

12-1-2012

## School Reform: Where Does Policy Come From? Where Should It Go?

Kim Karman Friel  
*University of Nevada, Las Vegas*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/thesesdissertations>



Part of the [Educational Leadership Commons](#), [Education Policy Commons](#), and the [Policy Design, Analysis, and Evaluation Commons](#)

---

### Repository Citation

Friel, Kim Karman, "School Reform: Where Does Policy Come From? Where Should It Go?" (2012). *UNLV Theses, Dissertations, Professional Papers, and Capstones*. 1738.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.34917/4332719>

This Dissertation is protected by copyright and/or related rights. It has been brought to you by Digital Scholarship@UNLV with permission from the rights-holder(s). You are free to use this Dissertation in any way that is permitted by the copyright and related rights legislation that applies to your use. For other uses you need to obtain permission from the rights-holder(s) directly, unless additional rights are indicated by a Creative Commons license in the record and/or on the work itself.

This Dissertation has been accepted for inclusion in UNLV Theses, Dissertations, Professional Papers, and Capstones by an authorized administrator of Digital Scholarship@UNLV. For more information, please contact [digitalscholarship@unlv.edu](mailto:digitalscholarship@unlv.edu).

SCHOOL REFORM:  
WHERE DOES POLICY COME FROM? WHERE SHOULD IT GO?

By

Kim Karman Friel

Bachelor of Science in Education

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

1985

Master of Education

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

1999

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the

Executive Doctorate of Education in Educational Leadership

Department of Educational Leadership

College of Education

The Graduate College

University of Nevada, Las Vegas

December 20112



## **Dissertation Approval**

The Graduate College  
The University of Nevada, Las Vegas

November 1, 2012

This dissertation prepared by

**Kim Karman Friel**

entitled

**School Reform: Where Does Policy Come From? Where Should It Go?**

Is approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

**Executive Doctorate of Education in Educational Leadership**

Dr. Gene Hall, Ph.D.

*Examination Committee Chair*

Dr. James Hager, Ph.D.

*Examination Committee Member*

Dr. Linda Quinn, Ph.D.

*Examination Committee Member*

Dr. James Crawford, Ph.D.

*Graduate College Faculty Representative*

Dr. Thomas Piechota, Ph.D.

*Graduate College Dean*

## ABSTRACT

### **School Reform: Where Does Policy Come From? Where Should It Go?**

by  
Kim Karman Friel

Dr. Gene E. Hall, PH.D., Examination Committee Chair  
Professor of Education Leadership  
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Policy analysis helps to develop a greater understanding of societal problems and provide possible solutions for elected and non-elected government decision makers. Ultimately, the product of analysis is advice relating to public decisions and informed by social values. In light of the pressures placed on education by policy-makers concerning implementation of educational reform there are surprisingly few studies concerning the changing role of the federal government from a historical perspective. Looking at the past, with the present in mind, reminds us that the current shape of education was not inevitable.

This qualitative dissertation study analyzes the evolution of the intentions of policies chosen and adopted during three critical eras of education reform in the United States. By exploring the way each policy came into existence and then evaluating some of the consequences of each policy this study will provide a deep understanding that educational reform does not happen overnight but over a period of time. The second purpose of this study is to delineate apparent disconnections between the making-of-policy and its implementation by school leaders. The questions guiding this study are: (1) Why were Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal,

Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society, and George W. Bush's No Child Left Behind education policies chosen and not others? (2) What is the definition of accountability for each of the policies chosen? (3) What systematic changes have taken place due to the enactment of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society, and George W. Bush's No Child Left Behind education policies? (4) What are the apparent causes for the disconnect between the making of policy and implementation of the policy by school leaders?

Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal brought about the notion of social responsibility among the American people. These social responsibilities have had a lasting impact on policies enacted on behalf of society and public education. This change became the basis for the subsequent exploration of the relationships between Roosevelt's notions of social responsibility, Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society's Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and George W. Bush's No Child Left Behind Act. The notion of social responsibility among the citizens of the United States also explains the trends and progress of American education as an entitled social responsibility.

This study is potentially significant for the following reasons: The first is it contributes to the development of a greater understanding of societal problems and possible solutions for elected and non-elected government decision makers. It also may provide assistance to decision makers in projecting costs and potential benefits of a policy. It may expand the sense of possibilities for future policies. Finally, by looking at the past in relation to the present we are reminded that the current shape of education was not inevitable. By looking at the events that have shaped

education we can better see the path education has taken. This analysis may even expand the sense of possibilities for future economic and accountability policies of education. The historical record shows that the choices are not simply about economics and accountability; they also are related to the shape and spirit of public provision.

The review of the literature and primary sources of research highlight the many challenges facing policy related to education reform. The second purpose of this study was to delineate the disconnect between the making-of-policy and its implementation by school leaders in each case changes in policy across the three periods of time left many educators disconnected between the making of a policy and implementation of the policy. By explaining each policies existence and then evaluating the policies it is hoped that this study will contribute to a deep understanding that educational reform does not happen overnight but over a period of time.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is said that it takes a village to raise a child. I believe that it takes a village to write and complete a dissertation. The research for and preparation of this dissertation involved much assistance and encouragement from many people within the author's village.

Most of all the author wishes to express her appreciation for her mentor, teacher, advisor, and doctoral committee chairman, Dr. Gene Hall. During all phases of this project Dr. Hall encouraged the writer to never give up, to keep researching, and to write. Much is owed to Dr. Hall for helping the writer hurdle the many, many steps in this process.

To Dr. Linda Quinn, Dr. James Crawford, and Dr. James Hager your support, humor, and kind words helped to make this process a learning experience that will never be forgotten. Your actions and words helped when the process became almost unbearable.

Another large debt is owed to the writer's immediate family members and close friends. Jim, Anthony, and Andrew, I will never be able to repay you for your patience, support, unconditional love and confidence during the past four years. Georgia, Judy, Connie, Al, Jeff, June and Patrick your unending encouragement and support throughout this process ensured that this project was seen through to completion.

Tina Statucki must also be acknowledged. Her scrupulous editing and creative criticism were continuously available from the beginning to the end of this manuscript. Her input was invaluable.

Finally, the newest members of the village who are owed much gratitude for assisting writer at the end of this project are Dale Norton, Superintendent of Schools for Nye County School District and the Nye County administrative team. The final push given by these people during the last four months of the process helped to invigorate the writer to complete the final chapters of the dissertation.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
TABLES	xv
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
Background of Education Reform	4
Problems Surrounding Education Reform	4
Purpose of Research	5
Context of Study	6
Research Questions	6
Research Design and Methodology	7
Significance of Research	8
Limitations and Delimitations	9
Definition of Terms	9
CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE	12
Three Aspect of Reform: Global, Local, and Historical	12
Global education reform	14
Education reform in China	15
Education reform in Finland	16
Education reform in United Kingdom	17
The journey of education reform in the United States	18
Reform from 1780-1940	18

Waves of Reform-1940-2011	20
First Wave of Reform-1940-1950	20
Second Wave of Reform-1950-1960	21
Third Wave 1960-1980	22
Fourth Wave 1980-present	24
State Reform	25
History of State Reform	25
Massachusetts as a leader of education	26
The Progressive Era	26
Systematic Change	27
State of Nevada Reforms	29
Reasons for Education Reform	30
Changes in Education	32
Problems Surrounding Education Reform	33
Socio-political	34
Economic Funding	35
Cultural Focus	36
Change	37
Education as a Central Political Topic	38
Publics' Critical View of Education	38
Expansion of Education	39
Suburban Nation	39
National Security	39

Purpose of Education	40
Civil Rights/ Equity (War on Poverty)	40
Economic and Technological Transformations	42
Current Perceptions of Education Deficiencies	43
Conclusion/Summary of Literature	44
 CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	 45
Introduction	45
Purpose of Study	45
Research Questions	46
Conceptual Framework	46
Research Paradigms	47
Data Collection Methods	47
Policy Analysis	48
Trustworthiness	48
Role of the Researcher	48
Procedures for Data Analysis	49
Evaluation Criteria	50
Significance of the Study	50
Limitations/Delimitations	50
Summary	51

## CHAPTER 4: 1933-1945 - ROOSEVELT ERA OF EDUCATION POLICY

Introduction	52
Agenda	54
Agenda Setting Process	59
Reactive Process in Education	59
Factors Affecting Agenda Setting Process	61
Participants	61
Processes	63
Diffusion of ideas	63
Processes (Streams)	67
Problem Stream	67
Indicators	67
Feedback	69
Budget prioritization	71
Problem definition	72
Comparisons	75
Categories	75
Participants/actors in agenda setting process	76
Political Stream	76
Major forces affecting political stream	77
Policy stream	81
Ideas	81
Policy entrepreneurs	82

Coupling of Streams/Convergence	83
Acceptance/Adoption	84
Conclusion	85
CHAPTER 5: 1963-1968 - JOHNSON ERA OF EDUCATION POLICY	
Introduction	87
Agenda	88
Agenda Setting Process	94
Reactive process to education	95
Factors affecting agenda setting process	97
Participants	97
Processes	103
Diffusion of ideas	103
Conflicts of interest	105
Processes (Streams)	106
Problem stream	106
Getting Attention	106
Indicators	108
Feedback	110
Budget prioritization	111
Problem definition	113
Values	113
Comparisons	115

Political stream	116
Major forces affecting political stream	116
Policy stream	119
Ideas	119
Policy entrepreneurs	119
Hidden cluster of policy actors	120
Coupling of Streams/Convergence	121
Acceptance/Adoption	122
 CHAPTER 6: 2001-2008 - BUSH ERA OF EDUCATION POLICY	
Introduction	126
Agenda	127
Agenda Setting Process	133
Reactive process to education	134
New direction for education	134
Factors affecting agenda setting process	136
Participants	136
Diffusion of ideas	142
Processes	143
Processes (Streams)	143
Problem stream	143
Indicators	144
Focusing events	144

Budget prioritization	145
Problem definition	145
Comparisons	147
Political stream	148
Major forces affecting political stream	149
Policy stream	153
Policy entrepreneurs	153
Coupling of Streams/Convergence	155
Acceptance/Adoption	156
CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR	
FURTHER RESEARCH	
Introduction	159
Limitations of Study	161
Findings	162
Theoretical Implication	174
Level the playing field	175
Knowledge and understanding	175
Policy Implication	176
Recommendation for Future Research	176
Summary and Conclusion	179
REFERENCES	205
CURRICULUM VITA	236

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: 2006, 2009 PISA Scores	182
Table 1.2: Comparison/Contrast of Finland, China, England, and the United States	183
Table 1.3: Timeline for Education Reform in the United States	184
Table 1.4: The Generations Involved in American Education	185
Table 2.1: Problems Surrounding Education Reform	186
Table 2.2: Elazer's Three Political Cultures	187
Table 2.3: Expectations of a Nation; Six Notable Reasons for Education Policy	188
Table 2.4: Policy-into-Practice Continuum	189
Table 2.5: Macro Perspective	190
Table 3.4: Actors, Players, and Political Elites	191
Table 3.2: Policy Instrument Defined	192
Table 4.1: Organized Anarchy Model of Public Policy Making	193
Table 4.2: Participating Policy Makers	194
Table 4.3: Make-up of Congress 1935-1945	195
Table 4.4 Processes of Policy Formation	196
Table 4.5 Processes of Policy Formation: Problem Stream	197
Table 4.6 Processes of Policy Formation: Political Stream	198
Table 4.7 Processes of Policy Formation: Policy Stream	199
Table 5.1: Make-up of Congress 1963-1968	200



Table 6.1: Make-up of Congress 2000-2008	201
Table 7.1: Roosevelt Policy Instrument	202
Table 7.2 Johnson Policy Instrument	203
Table 7.3 Bush Policy Instrument	204

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In the opening of *A Tale of Two Cities* Charles Dickens writes,

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way—in short, the period was so far like the present period, that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only (Dickens, 2000, p.3).

Even though Charles Dickens wrote this statement more than 150 years ago, it continues to be quite applicable in 2010. The central theme of *A Tale of Two Cities* is built around contradictions, such as love and hatred, wisdom and foolishness, and hope and despair. The same contradictions exist in the present day education system, which is currently comprised of contradictions such as equity versus quality, unfunded versus funded, rewards versus sanctions, and power versus authority. This perpetuates the belief that it is both the best of times and the worst of times.

We live in a society that likes to experiment with contrary directions. It actively encourages diverse forms of self-expression, filling the planet with variety beyond imagination. Then it coheres this diversity into systems (Wheatley & Kellner-

Rogers, 1996). The current philosophy of education follows this train of thought. The public has and continues to expect contradictory outcomes from public education. We continue to widen the scope of education yet individualize education for all students. We want curriculum-based instruction using a child-centered approach. We are demanding that we return to basics emphasizing standards and test scores while teaching pro-social skills (Frank, 2004). We want a comprehensive curriculum that is academically rigorous while requiring narrow testing in core subjects (Lazerson, McLaughlin, McPherson, & Bailey, 1985).

More students are attending school than ever before, yet the dropout rate has stagnated. Educators are better prepared, yet many educators are ill equipped to teach children in today's society. Information and research concerning education is in abundant supply, yet educators do not use the data correctly. Advanced technology is available to the masses, yet many students do not have access to the technology; Finally, more agencies (state, federal, think tanks, associations, foundations, etc.) are involved in education; yet local, state, and federal education agencies are asserting their roles and power to determine who controls education in the United States. Because of these contradictions, often times local, state, and sometimes federal policies force schools to change course based on a political consideration rather than strong research about effective practices (Darling-Hammond, 2010). These contradictions lend to the belief that reform of the educational system is needed.

History tells us that students have fought for the right to be educated. Politicians regularly run campaigns stating that they are going to ensure all students,

young or old, have a quality education. The media continues to focus the public on societal problems allegedly caused by education (Weimer & Vining, 1992). Parents argue about whether the school system is meeting the needs of their children. All of which demonstrates the measure of the importance of schools to our culture and the call for education reform (Lazerson, McLaughlin, McPherson, & Bailey, 1985).

The prevailing issues facing public education today tend to be viewed through the lens that it is the worst of times for educators, policy makers, and the public. The contradictions surrounding education cause confusion for all parties, especially the general public. This confusion kindles reactionary feelings towards change and reform within education.

There are also people who look at education through the lens of the best of times. These people tend to think that the negatives can become positives. They can see the endless possibilities for education. These people realize education is the key to developing human capital, that education affects our economic and our civic/cultural lives (Ravitch D. , 2010). Positive thinking produces proactive feelings towards change and reform in education.

Charles Dickens begins *A Tale of Two Cities* by describing the atmosphere in England by illustrating the contrasts between sacrifice and achievement by examining both the past and the present. The same needs to be done concerning education reform. Policy makers need to study the past, reflect on the present, look through both the negative and positive lenses, and then make reasonable policies that will determine the future of education.

## **Background of Education Reform**

Reform of education is not new. The creation of education policies that suggest and sometimes mandate how to educate our children is not new. Even federal involvement in education is not new. What is new is the polarized political environment in which reforms, policies, and mandates are being debated and decided upon (Cibulka, 1995). The impact these suggestions are having on education is phenomenal. Educators are being asked to work at a consistently high level utilizing standards, technology, and evidenced-based assessments while communicating educational needs, resolving complex problems, and developing self and others.

In an important sense, education reform in the United States did not begin with the passing of No Child Left Behind, or in 1983 with the release of *A Nation at Risk*, or the years immediately preceding it (Cuban, 1990). In fact, debates about reforming schools are as old as time. Criticism and reform of the education of young people was old when Quintilian (35-95 A.D.) was young (Plato, 427-347 B.C.E). The denigration of children, particularly adolescents, has been prominent in most nations since the Industrial Revolution (Glass, 2008).

## **Problems Surrounding Education Reform**

A lack of understanding by many educators concerning the politics behind reform policies and initiatives has left many school leaders disconnected between policy development and its implementation (Fowler, 2009). Many believe that policy makers and politicians have crossed over the border between legitimate concerns and political interference motivated by political ideology (Lawton, 1995) when

developing and implementing new policies. Implementation of a new policy may or may not happen based on this disconnect.

To ensure implementation of a new initiative, policy makers must ensure that educators understand why the policy has been chosen, who defined the policy, on whose behalf, and who is paying for it. According to Stein (2004), the most instrumental understanding of the policy process goes as follows:

A governing body motivated by interest groups, economic circumstances, and/or international concerns wants to affect a specific situation, behavior, or condition of citizenry. In order to do so, it must name a problem in need of reform and put into place rules and regulations to ensure a desired solution. Policy makers aim to construct effective incentives and disincentives to manipulate the behavior of policy subjects and service providers. Policies are judged as successes or failures based on their measured capacity to produce desired behaviors or outcomes (Stein S. J., 2004).

One must study the reform movement through the lenses of socio-political, economic, cultural, and change issues for each initiative in order to get a sense of where a policy came from and who created the policy (Table 2.1).

### **Purpose of Study**

Explain the trends and progress of American education from 1933 to present as an entitled social responsibility.

## **Context of Study**

There are four main conceptual frameworks for studying this topic. According to Nagel (1990) these frameworks are conceptual theory, theory of knowing, causal theory, and normative theory. All four frameworks will be incorporated. However, this study will primarily use knowledge utilization for understanding and improving the utilization of scientific and professional knowledge in the setting of public policy and professional practice (Dunn, Holzner, & Zaltman, 1985, p. 231). Conceptual theory will be used to define what constitutes a good public policy evaluation. Causal theory will be used to determine why some policies are adopted and others rejected. Finally, normative theory will be used to answer questions of ethics (Nagel, 1990, p. 275).

## **Research Questions**

1. Why were Roosevelt's New Deal, Johnson's Great Society, and Bush's NCLB chosen and not others?
  - What factors influenced the development and adoption of these policies?
  - What were the intentions of each?
  - What events followed the adoption of the policies chosen?
2. What is the definition of accountability for each of the policies chosen?
  - How does the Accountability Era compare to the New Deal and Great Society Eras economically?
3. What systematic changes have taken place due to enactment of Roosevelt's New Deal, Johnson's Great society, and Bush's NCLB?

- Intended consequences of the New Deal, Great Society, and No Child Left Behind?
- What incremental changes were experienced because of the intended and unintended consequences?

4. What is the cause for disconnect between the making of policy and implementation of the policy by school leaders?

### **Research Design and Methodology**

The purpose of this qualitative multiple case study research will be to describe the evolution of the intentions of policies chosen and adopted during three critical eras of education reform in the United States. According to Hatch (2002) a qualitative study hopes to make sense of the actions, intentions and understandings of those being studied. By explaining their existence and evaluating the policies I hope to develop a deep understanding that educational reform does not happen overnight but over a period of time and delineate the disconnect between the making of policy and implementation of the policy by school leaders.

To develop an understanding of the intentions of the actors, the investigator needs to be immersed in the context (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Through the immersion, both tacit and propositional knowledge can be gathered, recognized as legitimate, and analyzed. The observer cannot remain detached from the participants and still hope to develop an understanding of the situation (Lowham, 1994). A case will be built for the researcher's interpretations of the policy by including enough detail and actual data to take the reader inside the progress of social responsibility within public education since Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal.



## **Significance of the Study**

There are surprisingly few studies of the changing role of the federal government from a historical perspective. The few that notable studies are Hugh Davis Graham, *The Uncertain Triumph: Federal Education Policy In the Kennedy and Johnson Years* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984); Carl F. Kaestle and Marshall S. Smith, “ The Federal Role in Elementary and Education, 1940-1980,” *Harvard Education Review* 52 (Nov. 1982): 384-408; Diane Ravitch, *The Troubled Crusade: American Education, 1945-1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1983); Harold Silver and Pamela Silver, *An Educational War on Poverty: American and British Policy Making, 1960-1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) This study is intended to provide the opportunity for implementers to develop a greater understanding of societal problems. It is also intended to provide possible solutions for elected and nonelected government decision makers. Finally, it is designed to help decision makers to understand the projected costs and potential benefits of a policy (Simon, Public policy: Preference and outcomes, 2010). I believe that by looking at the past with the present reminds us that the current shape of education was not inevitable. This analysis may even expand the sense of possibilities for future economic and accountability policies of education. The historical record shows that the choices are not simply about economics and accountability but rather that the shape and spirit of public provision matter very much to its impact (Gordon, 1994). By lifting the constrictions of current economic developments, accountability, and common core standards that are blocking our creative vision and choking off all hope we can create a better educational environment for our children.

## **Limitations and Delimitations**

1. Comparing the three eras of education reform, not the incremental education policies created between the Roosevelt, Johnson, and Bush eras.
2. Will be a holistic process.
3. Will not be researching state education policies or district education policies.

## **Definition of Terms**

Policy - A statement of a course of action or practice that is specified by a governing board, designed to bring the resources of the organization into service, and used to influence the actions of individuals and institutions.

Public Policy - A dynamic and value-laden process through which a political system handles a public problem. What government ought or ought not to do, and does or does not do.

Social Policy - Has to do with human beings living together as a group in a situation requiring that they have dealings with each other.

Policy Analysis – Primarily concerned with the consideration of several policy alternatives, each expected to produce different policy outcomes. Policy analysis requires careful systematic and empirical study (Lasswell, 1971). Policy analysis involves all aspects of the policy process, from the early stages of policy adoption and formulation to the implementation and evaluation of public policies. Client-oriented advise relevant to public decisions and informed by social values. Analyzing and presenting alternatives available to political actors for solving problems.

Policy Research - Is a cyclical process of steps that typically begins with identifying a

policy research problem or issue of study. It then involves reviewing the literature, specifying a purpose for the study, enabling the researcher to draw conclusions from the sample about the population as a whole.

Policy Actors - People and groups who are involved in the policy process.

Policy-makers-The set of individuals authorized and empowered to make decisions for an element on the purposes of the element, the responsibilities of individuals and institutions of the element, the money required to run the element, and the rules required to make the element operate effectively and fairly (Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988)

Policy implementers - Consist of those actors in the political arena who are expressly granted the legal authority, responsibility and public resources to carry out policy directives.

Clients - Specific groups being serviced by policies and how responsive these policies are to clients' perceived needs

Evaluators - People who study the systematic methods by which policy goals are accomplished.

Intentions of a Policy - The ideas, values, attitudes, beliefs, attributions, and visions that underlies or is ascribed to a policy from an individual's perspective.

New Deal - Social and economic programs created in the wake of the Great Depression, partially responsible for many of the social and economic programs that exist today.

Great Society (War on Poverty) - A number of programs initiated by President

Lyndon B. Johnson in the 1960s, promoting economic assistance, housing, and nutrition programs for low-income individuals.

NCLB (No Child Left Behind) - Public Law 107-110 is the reauthorization of ESEA

ESEA- Elementary and Secondary Education Act 1965

Social Responsibility- Responsibility for all people regardless of race, gender, or economic status.

Implementation – The process through which an innovation is introduced and initially used. Factors affecting success and failure.

## CHAPTER 2

### Perspectives and Contexts of Educational Reform as a

#### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Any policy issue involves many different facets (Loomis J. A., 2001, p. 7). Policy implementation cannot be analyzed in isolation. In order to understand what occurs when a policy is being implemented the related stages of the policy process (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980). For this chapter the policy process will be viewed in terms of three interrelated functional environments each of which contains various groups of actors and arenas.

#### **Three Aspects of Reform: Global, Local, and Historical**

As policy makers contemplate adopting or declining education reform policies, they must first look outward at the world, as well as inward. Similar to athletics and business, educational policy makers need to scout and learn from their counterparts around the world. Globalization is changing how we work, how we communicate, and ultimately, how we live (Darling-Hammond, 2010). Education is an arduous process especially within a global society. Different countries use different approaches, but effective education always requires enormous effort (Ravitch D. , 2010). According to Antikainen (2006), there are two facets to education as a social institution, global or general versus local or particular.

Global or general facets of education refer to the world order. As industrialization, urbanization, and technological changes are occurring globally and are causing economic competition among nations, education has become the focus of societal reform. With globalization, and now politically and economically determined as part of world order, education has become organized into a very

uniform system in all parts of the world, in common with science and technology (Meyer, Ramirez, Robinson, & Boli, 1977; Antikaninen, In search of the Nordic Model in education, 2006). Indeed researchers speak of a new type of consensus, a tightening of the ranks, and even of an educational policy epidemic, a plague which seems to be spreading in differing degrees throughout the industrial world (Risto, 2002). These policies seem to represent a new way of thinking in a world becoming increasingly globalized and networked, which is related to broader economic, social, and ideological changes (Risto, 2002).

The local or particular facet of education is discernible in cultural terms as well as in political and economic terms (Antikaninen, In search of the Nordic Model in education, 2006). The history of education in the United States is the history of a locally organized, locally funded, and locally governed enterprise (Conley D. T., 2003). Historically, local schools continued to maintain community values and practices. These values and practices were similar throughout the United States even if the customs, race, or community language were different.

In addition, to ensure reform, policy makers must refer to the past to legitimize our beliefs and values. Issues cannot be treated as if they have never appeared before. The past lives with us, not just in the sense that our contemporary institutions are its products, but because our system of values is historically rooted there. What we believe - our ideals, as well as the contradictions implicit in them - are part of our heritage (Lazerson, McLaughlin, McPherson, & Bailey, 1985) and our education system.

Finally, one must look at the causes for reform. Policy makers need reasons to suggest reform whether they be economic, national security, or political reasons. Policy issues are problems the government can address legitimately. Addressing these issues is like a game. There are rules and players. It is complex and disorderly. It is played in many arenas and involves the use of power. Finally, like a game, it can have winners and losers (Firestone, 1989 & Lindblum, 1968)

**Global education reform.** International comparisons of curriculum and student performance across national borders using PISA and TIMS scores have become more specific, sophisticated, and credible. In recent years, the audience for these reports has shifted from statisticians and academics to policy makers and the general public (Conley D. T., 2003). Much has been made of the United States average test scores compared to that of other, industrialized nations on these assessments. It appears that the highest-achieving nations are making steep, strategically smart investments in education while the United States is squandering much of its human capital (Darling-Hammond, 2010). The United States is viewed as standing still while more focused nations are moving rapidly ahead (Darling-Hammond, 2010).

Three countries that have influenced education reform in the United States and have each gone through educational reform processes in their countries are China, Finland, and the United Kingdom (Table 1.1). These three countries consistently earn top scores on the PISA and TIMMS International assessments, are advocates of choice/market involvement, and have some form of accountability system. Each country overhauled its education systems in the 1980's and 1990's.

Although none of these countries lacks problems and challenges, each has created a much more consistently high-quality education system for all of its students than has the United States.

While no system from afar can be transported wholesale into another context, there is much to learn from the experiences of those who have addressed problems we encounter (Darling-Hammond, 2010), thereby, allowing researchers the data needed to analyze the basis for reform, the successes and the failures of the reform, and the need for future reform (Table 1.2).

***Education reform in China.*** The major education reform initiatives in China over the past two decades can be grouped around four major interrelated themes: quality education, increased market involvement, decentralization, and accountability (Walker, Chen, & Qian, 2008). The release of *The Decision on the Reform of the Educational Structure* (Chinese Communist Party (CCP), 1985) is generally recognized as the beginning of education reform in post-Maoist China. Quality of education is a major theme throughout this document and continues to be the underlying theme in current Chinese education reforms. According to the Chinese, quality education emphasizes cultivating students' innovative spirit and practical skills and aims to transform them into exemplary builders of socialism.

According to Yong Zhao, it should be no great surprise that China has done well on the PISA. The Chinese education system is excellent in preparing outstanding test takers, just like other education systems within the Confucian cultural circle - Singapore, Korea, Japan, and Hong Kong. According to the OECD, the international group that sponsors PISA, schools in China are dominated by



pressure to get higher scores on examinations. Teaching and learning, in secondary schools in particular, are predominantly determined by the examination syllabi and school activities at that level are very much oriented towards exam preparation. Subjects such as music and art, and in some cases even physical education, are removed from the timetable because they are not covered in the public examinations.

***Education reform in Finland.*** When analyzing the Finnish education system, one must look at the Nordic model of education. This model is defined as an attempt to construct a national education system on the foundation of specific local values and practices, but at the same time is subject to international influences (Antikaninen, In search of the Nordic Model in education, 2006).

In 1998, the Finnish adopted the Basic Education Act that increased the autonomy of the end-users of educational services at the municipal level at the expense of national control (Risto, 2002). Previously it was believed that the goals of education could be achieved by strict norm-steering; now it is believed that they can be achieved by setting national core goals and evaluating the achievements afterwards. Three core elements of the new education policy are choice, evaluation, and decentralization.

The Basic Education Act confirmed that parents had free choice of schools at the comprehensive school level throughout the country of Finland, but the municipalities were left with the right to restrict parents' choice of schools if choice came at the expense of children zoned for that school. Private schools are not part of this equation.

Evaluation in Finland is seen as an essential tool of quality development. According to the Secretary General of Ministry of Education, evaluation is seen as a pivotal element in the new steering system since it replaces the tasks of the old normative steering, control and inspection system (Hirvi, 1996). Self-evaluation of the teacher and student is important in developing self knowledge. Obligatory national testing has, however, never been applied in the Finnish Comprehensive (Risto, 2002).

Decentralization of education policy was part of more extensive changes in Finnish state policy. Measures to increase local decision-making power meant an almost complete break from the earlier government guidance and inspection system. Now the local level is an autonomous actor in the educational field (Risto, 2002).

***Education reform in England.*** The Reform Act of 1988 is considered by many as the most important education legislation to take place in the United Kingdom since 1944. This educational reform has, to a great extent, been consistent with the widespread changes in Westernized societies (Aldrich, 1995). The intention of the Act was to change the nature of the English education system by moving away from planning and cooperation between central and local government towards a market which parents were promised the right to choose schools (Lawton, 1995). The reforms were justified to the public in terms of individual and national economic performance, national efficiency, and controlled competitiveness.

The Reform Act created a national curriculum of ten subjects that is centrally prescribed and controlled by the national government. The powers of local

education authorities have been severely reduced or done away with. Testing for accountability purposes is conducted at the ages of 7, 11, 14, and 16. Independent (private) schools do not have to follow the national curriculum nor are their students subjected to national testing.

**The Journey of Education reform in the United States.** After reviewing the educational systems of Finland, China, and England and comparing their test scores with those of the United States, it becomes clear that there is a disparity of achievement within the United States that must be taken care of first. This disparity has occurred for numerous years and on many levels (Darling-Hammond, 2010).

Where do we begin? American politics tends to function in cycles. Reform movements within the government occur about every 40 years. The politics of education are no different; therefore, we must study the history of education reform on both the federal and state level in the United States.

**Reform from 1780-1940.** Since the passage of the Constitution in 1787 and the Bill of Rights in 1791, elementary and secondary education has been defined broadly by state constitutions, specified by state statutes, and implemented locally by state agencies, school boards, and local school districts. The Constitution does not include the words education or school; however, the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution states that powers not delegated to the federal government are reserved to the States, respectively, or to the people (Shapiro, 1973). Through this interpretation of the Tenth Amendment, responsibility for schooling was delegated to each state. Following the Civil War, the federal role in education expanded considerably with the creation of the Department of Education in 1867 (Vinovskis, M.

1999). The Department was created for two purposes to collect and disseminate data and to help states establish effective school systems and assist the states in economic dishevel. Even with the creation of the Department of Education, federal involvement in education was modest in resources and limited in scope.

During this time in history there were scant opportunities for education (Antikaninen, 2006). Work, breadwinning, and war linked the stages of life together for most citizens. Education was considered an ideal or luxury for most people living in the United States. Crusaders for public education conducted research and passed laws that were pivotal for the times. In 1892, the National Education Association (NEA) Committee of Ten reexamined the entire high school curriculum and recommends a college-oriented high school curriculum (Sizer, 1964; Lazerson, M., McLaughlin, J. B., McPherson, B., & Bailey, S. K., 1985). Today, it is called college and career readiness.

Racial issues became a topic in 1896, when The Supreme Court ruled in the case of Plessey versus Ferguson that separate but equal policies, were legal (Alexander & Alexander, 2009). This law became a legal precedent used to justify many other segregation laws, including separate but equal education institutions. The philosophy of separate but equal schools stayed in place until 1954.

The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching was founded in 1905 (Lagemann, 1983). The Carnegie Foundation continues to be an independent policy and research center, whose primary activities of research and writing have resulted in published reports on every level of education. Henry Pritchett, the first president of the foundation, secured the Congressional charter in 1906, and

broadened the Foundation's mission to include work in education policy and standards. The Carnegie Foundation's achievements have included the Carnegie Unit, Flexner Report, the Graduate Record Examination, Educational Testing Service, and Teachers Insurance Annuity Association of America (Lagemann, 1983).

By the early 1900's, many schools were experiencing problems with student attendance, dropouts, and retention. A research project entitled *Laggards in Our Schools* collected data regarding students who were lagging behind academically in school. The purpose of the research was to put together useful material bearing on the subject, develop a mode of attack on the problem, and to analyze a sufficiently large number of students lagging behind in school to demonstrate the utility of the method and give answers of at least a provisional nature to some of the questions being asked (Ayres, 1913). The information gleaned from this research was released to educators in 1913, and motivated all states into passing compulsory attendance laws for students by 1918.

***Education reform from 1940-2011.*** Beginning in the 1940's, educational opportunities increased as work and education became more linked. Education became a means for career progression. President Roosevelt's New Deal (Reiman, 1992) and VJ Day brought about changes in federal education legislation that for the first time reflected social responsibilities and foreign policy concerns. Legislation included the G. I. Bill and National School Lunch Act (Reiman, 1992). Following this time, educational reform efforts began to occur in waves. Each wave represents a different facet of education reform and era of time as created by the researcher (Table 1.3).

During the second wave of reform (1950-1960), the federal education policy also focused on righting perceived wrongs and guaranteeing equal opportunity for the disabled and the disadvantaged in education. Federal laws were created to ensure that every citizen's civil rights were being honored and that they had equal opportunities to a free and appropriate education. Overt process and compliance issues lent themselves to overt process and compliance remedies (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2010).

Federal education policies also began to advance science and math curriculum during this era of reform with the formation of the National Science Foundation, and the passing of the National Defense Education Act (Anderson L. W., 2007).

Education became a commodity or began to be taken for granted during the third wave of educational reform (1960-1980).

The last wave of reform (1980-present) is built on noble intentions and rigid accountability, which are difficult to follow through with due, in some part, to the fact that federal policymakers in Washington can mandate from afar the necessary elements of successful school reform (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2010).

*Civil rights: Second wave of educational reform from 1950-1960.* Prevalent issues affecting education during this wave of reform began in 1954, when the Supreme Court ruled in Brown versus Board of Education of Topeka that separate educational facilities were inherently unequal (Alexander & Alexander, 2009). This led to the use of federal troops in Little Rock, Arkansas for the purpose of allowing

nine African-American students, the Little Rock 9, to enroll and attend a public white school in 1957 (Watrus, 1997; Kasher, 1996).

Standards became a prevalent topic when Rudolf Flesch wrote a book entitled *Why Johnny Can't Read: And What You Can Do About It*. This book was the first of its kind in that it was written for the general public, not for educators, to warn the public about the reading skills or lack of reading skills among American students (Flesch, 1955). It became a top seller in the 1950's.

National security took center stage in 1957, when the Soviet Union launched Sputnik, the first satellite to orbit Earth (Killian, 1977). Partially because of Sputnik, science and science education became important concerns resulting in the passage of the National Defense Education Act, which authorized increased funding for scientific research and science education (Anderson L. W., 2007).

*Social issues: Third wave of educational reform from 1960-1980.* In the 1960's, the role of the federal government expanded to target under-served populations with the expectation of raising student achievement for disabled and economically disadvantaged students (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2010). Equity became the primary issue and spending money was the solution. Between 1961 and 1979, federal spending on education increased fifteen fold (640 to 9,979 million) (Langbert M. , 2008).

The third wave of educational reform was part of President Johnson's "Great Society." President Johnson declared war on poverty. Beginning in 1963, with the inauguration of the Great Society, the recognition of the existence of cooperative federalism was accompanied by an expansion of the federal government's role, not

only as an initiator of programs, but as a policy innovator willing to apply various forms of pressure on the states and localities to get them to conform to its demands (Elazar, 1984). In 1965, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) was passed which authorized the first general program of federal school aid in the nation's history (Jordan & Tostow, 1986). ESEA was authorized at a time when civil rights continued to be a major topic of discussion and American involvement in the Vietnam War was increasingly causing funds to be stretched thin. During this time, James Coleman was commissioned by the Department of Education to research and write about educational equality in the United States. In 1966, the report entitled *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, commonly referred to as the Coleman Report, was released (Ravitch, 1993; Bierlein, 1993).

During the 1960's, much of the pressure toward conformity was similar to that utilized previously by the government when extensive governmental innovation was used. The pressure was usually exerted by bureaucratic designs (laws and mandates) or by increasing national focus on the issue. The idea of having to share funds, compete for funds, or account for funds was not typically used by the federal government before 1970.

Structural changes were made to the system concerning sharing funds after Richard M. Nixon became president in 1968. School finance reform of the 1970's involved structural changes that introduced grant programs, project grants, diversification of eligible recipients, grants for inner city improvements, and planning requirements that still exist. The most notable laws to impact education during this era are the Indian Education Act and Title IX of the Education Amendment (1972),



the Rehabilitation Act (section 504) of 1973, and the Education of all Handicapped Children (PL 94-142) of 1975 (Alexander & Alexander, 2009).

*Accountability: Fourth wave of educational reform from 1980-2000.* The third wave of reform began in the 1980's with simple assumptions that the requirements for transforming the ailments of American public schools could be obtained by adding more demands, mandates, and accountability measures to the system. Allegedly standards had fallen to a dangerously low level of mediocrity. Hence, these standards could be raised by increasing graduation requirements, expanding the number of years of required subjects, lengthening the school day, and mandating a specific number of minutes of instruction (Cibulka, 1995). In 1983, President Reagan authorized a study of American education system (The National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983). The findings called for sweeping reforms in public education and teacher training.

In 1989, an education summit was held in Charlottesville, Virginia where President George H. W. Bush convened all the nation's governors to discuss and create an educational policy (Conley D. T., 2003). This was a momentous event in the history of education reform in the United States and led to the 1994 America's Schools Act; Goals 2000.

The Fourth wave of reform that began in the 1980's came to fruition in January, 2002, with the signing of Public Law 107-110, otherwise known as the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) (U.S. Department of Education, 2008). The focus of No Child Left Behind continued to be on Title I and equity for poor and disadvantaged children (Table 1.3).

**State Reform.** Local involvement often refers to the local school districts, but for the purpose of this discussion, the definition is broader and refers to state involvement. For most of the past 200 years, local education has wielded the lion's share of power to determine education policies and practices (Conley D. T., 2003). This is discernible culturally, but often also in political and economic terms (Antikaninen, 2006).

The states are important in the governance of education because they retain their political position in the overall framework of the nation's political system, a position that requires constitutional support but that transcends constitutional formulations (Elazar, 1984). While they are part of national civil society, the states are also separate civil societies that retain their individual cultures while cooperating with the federal government.

If people can't obtain governmentally-related goals through the federal government, they go through the states and vice-versa. Issues often become important at the state and federal level at the same time. Many do not believe that the states can afford to act on their own with respect to many programs, education being one of the programs (Elazar, 1984). The federal government's influence is a regulatory function with money attached to the outcome (Elmore, 2009). This occurs partly due to the fact that it is expensive to educate children and states need federal dollars to assist in paying for programs.

*History of state reforms.* Education reform movements have roughly followed the same path as many other public policy innovations in the United States. Innovation and experimentation tend to begin in a few state legislatures (National

Conference of State Legislatures, 2010) and eventually other states adopt the policy. Many of the current education laws, such as paying for education, attendance laws, and transportation laws, were enacted at the state level first.

*Massachusetts as a leader of education.* State education laws and policies began during the colonial years. The state of Massachusetts has been and continues to be a leader in education initiatives and reforms. In 1642, Massachusetts Bay School Law was passed, followed by the Massachusetts Law of 1647. The Law of 1647 required that every town of at least 50 families hired a school master who would teach the children to read and write. All towns of at least 100 families should have a Latin grammar school master who would prepare students to attend Harvard College (Tanner & Tanner, 1990).

Massachusetts continued to lead state reform, and in 1827, the state passed a law requiring towns of more than 500 families to have a public high school open to all students (Tanner & Tanner, 1990).

In 1837, Massachusetts formed the Massachusetts State Board of Education to determine curriculum, set standards for teaching, and create a certification process for teachers. To assist the State Board of Education, the state funded a school specifically for teacher education in Lexington, Massachusetts. Massachusetts also enacted the first mandatory attendance law in the United States (Tanner & Tanner, 1990).

*The Progressive Era.* The progressive era of political and social reform, which occurred around the turn of the twentieth century, served to restructure and renew local control. During this time, non-partisan governance structures were

emphasized (Conley D. T., 2003). Many of today's education structures that are viewed as common practice were established based on the non-partisan structure.

Such structures involved the following:

- Transportation: 1919 - all states have laws providing funds for transporting children to school (Sass, 2010).
- Curriculum: 1925 - Tennessee versus John Scopes (the Monkey Trial) prohibiting the teaching of evolution (Tanner & Tanner, 1990).
- Race: 1931 - Alvarez versus the Board of Trustees of the Lemon Grove School District first successful desegregation court case in the United States (Sass, 2010).
- Finance reform: 1970's - finance reform involved structural changes that introduced grant programs.
- Quality versus Quantity: 1980's - focus on quality by adding more demands, mandates, and accountability measures to the system.
- Systematic Change: 1990's - states setting standards and benchmarks.

*Systematic change.* In 1991, Minnesota passed the first charter school law (Sass, 2010). Two years later the Massachusetts Education Reform Act was passed requiring a common curriculum and statewide tests (Sass, 2010). By 1999, 48 states had statewide academic standards; 39 mandated tests aligned with their standards; 19 required high school exit exams, and eight others were planning to do so (Education Week, 2002). Since 2002, forty-nine states and the District of Columbia have made changes in their education policies that have had an impact on

state laws, district regulations, and school operating procedures (National Conference of State Legislatures 2010). In 2009, The Common Core State Standards Initiative, a state-led effort coordinated by the National Governors Association Center for Best Practices and the Counsel of Chief State School Officers, was launched (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2010 & Rheault, 2010).

No two states are alike, causing a growing consensus among politicians, school leaders, and the general public that clear and shared goals for student learning must provide a foundation on which to improve education and achievement. Under NCLB, states had to set interim targets for the percentage of students scoring proficient. Many states backloaded or kept achievement cut scores extremely low and easy to make in the early years of accountability. Thereby, creating growth scores that call on schools and districts to make impossible steep achievement gains in the final years before 2014. Given this situation, the percentage of public schools not making AYP is likely to keep increasing across the country. The current system does not give an accurate gauge of school performance, and its pass or fail approach to making AYP does not provide a comprehensive picture of student growth (Dietz, 2010).

Recently under the auspices of NCLB, failing schools in Rhode Island and Georgia have fired their entire staff in an effort to avoid further sanctions from the state and to make the school eligible for up to \$6 million in federal money. Experts estimate the mass-firing tactic is used to turn around 20 to 30 schools in the United States annually (Burkhart, 2010). Many teachers organizations are concerned that

starting from scratch will hurt the school and community more than it will help, particularly because many educators don't want to take jobs at failing schools.

*State of Nevada reforms.* Similar actions have taken place in Nevada to ensure that funds are received for education. Having to restructure low performing schools, the State Department of Education has required local school districts to inform schools that staff members have to reapply for their jobs at that school. The staff members are allowed to transfer to other jobs. This type of policy has made it difficult to find veteran, highly-qualified staff members to apply for jobs at schools that have not made AYP.

The way in which states have gone about addressing the law's requirements varies. While many appear to be dealing with the requirements piecemeal, a few states have chosen a different path. Nevada used an omnibus bill to revise a number of statutes affected by NCLB requirements (Education Commission of the States, 2004).

Due to No Child Left Behind, ARRA funds, and Race to the Top funds, many of the 50 states and Washington DC have changed many of their policies concerning education. These changes began in Nevada in 2002, when state officials began to interpret the No Child Left Behind Law and create the Nevada Accountability Plan (U.S. Department of Education, 2008). Each state has been mandated to create an accountability plan based on the following: 1. State Standards, Assessments, and Targets; 2. School and District Adequate Yearly Progress Report; 3. Identification of schools and districts needing improvement; 4. State data and reporting systems ; 5. State systems of support for identified schools and districts; 6. Promoting school

improvement; 7. Interventions and sanctions for identified schools; 8. Focus on school improvement; and 9. Promoting district improvement (U.S. Department of Education, 2008). This plan was submitted to the United States Department of Education for approval. As a result of an external peer review, Nevada had to make changes to the state accountability plan. The most recent change in policy occurred during the special session of the Nevada State Legislation held in February 2010. During that session, SB 2 passed stating that teacher evaluations would be based on several factors, one being student achievement. This law has and will cause changes in student testing, reporting of data, and regulation of money, thereby complying with one component of Race to the Top Funding.

### **Reasons for Education Reform**

The reasons people believe education reform is needed are numerous; however, most of the reasons can be consolidated into three main topics. The first involves funding of schools. According to Glass (2009), modern education debates have been shaped by powerful economic and demographic forces that have been over a century in the making. Throughout the last century, critics loudly proclaimed the nation's peril due to the alleged poor condition of the schools. Since 1812, when Kalamazoo, Michigan invoked a property tax to help fund education, states have relied substantially on local property taxes to fund K-12 education (City of Kalamazoo Assessor's Office, 2008). Unfunded and underfunded education mandates imposed by federal policymakers have significantly added hundreds of billions of dollars to the state and local taxpayers' burden (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2010).

Second, many believe that education lacks a purpose or vision. From the colonial days to World War II, schools had a special role of preparing the next generation for responsibilities of citizenship (Lazerson, et al).

The third reason involves the perception that teachers and other professional educators have nearly complete control over policy and practice. The perception of autonomy has left the educational system both unaccountable to consumers (parents and communities) and susceptible to precisely the sort of curriculum initiatives being presently addressed (Apple, 1993), thereby setting the stage for greatly increased federal leadership and initiatives in education policy, a mandate the federal government has fulfilled over the past 35 years (Conley D. T., 2003).

Public education is both the source of America's most noble hopes and the repository of its greatest frustrations (Lazerson, et al). From the beginning, schools had a special role of preparing the next generation for responsibilities of citizenship. It was believed that a self-governing people needed universal education skills (Lazerson, et al). In the late 1800's and early 1900's, when immigration to the United States was great, education served the purpose of Americanizing students and teaching English. In the 1950's, education was a means for improving the lives and job opportunities for every American. Eventually, in the 1960's -1980's, education is thought of as a commodity when the general public began to take it for granted.

Our expectations for education have led us to extend schooling to more and more people for longer periods of time. The commitments to popularization and the expansion of opportunity have crossed social



class, racial, and gender lines. Laborers, artisans, farmers, manufacturers, and professionals, whites and nonwhites, immigrants and native-born, women and men have all, at various times, sought to expand schooling for themselves, for their children, and for the children of others (Lazerson, et al).

### **Changes in Education**

From the colonial times to the present, the role of education has changed in the United States. This change is due in large part to educational reform and the emergence of education as a central political topic (Sandham, 1999). Education is an appealing issue for policymakers and national leaders because of the interest it generates among a wide range of voters (Conley D. T., 2003). One change has been the increasing involvement of the federal government in creating and regulating educational policy. No longer can public schools only worry about managerial issues. Public school administrators are being transformed from bureaucratic leaders to what Bryson and Crosby (1992) and Fowler (2009) call public leaders. Education leaders are increasingly being asked to function outside the realm of the traditional role of principal. They must develop a professional mindset as well as master the technical skills of administrations.

Another change has been the perception of the public towards education. To change attitudes towards an education system requires a powerful propaganda campaign (Husen & Kogan, 1984). In an environment of confusion and time of crisis, the public and policy makers may look to unlikely places for solutions (Glass, 2008). The new policy elite attended school, know how to read, and are internet users.

They also have strong opinions concerning what is best for public education. Unlike any other profession, despite having little or no background in education, these elite people expect to be heard. The top four foundations are Michael and Susan Dell Foundation, Eli and Edythe Broad Foundation, Walton Family Foundation, and Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Most recently the elite policymakers seem to be listening to Bill Gates, founder of Microsoft, and his wife Melinda Gates concerning their views of public education. Bill Gates has written articles for leading magazines and publications, has advised the Council of Chief State School Officers, and has been interviewed on national television stating his opinions of public education. Often the facts stated are difficult to verify and the advice is naïve (Glass, 2008). His qualifications? He is a multi-billionaire and donates billions of dollars to the causes important to him.

### **Problems Surrounding Education Reform**

A lack of understanding by many educators concerning the politics behind reform policies and initiatives has left many school leaders disconnected between policy development and its implementation (Fowler, 2009). Many believe that policy makers and politicians have crossed over the border between legitimate concerns and political interference motivated by political ideology (Lawton, 1995) when developing and implementing new policies. Implementation of a new policy may or may not happen based on this disconnect.

To ensure implementation of a new initiative, policy makers must ensure that educators understand why the policy has been chosen, who defined the policy, on

whose behalf, and who is paying for it. According to Stein (2004), the most instrumental understanding of the policy process goes as follows:

A governing body motivated by interest groups, economic circumstances, and/or international concerns wants to affect a specific situation, behavior, or condition of citizenry. In order to do so, it must name a problem in need of reform and put into place rules and regulations to ensure a desired solution. Policy makers aim to construct effective incentives and disincentives to manipulate the behavior of policy subjects and service providers. Policies are judged as successes or failures based on their measured capacity to produce desired behaviors or outcomes (Stein, 2004).

One must study the reform movement through the lenses of socio-political, economic, cultural, and change issues for each initiative in order to get a sense of where a policy came from and who created the policy (Table 2.1).

**Socio-political.** All social policies provide limited frames for viewing the individuals they are designed to serve. A primary focus on individual attributes and behaviors, rather than on structural or institutional conditions, assumes that the beneficiaries of enacted policies have problems that government interventions can solve (Ravitch, 2010; Stein, 2004). The public school system has always served to achieve the social goals of the government as well as provide an education for the children of the United States. Federal interest and involvement in education stems from at least four goals: promotion of democracy, assurance of equality of

educational opportunity, enhancement of national productivity, and strengthening of national defense (Center of Education, 2000).

As instruments of the state, social policies are predicated on the assumption that the government can remedy the perceived problems of the country's deviant populations. The existence of social policies assumes that the government can improve and/or correct the social problems through funding allocations, bureaucratic design, and/or national focus. Government policymakers craft policies in keeping with the state's corrective role, refashioning approaches that provide what they believe the most effective and efficient processes toward intended policy goals (Stein, 2004).

**Economic funding.** Whether a community or school lacks in or exceeds in funding for education, money has an effect on education. Well-functioning societies have always invested in resources for the common good - public education is considered a common good (Berliner & Biddle, 1995).

According to Glass (2009), modern education debates have been shaped by powerful economic and demographic forces that have been over a century in the making. As United States economic productivity continued to lag in the 1980's, and the nation struggled to compete with resurgent Japanese and European economics, attention turned to attitudes, skills, and preparation of American issues (Conley D. T., 2003). Critics loudly proclaimed the nation's peril was due to the alleged poor condition of the schools.

Much of K-12 education funding depends substantially on property taxes, which have traditionally been considered local funding. Unfunded and underfunded

education mandates imposed by federal policymakers have significantly added hundreds of billions of dollars to the states' and local taxpayers' burden (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2010).

The United States spends the same average amount of our gross domestic product on elementary schools as other developed countries, but it falls in the bottom half in commitment to high schools. The federal government provides about \$40 billion of the \$550 billion currently expended on K-12 education, making up 8% or less of the nationwide K-12 budget. Every additional \$1 billion in federal appropriations increases aggregate K-12 expenditure by two-tenths of a percent (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2010).

The federal government will continue to have significant influence through its use of leveraged funds. These funds may constitute only a small portion of a school district's education budget, but they may require significant change in education policies or practices as a condition of receiving the funds (Conley D. T., 2003).

**Cultural focus.** Cultural investigation allows for interrogation of the ways in which policymakers and practitioners define the needs of the subjects for whom the policy is intended. Policymaking and analysis of the policy involves the portrayal of deficiencies in certain segments of society by the policy-making elites - scholars, politicians, and policymakers - in order to motivate and justify the policy/reform being proposed (Stein, 2004). Only those in positions of power (elites) participate in policymaking. Elites operate in the political climate in which they exist and their products are the expectations of the specific state's political culture (Fuhrman,

1988). While this may sound trivial or obvious, the political culture in which they operate greatly influences what politicians and policymakers do (Lowham, 1994).

Elazer (1984) identified three major types of political cultures in the United States. All elite policy makers are influenced by one or more of these cultures. They include moral political culture, individual political culture, and traditional political culture (see Table 2.2).

**Change.** After death and taxes, the only constant is change! (Cibulka, 1995). It is incredibly difficult to make something happen, most especially across the myriad of government and institutions involved in education. Social issues, such as education reform, tend to be thorny. The main reason for the difficulty in making change is because policymakers cannot mandate what matters most to a person, community, or system. Policy success depends critically on two broad factors: local capacity and will of the people.

Local capacity can be addressed in the policy. Training can be offered. Dollars can be provided. Consultants can be hired. All of which can support intended consequences.

Good policy analysis takes a comprehensive view of the consequences and social values of the policy. The will, attitudes, motivation, values, and beliefs of the people underlie the implementer's response to a policy's goals or strategies. As individuals, we turn to our moral intuition to help ourselves develop systems of values to guide our assessment of change. Our political institutions must unavoidably play a role in selecting specific values that will have a weight in collective decision making (Weimer & Vining, 1992).

Intertwined closely with the focus on socio-political, economic, cultural, and change reform issues is the fact that education has become an entitlement in the United States for policymakers, media, and stakeholders.

### **Education as a Central Political Topic**

In the past five decades, education has become a central political topic among the people of the United States and thus the federal government, causing new patterns of policy implementation to emerge (Odden A. R., 1991). Why has education become such an important topic? Global or general facets of education refer to the world order. As industrialization, urbanization, and technological changes are occurring globally causing economic competition among nations, education becomes the focus of societal reform (Lazerson, et al). The public's opinion towards the deficiencies of public education increased with the release of *A Nation at Risk; the Imperative of Education Reform* in 1983. The main thesis of *A Nation at Risk* concerned the "failures" of American education, how those "failures" were confirmed by "evidence," and how this would inevitably damage the entire nation (Berliner & Biddle, 1995). This caused a tidal wave of educational reform that eventually resulted in No Child Left Behind.

### **Publics' Critical View of Education**

There continues to be a magnitude of reasons for education becoming such a political issue. Six notable reasons for the publics' critical view of education are the expansion of education, creation of suburbs, national security, education's purpose, civil right/equity, and technological transformations (Table 2.3).

**Expansion of education.** The expansion of education in the United States since World War II has increased threefold. The American school system has expanded to the point that it currently serves the needs of approximately one-fifth of the population of the United States (Berliner & Biddle, 1995). As the education system expanded, encompassing more and more diverse students, many Americans began to believe that the American education system had become so large and deficient that changes needed to be made (Berliner & Biddle, 1995).

**Suburban nation.** America has become a suburban nation. Between 1960 and 1995, the proportion of people living outside central cities increased 15% (Oliver, 1997). Suburbs have become so large that many suburban officials and residents believe they are autonomous entities that are unconnected to their central cities. Garreau (1991) calls such places “edge cities” (Gittell, 2005). These suburbs have developed a white middle class economic and political dominance in all areas of policy making within the United States. This has fueled a national shift to conservatism.

**National security.** The Russian satellite Sputnik was launched into space in 1957 (Killian, 1977). Many Americans dreaded that the Russians were spying on them from space. America’s scientific community seized the national mood to rejuvenate the nation’s science curriculum. Ike’s (President Eisenhower) Scientific Advisory Committee warned that the emphasis placed on science and math by the Russians would put the enemy ahead of the United States as a military power in 10 years. The federal government passed the National Defense Education Act in 1958, appropriating one billion dollars to the effort (Anderson L. W., 2007).



On September 11, 2001, terrorists attacked the twin towers in New York City, the Pentagon in Washington D.C., and high-jacked an airplane that crashed in Pennsylvania. These attacks caused much fear and anxiety among the American people. Politicians wanting to appear as a united, bi-partisan front quickly passed several laws and policies with little or no debate. One such law was the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (Ravitch D. , 2010).

**Purpose of education.** Many Americans have developed the belief that education no longer has a clear purpose. In the late 1800's and early 1900's, when immigration to the United States was great, education served the purpose of Americanizing students and teaching English. Currently no two states are alike when measuring student achievement. The states do not have a clear understanding or direction concerning the purpose for education in the United States as a whole. The state-led effort, shepherded by the National Governor's Association and the Council of Chief State School Officers of No Child Left Behind, provides that direction by the use of standards and accountability measures. President George W. Bush signed the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001 into law on January 8, 2002 (U.S. Department of Education, 2008). Every state in the nation had to develop standards describing what students should learn in school, along with establishing the means for assessing student progress toward achieving those standards.

**Civil rights/equity (war on poverty).** There exists an unmistakable and troubling connection between the accountability movement in public education and the changing ethnic composition of America's schools (Glass, 2008). At its core, NCLB is a civil rights issue and requires commitment from both state and local

officials to ensure that federal civil rights requirements, including Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, Title II of the Americans with Disabilities Act, and requirements under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, are being followed (Dounay, 2004). The inequalities in American education mirror the inequalities in American life more generally. The 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Brown versus Board of Education is a stark reminder that school integration has not been accompanied by equality of student academic achievement across color and income lines. The clearly set goals of NCLB offered an unprecedented opportunity to raise expectations and significantly narrow achievement gaps that persist in American schools (Education Commission of the States, 2004).

ESEA Title I-1965 was formed in the context of both the war on poverty and poverty scholarship in the early to mid-1960's (Anderson L. W., 2007). In the controversial expansion to what had been almost nonexistent federal involvement in education, members of Congress portrayed passage of ESEA (Elementary and Secondary Education Act) as a way to address or correct the culture that poor children received at home (Stein S. J., 2004). The focus was on poverty, individual and national security, and educational deficiencies in poor neighborhoods. Very few of the arguments were based on the academic skills of the poor. The vast majority of a child's life is spent outside of school. Students come to school with unequal preparation. Ignoring outside factors that affect children's academic achievement and expecting the schools to produce the same results for all will create many unintended consequences (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2010).

**Economic and technological transformations.** Great shifts in economy have taken place during the past century. Heightened urban and industrial growth at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century changed Americans views of education and allowed education to develop for the masses. By the 1960's, the notion of education as a form of investment in human capital was utilized by leaders of all fields, not just education. Education was recognized as an important component of economic development. This supports the belief that the new economy is currently based on information and technology within our globalized society.

Globalization is a process of integration among businesses, governments and people of different nations. Globalization has had a profound impact on all aspects of governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, including education. The phenomenon of globalization compels leaders of government, business, and education to compete on a global scale using schools and students as the competitors. Advances in technology allow people to interact in new ways, such as global testing, that were previously obscured by geographical, economic, or social boundaries (Education Futures Editors, 2007). Access to more information has led citizens to demand more efficiency for less money. Government agencies have responded with technological solutions. These solutions are creating a technological divide among the people of the United States. This divide is economically based in that not everyone has access to the advanced technologies that are increasingly becoming necessities in the new economy.

Many school technological efforts focus on decreasing the technological divide by improving student access to computers and the Internet. Policymakers are

beginning to address the issue of the need for skilled workers who can transform information to meaningful, new knowledge. The creation of new educational tools, resources, and methods of gaining knowledge are being considered. The doubling time of information is now under one year. In 20 years or less, doubling time may drop to a few weeks (Education Futures Editors, 2007). Our cultural institutions need to change with technology so that we become prepared for the future like we are cognizant of our past and present; therefore, technological-related professional development for teachers and administrators is imperative to ensure the economic gap is not made greater by the technological divide.

The invention of technologies shapes culture in ways that are often unpredictable at the birth of the invention, especially when looking at education and economics. The invention of the television killed dance bands and the Internet is killing used book stores. Any institution as pervasive as public education is certain to both reflect and be shaped by the larger culture it is embedded in (Glass, 2008).

### **Current Perceptions of Education Deficiencies**

Since 2002, forty-nine states and the District of Columbia have made changes in their education policies that have had an impact on state laws, district regulations, and school-operating procedures. No two states are alike, causing a growing consensus among politicians, school leaders, and the general public that clear and shared goals for student learning must provide a foundation on which to improve education and achievement. The passing of the Common Core State Standards Initiative in 2009 is believed to be a start at providing a strong foundation built on commonality rather than contradictions. This state-led effort, coordinated by

the National Governors Association Center for Best Practices and the Counsel of Chief State School Officers, creates common core standards for all 50 states (National Conference of State Legislatures 2010).

Heightened expectations have meant more political and intensified conflicts over schooling than ever before. The failures of reform have seemed more dramatic because the hopes of a nation are so high (Lazerson, et al).

### **Conclusion/Summary of Literature**

Our faith in public schools as the great equalizer remains (Meir, Kohn, Darling-Hammond, Sizer, & Wood, 2004). The hopes and efforts to affect change in education have been echoed in the discussions, indictments, and failings about change in schools. Some argue that education has not changed over the last century, while others argue that education has changed considerably. When reform is viewed using the macro perspective, it is easy to conclude that no change has taken place. On the other hand, the micro perspective yields that considerable amount of change has taken place. (Table 5.1) This study will analyze policy change through the lens of macro perspective of education reform change through the lenses of both the macro and micro perspective of school reform.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal brought about the notion of social responsibility among the American people. These social responsibilities have had a lasting impact on policies enacted on behalf of society and public education. By comparing the relationships between Roosevelt's notions of social responsibility to Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society's Elementary and Secondary Education Act with George W. Bush's No Child Left Behind Act this study will explain the trends and progress of American education as an entitled social responsibility. A review of the literature highlights many challenges facing policy reform within the confines of an educational setting. Changes in policy over the past decade have left many educators disconnected between the making of a policy and implementation of that policy.

#### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this qualitative multiple case study research is to describe the evolution of the intentions of policies chosen and adopted during three critical eras of education reform in the United States. According to Hatch (2002) a qualitative study hopes to make sense of the actions, intentions and understandings of those being studied. By explaining each policies existence and then evaluating the policies it is hoped that this study will provide a deep understanding that educational reform does not happen overnight but over a period of time. The second purpose of this study is to delineate the disconnect between the making-of-policy and its implementation by school leaders.

## **Research Questions (major and minor guiding research questions)**

1. Why were Roosevelt's New Deal, Johnson's Great Society, and Bush's NCLB chosen and not others?
  - What factors influenced the development and adoption of these policies?
  - What were the intentions of each?
  - What events followed the adoption of the policies chosen?
2. What is the definition of accountability for each of the policies chosen?
  - How does the Accountability Era compare to the New Deal and Great Society Eras economically?
3. What systematic changes have taken place due to enactment of Roosevelt's New Deal, Johnson's Great society, and Bush's NCLB?
  - Intended consequences of the New Deal, Great Society, and No Child Left Behind?
  - What incremental changes were experienced because of the intended and unintended consequences?
4. What is the cause for disconnect between the making of policy and implementation of the policy by school leaders?

## **Conceptual Framework**

There are four main conceptual frameworks for studying this topic. According to Nagel (1991) these frameworks are conceptual theory, theory of knowing, causal theory, and normative theory. All four frameworks will be incorporated. I will primarily use knowledge utilization for understanding and improving the utilization of

scientific and professional knowledge in the setting of public policy and professional practice (Dunn, Holzner, & Zaltman, 1985, p. 2831). I will also use conceptual theory to define what constitutes a good public policy evaluation, causal theory to determine why some policies are adopted and others rejected, and normative theory to answer questions of ethics (Nagel, 1990, p. 275).

### **Research Paradigms**

One of the two research paradigms that will guide this study will be the constructivist paradigm. According to Hatch (2002) a constructivist paradigm has multiple realities in which the researcher and participant co-construct understandings using naturalistic qualitative methods of research. Case studies, narratives, interpretations, reconstructions will be used for the final product (Glesne, 2006).

The second research paradigm that will also be used throughout this study will be the critical paradigm. This paradigm views the world through the lens of race, gender, and class. Knowledge in this paradigm is subjective and political. Knowledge is also value mediated in the sense that the investigator and the investigated object are assumed to be interactively linked, with the values of the investigator inevitably influencing the inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

### **Data Collection Methods**

Multiple methods of data collection will be employed in order to increase triangulation. Documents such as websites, printed materials, news articles, and photographs will be analyzed. Archival materials such as survey data, budgets, and voting records will be analyzed.



## **Policy Analysis**

For this study I will follow Lowham's (1994) Policy-into-Practice Continuum. (Table 3.1) Within the Policy-into-Practice Continuum I will incorporate the six steps to policy evaluation. These steps are to determine the goals of the policy, select indicators, select or develop data-collection instruments, collect data, analyze and summarize data, write evaluation report, and respond to evaluators' responders (Creswell, 2008).

## **Trustworthiness**

To ensure trustworthiness the following steps will be taken. The important goals will be clearly stated and explained. Any goals rejected will also be reviewed and discussed. All sources used in the collection of data will be cited completely and accurately. Interpretation of collected data and information will be affirmed by those participating in the research. Any uncertainties and ambiguities in theories, data, facts, and predictions will be flagged. These steps will allow colleagues to use this research to describe, confirm, expand, and/or inform.

## **Role of the Researcher**

The way analysts practice their craft is greatly influenced by the nature of their clients and the roles played by the clients in the political process (Weiner & Vining, 1991). To develop an understanding of the intentions of the actors, the investigator needs to be immersed in the context (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Through the immersion, both tacit and propositional knowledge can be gathered, recognized as legitimate, and analyzed. The observer cannot remain detached from the participants and still hope to develop an understanding of the situation (Lowham,

1994). A case will be built for the researcher's interpretations of the policy by including enough detail and actual data to take the reader inside the progress of social responsibility within public education since Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal.

### **Procedures for Analysis of Data (Procedures and Coding)**

Through the use of policy analysis the perspective of the policy is viewed through the actor's point of view. "The concern then becomes about the range of options available for addressing a particular problem and about the underlying theoretical premises of those options (Odden A. R., 1991, p. 162)" Odden's Policy Analysis Instrument was used to categorize the NYA policies (See Table 4.5). The categories of policy instruments are constructed from two main sources: existing theories about the effects of governmental action and observed patterns in the choice of policymakers. The categories are mandates, inducements, capacity-building, and system-changing. The categories determine the effect of federal expansion in the educational system.

Mandates draw on the theories of regulation which address the conditions under which the targets of regulation can be expected to comply given various levels of enforcement, sanctions, and costs and benefits of compliance. Inducement draws on theories of public finance that deal with intergovernmental transfers. These theories address the conditions under which government agencies can be induced to perform certain actions by conditional grants of funds from other governmental agencies. Capacity building involves the conditional transfer of funds from one governmental agency to another and introduces the additional element of investment in

uncertain future benefits. System-changing entails transfers of authority rather than money, with the aim of altering the institutional structures by which policies are implemented (Odden A. R., 1991, p. 162).

### **Evaluation Criteria**

According to Nakamura and Smallwood (1980) evaluation occurs as part of daily life. Everyone makes choices about how to spend their resources such as time, money, and other resources. While making these choices it is necessary to evaluate the worth of individual claims to these resources. The goal of this dissertation is to produce scientifically valid findings by using the Policy-into-Practice Continuum which will incorporate the Kingdon's Three Streams of Policy Formation to accurately state the policy maker's goals, the degree of goal achievement, and conclusions that relate to the accomplishments of the goals.

### **Significance of the Study**

- Policy analysis provides the opportunity to develop a greater understanding of societal problems and possible solutions for elected and non-elected government decision makers.
- Policy analysis can also help decision makers to understand the projected costs and potential benefits of a policy (Simon, Public Policy: Preference and Outcomes, 2010).
- Assist in expanding the sense of possibilities for future policies in education.

### **Limitations/Delimitations**

1. Comparing the three eras of education reform, not the incremental education policies created between the Roosevelt, Johnson, and Bush

eras.

2. Will be a holistic process.
3. Will not be researching state education policies or district education policies.

### **Summary Overall Outcome**

The outcomes of public policy analysis are highly varied. Policy analysis provides the opportunity to develop a greater understanding of societal problems and possible solutions for elected and nonelected government decision makers. Policy analysis can also help decision makers to understand the projected costs and potential benefits of a policy (Simon, 2007). Ultimately, the product analysis is advice relating to public decisions and that it is informed by social values. However, I believe that by looking at the past with the present reminds us that the current shape of education was not inevitable. This analysis may even expand our sense of possibilities for the future policies in education. The historical record shows that the choices are not simply about economics and accountability but rather that the shape and spirit of public provision matter very much to its impact (Gordon, 1994). By lifting the constrictions of current economic developments, accountability, and common core standards that are blocking our creative vision and choking off all hope we can create a better educational environment for our children. Policy problems must be addressed if Americans are to design a school system that truly provide high standards and equal opportunities for all students (Berliner & Biddle, 1995)

## CHAPTER FOUR

1933-1945

### FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT'S ERA OF EDUCATION POLICY

The development of federal education policy through three eras of time was the focus of this study. The primary focus of the research was the executive branch of the federal government. The executive branch was selected due to the tremendous expansion in implied powers this branch of government has gained over the last 100 years (Simon, Public Policy: Preference and Outcomes, 2010). The actors within and the actions of the executive branch were studied in relation to the development and implementation of education policies on the federal level. During the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Era, at the policymaking end of the continuum are the following participants: the President of the United States, congress, bureaucrats in the executive branch, and various forces outside of the government (including the media, interest groups, political parties and the general public). It is not the intention of the researcher to imply that any of the actors were more or less important to the development of educational policy. The historical background is important to understanding the context in which the education policies were developed on the federal level.

In this chapter, the story of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the elite actors are told. In chapters V and VI, the stories of Lyndon B. Johnson and George W. Bush will be told. Interpretations, comparisons, and conclusions of the three eras of education policy are presented in chapter VII.

This chapter is organized into five sections. Each section follows the Organized Anarchy Model of Public Policymaking and Implementation (See Table 4.1) (Kingdon J. , 1984). The first section discusses the agenda or problems that Franklin Delano Roosevelt was giving serious attention to during his presidency. This section will also give a brief history behind the agenda of 1933. The second section contains the agenda setting process. Section two describes the narrowing of a set of conceivable subjects to the set that actually becomes the focus of attention. The third section follows the three streams of policymaking. According to Kingdon (2003), the three streams are the problem stream, the political stream, and the policy stream. This section describes the actors, activities, and policies developed within each stream during President Roosevelt's time in office. The coupling of streams will be discussed within the fourth section. Coupling occurs when the separate streams of problems, policies, and politics come together at certain critical times. Finally, section five will describe the acceptance/adoption phase of the Organized Anarchy Model.

This chapter is not intended to be a summary of the history of education. Rather, it presents the context, actors, and their actions related to one aspect of education policy, the expansion of federal control over education. Table 4.2 illustrates the portion of the Policy-into-Practice Continuum discussed in this chapter. Table 4.3 is an organizational chart of the policymakers involved in making policies during this era.

## **Agenda**

The Great Depression was the largest and most significant economic depression to affect not only America, but also the world. The Stock Market Crash on October 29, 1929, is cited as the beginning of the Great Depression. Herbert Hoover, President of the United States when the crash occurred, felt that the government should not become overly involved in helping individuals deal with economic troubles. He saw the Depression as a problem created by the private economic realm and one that would have to be remedied by the private sector (Simon, Public Policy: Preference and Outcomes, 2010). During the same period of time, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was governor of New York. He viewed the Depression as clear evidence for the need for social policy for the sake of social justice (Simon, Public Policy: Preference and Outcomes, 2010). In 1932, Governor Roosevelt stated, “the country needs and, unless I mistake its temper, the country demands bold, persistent experimentation. It is common sense to take a method and try it. If it fails, admit it frankly and try another... but above all, try something” (Kennedy, 1999, p. 104). Roosevelt began incorporating many of his ideas for relief and recovery in the states’ newly appointed Temporary Relief Administration.

The election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt as President of the United States occurred under the shadow of the Great Depression and the new alliances that it created. In his acceptance speech, Roosevelt declared, “I pledge you, I pledge myself to a new deal for American people... This is more than a political campaign. It is a call to arms” (Burns, 2011, p. 139). In response to the acute distress of the Great Depression, the federal government, under the direction of President

Roosevelt, abandoned the policy of aloof neutrality it had pursued during earlier nineteenth century economic debacles. Rather, President Roosevelt marshaled the massive energies of the government on behalf of the economic welfare of the American people (Moley, 1966). Roosevelt and the Democratic Party mobilized the expanded ranks of the poor as well as organized labor, ethnic minorities, urbanites, and Southern Whites, thereby crafting what was known as the New Deal coalition.

The early years of the New Deal brought about some of the most momentous changes in the history of the United States. Roosevelt's New Deal agenda consisted of relief, recovery, and reform. Relief was urgently needed by tens of millions of unemployed. Recovery meant boosting the economy back to normal. Reform meant long-term fixes for the economic problems. It was the first time, in the history of the United States, that the federal government assumed the responsibility to alleviate wide spread unemployment (Lascarides, 1989). During the first hundred days of the Roosevelt administration, however, New Dealers gave higher priority to relief and recovery than to reform (Reiman, 1992, p. 31). The first 100 days of President Roosevelt's term in office also included intensive legislative activity. Congress authorized the creation of the Agriculture Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, Farm Credit Administration, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, National Recovery Administration, Public Works Administration, and Tennessee Valley Authority (Brands, 2008; Lindley & Lindley, 1938; Reiman, 1992).

Educators were among the many professional groups hit hard by the depression, and by 1933 it had become clear that educators were failing to meet



even their traditional responsibilities (Reiman, 1992). The United States Office of Education was concerned about the closing of rural schools throughout the country for lack of funds. In September 1933, 145,700 children attended no classes at all, while 150,000 others who lacked teachers and textbooks went to school only part-time. Capital outlays fell by more than \$200 million between 1929 and 1933, and tens of thousands of teachers received little or no pay (Smith, 2006). Many assumed that education would become a relief project of its own (Anderson P. , 1968).

Roosevelt's rhetoric revealed his understanding that the nation wanted to believe that the New Deal would forge a nation consensus. Roosevelt was also keenly aware that the Office of Education was not an agency represented in the President's Cabinet. It was a relatively minor bureau located within the Department of Interior. In August of 1933, Roosevelt informed the press that he was reluctant to set groups apart from the whole and provide special federal aid to teachers or students (Hiltzik, 2011). In fact, direct financial aid for schools did not become a relief project during the New Deal; however, dozens of education bills were sent to Congress. Most aimed to provide emergency aid to public schools as opposed to permanent aid (Munger & Fenno Jr., 1962). During this time of crisis, though, concerns over the danger of emergency aid to schools morphing into permanent aid were raised, most conspicuously by John J. Douglass (D-MA), chairman of the House Committee on Education (Munger & Fenno Jr., 1962, p. 6). The federal government did, however, provide aid to the public schools, but it came largely without legislation (Kosar, 2003).

There were six areas of education relief addressed among the alphabet of relief agencies that were authorized by the Federal Emergency Relief Act and the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933. They were literacy, vocational, worker and adult education, vocational rehabilitation, and emergency nursery schools. These programs were imbedded into New Deal relief programs. Education found temporary relief in the emergency program of FERA, The Civil Works Administration, The Works Progress Administration and the PWA. Federal money was provided to improve, repair, and enlarge school buildings and related educational facilities throughout the country through FERA, CWA, WPA, and PWA (Lindley & Lindley, 1938). Through the use of FERA grants, rural schools that had exhausted their funds were able to keep schools open (Lindley & Lindley, 1938, p. 11).

Despite being supremely confident in the patriotism of American youth, Roosevelt had to be tutored in the connection between ideologies of despair and the idleness of Depression youth during 1933 and 1934, but the President was a quick learner. The central place that young people occupied in Roosevelt's thinking of relief was demonstrated by the fact that the New Deal's first relief effort, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), was largely an assault on youth unemployment (Reiman, 1992). The Civilian Conservation Corps was drawn on ideas as old as William James' concept of national service as a moral equivalent of war in its capacity to instill virtue and mobilize alienated youth to solve the problems of the day (James, 1996, para. 26).

Several of the President's correspondents and relief planners concluded independently that their deepest concerns for the youth of America might best be

alleviated through a federal undertaking of certain historically local educational activities (Reiman, 1992). The deepest concerns were establishing a democratic alternative to what was increasingly being stated as the youth problem. The first problem was the attitudes of young people shut off from opportunity and schooling. Tyrants abroad were turning European youth against democracy, exploiting idealism native to all youth, and demonstrating how easily America's young might suffer a similar experience. (Reiman, 1992). It was felt that American youth needed training in ideological values of democracy. The second problem was the lack of equal opportunity for education by all youth. In 1933 and 1934, tens of thousands of youths, doubting that the schools would ever offer them the job training demanded by a depressed economy, were abandoning the schools (Reiman, 1992). According to New Dealers, both problems could be addressed through the same program, thereby giving education assistance via economic relief programs.

Relief agencies for youth continually met with the President's avid interest. From the CCC, which Roosevelt saw as his pet project, to the FERA, which involved a surprisingly diverse array of education services for youth and others, the New Deal role in education seemed heavily weighted toward relief and federal administration. By 1935, FERA planners were going public with their conviction that the government must help a group ignored by the schools: youth of low-income families (Tyack, Lowe, & Hansot, 1984). In 1935, Congress authorized the creation of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), National Labor Relations Board, and Rural Electrification administration in what became known as the second New Deal. The WPA focused on smaller projects and hired unemployed, unskilled workers. In close

cooperation with the local governments, the WPA hired only people on relief who were directly paid by the government. The WPA also oversaw the National Youth Administration (NYA), projects for women, and arts projects, which set the stage for expansion of federal government involvement into domestic economic affairs, ideological guidance, and educational funding (Ballantyne, 2002).

### **Agenda Setting Process**

The agenda setting process is the first step in the policy process. Before an issue can be acted upon, it must become a recognized part of the policy agenda (Simon, Public Policy: Preference and Outcomes, 2010, p. 83). According to Cobb & Elder (1972) agenda setting may involve the transfer of items from a non-governmental systemic agenda to a governmental formal agenda. This suggests that “decisions about national interest are the result of a political process in which a country’s leaders ultimately arrive at a decision about the importance of a given internal event or crisis in relation to the country’s well-being, in other words, basic national interests” (Nuechterlein, 1978, p. 3). The way that the government deals with internal issues is referred to as public interest or domestic policy. Basic national interests can be described as defense interests, economic interests, world order interests, and ideological interests (Nuechterlein, 1978). Education falls under all four categories of interest, making the role of education an integral piece in the agenda setting process. Within the agenda setting process, education policy is a reactive process that responds to the needs of the public interest.

**Reactive process in education.** The enactment of both the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 and the Social Security Act in 1935, marked the

beginning of a significant shift from emergency relief and private charity to a system of federal public work programs and the creation of a federal-state social safety net for the temporarily unemployed and the poor, aged, blind, and dependent children (Hopkins, 2011). The federal government was trying to preserve the morale and skills of the heads of indigent families by creating emergency work programs. For millions of younger children in families receiving relief, food, clothing, shelter, and schooling were the essential guarantees against the degeneration of the human assets of the nation, but youth between the ages of 15-24 needed something more (Lindley & Lindley, 1938). The youth problem according to Charles Taussig, President of the American Molasses Company was caused by the following specific deficiencies within the basic national interests of the people: 1. Not enough jobs to take care of the youth; 2. An educational system not adequate in size or character to prepare youth for work opportunities; 3. Nationally, a lack of equal opportunities for education; and 4. A gap measured in years between the time when youth leave school and when they find work (Lindley & Lindley, 1938, p. ix). Each one of these problems can be described as a national interest using Nuechterlein's (1978) four areas of interests. The four national interests are world order, economic, defense, and ideological interests.

The first problem, not enough jobs, is strictly an economic interest. Problem number two, an education system not adequate in preparing youth for work opportunities, falls into two areas of interest, economic and world order. Lack of equal opportunity for education is the third problem. This problem is economic and ideological in nature. Roosevelt was sympathetic to the idea of helping American

youth find jobs and help senior citizens maintain their dignity so as to neutralize the attractiveness of un-American creeds and to ensure democracy. The final problem, the gap between when youth leave school and when they find work, would be considered economic and defense interests. During this gap of time, society completely abandons the youth, which encourages criminal activities to take place. In some countries, mandatory military service takes up part of the slack. In others, frustrated youth have flocked into the shirted private armies of dictators, actual or aspiring. From the beginning, Taussig (Lindley & Lindley, 1938, p. ix) believed that the American solution to these problems must be predicated on the maintenance and reinforcement of the family unit.

**Factors affecting the agenda setting process.** Two categories of factors have an effect on the agenda setting process: the participants who were active in setting the agenda and the processes by which agenda items and alternatives come into prominence (Kingdon, 2003).

***Participants.*** Policies create an environment of exchange relationships between the players and the actors (Meltsner & Bellavita, 1983), but before any exchange can take place, one must know who the players and actors are. (Table 4.3) In general, the principal actors in policy formation are the legitimate, or formal, policy makers: people who occupy positions in the governmental arena that entitle them to authoritatively assign priorities and commit resources (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980). For effective action to take place within the agenda setting process, each stakeholder must have knowledge, understanding, and awareness of the policy environment and his/her role within that environment. At a minimum, the

actors in the executive branch, including the President of the United States, congress, bureaucrats are expected to set the general boundaries in which the creation and implementation of a policy will occur (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980). Various forces outside of the government (including the media, interest groups, political parties, and the general public) all have a stake in policy-making process.

*The President of the United States.* The president's role in the policy-making process is complicated. "Presidents not only face the demand to explain what they have done and intend to, but have come under increasing pressure to speak out on perceived crises and to minister to the moods and emotions of the populace" (Ceaser, Thuroe, Tulis, & Ressette, Year, p. 236) In addition "the President's agenda is often national in scope, whereas legislators are interested in local benefit" (Simon, Public Policy: Preference and Outcomes, 2010, p. 76). Bureaucrats are interested in the ideological maintenance. According to Rein and Rabovitz (1978), the bureaucrats during the Roosevelt administration tended to follow the rational-bureaucratic imperative approach to their jobs. When advancing ideas for policy, they tended to follow a course of action they felt was morally correct, administratively feasible, and intellectually defensible course of action. Finally the forces outside of the government were concerned about the economic welfare of the American people (Moley, 1966) as relief was urgently needed by tens of millions of unemployed. Roosevelt and the Democratic Party mobilized the expanded ranks of the poor as well as organized labor, ethnic minorities, urbanites, and Southern Whites, thereby crafting what was known as the New Deal coalition. Secondly, they held concerns for the youth of America and how best to assist the poor youth through a federal

undertaking of certain historically local educational activities (Reiman, 1992). Those outside of government wanted to establish a democratic alternative to what was increasingly being stated as the youth problem.

**Processes.** As stated previously, effective action within each stakeholder's role requires knowledge, understanding, and awareness of the policy environment including the processes by which agenda items and alternatives come into prominence. A policy is a course of action that could be a law, a regulation, a project, or other public decision. Knowledge of the impacts of a policy can lead policymakers to take or change a position on a policy or to work to amend a policy. Understanding the intended and unintended consequences of a proposed policy can affect what the policy will be, whether the policy is adopted, and how effective it will be (Loomis, 2001). For example, the various direct and indirect aids to youth provided during the first two years of the Roosevelt Administration cost considerable money and effort, and it soon became evident that they were inadequate (Lindley & Lindley, 1938).

**Diffusion of ideas in professional circles and among elites.** In *The Diffusion of Innovations among the American States*, Jack L. Walker (1969) states that "issues may reach the agenda through diffusion of ideas in professional circles and among policy elites, particularly bureaucrats. A contributor to government agendas might be a process of gradual accumulation of knowledge and perspectives among the specialists in a given policy area and the generation of policy proposals by such specialists." Independent of science or knowledge, ideas may seep into policy communities like fads, or may be built gradually through a process of constant



discussion, speeches, hearings, and bill introductions (Walker, 1969). Furthermore, changes in agenda may result from a change in party control or interparty ideological balances brought by elections (Ginsberg, 1976; Sinclair, 1977; Brady, 1982). Congressional-executive relations play a role in agenda setting, as well as in other elements of the policy-making process.

As the magnitude and long-term social hazards of the idle youth problem became more apparent in 1933 and 1934, many persons urged that the federal government try to deal with it in a more comprehensive manner (Lindley & Lindley, 1938) These people felt that their deepest concerns might be alleviated through a federal undertaking of certain historically local educational activities (Reiman, 1992). Among the people voicing their concerns, the most notable were Mrs. Roosevelt; Mr. Charles W. Taussig, President of American Molasses Company; Mr. Harry L. Hopkins, FERA Administrator; other officials of FERA; the Children's Bureau; and the Office of Education (Department of Labor, March and April 1935).

The President's task is complicated by other factors as well. First, the President's agenda is often national in scope, whereas legislators are interested in local benefit. Second, different terms of office impact the effectiveness of legislators. Third, although the President faces term limits, members of Congress and the Senate do not. Finally, the President's agenda-setting ability is complicated by a divided government, as is the case when the President and the majority of Congress represent different political parties (Simon, Public Policy: Preference and Outcomes, 2010). In the agenda-setting process, Presidents are particularly interested in

advancing agenda items that will have a reasonable chance of becoming policy (Simon, Public Policy: Preference and Outcomes, 2010).

It is perceived by the general public that policy makers are motivated by political ideology and the needs of the people when developing new policies. If this perception is distorted, as was the case at the onset of the Depression, a disconnection between the policy making actors and clients will occur. To change the attitudes of the clients towards a new policy requires a powerful propaganda campaign (Levin, 2008). Fortunately, President Roosevelt was a master communicator. According to Betty Houch Winfield Roosevelt's presidency is often referred to as the yardstick for measuring how well contemporary presidents communicate and mold public opinion (Winfield, 1990). Furthermore, he sought good advice. In mid-March 1932, Samuel Rosenman advised Franklin Roosevelt to assemble from the universities the beginnings of a team that could provide him with adequate background on the whole range of issues they would shortly facing (Black C. , 2003). The group of advisors became known as FDR's Brain Trust. The term Brain Trust is generally used for a group of close advisors to a political candidate or incumbent, prized for their expertise in particular fields. Members of FDR's first brain trust consisted of Columbia law professors Raymond Moley, Rexford Tugwell, and Adolf Berle. Members of FDR's second brain trust consisted of men associated with the Harvard law school: Cohen, Corcoran, and Frankfurter. According to Black (2003), the members of the Brain Trust were not considered long-term players in the political scene, and when they were no longer considered useful to President

Roosevelt, the members of his entourage would usually depart the administration as if through a trap door.

The American political environment changed rapidly in the mid to late 1930's. During the 1932 elections, the people of the United States voted into office a Democrat for President as well as a Democratic Congress (see Figure 4.4). The executive administration and the Congress created a series of new political institutions designed to manage the economy in light of the Depression experience (Sinyai, 2006). Within the first 100 days of office, President Roosevelt submitted 15 bills and all 15 bills were passed.

The so-called series of alphabetic economic relief agencies had a disastrous effect on the funding of public education, causing conflict between the federal government and public schools throughout much of the Depression. Conflict stemmed around the issue of how to best structure the social and societal context of American youths aged 15-18 in order to promote the normal production of physical, mental, and civic competence (Ballantyne, 2008).

The National Youth Administration program was different. This organization set out to do something specifically for the youth in poverty. At the outset three basic decisions were made. The first decision was that the administration of the program should be decentralized. Second, the fullest efforts should be made to enlist the active cooperation of all state and local agencies interested in youth. Finally, ample room should be left for experimentation (Lindley & Lindley, 1938).

## **Processes (Streams)**

The more that case studies and the place of various actors in processes of policy formation are examined, the more one concludes that attempting to pinpoint a single origin is futile. Instead, a complex combination of factors is generally responsible for the movement of a given item into agenda prominence (Kingdon, 2003). Therefore, basic to the Model of Organized Anarchy is the presence of three streams of processes that tease out the messiness, disjointedness, humanity, and luck of policymaking (Henry, 2007). The streams are referred to as the problem stream, political stream, and policy stream. These streams flow independently of one another until they converge to create a window of opportunity for restructuring of either a governmental agenda or a decision agenda (See Table 4.7).

**The problem stream.** The problem stream involves focusing the public's and policymaker's attention on a particular social problem, defining the problem, and applying a new public policy to the problem (See Figure 4.8). Many times problems come to the attention of governmental decision makers not through some sort of political pressure or perceptual sleight of hand, but because some more or less systematic indicator simply shows that there is a problem out there (Kingdon, 1995). The youth problem of the Depression era was such a problem. In 1932, when discussing the problem concerning youth in America, Franklin D. Roosevelt declared, "any neglected group can infect our whole nation and produce widespread misery" (McCraw, April 1993)

**Indicators.** Historians typically date the start of the Great Depression to Black Tuesday, October 29, 1929, when a long period of unrestrained corporate greed

(dating back to the 1890's) precipitated a national stock market crash (Wecter, 1948; Shannon, 1960; Bird, 1966; Chandler, 1970; Duboff, 1989; Ballantyne, 2008).

Farmers and more rural cities, however, had been feeling the fiscal crunch throughout the 1920's as the European demand for American agricultural produce steadily decreased (Silverman, 1982). Foreign demand for manufactured goods in turn began to slump and by the time of the big crash, two out of every three American families was already poor (Hill, 1990). The great industrial Depression of 1929 found the United States government unprepared to meet the major relief problems caused by its disastrous effects. When Roosevelt was inaugurated on March 4, 1933, nearly 13,000,000 persons, or 25 percent of the nation's workforce, were already unemployed and banks had been closed in thirty-eight states (Bernstein, 1970; Ballantyne, 2008).

Problems are sometimes not self-evident by the major indicators and often something drastic needs to happen to get the attention of people in and around government (Kingdon, 1995). That was provided by the Depression. Soon after his inauguration, President Roosevelt put into place a more radical policy of direct federal economic intervention appropriately called the "New Deal" (Bernstein, 1985). Roosevelt's series of radio talks, known as fireside chats, presented his proposals directly to the American public (Burns, 1956). In August of 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt spoke to the press and addressed the mounting public interest in the relationship between the New Deal and American students. He insisted that his administration would do all it could to stay out of the business of channeling direct federal aid to high school student or their teachers (Presidential Press Conference,

1933). Even as President Roosevelt delivered this speech, he was fully aware of the intellectual excitement within his administration that was just then supplying the ingredients for a New Deal on behalf of the youth of America (Reiman, 1992).

Between 1933 and much of 1934, the new administration had to contend with a sizable portion of American society that wanted to continue to employ the existing public institutions to remedy the ailing economy. The early programs under the National Recovery Administration were, therefore, quintessentially conservative. They were aimed at rescuing or reforming the old economy rather than transforming its structural underpinnings (Schwartz, 1982; Susman, 1983; Ballantyne, 2008). During this same period of time, a growing problem among youth ages 15-25 needed to be addressed. One of many concerns the federal government had was establishing a democratic alternative to what was increasingly being stated as the youth problem. The first problem was “the attitudes of young people shut off from opportunity and schooling” (Reiman, 1992, p. 43). Tyrants abroad were turning European youth against democracy, exploiting idealism native to all youth, and demonstrating how easily America’s young might suffer a similar experience (Reiman, 1992). The second issue involved labor leaders, businessmen, and conservative educators worried publicly about the form that federal assistance might take (Lindley & Lindley, 1938).

**Feedback.** In 1933, the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association formed a joint committee to recommend solutions for the financial problems facing education. The Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education recommended the pursuit of direct federal aid to education and state tax

reform (Ballantyne, 2002) neither of which was received well. President Roosevelt wanted the CCC. The idea of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) unnerved Raymond Moley, leader of Roosevelt's Brain Trust. To appease him, on March 14, 1933, President Roosevelt allowed Moley to send a memo and a skeleton of the bill to Francis Perkins (Labor Secretary), Henry Wallace (Secretary of Agriculture), Harold Ickes (Interior Secretary), and George Dern (Secretary of War) whose cabinet departments would have to be involved in any effort to recruit workers for regimented labor (Hiltzik, 2011). The next day the four secretaries responded in a joint response by proposing a wider relief program, encompassing not only a Civilian Conservation Corps, but a public works program and grants-in-aid to states and municipalities for relief (Hiltzik, 2011).

There were misgivings among special interests. American Federation of Labor President William Green told a joint House-Senate committee that the measure smacked of fascism of Hitlerism, of a form of sovietism (Hiltzik, 2011). Also expressing concern was James Warburg:

The New Deal is trying to create a calf with five legs. This is not because there are people in Washington who are trying to foist one thing or another upon the country-there are such people, but they checkmate each other and more or less cancel out each other's efforts. It is because we the American people have demanded of our government a calf with five legs. And it is because our Government is not following any one definite policy, except the policy of trying to give everyone at least a little of what he wants or what it thinks he wants. Therefore it is important that we should make up our minds

what it is that we want, and-more important still-whether we want what we are getting (Warburg, 1934).

***Budget prioritization.*** Budget prioritization during this era involved the following relief programs: Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), Civil Works Administration (CWA), Federal Economic Relief Act (FERA), Federal Housing Administration (FHA), Federal Security Agency (FSA), Home Owner's (HOLC), National Relief Act (NRA), Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), and the Works Project Administration (WPA) (Brands, 2008; Lindley & Lindley, 1938). These programs salvaged the lives of tens of millions of people from utter misery and hopelessness, endowed the country with vast infrastructure, and revitalized much of the environment through work relief programs.

The various forms of aid provided to youth during the first two years of the Roosevelt Administration were costly and inadequate (Lindley & Lindley, 1938). President Roosevelt at first balked at spending more money for youth. He felt that the CCC, college student aid, and other incidental aids already provided for were taking as much of the total budget expenditures as necessary for the youth of the nation, but the problem intensified with more and more youth feeling shut off from opportunity and schooling. The question became how to budget for a special Federal Youth Agency and not have it misconstrued as a regimented, political organization similar to those being formed in Europe. According to (Reiman, 1992), the answer seemed clear - pass it off as not ideological training, but simply the provision by the federal government of the kinds of skills the young people needed and the existing economy demanded. Following the appropriation of



\$4,880,000,000 for work relief, President Roosevelt decided to establish the National Youth Administration, by Executive Order Number 7086, on June 26, 1935 (U.S. Government, 1937). The President allotted \$50,000,000 for its use during the fiscal year (Lindley & Lindley, 1938).

***Problem definition.*** Throughout the Great Depression, the public schools and the federal government were in conflict regarding the proper means to avoid wasting a generation of youth potential. The argument was over how to best structure the social and societal context of American youths aged 15-18 in order to promote the normal production of physical, mental, and civic competence (Ballantyne, 2008). The biggest debates concerning the youth problem involved issues of values, equality, efficiency, and liberty.

***Values.*** The ideological installments of democratic values and public image management were important undercurrents for the war on the depression (Ballantyne, 2008). The historical roots of these values are deeply embedded in the cultural streams that comprise the common heritage of the United States. These values permeate the ideologies promulgated by political parties, religions, schools, and other social institutions (Kingdon J. W., Agendas, alternatives, and public policies, 2003).

***Equality.*** During the Depression, the federal government and the courts began to apply the U.S. Constitution's equal protection clause to a spectrum of social conditions, such as voting rights, housing, employment, and education. By 1935, FERA planners were going public with their conviction that Washington must help a group ignored by the schools and the public: youth of low-income families

(Tyack, Lowe, & Hansot, 1984) The quality of schooling that a child received depended largely where they lived. Some areas and communities lacked schools that were passably good by any standard of measurement. Many children and youth did not have “economic means to take advantage of existing school facilities as were available” (Lindley & Lindley, 1938, p. 195). The inequality of education could be viewed using three pivotal points: property taxes and state expenditures, amount of time school was open for instruction, and national income earnings. “This undemocratic inequality of education opportunity could only be corrected with the assistance of the federal government” (Lindley & Lindley, 1938, p. 195); however, it was believed that the NYA would create a bridge to off-set and neutralize this inequality.

*Efficiency.* It is desirable that an endeavor be completed efficiently as it provides for the conservation of resources, which can then be used for other endeavors, thus achieving greater equality or expanding choice (Bardach, 2009). Of course, the costs of changes or negotiations, insecurity, hard feelings, and such must also be taken into account when implementing a new and seemingly smart practice (Bardach, 2009). Alternatively, if institutions and people are forever being reformed and reinvented and remodeled - as occurs in many public school systems - there may be benefits to stability, consistency, and focus.

The increasing technical complexity of 19<sup>th</sup> century industrialization necessitated a more highly educated workforce. This condition provoked widespread provision of public schooling and in later periods, was seen as an important contributor to economic efficiency. Being hit hard by the Depression also

meant that school administrators were more concerned with the practical issues of basic curriculum, staffing, and maintaining facilities. Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration would fight the war on the Depression and would prevent the American youth involvement in crime and extremist politics.

*Liberty.* Authority is vested in the citizenry. Governmental authority is dispensed widely which allows for the separation of powers between the three branches of government as well as the various levels of government. "Efforts to inhibit accumulation of power also accounts for the deliberate fragmentation of decision-making authority, with some specific powers accorded to the federal government, some accorded to the states, and some reserved for the people themselves" (Anderson L. W., 2007, p. 85).

The belief in liberty dominated the thinking of the Founding Fathers of the United States who had English royal tyranny much on their minds. Liberty is the "cardinal right" (Henkin, 1996, p. 5). For Americans, liberty means the freedom to choose, to be able to select from among different courses of action, and the desire for choice fuels the historical American affection for a market economy. Competition among producers, along with other benefits, expands the range of items from which consumers can choose. The Civil Conservation Corps and National Youth Administration would give young workers choice through education. Education not only offered relief but also acted as an important tool to maintain democracy (Black A. , 1996).

**Comparisons.** Problems sometimes involve comparisons. If one is not achieving what others are achieving, and if one believes in equality, then the relative disadvantage constitutes a problem (Kingdon, 1995). Sometimes people make these comparisons across nations, so the mere fact of being behind in “the greatest country on earth” is enough to constitute a problem for some people” (Kingdon, 2003, p. 111)

The educational aspects of the WPA, FERA, and the youth programs were not aimed at all segments of the population. They were specifically designed for the poor and staffed largely by people already on relief (Tyack, Lowe, & Hansot, 1984). This was a new style of education premised on the notion that all kinds of people can teach and that learning can take place in various settings. The New Deal programs were designed to supplement rather than supplant the standard public school system (Ballantyne, 2002).

**Categories.** The first step at analyzing anything is to place it in its proper category. People will see a problem quite differently if it is put into one category rather than another, thus much of the struggle over problem definition centers on the categories that will be used and the ways they will be used. It may not be possible to judge a problem by its category, but its category structures people’s perceptions of the problem in many important respects. “The agenda setting process raises two questions. First, why do changes occur in the agenda setting process? The second is why some issues are more prominent than others. The answer to these questions lies within two categories. The “two categories of factors to have an effect on the agenda setting process: the participants/actors who are active in setting the agenda

and the processes by which agenda items and alternatives come into prominence” (Kingdon, 2003, p. 15).

***Participants/actors in the agenda setting process.*** In general, the principal actors in policy formation are the legitimate, or formal, policy makers: people who occupy positions in the governmental arena that entitle them to authoritatively assign priorities and commit resources (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980). Effective action within each stakeholder’s role requires knowledge, understanding, and awareness of the policy environment. Policies create an environment of exchange relationships between the players and the actors (Meltsner & Bellavita, 1983). At a minimum, the actors in the executive branch, including the President of the United States, Congress, and bureaucrats, are expected to set the general boundaries in which the creation and implementation of a policy will occur (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980). Various forces outside of the government, including the media, interest groups, political parties and the general public, also have a stake in policy-making process.

**Political stream.** Within the political stream the government agenda, the list of issues or problems to be resolved is formed. For the purposes of this study, political is defined as the political motivations and the efforts needed to obtain support of important interest group leaders. The Great Depression had devastated the nation. In his acceptance speech for the Democratic nomination for president, Franklin Roosevelt promised a New Deal for the people of the United States:

“Throughout the nation, men and women, forgotten in the political philosophy of the Government, look to us here for guidance and for more equitable opportunity to share in the distribution of national wealth...I pledge myself to a

new deal for the American people. This is more than a political campaign. It is a call to arms” (Title of Article, July 1932).

***Major forces affecting the political stream.***

Public policy could treat political motivations and the efforts needed to obtain support as something outside of the policymaking process. However, without knowing why there are shifts in attitudes and motivations we would be missing on very important stream. (See Table 4.8)

*National mood.* In January of 1933, 15 million people were unemployed. Many had lost not only their jobs, but their savings and homes and were dependent on relief money from the government to survive. Businesses and banks had closed, and production and sales of goods and services had been severely reduced. Most federal relief efforts had been mired for some time in a quagmire of political and legislative wrangling. Little aid or direction had actually reached the state level. The widespread unemployment kept even more children in school. A federal law was finally passed that banned child labor, and all states required school attendance, at least until age sixteen. (Place). Political and business leaders feared revolution and anarchy.

*Organized interests.* During 1932 and 1933, a growing number of teachers who were not employed applied for relief after their resources had become exhausted. Shortly after the FERA was initiated, something was attempted to assist that group of needy teachers. Obviously, it was hardly enough to give them direct relief. With thousands of teachers out of work, there were, at the same time, hundreds of thousands of men and women in need of educational facilities. It was

decided to put the unemployed teachers to work teaching those unemployed who wanted instruction (Hopkins PhD., 2011). In the early 1930's, nearly 100,000 students returned to their alma mater high schools for post-graduate training (Reese, 2005). Another alternative was Arthurdale School was developed as part of President Roosevelt's National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, which set up the first federal subsistent program (Stack, 1999).

*Changes in government: Expansion of federal power.* The rise of the Progressive Era in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century produced a significant and lasting shift in federalism. Cooperative federalism involved the notion of shared policy goals at all levels of government (Simon, Public Policy: Preference and Outcomes, 2010). The American political environment changed rapidly in the mid to late 1930's. During the 1932 elections, the people of the United States voted into office a Democratic President and Congress. The executive administration and the Congress created a series of new political institutions designed to manage the economy in light of the Depression (Sinyai, 2006). (See Table 4.4) Cooperative federalism characterized much of the New Deal programming. The New Deal programs also advanced the health and welfare needs of citizens and promoted economic and social development. Despite the growing presence of national government, state and local governments retained significant responsibility in crafting public policy. Cooperative federalism promoted a shared mission but did not create uniformity (Simon, Public Policy: Preference and Outcomes, 2010).

*Visible cluster of policy actors.* Eleanor Roosevelt built a creative and productive political marriage. Although Eleanor Roosevelt always understated the

impact she had on the process, she had quickly realized the leverage gained from easy access to the seat of power and she cleared the path for colleagues who had issues to discuss and candidates to promote (Scharf, 1987). Never before had a potential first lady appeared on the national scene with comparable expertise and independent political base (Scharf, 1987). Ultimately, Eleanor Roosevelt exerted great influence on both the Democratic Party and on America's attitude toward liberal reform (Black C. , 2003).

Louis Howe was often credited with successfully steering Franklin Delano Roosevelt into politics especially after he succumbed to polio (Levin, 2008). Howe was President Roosevelt's coach, mentor, and confidant (Adams, 1977). According to James Roosevelt (1976), Louis Howe was probably the greatest influence in both the President's and the First Lady's lives. Howe didn't pull any punches with Roosevelt, and Roosevelt paid him the same compliment (Fenster, 2009).

As the head of a group of policy advisers and speechwriters known as the Brain Trust, Raymond Moley was essential to Roosevelt in translating his ideas into action; however, by 1936, the New Deal had swept beyond what Moley regarded as prudent limits and he became outspoken in opposition (Moley, 1966).

Harold Ickes, the Interior Secretary, "thought no better investment could be made than the money paid out to provide education and skills to those needing them as well as safeguarding the health of the people. Ickes believed that sound, well-trained minds and bodies would add more to the actual prosperity of the United States than monetary handouts" (White & Maze, 1985, p. 232).



Francis C. Perkins earned a master's degree in social economics from Columbia University. She was appointed as the Labor Secretary by President Roosevelt in 1933. During her time as Labor Secretary she effectively pushed for Social Security, for minimum wage, maximum workweeks, and limits on the employment of children under sixteen.

Harry Hopkins was considered one of President Roosevelt's closest advisors. He was a man of action rather than of ideas, a mixture of cynicism and idealism of pragmatism and sentiment (Adams, 1977). Hopkins graduated from Grinnell College and began his career working for charitable organizations in New York City. Harry was the former president and executive director of the New York State Temporary Emergency Relief Administration; Chief Architect and Chief Officer of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration; and director of the Civil Works Administration, the Federal Surplus Relief Administration, and the Works Progress Administration. At all times, Hopkins favored opportunities to produce jobs rather than provide direct financial relief (Brands, 2008). Hopkins wanted projects that could start immediately and would take men off of relief as soon as possible (White & Maze, 1985). Hopkins came to be regarded as the Chief Apostle of the New Deal and the one most cordially hated by its enemies (Historynet.com, 2011).

Steven Early was the first press secretary, and he and Roosevelt launched a breathtaking reorganization of the methods used by the federal government to communicate with the public. Early and Roosevelt used press conferences in ways no previous Presidents had. Roosevelt held two press conferences per week and all accredited journalists were welcome. Early conducted press conferences daily and

expanded press offices into federal agencies to act as spokesmen for the New Deal. Newspapers began quoting him on a regular basis. He established Roosevelt's fireside chats, and he ensured that Roosevelt appeared regularly on the movie screens of America. Early became the principal link of communication between the White House and the public (Levin, 2008). Harold Ickes stated, "I do not believe that President Roosevelt ever had anyone on his staff with such sound judgment as to how the country would feel about some particular act or expression" (Levin, 2008). James Roosevelt called Early and his father "pals" and he said, Early, once in the White House, became part of the inner-circle, high level discussions" (Roosevelt, 1976).

Other important advisors included Napoleon Hill, Paul M. O'Leary, George Peek, Charles William Taussig, Robert F. Wagner, and F. Palmer Weber.

**Policy stream.** Within the policy stream, proposals, alternatives, and solutions float about, are discussed, are revised, and are discussed again (See Table 4.9). The policy window is an opportunity for advocates of proposals to push their pet solutions or to push attention to their special projects (Kingdon J. W., *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies*, 2003, p. 165). Major forces affecting the policy stream are not political, but instead intellectual and personal.

**Ideas.** FERA granted money to each state so that it could choose to develop or emphasize any or all of the following, depending on local conditions: general adult education, literary classes for adults, vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, and nursery schools for pre-school children from underprivileged homes (Lindley & Lindley, 1938). Another part of the emergency education program was the college

student aid program. It provided part-time employment for those college students who would otherwise have been unable to continue their education. The projects for the students were planned and supervised in large part by the college authorities (Lindley & Lindley, 1938).

***Policy entrepreneurs.*** People who are trying to advocate change are like surfers waiting for the big wave. They get out where they need to be in the ocean. Once there they need to be ready to go. They need to be ready to paddle. If they are not ready, they will not be able to ride the wave into the beach (Kingdon J. W., *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies*, 2003). Policy entrepreneurs are advocates who are willing to invest their resources, time, energy, reputation, and money to promote a position in return for anticipated future gains in the form of material, purposive or solidary benefits. A policy entrepreneur has to have claim to the hearing, has to be known for his political connections, and be persistent. Policy entrepreneurs included William Randolph Hearst, Joseph P. Kennedy, Sr., William Gibbs McAdoo, Laura Spellman Rockefeller, and John Dewey as important outside policy entrepreneurs during the Roosevelt years. However when dealing with the youth problem Mrs. Roosevelt, Harry L. Hopkins, FERA Administrator, Harold Ickes, and Charles Taussig, President of the American Molasses Company were the main entrepreneurs. As the magnitude and long-term social hazards of the idle youth problem became more apparent in 1933-1934, these people urged the President to allow the Federal Government to try and deal with the problem in a more comprehensive manner than the CCC had (Lindley & Lindley, 1938, p. 13).

## **Coupling of Streams/Convergence**

The separate streams of problems, politics, and policies come together at certain critical times. (See Table 4.6) Solutions become joined to problems, and both of them are joined to favorable political forces. This coupling is most likely when a policy window - an opportunity to push pet proposals or one's conceptions of problems - is open (Kingdon, 2003). Windows open when there is a shift in the national mood, usually indicated by transformative elections, or new popular perceptions. If a window opens and results in a restructuring of the governmental agenda, it could be solely the result of occurrences in either the problem stream or the political stream. Decision agenda, however, requires the merging of all three streams. In this case, the role of the policy entrepreneur is critical. "The rapid expansion of government programs that occurred during Roosevelt's term, especially the first 100 days, redefined the role of the government in the United States, and Roosevelt's advocacy of government social programs was instrumental in redefining liberalism for coming generations" (Schlesinger, 1962). Roosevelt's point was plain:

government counts, and in the right hands, it can be made to work.

Strong federal action, not just private voluntary efforts and the invisible hand of the marketplace was required to help those stricken in an emergency. The American people expected and deserved leadership in addressing their hardships, not just from state and local authorities, but also from the White House (Alter, 2006, p. 299).

During Roosevelt's time in office there were two distinctive periods

when coupling of streams occurred. The first coupling of the streams occurred during the first one hundred days of Roosevelt's first term in office. The second occurred during the 1935 session of Congress.

### **Acceptance/Adoption**

Within each stream consequences happen. According to Schlesinger (2000), a theory of regional organization was linked to Roosevelt's New Deal. The organization consisted of a series of programs that attempted to carry out political, business, and social reform. The result of Roosevelt's efforts was a new social contract that informally bound his successors to confront major domestic and international problems rather than leave them entirely to the marketplace or other nations. Roosevelt was a person open to social improvement through change. "As a person open to social improvement he felt that one of his greatest obligations remained to the less fortunate, an idea that cleaves American politics to this day" (Alter, 2006, p. 332) President Roosevelt created the National Youth Administration by executive order No. 7086 on June 26, 1935, as a division of the Works Progress Administration (U.S. Government, 1937, p. 1). The National Youth Act involved youth who were less fortunate. Through the NYA programs work and education were merged. The NYA had four objectives:

1. To provide funds for the part-time employment of needy work projects of needy school, college, and graduate students between 16 and 25 years of age so that they can continue their education.
2. To provide funds for the part-time employment on work projects of young persons, chiefly from relief families, between 18 and 25 years of age-the

projects being designed not only to give these young people valuable work experience, but to benefit youth generally and the communities in which they live.

3. To encourage the establishment of job training, counseling, and placement of services for youth.

4. To encourage the development and extension of constructive leisure-time activities (U.S. Government, 1937, p. 1).

Funds appropriated through the Emergency Relief Act of 1935 for the NYA amounted to \$43,806,268. Education was not only a relief effort but also an important tool to maintain democracy (Affiliated Schools for Workers, October 1933).

## **Conclusion**

The American political environment changed rapidly in the mid to late 1930's. The members of Congress created a series of new institutions managed by the government that were designed to help the economy in light of the Depression (Sinyai, 2006). The original purpose of the New Deal's CCC and NYA programs was to put unemployed youth to work, but it only reached a fraction of those who were in need. By 1943 when the NYA was cut from the budget nearly 5 million youth had received jobs that allowed for the continuation of their education either in school or on the job training that otherwise would not have had such an opportunity. "The goal was to return young people to schools, either high school or college to better prepare them for socially constructive lives" (Rauch, 1963, p. 169). Although the connection was indirect NYA was the first national agency to possess the federalized funding that would be used for future student aid programs. In all cases

work experience was used rather than direct relief payment was used to assist in providing self-reliant skills to the young people. The sudden demand for labor and troops in World War II seemed to end the youth problem by eliminating the considerable gap between school completion and work. With the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the United States officially entered World War II and called a halt to both the CCC and NYA. Even though the programs served limited numbers, they would serve as a model for national service programs used in later eras such as the Peace Corps, Ameri Corps, and Vista. They would leave a lasting change in the American landscape and the American people (Hiltzik, 2011).

A survey of the major education bills and legislation of the time period also uncovered another apparent tendency in federal education policymaking: that general aid bills inevitably failed to become law. This finding is particularly important when considering the political feasibility of national education standards in the future.

## CHAPTER FIVE

1963 – 1968

### JOHNSON ERA OF EDUCATION POLICY

Chapter four reviewed the education policy and politics of President Franklin D. Roosevelt during his years in office. Three beliefs of the President and American citizens were revealed: first, the American way of thinking about politics and government held that citizens should be sufficiently educated to play a thoughtful role in public affairs; second, presidents and Congress crafted little policy to see that citizens are sufficiently educated; and third, federal education politics and policy making had been minimal and any suggestion of an increased role had been generally feared and fought.

Chapter five continues the study that is focusing on the development of education policy through three eras of time. The primary focus of the research was the executive branch of the federal government. The actors and actions were studied in relation to the development and implementation of education policies on the federal level. At the policymaking end of the continuum, from 1963 to 1968, was the President of the United States, Lynden Baines Johnson. It is not the intention of the researcher to imply that any of the actors were more or less important to education policy development; however, the historical background is important to understanding the context in which the education policies are developed.

In this chapter, the story of Lynden Baines Johnson and other important actors of his era are told. In chapter IV, the story of Franklin D. Roosevelt was told,



and in chapter VI, the story of George W. Bush will be told. Interpretations, comparisons, and conclusions will be presented in Chapter VII.

This chapter is organized into five sections. Each section follows the Organized Anarchy Model of Public Policymaking and Implementation (See Table 4.1). The first section discusses the agenda and a brief history behind the agenda of Lyndon Baines Johnson during the years of 1963-1968. The second section contains the agenda setting process. This section describes the narrowing of a set of conceivable subjects to the set that actually becomes the focus of attention. The third section follows the three streams of policymaking: the problem stream, the political stream, and the policy stream (Kingdon, 2003). This section will describe the actors, activities, and policies developed within the three streams during the five years President Johnson was in office. Within the fourth section, the coupling of streams is discussed. Finally, section five will describe the acceptance/adoption phase of the Organized Anarchy Model.

This chapter is not intended to be a summary of the history of education. Rather, it presents the context, actors, and their actions in relation to one aspect of education policy, the expansion of federal control over education. Figure 4.2 illustrates the portion of the Policy-into-Practice Continuum discussed in this chapter. Figure 4.3 is an organizational chart of the policymakers who were involved in making policies during this era of time.

### **Agenda**

The term the agenda can take on several meanings for example the agenda for a meeting. For this paper agenda will be interpreted as “subjects or problems to

which government officials, and people outside of government closely associated with those officials are paying attention to at any given time” (Kingdon J. W., *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies*, 2003, p. 3)

The 1960’s resound in the memories of many Americans as do few other eras of time. It was a time when events went into overdrive and the postwar social trajectory was deflected off line. Life blueprints were rejected: people struck out on new courses. They resounded with harsh voices that were demanding, raging, denouncing, promising, accusing, and cajoling (Unger & Unger, 1998). Five events defined and changed the political climate for the United States during the 1960’s. They were the baby boom (1946-1961), the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War, the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, and the advent of the Great Society. Each of these events cast long shadows over politics and politicians alike for years to come; however, the source of these shadows began years before. By the end of the 1940’s, rural areas, the South, and some declining northern industrial cities were dealing with intense poverty issues with no immediate relief in sight. During the 1950’s, vast social changes had begun to transform American life. Concerns about racial integration, federal authority, and the contrasting fate of city and suburb took center stage in public policy. The affluence of the Fifties and early years of the Sixties made possible the 1960’s as we know it today. Only the wealth generated by a surging economy could have sustained the politics, the lifestyles, the tastes, and the opinions of Americans in the 60’s (Unger & Unger, 1998).

**The baby boom.** Young men and women returning home following tours of duty overseas during World War II began to start families. Between 1946 and 1964,

the stork delivered approximately seventy-six million babies in America (Caplow, Hicks, & Wattenberg, 2001). The boom in population created the largest contingent of young Americans in our history (Unger & Unger, 1998). In 1964, boomers represented about 40% of the population. In other words, in 1964, more than one-third of the population was under 19 years old. Their sheer numbers gave the sixties baby boomers cohort significance, and it was difficult to ignore the views and desires of such a large group of the nation's active population (Rosenberg, 2009).

**The assassination of John F. Kennedy.** The assassination of President John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963, shocked the nation. Most Americans living at that time can remember where they were and what they were doing when they heard the news of President Kennedy's death. Simultaneously, the nation grieved and witnessed firsthand the strength and stability of its constitutional system in the immediate transfer of the office of the Presidency to Lyndon B. Johnson (Carney & Way Jr., 1994). In speaking to Congress five days after the assassination, President Johnson made it clear that he would pursue the slain President's legislative agenda. Johnson stated that, "No memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill for which he fought so long" (Goodwin Kearns, 1976, p. 174). Kennedy had proposed a law that would have outlawed discrimination in public accommodations, but it never got to the floor of either the House or Senate during his time in office.

**Civil Rights Movement.** President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which banned discrimination on the basis of race in all federally funded

programs, including schools (Mondale & Patton, 2001, p. 46). The writers of the Civil Rights Act wanted to ensure implementation of the act. By following the guidelines of the carrot and stick metaphor, they crafted a strategy to be use to get the results they wanted. The Civil Rights Act said, among other things, that states and school districts could lose their federal funding if they refused to desegregate their schools. The Civil Rights Act and the threat of losing federal funds was the stick. The carrot was the significant increase in federal funds that came in the form of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) (Mondale & Patton, 2001, p. 147).

**The Vietnam War.** The commitments made by President Eisenhower and President Kennedy to assist South Vietnam defend itself against the efforts of the Communist North were the actual beginnings of America's involvement in Vietnam; however, it was President Johnson who changed the course of the war by sending American forces to fight. The original mission had been to only advise the South Vietnamese, but when the war was being lost, the only hope of turning the tide, said his secretary of defense, secretary of state, national security advisor, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was to commit combat troops to the cause. Secretary of State Dean Rusk stated that, "The integrity of the U.S. commitment is the principal pillar of peace throughout the world and if that commitment becomes unreliable, the communist world would draw conclusions that would lead to our ruin and almost certainly to a catastrophic war" (Zeiler, 2000, p. 125; Middleton, 2008, para. 32). When looking back on his original decision to back the war, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamera stated, "I cannot overstate the impact our generation's experiences had on all of us. We had lived through the years of war that resulted

from the western powers not stopping the advance of Hitler when there still was time” (Middleton, 2008, para. 33).

**The Great Society.** In the spring of 1964, only four months after he became president, Lyndon Johnson spoke at the University of Michigan (Grinspan, 1995). Using carefully chosen words he sketched the outline for a program intended to go beyond the Kennedy legacy. President Johnson outlined his *Great Society* agenda and in particular, his *War on Poverty* programs. The climate that made it possible for a President to adopt such large ambitions and to succeed in enacting so many of his proposals was the product of converging circumstances. “The shock of Kennedy’s death, the Civil Rights Movement, an emerging awareness of the extent and existence of poverty, and a reduction of threatening tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union, along with the rising tendency to use education to right societal problems all helped Americans to focus public attention and perceptions on the problems of their own country” (Goodwin Kearns, 1976, p. 33). President Johnson’s Great Society was to include something for everyone: educational assistance for youth, civil rights for the oppressed, vocational training for unskilled, high minimum wage for the laborer, subsidies for farmers, tax relief for business, Medicare for the elderly, reduced quotas for the immigrants, and more (Goodwin Kearns, 1976).

Early in his presidency, it became clear that education would be the focal point of President Johnson’s War on Poverty. Johnson’s rhetoric revealed his understanding of the issues facing education and educators alike. As a former teacher in rural Texas, he had witnessed poverty’s impact on the students he taught.

In 1931, President Johnson had taught at a public school that served the impoverished children of Mexican American laborers (Mondale & Patton, 2001). Johnson believed that an equal chance at education meant an equal chance at life and was vital to a child's ability to lead a productive life. While in office, he created a wide-ranging series of federal programs, from Head Start to low-cost college loans, to help disadvantaged students.

The impressive growth of the school system during the 1940's and 1950's did not lead to a uniformly satisfied public. Many citizens understandably took pride in the sheer expansion of school enrollments, curricular offerings and social services, but criticism abounded. A few critics realized that the schools reflected society, not the other way around, and doubted their ability to ameliorate difficult economic, racial, and social problems they had not created (Reese, 2005). In a speech given to Congress in 1961, President Kennedy stated, "Our progress as a nation can be no swifter than our progress in education. Our requirements for world leadership, our hopes for economic growth, and the demands of citizenship itself in an era such as this all require the maximum development of every young American's capacity" (87<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> session, Special Message of the President to the Congress on Education, February 20, 1961). Until then, American education had been a highly diffused enterprise. The role of the federal government, in particular, had been minimal and any suggested increase in that role had been generally feared and fought (Bailey & Mosher, 1968). Race, religion, and fear of federal control were the stumbling blocks that had combined to defeat large-scale federal aid to elementary and secondary education (Brademas, 1987). Before President Johnson came into

office, the federal government's share of educational spending amounted to about 1%, mostly earmarked for vocational programs (Reese, 2005). Presidential support was, at times, nominally present, but it had never been sufficiently intensive or effective until President Johnson made education the top priority of his Great Society (Brademas, 1987). Even as late as 1964, likelihood of prospects for large-scale school federal aid for general education was next to impossible (Bediner, 1964).

Robert Bediner described it appropriately by saying:

From all that has gone before, it can be said that the spontaneous arrangement of circumstances is possible—but only in the same way that it is possible for pigments thrown at a canvas to shape themselves into *The Last Supper*. That is, it may happen, but it is not a good bet, and to have to count on it for the success of legislation approaches the preposterous. (1964)

On April 9, 1965, Congress enacted the Elementary and Secondary School Act (ESEA) (P.L.89-10), the most expansive federal education bill ever passed as part of the President Johnson's War on Poverty. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 was a turning point in the history of federal Policy. At the time, it was the largest federal aid to education program ever passed by Congress, changing the role of the federal government in education (Kosar, 2003).

### **Agenda Setting Process**

The agenda setting Process “narrows the conceivable subjects to the set that actually becomes the focus of attention allowing participants to see and understand why the agenda is composed and select a particular course of action” (Kingdon, 2003, p. 3). This process is the first step in the policy process. Before an issue can

be acted upon, it must become a recognized part of the policy agenda (Simon, Public policy: Preference and outcomes, 2010). According to Cobb and Elder (1972), agenda setting may involve the transfer of items from non-governmental systemic agenda to a governmental formal agenda. This suggests that decisions about national interest are the result of a political process in which a country's leaders ultimately arrive at a decision about the importance of a given internal event or crisis in relation to the country's well-being, in other words, basic national interests (Nuechterlein, 1978). The way that the government deals with internal issues is referred to as public interest or domestic policy. Basic public interests can be described as defense interests, economic interests, world order interests, and ideological interests (Nuechterlein, 1978). Education policy falls under all four categories of interests, making the role of education in the agenda setting process a reactive process.

**Reactive process to education.** The garbage can theory argues that, desirable or not, the agenda setting process is reactive (Kingdon, 2003). By the 1950's, vast social changes had begun to transform American life, forming the backdrop to rising educational demands, and thereby causing the need for a reaction from the federal government. Between 1946 and 1964, the stork delivered seventy-six million babies in America (Caplow, Hicks, & Wattenberg, 2001). The baby boom caused an educational crisis - not enough elementary schools, not enough qualified teachers, and low standards - was constantly in the news, locally and nationally (Reese, 2005). Most Americans agreed with the media that public



schools were in crisis, beset by overcrowded classrooms, underpaid teachers, bad teaching, and a soaring dropout rate (Unger & Unger, 1998).

The post-war phenomenon of rising expectations and demand for educational improvement came from two broad sources: the white middle class and the champions of the civil rights movement. Both were responding to dramatic economic and political changes that were altering American society. By the 1950's, many people believed that the schools' role in the economy had increased, and their beliefs would only continue to escalate (Reese, 2005). White middle-class citizens were becoming more ensconced in relatively affluent suburbs. Going to college was now the indisputable road to the expanding world of white-collar work. The middle class feared that public schools had lowered their standards, thereby hurting their child's chance at an affluent professional future. At the same time schools, especially secondary, were getting lower and lower grades from the public. No governmental agency, especially local school boards, could ignore the anxieties or demands of predominately white parents of future collegians, given the power over the public purse and the importance of public opinion (Reese, 2005). Representing other social and racial interests, the civil rights movement also contributed to the phenomenon of rising expectations and the need for more effective schools. These activists worried less about academically weak secondary schools or about who went to college, but were more concerned about whether schools could fulfill their democratic promise and include those who historically had been excluded from the system (Reese, 2005). The great challenge in postwar America was how to satisfy the middle and lower classes by simultaneously addressing the education problems

of equality and quality (The inequality Within the Agenda Setting Process Pg. 84).

This forced politicians to react to the issues and create new policies.

**Categories affecting policy formation.** “The agenda setting process raises two questions. First, why do changes occur in the agenda setting process? The second is why some issues are more prominent than others. The answer to these questions lies within two categories. The “two categories of factors to have an effect on the agenda setting process: the participants/actors who are active in setting the agenda and the processes by which agenda items and alternatives come into prominence” (Kingdon, 2003, p. 15).

***Participants/actors in the agenda setting process.*** In general, the principal actors in policy formation are the legitimate, or formal, policy makers: people who occupy positions in the governmental arena that entitle them to authoritatively assign priorities and commit resources (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980). Effective action within each stakeholder’s role requires knowledge, understanding, and awareness of the policy environment. Policies create an environment of exchange relationships between the players and the actors (Meltsner & Bellavita, 1983). At a minimum, the actors in the executive branch, including the President of the United States, Congress, and bureaucrats, are expected to set the general boundaries in which the creation and implementation of a policy will occur (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980). Various forces outside of the government, including the media, interest groups, political parties and the general public, also have a stake in policy-making process.

***The President of the United States.*** The president’s role in the policy-making process is complicated. First, the President’s agenda is often national in scope,

whereas legislators are interested in local benefit (Simon, Public policy: Preference and outcomes, 2010). Special circumstances, in this case the assassination of President Kennedy, produced a blend of interested needs, convictions and alliances powerful enough to go beyond the normal pattern of slow, incremental change, but only a few could transform the opportunity these circumstances provided into achievement. President Johnson's presence in all areas of government had not been seen since Roosevelt was in office. The accurate perception of Johnson was that he was a gargantuan manipulator and tireless practitioner of political skills (Goodwin Kearns, 1976). Johnson attained power by being an apprentice to those who had power and he learned how to use his power effectively (Caro, 1982; Caro, 2002; Goodwin, 19976).

Lyndon Baines Johnson was a son of the Texas hill country (Unger & Unger, 1999, p. 1). Acknowledging his origins, Johnson once referred to himself as a cross between Baptist preacher and a cowboy (Dugger, 1982). Although Lyndon Johnson lived in Washington more than half of his adult life, he was deeply attached to his place of birth (Sidey, 1968). In almost every action that Johnson took as President, there was a strand which could be clearly followed back to his home in Texas (Unger & Unger, 1999, p. 2).

Once he took office as the President of the United States, he considered himself a leader of all people (Goodwin, 1976; Johnson, 1971). He wanted action and set his priorities on civil rights and education, which promoted complex and mixed feelings among the public (Goodwin, 1976; Unger & Unger 1999), but which

covered the four basic national interest categories: defense, economic, world order, and ideological interests.

*Congress.* Congress plays a significant role in education policy, particularly through its lawmaking and budget functions (Simon, 2010). Legislatures also tend to be interested in the ideological maintenance. Congressmen themselves hold their own attitudes on questions of public policy, and that these attitudes affect their votes (Kingdon, 2003). According to Rein and Rabovitz (1978), the political and ideological landscape had been changing since at least the 1958 congressional elections (Carmines & Stimson, 1989). The conservative members of Congress who opposed federal aid to schools were losing their power to veto these proposals. Federal aid advocates engineered this switch by placating the same groups of potential opponents, or swing voters, that hard line opponents had manipulated during past episodes. Between 1946 and 1965, education bills were introduced to Congress by three different Presidents. Few received consideration in Congress, but with the introduction of each new education bill the door was opened a little wider for federal aid for education. The liberal position was strengthened by gains in the 1964 election, which added more legislators to Congress who favored federal involvement in education.

During the 1964 campaign, Lyndon B. Johnson vigorously campaigned for education, and consistently tied the improvement of education to the goal of creating a Great Society (Jeffrey, 1978). He saw his opportunity with the new 89<sup>th</sup> Congress, which had more than twice as many Democrats as Republicans in both Chambers. The Democrats had their largest margins (295 to 140, and 68 to 32) since 1937 (see

Table 5.1) (Congressional Quarterly, 1965). The bureaucrats during the Roosevelt administration tended to follow the rational bureaucratic imperative approach to their jobs: when advancing ideas for policy, they tended to follow a course of action they felt was morally correct, administratively feasible and intellectually defensible course of action (Simon, 2010). Fear of federal control continued to impact decisions; however, by 1964, Congress had been liberalized. Congressional fear of federal control was assuaged by the 1964 Presidential election of Johnson and the resulting democratic majorities that were swept into the House and Senate as a coattail effect of his landslide victory (Cater, D., 1969). According to U.S. Senator James Guthrie from Kentucky,

President Johnson's overwhelming 1964 election victory provided him with an awesome reservoir from which to infer popular support for his legislative proposals. As a result, the President was also able to invoke remarkable cohesion and support among democrats especially non-southern Democrats for ESEA 1965 (Cater, D., 1969).

In 1961, the House Education and Labor Committee had nineteen democrats and twelve republicans; in 1965 it had twenty-one democrats and ten republicans. The twenty-one democrats included the five just-elected democrats who had campaigned for increased federal aid to education: William Ford (MI), Patsy T. Mink (HI), William Hathaway (ME), James Scheuer (NY), and Lloyd Meeds (WA). (Eidenberg & Morey, 1969).

The Rules Committee saw no partisan shift; however, early in the session, Congress, egged on by the new, more liberal democrats adopted a rule that

empowered the Speaker to bypass the Rules Committee on bills reported out of legislative committee for three weeks or more (Bailey & Mosher, 1968). President Johnson, ever the politician, saw his chance. Speaking to his top advisors, he said,

Look, we've got to do this in a hurry. We got in with this majority of 16 million votes in the Congress. It doesn't make any difference what we do. We're going to lose them at a rate of a million a month, and under those circumstances, get your hearings going. [Commissioner of Education Francis] Keppel, when are you starting yours? (Graham, 1984).

President Johnson's bill was introduced to both houses of Congress on January 12, 1965. Johnson himself delivered an education message to Congress that same day. He justified the bill using moral reasoning and national interest, saying,

While American education had its merits it also possessed a darker side. Beyond the soaring enrollments that are swelling the public schools, one student out of every three now in the fifth grade will drop out before finishing high school-if the present rate continues. Almost a million young people with and eighth grade education or less is four times the national average" (Lyndon B. Johnson, "Message to Congress, January 12, 1965).

He added,

Every child must be encouraged to get as much education as he has the ability to take. We want this not only for his sake, but for the nation's sake. Nothing matters more to the future of our country: not our military preparedness—for armed might is worthless if we lack the brain power to build a world of peace; not our productive economy – for we cannot sustain

growth without trained manpower, not our democratic system of government-  
for freedom if citizens are ignorant. (Lyndon B. Johnson, "Message to  
Congress, January 12, 1965)

Congress responded favorably. The House held ten hearing sessions on the bill in twelve days, even meeting in the evening and on Saturday (Bailey & Mosher, 1968). Subcommittees and committees in both houses sought to pass the bill without amendment to avoid the peril of a conference committee (Jeffrey, 1970).

### *Organized Interest groups*

*The military.* In addition to the poor conditions of the public schools, the public became aware that the armed services had rejected more than a quarter of all draftees in 1964 because they were unable to read or write at an eighth-grade level (Zeiler, 2000).

*Citizens.* By the 1950's, dramatic economic and political changes had altered American society and were the impetus for a demand for educational improvement, particularly from both the white, middle class and champions of the civil rights movement. Many people believed education played an important role in the economy and would continue becoming increasingly important as going to college was now the indisputable road to the expanding world of white-collar work. Schools, especially secondary, were getting lower and lower grades from the public, and the middle class feared that public schools had lowered their standards, thereby hurting their child's chance at an affluent professional future. No governmental agency, especially local school boards could ignore the anxieties or demands of largely white parents of future collegians, given the power over the public purse and importance to

public opinion (Reese, 2005). The civil rights activists believed that schools must fulfill their democratic promise and include those who historically had been excluded from the system (Reese, 2005).

**Processes.** A policy is a course of action that could become a law, a regulation, a project, or other public decision. Knowledge of the impacts of a policy can lead policymakers to take or change a position on a policy, or to work to amend the policy. Thus understanding the effects intended and unintended consequences of a proposed policy can affect what the policy will be whether the policy is adopted, and how effective it will be (Loomis, 2001).

When President Johnson first began talking about the Great Society in 1964, he was trying to distinguish his own administration from that of his predecessor (Grinspan, 1995, p. 7). The intended consequence of the Great Society was to declare war on poverty. “Before I am through,” Johnson stated, “no community in America will be able to ever again to ignore poverty in its midst” (Middleton, 2008, para. 8). The unintended consequence was the creation of more laws and regulations governing education services.

**Diffusion of ideas.** In *The Diffusion of Innovations among the American States*, Jack Walker (1969) states that issues may reach the agenda through diffusion of ideas in professional circles and among policy elites, particularly bureaucrats. In 1964 and 1965, legislative policy formulations for education began in the executive office of the President (Cronin, February 1969; Thomas, 1975). Broadly speaking, President Johnson used the resources of his White House staff; the Bureau of the Budget; an ad hoc legislative task force; and the resources of the



Department of Health, Education, and Welfare/Office of Education to establish priorities and set policy agenda for the Elementary and Secondary School Act (Cannon, 1991; Cater, C., 1991).

The education policy President Johnson wanted to push forward had familiar political problems facing it. Johnson and his advisers knew that there would be no federal aid to education bill if the issues of granting aid to segregated school systems, fear of government control of the schools, and the issue of church and state were not taken into account. The key, the task force realized, was to focus on the child and not the institution (Woods, 2006). The Elementary and Secondary School Act originally had three options. The first was to provide general aid to public schools, but it was argued that this could generate a negative reaction from Catholic schools. The second was to provide general aid to both public and private schools, but this, besides constitutional obstacles, would create a negative reaction from the National Education Association (NEA) and large sectors of the Democratic Party who objected to federal aid to religious schools. The third option was to withdraw the idea of general aid and focus on providing educational aid to poor children.

It is perceived by the general public that policy makers are motivated by political ideology and the needs of the people when developing new policies. If this perception is distorted, as was the case at the onset of the sixties, a disconnect between the policy-making actors and the clients will occur. To change the attitudes of the clients toward a new policy requires a powerful propaganda campaign (Levin, 2008). President Johnson, like President Roosevelt, was a master communicator

and his legacy was an avalanche of legislation. During an interview in 1968 President Johnson stated,

The trick was to crack the wall of separation enough to give the Congress a feeling of participation in creating my bills while exposing my plans at the same time to advance congressional opposition before they even saw the light of day. My experience in the National Youth Administration, NYA, taught me that when people have a hand in shaping projects, the projects are more likely to be successful than the ones simply handed down from the top. As Majority Leader in the Senate I learned that the best guarantee to legislature success was a process by which the wishes and views of the members are obtained ahead of time and whenever possible, incorporated into the early drafts of the bill (Goodwin Kearns, 1976, p. 222).

**Conflicts of interest.** The bill did face criticism. Representatives from Baptist, Lutheran, and liberal Jewish groups complained that the bill improperly mingled church and state. Organizations advocating strict separation between church and state, such as the ACLU and the National Association for Personal Rights in Education, testified similarly (Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, week ending February 5, 1965, p. 174). A few witnesses and congressmen complained that the bill was a federal power grab (Bailey & Mosher, 1968). The only major controversy the bill encountered in Congress involved the formula for providing Title I aid. (Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 1965. Vol. 21, p. 275; Graham, 1984).

## **Processes (Streams)**

The more that case studies and the place of various actors in processes of policy formation are examined, the more one concludes that attempting to pinpoint a single origin is futile. Instead, a complex combination of factors is generally responsible for the movement of a given item into agenda prominence (Kingdon, 2003); therefore, basic to the model of organized anarchy is the presence of three streams of processes that “tease out the messiness, disjointedness, humanity, and luck of policymaking” (Henry, 2007, pp. 288). The streams are referred to as the problem stream, the political stream, and the policy stream. (See Table 4.6) These streams flow independently of one another until they converge to create a window of opportunity for the restructuring of either a governmental agenda or a decision agenda.

**The problem stream.** The problem stream involves focusing the public’s and policymaker’s attention on a particular social problem, defining the problem, and either applying a new public policy as a resolution of the problem or letting the problem fade from sight. (See Table 4.7) Many times problems come to the attention of governmental decision makers not through some sort of political pressure or perceptual sleight of hand, but because some more or less systematic indicator simply brings attention to the problem (Kingdon, 2003).

**Getting attention.** “Often problems come to the attention of governmental decision makers because an indicator shows that this is a problem because of routine monitoring of various activities over time” (Kingdon, 2003, p. 90). An examination of educational thought in the late forties and fifties shows that despite

continuing criticism of the American school system during these years, traditional expectations about the responsibilities and capabilities of education expanded. By the early 1960's, liberals, politicians, and educators all agreed that education could deal with newly recognized social problems as competently as they had dealt with other problems growing out of the early cold war (Jeffrey, 1970).

President Truman gave the first hints of the problems in the new role of American Education in June of 1948 by declaring that "if American people lacked adequate opportunities for education, they might well prove responsive to communism" (Truman, Public papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1948). With the outbreak of the Korean conflict in 1950, Truman linked education with the nation's technological strength (Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1951). Truman stated, from the standpoint of national security alone, as well as "the enlargement of opportunities for the individual, the Nation needs to see that every youth acquires fundamental education and training which are essential to effective service, whether in the Armed Forces, in industry, or on the farm" (Truman, Public paper of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman, 1951, p. 95).

With the launching of Sputnik in October 1957, Americans were provided dramatic proof for those who argued that the Russian schools, which combined quality education with mass education and which successfully inspired student to work to full potential, were more effective than American schools (Duncan, 2002). It was stated during the Science and Education in National Defense hearings held during January 1958, that America faced the stark reality that our national survival

depended on the success or failure of our educational institutions to provide the intellectual, the scientific, the diplomatic leaders sorely to solve complex problems at home and with our neighbors abroad (Hearings Before Committee on Labor and Public Relations).

By the 1960's, most Americans also agreed that the public schools were in crisis, beset by overcrowded classrooms, underpaid teachers, bad teaching, and a soaring dropout rate (Unger & Unger, 1999). In addition, the public became aware that the armed services had rejected more than a quarter of all draftees in 1964 because they were unable to read or write at an eighth-grade level.

***Indicators.*** The post-war years in the United States were marked by a series of demands upon the educational system that were unprecedented in scope and magnitude. Any one of the new demands would have produced disquiet and concern. Together, they constituted an explosive admixture (Bailey & Mosher, 1968).

***Baby boomers.*** Following the end of World War II, young men and women returned home and began families. Between 1946 and 1964, the stork delivered approximately seventy-six million babies in America (Caplow, Hicks, & Wattenberg, 2001). This boom in population created the largest contingent of young Americans in our history (Unger & Unger, 1999). In 1964, boomers represented about 40% of the population; more than a third of the population was under 19 years old. Their sheer numbers gave the sixties baby boomers cohort significance

***The knowledge explosion.***

As Americans and American education were experiencing growth in the public school system a postwar intellectual and technological explosion also

occurred. Breakthroughs in electronic communications increased the speed and ease of publishing and disseminating information to the people. Heightened mobility made possible through new modes of transportation allowed for the sharing of ideas throughout society. This movement allowed for the outpouring of research findings in social and behavioral sciences at home and abroad (Bailey S. , 1966) creating expectations for a better quality education for students.

### *Segregation.*

A major catalyst to educational ferment of the 1950's and early 1960's, and provided a source new demands on the educational system was the Supreme Court Case *Brown v. Board of Education Topeka, Kansas*<sup>1</sup>. In this historic decision, the Supreme Court overturning the *Plessey v. Ferguson*<sup>2</sup> (1896) ruling that separate but equal was permissible. The 1954 Supreme Court ruling held that "in the field of education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal (Brown v. Board of Topeka, Kansas, 1954).

*Poverty and cultural deprivation.* During the 1940's, rural areas, the south, and some declining northern industrial cities had the poorest schools with no immediate relief in sight. There was a wide division between suburban and city schools and a chasm separating African-American and white schools, especially in the Jim Crow South.

### *Parochial schools.*

Leading up to World War II issues of private schooling were essentially non-existent. The post-war inflation, population growth, and shortages of teachers

---

<sup>1</sup> Brown v. Board of Topeka, Kansas, 1954: Separate-But-Equal facilities are inherently unequal.

<sup>2</sup> Plessey v. Ferguson, 1896: Separate-But-Equal when races are provided substantially equal facilities, even though the facilities may be separate.

placed financial pressures on private education that had not been experienced previously (Bailey S. , 1966). “The schools sought assistance from public sources, especially for transportation and health services. The private school sector justified these services because they “benefitted the child not the school” (Bailey S. K., 1966, p. 10). The Supreme Court upheld the *Everson v. Board of Education of 1947*.<sup>3</sup> Creating the lead in that would be needed for ESEA of 1965.

### ***Feedback.***

Feedback comes to officials in the form of rather systematic monitoring. Complaints and casework lead to awareness of problems. Usually failure to meet stated goals. “The education debates of the 1940’s and 1950’s had created the framework that made it natural to turn to education for solutions as new social problems surfaced” (Jeffrey, 1970). Concern over public educations failure to meet the challenges of poor children was voiced by educators and civil rights leaders simultaneously. Both of these groups hoped that the urban school system could be the remedy to the problem. In the NEA 1962 publication *Education and the Disadvantaged American* the goal of education was to be “practicable and American” (Education Policies Commission, 1962, p. 9). The publication continued to state that “education was to provide all people with a fair chance to meet the challenges of life” (Education Policies Commission, 1962, p. 11). However, the commission did point out that “no institution could ensure equal opportunity but the school can have a profound influence in this direction” (Education Policies Commission, 1962, p. 37). It was felt if schools were to succeed in raising the

---

<sup>3</sup> *Everson v. Board of Education*, 1947: Marked a turning point in the interpretation and application of disestablishment law in the modern era.

academic levels of poor students to that of middle class students then the regular learning procedures used for the advantaged students should be used for all students. (Bloom, Davis, & and Hess, p. 1962).

Many leaders of the community, media, and education began to look at compensatory education for the poor. They felt that it was not going to be expensive. It did not disrupt social arrangements. In fact, few visualized that it would change the structure or climate of the school. "Compensatory educators claimed to offer a way to meet urban problems by overcoming the effects of the culture of poverty" (Jeffrey, 1970, p. 20) social generosity seemed the way to go. It entailed "a little distribution from rich to poor, a seamlessly painless act" (Unger & Unger, 1998, p. 13).

**Budget prioritization.** Beginning with Andrew Jackson, every American President that tried to use federal money for public schools had been unsuccessful for one of three reasons: racial segregation, local control of neighborhood schools, and the separation of church and state (Unger & Unger, 1999). As an example, the Kennedy administration had submitted a federal aid to education bill to Congress that provided funding to public but not private schools under a formula weighted to give disproportionate help to systems in the poorest states and in inner-city ghettos (Stein, 2004, p. 27). As a Catholic, Kennedy felt that he could not afford to champion aid to private institutions. In response, James Delaney, a Catholic congressman from New York, rallied parochial school supporters in the House and managed to block its passage (Woods, 2006).



President Johnson made federal aid to for education a fundamental issue in his 1964 campaign (Johnson, 1971). The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) was introduced into Congress in January 1965, and had a variety of goals ranging from revitalizing the country's educational system to providing textbooks for parochial school children, but the grandest and most explicit objective of the legislation was to bring education into the front ranks of the nationwide assault on poverty (Jeffrey, 1970). As Johnson carefully explained, there was good reason to give education a crucial role in the war on poverty. He often said,

A lack of jobs and money is not the cause of poverty, but the symptom. The cause may lie deeper - in our failure to give our fellow citizens a fair chance to develop their own capacities in a lack of education and training. With education instead of being condemned to poverty and idleness, young Americans can learn the skills to find a job and provide for a family (Jeffrey, 1970, p. 114).

ESEA was based on a rather simple formula. The federal government would provide each state funds in the amount of the number of children in the state from low-income families (less than \$2,000 per year), multiplied by 50 percent of the state's average expenditure per pupil (Woods, 2006). Title I provided funds to public institutions to help the children of low-income families, but services in these institutions would be available to public and parochial schools alike (Woods, 2003).

In turning to the schools to help solve the problem of mid-twentieth century poverty, President Johnson and administration planners testified to a traditional and tenacious belief in the powers of education. Americans expected the public schools

to cure a variety of social ills without revolutionizing existing political and economic arrangements (Perkinson, 2007). The assortment of new demands fell upon an education system woefully shy of institutional, human, and fiscal resources (Bailey , 1966, p. 10). Johnson envisioned a doubling of federal spending on education, from \$4 billion to \$8 billion, with \$1 billion going to elementary and secondary students (Woods, 2003; Anderson, 2000).

***Problem definition.***

Wildavsky says, “A difficulty is a problem only if something can be done about it” (Wildavsky, 1979, p. 42) in this case “an issue will be considered a problem when people want to change the condition” (Kingdon, 2003, p. 109). The problem will be defined by the use of values and comparisons.

***Values.*** The historical roots of these values are deeply embedded in the cultural streams that comprise the common heritage of the United States. These values permeate the ideologies promulgated by political parties, religions, schools, and other social institutions (Kingdon, 2003). American culture contains three strongly held values that significantly influence public policy in general and education policy specifically. They are equality, efficiency, and liberty.

***Equality.*** The basic freedoms - the world that Franklin Roosevelt envisioned and that John Kennedy worked and died for - took on new meaning in Johnson’s time (Johnson, 1964, p. 15). Johnson elaborated on this belief when he said, “One hundred years ago, Lincoln told us that this Nation could not stand half-slave and half-free. For my part, I believe this society cannot succeed part committed and part

uncommitted, part concerned and part unconcerned, part compassionate and part callous” (Johnson, 1964, p. 8).

*Efficiency.* Increasing technical complexity of 19<sup>th</sup> century industrialization necessitated a more highly-educated workforce than the agriculture or industrial societies needed. In fact, 1956 and 1957 were considered the peak years for the industrial society when economic value was increased by human labor (Naisbitt, 1984). This condition provoked widespread provision of public schooling, and, in subsequent periods, schooling has been understood as an important contributor to economic efficiency. The beginnings of the informational age overlapped with the industrial age. “In 1956, for the first time in American history, white-collar workers in technical, managerial, and clerical positions outnumbered blue-collar workers.” (Naisbitt, 1982) Without realizing what was happening the industrial age was giving way to the information age. Americans worked with information rather than their hands. The labor theory of value<sup>4</sup> needed to be replaced with a new knowledge theory of value<sup>5</sup> (Naisbitt, 1984). Edward Denison stated that “two-thirds of the economic growth came about because of the increased size and education of the workforce and the greater pool of knowledge available to workers” (Naisbitt, 1984).

*Liberty.* For Americans, liberty is the freedom to choose, to be able to select from among different courses of action, and it is this desire for choice that has fueled the American affection for a market economy. Competition among producers is held to expand the range of items from which consumers can choose. On the other hand,

---

<sup>4</sup> Marx’s labor Theory of Value born at the beginning of the industrial economy. The value of any commodity is ultimately derived from the labor used to create it.

<sup>5</sup> Knowledge Theory of Value: Knowledge becomes the new social average. Knowledge adds value.

Americans have long expected the public schools to cure a variety of social ills without revolutionizing existing political and economic arrangements (Perkinson, 2007). In turning to the schools to help solve the problem of mid-twentieth-century poverty, Johnson and his administration testified to their belief in the powers of education.

**Comparisons.** Problems sometimes arise out of comparisons. If one is not achieving what others are achieving, and if one believes in equality, then the relative disadvantage constitutes a problem (Kingdon, 2003). Following the policies of Roosevelt's NYA programs the war on poverty was not aimed at all segments of the population.

President Johnson was influenced by President Franklin Roosevelt, whose New Deal program transformed and greatly expanded the federal government's role in poverty reduction. Unlike the New Deal, which occurred during the deepest economic depression Americans had ever experienced, Johnson's Great Society program of reform took place at a time when the country was affluent and when unemployment was low (Sreenivasan, 2009). Johnson's Great Society was also similar to Roosevelt's New Deal program in that many Republicans and state's rights advocates continued to argue that because the Constitution did delineate education as a federal responsibility, it remained the legal responsibility of the states (Spring, 1990). Those opposed feared federal intrusion into school practices.

The process of fixing attention on one problem rather than others is central to the agenda process and "sometimes the recognition of a pressing problem is sufficient to gain a subject a prominent place on the policy agenda" (Kingdon, 2003,

p. 114). In other words the events, trends, and actions of the 1960's brought to the forefront the problems that existed and needed to be dealt with.

**Political stream.** The definition for political used in the political stream is defined as, the political motivations and efforts needed to obtain support of leaders by interest groups who may be of importance. Within the political stream, a governmental agenda is formulated by fixing the attention of the policy makers on one problem rather than others. (See Table 4.8) This process is central to the political stream. "Sometimes the recognition of a pressing problem is sufficient to gain a subjects prominent place on the policy agenda ladder" (Kingdon, 2003, p. 114). In other words events, trends, and actions bring to the forefront the problem that everyone knew existed but had not put the pieces together to bring about action. Seven years after passage of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, Congress enacted an even larger school-aid package. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA) was a key episode in the long decline of opposition to federal contribution to elementary and secondary schooling. The political compromises that led to its passage helped align various factions behind the bill and thereby override the diminished cadre of unconverted conservative opponents to expanded federal assistance to schools.

***Major forces affecting the political stream.***

Public policy could treat political motivations and the efforts needed to obtain support as something outside of the policy making process. The political stream is

an important promoter or inhibitor of high agenda status. All of the elite actors in the system, most especially the President judge whether the balance of forces in the political stream favors action. They also judge whether the general public would tolerate the direction being pursued in advancing a policy. Without knowing why there are shifts in attitudes and motivations the policy makers would be missing one very important piece to the policy making process which could be costly at the polls later. During the 1960's the national mood, organized interest groups, and changes in government had a tremendous impact on the policy making process both by promoting items that fit with the mood of the times and by inhibiting attention to the items that did not.

*National mood.* As minorities became more sophisticated in politics and political thinking, their reception of message, resistance to, and accessibility to political ideas began to influence the national mood (Stimson, Madkuen, & Erikson, 2002). By the middle of the 1960s, many American school districts that had been racially segregated were now being desegregated. Equality in voting and other civil rights were being attained by African-Americans. It was obvious, though, that a wide chasm separated the races economically. The Supreme Court had underscored the significance of education when it ruled against Jim Crow; however, economists stressed the role of education in human capital development and explored its varying rates of return for different social groups.

*Organized interests.* Organized interests included interest groups such as the National Education Association (NEA), the American Federation of Teachers, as well as civil rights leaders.

*Changes in government.* The political and ideological landscape had been changing since, at least, the 1958 congressional elections. The dominance of the core liberal bloc was enhanced by its ability to deliver benefits to potential opponents and conservative opponents of federal aid to schools were losing their power to veto these proposals (Kingdon, 2003). The ESEA debate showed that ideological concerns were at the root of political maneuvers by liberals to convert potential opponents. (See Table 4.5)

*Visible cluster of policy actors.* Some Presidents, like Roosevelt, deliberately grouped around themselves sharply contrasting types; Johnson had *Johnson Men* (Goldman, 1969). Francis Keppel, Johnson's Commissioner of Education, had been a Harvard dean and brought an educational insight to the job of Commissioner of Education. Commissioner Keppel was an essential factor in President Johnson's plan for elementary and secondary education. Keppel's contributions included a major part in the design of the bill, congressional liaison, and acting as a political broker when compromises had to be made. President Johnson considered Bill Moyers his personal representative of the youthful, intellectual idealism of the 1960's. Walter W. Jenkins was President Johnson's right hand – to the extent that the President wanted a right hand (Goldman, 1969). Other Johnson Men included McGeorge Bundy (foreign affairs advisor), Kermit Gordon and Walter Heller (economic advisors), Lawrence O'Brien (congressional and political problems advisor), Richard N. Goodwin (Latin American affairs and Peace Corps advisor), Jack Valenti, George Reedy, and Horace Busby.

In conclusion, “the political stream flows along according to its own dynamic and its own rules” (Kingdon, 2003) Perceptions of national mood affect a governmental agendas, both by promoting items that fit with that mood of the nation and by inhibiting attention to items that do not fit the mood.

**Policy stream.** The policy stream presents the opportunity for advocates of various proposals to push their pet solutions or to place attention on to their special problems” (Kingdon J. W., 2003, p. 165) in the policy formation process. (See Table 4.9) Within the policy stream, a decision agenda is formulated and major forces are not political, but instead intellectual and personal. The political stream is an important promoter or inhibitor of high agenda items. All the important actors in the system, not just the politicians, judge whether the balance of forces in the political stream favors action. The actors will also judge whether the general public would at least tolerate the directions pursued at the elite level. It could be costly at the election polls if they did not pursue the general public’s level of tolerance and perceptions.

**Ideas.** While many social scientists and educators believed that the value of a high school degree was weakening, education seemed vital to the economy, though in what precise ways was a matter of dispute. The Supreme Court had underscored the significance of education when it ruled against Jim Crow; however, economists stressed the role of education in human capital development and explored its varying rates of return for different social groups, and many people called for enhanced spending on those students designated gifted and talented.

***Policy entrepreneurs.***



People who are trying to advocate change are like surfers waiting for the big wave. They get out where they need to be in the ocean. Once there they need to be ready to go. They need to be ready to paddle. If they are not ready, they will not be able to ride the wave into the beach (Kingdon, 2003). The policy window is an opportunity for advocates of proposals to push their pet solutions or push attention to their special projects. If they are not ready they will miss the opportunity to see the solution become law. Policy entrepreneurs are advocates who are willing to invest their resources-time, energy, reputation, money-to promote a position in return for anticipated future gains in the form of material, purpose, or benefits. In order to be considered a policy entrepreneur that person must have a claim to the hearing, is known for their political connections or negotiating skills, and finally, they are persistent. During Johnson's the resources of his White House staff; the Bureau of the Budget; an ad hoc legislative task force; and the resources of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare/Office of Education to establish priorities and set policy agenda for the Elementary and Secondary School Act (Cannon, 1991; Cater, C., 1991). Francis Keppel, Johnson's Commissioner of Education, had been a Harvard dean and brought an educational insight to the job of Commissioner of Education. Commissioner Keppel was an essential factor in President Johnson's plan for elementary and secondary education. Keppel's contributions included a major part in the design of the bill, congressional liaison, and acting as a political broker when compromises had to be made.

***Hidden cluster of policy actors.*** The dominance of the core liberal bloc was enhanced by its ability to deliver to potential opponents. These groups - parochial-

school interests and southerners - could have sided with liberals or conservatives, depending on the content of legislation.

### **Coupling of Streams/Convergence**

The separate streams of problems, policies, and politics come together, or couple, at certain critical times. This coupling is most likely when a policy window - an opportunity to push pet proposals or one's conceptions of problems - is open, which occurs when there is a shift in the national mood, usually indicated by transformative elections, or new popular perceptions (Kingdon, 2003). When a window opens and results in a restructuring of the governmental agenda, it could be solely the result of occurrences in either the problem stream or the political stream; however, a change in decision agenda requires the merging of all three streams. In this case, the role of the policy entrepreneur is critical.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 established two noble goals: to strengthen and improve educational quality and educational opportunities in the nation's schools. Title I was the heart of the bill. Most of the money allocated for the War on Poverty was concentrated within Title I by focusing on the children of poverty, those who were economically and culturally disadvantaged (Bailey & Mosher, 1968). Title I recognized the impact that large concentrations of low-income families have on the ability of local educational agencies to support adequate educational programs. The intent of the bill was "to provide financial assistance to local educational agencies serving areas with concentrations of children from low income families," so that, "these agencies could expand and improve their educational programs by various means (including where necessary the construction

of school facilities) which contribute particularly to meeting the special educational needs of educationally deprived children (Public Law 89-10, Sec. 201) (Jeffrey, 1970, p.76).

Despite the immensity, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act passed Congress with astonishing speed (Kosar, 2003). Congress passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), which included Title I funding and an antipoverty program, in 87 days. This was a step toward improving educational opportunity, and President Johnson called ESEA “the most significant education bill in congressional history” (Unger & Unger, 1999, p. 346).

Once the Elementary and Secondary Education Act passed, it became the centerpiece of federal assistance to elementary and secondary education. It garnered strong, fairly consistent support from most liberals and from many conservatives in Congress, and opponents of federal aid lost their ability to block education legislations.

### **Acceptance/Adoption**

Congressional debates on education proposals are often philosophical, displaying deep differences of opinion over the proper extent of federal power under the Constitution. This tends to leave education policymaking to states and localities; therefore, major education policies are enacted only under unusual circumstances, such as during or in response to a public crisis, like the discovery of mass illiteracy or in response to the Great Depression (Kosar, 2003).

The civil rights movement and the death of President Kennedy made the programs of the Great Society possible; however, the Vietnam War guaranteed that

any war on poverty would not succeed (Grinspan, 1995). Regardless, the enactment of the ESEA revolutionized the federal government's role in education. Prior to the law's passage, educational policy-making had been the near exclusive domain of state and local governments; however, part of the ESEA's legacy is a fierce debate over whether the federal government has become overly involved in regulating local school districts' affairs through programs like the ESEA. Moreover, some critics question whether Title I's costly programs actually raise student performance. Nevertheless, cash-strapped school districts continue to seek and accept ESEA funding.

President Johnson's Great Society initiative included ground-breaking federal legislation directed especially at enhancing opportunities for low-income families (Bailey S. , 1966). Through Title I Johnson hoped to advance equality of opportunity by targeting extra resources for supplemental serves to low-achieving student in schools with the bulk of the funds going to the poorest children (Jennings, National issues in education: Elementray and secondary education act 1965, 2002, p. 4). "The objective was to narrow the achievement gap that separated poor children from their peers. The act's most pervasive strategy was compensatory education: providing extra funding for schools to provide special services for economically disadvantaged students" (Present, 2010, p. 14). By providing funding ESEA recognized that children from low income families required more educational support than children from affluent homes.

According to Joel Spring (1993), The Elementary and Secondary School Act had at least three major consequences for future legislative actions. First, it signaled

the switch from general federal aid to education towards categorical aid, and the tying of federal aid to national policy concerns such as poverty, defense, or economic growth. Second, it addressed the religious conflict by linking federal aid to educational programs directly benefiting poor children in parochial schools, and not the institutions in which they were enrolled. Third, the reliance on state departments of education to administer federal funds, promoted to avoid criticisms of federal control, resulted in an expansion of state bureaucracies and larger involvement of state governments in educational decision-making (Spring, 1993).

In summation, Elementary and Secondary School Act of 1965 was not just a federal handout to ease state and local educational budgets. It mandated a series of programs and priorities, which involved a massive shift in the locus of policy-making power in American education (Bailey & Mosher, 1968). As a warning of things to come U.S. Representative Paul Findley (R. IL) stated “Federal dollars have a strange and captivating lure. They sing a siren song which too many is irresistible, and lure off course many an otherwise right thinking citizen” (1965).

With the passing of ESEA the Federal responsibilities grew within tightly delimited bounds. Discretion was given to states and local education agencies to design and implement compensatory education programs. “Federal regulations sought to ensure that federal education funds reached the students for whom the program’s were intended, but they did not hold state and local governments accountable for actually raising the achievement of eligible students” (Rhodes, 2012, p. 33). With new federal regulations of federally funded but locally administered programs that varied in administrative practice and academic rigor began to be

used. (Rhodes, 2012) For all the good intentions of ESEA the United States continued to face a situation where the people with the strongest self-interest in education reform, that is low-income parents of color whose children attend public urban schools, continued to find themselves missing at the table (Anyon, 1997).

## CHAPTER SIX

2001-2008

### BUSH ERA OF EDUCATION POLICY

Chapters four and five reviewed the education policy of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and President Lyndon Baines Johnson during their terms in office. Three beliefs concerning the President and American citizens were revealed in chapter four and continued to hold true in chapter five. First, the American way of thinking about politics and government hold that citizens should be sufficiently educated to play a thoughtful role in public affairs. Second, Presidents and Congress have made little policy to see that citizens are sufficiently educated. Finally, federal education politics and policy making had been minimal and any suggestions of an increased role had been generally feared and fought. With the passing of Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, some of the fear held by the public vanished.

It is not the intention of the researcher to imply that any of the actors were more or less important to education policy development; however, the primary focus of the research was the executive branch of the federal government. The historical background is important to understanding the context in which education policies are developed. The actors and actions were studied in relation to the development and implementation of education policies on the federal level. At the policymaking end of the continuum, from 2001-2008, is the President George W. Bush.

In this chapter, the story of George W. Bush and the elite actors are told. This chapter is organized into five sections. Each section follows the Organized Anarchy Model of Public Policymaking and Implementation (See Table 4.1). The

first section discusses the agenda or the list of subjects/problems that President Bush was giving serious attention to during his presidency. This section will also give a brief history behind the agenda of George W. Bush during the years of 2001 to 2009. The second section contains the agenda setting process and describes the narrowing of a set of conceivable subjects to the set that actually becomes the focus of attention. The third section follows Kingdon's three streams of policymaking: the problem stream, the political stream, and the policy stream (Kingdon, 2003). This section will describe the actors, activities, and policies developed during the eight years that President Bush was in office. Within the fourth section the coupling of streams will be discussed. Finally, section five will describe the acceptance/adoption phase of the Organized Anarchy Model.

This chapter is not intended to be a summary of the history of education. Instead, it focuses on one aspect of education policy, the expansion of federal control over education. Table 3.1 illustrates the portion of the policy-into-practice continuum discussed in this chapter. Figure 4.3 is an organizational chart of the policymakers who were involved in making policies during this era.

## **Agenda**

Many historians consider the decade leading up to 2001 to be the age of electronics. The World Wide Web was born in 1992, and it changed the way we communicate, spend our money, do business, and look at education (Whitley, Bradley, Sutton, & Goodwin, 2011). In 1989, only 15% of American households had a computer; but by the year 2000, 51% of all households had a computer and 41.5% had online access (Whitley, et al). Along with the rise of the electronic age came a



strong economy, which contributed to a record low unemployment rate. The stock market reached an all-time high as individuals learned to buy and trade via the internet. The strong economy allowed Americans to enjoy the country's affluence by traveling more, by pursuing personal hobbies and activities, and by consuming as never before. "America faced the new millennium with an open, diversified society, a functional democracy, a healthy economy, and the means and will to overcome any obstacles" (Whitley, et al).

From 1965 to 1999, three forces began to shift the educational focus from that of the industrial age, which required physical, blue collar workers, to that of the age of knowledge. According to Peter Drucker, "a knowledge worker is a person who gets paid for putting to work what one learned in school rather than for their physical strength and manual skill" (Drucker, *The age of social transformation*, 1994). The three forces are the SAT-ocracy, abundance, and federal attempts to raise standards.

**SAT-ocracy.** "Knowledge workers are thinking workers and their thinking style have shaped the character, leadership, and social profile of the modern age" (Pink D. H., 2005, p. 29). The question becomes how has the knowledge worker shaped the American public during this time frame? The answer lies in the PSAT, the SAT, the GMAT, the LSAT, and the MCAT. These assessment tools all require logic and analysis and have become "important gatekeepers for entry into meritocratic, middle-class society creating a SAT-ocracy, a regime in which access to the good life depended on the ability to reason logically, sequentially, and speedily" (Pink D. H., 2005, p. 29). We have developed into a country whose

economy is a product of the left side of our brains, the sequential and logical side. This is a change from the Depression era when the economy was built on industry and maintained by the hard labor of the citizens. When the economy and society depended on factories and mass production, logical and sequential thinking was not a necessary outcome of education. As we moved towards the 21<sup>st</sup> century and knowledge work began to achieve social and economic parity, then logical and sequential thinking became an important outcome of education. The many ideas and assumptions of the knowledge age affected notions of politics, policy, and education among those who were considered both a baby boomer and political elite.

**Abundance.** For most people born before the baby boom era, scarcity was a way of life. Citizens who were born during or after the baby boom era the “defining feature for social, economic, and cultural life in much of the world became abundance” (Pink D. H., 2005, p. 30). Three examples of abundance are homes and cars, self- storage, and trash bags (Pink, 2005). During much of the twentieth century the goal for most Americans was to own a home and a car. Two out of three Americans own homes and there are cars owned by people than licensed drivers. When the homes can longer store peoples possessions storage units are rented. When storage is not an option the item is tossed. As business writer Polly LaBarre notes, “The United States spends more on trash bags than ninety other countries spend on everything” (LaBarre, 2003). President Bush and those of his age group and younger helped to create this era, one that was unfathomable during either Roosevelt’s or Johnson’s era.

George Bush was born in 1946, during the early years of the baby boom. He was a member of the largest cohort of people in the United States and “he and his generation have changed jobs, changed dwellings, and changed dreams more than any other in American History” (Mansfield, 2003, p. 26). This generation continues to be perceived as the most creative, unsettled, inconsistent, brilliant, and selfishly compassionate generation on earth (Mansfield, 2003). They believed in SAT-ocracy.

**Federal attempts to raise standards.** Since the 1980’s, education reform in the United States has been largely driven by the setting of academic standards for what students should know and be able to do upon graduation. Standards-based reform incorporates clear, measurable standards for all school students. Criterion-referenced rankings are used to measure students against concrete standards, and curriculum assessments and professional development are aligned to the standards.

The changing economy, a growing discontent for public education among the general public and the research community, and criticism for the ESEA Title I Program helped to create an education crisis in the 1980’s. Education was depicted negatively to the American public by political elites, business CEO’s, and the media. Most federal aid programs to support education were condemned. Congressmen and business leaders argued that that past federal investments had not improved school performance and that it was time to hold the public education system accountable. The policy elites tied federal investments to human capital.

Between 1991 and 1999, three major efforts were undertaken to raise the education standards through federal policy: America 2000, Goals 2000, and the Improving America’s School Act of 1994 (Kosar, 2003). During the 1980’s and

1990's, the emergence of a national education crisis spurred the development of America 2000 and the idea of national standards. This crisis also helped to transform the debate surrounding federal education policy. The subject of the debate shifted from a focus on school resources, as it was during the enactment of Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, to educational results and accountability for those results. Policies, however, are not formulated in response to an immediate perceived crisis by politicians. Advocates pushed for these policies for years, but standards-based, results-based, and accountability-based policies did not make it on to the institutional agenda (Anderson J. A., 2000).

The mid-to late 1990's saw the playing out of the conflict between three political forces: antistatism<sup>6</sup>, liberalism, and quality schools advocacy. In the 1990's, antistatists<sup>7</sup> were able to effectively block or water down standards policy because liberals and quality school advocates could not agree on the structure needed to push the standards policy forward. The liberals and quality school advocates were divided over what was the cause for academic underachievement among American students. These two factions could not agree whether the problem existed because of insufficient resources or under-performing schools (Kosar, 2003).

Representatives and senators on the left held to the traditional liberal school reform position: American public schools were underfunded and/or inequitably funded. The role of the federal government was first and foremost to alleviate the inequities by providing additional funding and resources to schools in poor neighborhoods and then to all other schools (Kosar, 2003). In their opinion,

---

<sup>6</sup> Antistatism: The belief that the Constitution and tradition affords little, if any federal role in education.

<sup>7</sup> Antistatist: are those who believe that the Constitution affords little, if any federal role in education.

continuing with the social programs of the 1960's would solve the problems facing education.

There was a shift in the Republican view of the federal role concerning education. There is no doubt that Republicans learned that to be for less federal involvement in education was a mistake. The reason was simple: the public was no longer interested in abstract arguments about federalism. They did not want to hear about theories - they wanted to see results. The public believed that if there was truly a national educational emergency, then the federal government should do something fix it (Finn, Ravitch, & Fancher, 1984). Shortly after Clinton defeated Dole for President of the United States, the then Governor of Texas George W. Bush remarked, "There is no question that from a political perspective, Clinton stole the education issue and it affected the women's vote. "Republicans must now say that we are for education" (Balz, 1996, p. A6).

**President Bush's agenda.** Even though many presidential actions are constrained by the established structure of the office and by environmental demands on the president, the Bush Presidency illustrated the impact of personality on the major policies of a presidency. President Bush had a bias for action and impatience with procedural delay. Bush "felt that one part of his role as president was to force decisions, and to make sure it was on everybody's mind where we're headed" (Pfiffner).

On Saturday, January 20<sup>th</sup>, 2001, in his first inaugural address, President Bush presented his blueprint for his next four years in office. He stated, "While many of our citizens prosper, others doubt the promise, even the justice, of our own

country. The ambitions of some Americans are limited by failing schools and hidden prejudice and the circumstances of their birth” (Bush, George. First Inaugural Address, 2001). Bush’s agenda would “consist only of those issues that were to be addressed by governmental action” (Anderson, Brady, & Bullock, 1978, p. 8). President Bush had three major agenda items at the onset of his presidency: education, a ten year tax-cut, and a foreign policy initiative. Three lesser agenda items were added later: a prescription drug plan for senior citizens, pay increases for military personnel, and a greater role for faith-based charities in delivering social services (Kettl, 2003, p. 27). By using a rhetorical strategy of going public with his policy agenda concerning education early in the campaign (Holtzman, 2006), President Bush set education reform in the United States as the agenda for others to follow.

### **Agenda Setting Process**

The agenda setting process is the first step in the policy-making process following the policy-into-practice continuum. It must be remembered that “before an issue can be acted upon, it must become a recognized part of the policy agenda” (Simon, 2010, p. 83). According to Cobb and Elder (1972), agenda setting may involve the transfer of items from a non-governmental systemic agenda to a governmental formal agenda. Rhetoric often calls attention to a problem and sets forth a broad policy emphasis, but it does not necessarily advocate specific programs. Instead, it is designed to help other governmental actors see that a problem exists and to prepare them for action. This suggests that decisions about national interests are the result of a political process in which a country’s leaders

ultimately arrive at a decision about the importance of a given internal event or crisis to the country's well-being (Nuechterlein, 1978). The way that the government deals with these basic national issues is referred to as public interest or domestic policy. Basic public interests can be described as defense interests, economic interests, world order interests, and ideological interests (Nuechterlein, 1978). Since Roosevelt's presidency, education policy has fallen under all four categories of interest, making the role of education an integral piece in the agenda setting process. Within the agenda setting process, education policy is a reactive process that responds to the needs of the public interest.

**Reactive process to education.** The push for accountability and standards was due in large part to the effective efforts of business entrepreneurs, civil rights entrepreneurs, educational conservatives, and state leaders who were capable of maintaining and/or increasing their agendas within the agenda setting process. An example was the collaboration between business entrepreneurs and Texas Governor George W. Bush, which proved valuable for all parties involved as all were able to achieve their goals (Rhodes, 2012).

**New direction for education.** "The 2000 presidential rhetorical campaign affirmed the new direction that federal education politics and policy, with respect to education standards and Title I, was going to take" (Kosar, 2003, p. 461). Then, Governor Bush ran as the compassionate conservative leader (Hatfield, 2002; McClosky, 2006; McClellan, 2008; Baker, 2009). He campaigned in favor of the expansion of the federal role in education through standards and accountability. His

position, which resonated with voters, was a mix of quality school advocacy and liberalism (Robelen, Bush leading Republicans in new direction, 2000).

To appease the liberals in Congress “President Bush campaigned for a compensatory reading program that would cost \$1 billion per year” (Kosar, 2003, p. 462) the reading program stemmed from the President’s wife Laura Bush. As a former school teacher and librarian, Laura felt the need to promote the science and seriousness of early childhood cognitive development through literacy, reading, and child development. Her *Ready to Read, Ready to Learn Initiative* focused on what she believed to be the most fundamental issue facing Americans - providing young children with the skills and environment that nurtures cognitive reading skills (Felix, 2002).

For the quality of schools advocates, Bush urged that Title I be reformed so that accountability would serve as the catalyst of reform (Bush, 2010). Standards and assessments would serve as the foundation of the accountability system. He argued that all students in grades three through eight, who attend schools receiving Title I aide, should be tested to see if they are making educational progress. He also proposed that states should be rewarded or punished financially based upon whether they raised test scores and reduced the test score gap between whites and non-whites, poor and non-poor. States would also be required to publish school report cards that broke down the test score data by district, school, and student race, ethnicity, and gender, which would be shared with parents (Kosar, 2003). To the delight of quality of school advocates/school choice groups, Bush also wanted children who attended schools receiving Title I funds to be permitted to transfer to a



public or private school of their choice if their school failed to raise test scores. “He added that these students should be able to take \$1500 in Title I funds with them” (Kosar, 2003, p. 462). Finally, he advocated spending \$3 billion to upgrade and create new charter schools (Dao, 2000).

**Factors affecting policy formation.** Two factors have an effect on the agenda setting process: the participants/actors who were active in setting the agenda and the processes by which agenda items and alternatives come into prominence (Kingdon, 2003).

***Participants/actors in agenda setting process.*** “Policies create an environment of exchange relationships between the players and the actors” (Meltsner & Bellavitta, 1983) but before any exchange can take place, one must know who the players and actors are. In general, the principal actors in policy formation are the legitimate, or formal, policy makers: people who occupy positions in the governmental arena that entitle them to authoritatively assign priorities and commit resources (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980). For effective action to take place within the agenda setting process, each participant/actor must have knowledge, understanding, and awareness of the policy environment and his/her role within that environment. At a minimum, the actors in the executive branch, including the President of the United States, Congress, and bureaucrats, are expected to set the general boundaries in which the creation and implementation of a policy will occur (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980). Various forces outside of the government, including the media, interest groups, political parties, and the general public, also have a stake in policy-making process.

*Change in party control or interparty ideological balances brought by elections.* President George W. Bush entered office confronted by an evenly divided Senate (50 Republicans, 50 Democrats) and House behind him (221 Republicans, 212 Democrats) (Office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives, 2012). (See Table 4.6) “Bush had actually lost the popular ballot but won the electoral vote in the 2000 Presidential election which had not happened since 1876” (Kosar, 2003, p. 465).

There was a shift in the Republican view of the federal role concerning education. Republicans learned that diminished federal involvement in education was a mistake. The reason for the change was simple - the public was not interested in abstract arguments about federalism. The public believed that if there was truly a national educational emergency, then the federal government should assist in fixing the problem (Finn, Ravitch, & Fancher, 1984). According to Margaret Spellings, a close Bush education advisor who later became Bush’s second Secretary of Education, “the standard shtick among Republicans prior to 2000 had been to abolish the Department of Education, no federal intervention—that sort of thing. That changed with Bush” (Interview with Margaret Spellings, 2008).

*The President of the United States.* The president’s role in the policy-making process is complicated. “Presidents not only face the demand to explain what they have done and intend to do, but they also have come under increasing pressure to speak out on perceived crises and to minister to the moods and emotions of the populace” (Ceaser, Thuroe, Tulis, & Ressette, 1997, p. 236). In addition, “the

President's agenda is often national in scope, whereas legislators are interested in local benefits" (Simon, 2010, p. 76).

Throughout his campaign, the President preached about his compassionate conservative values (McClellan, 2008). By his choice of campaign issues and themes, Bush offered himself as a different kind of Republican (Jacobson, 2008). He offered himself as the compassionate conservative. "Conservatism is a philosophy that puts government in its proper perspective that says government ought to do a few things well, that there is a role for government. The element of compassion says that the policies will lead to a better tomorrow. Secondly, compassion indicates that an activist plan, with a strategy is being used" (Hatfield, 2002, p. 213) by the person labeled as compassionate.

Circumstances allowed President Bush to go beyond the normal pattern of slow, incremental change. As governor and President, George W. Bush preferred to act decisively and intuitively. He stated, "I just think it's instinctive, I'm not a textbook player, I'm a gut player" (Edwards & Davies, 2004, p. 162). As with all personality traits, there can be both a positive and negative side. On the positive side, a President has a better chance of getting things done by acting decisively if he faces a culture where new initiatives can be postponed long enough until the opposition develops the necessary plan and rhetoric to stop an initiative entirely. The downside for acting decisively includes making premature decisions, thus failing to examine the full implications of decisions and the use of information before it is fully examined (Edwards & Davies, 2004).

In his first inaugural address on Saturday, January 20, 2001, President Bush stated, “While many of our citizens prosper, others doubt the promise, even the justice, of our own country. The ambitions of some Americans are limited by failing schools and hidden prejudice and the circumstances of their birth. I will work to build a single nation of justice and opportunity” (Bush G. , 20 January 2011). Bush demonstrated his rhetorical leadership by “using symbolic language to advantageously shape public opinion which, in a representative political system, can serve as a means to nearly an end” (Holtzman, 2006, pp. 1). Through his pledge to reconstruct the American public education system, both George Bush’s personal views and compassionate conservative ideals became apparent to the American citizens.

*Congress.* Trust was lacking between leaders of the two parties in Congress. Memories of past affronts were long and distrust ran deep. Bitterness over the contested 2000 election result still lingered among some Democrats. Suspicion over whether President Bush was sincere about wanting to act as a bipartisan President and unite, not a divide the federal government was commonplace, and some liberals doubted the phrase compassionate conservative could ever be more than a meaningless paradox (McClellan, 2008). George W. Bush’s legislative strategy, however, showed that he had learned from the unhappy experience of his father. Rather than lead a hopeless crusade for school vouchers, Bush played the role of cross-partisan conciliator, isolating the more extreme members in both parties and building on areas of bipartisan agreement (Rhodes, 2012) through the use of strategic rhetoric. By focusing on the strategic use of rhetoric in his relationship with

Congress Bush was able to shape public opinion and achieve legislative success on Capitol Hill (Holtzman, 2006).

Not everyone was convinced, however, that federal interference in education could be successful. While speaking on behalf of the accountability issues, Senator Judd Gregg (R-NH) pointed out that the federal government had spent \$120 billion in the 35 years since the enactment of Title I, which was directed at trying to help low-income kids; however, the result of those expenditures was that low-income kids were reading two grade levels below their peers (Heiss & McGuinn, 2009). Gregg stated, “there has been absolutely no academic improvement in those kids over this 35-year period. In the last 10 years, when we spent the most amount of money, the academic improvement also has not increased at all” (Heiss & McGuinn, 2009).

#### *Courts.*

The need to actually provide an adequate education to all citizens has become even more urgent today when the information demands of the computer era have heightened the level of cognitive skills needed to be an informed citizen (Petrovich & Wells, 2005, p. 305). Historically the link between education and democracy has been the availability of information. During the agriculture and industrial eras when information was limited to the elite population it was not of immediate political concern to the uneducated. In the current age of information and technology information is in abundance and extended to all citizens the need to provide an adequate education has become increasingly more urgent (Petrovich & Wells, 2005).

Excellence and equity continue to merge together as we expect our students to learn a more cognitive level to match the skills needed for success. “The lawyers, plaintiffs in education adequacy cases, advocates and courts have begun to articulate demanding concepts of adequacy in the education opportunities they expect to be extended to historically disadvantaged minority populations” (Petrovich & Wells, 2005, p. 305) Standards-based reform with its belief that all children can learn at high cognitive levels has aided the increase in litigation for adequacy in two ways. First, the standards provide courts with distinguishable and workable remedies. Second, standards have increased interest in basic goals of education in a democratic society (Petrovich & Wells, 2005).

*Business leaders.*

Neither congressional Democrats nor congressional Republicans seemed to be particularly receptive to entrepreneurial efforts to promote standards, testing, and accountability in the mid-to late 1990’s. In this unfavorable environment, business entrepreneurs engaged in a softening up position. That is, they sustained their position to shape the agenda when political conditions improved (Kingdon J. , 1984). Business entrepreneurs began working closely with rising Republican star and eventual Republican presidential nominee George W. Bush of Texas on an approach to further integrate standards, testing, and accountability reforms into federal education programs (Rhodes, 2012).

The business leaders leading the charge for standards-based reform and accountability believed that “teaching children was like running a business. There are inputs (the dollars spent on public education) and out puts (test scores). If the

test scores are high enough, then graduates are ready for jobs in the low end of the labor market and the nation can compete globally” (Ivins & Dubose, 2005, p. 85). These same leaders looked at students as human capital, parents as customers, and teachers as sellers in the marketplace (Ivins & Dubose, 2005, p. 85) The strategic education goal of these business leaders was to set up partnerships that involve market penetration in schools.

***Diffusion of ideas in professional circles and among policy elites.***

Throughout his two terms in office, President Bush behaved as though the Whitehouse was a business and he was the boss. He was even dubbed the CEO President by the press (Duffy, 2001). The CEO style President Bush embraced included a bold, but agenda. The President would not veer from that course, no matter what new situation or information was presented, and the process for developing his education policy was no different.

The President delegated this policy area to a few advisors who shared his same viewpoints on what could be considered controversial education policies (McClosky, 2006). Those invited to the table were Carl Rove, Karen Hughes, Andy Card, Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy Josh Bolten, Staff Secretary Harriet Miers, Domestic Policy Advisor Margaret LaMontagene, National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice, National Economic Adviser Larry Lindsey, Vice Presidential Counselor Mary Matalin, Legislative liaison Nick Calio, and business leader Sandy Kress (Ivins & Dubose, 2005, p. 86) After strategy meetings, priority issues “would be disseminated through the White House policy communications and legislative divisions so that ideas could be discussed and developed for discussion at future

sessions” (McClellan, 2008, p. 94). The advisors, many of whom were strong business advocates, ensured that the education agenda followed the principals of the business model. These key advisors had the opportunity to see the education agenda throughout the policy-making process, from beginning to end.

## **Processes**

A policy is a course of action that could become a law, a regulation, a project, or other public decision. Awareness of a policy’s impact can lead policy makers to take or change a position on a policy or to work to amend the policy, so understanding the effects of a proposed policy can affect what the policy will be, whether the policy is adopted, and how effective it will be (Loomis, 2001).

The reform of the Elementary and Secondary Act, which by and large governed the federal policy that addressed K-12 education, was going to cause changes. According to President Bush, the name change would signify the new direction being taken: greater emphasis on accountability and the disaggregation of data to illuminate achievement gaps, greater emphasis on standardized assessments, local control of schools, and funding tied to accountability (NEA Government Relations, 2011, p. 1).

**The problem stream.** The problem stream requires focusing public and policymakers’ attention on a particular social problem. By defining the problem, policy makers can either apply a new public policy for the resolution of the problem or let the problem fade from sight. Problems often come to the attention of governmental decision makers not through some sort of political pressure or



perceptual sleight of hand, but because some more or less systematic indicator simply shows that a problem exists (Kingdon, 2003). (See Table 4.8)

**Indicators.** The accountability movement of the 1990's succeeded in testing kids regularly, evaluating local schools, and making the information about schools and districts public. In doing so, it awakened many parents and citizens to the realities of the educational system, giving them a well-grounded basis for making demands and taking action. Above all else, it shocked and mobilized the leaders of political groups that represented disadvantaged constituencies (Moe, 2011).

**Focusing events.** Indicators do not always draw attention to problems that need to be addressed. Often, something must happen, a focusing event, to get the attention of the people in and around the government who can affect change, as happened in Roosevelt's era with the Great Depression or the assassination of the President John F. Kennedy in Johnson's era (Kingdon, 2003). During George Bush's time in office that event was September 11, 2001 when America was attacked by terrorist. "The process of reconciling the House and Senate bills dragged through the summer of 2001" (Bush G. W., 2010, p. 276) which was worrisome to the President. When Congress returned from recess in early September, Bush set to reenergize the debate and see the bill through to the end. Throughout the fall President Bush urged Congress to finish No Child Left Behind. In a show of unity after the attacks Congress passed No Child Left Behind by a bipartisan landslide in December of 2001 (Bush G. W., 2010).

***Budget prioritization.*** President Bush and Congress agreed to an increase in Title I funding over a seven-year period. President Bush stated, “That’s exactly the kind of budget I submitted to the United States Congress.... It’s a budget that says we could spend more money on the public’s education system around America. It’s a budget that prioritizes education” (Alterman & Green, 2004, p. 139). President Bush’s education budget was \$3.5 billion dollars greater than that of the final year of the Clinton administration, with Clinton’s education funding falling just short of \$10 billion dollars while Bush’s education budget being \$13.5 billion dollars (Kosar, 2003).

The federal government ensured state compliance with standards and accountability regulations by tying it directly to the funding of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The act supports and regulates the majority of federal K-12 programs in public schools. Title I of the ESEA originated in 1965. Its purpose is to provide funds to support and improve the achievement of poor and disadvantaged students, and is important to note that the general student population is not eligible for these funds. By 2006, the education budget expanded to include \$12.7 billion for Title I grants to districts, \$11.4 million for Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) grants to states, \$32 million for advanced placement classes, and \$11.3 billion for vocational education (Armstrong, 2006).

***Problem definition.***

*Values.* The historical roots of these values are deeply embedded in the cultural streams that comprise the common heritage of the United States. These values permeate the ideologies promulgated by political parties, religions, schools,

and other social institutions. President Bush's personality - as exhibited in his tendency for action, his moral certainty, and his personality approach to politics - has made important differences in his policy choices and thus in the direction of the United States government (Pfiffner).

*Equality.* Income inequality in the United States had lessened between the 1930's and 1960's, but it had begun to grow again in the 1970's, through the Carter, Reagan, Bush Sr., and Clinton administrations (Zelizer, 2010). Bush also stood to suffer at the hands of the minority voters because of his antagonism to welfare and to affirmative action. He and his advisors launched new policies to try to convince African Americans and Hispanics that the Republicans would deliver welfare through private rather than public institutions and to improve minority education and then success in the workforce through the provision of the No Child Left Behind Act (Zelizer, 2010).

*Efficiency.* The increasing technical complexity of 19<sup>th</sup> century industrialization necessitated a more highly educated workforce, which improved the support of and provision for public schooling.

*Accountability.* Proposals advocated by civil rights entrepreneurs and their congressional allies went further than Bush's No Child Left Behind blueprint by insisting that students reach academic proficiency within ten years and by requiring all teachers to be highly qualified by 2005 (Lieberman/Roemer/Dooley; Miller/Kildee, 2001).

*Standards movement.* From 1989 to 1992, important shifts in the politics of education reform in the United States began to take shape. The first shift was the

rise in prominence of a standards-based reform paradigm, which proposed to strengthen education systems by aligning them around coordinated standards, testing, and accountability policies when discussing how to improve schools (Rhodes, 2012). The second shift was the growing momentum built for federal involvement in education revolving around the coordinated standards, testing, and accountability for results. The growing enthusiasm was largely due to the effective efforts of business entrepreneurs, civil rights entrepreneurs, educational conservatives, and state leaders in building institutions and relationships capable of maintaining and expanding their agendas (Rhodes, 2012).

*Liberty.* Liberty for Americans has meant the freedom to choose, to be able to select from among different courses of action. The desire for choice fueled historical American affection for a market economy. Competition among producers, along with other benefits, is held to expand the range of items from which consumers can choose. There lies the reasoning for school choice, charter schools, and private school education.

**Comparisons.** If one is not achieving what others are achieving, and if one believes in equality, then the relative disadvantage constitutes a problem (Kingdon, 2003). Sometimes people make these comparisons across nations, so the mere fact of being behind in the greatest country on earth is enough to constitute a problem for some people (Kingdon, 2003, p. 111). International comparisons of curriculum and student performance across national borders using PISA and TIMS scores have become more specific, sophisticated, and credible. In recent years, the audience for these reports has shifted from statisticians and academics to policy

makers and the general public (Conley D. T., 2003). Much has been made of the United States average test scores compared to that of other, industrialized nations on these assessments. It appears that the highest-achieving nations are making steep, strategically smart investments in education while the United States is squandering much of its human capital (Darling-Hammond, 2010). The United States is viewed as standing still while more focused nations are moving rapidly ahead (Darling-Hammond, 2010).

Three countries that have influenced education reform in the United States and have each gone through educational reform processes in their countries are China, Finland, and the United Kingdom (Table 1.1). These three countries consistently earn top scores on the PISA and TIMMS International assessments, are advocates of choice/market involvement, and have some form of accountability system. Each country overhauled its education systems in the 1980's and 1990's. Although none of these countries lacks problems and challenges, each has created a consistently high-quality education system for all of its students (Darling-Hammond, 2010).

**Political stream.** The political stream is where the governmental agenda, a list of issues or problems to be resolved, is formed. President Lyndon B. Johnson signed into law the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in 1965 as the federal government's definitive entry into public education (Hana, 2005).

Education in the United States since the 1980's has been largely driven by the setting of academic standards for what students should know and be able to do upon graduation, and nearly every student entering a post-secondary institution has

been shaped by the nation's K-12 system. The political compromises that led to the passage of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) helped align various factions behind the bill and thereby combine the efforts of Congress, business entrepreneurs, civil rights entrepreneurs, educational conservatives, and state leaders. This new alignment expanded the role of the federal government in education.

***Major forces affecting the political stream.***

Public policy could treat political motivations and the efforts needed to obtain support as something outside of the policy making process. The political stream is an important promoter or inhibitor of high agenda status. All of the elite actors in the system, most especially the President judge whether the balance of forces in the political stream favors action. They also judge whether the general public would tolerate the direction being pursued in advancing a policy. Without knowing why there are shifts in attitudes and motivations the policy makers would be missing one very important piece to the policy making process which could be costly at the polls later.

***National mood.*** According to Victor Klatt II, a long-time Republican advisor noted the federalism debate is a within-the-Beltway issue. "People don't care who fixes the problem, they just want it fixed. The public desire for action, moreover, was not going to disappear. It seems like you are always seeing stories in the newspapers about how bad the schools are doing, how low the test scores are. Parents see this and are concerned" (Klatt, 2002 cited by Kosar, 2003, p. 465).

On September 11, 2001, the Bush Administration was hit with unexpected terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers and the Pentagon. The immediate reaction of

President Bush's administration involved expanding the President's power to keep our nation secure and free from further harm. President Bush got what he wished for, and for at least the beginning of his term, there was a united Congress who approved of these increases in power in order to protect the country. Prior to the attacks, in May 2001, an ABC News/Washington Post poll found that 55% of the public felt the President was doing his job in office, while 40% of the public disapproved; however, directly after the attacks on September 11<sup>th</sup>, President Bush's approval ratings soared to 90% approval with only 6% disapproving of his actions (Polling Report, Inc. 2010). This approval remained high, over 80% approval, until the spring of the following year (Polling Report, Inc. 2010).

***Organized interests.***

*Business entrepreneurs.* The Business Coalition for Education Reform (BCER) drew on input from the Business Roundtable, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Alliance of Business, the National Association of Manufacturers, and other major business organizations to forge consensus on major principles for the reauthorization of the ESEA (Rhodes, 2012). They also sought advice from its collective memberships and from a network of over 500 state education priorities (Interview with Margaret Spellings, 2008). The product of years of formal and informal conversations, the Business Coalition's statement of principles called on policymakers to further intensify the federal commitment to standards, as well as the testing and accountability reforms embedded in the IASA, Improving America's School's Act, the reauthorization of ESEA during President Clinton's time in office (Packer, 2010). Ed Rust, Chairman of State Farm Insurance

and a major player in education circles within the business community, summarized the BCER's position in June 1999 congressional testimony:

States should set clear expectations for academic content with substantial depth and breadth. Federal aid should be used to encourage continuous improvements in state academic standards and assessments, and the creation of sound accountability systems. Accountability should be measured by student performance results, not by administrative compliance, and those results should be disclosed publicly. Parents and the community at large should know how well their schools are doing and how they compare with schools elsewhere. (Rust, 1999)

Neither congressional Democrats nor congressional Republicans seemed to be particularly receptive to entrepreneurial efforts to promote standards, testing, and accountability in the mid-to late 1990's. In this unfavorable environment, business entrepreneurs engaged in a softening up position. That is, they sustained their position to shape the agenda when political conditions improved (Kingdon, 1984). Business entrepreneurs began working closely with rising Republican star and eventual Republican presidential nominee George W. Bush of Texas on an approach to further integrate standards, testing, and accountability reforms into federal education programs (Rhodes, 2012).

*Civil rights entrepreneurs.* To bolster the case for renewed federal leadership, civil rights entrepreneurs set out to provide concrete evidence that coordinated standards-based reforms to raise student achievement, especially among the poor and minority students. In the fall of 1998, the Education Trust administered a survey



to twelve hundred high-performing schools serving concentrations of poor students to identify the factors contributing to the effectiveness of the school.

Civil rights entrepreneurs made a large mark on the major pre-election standards, testing, and accountability proposals. Sandy Kreiss, top Education Aid to President Bush, called civil rights entrepreneurs the intellectual fathers of No Child Left Behind for their advocacy of policy provisions. Most notable were their stringent focus on the achievement of disadvantaged students, requiring states to report assessment scores of subgroups of students, and holding schools accountable for subgroup performance (Kress, 2008; Hess & Petrilli, 2009). The goal was to build muscle where there was little or none, and the Education Trust and members of both sides of the aisle were deeply involved.

*Unions: National Education Association and American Federation of Teachers.* According to Joel Packer, top lobbyist with the NEA, the teachers unions played a critical role in negotiating the teacher quality measures contained in No Child Left Behind (Packer, 2010). Like other special interest groups, the teacher unions tried to put a positive spin on their activities. The unions claimed that what is good for teachers is good for kids; however, when dealing with the unions, the Bush administration knew they were not in the business of representing the interests of children. They represented the job-related interests of the members, and these interests were simply not the same as the interest of children (Moe, 2011).

***Changes in government.*** The most consequential effects of accountability and choice during the first twenty years was not the impact on the schools themselves, but rather the impact on the politics of American education and, in

particular, on the political alliances that determine the prospects for reform. They have propelled both the emergence of a new alliance and a new balance of power far more conducive to change (Moe, 2011).

**Visible cluster of policy actors.** John F. (Jack) Jennings, an aide who worked on education issues in the House for three decades, noted that the debates around the Bush proposal were less rancorous than in previous years (Jennings, 2002). According to Jennings (2002), whoever proposed a policy was almost as important as what the policy was. Other important actors included Representative George Miller; Senator Edward Kennedy, who drafted the language and mechanisms of NCLB, and John Boehner.

**Policy stream.** The policy stream presents the opportunity for policy advocates to push solutions while placing attention on special problems” (Kingdon J. W., *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies*, 2003, p. 165). Within the policy stream, a decision agenda is formulated influence by major forces that are not political, but instead intellectual and personal. The political stream is an important promoter or inhibitor of high agenda items. All the important actors in the system, not just the politicians, judge whether the balance of forces in the political stream favors action. The actors will also judge whether the general public would at least tolerate the directions pursued at the elite level. It could be costly at the election polls if they did not pursue the general public’s level of tolerance and perceptions (Kosar, 2003).

**Policy entrepreneurs.** People who are trying to advocate change are like surfers waiting for the big wave. They get out where they need to be in the ocean.

Once there they need to be ready to go. They need to be ready to paddle. If they are not ready, they will not be able to ride the wave into the beach (Kingdon, 2003). The policy window is an opportunity for advocates of proposals to push their pet solutions or push attention to their special projects. If they are not ready they will miss the opportunity to see the solution become law. Policy entrepreneurs are advocates who are willing to invest their resources-time, energy, reputation, money-to promote a position in return for anticipated future gains in the form of material, purpose, or benefits. In order to be considered a policy entrepreneur that person must have a claim to the hearing, is known for their political connections or negotiating skills, and finally, they are persistent. Knowing that Rod Paige, Secretary of Education could not get the job done concerning education reform President Bush brought Sandy Kress with him to the Whitehouse as a top aide handling education. "He was the point man for the administration in negotiating No Child Left Behind in Congress (Collins, 2012, p. 101). Before coming to Washington he had been a consultant to the Texas Governors Business Council and upon leaving Washington began working as a lobbyist for Pearson PLC, one of the world's largest test publishers. "Sandy Kress was devout education-policy reformer and policy wonk who exuded confidence to the point of arrogance. He had mastered the minutiae of public-education policy" (Ivins & Dubose, 2005, p. 85) and was committed to education reform.

## **Coupling of Streams/Convergence**

The separate streams of problems, policies, and politics come together at certain critical times. Solutions become joined to problems, and both of them are joined to favorable political forces. Coupling normally occurs when a policy window - an opportunity to push pet proposals or one's conceptions of problems - is open (Kingdon, 2003), which usually occurs when there is a shift in the national mood. It is during the coupling stage that either the governmental agenda or the decision agenda is set. A restructuring of the governmental agenda could be the result of occurrences in either the problem stream or the political stream, whereas a restructuring of the decision agenda requires the joining of all three streams. In this case (Kingdon J. , 1984) the role of the policy entrepreneur is critical.

Though it took nearly a year to pass, the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) was a compromise between both parties, sealing the consensus on standards and the federal government's role in education. The shared understanding surrounding standards-based reforms forged by business entrepreneurs and civil rights entrepreneurs over the previous decade formed the basis for an alliance with President Bush, his administration, and top congressional Democrats and Republicans (Rhodes, 2012). The final votes in both houses of Congress were overwhelmingly in favor: 381 to 41 in the House, 87 to 10 in the Senate (Office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives, 2012). The celebratory tour of the politicians who forged NCLB was telling. On the same platform, hands raised together, were two of the most liberal members of Congress, Senator Ted Kennedy (D-MA) and Representative George Miller (D-CA), and two of the most conservative,

Senator Judd Gregg (R-NH) and Representative John Boehner (R-OH). Between them stood George W. Bush, a Republican President from Texas, and the new middle ground in federal education policy (Kosar, 2003).

At the signing of No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), President Bush stated that public education had a moral obligation to provide all children with a world-class education. Furthermore, states had to be accountable for the billions of dollars invested into the education system. The accountability sections of the NCLB hold public educators directly responsible for the effectiveness of their instruction efforts (Popham W. , 2004).

### **Acceptance/Adoption**

At its core, No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) is a civil rights issue and requires a great deal of commitment from state and local officials to ensure that federal civil rights requirements, including Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, Title II of the Americans with Disabilities Act, and requirements under the individuals with Disabilities Education Act, are being followed. The 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Brown vs. the Board of Education is a stark reminder that school integration has not been accompanied by equality of student achievement across color and income lines. The clearly set goals of NCLB offered an unprecedented opportunity to raise expectations and significantly narrow achievement gaps that persisted in American schools (Education Commission of the States, 2004). “The priorities of the NCLB Act did not address reforms in every federal education program, but they did address a general vision for reforming the Elementary and Secondary Act and linking federal

dollars to specific performance goals to ensure improved results” (Present, 2010, p. 68). No Child Left Behind chose to address the issue of children of poverty through enforced accountability.

The most significant impact accountability and choice made was not on the schools themselves, but rather on the politics of American education and, in particular, on the political alliances that determined the prospects for reform. They have propelled both the emergence of new alliances and a balance of power far more conducive to change (Moe, 2011). More and more of the federal funds used for education are going to for-profit companies. These companies write the test, grade the test, provide government funded tutoring if the students do not do well on the test and they lobby for the test. For-profit education companies are running schools with dollars from the government many of these schools are public schools as charter schools. Under the law, for profit company could get a non-profit group to serve as sponsor for a charter that was almost, or entirely the creation of the for profit operator. A study conducted by the National Education Policy Center at the University of Colorado found that only about a quarter of for-profit virtual schools met federal standard for academic progress (Collins, 2012, p. 107).

The federal government increased their influence over the states and local education agencies through the use of leveraged dollars. With these funds came a range of requirements. One of the most significant requirements is the reporting of Title I student’s achievement progress. Title I students must be evaluated in math and reading. The results are reported to the state and then to the federal

government requiring an increasing amount of reporting from local and state school districts.

Finally, NCLB emphasized accountability by imposing constraints on school systems. According to Jennings and Rentner,

The achievement gaps persist among different ethnic groups. The streamlining of school curricula is such that critical areas of learning required for students to have a well-rounded education are ignored and neglecting students who will not attend colleges or Universities after high school (Jennings & Rentner as cited in Gay. 2007. p. 13).

Disadvantaged students and school administrators are held to high accountability standards without the needed resources.

## CHAPTER 7

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Former United States President Ronald Reagan has been quoted as saying, “I do not want to go back to the past; I want to go back to the past way of facing the future” (Will, 2008, para. 22). President Thomas Jefferson, on the other hand, saw history as largely a chronicle of mistakes to be avoided (McCullough, 2003, para. 46); however, reviewing the lessons of the past prepares us to face the challenges of the future (Perry, 2009). Finally, Edith Hamilton writes, in the preface of her book *The Greek Way*,

The past can be of comfort to us in the troubled present. We have many silent sanctuaries in which we can find breathing space to free ourselves from the personal, to rise above our harassed and perplexed minds and catch sight of values that are stable, which no selfish and timorous preoccupations can make waver, because they are the hard-won permanent possessions of humanity. (Hamilton, 1930, as cited McCullough, 2003, para. 5)

The “great presidents learn from the history of the office” (McCullough as cited in transcript of Romney on '60 minutes', 2012). According to the historian David McCullough “when the world is storm-driven and the bad that happens and the worse that threatens are so urgent as to shut everything else from view, then we need to know all the strong fortresses of the spirit which men have built through the ages continues to surround us” ( McCullough, 2003, para. 6 ). Such is the case with the current state of education in the United States. Unfortunately, the policy elites



are not willing to or do not want to view the past successes and failures of policy initiatives to reform education as they develop policy for the future of education. Daniel Boorstin, former Librarian of Congress, wisely said that, “trying to plan for the future without a sense of the past is like trying to plant cut flowers” (McCullough, Year, p. 20). America’s robust historical record is our strong fortress. It can be a resource for those who shape federal policy. “Of all the sustaining themes in our story as a nation, as clear as any has been the importance put on education, one generation after another, beginning with the first village academies in New England and the establishment of Harvard and the College of William and Mary demonstrates that the place of education in the values of the first presidents is unmistakable” (McCullough, 2003, para. 52).

This study of Presidential actions during three eras of educational reform set out to provide research that would describe the evolution of the intentions of social policies chosen and adopted during these pivotal eras of education reform in the United States. The study also sought to investigate the intentions and thought processes of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President Lyndon Baines Johnson, and President George W. Bush concerning education. The overriding question of the study was how did the general social values, democratic values, and economic values of the nation have an effect on the decision making, concerning education policy and reform, of these three Presidents.

Conducting a policy analysis of the three eras of reform gave this researcher the opportunity to develop a greater understanding of how societal problems and

possible solutions are considered by elected and non-elected government decision makers. The study sought to answer the following two overriding questions:

1. Why were Roosevelt's New Deal, Johnson's Great Society, and Bush's NCLB chosen and not others?
2. What systematic changes have taken place due to enactment of Roosevelt's New Deal, Johnson's Great Society, and Bush's No Child Left Behind?

### **Limitations of the Study**

This was a qualitative study, one that was limited to investigating the Presidential actions during three eras of educational reform by three Presidents of the United States. The researcher set out to provide descriptions of the evolution of the intentions of social policies chosen and adopted during these pivotal eras of education reform in the United States. The study also sought to investigate the intentions and thought processes concerning education of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, President Lyndon Baines Johnson, and President George W. Bush. The overriding question of the study was how the general social values, democratic values, and economic values of the nation have an effect on the decision making concerning education policy and reform of these three presidents.

This study has three primary limitations: size, lack of predictability, and bias. Only three periods of reform were studied. Because this was a small, specific, targeted group of politicians (Presidents), there needs to be caution in projecting the findings to other times and other presidents. The researcher took an in-depth look at three Presidents and was able to break down the information and examine it in

terms of individual cases; however, although in depth there needs to be caution in applying the insights to seek future developments and trends. It is impossible to predict what a future President can expect from education. What this study can do and did do is raise important policy questions about the future of education. Finally, bias on the part of the researcher a limitation. Even though the researcher worked to ensure that bias was not part of the study, because she was member of the education field (teacher, principal, assistant superintendent) during two of the eras studied, her preconceived notions could most certainly influence interpretations as well as bringing the perspective of a practicing educator to the analysis.

## **Findings**

The findings are chapter specific and were summarized within chapters four, five, and six. This section will synthesize the findings to answer the study's research questions. The study questions were of two types: major and subsidiary (minor) questions.

### **1. Why were Roosevelt's New Deal, Johnson's Great Society, and Bush's NCLB chosen to address education and schooling?**

The historical record shows that the choices made by Presidents Roosevelt, Johnson, and Bush are not simply about economics and accountability, but also how the shape and spirit of public will be impacted (Gordon, 1994).

In all three eras, the ideas for the policy agenda that was chosen for dealing with the problem of education and youth had begun before each of the Presidents had arrived in the White House. In each case the record is clear that they brought the ideas for the policy with them. It is also clear, that the ultimate policy formulation

took place in the oval office. Within the three eras of education reform, the decision making fell into two common categories: “strategies of content and strategies of approach” (Dietrich, 1994, p. 252). President Roosevelt, President Johnson, and President Bush had the final say in both categories; however, all three had policy entrepreneurs who were empowered to create the content of policy. These elites also were given the authority to use their expertise when working with the strategies approach category with the full backing of the President.

Each President used two types of approach strategies when forming their policies. The approaches were preparatory and congressional. The preparation strategies included empowerment of the elite policy entrepreneurs, building on the interests of groups of citizens and coalitions for support of the policy, and pre-shaping the policy for maximum political acceptance (Dietrich, 1994, p. 253). Congressional strategies included Presidential campaign speeches while running for office stating future policies, Presidential speeches to the citizens of the United States and Congress, and personal interaction with members of Congress. Each President, along with their handpicked policy elites, devised plans of strategy and used the resources available to the President to facilitate the implementation strategies decided upon. The parties involved were knowledgeable, resourceful, and persistent.

## **2. What factors influenced the development and adoption of these policies?**

Expertise and the background experience of each president as well as that of their policy elites influenced the development and adoption of the education reform policy.

Each President brought to the executive office education experiences, political values, knowledge of the inner workings of the federal government, and social contacts both inside and outside of government. For example, President Roosevelt was greatly influenced by the Great Depression. Relief and recovery were the sole purpose for many of the federal programs he initiated. He was also influenced by his childhood and his love for the outdoors.

President Johnson brought to the office experiences of teaching, politics, military service, and poverty. Because President Johnson had been a teacher in a poor school in Texas and had been a director of the Texas National Youth Administration, he understood and had great respect for the power education. He wanted education to become the cornerstone of his Great Society. In his annual address to Congress in March of 1964, Johnson stated “that education is a good investment for the child and for the country” (Source, year, p. #). He firmly believed that equality for all could be achieved through education.

President Bush was a member of the baby boom era that was defined by abundance in numbers as well as socially, economically, and culturally. As Roosevelt and Johnson were defined by their upbringings, so was George Bush. Born into a family with a rich history of political activity, most influential to Bush was his father’s time in the White House as Vice President and then President of the United States. President Bush had three major agenda items at the onset of his presidency: education, a ten year tax-cut, and a foreign policy initiative. Education reform being his first priority as he confirmed by stating in his inaugural address on January 20, 2001, “while many of our citizens prosper, others doubt the promise,

even the justice, of our own country". He continued by saying "the ambitions of some Americans are limited by failing schools and hidden prejudice and the circumstances of their birth" (Bush, G., First Inaugural Address, 2001)

Through the use of inspirational and visionary rhetoric that reflected each Presidents interpretation of the national mood they were able to bring what was in the hearts of the American public to the surface and act upon these thoughts.

### **3. What were the intentions of each?**

The intent of the New Deal was relief and recovery. For the two main youth programs, Civil Conservation Corps and National Youth Administration the focus was to put unemployed youth to work and to allow for the continuation of their education either in school or through on the job training. The goal was to offer relief and to better prepare the youth for socially constructive lives. The original mission of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 was to supplement state and local resources focused on the very disadvantaged by using the carrot and stick approach. The federal role in K-12 education under No Child Left Behind was focused on process and compliance rather than on achievement and results using the same carrot and stick approach; however, under NCLB, federal policy puts states and districts in a bind when voluntary participation is a federal program is, in effect, coercive to cash-strapped school districts and states (Ohanian, 1999).

### **4. How does the era of accountability with No Child Left Behind compare to the New Deal and Great Society eras economically?**

Throughout American history, the federal government has encouraged and supported education. According to Glass (2009), modern education debates have

been shaped by powerful economic and demographic forces that have been over a century in the making. Since 1812, when Kalamazoo, Michigan invoked a property tax to help fund education, states have relied substantially on local property taxes to fund K-12 education (City of Kalamazoo Assessor's Office, 2008). A survey of the major education bills and legislation up to and during the Depression years uncovered the apparent tendency in federal education policymaking: that general aid bills inevitably failed to become law. However with the addition of unfunded and underfunded education mandates imposed by federal policymakers hundreds of billions of dollars have been significantly added to the state and local taxpayers' burden (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2010) increasing the need for federal dollars.

Before President Johnson came into office, the federal government's share of educational spending amounted to about 1%, mostly earmarked for vocational programs (Reese, 2005). Roosevelt's funding was offered as relief for the Great Depression, and support came in the form of indirect subsidies to schools through the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) programs that were run by state and local agencies. During the Johnson era, the funding progressed to direct assistance for programs to meet specific needs. This assistance was again provided to the states to distribute to schools that qualified for aid. Funds supplied by the federal government grew steadily from the Johnson era to the Bush era. The Bush era continued the trend of increasing federal funding. Along with each increase in funding came more directives and mandates. Anderson observed that the federal

government's regulatory presence in schools increased as funding increased (Anderson, 2007).

Roosevelt's New Deal requested direct federal aid to relief projects. The intention was for the money to go away when it was no longer needed. President Roosevelt insisted, "that his administration would do all it could to stay out of the business of channeling direct federal aid to high school students or their teachers" (Presidential Press Conference, 1934, p. 202). The terms *supplement* and *supplant* were used when defining how federal aid would be spent on the various New Deal Programs. President Roosevelt wanted to supplement the youth through Civil Conservation Corps (CCC) and National Youth Administration (NYA) programs by providing the training and skills both the young people and the existing economy demanded, not supplant the role of public education. The original appropriation for the NYA was \$4,880,000 (United States. National Youth Administration, 1937, p. 1) and was distributed to state and local agencies for control and disbursement.

President Johnson made federal aid for education a fundamental issue during his 1964 presidential campaign. In turning to the schools to help solve the problem of the mid-twentieth century poverty issues, President Johnson and his planners continued the tradition and belief in the powers of education. During President Johnson's era, Title I provided money but it was in the form of general aid. It was considered categorical funding aimed at remedial and supplementary services for poor children. The restrictions placed on the aid were that assistance be given to those schools that enrolled the largest number of poverty children, based on the theory that poverty and low scholastic achievement are closely related. Careful to



safeguard the state and local districts' traditional authority over education, the guidelines did not indicate how students were to be served. The original appropriation for education was \$8 billion dollars, with \$1 billion dollars going to elementary and secondary students for supplementary strategies such as tutoring, after-school programs, and resources for students (Unger & Unger, 1999).

The 2000 presidential campaign affirmed President Bush intentions to expand the federal role in education. He built upon the Improving America's School Act, President Clinton's version of the reauthorization of ESEA (Robelen, 2000). Bush felt that Title I needed reforming by increasing accountability through the use of standards and assessment. His position was based on providing quality schools and liberalism. President Bush's version of ESEA, known as No Child Left Behind, required equal treatment of all students and that the same standards and accountability were used for all students. NCLB was governed by a complicated mix of federal mandates and state discretions. The mandates required the states develop standards and tests to ensure student achievement. States were to create a system for dealing with failing schools and the states set the rigor for these themselves (Heiss & McGuinn, 2009). Bush campaigned for \$13.5 billion dollars to be given to education during the first year of No Child Left Behind, with \$1 billion to be given to a compensatory reading program (Kosar, 2003; Felix, 2002)

## **5. What systematic changes have taken place due to enactment of**

### **Roosevelt's New Deal, Johnson's Great society, and Bush's NCLB?**

Through the use of policy analysis the perspective of systematic changes due to the enactment of Roosevelt's New Deal, Johnson's Great society, and Bush's No

Child Left Behind policies were viewed through the each President's point of view using Odden's Policy Analysis Instrument to categorize the policies of all three eras of time (See Table 7.1, 7.2, and 7.3). The categories of the policy instrument used were constructed from two main sources: existing theories about the effects of governmental action and observed patterns in the choice of policymakers. The categories used to determine the systematic changes during each time period consist of mandates, inducements, capacity-building, and system-changing. The categories determined the effect of federal expansion in the educational system.

Mandates draw on the theories of regulation which address the conditions under which the targets of regulation can be expected to comply given various levels of enforcement, sanctions, and costs and benefits of compliance. Inducement draws on theories of public finance that deal with intergovernmental transfers. These theories address the conditions under which government agencies can be induced to perform certain actions by conditional grants of funds from other governmental agencies. Capacity building involves the conditional transfer of funds from one governmental agency to another and introduces the additional element of investment in uncertain future benefits. System-changing entails transfers of authority rather than money, with the aim of altering the institutional structures by which policies are implemented (Odden A. R., 1991, p. 162).

***Federal involvement in education.*** As the federal government has appropriated more monetary resources and leveraged funds to state education agencies in the form of federal aid through the use of mandates, the quantity and

quality of data collected for federal program regulation has grown. It started with general education relief, but has progressed to mandated core curriculum areas for which federal aid can be used. This progression has led to the transfer of authority from traditional local control to federal control of public education with a reliance on the State Departments to administer the federal funds to the Local Education Agencies. The State and Local Education Agencies are then to design and implement compensatory education programs.

**Grant money.** As federal became tied to national policy concerns such as poverty, defense, or economic growth categorical funding became the means of ensuring that the children and schools most in need of assistance received the help. By targeting these funds on special populations and controlling the use of these funds through federal regulations ensured compliance by the state and local education authorities. As the leveraged funding increased so did the expectations for student achievement and academic growth which allowed for the emergence of new providers of education services.

**Business changes.** Education policy and decision-making systems align with the needs of the community that provides the financing (Armstrong, 2008). As we began to shift from the agriculture age to the industrial age and then to the information age, business leaders' interest in education increased. The resources provided by these leaders of business to education began to provide incremental improvements and break-through innovations used in education. As these leaders became more instrumental and more influential in education issues and policy

making, they demanded better quality of students by demanding a more rigorous curriculum, more testing, and more accountability.

***Presidential elections.*** Education now ranks equal to national defense among domestic interests. Since President Johnson made education one of his top campaign issues, all Presidents who followed have declared some form of education policy by stating their intentions to reform education. President Johnson promoted the use of education as the focal point for advancing his *Great Society* agenda and in particular, his *War on Poverty* programs. “The 2000 presidential rhetorical campaign affirmed the new direction that federal education politics and policy, with respect to education standards and Title I, was going to take” (Kosar, 2003, p. 461). Then, Governor Bush ran as the compassionate conservative leader (Hatfield, 2002; McClosky, 2006; McClellan, 2008; Baker, 2009). He campaigned in favor of the expansion of the federal role in education through standards and accountability. His position, which resonated with voters, was a mix of quality school advocacy and liberalism (Robelen, Bush leading Republicans in new direction, 2000). Since the 1970’s each President has in some way attempted to reinvent the federal government’s role in public education each subsequent reinvention has resulted in expanded federal influence and extended federal authority.

## **6. What were intended consequences and unintended consequences of the New Deal, Great Society, and No Child Left Behind?**

The basic intended consequence of the New Deal, the Great Society, and No Child Left Behind was to strengthen programs and provide additional resources for poor children. Poverty in the United States has had a tremendous impact on education

reform as efforts have been taken to ensure that all individuals have access to education not matter what their socioeconomic status might be.

However, one of the major consequences has been that the United States still maintains a culture “where the people with the strongest self-interest in education reform - that is low-income parents of color whose children attend public urban schools - find themselves missing at the table... The failure of our urban schools represents a systematic question of social injustices and reflects the lack of power of low-income communities of color” (Anyon, 1997, p. 96).

### **7. What incremental changes were experienced because of the intended and unintended consequences?**

Major changes experienced, across the combined eras has been a geometric increase in litigation. As the federal government imposed more regulations and required more reporting from state and local education agencies, education litigation has increased. For the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, federal court cases related to elementary and secondary education were rare events. There were only a handful of court decisions issued before 1954. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century there was a geometric increase in the number of cases in the federal and state court systems. The index of the 2004 Survey of Public School Law, however, uses 500 pages to list all the education related issues that have been or are being litigated, including approximately 300 U.S. Supreme Court cases that have been decided (Cambron McCabe, McCarty, & Thomas, 2004).

Claims about the inability of courts to achieve social change disregard the many methods used by the federal courts to increase their enforcement power.

During Roosevelt's era, there were two cases that significantly affected education. After Roosevelt, several more were litigated, with the most notable one being Brown vs. the Board of Topeka, Kansas (1954). Since then, court cases have grown in number and stature, often with the assistance from congress and the executive office. At the same time, examination of why courts felt compelled to expand their remedial powers reminds us of the inherent difficulty of the many tasks they have undertaken and the concomitant danger of producing serious unintended consequences (Dunn & West, 2009).

**8. What is the cause for disconnect between the making of policy and the implementation of the policy by school leaders?**

Education reform does not happen overnight, but over a period of time, thereby allowing for a disconnect to occur between the making of policy and the implementation of the policy by school leaders. During the reform stages, costs of changes, negotiations, insecurities, hard feelings, and so-on must also be considered when bringing in new policies. Such costs must be counted against any change. When these cost are not accounted for when dealing with school leaders and teachers while adopting the policies and bringing them to life in practice a disconnect among the players and policy enactment will occur.

It is incredibly difficult to make something happen, most especially across the many layers of government and institutions involved in education. Social issues tend to be even thornier. The main reason for the difficulty is because policymakers cannot mandate what matters most to a person, community, or system. Policy success depends critically on two broad factors:

Local capacity and will of the people. Capacity can be addressed in the policy. Training can be offered. Dollars provided. Consultants hired. All of which can support intended consequences. Alternatively, if institutions and people are forever being reformed and reinvented and remodeled-as occurs in many public school systems-there may be benefits to stability, consistency and focus. The will, attitudes, motivation, values, and beliefs of the people underlie the implementer's response to a policy's goals or strategies.

(National Conference of State Legislatures, 2010).

The historical record shows that the choices made for education policy are not simply about economics and accountability, but rather that the shape and spirit of public provision matter very much to its impact (Gordon, 1994).

### **Theoretical Implication**

Today, as well as in the past, what we expect from our schools and what we consider a good education reflects the political climate of the times. We, as a country, tend to hold similar expectations for our leaders, especially the President of the United States. American public schools have been expected to fulfill certain public missions that go beyond the purely academic purposes of all schools, both public and private. These public missions can be characterized by six main themes:

- To provide universal access to free education,
- To guarantee equal opportunities for all children,
- To unify a diverse population,
- To prepare people for citizenship in a democratic society,
- To prepare people to become economically self-sufficient, and

To improve social conditions (Kober, 1996).

Most of these missions go back to the early days of public education, although the specific goals and means of accomplishing them have changed over time. Some of them are unique to public school, while others apply broadly to both public and private schools but place special demands on public schools (Kober, 1996). In order to improve education in today's society we must consider the necessity of leveling the playing field as well as the importance of the knowledge, understanding, and awareness of all stakeholders.

**Level the playing field.** Over time, one major theme of American education, especially in the three eras of this study, has been that the system tries to level the playing field for all children to receive a quality education, but they have yet to succeed. It is not for lack of trying - solutions continue to abound from all directions. Unfortunately, many of the solutions are misdirected investments, such as the current use of testing (assessing) American students three or four times per year.

Education policy and decision-making systems often align with the needs of the community that provides the financing (Armstrong, 2008). The business of education has become a multi-billion dollar business. Testing companies lead the way in terms of lobbying for more accountability among American students, providing test preparation materials that are used more often than the assigned textbook, and software for computer-based programs to assist struggling students to gain proficiency of standardized tests.

**Knowledge, understanding, and awareness.** Effective action within each stakeholder's role requires knowledge, understanding, and awareness of the policy



environment. The existing players in the policy making sector have resources, processes, partners, and business models designed to support the status quo. This makes it difficult and unappealing for stakeholders to challenge the prevalent way of thinking or create an environment of exchange relationships between the players and the actors (Meltzer & Bellavita, 1983).

### **Policy Implication**

Social policy is one of the largest portions of public policy at the national level. “Over the last century, its growth has been meteoric and can be traced back to dramatic social and historical events, changes in our views of what government ought to do, and the evolution of social values” (Simon, 2010, p. 219). The intent of much of the social policy especially with education has had the intention of serving children and communities that have been more at risk. Development of public policy as well as agreeing on the issues that government ought or ought not to do; Does or does not do in a democratic state takes time. Stakeholder attention can wax and wane across the time it takes to develop and implement particular policy agenda. For better or worse, stakeholders must remain ever vigilant of policy bias in an attempt to create what is collectively deemed to be acceptable social conditions (Simon, 2010, p. 219).

### **Recommendation for Future Research**

As stated at the beginning of this study, our faith in public schools as the great equalizer remains (Meir, Kohn, Darling-Hammond, Sizer, & Wood, 2004). Over the years the hopes and efforts to affect change in education have been echoed in the discussion, indictments, and failings about change in schools. Some

argue that education has not changed much from 1930 to the present. Others argue that education has changed considerably. Further research in the area of Catalytic Innovation (Christensen, 2006)<sup>8</sup> in education is needed as we move from the age of the knowledge worker to that of the high concept/high touch age (Pink D. , 2005).<sup>9</sup> This raises the question of how does the president approach the problem of transitioning from the knowledge age to the cognitive high concept/high touch in a fundamentally new way that creates a scalable, sustainable, systems-changing solution that will improve education?

Defining the skills for the future by using the definition from the Information age concerning knowledge workers (the well-educated manipulator of information and deployed of expertise) is still necessary but is no longer sufficient to help determine the skills needed by our students for the future. We will now need to incorporate the capabilities we once disdained or thought to be frivolous and not worthy right-brain qualities of inventiveness, empathy, joyfulness, and meaning. Increasingly, we will determine who flourishes and who flounders by who is best able to incorporate skills from the left brain and the right brain. For government organizations and education, this

---

<sup>8</sup> Catalytic Innovation: Shares principal features with Clayton Christensen's Disruptive-innovation model. Like the disruptive-innovations, which challenge industry incumbents by offering simpler, good-enough solutions to inadequately addressed social problems. Catalytic innovations are a subset of disruptive innovations, distinguished by their primary focus on social change, often on a national scale.

<sup>9</sup> High Concept/High touch age first used by John Naisbitt in Megatrends: Ten New Direction Transforming Our Lives. As used in this paper the interpretation used by Daniel Pink in A Whole New Mind: Moving From The Information Age to the Conceptual Age is high concept is the capacity to detect patterns and opportunities, to create artistic and emotional beauty, to craft a satisfying narrative, and to combine seemingly unrelated ideas into something new. High Touch involves the ability to empathize with others, to understand the subtleties of human interaction, to find joy in one's self and elicit it in others, and to stretch beyond the quotidian in pursuit of purpose and meaning.

will require a whole new mind to be successful in the future (Pink D. , 2005, p. 2).

Another area of research needed within the education setting concerns the trend toward a disjointed education model. Increasingly, Kindergarten through post-secondary education is becoming more blended due to the offering of products and services that are perceived to be simpler, less regulated, and less costly than the existing alternatives. They may be known to have a lower level of performance, but users consider them to be good enough. Examples include virtual academies, charter schools, and for-profit schools (secondary schools, post-secondary schools, and graduate schools that allow students to take classes from venues that are not traditional public schools).

In the new context of international competition, when formulating new educational reforms perhaps the President and his education elite should ask, what will be the impact of this blended education system have on the international, federal, state and local levels? What outcomes does the federal government or our society expect from these services? What will the funding look like if education continues on this blended path? Will these services eventually put public education as we know it out of business? What will be the opportunity costs?

Another important area for future research needed concerns the concept of the permanent campaign (Ornstein & Mann, 2000). Today's incumbents are continually campaigning for reelection. Research is needed on the effects that this practice will have on future education policies. According to Professor Hugh Heclo, the permanent campaign in modern politics has turned into the nonstop process of

seeking to manipulate sources of public approval to engage in the act of governing itself (Ornstein & Mann, 2000). If the leader of the country is continually campaigning for office, will any policy, not just education policy, be allowed the time needed to ensure buy-in from the citizens and have the time and support for implementation that is needed to truly bring about reform? Much of the research would need to focus on looking toward the future for answers rather than looking at the past. The past is just that, and soon it “should be so strange that we wonder how we and the people we know and love came from such a time” (White, 1993, p. 13).

### **Summary and Conclusion**

Legally and traditionally, elementary and secondary education has been defined broadly by state constitutions; specified by state statutes; and implemented by state agencies, school boards, and local school districts. Before the 1950s federal involvement in education was modest in resources and limited in scope. Since then there has been dramatic increases in federal involvement through the levers of funding and regulation. One theme that has continued is, targeting underserved populations with the expectation of raising student achievement for disabled and economically disadvantaged students (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2010). The phrase an idea whose time has come captures a fundamental reality about an irresistible education movement that sweeps over our politics and our society, pushing aside everything that might stand in its path. As the federal government, with the backing of the executive office, increased education policy in domestic stature, alongside national defense as one of the overriding

concerns of the federal government, it is easy to become involved in sweeping educational movement such as ending poverty. Of course, federal aid to education did not end poverty in the United States. Nor did it prove to be the only escape route for children born in inner city ghettos. What federal expansion did do was create an attitude of conflict and confusion towards education.

Where is the federal role likely to head in education policy and governance? “Every indication is that it will become much more significant in the area of shaping policies and practices through several leverage points it can exercise over states and local school districts” (Conley D. , 2003, p. 6). Since the 1970’s each President has in some way attempted to reinvent the federal government’s role in education. Each subsequent reinvention has resulted in expanded federal influence and extended federal authority through the increased quantity and quality of data required by schools to collect, interpret, and share; Narrowing of the curriculum being taught; Increased dropout rates among students; Schools unable to meet the set benchmarks thereby being labeled as an inadequate school.

Fearful of a perceived wolf at the door, the citizens of the United States voluntarily surrendered their local control of education. They surrendered their beliefs that a thoughtful, balanced public education for all children is important. The fear Americans felt toward education was understandable, as every President since Roosevelt has repeatedly warned the citizens that education is in crisis. When events or rhetoric challenge our view of the world, we naturally long for some way to improve order; therefore, Presidents and politicians need to be wary of sweeping

movements and the phrase of an idea whose time has come. Rash solutions have a way of breeding whole new levels of chaos.

Table 1.1

*2006 PISA Scores*

Country	5th Percentile		Mean		95th Percentile		Male mean		Female mean	
	Score	SE	Score	SE	Score	SE	Score	SE	Score	SE
United States	328.38	7.58	474.35	4.02	624.89	4.81	478.61	4.02	470.06	4.62
United Kingdom	351.17	4.96	495.44	2.14	642.96	3.82	503.87	2.14	487.17	2.55
<b>OECD Average</b>	<b>345.59</b>	<b>1.06</b>	<b>497.68</b>	<b>0.54</b>	<b>645.33</b>	<b>0.93</b>	<b>503.21</b>	<b>0.54</b>	<b>492.01</b>	<b>0.67</b>
<i>Hong Kong - China</i>	385.61	6.15	547.46	2.67	691.88	4.84	555.36	2.67	539.78	3.93
<b>Finland</b>	<b>411.43</b>	<b>5.00</b>	<b>548.36</b>	<b>2.30</b>	<b>677.92</b>	<b>3.03</b>	<b>554.25</b>	<b>2.30</b>	<b>542.55</b>	<b>2.73</b>

**Indicator:** Mean and distribution of student performance

**Domain:** Mathematics

Partner country / economy names are in italics

Sorted by Country Mean

Table 1.2

*Comparison/Contrast of Finland, China, England, and the United States*

	Finland	China	United Kingdom	United States
Define quality education	*Low Levels of Vertical Differentiation *Low Levels of Horizontal Differentiation	*Low Levels of Vertical Differentiation *High Levels of Horizontal Differentiation	*Low Levels of Vertical Differentiation *Low Levels of Horizontal Differentiation	*Low Levels of Vertical Differentiation *Low Levels of Horizontal Differentiation
Market involvement			Enterprise Culture	
Centralized/Decentralized	More school Autonomy over Curriculum and Assessment	More school Autonomy over Curriculum and Assessment	More school Autonomy over Curriculum and Assessment	More school Autonomy over Curriculum and Assessment
Testing for Accountability			National monitoring assessment to monitor national standards	
School Choice	Less School Competition 8% of students in private schools	More Competition 52% of students are in private schools	Less School Competition 8% of students in private schools	Less School Competition 8% of students in private schools
Allocate Resources for Education	*Small Class Sizes and/or Low Teachers' Salaries *High Cumulative Expenditure on Education	Large Class Sizes and High Teachers' Salaries Low Cumulative Expenditure on Education	*Small Class Sizes and/or Low Teachers' Salaries *High Cumulative Expenditure on Education	*Small Class Sizes and/or Low Teachers' Salaries *High Cumulative Expenditure on Education



Table 1.3

Federal Government	State Government	Economic	Technological	Impact
<b>Early Years</b>				
*Education not specifically stated in Constitution *Americanizing Students: Instilling Core Social and Political Values *Creation of the Department of Education (1861)	Local Control of Education, Create Laws and Policies to Fund Education, Common School Movement, Progressive Era	Local schools were to be created and controlled by state agencies, Civil War, Depression	A period of full discovery and inventing, saw the widespread replacement of manual labor with new inventions and machinery	Greater political, social, and economic efficacy for many Americans who lack the means to attend private schools
<b>First Wave of Reform-Civil Rights (1940-1960)</b>				
New Deal, GI Bill Brown vs. The Board of Education, National Defense Education Act, National School Lunch Act	State Curriculum shifted from writing courses of study to learning experiences for students	World War II, Korean War, Market-based Reform (Friedman, 1955), First Baby Boomers Born	Sputnik, Increasing Importance in Science and Medicine	Exploration in Education, Driven by Political & Economic Forces, Realize that a high technological world demands a highly educated populace
<b>Second Wave of Reform-Social Issues (1960-1980)</b>				
Great Society, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Increase in Academic Advisors to the Federal Government, School Finance Reform, NAEP testing begins	Political and Social Equality, Minimum Competency Testing begins	Vietnam War, Recession Gas Embargo, Finance Reform, Generation X is born	Apple Computer, Microsoft Windows 1.0, Carl Perkins Vocational and Technical Act	Education Equity, Increase use of Technology in Education
<b>Third Wave of Reform-Quality/Equity (1980-2002)</b>				
<i>Nation at Risk</i> President/Governors create education policy	Higher Education Act Amended to state that each state must produce report cards, Systematic changes standards and benchmarks	Culture of Consumption (Glass, 2008) Generation Y	Teacher in Space Program, Internet, Compu Virtual High School founded, Google Internet Search Engine Launched	Equity vs. Quality
<b>Current Situation-Accountability (2002-Present)</b>				
No Child Left Behind, American Reinvestment and Recovery Act, Funded and Unfunded Mandates	Common Core Standards	Globalization, Education is \$300-billion-a-year industry, New Base Investments for education, Silent Generation or Generation Z born	Information Age, iPods, iPads, iPhones, digital books	9000 American Schools were identified PI, Curriculum Narrowing, Pressure to Decrease Federal Expenditures

*Timeline for Education Reform in the United States*

Table 1.4

*The Generations Involved in American Education*

	<b>Education as an Ideal (1780-1940)</b> Education used to help preserve the American way of life.	<b>Education as a Means to Career Progression (1940-1960)</b> Generation of structural change with educational opportunities (system of mass education)	<b>Education as a Commodity (1970-1980)</b> Education is taken for granted	<b>Education for Accountability (1980- Present)</b>
<b>Reality</b> Structure of opportunities, events of history, educational System	Opportunities for education increase. In 1900 only 50% of America's children attended school.	Educational opportunities increase because of GI Bill. Structural changes were made.	Many Education opportunities. Equity and accountability.	Public school accountability, private school options, and choice of schools.
<b>Experience</b> How experiences are made meaningful, experiential environment, quality and duration of experiences	Serve as a tool of socialization for the state. Instilling core social and political values. Americanizing students.	Critical to social economic and political strength. Seen as a national priority.	Central part of policy agenda. Education called our most important national investment.	Driven primarily by political and economic forces \$300-billion-a-year industry
<b>Expression</b> Contents and emphasis of narration, stages of life, ways of approaching the narratives	Work, breadwinning, and war connects stages of life	Work has central importance in people's lives, work and education become more linked	Several choices of educational institutions, self-searching, own identity and hobbies have central importance	More choices for graduate level education or "professional degree"

(Antikaninen, Education Generations and the Futures of Adult Education: A Nordic Experience, 2002; Simon, Public Policies, Preferences and Outcomes, 2007 & Mondale, S., & Patton, S. B. *School; The Story of American Public Education*, 2001.)

Table 2.1

*Problems Surrounding Education Reform*

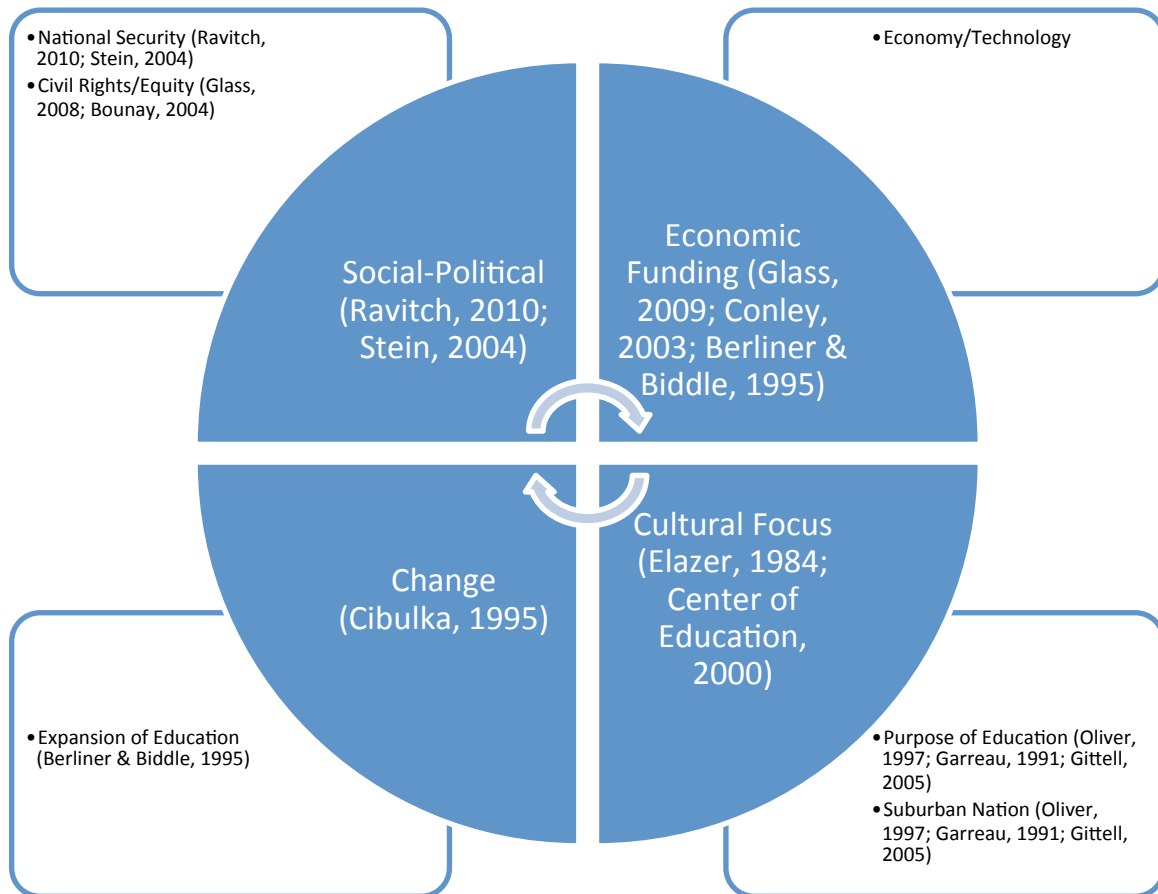


Table 2.2

*Elazar's Three Political Cultures*

(Elazar, D. J. (1984). *American federalilism: A view from the states* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). New York: Harper and Row.)

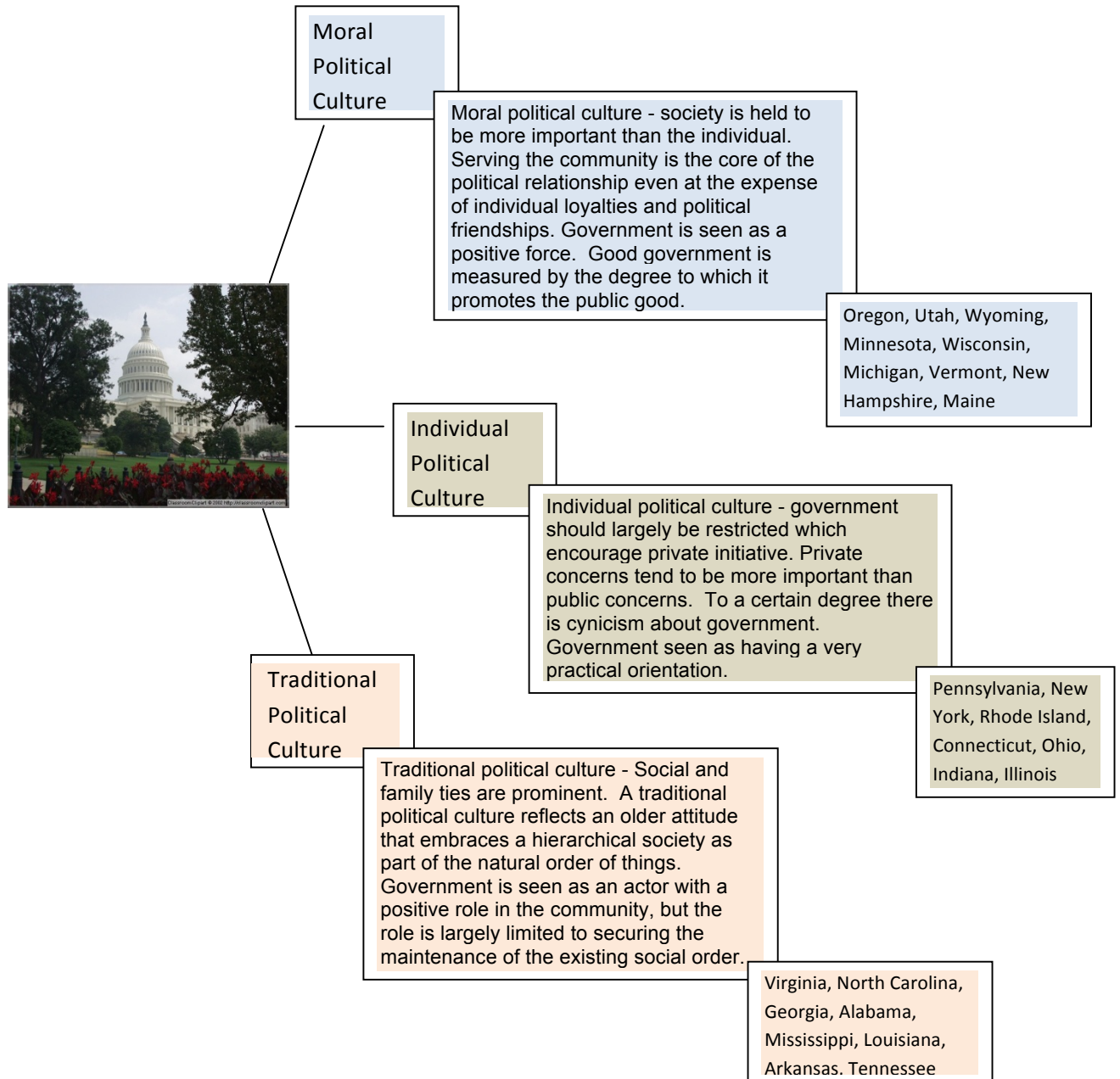


Table 2.3

*Expectations of a Nation: Six Notable Reasons for Change in Education Policy*

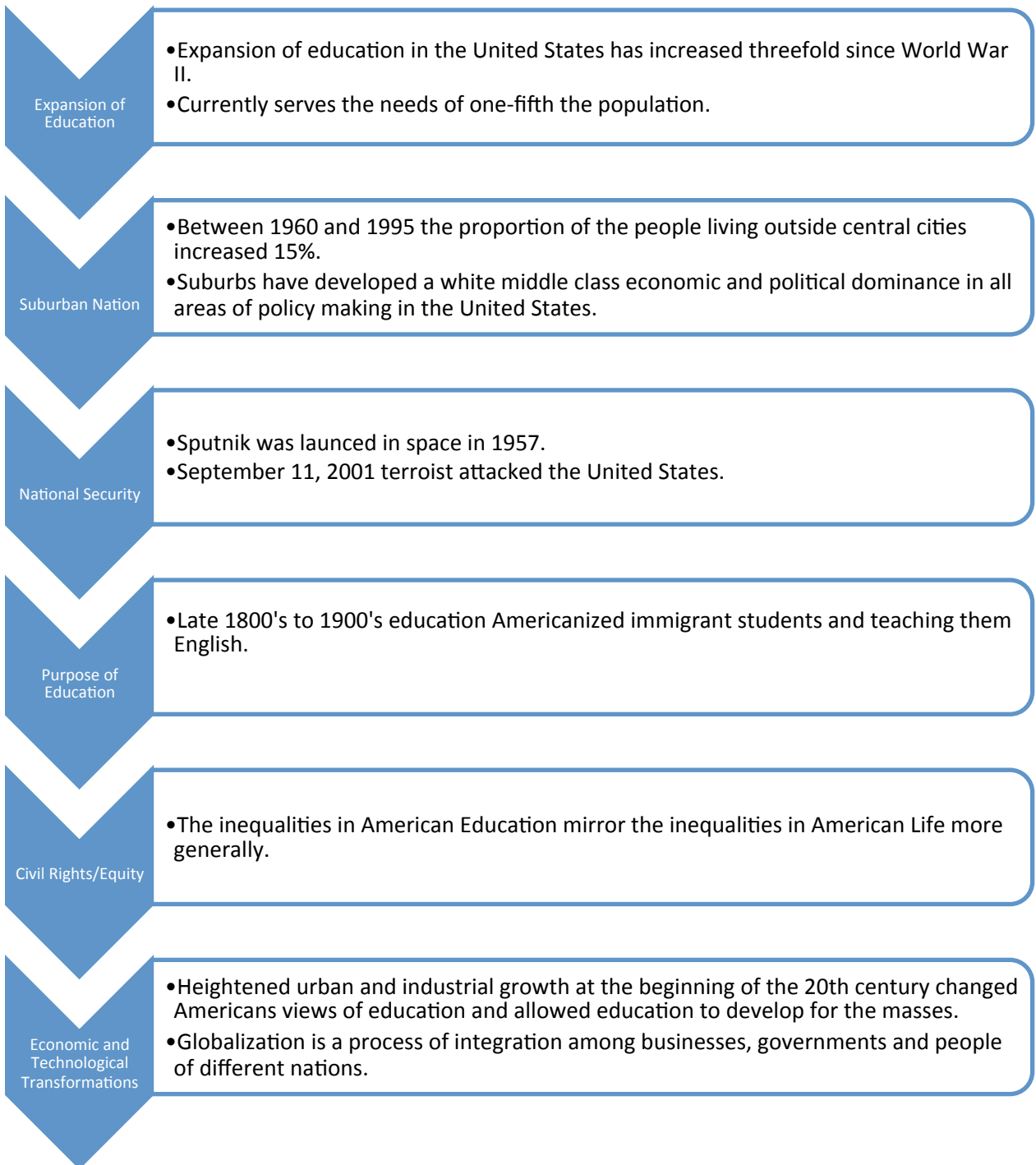


Table 2.4

The Policy-into-Practice Continuum

Lowham, J. (1994). *Evolving intentions of an education policy from state development into teacher implementation*. Greeley: University of Northern Colorado.

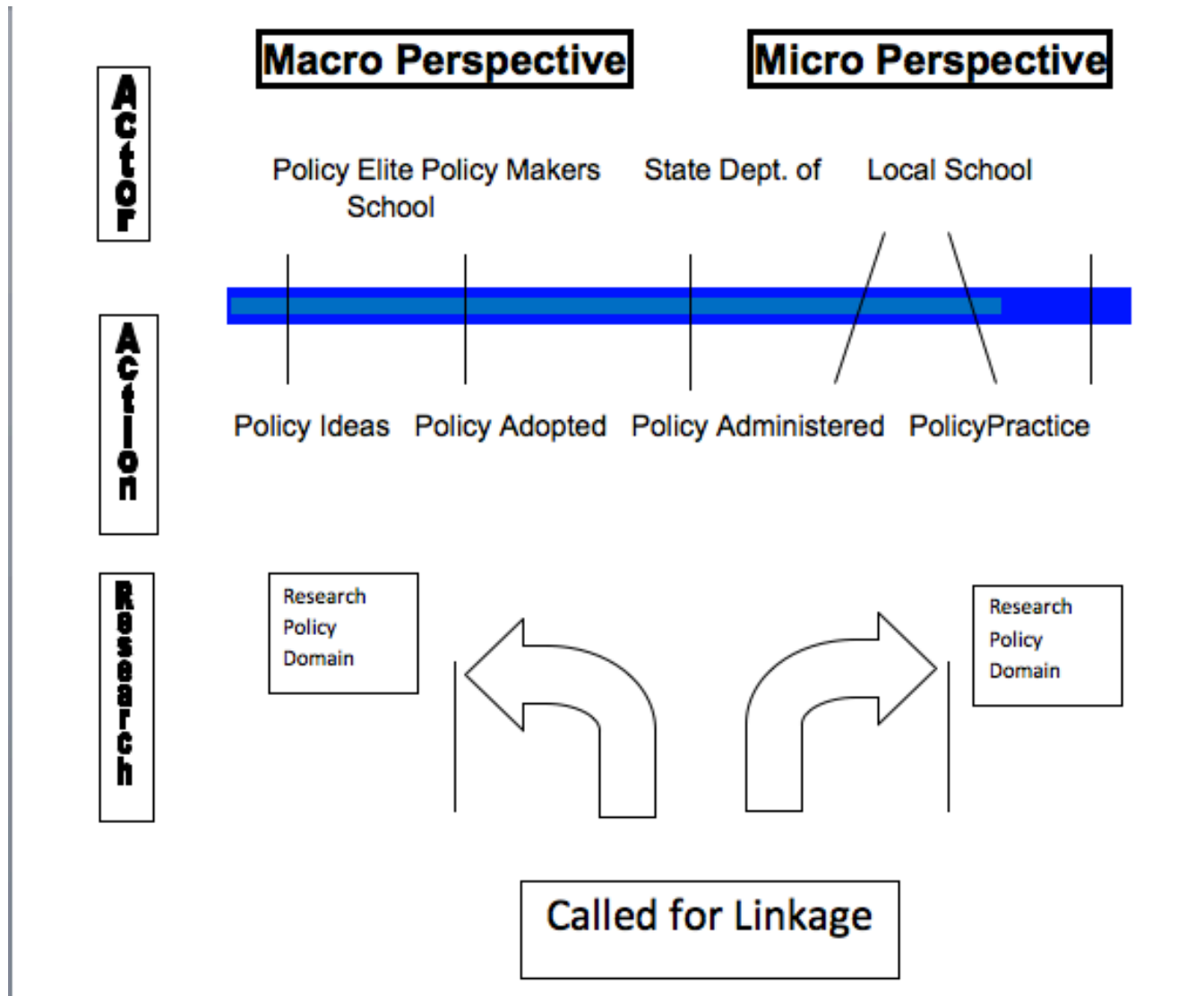


Table 2.5

*Macro Perspective - Executive Branch of Government*

<b>Macro Perspective</b>		
<b>Executive Branch of Government</b>		
<b>Actors</b>	<b>Policy Elite</b>	<b>Policy Makers</b>
<b>Actions</b>	<b>Policy Ideas</b>	<b>Policy Adopted</b>

(Lowham, 1999)

Table 3.1

*Actors, Players, and Political Elites*

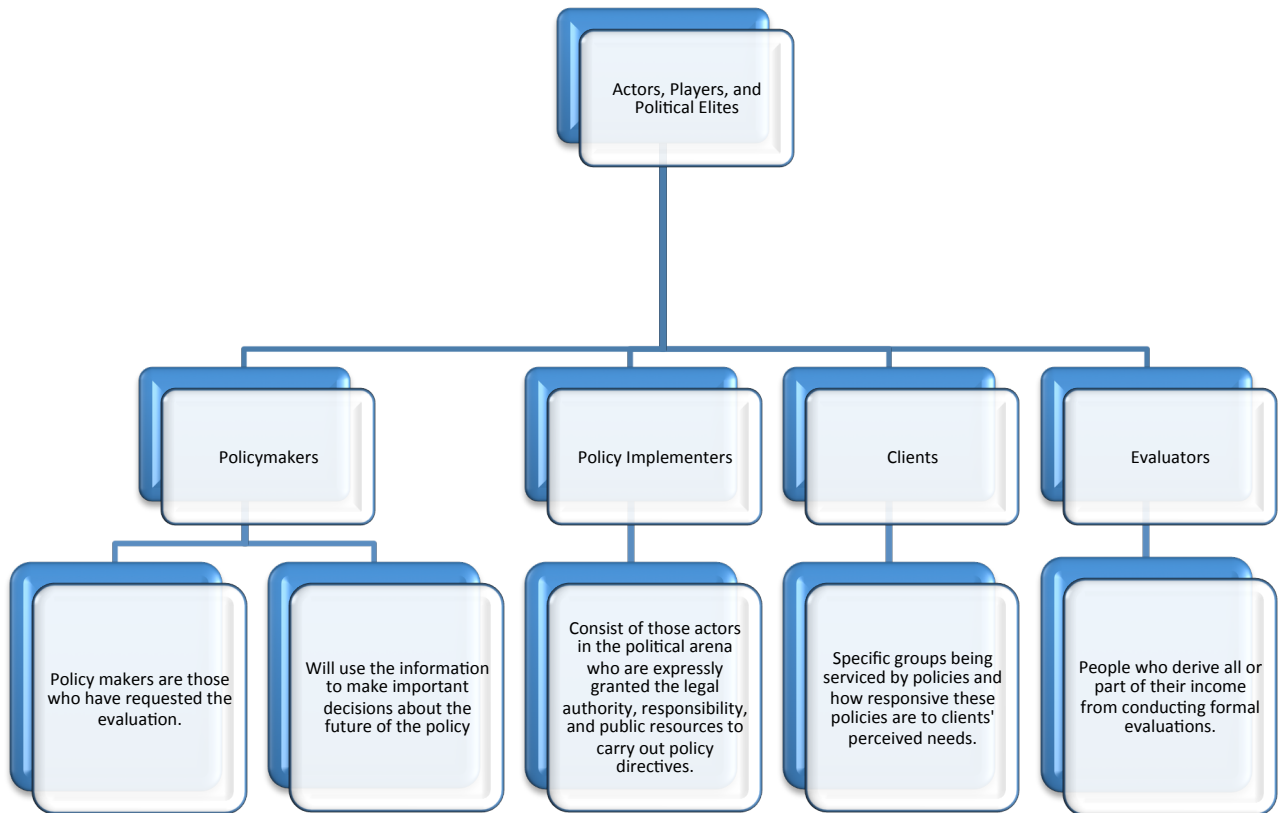




Table 3.2

*Policy Instrument Defined*

	Primary Elements	Expected Efforts	Costs	Benefits	Examples
Mandate	Rules	Compliance	Initiations - enforcement Targets - Compliance, Avoidance	Specific Benefits to individuals Diffuse benefits to society	Environmental regulations Non-discrimination requirements
Inducements	Money (procurement)	Production of value (short-term returns)	Initiators Production Oversight Displacement Producers Overhead Matching Avoidance	Initiators Increased budget Authority Clients Value received	Grants-in-aid to government In-Kind grants to individuals
Capacity Building	Money (investment)	Enhancement of skill, competence, long-term returns	Short-term costs to initiating government	Short term, specific benefits to receiving agency Long-term, diffuse benefits to society	Basic Research Preservation
System Changing	Authority	Compostion of public delivery system; incentives	Loss of authority by established deliverers	Gain in authority by new deliverers	Vouchers Deinstitutionalization New providers

(Odden A. R., 1991)

Table 4.1

*Organized Anarchy Model of Public Policymaking*

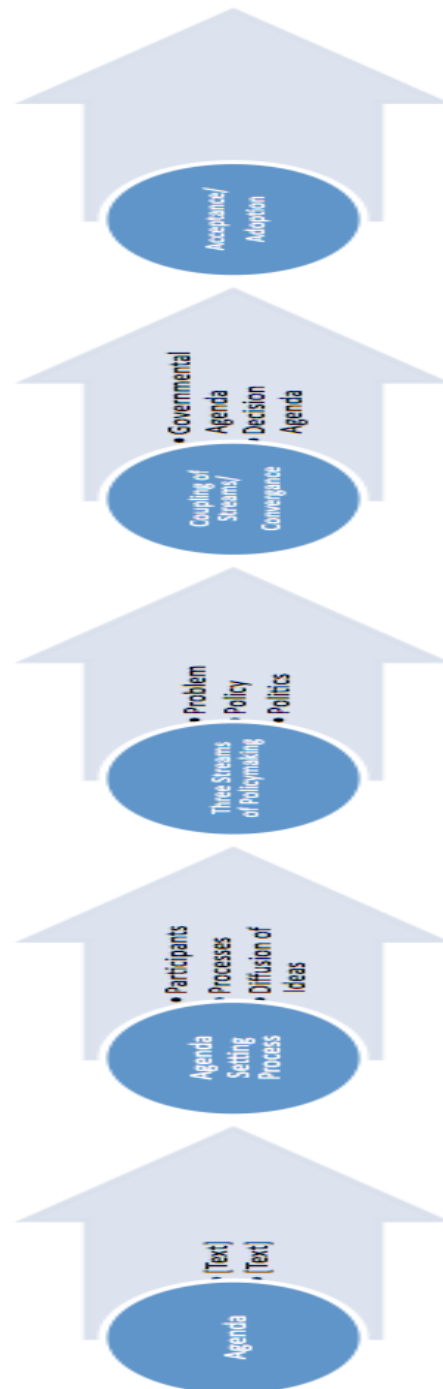


Table 4.2

*Participating Policymakers*

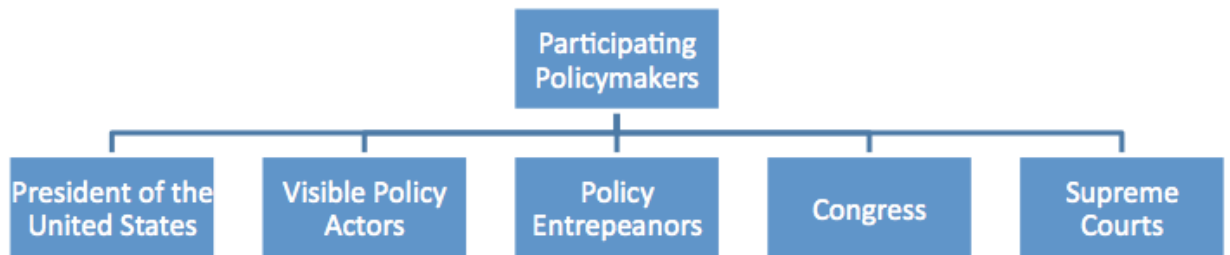


Table 4.3

*Make-up of Congress (1935-1945)*

*(Composition of Congress, by Political Party, 1855-2011-  
<http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0774721.html>; Office of the Clerk of the House of  
 Representatives. Web:<http://clerkweb.house.gov/histrecs/history.html>)*

	<b>SENATE</b>		<b>HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES</b>	
	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
1929-1931	39	56	163	267
1931-1933	47	48	216	218
1933-1935	59	36	313	117
1935-1937	69	25	435	322
1937-1939	75	17	435	333
1939-1941	69	23	262	169
1941-1943	66	28	267	162
1943-1945	57	38	222	209

Table 4.4

*Processes of Policy Formation*

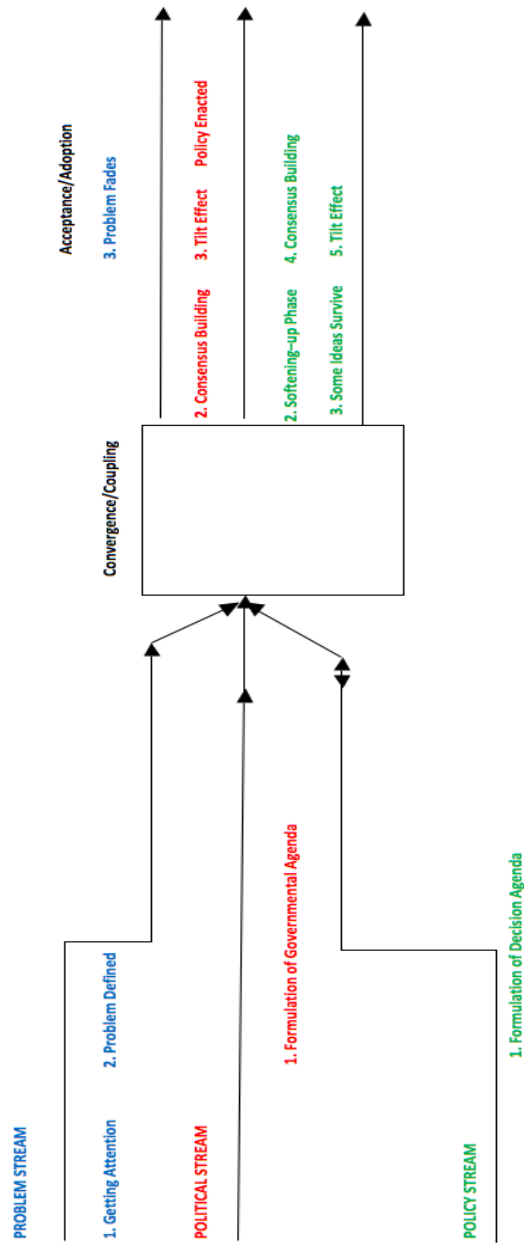


Table 4.5

*Processes of Policy Formation – Problem Stream*

**Problem Stream**

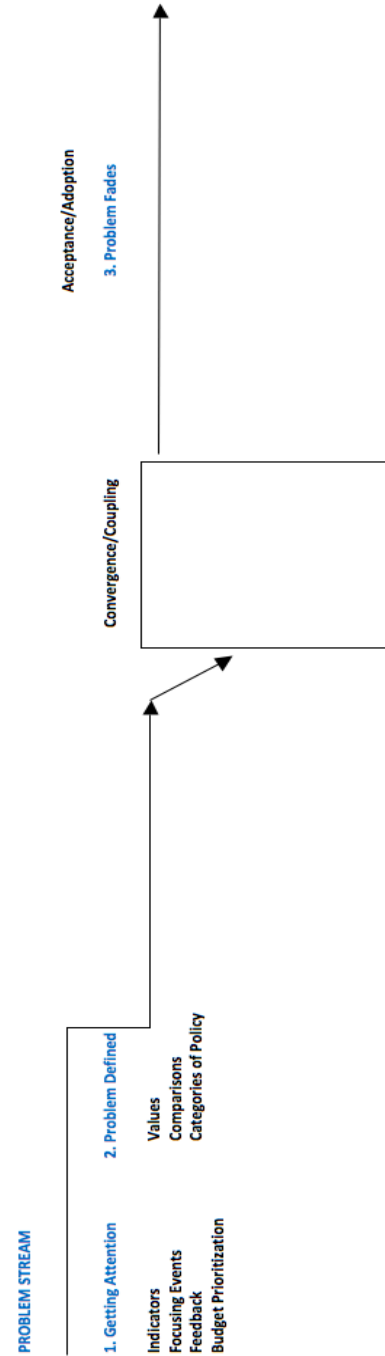


Table 4.6

*Processes of Policy Formation – Political Stream*

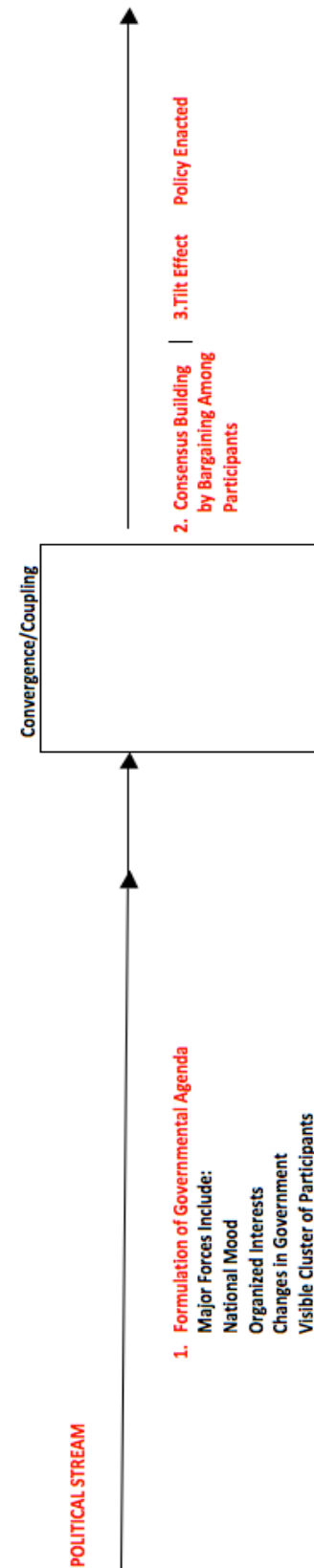


Table 4.7

*Processes of Policy Formation – Policy Stream*

**POLICY STREAM**

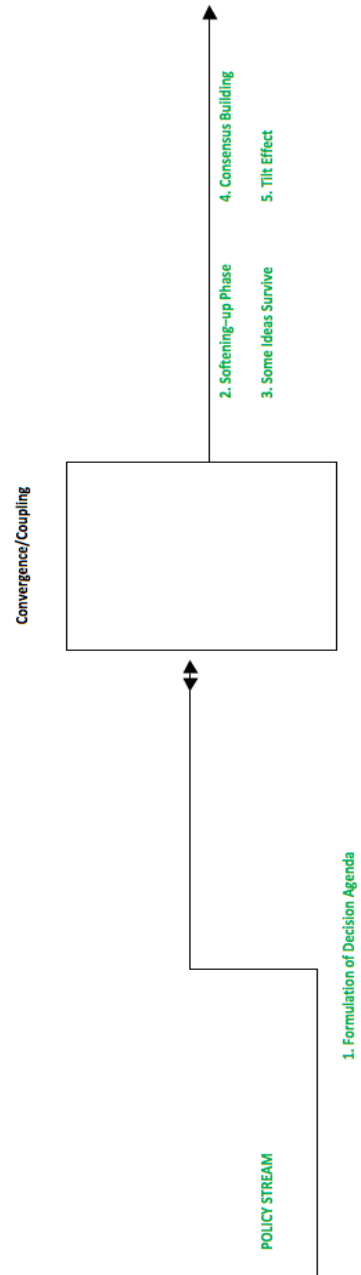




Table 5.1

*Make-up of Congress (1963-1968))*

*(Composition of Congress, by Political Party, 1855-2011-  
<http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0774721.html>; Office of the Clerk of the House of  
 Representatives. Web:<http://clerkweb.house.gov/histrecs/history.html>)*

	<b>SENATE</b>		<b>HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES</b>	
	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
1961- 1963	64	36	262	175
1963- 1965	67	33	258	176
1965- 1967	68	32	295	140
1967- 1969	64	36	248	187

Table 6.1

*Make-up of Congress (2001-2008)*

*(Composition of Congress, by Political Party, 1855-2011-  
<http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0774721.html>; Office of the Clerk of the House of  
 Representatives. Web:<http://clerkweb.house.gov/histrecs/history.html>)*

	SENATE		HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES	
	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
1999-2001	45	55	211	223
2001-2003	50	50	212	221
2003-2005	48	51	205	229
2005-2007	44	55	202	231
2007-2009	49	49	233	198

Table 7.1 1935-1945 Roosevelt NYA

*Policy Instrument Defined*

	Primary Elements	Expected Efforts	Costs	Benefits	Examples
Mandate	Rules	Compliance	Initiations - Enforcement Targets - Compliance, Avoidance	Specific Benefits to Individuals, Diffuse Benefits to Society	Environmental Regulations, Non-discrimination Requirements
Inducements	Money (Procurement)	Production of Value (Short-term Returns)	Initiators - Production Oversight Displacement Producers Overhead Matching Avoidance	Initiators - Increased Budget, Authority, Clients, Value Received	Grants-in-aid to Government, In-kind Grants to Individuals
Capacity Building National Youth Administration Executive Order No. 7086 as a division of the Works Progress Administration.	Money (Investment) To provide funds for the part-time employment of needy, school, college, and graduate students between 16 and 25 years of age so that they can continue their education.	Enhancement of Skill, Competence, Long-term Returns Encourage the establishment of job, training, counseling, and placement services for youth	Short-term Costs to Initiating Government Yearly: original allocation \$43,806,268 made available through the Emergency Relief Act of 1935.	Short term, Specific Benefits to Receiving Agency; Long-term, Diffuse Benefits to Society Youth are encouraged to seek private employment and/or return to school for further education and training.	Basic Research Preservation *Student-aid program *NYA works program *Community organizations *Vocational guidance and placement *Apprentice training *Camps for unemployed women
System Changing	Authority	Composition of public delivery system; incentives	Loss of authority by established deliverers	Gain in authority by new deliverers NYA operated education and training programs for youth beyond the reach of the schools**	Vouchers Deinstitutionalization New providers

(Odden, 1991; \*\*Reiman, 2010)

Table 7.2 1963-1968 Johnson ESEA 1965

*Policy Instrument Defined*

	Primary Elements	Expected Efforts	Costs	Benefits	Examples
Mandate  Funding attached to national policies and concerns	Rules  Programs and priorities Federally funded but locally administered	Compliance  Decrease the achievement gap between poor children and their affluent peers	Initiators - Enforcement Targets - Compliance, Avoidance Federal aid to education programs	Specific Benefits to Individuals, Diffuse Benefits to Society Funds to service poor children	Environmental Regulations, Non-discrimination Requirements Money must go to poor children for education programs
Inducements	Money (Procurement)	Production of Value (Short-term Returns)	Initiators - Production Oversight Displacement Producers Overhead Matching Avoidance	Initiators - Increased Budget, Authority, Clients, Value Received	Grants-in-aid to Government, In-kind Grants to Individuals
Capacity Building  ESEA 1965	Money (Investment) Categorical federal aid tying aid to national policy concerns such as poverty, defense, or economic growth  Linking funds to the child not the institution	Enhancement of Skill, Competence, Long-term Returns Children from low income families require more educational support than children from affluent homes.	Short-term Costs to Initiating Government \$8 Billion Dollars  \$2,000 given to states for students from low income families	Short term, Specific Benefits to Receiving Agency; Long-term, Diffuse Benefits to Society Compensatory education to provide financial assistance to LEA to expand and improve education programs	Basic Research Preservation *Student-aid programs *Vocational guidance and placement *Pull-out tutoring *Varied education practices
System Changing  ESEA-1965: Tying aid to national policy concerns such as poverty, defense, or economic growth	Authority State Education Agencies (SEA) and Local Education Agencies (LEA)	Composition of public delivery system; incentives  Varied Administrative Practices and Rigor	Loss of authority by established deliverers  Local Education Authority	Gain in authority by new deliverers Federal government with reliance on State Departments to administer federal funds	Vouchers Deinstitutionalization New providers  Federal funds disseminated by the state to Local Education Agencies (LEA) to design and implement compensatory education program

(Odden, 1991; \*\*Reiman, 2010)

Table 7.3 2001-2008 Bush-NCLB

*Policy Instrument Defined*

	Primary Elements	Expected Efforts	Costs	Benefits	Examples
Mandate  Enforced Accountability/ National Standards as a means to measure progress toward national education goals	Rules  Assessments: Criterion Referenced Test Grades 3-8 must be tested and scores recorded in grades 3-8	Compliance  Growth in all student achievement and raise student achievement levels	Initiators - Enforcement Targets – Compliance or avoidance Educators held directly responsible for instruction effort  Use of leveraged dollars	Specific Benefits to Individuals, Diffuse Benefits to Society Curricula provided students is based on state academic standards and state academic assessments	Environmental Regulations, Non-discrimination Requirements  Civil Rights Issue, Accountability and equity  Transparency: Information given to parents and community
Inducements	Money (Procurement)	Production of Value (Short-term Returns)	Initiators - Production Oversight Displacement Producers Overhead Matching Avoidance	Initiators - Increased Budget, Authority, Clients, Value Received	Grants-in-aid to Government, In-kind Grants to Individuals
Capacity Building  No Child Left Behind Act	Money (Investment)  To provide funds to raise expectations and narrow achievement gaps	Enhancement of Skill, Competence, Long-term Returns  Encourage the establishment of training, counseling, and tutoring for Title I students	Short-term Costs to Initiating Government  13 Billion Dollars	Short term, Specific Benefits to Receiving Agency; Long-term, Diffuse Benefits to Society Students are deemed proficient	Basic Research Preservation *Student-aid program *Charter Schools
System Changing  Accountability and choice	Authority  Federal Government: Department of Education	Composition of public delivery system; incentives  Reward or punish	Loss of authority by established deliverers  State and local education agencies	Gain in authority by new deliverers  New providers of education services	Vouchers Deinstitutionalization New providers  School Choice For Profit Schools Federal Government

(Odden, 1991; \*\*Reiman, 2010)

## REFERENCES

- Adams, H. H. (1977). *Harry Hopkins*. New York: G.P. Putnam's.
- Aldrich, R. (1995). Educational Reform and Curriculum Implementation in England: An Historical Perspective. In D. S. Carter, & M. H. O'Neill, *International Perspectives on Educational Reform and Policy Implementation* (pp. 125-139). London: The Falmer Press.
- Alexander, K., & Alexander, M. D. (2009). *American public school law*. Belmont: Wadsworth.
- Alter, J. (2006). *The defining moment: FDR's hundred days and the the triumph of hope*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Alterman, E., & Green, M. (2004). *The book on Bush: How George W. (mis)leads America*. New York: Viking.
- Anderson, J. A. (2000). *Public policymaking: An introduction*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Anderson, L. W. (2007). *Congress and the classroom: From the cold war to "No Child Left Behind"*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Anderson, P. (1968). *The presidents' men: White House associates of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson*. Garden City: Double Day and Company.

- Antikaninen, A. (2002). Education generations and the futures of adult education: A nordic experience. *Manuscript for International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 209-219.
- Antikaninen, A. (2006). In search of the Nordic Model in education. *Scandinavian Journal of Education Research*, 229-243.
- Anyon. (1997). *Ghetto schooling: A political economy of urban educational reform*. New York: Teacher College Press.
- Apple, M. W. (1993). *Official knowledge: Democratic education in a conservative age*. New York: Routledge.
- Armstrong, P. A. (2008). *What teachers expect from reform: Making their voices heard*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Education.
- Atler, J. (2006). *The defining moment: FDR's hundred days and the the triumph of hope*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Ayres, L. P. (1913). *Laggards in our schools: A study of retardation and elimination in our city schools*. New York : Survey Associates.
- Bailey, S. (1966). *The Office of Education and The Education Act of 1965*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
- Bailey, S. K. (1966). *The Office of Education and the Education Act of 1965*. Syracuse : Syracuse University Press.

Bailey, S. K., & Mosher, E. K. (1968). *ESEA The Office of Education administers a law*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Baker, R. (2009). *Family of secrets: The Bush dynasty, the powerful forced that put it in the White House, and what their influence means for America*. New York: Bloomsbury Press.

Ballantyne, P. F. (2002). *Psychology, society, and ability testing (1859-2002): Transformative alternatives to mental Darwinism and interactionism*. From Paul F. Ballantyne, Publications: <http://www.igs.net/~pballan/Toc2.htm>

Balz, D. (1996 йил 27-November). Stands on education cost GOP among women governors told. *Washington Post*, p. p. A6.

Bardach, E. (2009). *A practical guide for policy analysis: Th eightfold path to more effective problem solving (third edition)*. Washinton D.C.: CQ Press.

Bediner, R. (1964). *Obstacle course on capitol hill*. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company.

Berliner, D. C., & Biddle, B. J. (1995). *The Manufactured Crisis; Mythis, Fraud, and the Attack on America's Public Schools*. Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.

Best, J. R. (2006). *Developing leaders for successful schools*. Washinton D.C.: National Conference of State Legislatures.

Bierlein, L. (1993). *Controversial issues in educaiton policy*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.



- Bird, C. (1966). *The invisible scar: The Great Depression and what it did to American life*. New York: McKay.
- Black, A. (1996). *Casting her own shadow: Eleanor Roosevelt & the shaping of postwar liberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Black, C. (2003). *Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of freedom*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Bloom, B. S., Davis, A., & Hess, R. (n.d.). *Compensatory education for cultural deprivation*.
- Brademas, J. (1987). *The politics of education: Conflict and consensus on Capitol Hill*. Oklahoma City: Norman Press.
- Brady, D. (1982, May 26). Congressional party realignment and transformation of public polciy in three realignment eras. *American Jornal of Polictical Science*, 333-360.
- Brands, H. W. (2008). *Traitor to his class: The privileged life and radical presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt*. New York: Ancor Books.
- Brown v. Board of Topeka, Kansas, 347 U.S. 483 (The Supreme Court 1954).
- Bryson, & Crosby. (1992). *Leadership for the common good; Tackling public problems in a shared power world*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Burkhart, R. (2010, March 3). *Failing Georgia school firing entire staff to qualify for aid*. Retrieved April 5, 2010, from USA Today Web site:

[http://www.usatoday.com/news/education/2010-03-25-georgia-school-fired\\_N.htm](http://www.usatoday.com/news/education/2010-03-25-georgia-school-fired_N.htm)

Burns, K. (2011, September 30). Is this the end of civility (again). *USA Weekend*.

Bush, G. (20 January 2011). *First Inaugural Address*. West Front: U. S. Capitol.

Bush, G. W. (2010). *Decision points*. New York: Broadway Paperbacks.

Cambron McCabe, N. H., McCarty, M. M., & Thomas, S. B. (2004). *Public school law: Teachers' and students' rights, 5th ed*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Cannon, W. (1991, October 16). Francis Keppel and Lyndon Johnson, unique collaborators in the struggle for federal aid: ESEA 1965. (C. Deitrich, Interviewer)

Caplow, T., Hicks, L., & Wattenberg, B. J. (2001). *The first measured century: An illustrated guide to trends in America, 1900-2000*. Washington D.C.: AEI Press.

Carmines, E. C., & Stimson, J. A. (1989). *Issue evolution: Race and the transformation of American politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Carney, F., & Way Jr., F. (1994). *Politics 1964*. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc.

Caro, R. (2002). *Lyndon Johnson: Master of the senate*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Caro, R. A. (1982). *The years of Lyndon Johnson: The path to power*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

- Caro, R. A. (2012). *The years of Lyndon Johnson: The passage of power*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Cater, C. (1991). Francis Keppel & Lyndon Johnson, unique collaborators in the struggle for federal aid: ESEA 1965. (C. E. Dietrich, Interviewer)
- Cater, D. (1969, May 8). Cater Interview. (D. McComb, Interviewer)
- Chandler, L. (1970). *America's greatest Depression, 1924-1941*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Christensen, C. M., Ruggles, R., & Sadtler, T. M. (2006). Disruptive innovation for social change. *Harvard Business Review*.
- Cibulka, J. (1995). The evolution of education reform in the United States. In D. S. Carter, & M. H. O'Neill, *International Perspectives on Educational Reform and Policy Implementation* (pp. 15-30). London: The Falmer Press.
- City of Kalamazoo Assessor's Office. (2008). *Property Tax Law of 1812*. Retrieved 2001 йил 29-June from <http://www.kalamazoocity.org>
- Cobb, R. W., & Elder, C. D. (1972). *Pariciaption in American politics: The dynamics of agenda-building*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Collins, G. (2012). *As Texas goes...: How the lone star state hijacked the American agenda*. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation.
- Conley, D. (2003). *Who governs our schools: Changing roles and responsibilities*. New York: Teachers College Press.

- Conley, D. T. (2003). *Who Governs Our Schools: Changing Roles and Responsibilities*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Council of Chief State School Officers. (2010). *Policy on ESEA 2010*. Washington D.C.: Council of Chief State School Officers.
- Creswell, J. W. (2008). *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research*. Upper Saddle River: Pearson Education.
- Cronin, T. E. (February 1969). The Presidency and Education. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 295-299.
- Cuban, L. (1990). Reforming again, again, and again. *Educational Researcher*, (v)38, 3-13.
- Daly, A. (2003). Rigid response in an age of accountability: The potential of leadership and trust. *Education Administration Quarterly*, (v) 45, 168-216.
- Dao, J. (2000, April 29). Gore Would Link Federal Aid to School Performance. *The New York Times, Saturday*.
- Darling-Hammond, L. (2010). *The flat world and education: How America's commitment to equity will determine our future*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Dickens, C. (2000). *A tale of two cities*. New York: Random House.

- Dietrich, C. E. (1994). *Francis Keppel and Lyndon Johnson, unique collaborators in the struggle for federal aid: ESEA, 1965*. Bethlehem: Lehigh University.
- Dietz, S. (2010). *How many schools have not made adequate yearly progress under the No Child Left Behind?* Washington, D.C.: Center on Education Policy.
- Dounay, J. (2004). *ECS Report to the nation: State implementation of No Child Left Behind Act respecting diversity among states*. Denver: Education Commission of the States. Retrieved 2010 йил 8-April from <http://ecs.org>
- Draper, J. C., & Protheroe, N. (2010). *Crucial conversations about American schools*. Alexandria: Educational Research Service.
- Drucker, P. (1980). *Managing in turbulent times*. New York: Harper & Rowe.
- Drucker, P. (1994). The age of social transformation. *Atlantic Monthly*.
- Duboff, R. (1989). *Accumulation and power: An economic history of the United States*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.
- Duffy, M. (2001). *Inside the mind of the CEO President*. Retrieved October 20, 2012, from Time: <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599.331981,00.html>
- Dugger, R. (1982). *The politician: The life and times of Lyndon Baines Johnson*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Duncan, F. (2002). *Rickover: The struggle for excellence*. US Naval Institute Press.
- Dunn, Holzner, & Zaltman. (1988). Knowledge utilization. In J. P. Reeves, *Education Research, methodology, and measurement* (p. 231).

- Dunn, J. M., & West, M. R. (2009). From schoolhouse to courthouse: The judiciary's role in American education. (T. B. Institute, Ed.) Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Eby, B. J. (2004). *Effective women principals: Transformational leadership in urban settings*. Ann Arbor: ProQuest Information and Learning Company.
- Education Commision of the States. (2004). *ECS Report to the Nation; State Implementation of the No Child Left Behind Act*. Denver: Education Commision of the States.
- Education Futures Editors. (2007, June 18). *Top ten global trends that force us to rethink education*. Retrieved April 9, 2011, from Education Furtures Web Site: <http://www.educationfutures.com>
- Education Policies Commission. (1962). *Education and the disadvantaged American*. Washington D.C.: National Education Association.
- Educational Research Service. (2003). *K-12 Principals guide to No Child Left Behind*. Reston: National Association of Secondary School Principals.
- Edwards, G. C., & Davies, P. J. (2004). George W. Bush: Policy, politics, and personality. In *New Challeges for the American Presidency* (pp. 161-181). New York: Pearson/Longman.
- Eidenberg, E., & Morey, R. D. (1969). *An act of congress: The legislative process and the making of education policy*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

Elazar, D. J. (1984). *American federalism: A view from the states, Third Edition*. New York: Harper and Row.

Elliot, & Gibbons. (n.d.).

Elmore, & McLaughlin. (1988). *Steady work: Policy, practice, and the reform of American education*. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation. ERIC Document ED296620.

Elmore, R. F. (2009). The problem of capacity in the (re)design of education accountability systems. In M. A. Rebell, & J. R. Wolff, *NCLB at the crossroads: Reexamining the federal effort to close the achievement gap*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Enns, P. K., & Kellstedt, P. M. (2008, July). *British Journal of Political Science*, 38(3), 433-454. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/s007123408000227>. Published online 13, May 2008

Felix, A. (2002). *Laura: America's first lady, first mother*. Waterville, ME: Thorndike Press.

Fenster, J. M. (2009). *FDR's shadow: Louis Howe, the force that shaped Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt*. New York: Palgroave MacMillan.

Finn, C. E., Ravitch, D., & Fancher, R. T. (1984, April 17). *Against mediocrity: The humanities in America's high schools*. New York: Holmes & Meir.

Firestone, W. (1989). Using reform: Conceptualizing district initiatives. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 151-164.

- Flesch, R. (1955). *Why Johnny Can't Read--And what you can do about it*. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Fowler, F. C. (2009). *Policy studies for educational leaders: An introduction*. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Frank, L. S. (2004). *Journey Toward the Caring Classroom*. Oklahoma City: Wood 'N' Barnes Publishing & Distribution.
- Fuhrman. (1988). State politics and educational reform. In *The politics for reforming school administrators: The 1988 yearbook of politics of education association* (pp. 61-75). New York: The Falmer Press.
- Garreau. (1991). *Edge city: Life on the new frontier*. New York: Doubleday.
- Ginsberg, B. (1976, March). Elections and public policy. *American Political Science Review*, 70, 41-49.
- Gittell, M. (2005). The politics of equity in urban school reform. In J. Petrovich, & A. S. Wells, *Bringing Equity Back: Research for a New Era in American Educational Policy* (pp. 16-45). United States of America: Teachers College Press.
- Glass, G. V. (2008). *Fertilizers, pills, and magnetic strips: The fate of public education in America*. United States of America: Information Age Publishing, Inc.
- Glesne, C. (2006). *Becoming a qualitative researchers: An introduction*. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.



- Goldman, E. F. (1969). *The tradedy of Lyndon Johnson*. New York: Dell Books.
- Goodwin Kearns, D. (1976). *Lyndon Johnson and the American dream*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin.
- Gordon, Linda. (2001). May 22, 1933: Harry Hopkins brings relief. In J. M. McPherson, & A. Brinkley, *Days of destiny: Crossroads in American history*. New York: DK Publishing Book.
- Gordon, L. (1994). *Pitied but not entitled: Single mothers and the history of welfare, 1890-1935*. New York: Free Press.
- Gosnell-Lamb, J. (2011). *The impact of NCLB reforms in elementary schools: Comparing perceptions/practices fo 2002 to 2011*. Missoula: The University of Montana.
- Graham, H. D. (1984). *The uncertain triumph: Federal education policy in the Kennedy and Johnson years*. Chapel Hill: University North Carolina Press.
- Grayson, C. J. (n.d.). Why this could be 'the best of times' for education. *Education Week*, (v) 30.
- Grinspan, M. G. (1995). Introduction. In M. G. Grinspan, *The Great Society revisited: Success, failure, or rumors?* (p. 1). Memphis: Rhodes College.
- Guthrie, J. (February 1968). A political case history: Passage of the ESEA. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 303-307.

- Hainer, B., & Hiemstra, G. (1993). *Strategic leadership: Achieving your preferred future*. Redmond Washington: Lincoln Global Productions, Inc.
- Hall, G. (1992). The local educational change process and policy implementation. In D. S. Carter, *International perspectives on educational reform and policy implementation* (pp. 101-121). London: The Falmer Press.
- Hall, G. E., & Hord, S. M. (2006). *Implementing change: Patterns, principles, and potholes*. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Hamilton, E. (1930). *The Greek way*. New York: W.W. Norton & New York Company, Inc.
- Hana, J. (2005). *The Elementary and Secondary Education Act: 40 years later*. Retrieved October 11, 2012, from Ed. Summer: <http://www.gse.harvard/edulevent//featured2005/0879.html>
- Hanberger. (2001). What is the policy problem? Methodological challenges in policy. (v)7 (pp. 45-62).
- Hatch, J. A. (2002). *Doing qualitative research in education settings*. Albany: University of New York Press.
- Hatfield, J. (2002). *Fortunate son: George W. Bush and the making of an American president*. Brooklyn: Soft Skill Press.
- Heiss, F., & McGuinn, P. (2009). George W. Bush's Legacy: The two faces of No Child Left Behind. In Maranto, Lansford, & Johnson, *In Judging Bush* (p. 165). Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Henkin, L. (1996). *The age of rights*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hess, F., & Petrilli, M. (2009). Wrong turn on school reform. *Policy Review* 153, 55-68.
- Hill, E. (1990). In the shadow of the mountain: The spirit of the CCC. *The schools in the camps: The educational program of the Civilian Conservation Corps*. Pullman, WA, Washington: State University Press.
- Hiltzik, M. (2011). *The New Deal: A Modern History*. New York: Free Press.
- Hirvi, V. (1996). *The changing rhythm of education: 1990's education policy in Finland*. Helisinki: Otava.
- Holtzman, R. G. (2006). *When talking the talk is enough: Rhetorical policymaking and George W. Bush's "call to service"*. Austin: The University of Texas at Austin.
- Hopkins PhD., J. (2011). *Harry Hopkins and work relief*. Retrieved June 8, 2011, from The Social Welfare History Project:  
<http://www.socialwelfarehistroy.com/people/>
- Husen, T., & Kogan, M. (1984). *Educational Research and Policy; How do they Relate?* Elmsford: Rergamon Press Inc.
- I., B. (1985). *A caring society: The New Deal, the worker and the Great Depression*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

- Iannacone, L. (1988). From equity to excellence: Political context and dynamics. In W. L. Boyd, & C. T. Kerchner, *The study of excellence and choice in education* (pp. 49-65). London: Falmer Press.
- (2008, May 1). Interview with Margaret Spellings. Texas Monthly. Retrieved from <http://www.texasmonthly.com/preview/2008-05-01/talks>
- Ivins, M., & Dubose, L. (2005). *Bushwacked: Life in George W. Bush's America*. New York: Random House.
- Jacobson, G. (2008). *A divider, not a uniter*. San Diego: Pearson Education.
- James, E. S. (1996). *Living the simple life*. New York: Hyperion.
- Jans, M. T. (2007). *A framework for public policy analysis and policy evaluation*. Brussels: Vrije Univrsiteit Brussel.
- Jeffrey, J. R. (1970). *Education for children of the poor*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Jennings, J. F. (2002, December 18). (K. R. Kozar, Interviewer)
- Jennings, J. F. (2002, December 18). National issues in education: Elementray and secondary education act 1965. (K. R. Kozar, Interviewer)
- Johnson, L. B. (1964). *My hope for America*. New York: Random House.
- Johnson, L. B. (1971). *The vantage point, Perspectives of the presidency 1963-1969*. New York: Holf, Rinehart and Winston.

Jordan, B. C., & Tostow, E. D. (1986). *The Great Society: A Twenty Year Critique*.

Austin: Lyndon B. Johnson Library and The University of Texas at Austin.

Kasher, S. (1996). *The Civil Rights Movement: A photographic history, 1954-1968*.

New York: Abeville Press.

Kendrick, D. (1999, August 3). *Enquirer Opinion*. Retrieved October 12, 2011, from

Enquirer: [www.enquirer.com](http://www.enquirer.com)

Kennedy, D. (1999). *Freedom from fear: The American people in depression and*

*war, 1929-1945*. Oxford.

Keppel, F. (1967 йил April). Keppel Interview. (N. C. Thomas, Interviewer)

Kettl, D. F. (2003). *Leadership lessons form the Bush Whitehouse*. New York:

McGraw-Hill.

Killian, J. R. (1977). *Sputmik, scientists, and Eisenhower: A memoir of the first*

*special assistant to the President for science and technology*. Cambridge:

MIT Press.

Kingdon, J. (1984). *Agendas, altenatives, and public policies*. New York: Little,

Brown.

Kingdon, J. W. (1989). *Congressmen's Voting Decisions*. Ann Arbor: The University

of Michigan Press.

Kingdon, J. W. (2003). *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies*. New York:

Longman.

Klatt III, V. F. (2002, June 6). (K. R. Kosar, Interviewer)

Kober. (1996). *Do we still need public education*. Washington D.C.: Center on National Education & Phi Delta Kapa.

Kosar, K. R. (2003). *National education standards and federal politics*. New York: New York University.

Kozol, J. (1991). *Savage inequalities: Children in America's schools*. New York: Harper Collins.

Kress, S. (2008, January 3). (J. H. Rhodes, Interviewer)

LaBarre, P. (2003, March). How to lead a rich life. *Fast Company*.

Lagemann, E. C. (1983). *Private power for the public good: A history of the Carnegie Foundation for the advancement of teaching*. Middletown: Wesleyan University.

Langbert, M. (2008). *Daniel J. Elazer's american federalism: A view from the states, third edition*. Retrieved January 23, 2011, from <http://mitchell-langbert.blogspot.com>

Langbert, M. (2008, October 1). Mitchell Langbert's Blog. West Shokan, New York, United States.

Lanier, D. J. (1995). In M. G. Grinspan, *The Great Society revisited: Success, failure, or rumors?* Memphis: Rhodes College.

- Lascares, V. C. (1989). The role of the United States government in early education during the depression of the 1930s. *International Conference for the History of Education* (p. 4). Oslo: US Department of Education.
- Lasswell, H. D. (1958). *Politicis: Who gets what, when and how?* New York: Meridians Books.
- Laswell. (1970). The emerging conception of the policy sciences. *Policy Sciences*, 3-30.
- Lawton, D. (1995). The national curriculum in England since 1988. In D. S. Carter, & M. H. O'Neill, *International perspectives on educational reform and policy implementation* (pp. 44-51). London: The Falmer Press.
- Lazerson, M., McLaughlin, J. B., McPherson, B., & Bailey, S. K. (1985). The expectations of schooling. In M. Lazerson, J. B. McLaughlin, B. McPherson, & S. K. Bailey, *An Education of Value* (pp. 3-22). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lester, J. P., & Wilds, L. J. (1990). The utilization of public policy analysis: A conceptual framework. (v)13, 313-319.
- Levin, L. L. (2008). *The making of FDR: The story of Stephen T. Early*. Amherst: New York.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

- Lindblum, C. E. (1968). *The policymaking process*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.
- Lindley, B., & Lindley, E. K. (1938). *A new deal for youth: The story of the national youth administration*. New York: The Viking Press.
- Loomis, H. (1968, August 15). U.S. Department Commissioner of Education, 1964-1965. (H. Selden, Interviewer)
- Loomis, J. A. (2001). *Environmental policy analysis for decision making*. AH Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Lowham, J. (1994). *Evolving intentions of an education policy from state development into teacher implementation*. Greeley: University of Northern Colorado.
- Lyons, J. E. (2006). Fiscal equity under Title I and Non-Title I schools in local school districts. In F. H. Brown, *Advances in educational administration (vol.9); No Child Left Behind and other federal programs for urban school districts* (pp. 3-22). San Diego: Elsevier Ltd.
- Mathis, W. J. (2003). *No Child Left Behind: What are the costs? Will we realize any benefits?* Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Education.
- McClellan, S. (2008). *What Happened: Inside the Bush White House and Washinton's Culture of Deception*. New York: Public Affairs.



- McClosky, R. S. (2006, February). *George Bush and No Child Left Behind: A federalist perspective*. Retrieved September 30, 2012, from Student Pulse: <http://www.studentpulse.com/a?id=258>
- McCraw, T. (April 1993). *Note on Franklin D. Roosevelt*. Cambridge: Harvard Business School Background Note 382-073.
- McCullough, D. (2003). *David McCullough Lecture*. Retrieved September 29, 2012, from National Endowment for the Humanities: <http://www.neh.gov>
- McDonnell, L. M., & Elmore, R. F. (1987). Getting the job done: Alternative policy instruments. *Educational Evaluation And Policy Analysis*, (v) 9, 133-152.
- McLaughlin, M. W. (1975). *Evolution and reform: The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, Title I*. Cambridge: Ballinger.
- Meir, D., Kohn, A., Darling-Hammond, L.,Sizer, T., & Wood, G. (2004). *Many Children Left Behind*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Meltsner, A. J., & Bellavitta, C. (1983). *The policy organization*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Meyer, J., Ramirez, F., Robinson, R., & Boli, J. (1977). The world educational revolution, 1950-1970. *Sociology of Education*, 242-258.
- Middleton, H. (2008, Summer). *LBJ: Still casting a long shadow*. Retrieved July 13, 2012, from Prologue: The U.S. National Archives and Records Administration: <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2008/summer/lbj.html>

Moe, T. M. (2011). *Special interest: Teacher's unions and American public schools*.

Washington D.C.: Brookings Institute Press.

Moley, R. (1966). *The first new deal*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World .

Mondale, S., & Patton, S. B. (2001). *School: The story of American public education*.

Boston : Beacon Hill.

Munger, F. J., & Fenno Jr., R. F. (1962). *National politics and federal aid to education*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Nagel, S. (1990). Bridging theory and practice in policy/program evaluation.

*Evaluation and Program Planning*, (v) 13, 275-283.

Naisbitt, J. (1982). *Megatrends: Ten new directions transforming our lives*. New

York: Warner Books, Inc.

Nakamura, & Smallwood. (1980). *The politics of policy implementation*. New York:

St. Martin's Press.

National Conference of State Legislatures. (2010). *Education at a Crossroads; A*

*New Path for Federal and State Education Policy*. Washington D.C.: National  
Conference of State Legislatures.

National Conference of State Legislatures. (2001). *Improving student achievement:*

*Linking state policy to effective practice*. Washington D.C.: National  
Conference of State Legislatures.

*Navigating the Rapids 1918-1971: From the papers of Adolf A. Berle.* (1991). New York: Jovanovich, Inc.

NEA Government Relations. (2011). *Reauthorizing ESEA the right way a glossary of terms.* Washington D.C.: National Education Association.

*No Child Left Behind: Determining Appropriate Assessment Accommodations for Students with Disabilities.* (2005). Retrieved 2011, 11-June from <http://www.cehd.umn.edu/nceo/OnlinePubs/NCLD/Accommodations.pdf>

Nuechterlein, D. E. (1978). *National interest: What is it?* Boulder: Westview Press, Inc.

Odden, A. R. (1991). *Educational policy implementation.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives. (2012, September 12). *Composition of Congress, by Political Party, 1855-2011.* Retrieved from <http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0774721.html>

Ohanian, S. (1999). *One size fits few; The folly of educational standards.* Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Oliver, J. E. (1997, August). *Civic involvement in suburbia: The affects of metropolitan economic segregation on participation in local civic affairs.* Paper prepared for delivery at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington D.C.

- Ornstein, N. J., & Mann, T. E. (2000). *The permanent campaign*. Washington D.C.: American Enterprise Institute.
- Packer, J. (2010, February 9). (J. Rhodes, Interviewer) Retrieved 1999, from <http://web.archive.org/web/20001007105701/www.nab.com/content/aboutus/resources/presea.htm>
- Paul, R., & Elder, L. (2009). The miniature guide to critical thinking: Concepts and tools. *29th Annual International Conference on Critical Thinking* (pp. 2-23). Dillan Beach: The Foundation for Critical Thinking.
- Payne, P. (2009). *School administrators' perceptions of the contributions of No Child Left Behind to achievement*. Walden University.
- Perkinson, H. J. (2007). The Imperfect Panacea. In *Education for Children of the Poor*.
- Perry, L. T. (2009, November). *The Past Way of Facing the Future*. Retrieved September 16, 2012, from lds.org: <http://www.lds.org>
- Petrovich, J., & Wells, A. S. (2005). *Bringing equity back: Research for a new era in American educational policy*. New York: Teachers College Prep.
- Pfiffner, J. (n.d.). *George W. Bush: Policy, politics, and personality*. Retrieved from The School of Public Policy George Mason University: [http://gunston.gmu.edu/pfiffner/index\\_files/Page1302.html](http://gunston.gmu.edu/pfiffner/index_files/Page1302.html)
- Pink, D. (2005). *A whole new mind: Moving from the information age to the conceptual Age*. New York: Riverhead Books.

Platt, S. (1993). *Respectfully quoted: A dictionary of quotations*. New York: Barnes and Noble.

Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537, 16 S. Ct. 1138, 41 L. Ed. 256 (The Supreme Court 1896).

Popham, W. (2004). *America's failing schools: How parents and teachers can cope with No Child Left Behind*. New York: Routledge Falmer.

Popham, W. J. (2008). *Transformative assessment*. Alexandria, Virginia, USA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

Present, W. (2010). *Education reform in the united states and the impact of the no child left behind act*. Empire State College.

Presidential Press Conference. (n.d.). 202.

Rauch, B. (1963). *The history of the new deal 1933-1938*. New York: Capricorn Books.

Ravitch, D. (1993). *The troubled crusade, American education 1945-1980*. New York: Basic Books.

Ravitch, D. (2010). *Death and life of the great American school system: How testing and choice are underminng education*. New York: Basic Books.

Reese, W. J. (2005). *America's public Schools: From the common school to "No Child Left Behind"*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

- Reeves, D. B. (2005). *Accountability in action: A blueprint for learning*. Englewood, Colorado: Lead+Learn Press.
- Reiman, R. A. (1992). *The new deal and American youth: Ideas and ideals in a depression decade*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Rein, M., & Rabinowitz, F. (1978). Implementation: Theoretical perspectives. In W. D. Burnham, & M. Weinberg, *American Politics and Public Policy* (pp. 307-355). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Rheault, K. (2010). *State Board of Education adopts common core standards*. Carson City: Nevada Department of Education.
- Rhodes, J. H. (2012). *An education in politics: The origin and evolution of No Child Left Behind*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Rickover, H. (1960). *Education and freedom*. New York: Dutton.
- Risto, R. J. (2002). Shoots of revisionist education policy or just slow readjustment? The Finnish case of educational reconstruction. *Journal of Education Policy*, 643-658.
- Robelen, E. W. (2000, April 5). Bush leading Republicans in new direction. *Education Week*.
- Roosevelt, J. (1976). *My parents: A differing view*. Chicago: Playboy Press.

- Rosenberg, M. (2009). *Baby Boom: The population boom of 1946-1964 in the United States*. Retrieved July 28, 2012, from geography:  
<http://geography.about.com/od/populationgeography/a/babyboom.htm?p=1>
- Sass, E. (2010). *American educational history timeline*. Retrieved January 23, 2011, from <http://www.cloudnet.com/~edrbsass/educationhistorytimeline.html>
- Scharf, L. (1987). *First lady of American federalism*. Boston: GK Hall & Co.
- Schlesinger, A. M. (2000). *A life in the twentieth century*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Schwartz, B. (1982). *The Civil Works Administration: The business of employment during the New Deal*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Shannon, D. (1960). *The United States and international education: The sixty-eighth yearbook of the National Society for the study of education*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Shapiro, M. (1973). *The Constitution of the United States and Related Documents*. United States of America: AHM Publishing Corporation.
- Shull, S. A. (1983). *Domestic policy formation: Presidential-congressional partnership?* Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Sidey, H. (1968). *A very personal residency: Lyndon Johnson in the White House*. New York: Atheneum.
- Silverman, D. (1982). *Reconstructing Europe after the Great War*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Simon, C. A. (2010). *Public policy: Preference and outcomes*. New York: Longman.

Sinclair, B. D. (1977, September). Party realignment and the transformation of the political agenda. *American Political Science Review*, 71, 940-953.

Sinyai, C. (2006). *Schools of democracy*. Ithaca: IRL Press.

Sizer, T. R. (1964). *Secondary schools at the turn of the century*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Smith, J. S. (2006). *Building New Deal Liberalism: The Political Economy of Public Works, 1933-1956*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Spradley, J. P. (1980). *Participant observation*. New York: Wadsworth Thomson Learning.

Spring, J. (1990). *The American school: 1962-1985* (second edition ed.). White Plains: Longman.

Spring, J. (1993). *Conflicts of interests*. Whiteplains: Longman Publishing Group.

Sreenivasan, J. (2009). *Poverty and The Government in America: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Vol. Volume 1). Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, LLC.

Stack, S. (1999). Elsie Ripley Clapp and the Arthurdale schools. *American Educational Research Association* (pp. 2-34). Montreal: West Virginia University.

Statement of Edward B. Rust Jr., chairman and CEO, State Farm Insurance Companies, before the Committee on Education and the Workforce, U.S>



- House of Representatives,. (1999 йил 1-July). *Business issues in elementary and secondary education*.
- Stein, S. J. (2004). *The culture of education policy*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Strauss, V. (2010, May 28). *The Answer Sheet*. Retrieved February 26, 2011, from Washington Post: <http://voices.washingtonpost.com/answer-sheet>
- Sundquist, J. (1968). *Politics and policy: The Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson years*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institute.
- Susman, W. (1983). *Culture as history: The transformation of American society in the twentieth century*. New York: Pantheon.
- Tanner, & Tanner. (1990). *History of the school curriculum*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.
- The National Commission on Excellence in Education. (1983). *A nation at risk: The imperative for educational reform*. Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office.
- Thomas, N. C. (1975). *Education in national politics*. New York: David McKay Company, Inc.
- Transcript of Romney on '60 minutes'*. (2012, September 24). Retrieved from Foxnews.com: <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2012/09/24/transcript-romney-on-60-minutes/>

- Truman, H. S. (1948). *Public papers of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman*. Washington D. C.: United States Government Printing Office.
- Truman, H. S. (1951). *Public paper of the Presidents of the United States: Harry S. Truman*. Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office.
- Tyack, D., Lowe, R., & Hansot, E. (1984). *Public schools in hard times: The great depression and recent years*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- U.S. Department of Education. (1992). *Ed facts: Information about the U.S. department of education*. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Department of Education. (2008). *State and Local Implementation of the No Child Left Behind Act*. Retrieved 2010 йил 11-April from ED.gov:  
[www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/oepd/ppss/reports.html](http://www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/oepd/ppss/reports.html)
- U.S. Government. (1937). *Administrative and program operation: National youth administration*. Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Unger, I., & Unger, D. (1998). *The Times Were A Changin': The Sixties reader*. New York: Three Rivers Press.
- Unger, I., & Unger, D. (1999). *LBJ: A life*. New York: John & Sons, Inc.
- United States. National Youth Administration. (1937). *Administrative and program operation*. Washington D.C.: United States Govenment Printing Office.
- Vinovskis, M. (1999). *Historical and educaitonal policymaking*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- Wagner, T. (2008). *The global achievement gap*. New York: Basic Books.
- Walker, Chen, & Qian. (2008). General education reform across three Chinese societies. In J. Lumby, G. Crow, & P. Pashiardis, *International handbook on the preparation and development of school leaders* (pp. 412-423). New York: Routledge.
- Walker, J. L. (1969, September). The Diffusion of Innovation among the American States. *The American Political Science Review*, 63(3), 880-899. Retrieved August 25, 2008, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1954434>
- Warburg, J. P. (1934). *It's up to us*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Wechter, D. (1948). *The age of the Great Depression, 1929-1941*. New York: Macmillan.
- Weimer, D. L., & Vining, A. R. (1992). *Policy analysis: Concepts and practice*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Wheatley, M. J., & Kellner-Rogers, M. (1996). *A simpler way*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc.
- White, G., & Maze, J. (1985). *Harlod Ickes of the new deal*. Cambridge : Harvard University Press.
- White, R. (1993). *Remember Ahanagan: Storytelling in a Family's Past*. New York: Hill & Liang.

- Whitley, P., Bradley, B., Sutton, B., & Goodwin, S. (2011, February). *American Cultural History*. Retrieved September 15, 2012, from Lone Star College-Kingwood Library: <http://www.wapps.kc.lonestar.edu/popculture/decade90.html>
- Wildavsky, A. (1979). *The art and craft of policy analysis*. Boston: Little Brown.
- Will, G. F. (2008). *One man's America*. Cato Policy Report. New York: Three Rivers Press.
- Winfield, B. H. (1990). *FDR & the news media*.
- Woods, R. B. (2006). *LBJ: Architect of American ambition*. New York: Free Press.
- Zeiler, T. W. (2000). *Dean Rusk: Defending the American mission abroad*. Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc.
- Zelizer, J. (2010). *The presidency of George W. Bush*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

## VITA

NAME: Kim Karman Friel

PLACE OF BIRTH: Aberdeen, South Dakota

DATE OF BIRTH: March 7, 1961

PARENTS: Keith and Marian Koerner

HIGHER EDUCATION: Bachelor of Science in Education  
University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 1985  
Master of Education  
University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 1999