
C H A P T E R 1 5

Other Recent Educational Issues and Reforms

As education has moved well into the 21st century, it stands in a place of centrality that means that schooling has become the subject of many reform initiatives and controversial issues. Although these reforms and issues frequently vary considerably from each other, the gamut of topics is a reminder of the extent to which the influence of educational events is pervasive and that school issues are inextricably connected with the welfare of youth and national health.

Equalization of school funding represents one of the most intriguing of these topics, particularly since about half of the states in the union have implemented equalization requirements (Education Trust, 2002; Quade, 1996). Perhaps the most publicized set of educational events in recent years has been the series of school shootings that has afflicted dozens of suburban and rural schools beginning in 1996. Probably the most important questions related to these events involve how they can be stopped (Coleman, 2004; Matera, 2001). A growing list of schools has inaugurated policies that require students to wear uniforms in order to combat socially undesirable behavior (Starr, 2000; Brunsma, 2004). Some school officials claim the donning of uniforms accomplishes the desired goals, but skeptics are not quite so sure (Starr, 2000; Brunsma, 2004).

In recent years, educators have also become aware of the primacy of the family in affecting educational outcomes and the need to learn from foreign systems of education (Jeynes, 2002, 2003, 2005a; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992). Many social scientists aver that American educators need to learn and apply certain principles from each of these fields in order to maximize educational efficiency (Jeynes, 2002, 2003, 2005a; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992).

Issues regarding the implementation of teaching practices related to technology will also play a prominent role in future curricular instruction (Cuban, 2001; LeFevre, 2004; Shapiro, 2004; Wilson, 2004). Teachers who use technology in an efficacious way will enhance the preparedness of future graduates.

EQUALIZATION OF SCHOOL EXPENDITURES

Currently, in U.S. schools, wealthy school districts (defined as the 75th percentile) spend about \$900 more per student than schools in poor school districts (defined as the 25th percentile) (Education Trust, 2002). The difference is even greater at the most extreme parts of the distribution (Education Trust, 2002). In the United States, where equality is regarded as one of the highest virtues, such a state of affairs seems intolerable (Yinger, 2004). This type of inequality appears to discriminate against the poor.

The push for equalization of funding was first made in the early 1970s (Benson, 1975). The primary argument for this was as a matter of justice and that in order to more effectively battle poverty, public school expenditures should be equalized so that each school spends the same amount per student as other schools (Benson, 1975).

The primary reason for differences in educational spending per student can be traced to the fact that local property taxes are such a major source of educational revenue (Benson, 1975; Guthrie, 1975). Under plans of equalization, some property tax income from wealthy districts would be redistributed to poorer schools and districts so that school-funding equalization can be achieved (Benson, 1975; Guthrie, 1975). As an issue of justice, one can certainly see why school funding should be equalized within each state. However, there are some issues that may make the implementation more difficult and produce less impressive results that one might want ideally.

In one sense, equalization of funding has similar qualities to school choice. Some educators believe that if the United States will simply promote school programs to include private schools, the education system will be saved. There are some who feel the same way about equalization of school expenditures. However, just as there are practical issues that would likely limit the effectiveness of school choice, there are factors that make the application of equalization of school funding either more difficult or less efficacious than it otherwise would be.

First, it is far more difficult than it might seem to determine what is fair and equal. To illustrate this fact, let us imagine for a moment a situation that is reasonably close to reality. Let us say that among public schools, an urban public school spends \$6,800 per student, a suburban school spends \$7,800 per student, and a rural school spends \$5,800 per student. One might argue that in order to equalize funding among these schools, each should receive about \$6,800 per student and all would be resolved. However, the solution is not that facile. Some schools spend more than others for such things as hiring security guards in high-crime areas, having a larger proportion of special education children than most schools, having a higher percentage of high school students than most districts, and having more acts of vandalism done against the school building, books, and so forth (Benson, 1975; Guthrie, 1975; Quade, 1996). One might also argue that different levels of teacher salary might be needed for certain situations. For example, there are certain rural areas in the desert, in mountainous areas, or in extremely remote regions in which a school would need to offer more money to teachers simply because few people would want to move there. It would also likely take a more generous monetary offer to attract teachers to a high-crime area. Many cities recognize this fact and therefore offer teachers more money to come to such areas (Yinger, 2004). Guthrie (1975) points out that to ensure true equality and fairness, different types of students and situations would have to receive different weighting. For

example, special education and high school students require more money than typical elementary school students (Guthrie, 1975). Issues regarding the destruction of school buildings are especially touchy, because under an equalization plan, some people and schools might resent paying for vandalism perpetuated at a distant school that might have been done by the students of that school. There might be some disagreement about what is fair in such circumstances. Gloria Ladson-Billings (2000, p. 208) addresses the issue of whether “equality means sameness” to some degree, asserting that the two are not identical concepts. However, even if one agrees that two concepts are not the same, determining equality becomes very subjective if there is not some element of equity.

Second, even if equalization of school spending is the right thing to do, it probably will not have the effect of reducing the achievement gap between rich and poor. There are two reasons for this. The first reason is that in states that have equalized school funding (a total of 24), there has been very little reduction in the achievement gap (Downes, 2004; Flanagan & Murray, 2004). The second reason is that there is not a very strong relationship between state expenditure per student and student performance on academic tests. There is somewhat of a positive correlation, but it is quite modest (U.S. Department of Education, 2003). If one examines the educational expenditures per student and achievement in the 50 states plus the District of Columbia, one finds some interesting facts. For example, of these 51 entities, Washington, D.C., spends the most per student (U.S. Department of Education, 2003). And yet Washington, D.C., ranks 51st, or last, in academic achievement (U.S. Department of Education, 2003). Similarly, Utah ranks 51st in expenditures per student but usually ranks in the top six academically (U.S. Department of Education, 2003). Although virtually all Americans would like to see the achievement gap reduced, it is unlikely that equalization would have the impact that its advocates desire.

Third, early indications are that states that have equalized funding may have residents who are less willing to have their taxes raised in order to support schools (Yinger, 2004). That is, it may be that residents in more prosperous areas of these states are less willing to be taxed more, because nearly all the money will go to students in other areas of the state (Cullen & Loeb, 2004; Yinger, 2004).

The Movement Toward Equalized Funding

Although equalized school funding probably will not raise the educational outcomes of poor districts very much, one can argue that the country should implement equalization as a matter of fairness. The issue of fairness in school funding became especially apparent in 1971, when, in the case of *Serrano v. Priest*, the California Supreme Court ruled that the state’s system of financing was unfair. The court ruled that California relied too much on property taxes to finance education, creating a degree of inequality that violated the California constitution (Yinger, 2004). The significance of the *Serrano v. Priest* decision is that it opened up the door for equalization cases being decided on the basis of provisions in state constitutions (Yinger, 2004). As a result, on the basis of the *Serrano* decision, dozens of states heard similar cases. However, at the U.S. Supreme Court level, the results were quite different. In the case of *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez* (1973), the U.S. Supreme Court concluded that “similar disparities in the Texas school system did not violate the federal equal protection clause” (Lukemeyer, 2004, p. 60). The significance of the

San Antonio decision is that it forced plaintiffs to take their cases to the state level rather than to the federal courts (Lukemeyer, 2004). In 18 cases, State Supreme Courts have upheld the existing educational finance systems; however, many states have had their finance systems declared unconstitutional (Yinger, 2004).

State-based equalization battles still continue, although they are usually initiated in conjunction with other educational goals as well. One example took place in California in what is now called the “Williams lawsuit” (California League of Middle Schools, 2004). The Williams lawsuit claimed that California schools were not only unequal in their funding, but were underfunded in even many wealthy districts. Without admitting wrongful distribution of funds, the state of California settled with the plaintiffs and developed a plan to further equalize funding and increase funding across the state districts (California League of Middle Schools, 2004).

Should the United States Equalize Funding?

Even though equalization of funding is unlikely to have much of an effect on either educational outcomes in urban areas or on the achievement gap, as an issue of fairness, the nation will probably continue to move in the direction of equalization. The Education Trust (2002) reports that low-poverty districts spend between \$900 and \$1,000 more per student than high-poverty districts. It would seem that as an issue of fairness, this gap should be reduced.

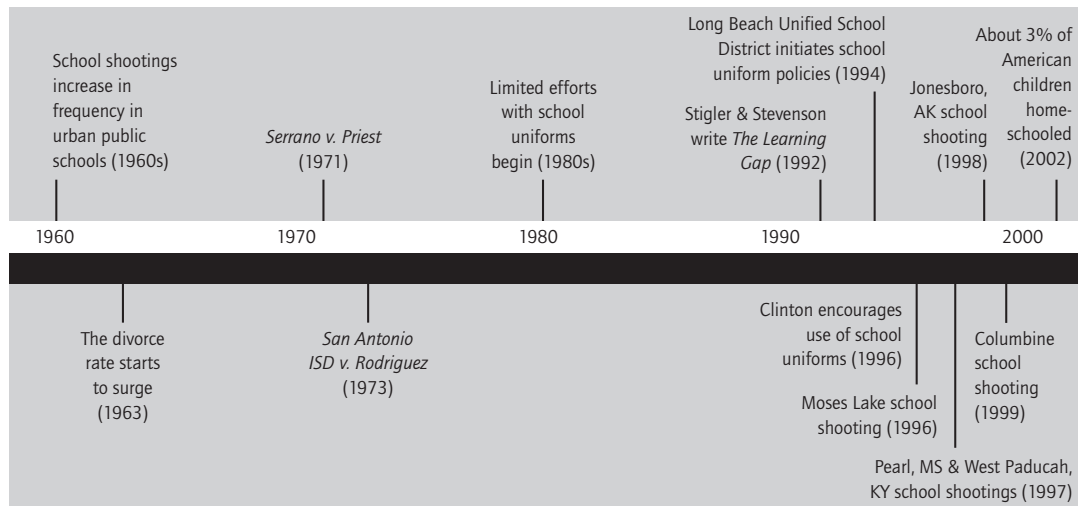
To be sure, there are potential pitfalls to implementing equalization policies. For an equalization policy to work, people in affluent areas need to act altruistically, and the state political leadership needs to be dedicated to school improvement (Benson, 1975; Yinger, 2004). Indeed, Hoxby (2001) asserts that pecunious and upper-middle-class parents will send their children to private schools rather than see their tax money depart from their own children’s education.

Nevertheless, there are definite advantages to equalization of school funding. In addition to creating a more equitable school system, Benson (1975) claimed that it would “encourage state governments to take the matter of raising productivity in education seriously” (p. 10). Furthermore, school-funding equalization may have a mild impact of increasing the property values of rural and inner-city homes and decreasing the value of suburban homes. Naturally, we do not know what the full effect of equalization would be, but the nation is clearly moving in that direction. No one argues for equalization of funding for all the nation’s schools, because the variation in the cost of living is so great across the country. However, many educators support school-funding equalization within states. Only time will tell how far the country will go in the direction of equalization.

SCHOOL SHOOTINGS

Beginning in 1996, Americans across the country were alarmed to hear of many incidents of horrifying shootings initiated by youngsters in public schools in primarily suburban and rural areas across the country (Coleman, 2004).

It should be pointed out that the problem of school shootings did not begin in 1996. In reality, school shootings have been common since the 1960s in urban areas (Kopka, 1997).



Urbanites are quick to point this out and often resent the fact that many Americans believe that the school shooting rampage began in 1996. Urbanites complain that there is a sense that when a shooting occurs in an urban area, people respond by saying, “Well, that’s too bad. But that’s just Philadelphia (or some other urban area) for you.” However, when the same people hear that a shooting has occurred in a suburban or rural setting, they say, “Oh, my goodness, what is this world coming to! How could this happen?” As a result of this propensity, the American public did not become aware of the school shooting quandary until the late 1990s.

Although 1996 was not the first year of school shootings, it was the time these events came to suburban and rural America. On February 2, 1996, Barry Loukaitis, a 14-year-old from Moses Lake, Washington, killed two students and a math teacher. Loukaitis claimed he was greatly influenced by the Stephen King novel *Rage*, about a school killing (Coleman, 2004). He even quoted the book at the time of the killing, saying, “It sure beats algebra, doesn’t it?” Loukaitis also stated that he was influenced by Pearl Jam’s video *Jeremy*, as well as the movies *Natural Born Killers*, by Oliver Stone, and *Basketball Diaries* (Coleman, 2004). Coleman notes, “Today, Stephen King says he wishes that he had never written *Rage*” (p. 4).

In Beth, Alaska, Evan Ramsey said he thought it would be “cool” to gun down people and then proceeded to shoot his principal and a classmate (Matera, 2001). In October of 1997, in Pearl, Mississippi, a boy who was a Satan worshipper and was enraged at his former girlfriend stabbed his brother to death and killed the ex-girlfriend and another student. He was a member of a gang called “the Kroth.”

In late 1997 and the first half of 1998, the school rampages continued. In West Paducah, Kentucky, on December 1, 1997, Michael Carneal barged in on a prayer meeting before school and shot 8 students, killing 3 (Matera, 2001). One of the most publicized shootings before the Columbine incident was in March 1998, in Jonesboro, Arkansas. At this locale, two boys, ages 11 and 14, opened fire on students, killing 4 classmates and a teacher and wounding 10 other students (Matera, 2001). The boys stated that their motive was that they

432 AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

wanted to scare people. This incident received a tremendous amount of publicity for a number of reasons: its occurrence in the open air where the carnage could easily be televised, the disturbing nature of the children's motives, and the extent of the injuries.

Some social scientists hypothesize that the extent to which the media covered the Jonesboro massacre resulted in the "copycat effect" (Coleman, 2004). The day after this incident, a student shot himself in Coldwater, Michigan, and 6 days after the Jonesboro incident, a female student in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, shot herself. Furthermore, within 2 months after the Jonesboro shooting, three major shootings took place. On April 24, 1998, a boy shot his teacher. On May 19th, in Fayetteville, Tennessee, a boy shot another boy who had dated his ex-girlfriend. On May 21st, a boy in Springfield, Oregon, killed one student, wounded 23 others, and then shot and killed his parents.

Other school shootings occurred in Stamps, Arkansas; Conyers, Georgia; Deming, New Mexico; Fort Gibson, Oklahoma; Mount Morris Township, Michigan; El Cajon, California; Santee, California; and Lake Worth, Florida (Matera, 2001).

The most infamous school shooting episode occurred at Columbine High School, in Littleton, Colorado (Brown & Merritt, 2002; Carlston, 2004; Scott & Nimmo, 2000; Zoba, 2000). In April 1999, Eric Harris and Dylan Kleibold exploded 30 bombs and blasted 188 shots, resulting in the death of 15 students and the wounding of 14 others (Matera, 2001). Their hideous acts actually fell well short of their goal because two massive 20-pound propane bombs in the cafeteria failed to detonate. Had they succeeded, "authorities believe that 488 people in the bustling lunchroom would have perished, as well as 56 who were quietly studying in the library one floor above" (Matera, 2001, p. 2). Harris and Kleibold had 76 hand-made pipe bombs and a vast array of semiautomatic guns and shotguns.

Perhaps the most amazing aspect of the Columbine massacre is that there were so many warning signs to which people should have responded. Harris had a Web site that declared his beliefs and intentions. On it, Harris stated, "My belief is that if I say something, it goes. I am the law, if you don't like it you die. If I don't like you or I don't like what you want me to do, you die" (as cited in Brown & Merritt, 2002, p. 84). He also stated, "I will rig up explosives all over a town and detonate each of them at will after I mow down the whole [expletive] area" (as cited in Scott & Nimmo, 2000, p. 150). Harris wrote in Dylan's handbook, "God I can't wait until they die. I can taste the blood now. . . . You know what I hate? MANKIND! Kill everything. . . . Kill everything" (as cited in Brown & Merritt, 2002, p. 94).

Like most of the students involved in school shootings, Harris and Kleibold loved the music of Marilyn Manson and played violent video games. Football players also bullied them. In addition, Harris had been hurt by a girl he had once dated, and he sought revenge against her. One student said, "Eric held grudges and never let them go" (Brown & Merritt, 2002, p.75).

Since Columbine, there has been an increase in the number of school shootings planned but a decrease in the number of those succeeding (Matera, 2001; Coleman, 2004). The failure of several planned attacks is due largely to increased vigilance by school authorities, the FBI, and the police. Some of the plans, if successful, would have made the Columbine shootings seem meager. For example, officers of the law intercepted an e-mail the day before a planned series of multiple explosions and shootings that, if successful, would have blown up an entire school in New Bedford, Massachusetts, in 2001 (Newman, 2004).

Reasons for the Shootings

Those who instigated these crimes were clearly disturbed and angry people, but the causes of their emotional instability varied (Brown & Merritt, 2002; Coleman, 2004; Matera, 2001; Newman, 2004). Many of the students were infatuated with guns and violence. Some were bullied or teased. Others recently had girlfriends break up with them. Others received failing grades at school. Some of the students simply wanted to scare people and get reactions. Generally speaking, the habits of the shooters had more commonalities than their experiences. The students tended to idolize guns and listened to and watched media that condoned violence. However, Newman (2004) notes that all the individuals tended to be low on the totem poll of the student hierarchy.

How Widespread Is Juvenile Violence and Crime?

The school shootings that have gained so much publicity since 1997 have caused Americans to take a closer look at the extent of juvenile violence and crime. As mentioned earlier, it is unfortunate that it took these rural and suburban massacres to inform parents of the problem, when, in reality, the increase in school and teenage violence really began to surge in the 1960s, though these incidents were almost exclusively in urban areas (Kopka, 1997). Consequently, many Americans shrugged off the significance of such incidents by stating that events like this happened only in “bad” areas, and then often proceeded to move to the suburbs (Kopka, 1997).

Teenagers are generally not as malicious as they are portrayed to be on the evening news, nor are most schools as hazardous as they are sometimes depicted. Nevertheless, there are some troubling statistics. First, there are generally over 400,000 incidents of crime per year on America’s school campuses (Burns et al., 1998). Research studies differ on whether or not schools are safer than homes and communities (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1989; Snyder & Sickmund, 1995). Nevertheless, this debate is largely irrelevant, because many conflicts that begin on campus are resolved off school grounds. Juvenile crime has considerable deleterious effects wherever it might occur. In 1998, school campuses reported 253,000 serious violent crimes, defined as aggravated assault, against students (Kaufman et al., 2000). The National Education Association estimates that each school day, 160,000 students miss school in order to avoid other students who wish to do them physical harm (Lal, Lal, & Achilles, 1993).

Evidence suggests that the greater predictors of whether it is likely that there will be violence on a school campus are the presence of gangs in the school and whether drug pushers disseminate drugs in school (Kaufman et al., 2000; Lal et al., 1993). This is especially troubling because as early as the eighth grade, 11 % of American school children admit they are in gangs, and that percentage is much higher if one examines just boys in the sample (Esbensen & Deschenes, 1998). In addition, about one third of American students state that drug pushers have either sold or offered them illegal drugs on campus (Kaufman et al., 2000). Although school shootings are rare, violence in the schools and disciplinary problems are common.

President Clinton’s Gun-Free Schools Act, discussed in Chapter 14, was designed to inaugurate a zero-tolerance policy toward student possession of guns and other weapons (Clinton, 1995; Coleman, 2004). Schools became much more aggressive in implementing this policy once the school shootings became more common in the suburbs starting in 1996 (Casella,

434 AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

2003; Coleman, 2004). However, social scientists are mixed in their assessment of this zero-tolerance policy. Some of them claim that it reduces school violence, but others assert that it indiscriminately results in the expulsion of countless youth; for example, one whose parents accidentally drop a kitchen knife in the car that school officials later find (Casella, 2003).

Possible Solutions to School Shootings

Two of the most common solutions to school shootings that social scientists and national leaders propose are gun control and moral education. There is no question that there are a lot of guns in the United States. In fact, although estimates vary, there are about as many guns as people in the nation (Gahr, 2002). Guns are relatively easy to obtain, and, on this basis, many people argue that the nation needs stricter gun control laws. However, others argue that there are already laws on the books that should have prevented these adolescents from procuring guns (Armstrong, 2002). Despite this fact, each of these students obtained guns. In fact, Eric Harris even made a video in which he proclaimed that gun laws could not have stopped him from obtaining guns (Scott & Nimmo, 2000). Gun control might well curb adult crime, but it is less certain whether gun control would reduce adolescent crime.

Another suggestion is to reintroduce moral education in the schools. When moral education had a much more prominent role in American education, teachers taught more actively about love, the Golden Rule, forgiveness, managing anger, and not picking on anyone who is different for any reason (Coleman, 2004). Those who advocate this position believe that increasing the number of metal detectors, zero-tolerance programs, and other initiatives deals only with the symptoms of the problem, when it is the condition of the human heart that must be addressed.

A third suggestion that some educators favor is reducing school size. Virtually all the school shootings occurred at large schools. For example, Columbine High School was greatly expanded to become a school of 2,000 shortly before the shootings (Carlston, 2004). As discussed in Chapter 10, there are also some academic reasons that some educators argue in favor of reducing school size. The issue of how to reduce the school shootings has become a key educational debate as a result of the school violence.

Educational Debate: What Is the Best Solution to Prevent Future School Shootings?

Although all Americans are agreed that more needs to be done to prevent school shootings, there is some disagreement on how to best realize this goal. Some social scientists argue that the nation needs more restrictive gun control laws. However, others argue that the laws presently on the books already prohibit adolescent gun purchases and yet these youth were somehow able to obtain guns. Some educators assert that reducing class size is the solution, especially since the majority of school shootings occurred at large schools. Finally, some social scientists assert that the country needs to return to its pre-1963 practice of a moral education emphasis. In this way, teaching students to forgive, control their anger, and not to bully will become common practices once again. Consequently, these deleterious behaviors will decrease.

SCHOOL UNIFORMS

School uniforms are one of the most popular reforms currently being applied or under consideration by many school districts (Brunsma, 2002). The idea of school uniforms is hardly new. In fact, requiring students to wear uniforms for school was the general practice for many years in many private and public schools across America (Brunsma, 2004). Moreover, it still remains the preferred manner of attire in many nations around the world, many of which based their school system on the Western model (Stevenson & Stigler, 1992). The first use of the school uniform dates back to 1222, when Stephen Langton, then the Archbishop of Canterbury, called for its implementation (Brunsma, 2004). As individualism increasingly became a sacred value, especially during the hippie movement, the practice of wearing school uniforms fell out of favor. In addition, certain American court cases upheld the rights of students to wear to school what they chose. Therefore, schools could not constrain students to wear particular kinds of clothes (Brunsma, 2002, 2004).

Conservatives lamented over the stylistic and legal trends mentioned and claimed that the absence of uniforms would lead to a further deterioration of student self-discipline, already a problem in the 1960s and 1970s (Brunsma, 2002, 2004). Nevertheless, the cultural and legal trends were clear, and the conservatives had to admit defeat.

Surging rates of juvenile crime caused the issue of school uniforms to resurface again. In the late 1970s, the juvenile crime rate had risen to such levels that an adolescent was 32 times as likely as in 1950 to be arrested for committing a crime (Bennett, 1983). Marion Barry, Democratic mayor from Washington, D.C., “began discussing with his administration the possibility of proposing a standardized dress code for D.C.’s public schools” (Brunsma, 2004, p. 14). It was Barry’s belief that political leaders needed to take swift action to stem the surge in juvenile crime. In the early to late 1980s, public schools discussed the matter of school uniforms, and, in some cases, there were isolated and limited attempts to initiate such programs (Brunsma, 2004). Naturally, many private schools continued to require school uniforms. However, the first American public school in the last quarter of the 20th century to highly publicize a school uniform code was Cherry Hill Elementary school, in Baltimore, Maryland, in the 1980s (Brunsma, 2004). Via initiatives in the Washington, D.C., and Baltimore area, by the fall of 1988, 23 schools in the Washington-Baltimore area had inaugurated school uniform programs (Starr, 2000; Brunsma, 2004).

The school uniform movement gained considerable momentum when New York City Mayor Ed Koch called for the city to launch a pilot school uniform program (Brunsma, 2004). The mayor of the nation’s largest city was now onboard. After Mayor Koch announced his support for school uniforms, many of America’s schools initiated uniform programs, including Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Miami, and others (Brunsma, 2004).

The Long Beach Unified School District (LBUSD) in California became the first entire school district to implement a school uniform policy (Melvin, 1994). The school board unanimously decided that a school uniform policy would be launched for all public schools in Long Beach. The unanimous decision was reached largely because they regarded a previous experimental 5-year, 11-school uniform program to have been a real success (Melvin, 1994).

The board gave the following reasons for LBUSD inaugurating a districtwide uniform policy: (a) to combat gang warfare, since certain colors were associated with certain gangs; (b) to quell competition, theft, and violence over designer clothing; (c) to help students focus

436 AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

on school; and (d) to de-emphasize the existence of economic inequality in the schools (Melvin, 1994).

If Mayor Koch was the source of momentum in the period from 1988 to 1994, it was Republican Governor Pete Wilson of California who provided additional momentum in the fall of 1994. Governor Wilson signed a California bill stating that public schools could require their students to wear uniforms (Brunsma, 2004). Wilson's bill stipulated that children of families who opposed the school uniform policy would still receive an appropriate education (Brunsma, 2004). The bill also stipulated the following: (a) School districts needed to consult with parents, principals, and teachers before they undertook a school uniform policy; (b) schools needed to give parents 6 months' notice; and (c) parents could opt out of any school uniform plan if they showed there was a good reason (Brunsma, 2004).

Long Beach Claims Success

In the years immediately following LBUSD's implementation of their school uniform policy, the district undertook an analysis to see if the program had worked (LBUSD, 2003). By the 1998/1999 school year, district officials reported an 86% drop in school crime, a 93% reduction in sex crimes, and a 73% drop in assault and battery (LBUSD, 2003). Robbery declined 84%, and vandalism fell 93% (LBUSD, 2003). School attendance also rose 93.8% in the 1993/1994 school year to 99% in 1998/999 (LBUSD, 2003). District officials claim that the higher attendance figures reflect that families believed that the schools were now safer (LBUSD, 2003).

School Uniform Programs Greatly Expand

Once preliminary results indicated that the LBUSD uniform plan was a success, President Bill Clinton decided to take action. On February 24, 1996, "Clinton instructed the Department of Education to distribute manuals to the nation's 16,000 school districts advising them how they could legally enforce a school uniform policy" (Brunsma, 2004, p. 20).

The fact that LBUSD had experienced such success and that three of the nation's most powerful politicians (Clinton, Wilson, and Koch) were now onboard catapulted the school uniform movement to center stage. By 1997, many educators estimated that half of the urban districts in the United States had instituted school uniform policies (Melvin, 1994). Eighty percent of Chicago public schools implemented school uniform policies, 66% of Cleveland's public schools, and 60% of Miami's public schools (Brunsma, 2004).

On March 25, 1998, New York City's board of education passed a resolution that allowed more schools to require school uniforms. Consequently, about 72% of the city's elementary schools adopted uniform guidelines (Brunsma, 2004). Philadelphia adopted school uniform guidelines in 2000. The school uniform movement was in full force.

Do School Uniforms Really Help?

On the basis of the statistics regarding reduced crime that LBUSD supplied, one might be tempted to immediately conclude that school uniforms must indeed work. Some schools have reported such results (Brunsma, 2004). However, the debate over this issue is complicated by one major factor. That is, in nearly every case in which schools and their districts adopted school uniform policies, they concurrently implemented other programs

that were also designed to reduce crime (Brunsma & Rockquemore, 1998). Among these other programs were parental involvement initiatives and character education programs (Brunsma, 2002, 2004). As a result, it is not clear how much the improvements noted by these schools have been due to school uniform policies and how much they have been due to the implementation of other programs. For example, Brunsma and Rockquemore (1998) compared schools that had school uniform policies versus those schools that did not, using the National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS) of 1988. They found that after controlling for a variety of school-based and individual factors, school uniforms had minimal influence on school outcomes and measures of crime. From these findings, these researchers concluded that school uniforms have no real impact on student behavior (Brunsma & Rockquemore, 1998).

The Brunsma and Rockquemore (1998) study is intriguing because it does use a nationwide data set and acknowledges that other factors, such as parental involvement and character education, may be acting concurrently with school uniform policies. Nevertheless, the 1988 NELS data set would have predated the implementation of these uniform programs, and this is problematic. In the NELS 1988 data set, private schools had school uniform policies, and public schools did not (U.S. Department of Education, NELS, 1992). The vast majority of private schools are religious in nature, and it is highly unlikely that school uniforms would have much of an impact in schools where the religious culture of the school is regarded as the primary force influencing educational outcomes (Coleman, Hoffer, & Kilgore, 1982; Hoffer, Greeley, & Coleman, 1987). It is therefore highly unlikely that when controlling for variables for religious culture, statistically significant effects for school uniforms would emerge.

The Brunsma and Rockquemore (1998) study therefore has one primary contribution and one outstanding weakness. Its major contribution is that unlike district- and school-based studies that have considered only the implementation of school uniform policies apart from the presence of other programs, this study considers the presence of other variables. However, the Brunsma and Rockquemore (1998) study makes a questionable generalization by assuming that the influence of school uniforms in private schools is the same as one would find in public schools. It is likely that none of the public school uniform programs that have been initiated since the public school uniform movement was launched in the mid-1980s are included in this study. Consequently, it is hard to use the results of this study as a means of contradicting the claims of school districts that assert that school uniform policies produce results.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE FAMILY

There are a number of ways that the family influences school outcomes. Two of those ways will be dealt with here: parental family structure and parental involvement. One needs to remember that when addressing the influence of each of these factors, we are dealing with average effects and that the actual impact varies from one child to another.

Family Structure

Generally speaking, the trend in the influence of family structure is that the further one goes from the biological two-parent family, the greater the extent to which family structure has

a downward impact on educational outcomes (Jeynes, 2002; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980). For example, on average, living in a single-parent divorced family structure does have a downward impact on children's achievement (Jeynes, 2002; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980). However, residing in a never-married single-parent family structure generally influences achievement even more negatively (Jeynes, 2002). This is because in the case of divorce, marital dissolution usually occurs a considerable time after a child has been born (Jeynes, 2002; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980). Furthermore, children often continue to have a relationship with the noncustodial parent after the divorce (Hetherington & Jodl, 1994). In the case of a never-married single-parent family structure, the access to the noncustodial second parent is often minimal (Jeynes, 2002). It follows that, on average, children from a never-married single-parent family structure have less access to their parents than in a divorced single-parent family structure (Jeynes, 2002). Consequently, one should not be surprised to find that the never-married single-parent family structure exerts more of a negative impact on achievement than the divorced single-parent family structure (Jeynes, 2002). In addition, single-parent homes account for 85% of young people in prison, 63% of youth suicides, 90% of homeless/runaway children, 85% of children with behavior problems, and 71% of high school dropouts (National Center for Health Statistics, 2003; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2001).

A second trend in the influence of family structure is that the greater the number of family structure transitions or adjustments a child must go through, the greater the impact on the child (Amato & Ochiltree, 1987; Baydar, 1988; Downey, 1995; Hetherington & Clingempeel, 1992; Hetherington, Stanley-Hagan, & Anderson, 1989). For example, parental divorce or the death of a parent exerts downward pressure on academic achievement, but parental remarriage following each of these events, on average, exerts additional pressure on academic achievement. This is because the addition of a new adult in the house represents an additional transition for the child that requires emotional and psychological adjustment (Amato & Ochiltree, 1987; Baydar, 1988; Downey, 1995; Hetherington & Clingempeel, 1992; Hetherington et al., 1989). Similarly, when one adjusts for socioeconomic status (SES), cohabitation exerts greater pressure on academic achievement than being from a never-married single-parent family (Amato & Ochiltree, 1987; Baydar, 1988; Downey, 1995; Hetherington & Clingempeel, 1992).

Nearly all researchers now understand that children from nonintact families are at an academic and psychological disadvantage compared with children from intact families (Amato & Ochiltree, 1987; Baydar, 1988; Downey, 1995; Hetherington & Clingempeel, 1992; Hetherington et al., 1989). Some years ago, some social scientists debated whether parental remarriage following divorce has a positive or negative overall impact on the children who formerly lived in divorced or widowed single-parent families (Beer, 1992; Coleman & Ganong, 1990; Jeynes, 1998). Some therapists even encouraged parents to remarry for the sake of the children (Beer, 1992; Coleman & Ganong, 1990; Jeynes, 1998). In recent years, however, social scientists have accumulated a sizable amount of evidence indicating that remarriage is indeed a challenging transition for many children (Dawson, 1991; Hetherington & Jodl, 1994; Popenoe, 1994; Zill, 1994; Zill & Nord, 1994).

Many children view the new parental figure as a stranger in their homes (Hetherington & Clingempeel, 1992; Kelly, 1992; Visher & Visher, 1988). Children in reconstituted families often struggle with rivalries with their stepbrothers and stepsisters. Moreover, they may grapple with the suspicion that the stepparent is robbing them of necessary access to their biological parent (Hetherington & Clingempeel, 1992; Kelly, 1992; Walsh, 1992). The presence of a stepparent often reduces the intimacy of the relationship that the children have

with the biological parent (Hetherington & Clingempeel, 1992; Walsh, 1992). In addition, remarriage often produces an increased tension between the biological parents, and this fact can have detrimental effects on the psychological well-being of a child (Walsh, 1992). Reconstituted marriages are also less stable and more likely to end in divorce than first-time marriages, and this may have several effects on the child (Booth & Edwards, 1992; Popenoe, 1994). Recent research also indicates that reconstituted families are much more physically mobile than intact families (McLanahan & Sandefur, 1994). Many researchers believe that as a result of these factors, many children from reconstituted homes become frustrated and show a greater tendency to be aggressive, agitated, and unhappy than children from intact families (Nunn, Parish, & Worthing, 1993; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980). These researchers believe that while some moderating influences may exist in certain families that can lighten the impact of remarriage following divorce (the extent of communication between the stepchild and the stepparent, the length of time a child has lived in a reconstituted family, etc.), it nevertheless has many negative consequences for children (Hetherington & Clingempeel, 1992; Walsh, 1992).

Although a new consensus is developing among social scientists regarding the impact of remarriage on children of divorce, very few principals and teachers are aware of this fact. If indeed America's schools are to be sensitive to children of divorce from reconstituted families, educators must not assume that remarriage following divorce generally benefits children. Educators need to familiarize themselves with the challenges that this large group of children face, in order to make America's schools more effective in reaching out to this "minority" population.

It may be that the cohabitation family structure has the negative impact it does on academic achievement for much the same reason that divorce followed by remarriage and widowhood followed by remarriage generally exert a downward pressure on academic achievement (Jeynes, 2002). First, in many cohabitation relationships, only one of the adults is the child's biological parent (Jeynes, 2002). When this situation occurs, any children living in the household probably face many of the same disadvantages as in any household in which the child has only one biological parent. Even when both biological parents are present, cohabitation often involves a lower level of commitment by the adults to the continuation of family union and to any children that might abide in the household (Forste & Tanfer, 1996; Nock, 1995). Second, in those households in which one of the parents is not the natural parent, the same kind of friction and adjustments that often arise between stepparents and their stepchildren can develop between the child and the nonbiological parent.

Parental Involvement

Parental involvement is another area that has been subject to a great deal of research. For the purpose of this section, *parental involvement* will be defined as the participation of parents in the various dimensions of a child's educational experience, both in establishing the atmosphere of the home and in explicit activities. The modern-day interest in parental involvement grew in part out of the concern with the increasing number of dissolved marriages (Jeynes, 2003, 2005a). Clearly, parental involvement is facilitated when there are two parents rather than one involved in raising a child (Jeynes, 2003, 2005a). Nevertheless, parental involvement has evolved to be an educational topic in its own right, because it is important no matter what a child's family structure is and there are plenty of two-parent

families that despite having the potential availability of two adults are nevertheless relatively uninvolved in their children's education.

Many social scientists believe parental involvement is vital to improving educational outcomes. Hara (1998), for example, claims that increased parental involvement is the key to improving the academic achievement of children. Various studies indicate that parental involvement is fundamental in inducing children to excel in school at both the elementary and secondary school levels (Christian, Morrison, & Bryant, 1998; Mau, 1997; McBride & Lin, 1996; Muller, 1998; Singh et al., 1995). Meta-analyses by Jeynes (2003, 2005a) and a study by Singh and colleagues (1995) suggest that the influence of parental involvement may be greater at the elementary school level than at the secondary school. The impact of parental involvement manifests itself in reading achievement (Jeynes, 2003; Shaver & Walls, 1998); mathematics achievement (Muller, 1998; Peressini, 1998; Shaver & Walls, 1998); and in other subjects as well (Jeynes, 2003, 2005a; Zdzinski, 1996).

The impact of parental involvement is so considerable that it holds across all level of parental education, ethnicity, and locale (Bogenschneider, 1997; Deslandes, Royer, Turcotte, & Bertrand, 1997; Griffith, 1996; Hampton, Mumford, & Bond, 1998; Jeynes, 2003, 2005a; Mau, 1997; Villas-Boas, 1998).

Research indicates that parental involvement makes it more likely children will do their homework (Balli, 1998; Balli, Demo, & Wedman, 1998; Villas-Boas, 1998); improve their language skills (Bermudez & Padron, 1990); have low school absentee rates (Nesbitt, 1993); and even have strong musical skills (Zdzinski, 1992). Parental involvement research has been on the increase during the last two decades. Social scientists are giving parental involvement a special place of importance in influencing the academic outcomes of the youth.

LEARNING FROM FOREIGN SYSTEMS OF EDUCATION

There is no question that since the early 1960s, American citizens have been increasingly critical of the American system of education (Stevenson & Stigler, 1992; Wirtz, 1977). The fact that American students generally perform poorly versus their counterparts in other nations, especially in East Asia and Europe, has led some to conclude that the United States should attempt to learn from foreign systems of education, particularly in East Asia (Stevenson & Stigler, 1992). Furthermore, this advantage has grown considerably since the mid-1960s, when American schools fared better than they do now on international comparison tests (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, 1985a, 1985b, 2000a, 2000b; International Project for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, 1967; Lynn, 1988).

When one examines the issue of the extent to which American educators need to learn from the Japanese school system, two questions immediately emerge: (1) To what degree are school systems in Japan, Korea, Taiwan, China, and other Asian nations worthy of emulation? and (2) to what extent can American schools learn from these systems of education?

To What Degree Are East Asian Schools Worthy of Emulation?

Harold Stevenson and James Stigler (1992) conducted extensive research comparing Japanese and American students at various grade levels. They concluded that by the fifth

grade, only the top American students could match the average mathematics achievement level attained in Japan. Lynn's (1988) analysis of international comparison tests confirms the findings of Stevenson and Stigler. He found that 98% of the Japanese students did better than the average American. Lynn notes that this advantage was much larger than it had been in the 1960s. In the most recent Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), the nations of Singapore, Taiwan, Korea, and Japan were always among the top five nations in achievement (International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, 2000a, 2000b).

Benjamin Duke (1991) explains the findings of the body of research on Japanese education in the following way:

Japan has undoubtedly out paced all the other major nations of the world in what should be the fundamental task of schooling, imparting to virtually all students adequately high levels of the basic skills, such as literacy and high competence in mathematics, needed for life in the modern world. (p. xviii)

Even when adjusting for differences in the representative nature of the samples and SES, the East Asian education advantage is quite clear (Stevenson & Stigler, 1992).

To What Extent Can American Schools Learn From Other Systems of Education?

Some educators believe that we cannot learn much from the education systems of other nations, because those school practices exist in other cultural contexts. However, Stevenson and Stigler (1992) and other social scientists argue that the United States can learn from the East Asian systems of education, especially because most of them were built using the American (and to a lesser extent the British and French) model (Shimizu, 1992).

Japan was the first nation to base its educational system on the Western rubric. In 1868, Emperor Meiji became leader and declared that unless Japan incorporated certain Western modern developments, Japanese society would not flourish (Shimizu, 1992). From 1872 to 1873, Meiji inaugurated a series of reforms that called for a radical level of Western-style changes, including hiring many American educators to fabricate the Japanese education system (Shimizu, 1992). In 1872, the Meiji Restoration resulted in the establishing of the Japanese education system (Shimizu, 1992). Emperor Meiji then requested that hundreds of Western educators come to Japan and formulate a Japanese education system that would be based on the Western paradigm. David Murray, from Rutgers University, led this group of educators and was largely responsible for formulating the modern Japanese education system (Amano, 1990). Murray's impact was so remarkable that Keenleyside and Thomas (1937) observe, "Dr. Murray himself probably did more than any other one man to influence the trend of educational development in Japan" (p. 92).

In 1879, Japan initiated a new wave of educational reforms that favored American practices over European ones (Keenleyside & Thomas, 1937). In addition, in the post-World War II period, the United States enjoyed another period of significant influence on the Japanese education system (Benjamin, 1997; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992).

442 AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

To the degree that the United States has influenced Japan's education system the most of any nation in the Orient, South Korea probably ranks second. In the years following these changes in Japan, American and European missionaries founded Western-style schools in Korea. Many of Korea's finest universities and elementary and secondary schools were founded by Western missionaries (Duke University, 2002). China's education system was influenced by several Western nations, and by 1920, China had 6,301 Western-style schools (Cui, 2001). Other East Asian nations, such as Singapore and Taiwan, were similarly influenced (Lee, 1991; Miller, 1943).

Therefore, when educators argue that there is much that the United States can assimilate from the East Asian systems of education, what they are really saying is that there is much that America can relearn. The concepts that a number of these social scientists believe Americans can learn from the East Asian education system include parent/teacher partnerships, efficacious whole-class teaching, moral education, and an emphasis on effort more than ability (Benjamin, 1997; Khan, 1997; Stevenson & Lee, 1995; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992; White, 1987). It is also true that in most East Asian countries, the school year is longer than in the United States, which means there is more overall study time.

Added Insight: The United States Is Very Open to Cultures Within Its Borders, But Not to Cultures Beyond Its Borders

The United States today prides itself on its multicultural emphasis, that is, that Americans are open-minded to the practices of other cultures. Based on the issues addressed in Chapter 13, this is evidently true when focusing on cultures within American borders. In this sense, the United States may well be the most open-minded nation in the world. However, according to Stevenson and Stigler (1992) and others who have written on the East Asian educational phenomenon, this attitude does not persist when it comes to learning from other nations outside of American borders (Benjamin, 1997; Duke, 1991; White, 1987). Some social scientists observe that the United States is especially disinclined to learn from nations that do not practice multiculturalism (Fallows, 1989; Pye & Pye, 1985). This attitude is particularly problematic because there are only a handful of nations in the world that value multiculturalism. If the United States remains adamant in its reluctance to learn from nations that do not practice multiculturalism, it will be refusing to learn from the overwhelming majority of nations in the world.

Researchers and educators who study East Asia insist that there is a great deal that the United States can learn from school systems there (Benjamin, 1997; Duke, 1991; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992; White, 1987). However, East Asian nations do not hold multiculturalism in especially high esteem. In fact, East Asian nations value assimilation and conformity (Benjamin, 1997; Duke, 1991; Jeynes, 2005b; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992; White, 1987). Many Americans look down on East Asians because of their emphasis, which seems totally antithetical to the tenets of multiculturalism (Fallows, 1989; Pye & Pye, 1985).

- If Americans are accepting only of multicultural countries, are we as accepting as we claim?

Many researchers believe the United States can learn a great deal from East Asian school systems, particularly since their education systems were based largely on the American model (Benjamin, 1997; Duke, 1991; Jeynes, 2005b; White, 1987). However, according to Stevenson and Stigler, few Americans are willing to do so.

TECHNOLOGY IN THE SCHOOLS

The place of technology has increased in the schools. The importance of computer literacy has soared at an astronomical rate. There is no question that the future economic growth of the country is largely dependent on the ability to inculcate American students with technological know-how. Coates (2004) avers that teaching children how to use the Internet is particularly important, because it will lead to more efficient businesses. As Honey (2004) argues, computer technology is rapidly changing American society, and schools must adapt to that change. Eaton (2004) claims, "It's impossible to overstate the impact of the Internet" (p. 39), predicting, "very soon if you aren't computer literate, you won't be literate" (p. 40).

Some social scientists have made incredible predictions about the extent to which technology will revolutionize education. Davey (2004) said that to the extent to which the Internet made distance learning possible education would be revolutionized and predicted that distance learning would become a vital part of American education.

However, Larry Cuban (2001) argues that computers currently are not used enough in the classroom. He believes that whether computers are located in individual classrooms or whether they form computer clusters, computers are frequently left unused by educators. Cuban notes that compared with 1986, teachers do use computers in the classroom somewhat more frequently. However, the increase in classroom computer time is not as great as one might think. Cuban's research indicates that only 1 out of 10 teachers uses technology in the classroom daily and only 1 in 3 use technology occasionally.

Although virtually all social scientists agree that computer literacy is important, some of them nevertheless believe that the emphasis on technology is overdone (LeFevre, 2004; Shapiro, 2004; Wilson, 2004). For example, LeFevre (2004) argues that "technology will not . . . propel a poor student to the honor role" (p. 22). Some social scientists in fact argue that because schools are emphasizing technology too much, certain important aspects of education are being lost in the process (LeFevre, 2004; Shapiro, 2004; Wilson, 2004). Some of the problems with technological education that these individuals are concerned may be overlooked include the following.

First, some argue that the calculator is being introduced too early and that, consequently, students are losing the ability to do math without the calculator (LeFevre, 2004). Second, they are concerned that teachers tend to use the computer like a babysitter for playing and listening to music rather than having its main functions be academically related. Some are concerned, in fact, with Larry Cuban's (2001) approach of having children play with the computer in the same way that children play with blocks.

Third, some are concerned that the emphasis on computer instruction is taking children away from learning how to interact with one another one-on-one (Shapiro, 2004). Regarding college education, they argue that the learning that takes place via distance learning can never replace the level of education that takes place in personal education in a classroom (Wilson, 2004).

Fourth, some believe that some educators are forcing academic technologies on children at too early an age. Cuban (2001) for example, calls for "cyberteaching in preschools and kindergarten" (p. 49). Some believe that although some degree of exposure to the computer is good at this age, this academic emphasis only contributes to the trend toward making kindergartens more like first grade (Jeynes, 2006). Increasingly, it appears that modern

kindergartens are laying aside the foundational nature of Froebel's original model of the kindergarten and are becoming focused on the academic (Jeynes, 2006).

A Closer Look: How Much Does Technology Really Help?

There is no question that computer literacy is constantly growing in importance. To procure some of the nation's better jobs, knowledge of the Internet, Microsoft Word, Excel, and Power Point are becoming requisite. Increasingly, teachers must train students in computer literacy. And over time, an increasing number of corporate executives regard this training as a fundamental part of the educational process. However, a growing number of people question the wisdom of how schools frequently implement technology training in the classroom (Loveless & Coughlan, 2004). Specifically, these individuals tend to raise two concerns. First, they assert that schools rely so much on the calculator that students today have considerably less developed mathematics abilities than their counterparts from 30 or more years ago (Loveless & Coughlan, 2004; Thompson & Sproule, 2000). There are many cases introduced as evidence indicating that many students lack multiplication, division, and addition skills as a result (Loveless & Coughlan, 2004; Thompson & Sproule, 2000). Therefore, an increasing number of elementary school teachers are forbidding their students from using calculators in class until they reach a certain age (Loveless & Coughlan, 2004; Thompson & Sproule, 2000). Second, many claim that teachers frequently use technology, such as television and computers, as babysitters more than as sophisticated and effective educational tools (Celano & Neuman, 2000; Loveless & Coughlan, 2004).

- Do you believe that teachers should always seek to incorporate more technology in the classroom, or do you have concerns?
- Do you think there can be some disadvantages of incorporating technology in the classroom without monitoring how it is used?
- How do you imagine you will incorporate technology in the classroom?

Educators need to increasingly incorporate technology in the classroom. However, given that the computer is a relatively new addition to the classroom, it may take some time to resolve these debates to maximize the effectiveness of the use of technology in the classroom.

HOMESCHOOLING

Approximately 1.8 to 2.0 million, or 3%, of American children are homeschooled (Barfield, 2002). Although a number of famous individuals, such as Abraham Lincoln and Thomas Edison, were homeschooled, the modern-day movement really did not begin until the early 1980s (Mayberry, Knowles, Ray, & Marlow, 1995). Homeschooling is legal in all 50 states, although states vary in the extent to which they have certain restrictions. Southeastern states tend to have the most restrictions, and the industrial Midwest tends to have the least (Mayberry et al., 1995). Parents and children choose to homeschool for a variety of reasons.

Some of the most common are concerns about the lack of moral and religious teaching in public schools and a sense that public schools do not maintain high academic standards (Mayberry et al., 1995; Ray & Wartes, 1991). Many of these families are not particularly wealthy, and therefore the cost of sending their children to private schools is prohibitive. The average household income for a homeschool family is approximately \$10,000 below the national median level, largely because many times, one parent does not work (Golden, 2000). Given the considerable expense of the private school option, these parents choose to homeschool their children.

People generally have two concerns about homeschooling: academic and social. The academic concerns emerged largely because people were concerned about the type of parents who would be attracted to the idea of homeschooling their children. Would they be the type, for example, who slept in and just did not feel like taking their children to school? As a result of these academic concerns, the early state restrictions on homeschooling were greater than they are today.

Research on the academic achievement of children indicates that homeschooled children do quite well academically, averaging about 2 years ahead of public school students and about 9 months ahead of private school students (Mayberry et al., 1995; Ray & Wartes, 1991).

In recent years, the primary concern that educators have had regards the social effects of homeschooling (Barfield, 2002; Mayberry et al., 1995). This concern largely stems from a stereotype that many people have of homeschooled children, that they are alone with their mothers or fathers all day long. In reality, most homeschooled children belong to homeschooling associations that go on field trips together, have physical education classes together, and do other activities together (Barfield, 2002; Orr, 2003; Stevens, 2001). Beyond this, many private educational businesses offer classes especially designed for homeschoolers. They especially focus on teaching subjects that parents do not feel comfortable with, such as chemistry, art, music, and foreign languages (Barfield, 2002; Orr, 2003; Stevens, 2001). In addition, homeschooled children sometimes attend some public school classes, and often they play on public school sports teams (Barfield, 2002; Orr, 2003). They have the right to be involved in public school activities because they pay the same level of taxes that everyone else pays.

Homeschool parents generally make certain that their children are involved in many social activities and organizations in order to compensate for not being in school, such as the Girl or Boy Scouts, dance classes, gymnastics, lifeguarding, and church (Orr, 2003). Homeschooled children often have the time and flexibility of schedule to engage in other activities as well, including Dale Carnegie speech classes and instruction in American Sign Language (Orr, 2003). Given that homeschooled children are generally quite socially involved, they tend to score at least as well as public school children on psychological tests (Mayberry et al., 1995).

Probably the most interesting aspect of the homeschooling movement is that the academic achievement of these children appears unrelated to SES (Mayberry et al., 1995; Ray & Wartes, 1991). This is highly unusual. In America's schools, there is a strong relationship between SES and academic achievement (Barfield, 2002; Orr, 2003; Stevens, 2001). Because the homeschool relationship between academic achievement and SES is the ideal, the question naturally arises as to why this is the case. The first reason that is generally given is that homeschooling

represents a high degree of parental involvement (Barfield, 2002; Orr, 2003; Stevens, 2001). This involvement is facilitated by the fact that homeschooled children are more likely than their public school counterparts to come from two-parent homes and from families in which only one parent works outside the home (Mayberry et al., 1995; Ray & Wartes, 1991). The second reason is that homeschooled children receive a great deal of individual attention. The research on homeschooling suggests that this individual attention is not merely a phenomenon that takes place during the school day, but carries over into other activities. For example, research indicates that nearly two thirds of homeschooled fourth graders watch less than 1 hour of television per day (Mayberry et al., 1995; Ray & Wartes, 1991). These facts may give public and private school educators some insight into improving educational outcomes.

Contemporary Focus

Choosing an Educational Reform to Strengthen American Schools

In this book, *American Educational History: School, Society, and the Common Good*, we have examined an abundance of educational themes and issues. Below are listed six of the most common reforms that educators, social scientists, and political leaders cite as a means to improve the U.S. education system.

If you could choose one of the following programs to help American students in school, which would it be, and why?

1. Expand the affirmative action program
2. Expand programs of school choice
3. Teach children better morals/character and allow moral expression, such as voluntary prayer, in the schools
4. Increase teacher salaries
5. Learn from foreign systems of education regarding how they run their programs
6. Have an equalization of school expenditures

CONCLUSION

One can argue that the topics addressed in this chapter constitute some of the greatest changes that American education has ever faced. Indeed, that may well be the case. School expenditure equalization, school shootings, uniforms, learning from foreign systems of education, the changes in family structure since the early 1960s, and the technological revolution represent prodigious transformations that will help guide American education in one direction or the other. Unquestionably, depending on one's perspective, some people will view some of these changes as positive developments, and others will view some of them

as events that have gone awry. Nevertheless, for good or ill, change is part of the American educational landscape.

Although the transformations addressed in this chapter seem major, and they patently are, they are probably no more trenchant than some of the changes that American education has encountered in past decades and centuries. For example, within just a short span of years, the Puritans guided New England from having virtually no formal education at all to establishing compulsory education and Harvard College. The Revolutionary War helped catapult the nation into a breeding ground for higher education. Horace Mann and his colleagues forever changed the way most American children receive their education. Various minority groups, as well as women, experienced prodigious changes in educational experiences, particularly during the 1800s. John Dewey laid his imprint on American education in a way that perhaps no other man had done. America's Civil War, World Wars I and II, the Great Depression, and the Cold War all had dramatic effects on the ways American schools functioned. The civil rights movement also decidedly impacted American education. The 1960s was one of the most turbulent decades in American history and produced changes in American schools and universities that may well surpass any other decade. Educational transformations are a part of U.S. history.

The United States is constantly trying to improve its education system. If the nation is to strengthen its education system, a primary need is to learn from the history of education. There are many lessons to be learned from the great accomplishments as well as the mistakes that have been made over the years. One can only hope that as time passes, the accomplishments will breed further success, and the mistakes will be corrected. This truth makes the study of educational history an exciting experience, a journey through time, with many applications for today.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Do you favor the use of school uniforms in schools? Why or why not?
2. Obviously, Eric Harris and Dylan Kliebold spread a great deal of hate in their world, and they clearly had some deep-rooted psychological problems. What can teachers and parents do to reduce the likelihood that children with such problems and hatred will do harm to other students?
3. Some claim that the homeschooling movement has emerged out of a sense of frustration that a fair number of parents have with the public schools. Do you agree with this statement? Do you think that there are actions that public schools could take to win back these parents?
4. Given that family factors affect the educational outcomes of students the way they do, family and educational researchers frequently contend that teachers ought to function as surrogate parents for children. Do you agree with this statement? To what extent can teachers function as surrogate parents?

REFERENCES

- Amano, I. (1990). *Education and examination in modern Japan*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo.
- Amato, P. R., & Ochiltree, G. (1987). Child and adolescent competence in intact, one-parent, and step-families, an Australian study. *Journal of Divorce*, 10, 75–96.
- Armstrong, A. (2002). Guns have been wrongfully blamed for school shootings. In L. K. Egendorf (Ed.), *School shootings* (pp. 36–39). San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press.
- Balli, S. J. (1998). When mom and dad help: Student reflections on student involvement with homework. *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, 31(3), 142–146.
- Balli, S. J., Demo, D. H., & Wedman, J. F. (1998). Family involvement with children's homework: An intervention in the middle grades. *Family Relations*, 47(2), 149–157.
- Barfield, R. (2002). *Real-life homeschooling*. New York: Fireside.
- Baydar, N. (1988). Effects of parental separation and reentry into union on the emotional well-being of children. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 50, 967–981.
- Beer, W. R. (1992). *Americans stepfamilies*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Benjamin, G. (1997). *Japanese lessons*. New York: NYU Press.
- Bennett, W. J. (1983). Authority, discipline, excellence. In R. Reagan, W. Bennett, & E. W. Lefever (Eds.), *Reinvigorating our schools*. Washington, DC: Ethics and Public Policy Center.
- Benson, C. S. (1975). *Equity in school financing: Full state funding*. Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappan.
- Bermudez, A. B., & Padron, Y. N. (1990). Improving language skills for Hispanic students through home-school partnerships. *Journal of Educational Issues of Language Minority Students*, 6(1), 33–43.
- Bogenschneider, K. (1997). Parental involvement in adolescent schooling: A proximal process with transcultural validity. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 59, 718–733.
- Booth, A., & Edwards, J. N. (1992). Starting over: Why remarriages are more unstable. *Journal of Family Issues*, 13, 179–194.
- Brown, B., & Merritt, R. (2002). *No easy answers: The truth behind death at Columbine*. New York: Lantern Books.
- Brunsmas, D. L. (2002). *School uniforms: A critical review of the literature*. Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappa.
- Brunsmas, D. L. (2004). *The school uniform movement and what it tells us about American education*. Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappa.
- Brunsmas, D., & Rockquemore, A. (1998). Effects of student uniforms on attendance, behavior problems, substance use, and academic achievement. *Journal of Educational Research*, 92(1), 53–62.
- Burns, S., McArthur, E., Heaviside, S., Rowand, C., Williams, C., & Farris, E. (1998). *Violence & discipline problems in U.S. public schools: 1996–1997*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.
- California League of Middle Schools. (2004, July 21). *Legislative update*. Retrieved April 28, 2005, from <http://www.clms.net/legislation/leg0704.htm>.
- Carlston, L. (2004). *Surviving Columbine*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret.
- Casella, R. (2003). Zero tolerance policy in schools: Rationale, consequences, and alternatives. *Teachers College Record*, 105, 872–892.
- Celano, D., & Neuman, S. B. (2000). Channel one: Time for a TV break. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 76, 444–446.
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (1989). *Cost of injury in the United States*. Atlanta, GA: Author.
- Christian, K., Morrison, F. J., & Bryant, F. B. (1998). Predicting kindergarten academic skills: Interactions among child care, maternal education, and family literacy environments. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 13, 501–521.
- Clinton, B. (1995). *Proposed legislation: The Gun-Free Zones Amendments Act of 1995*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Coates, J. E. (2004). The information revolution will continue to benefit society. In L. K. Egendorf (Ed.), *The information revolution: Opposing viewpoints* (pp. 152–159). San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press.

- Coleman, J., Hoffer, T., & Kilgore, S. (1982). *High school achievement: Public, Catholic, and private schools compared*. New York: Basic Books.
- Coleman, L. (2004). *The copycat effect*. New York: Paraview.
- Coleman, M., & Ganong, L. (1990). Remarriage and stepfamily research in the 1980s: Increased interest in an old family form. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 52, 925-940.
- Cuban, L. (2001). *Oversold and underused*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- Cui, D. (2001). British Protestant educational activities and nationalism of Chinese education in the 1920s. In G. Peterson, R. Hayhoe, & L. Yongling (Eds.), *Education, culture, and identity in twentieth century China* (pp. 137-160). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.
- Cullen, J. B., & Loeb, S. (2004). School finance reform in Michigan: Evaluating Proposal A. In J. Yinger (Ed.), *Helping children left behind: State aid and the pursuit of educational equity* (pp. 215-249). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Davey, K. B. (2004). The information revolution has improved off-campus education. In L. K. Egendorf (Ed.), *The information revolution: Opposing viewpoints* (pp. 83-88). San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press.
- Dawson, D. (1991). Family structure and children's health and well-being: Data from the 1988 National Health Interview Survey on Child Health. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 53, 573-584.
- Deslandes, R., Royer, E., Turcotte, D., & Bertrand, R. (1997). School achievement at the secondary level: Influence of parenting style and parent involvement in schooling. *McGill Journal of Education*, 32(3), 191-207.
- Downes, T. (2004). School finance reform and school quality: Lessons from Vermont. In J. Yinger (Ed.), *Helping children left behind: State aid and the pursuit of educational equity* (pp. 59-85). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Downey, D. B. (1995). Understanding academic achievement among children in stephouseholds: The role of parental resources, sex of stepparent, and sex of child. *Social Forces*, 73, 875-894.
- Duke, B. C. (1991). *Education and leadership for the twenty-first century*. New York: Praeger.
- Duke University. (2002). *Big list of Korean universities*. Retrieved June 11, 2003, from http://www.duke.edu/~myhan/c_blk.html
- Eaton, R. J. (2004). The Internet has transformed the economy. In L. K. Egendorf (Ed.), *The information revolution: Opposing viewpoints* (pp. 38-43). San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press.
- Education Trust. (2002). *The funding gap: Low-income and minority students receive fewer dollars*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Esbensen, F., & Deschenes, E. P. (1998). A multisite examination of youth gang membership: Does gender matter? *Criminology*, 36, 799-828.
- Fallows, J. M. (1989). *More like us*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Flanagan, A. E., & Murray, S. E. (2004). A decade of reform: The impact of school reform in Kentucky. In J. Yinger (Ed.), *Helping children left behind: State aid and the pursuit of educational equity* (pp. 59-85). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Forste, R., & Tanfer, K. (1996). Sexual exclusivity among dating, cohabiting, and married women. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 58, 33-47.
- Gahr, E. (2002). Access to guns can lead to school shootings. In L. K. Egendorf (Ed.), *School shootings* (pp. 33-35). San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press.
- Golden, D. (2000, February 11). A class of their own: Home-schooled kids defy stereotypes, ace SAT test. *Wall Street Journal*, p. 1).
- Griffith, J. (1996). Relation of parental involvement, empowerment, and school traits to student academic performance. *Journal of Educational Research*, 90(1), 33-41.
- Guthrie, J. W. (1975). *Equity in school financing: District power equalizing*. Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappan.
- Hampton, F. M., Munford, D. A., & Bond, L. (1998). Parental involvement in inner city schools: The project FAST extended family approach to success. *Urban Education*, 33, 410-427.
- Hara, S. R. (1998). Parent involvement: The key to improved student achievement. *School Community Journal*, 8(2), 9-19.

450 AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

- Hetherington, E. M., & Clingempeel, W. G. (1992). Coping with marital transitions: A family systems perspective. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 57(2-3), Serial No. 227.
- Hetherington, E. M., & Jodl, K. M. (1994). Stepfamilies as settings for child development. In A. Booth & J. Dunn (Eds.), *Stepfamilies: Who benefits? Who does not?* (pp. 55-79). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Hetherington, E. M., Stanley-Hagan, M., & Anderson, E. R. (1989). Marital transitions: A child's perspective. *American Psychologist*, 44, 303-312.
- Hoffer, T., Greeley, A. M., & Coleman, J. S. (1987). Catholic High School effects on achievement growth. In E. H. Haertel, T. James, & H. Levin (Eds.), *Comparing public and private schools* (pp. 67-88). New York: Falmer Press.
- Honey, M. (2004). Technology has improved education. In L. K. Egendorf (Ed.), *The information revolution: Opposing viewpoints* (pp. 70-77). San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press.
- Hoxby, C. M. (2001). All school finance equalizers are not created equal. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 66, 1189-1232.
- International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement. (1985a). *TIMSS 1984 International Mathematics Report*. Chestnut Hill, MA: International Study Center.
- International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement. (1985b). *TIMSS 1984 International Science Report*. Chestnut Hill, MA: International Study Center.
- International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement. (2000a). *TIMSS 1999 International Mathematics Report*. Chestnut Hill, MA: International Study Center.
- International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement. (2000b). *TIMSS 1999 International Science Report*. Chestnut Hill, MA: International Study Center.
- International Project for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement. (1967). *International Study of Achievement in Mathematics: A comparison of twelve countries, Vol. 2*. Hamburg, West Germany: Author.
- Jeynes, W. (1998). Does divorce or remarriage following divorce have the greater impact on the academic achievement of children? *Journal of Divorce and Remarriage*, 29(1/2), 79-101.
- Jeynes, W. H. (2002). *Divorce, family structure, and the academic success of children*. Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press.
- Jeynes, W. (2003). A meta-analysis: The effects of parental involvement on minority children's academic achievement. *Education and Urban Society*, 35, 202-218.
- Jeynes, W. (2005a). A meta-analysis of the relation of parental involvement to urban elementary school student achievement. *Urban Education*, 49, 237-269.
- Jeynes, W. (2005b). Parental involvement in East Asian schools. In D. Hiatt-Michael (Ed.), *International perspectives on parental involvement* (pp. 151-177). Greenwich, CT: Information Age Press.
- Jeynes, W. (2006). Standardized tests and Froebel's original kindergarten model. *Teachers College Record*, 108(10), 1937-1959.
- Kaufman, P., Chen, X., Choy, S. P., Ruddy, S. A., Miller, A. K., & Fleury, J. K. (2000). *Indicators of school crime and safety 2000*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice.
- Keenleyside, H. L., & Thomas, A. F. (1937). *History of Japanese education and present educational system*. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press.
- Kelly, J. (1992). *Conflict and children's post-divorce adjustment: A closer look*. Paper presented at the National Council for Children's Rights, Arlington, VA.
- Khan, Y. (1997). *Japanese moral education: Past and present*. Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
- Kopka, D. L. (1997). *School violence: A reference handbook*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO Press.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2000). Fighting for our lives: Preparing teachers to teach African American students. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 51, 206-214.
- Lal, S. R., Lal, D., & Achilles, C. M. (1993). *Handbook on gangs in schools: Strategies to reduce gang-related activities*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

- Lee, W. O. (1991). *Social change and educational problems in Japan, Singapore, and Hong Kong*. New York: St. Matthew's Press.
- LeFevre, A. T. (2004). Technology alone has not improved education. In L. K. Egendorf (Ed.), *The information revolution: Opposing viewpoints* (pp. 78–82). San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press.
- Long Beach Unified School District. (2003). *Crime data*. Retrieved September 3, 2006, from <http://www.lbusd.com>.
- Loveless, T., & Coughlan, J. (2004). The arithmetic gap. *Educational Leadership*, 61(5), 55.
- Lukemeyer, A. (2004). Financing a constitutional education: Views from the bench. In J. Yinger (Ed.), *Helping children left behind: State aid and the pursuit of educational equity* (pp. 59–85). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Lynn, R. (1988). *Educational achievement in Japan*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- Matera, D. (2001). *A cry for character*. Paramus, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Mau, W. (1997). Parental influences on the high school students' academic achievement: A comparison of Asian immigrants, Asian Americans, and White Americans. *Psychology in the Schools*, 34, 267–277.
- Mayberry, M. J., Knowles, G., Ray, B., & Marlow, S. (1995). *Homeschooling parents as educators*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.
- McBride, B. A., & Lin, H. (1996). Parental involvement in prekindergarten at-risk programs: Multiple perspectives. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk*, 1, 349–372.
- McLanahan, S., & Sandefur, G. (1994). *Growing up with a single parent: What hurts, what helps*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Melvin, T. (1994, August 7). Blackboard: Uniform diversity in California. *New York Times*, p. A7.
- Miller, B. W. (1943). *Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek: Christian liberators of China*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.
- Muller, C. (1998). Gender differences in parental involvement and adolescents' mathematics achievement. *Sociology of Education*, 71, 336–356.
- National Center for Health Statistics. (2003). *Marriage and divorce*. Hyattsville, MD: U.S. Department of Health & Human Services.
- Nesbitt, G. K. (1993). The effects of three school-to-home parental involvement communication programs on reading achievement, conduct, homework habits, attendance, and parent-student-school interaction (Doctoral dissertation, Georgia State University). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 54/11, 3993.
- Newman, K. S. (2004). *Rampage: The social roots of school shootings*. New York: Basic Books.
- Nock, S. L. (1995). A comparison of marriages and cohabiting relationships. *Journal of Family Issues*, 16(1), 53–76.
- Nunn, G. D., Parish, T. S., & Worthing, R. J. (1993). Perceptions of personal and familial adjustment by children from intact, single-parent, and reconstituted families. *Psychology in the Schools*, 20, 166–174.
- Orr, T. (2003). *After homeschool*. Los Angeles: Parent's Guide Press.
- Peressini, D. D. (1998). The portrayal of parents in the school mathematics reform literature: Locating the context for parental involvement. *Journal for Research in Mathematics Education*, 29, 555–582.
- Popenoe, D. (1994). The evolution of marriage and the problem of stepfamilies: A biosocial perspective. In A. Booth & J. Dunn (Eds.), *Stepfamilies: Who benefits? Who does not?* (pp. 55–79). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Pye, L. W., & Pye, M. W. (1985). *Asian power and politics: The cultural dimensions of authority*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.
- Quade, Q. L. (1996). *Financing education*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Ray, B. D., & Wartes, J. (1991). Academic achievement & affective development. In J. Van Galen & M. A. Pitman (Eds.), *Homeschooling: Political, historical and pedagogical perspectives* (pp. 43–62). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

452 AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

- San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez (411 U.S. 1 (1973).
- Scott, D., & Nimmo, B. (2000). *Rachel's tears*. Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson.
- Serrano v. Priest 487 P.2d 1241 (1971).
- Shapiro, A. L. (2004). The Internet discourages social interaction. In L. K. Egenderf (Ed.), *The information revolution: Opposing viewpoints* (pp. 57–65). San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press.
- Shaver, A. V., & Walls, R. T. (1998). Effect of Title I parent involvement on student reading and mathematics achievement. *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, 31(2), 90–97.
- Shimizu, K. (1992). Shido: Education and selection in Japanese middle school. *Comparative Education*, 28, 114–125.
- Singh, K., Bickley, P. G., Trivette, P., Keith, T. Z., Keith, P. B., & Anderson, E. (1995). The effects of four components of parental involvement on eighth grade student achievement. *School Psychology Review*, 24, 299–317.
- Snyder, H. N., & Sickmund, M. (1995). *Juvenile offenders and victims: A focus on violence*. Pittsburgh, PA: National Center for Juvenile Justice.
- Starr, J. (2000). School violence and its effect on the constitutionality of school uniform policies. *Journal of Law & Education*, 29(1), 113–118.
- Stevens, M. L. (2001). *Kingdom of children*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Stevenson, H. W., & Lee, S. (1995). The East Asian version of whole class teaching. *Educational Policy*, 9, 152–167.
- Stevenson, H. W., & Stigler, J. W. (1992). *The learning gap*. New York: Summit Books.
- Thompson, A. D., & Sproule, S. L. (2000). Deciding when to use calculators. *Mathematics Teaching in the Middle School*, 6, 126–129.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. (2001). *Statistical abstract of the United States*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Department of Education. (1992). *National education longitudinal study, 1988: First follow-up, 1990. Vol. 1: Student data*. Washington, DC: Author.
- U.S. Department of Education. (2003). *Digest of education statistics*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Villas-Boas, A. (1998). The effects of parental involvement in homework on student achievement in Portugal and Luxembourg. *Childhood Education*, 74, 367–371.
- Visher, E. B., & Visher, J. S. (1988). *Old loyalties, new ties: Therapeutic strategies with stepfamilies*. New York: Brunner/Mazel.
- Wallerstein, J. S., & Kelly, J. B. (1980). *Surviving the breakup*. New York: Basic Books.
- Walsh, W. M. (1992). Twenty major issues in remarriage families. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 70, 709–715.
- White, M. (1987). *The Japanese educational challenge: A commitment to children*. New York: Free Press.
- Wilson, D. (2004). The information revolution has not improved off-campus education. In L. K. Egenderf (Ed.), *The information revolution: Opposing viewpoints* (pp. 89–92). San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press.
- Wirtz, W. (1977). *On further examination*. New York: College Entrance Examination.
- Yinger, J. (2004). State aid and the pursuit of educational equity. In J. Yinger (Ed.), *Helping children left behind: State aid and the pursuit of educational equity* (pp. 3–57). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Zdzinski, S. F. (1996). Parental involvement, selected student attributes, and learning outcomes in instrumental music. *Journal of Research in Music Education*, 44(1), 34–48.
- Zill, N. (1994). Understanding why children in stepfamilies have more learning and behavior problems than children in nuclear families. In A. Booth & J. Dunn (Eds.), *Stepfamilies: Who benefits? Who does not?* (pp. 109–137). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Zill, N., & Nord, C. W. (1994). *Running in place*. Washington, DC: Child Trends.
- Zoba, W. M. (2000). *Day of reckoning: Columbine and the search for the American soul*. Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press.