such intervention they may otherwise be insoluble. But problems of low productivity generally cannot be solved by policy intervention. It is, of course, possible to reduce costs, which will have an indeterminate

effect upon quality. It is also possible for schools to adopt pseudoscientific processes and measurable outcomes, but given the state-of-the-art of educational science, I personally doubt that productivity will increase.

And so, I maintain that if these forces associated with the hyperrationalization of the classroom are not examined and checked, our schools will become more and more bureaucratized. And in the end, the losers will be the administrators, the teachers, and most important, the students.

A MANAGEMENT PERSPECTIVE ON PRODUCTIVITY

Guilbert C. Hentschke
Associate Dean
Graduate School of Education
and Human Development
University of Rochester
Rochester, New York

One approach to the issue of educational productivity is to view it through the management perspective. I will attempt to reply to Art Wise's discussion on productivity and the effectiveness of policy implications by addressing five areas of concern: (1) productivity; (2) the impact of state and federal programs; (3) the implications of these policies for school districts; (4) management systems; and finally, (5) my recommendations.

Productivity

Productivity can be defined as the measure of output per unit of hours expended, i.e., input. However, a lack of adequate measures of output, of productivity, shouldn't invalidate the concept of productivity in our school systems. In fact, an essential factor for growth and change in our school districts and in our personnel systems is that we have more and more input. I'm not talking about input per unit of output; total input is increasing.

Now there are some other indicators that suggest this might be the case, and I'll limit my discussion now to the bigger cities in the United States. Total expenditures in school districts in these great big schools are increasing disproportionately--I'm citing a study done by Continental Bank of Illinois--and total expenditures have increased over the last ten years to a greater

degree than the consumer price index. Expenditures have also increased more than the state and local government price deflator.

Now what does all of this mean? It simply means that state and local governments, in general, are spending less of their revenues on education, that the rate of increase of local and state government spending is less than the rate of increase of costs in school districts. If we look at our per pupil expenditures, this ratio is much, much higher. So we're looking at a rate of increase in these big school districts of maybe 11 percent over the last ten years.

These two indicators suggest to some people, from a management perspective, that the inputs per person-hour (not the input per unit of output) have gone up tremendously. In order to be more productive, then, the output--at a minimum--has got to increase proportionally. If it doesn't increase proportionally, productivity (as I think Martha and Mike Timpane might define it) is going down. The total product may go up, the total output of the system may go up, but productivity is going down. This involves the per level of input, and the per level of input may be going down.

Let's take a concrete example. Let me just say a little bit about Chicago, what's happened there over the last several months. The financial community, in my opinion, is no longer willing to support the educational programs to the level it has in the past. From January 13 to about August 18 of this year (we're in the middle of that right now), Chicago's school system is going to be letting go and firing, eliminating, over 3,000 positions. Now these positions happen to be largely in the area of, ironically, the very same programs that are being tremendously encouraged at the state and federal level: special education, race desegregation,

career education. These programs are among the hardest hit by the revised staffing plans. The interesting question which we want to raise in some people's minds (believe me, I'm not talking now as an educator, but as somebody who listens to people outside of education) is this: Will trimming the size of instructional staff make Chicago schools more productive? This question brings us back to that concept of input per unit of output.

What's happening? We talked to people in the Chicago school system. We have a lot of people downtown who are going back to the building level. We have a lot of people who are consultants, who are going into classrooms, and so on. And what happens when Chicago cuts back on staff? Productivity in the district may or may not increase; it may decrease. But some people are saying that productivity, output per unit of input, may very well increase. We may want to clarify in our minds that what we're talking about is really productivity or total output of the school system. I think most of our discussion revolved around total output and not productivity.

Impact of State and Federal Programs

Let's examine the impact of state and federal programs, referencing primarily such programs as special education, desegregation, Title I, and career education. Most of the intervention programs that come from the state and federal level must be squeezed into the existing school day. This obviously relates to the fact that we have more professionals per child than we used to, and that these professionals must complete their assignments during regular school hours. It's all very closely related. But, there's a limit to how much you can do with a body in six hours, how much you can pour into the head of a child in the course of the regular

school day. We may say, clearly it's better to pull the child out of a classroom, administer the special program, and return him or her to the classroom.

Things are beginning to happen to which I think we ought to call attention. Teachers are beginning to lose control over the regular program. As a consequence, the regular program is suffering. The concern for back-to-the-basics may be misplaced, because sometimes the problem is simply that a regular program has suffered from not enough instructional time. Going back towards the concept of productivity, the pull-out program needs not only to add some benefit, but also to make up for the loss of the regular program. It's common sense. I'm not talking about any profound concepts here. They are just bread and butter, common sense kinds of issues.

The irony here, it seems to me, is that with more specialization and attention to the child, there is less personal "ownership" on the part of the teacher. The teacher has seized the child in a much more functional way: "I'm a specialist, I treat that particular element of the child." Even in the special education programs, people come in as specialists. I mean, I'm being very simplistic now, but I'm talking about when teachers, teachers who've been in the classroom for a number of years, are saying: "I haven't got the same sense of ownership and the same sense of joy and frustration that comes out of my direct involvement in shaping the education of the child."

I think there are some similarities with what Art is saying here, I really do. But again, local people that I've talked to, if they had to implement these programs on their own terms, would do it differently. They'd have many more of the programs, for example, after school with their own people thus employed. They wouldn't hire extra people to do a job they could handle themselves. But the process

of how a program is implemented is specified in the law; therefore, it tends to get into the regular day.

There's continuing growth as a result of these special programs, a continuing growth in the influence of the staff to the line in school districts. Principals and superintendents--which I will call line, being very simplistic again--are losing the option to exercise their own judgment and discretion. Their authority is being continually eroded by staff specialists who come in with a particular orientation that their way is the way special education programs have to be run and that you have to do it this way in your building, too. Or, this is the way the career education program works, and I would like to work with you to accomplish this. We'll speak about the implications of this erosion of responsibility later, but there's clearly a growth in professional staff in the specialized fields, but no growth is occurring in the area of direct services. What I see happening is that you have experienced people in the line area and people who have relatively less experience in management--of course, much more specialized in the staff area--and there's a kind of flip-flop of authority relationships, interestingly enough. So the central office has to be less of a line office and more of a holding company for special interests, if you will. Legitimate interests, but specialized interests. I call this process "high-minded motives," but what it really means is partially concealed disdain in the school district. And there is some of that going on today.

I think many school problems originate here. But let me, at the same time, say that it's not as bad as it sounds, primarily because people have a way to get around this. The local administrator, the local teacher, they're maximizing their own objectives. They are economic beings in the sense

that they maximize their own functions. What does this mean? Given the rules, and given a resource that comes to them, teachers and administrators will reallocate those resources in the direction they want, to the degree they feel they can get away with it.

I know this exists because I've seen it myself. For example, when program audits are conducted for Title I in some school districts, the central office will call the building and say, "Title I coming out to see you today, so have the coffee ready." Thus forwarned, the Title I teacher, who has typically been assigned to the regular second grade class because she's a better teacher--the second grade teacher can't teach--is getting the coffee. Title I teachers teach, but that day the Title I teacher is back handling the six kids with the reading problems, and the second grade teacher is back in the classroom. So, they go through a charade of conforming to the rules, conforming to the regulations, but to the extent that they can get away from those rules and regulations to maximize their own objectives, they will do so. Numerous books have been written on the fact that teachers do what they want to do behind the classroom door. For good or ill--and it's not necessarily for good, of course.

What about the administrative level, the central office? I'll speak again, over-simplifying, of course. Flunkies are assigned to fill out the long-range plans. Long-range plans are not public. There's a public element, but in reality in long-range planning there is a very important, private part of long-range plans. It has to do with stages of staffing, people you want to get rid of, people you want to promote, programs you want to start or oppose. To presume that you put these down in the document, in a thing called a "long-range plan," send it around to people and presume that this represents the actual long-range plan of a school

district is, I think, a mutual charade. It's something we all have to go through, but the way administrators deal with it is to minimize their own involvement with it. Purely and simply.

Implications of Policies for School Districts

Let's now look at the implications for local school districts. Many times school districts don't think a lot about what's going on at the state and federal level. When I meet together with state department officials and specialists from the federal agencies, our whole attention is focused on what the state departments are doing. But, at the local level, there's not a lot of preoccupation with state and federal policies and decisions, believe me. Perhaps when we meet with local officials they talk about state issues, but on a day-to-day basis, they're concerned with other things. I think some of these local concerns lead to my third point. Because education is such a labor intensive business, we may want just to look a little bit at the nature of our labor force. At this point, I will agree with Art. We're becoming bureaucratized. But let's talk about what's happening. Let's engage in some armchair generalizations.

In the 1960s and 1970s, when the enrollments were really climbing, school districts were scrambling for teachers who were very tough to get. Everyone has heard stories of people who would first pass through the personnel office one day, and the next day they were on the job. There were principals who were teaching in schools where the roofs weren't on yet or the windows weren't in yet. The growth was that explosive in some of the bigger cities, as well as elsewhere. The quality of education took a dip at that time. Unfortunately, those people are still on our staff--(obviously generalizing again, of course) more people for whom education is simply a salary rather than a calling.

Now, we can say things have changed and we can be more choosy; therefore, things ought to improve. Well, there's now a countervailing force which, I think, might serve to keep the quality of education down. I'd love to be contradicted on this, believe me. In the old days, the story goes, education was the entry level profession, particularly for women and minorities. There were few alternative occupations open to them, so many of the very best from these groups went into teaching. What's happening today? There are much better opportunities elsewhere to begin with, and others leave after a few years for more attractive alternatives outside of education. Now, I think, if it's true, if it's even partially true, I think this trend has implications for Art's thesis and for the kind of concepts he's raising. Because if, in fact, there is a decline in teacher quality (whatever that means), then perhaps the field must become more bureaucratized, more specific rules must be laid down to guide behavior. I hate to think of the analogy of the military or of the post office, but the point is that some people are leaving, in part, because education has become more and more bureaucratized. Teaching is not as attractive a job as it used to be.

What does this mean--not as attractive? I think we've said it already: There's not as much satisfaction from the teachers' standpoint, they aren't as directly involved in what's going on. I don't mean decision-making, I mean simply control over the child. The regular classroom teacher is no longer the leader, if you will, in the classroom. The principals don't get the satisfaction of really being in charge of the ship. The position of principal used to be a really great job. At the turn of the century, principals were making between two and three times what teachers would make in terms of salary. Now, many teachers make more than the principals do. Who wants to buy the job of a principal with all the hassles that go with it, when

you can leave at 3:00 and make just about as much money, and have a part-time job on the side and make more money? More and more, we see people who are pretty talented not wanting to take the principalship. Fewer of them are available, too.

Last night we mentioned a decline in the quality of school boards. I would only raise this as a question. Is there a similar decline in the overall quality of administrators and teachers?

Management Systems

Let's now take a look at the rash of new management techniques that have recently been introduced into our school systems. Art raises a very good point that a lot of these management systems--PPBS, MBO, ZBB, and so on--have not worked. Let's call them what they are: These are not management systems; they are reporting systems that require tremendous amounts of documentation. These don't come from business; they're not business concepts.

Let me try to cite some examples, if I may. Take the maintenance division of Kodak. They run a half a billion dollar budget every year. What does their budgeting system look like? It has no written documentation except the following: it has a staffing plan, with names when they're available; and it has the dollar amounts. That's for a half billion dollar budget. There's a tremendous amount of informal negotiation and there's none of this reams and reams of reporting in volumes of documentation that education has been putting out on staff relationships and all that. If you don't believe me as a manager when I tell you that I need this and this and this and will work to produce this and this and this, if you don't believe me on a face-to-face basis, writing it down is not going to make it any better. Therefore, let's call these so-called

management systems what they really are--reporting systems. I wouldn't want to lump true management techniques with those systems that we currently label with these acronyms.

Recommendations

Where do we go from here? In one respect, I would say this: Isn't the recommendation of separating the issue of equality from that of productivity, as we discussed last night, sort of like saying "Here we go again"? It's a new, generalized scheme to help deal with our current conceptualizations of the problem. I think the intent is perfect. The analysis of the problem is very laudable.

However, I'm not sure that we can get away with not going back and looking at where we are right now and dealing with the problem of productivity on a very piecemeal basis. I know that doesn't sound very exciting, but we do, in fact, need guidelines to determine how to deal with things piecemeal. When we talk about separating the issues of equality and productivity, what will we do about such things as certification programs, in-service training programs, and other projects that the state is obviously so heavily involved in? Does this, in fact, mean that states which have these programs should no longer be involved in those things? In a sense, I'm saying that separating equality issues from productivity issues is a grand scheme, and therefore should be viewed with skepticism. On the other hand, I'm saying pretty much what Art has been saying--that we should go back and look at what each governing level is currently doing and reanalyze these findings to see if the net benefit has been worth the net cost.

CONFIDENCE IN EDUCATION: THE CHALLENGE TO POLICY MAKERS

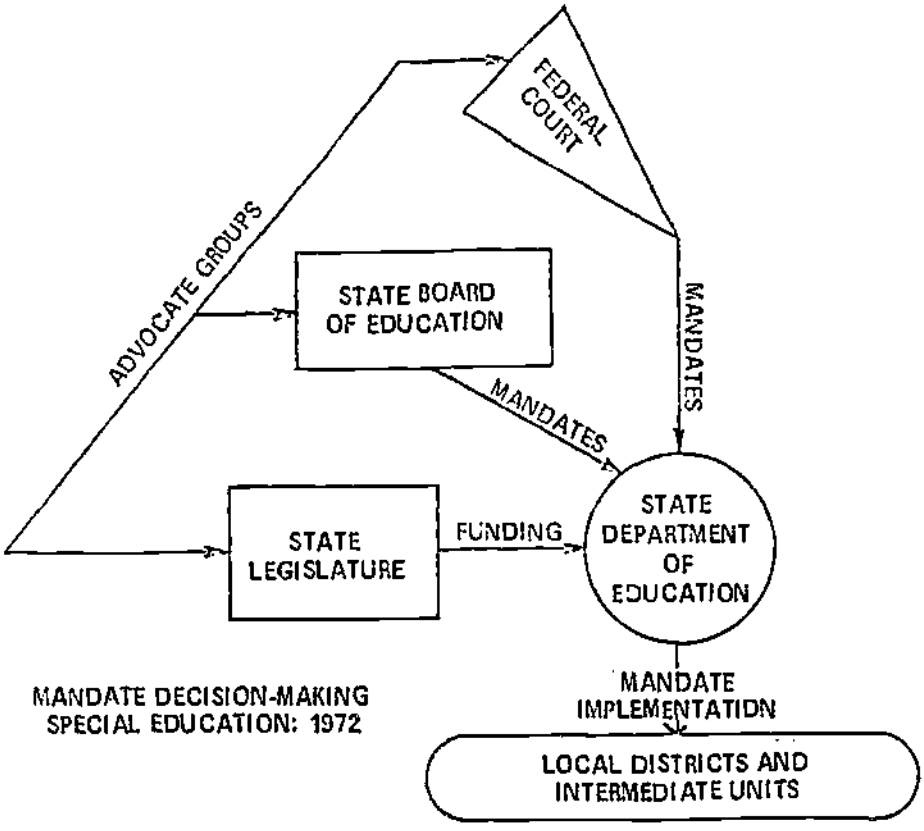
Robert G. Scanlon
Secretary of Education
Pennsylvania State Department of Education
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

What I'd like to do this morning is to share with you my ideas about some of the points that Art made earlier in the presentation, and then to shift some of those points to a different perspective. Art has dealt with the bureaucratization of education. In response to his ideas, I'd like you to look at two charts (see pages 28 and 29). I think these charts really reinforce many of the activities that Art described.

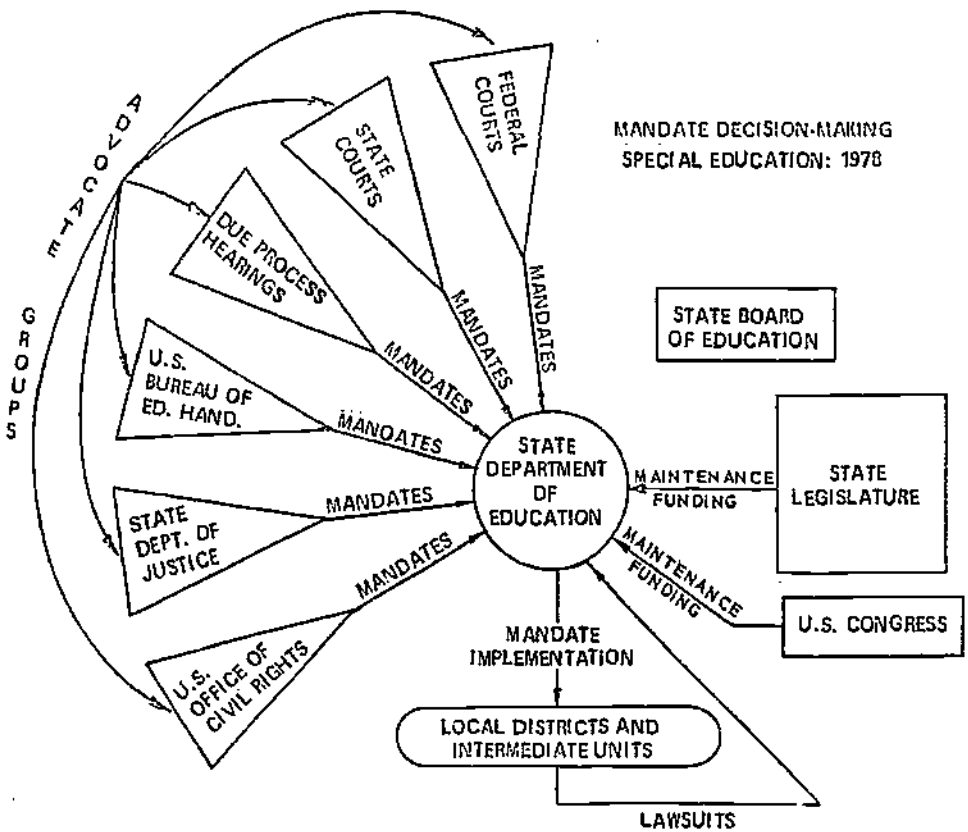
Bureaucratic Paradigms

The first chart illustrates the decision-making process for special education in Pennsylvania in 1972. You see three representative agencies that had a hand in formulating the rules and regulations relating to local school districts. Pennsylvania is organized into 505 school districts, so it has 505 local superintendents. There are 29 intermediate unit agencies, and these agencies are governed by representatives of the local school boards that these agencies, in fact, serve. From the first chart you can see that these relationships created a rather simple matrix back in 1972.

The second chart shows what the bureaucracy looked like in 1978. I think this illustrates the point Art was making in his book. The world has changed dramatically, and you can see that both federal courts and state courts now hold due processes hearings. The U.S. Bureau of Education, the



MANDATE DECISION-MAKING
SPECIAL EDUCATION: 1972


MANDATE DECISION-MAKING
SPECIAL EDUCATION: 1978
ADVOCATE GROUPS
FEDERAL COURTS
STATE COURTS
DUE PROCESS HEARINGS
U.S. BUREAU OF ED. HAND.
STATE DEPT. OF JUSTICE
U.S. OFFICE OF CIVIL RIGHTS
MANDATES
STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION
STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
MAINTENANCE FUNDING
STATE LEGISLATURE
U.S. CONGRESS
MANDATE IMPLEMENTATION
LOCAL DISTRICTS AND INTERMEDIATE UNITS
LAWSUITS

State Department of Justice, the U.S. Office of Civil Rights--all are being pushed by advocacy groups of one kind or another. These groups created new mandates on the State Department of Education and nearly forced the State Board of Education out of the picture. The state legislature provided maintenance funding without a clear picture of what was happening. The U.S. Congress provided some maintenance funding and mandated certain implementation procedures to be carried out. In our case, the local districts and the intermediate units followed up this process with more lawsuits against the State Department of Education. So the world had dramatically changed in six years in terms of how rules and regulations for special education were created and carried out.

I think this is an accurate picture of what has happened in Pennsylvania in special education. As most folks know, the earliest court case that really set the pace for P.L. 94-142 occurred in Pennsylvania where the state agreed to provide services for handicapped young people. I think we have to blame ourselves, quite frankly, for the necessity for this law. We knew, as educators, that these handicapped and retarded youngsters had a right to an education, and we didn't provide it. As a principal of a school, the first question I asked parents when they brought in retarded youngsters was, "Are they toilet-trained?" And if they weren't toilet-trained, they couldn't get into my school. I knew better, but you know, that was the way we looked at the world. I think we have caused the problems we now have as we try to comply with the mandates of P.L. 94-142. We can't blame the courts. We've got to blame ourselves, to hang our heads in shame that we had to wait for the courts to make decisions for us about handicapped youngsters and the way they ought to be treated.

When there are so many agencies influencing the delivery of educational services, there are lots of problems. For example, the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped and the Office of Civil Rights disagree on interpretations, so one gets pressure from both groups.

Pennsylvania currently has two court cases pending that will set precedent for special education again. One is the Armstrong case, where the federal judge has decided that "maximizing the potential," in regard to handicapped children, means that we will have to provide them with an education 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. Despite the fact that the legislature has set the minimum school year at 180 days, we're under court order (and in fact are implementing the decision while it is still on appeal because no court-ordered stay has been issued) to begin educating those children in this manner. In addition to notifying almost a quarter million parents of handicapped children about their new rights to year-round education, we have had to deal with requests from Title I parents and from gifted and talented parents for the same right. The point is this: whether or not you agree with the judicial decision, it seems that Pennsylvania courts made a mistake in handing down that ruling without studying the projected costs of implementation. These costs have been projected to run about $500,000 per year. I don't think when P.L. 94-142 was passed that Congress intended to mandate yearround schooling. We've asked the Senate to modify the language of P.L. 94-142 to clarify their intent on this issue, but then the special interest groups will chastize the legislators--as you can imagine--for disagreeing with an interpretation the courts have upheld.

That's one of our cases. The other case involves the question of providing services related to P.L. 94-142. This ruling says, in effect, that

the state departments of education must provide whatever services the parents desire. So we're in court over services of catherization. We are, in fact, providing catherization services during the school day for these youngsters, but the parents want it twice a day. That means bringing in a nurse, establishing other procedures, and incurring additional expenses.

This issue affects us directly, and I think the situation pretty much represents one of Art's points. Art vividly described how decisions are no longer determined from a law passed by the general assembly (legislature), handed down to the state board of education, and then relayed to the superintendents of the local districts. The process is now much more complex than that. One reason we put these charts together is because we continually have the problem of communicating with our local school boards and superintendents about why things happen, who has the control, and where the control lies. You also can see this in some cases in Pennsylvania where the courts will assign a youngster found guilty of a crime to a juvenile home or authority. These prisons for juveniles, if you will, are often located in places where school districts are very small, but under the current court interpretations the local school districts have to educate those kids. These districts may get 1,000 children placed by the courts in their school districts and only have 1,000 regular children to begin with. The state provides no real financial help for these school districts to educate those 1,000 youngsters ordered to attend these schools. So you have a court-made problem. What we're looking for are new ways the courts can be involved in a sort of partnership with the local districts to enable the courts to understand the impact of their decisions on these schools.

A Different View of Productivity

Productivity is often dealt with in terms of input and output. Instead, we ought to look at productivity on a larger scale. Education, in fact, is a product itself.

Let's look at the statistics on high school graduation for a minute. In 1910, the average number of years of schooling in America was 8.1 years. Today it's 13 years. Our average includes kindergartens this year, yet despite the addition of another year of schooling these figures represent a 60 percent increase in the number of youngsters graduating from high school between 1910 and 1980. That's a fantastic change. Art's statement about academic scores is true. The decline in test scores, when compared with the 60 percent increase in the number of children who take it, is insignificant.

More women and minorities are enrolling in colleges than ever before. We are now narrowing the gap not only between the races, but between the sexes as well. That's a point we don't often talk about. There is also a direct relationship between more years of schooling and earning power.

In another area, the vast majority of communities have desegregated their schools without experiencing either violence or a decline in student performance. Yet we tend to focus on those places that have had some difficulty rather than on those that have integrated with relative ease. This concentration on the bad news tends to be a feature of our society.

The Education Commission of the States has done a significant study about the impact of preschool attendance. They took a long-term look at preschool

programs and found clear evidence that those kids involved in preschool activities graduate from high school in larger percentages than average. A larger percentage of preschoolers go on to be more productively employed than a normal group. We know that Head Start and other preschool programs enable a child to learn much more much earlier. International studies have shown that American students do well in reading when compared with other nations. In math and science we do better than most nations. Over 90 percent of all of our school-age youngsters are in school, and no other nation has such a high percentage.

We can look at statistics narrowly, but I think we ought to look upon them from a broader perspective. I would suggest you look at those kinds of statistics in your own state. Ask questions over a period of time, so when folks talk about cost and productivity you will be able to present these issues in a different way. I would also suggest that you look at the growth of state budgets over a ten-year period, your own state as well as those of other states, so that you can get some perspective on their significance. In Pennsylvania, the growth of state expenditures between 1970 and 1980 rose by about 130 percent. Education expenditures increased by about 99 percent, welfare by 230 percent, transportation by 180 percent. There may be hidden reasons for this growth. If you look beyond gross statistics, you can begin to tell another story.

The Real Issue: Confidence

We are concerned with the ineffectiveness of American public schools, but I would assert that the real issue is one of confidence in our educational system. This year at the annual meeting of the American Association of School Administrators (AASA) when the superintendents were asked to rank

problems, the second most pressing problem, for the first time, was lack of confidence in public education. The first problem was financing public schools.

There's no doubt in my mind--and I travel two days a week visiting schools and classrooms, working with young people--that teachers don't trust administrators, administrators don't trust teachers, teachers don't trust school boards, and nobody trusts the state or federal government. If you have this fundamental lack of confidence within the profession, we're not going to get very far until we start doing something about the "school family." This notion existed when I was a principal. Restoring the school family in American education is essential if the staff, the teachers, the principals, the parents and the general community are to take hold of what's happening in their own particular schools. We have to reduce the segregation that exists within the field of education.

Gib is correct that teachers do not feel in control. Teacher specialization occurred earlier in our schools, often around instrumental music lessons. The kids would participate in these supplementary lessons, with the expectation that the student would work harder to catch up, that they had a responsibility that went along with additional learning opportunities. That doesn't exist today with Title I programs. In Pennsylvania, we find that, in gifted programs serving some 30,000 youngsters, it's more important for the parents to be able to say, "My kid's gifted," than it is for the program to actually take place.

I don't think productivity is the issue we need to look at here. I think it's really confidence. The issue of confidence refers to restoring the idea of a partnership between schools and within the profession iteself. What I tried to do in the first

twelve months of my administration as Secretary of Education in Pennsylvania was to address some of those issues publicly by focusing on the specifics, by visiting schools, by being out there two days a week, by making all kinds of public statements along the line of "good schools can make good press."

Someone has to raise the issues and accept the responsibility. One can only do that in the type of political environment I'm in with the governor's support. If you generate enough heat and create real problems for the governor in terms of those changes, I think that stirs up problems for the system. Before the Governor of Pennsylvania appointed me Secretary of Education, we had a four- to five-hour interview in which we were able to go over some of these kinds of policies and strategies.

Fostering Confidence

On November 16, 1979, we called together 1,000 people in Pennsylvania to an educational congress. We had the 505 superintendents, the 29 intermediate unit directors, representatives of the classroom teachers, higher education and professional associations, as well as PTA members and some kids. At this congress, we tried to present what we called our Pennsylvania School Improvement Plan, Shape 1. We tried to lay out a research model of school improvement that was difficult in some ways for them to accept, but in which we basically said, "We'd like to tell you what the State Department of Education thinks the problems are concerning school improvement and what we think the solutions might be. We'll call this plan Shape 1 and ask you to tell us what you think about what we said. Give us some information back, and we'll create Shape 2." This is how to get the profession to create the school improvement plan rather than having the legislature or the state department of education impose it from above. Once we have Shape 2 put

together, we'll hold some hearings across the state to gather more information so that we can go back and create Shape 3, the final plan. We laid this out on a timeline and tested the reaction of the "school family" to it. Their reaction was fantastic.

We addressed two major issues in the School Improvement Plan. The first issue was "How do we guarantee the public that every school is a good school?" The second of these dealt with the question, "Isn't it time to reexamine the preparation of professionals, both teachers and administrators, to serve our youngsters?" These are the two fundamental themes we put into the School Improvement Program.

Theme One. To get to the first goal, we suggested that four or five activities ought to happen. For the past several years in Pennsylvania we've had a long-range plan in effect, and 20 percent of the schools have gone through long-range planning activities. Our analysis of these long-range plans suggests that they are district-based and are too broad and general. They don't really look at the real problems. What parents care about is the quality of life in a school building: "Where does my kid go to school? What happens in that school? What happens in that classroom?" They're not really all that concerned about the school districts, although they do tend to move to some districts because of a good reputation.

So we suggested that the long-range plans ought to focus on the quality of life in each school building. We suggested that the faculty, the administration, the teachers and parents sit down and determine their own standards for that building, to say, "These are the things we believe in." There's got to be some attempt to activate that "school

family" notion in order to set standards for that school.

Now the second step that we suggested was that the school families come to some conclusions about a plan of action. One thing the school families were concerned about was standards, or how to do something about those standards. How do we introduce what we know from research into practice?

The third step was to get the school faculty and the families to make some decisions about how one's going to judge whether you've met those standards or not. We don't think the state ought to do it.

Then, finally, we suggested a process of registration so that once standards have been set, progress will be made towards achieving those standards. We had also better put the Good Housekeeping seal of approval on these schools. You know, fly a flag, do something different to publicize the fact that this school has some notion of quality behind it. Then, we suggested that we repeat this process every five years (it's probably a five-year process in the first place). It ought to be recycled so that every five years you look at it again, asking whether these are still the goals or standards to which you want to adhere. You need a new plan of action. Thus, you see here a rough description of the process we suggested for improving the quality of schooling in our state.

Theme Two. The second theme we suggested concerned the preparation of professionals in Pennsylvania's 195 post-secondary institutions. There are 86 schools of education in Pennsylvania and we crank out teachers for the rest of the world. We have lots of interesting rules and regulations. One is that when you graduate from one of our teachers' colleges, you get a temporary certificate. If you

evidence suggesting that teachers are any better, that children learn any more, or that anything particularly different happens because the teacher took those 24 extra credit hours.

I am also fairly well convinced that inservice training has to be radically changed, that it can no longer be oriented toward individual improvement. It has to be oriented toward improving the quality within the individual school. If you have a reading problem in your school, you need to provide inservice training that addresses the issue of improving teaching and reading techniques with this particular population of students, with these teachers, and with this set of materials. Inservice training has to be building-specific, problem-specific. Sending the third grade teacher away to take courses on how to teach reading doesn't help solve the problem in that particular building.

We've scheduled a whole set of hearings across the state between now and 1981 to find out how faculty and administrators feel about these issues. We also said, by the way, that we didn't think that the deans of schools of education ought to remake the training program, nor should the college professor, nor the classroom teachers. Only when we put the ideas of all of these people together will we begin to get some sense of quality in the curriculum. So, between now and 1981, we have scheduled ten work sessions. I expect we'll make major changes in both the entrance requirements and the kind of courses that will be offered. I have a feeling we may end up with a five-year training program that involves earlier exposure to the classroom, probably beginning in the sophmore year rather than waiting until the senior year.

Now there's already been some noise around the state: "Is this a new mandate? Will it cost more money?" The answer is yes, yes. Where's the new

money coming from? Well, we've got to reassess what we're doing, because no new money will be available.

Personally, I'm convinced that if we don't do just this, if we don't make some leaps in terms of restoring confidence by engaging in things like the school improvement effort, there probably won't be public schools as we know them ten to twenty years from now. And the people who ought to be most nervous about this prospect are those already in the profession. Not everybody agrees with that assumption, but I think we have ten years to get our act together, and we can do it if we're willing to do some of the things that have been suggested.

I don't think the state should be solely responsible for telling schools how to operate. The approach should be to share with the schools what the state thinks is best, and to ask the faculty, the administration, and the parents whether or not that is right and what modifications they would like to make to that plan.

This is a conference on productivity, and I've suggested that you have to change the major issue from productivity to confidence, then find ways to build or restore that confidence.

CONCLUSION

The concern over educational productivity has not abated any since Dr. Michael Timpane wrote in 1978: "The search for improved performance has led educational policy-makers in many directions--toward innovation and back to traditional methods, toward planning, management, and accountability systems and toward greater responsibility for the individual classroom teacher; toward new technology and teacher aids, early childhood and career education. But the main problem, or problems of productivity remain unsolved."

The purpose of this symposium was to discuss the impact of policy decisions on school performance. Educators from Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas spent an evening and a morning discussing this and other related issues with Drs. Wise, Hentschke, and Scanlon. Instead of one definitive answer to the impact of policy decisions on school performance, three answers were suggested by each of the presentors, and each of these was again modified through the ensuing discussion with the symposium participants.

Art Wise concluded that policy interventions were necessary to effect changes that local boards of education are not willing to make. Wise cautioned, however, that educational policy made by the courts, the federal government and state governments carries the potential of bureaucratizing the classroom. To the degree that this occurs, the delivery of education will suffer.

Gib Hentschke cautioned that modifying the issue of productivity through policy interventions was a grand scheme, but that policy-makers need to reexamine and reanalyze such strategies to see if the net benefits are worth the net costs.

And finally, Bob Scanlon proposed that the major issue of concern should not be with productivity in all its vagaries, but with public confidence in the ability of educators to educate and students to learn. Scanlon suggested that the way to achieve public confidence in education is to involve the public in formulating long-range plans that will deliver an educational product in which they can have confidence.

Margot E. Beutler
Regional Planning and
Service Project Editor

PRESENTORS

Arthur Wise
The Rand Corporation
Washington, DC

Guilbert Hentschke
Associate Dean
Graduate School of Education and
Human Development
University of Rochester
Rochester, New York

Robert Scanlon
Secretary of Education
Pennsylvania State Department
of Education
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

PARTICIPANTS

Sam Bratton, Jr.
Governor's Liaison for Education
Little Rock, Arkansas

Ralph Brewer
Director, Division of Instruction
State Department of Education
Jackson, Mississippi

Margaret Buvinger
Women's Leadership Project Advisor
Enid, Oklahoma

Roland Carpenter
Associate Director of Finance
State Department of Education
Little Rock, Arkansas

Orlando Giron
Deputy State Superintendent
State Department of Education
Santa Fe, New Mexico

Morris Holmes
Associate Director for Management and Development
State Department of Education
Little Rock, Arkansas

William Kirby
Executive Assistant to the Commissioner
Texas Education Agency
Austin, Texas

Roland Knight
Administrative Assistant to the
Deputy Commissioner
Texas Education Agency
Austin, Texas

Bill Loshbough
Assistant State Superintendent for
Transportation and Interagency Activities
State Department of Education
Santa Fe, New Mexico

Robert McCord
Associate State Supterintendent of Education
State Department of Education
Jackson, Mississippi

Toni Minicozzi
Education Committee Staff
Arkansas Legislative Council
Little Rock, Arkansas

Annette Murphy
Coordinator
Planning, Research, and Evaluation
State Department of Education
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Sara Murphy
Associate Director
Communication and Dissemination
State Department of Education
Little Rock, Arkansas

Jenevieve Owens
Supervisor
Audio-Visual Services
State Department of Education
Little Rock, Arkansas

Peggy Patrick
Coordinator
Planning, Research, Evaluation,
and Curriculum and Exemplary Programs
State Department of Education
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dan Pilkinton
Deputy Director
State Department of Education
Little Rock, Arkansas

Howard Potts
Assistant Administrator of Planning,
Research and Evaluation
State Deparment of Education
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Don Roberts
Director
State Department of Education
Little Rock, Arkansas

Harriet Smith
Area Supervisor
Finance/School Food Service
State Department of Education
Little Rock, Arkansas

Ray S. Smith, Jr.
Member, Education Committee
Arkansas General Assembly
Hot Springs, Arkansas

Shirley Stancil
Associate Director for Personnel
State Department of Education
Little Rock, Arkansas

Omar Stevens
Coordinator
Management and Development
State Department of Education
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dorothy Stuck
Women's Leadership Project Advisor
Briggs Associates
Little Rock, Arkansas

SEDL STAFF

James H. Perry
Executive Director

Martha L. Smith
Director of Planning

Agnes E. Toward
Planning Specialist-Research Associate

John T. Stallworth
Policy Analyst

Margot E. Beutler
Editor

Barbara A. Gay
Administrative Assistant