Education Reform Plan

8 Practical Ways to Improve Public Schools
by Liv Finne

Public education officials are producing a generation of students less educated than their parents.

-WASHINGTON LEARNS
“For the first time, public education officials are producing a generation of students less educated than their parents.”

Washington Learns
Washington State Higher Education Coordinating Board

“I came in here determined to make the system work better. To invest more money. I put a lot more money into K–12. But then you sit there and say, ‘Why have I not been able to get the result I set out to achieve?’”

Gov. Christine Gregoire
“Frustrated Gregoire says ‘status quo does not work,’” The Seattle Times, January 15, 2011.

“We lead the country in science and engineering jobs, but we are one of the states at the bottom in the production of scientists and engineers,” he said, warning that “the sons and daughters of Washington will be washing the cars for the people who come here for the best jobs.”

Mark Emmert, former president, University of Washington
The Washington Policy Center Education Reform Plan
Eight Practical Ways to Improve Public Schools

by Liv Finne
Director, WPC’s Center for Education

August 2012

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The Washington Policy Center Education Reform Plan
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by Liv Finne
Director, Center for Education August 2012

Introduction

Public education is in decline. Nearly one-third of Washington public school students fail to graduate, and another third graduate without the knowledge and skills necessary for college or the workplace.1 Over half (52%) of public school students entering community or technical colleges must take remedial courses in math, English or reading to catch up.2 84% of employers say public schools are not doing a good job of preparing students to succeed in the workplace.3

Today Washington ranks 42nd in the nation in graduation rates.4 Student failure rates are so high the legislature and the governor canceled the math portion of the Washington Assessment of Student Learning test (WASL) until 2013.5

37% of freshmen attending a four-year university or two-year community college must take high school-level remedial math or reading courses, substantially decreasing the numbers of students able to overcome this handicap and complete the requirement for earning a college degree.6 Fewer young adults are making it through college than in the past.

Educational attainment by older working adults (ages 45–64) now exceeds that of younger adults (ages 25–34).7 Public educators’ failure to provide children with a level of learning that is as good or better than their parents is the worrisome finding of two recent government research reports:

5 Starting in 2013, students must pass an End-of-Course Math Exam to graduate from high school.
“Our older population is better educated than our younger population, a trend that is clearly moving in the wrong direction.”

“Washington’s baby boomers (people born between 1946 and 1964) are the most highly educated generation in our history. Younger adults in our state have, on average, less education than boomers” (emphasis in original).

For the first time in history, public school officials are producing a generation of students who have less formal education than their parents.

**School Funding Is Higher Than Ever**

Despite claims by political advocates that public schools have been “cut,” the state legislature has increased education funding steadily over time, even as the number of school-age children has fallen as a proportion of the total population. In fact, per-pupil spending is higher than ever, and school officials have more resources than in the past with which to educate a given number of students. In addition, there are more taxpayers paying into the system than ever before.

By every reasonable measure, Washington public schools receive ample funding, and the amount spent on education increases each year. In addressing persistent low student achievement, Washington lawmakers cannot spend their way out of the problem. Writing bigger checks simply allows public education officials to maintain the status quo and resist change.

**School Administrators Are Not Accountable**

The problems that plague the public education system require fundamental changes to the way schools are organized and how public money is spent. Today, schools are not set up in a way that holds teachers, principals or superintendents accountable for student achievement. Directing more dollars into the current entrenched and dysfunctional system, no matter how carefully targeted or lavishly spent, will not improve student learning.

**Practical Ways to Improve Student Learning**

Since spending more money will not raise student achievement, Washington Policy Center presents in this study eight practical ways policymakers can improve schools within the current rate of spending increase.

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8 Ibid.
11 This conclusion is based on findings from 17 university and research group studies, including those from RAND Corporation, Stanford University, the Urban Institute and the American Institutes for Research. These studies consistently found that increasing education spending did not correlate with improving academic outcomes for students. See for example, “Getting Down to Facts: School Finance and Governance in California,” by Susanna Loeb, Anthony Bryk and Eric Hanushek; Stanford University, March 2007, at www.repp.stanford.edu/documents/GDF/GDF-Overview-Paper.pdf. Other examples are available on request.
The next section gives a brief overview of public school funding, showing the rising trend in total spending and per-pupil funding, followed by sections describing how to improve student learning while working within the existing education budget.

**Overview of Public School Funding**

In Washington there are just over a million (1,001,331) kindergarten through 12th grade students in public school, attending 2,389 schools in 295 districts across the state. A further 96,971 students attend private schools or are home-schooled. Public school attendance has increased by about 45,000 students (less than 5%) in the last 10 years.

The state’s total population has grown at a much faster pace than the number of children, creating a larger tax base to pay for educating a proportionately smaller number of students. Between 1971 and 2009, the state population increased by 3.2 million people (93%), while K–12 public school enrollment increased by only little over 200,000 students (25%).

Over the same period, the number of public education employees has risen more than three times as fast, as shown in the chart that follows.

Today there is one public school employee for every ten students, and only 47% of the people working in public education are classroom teachers.

K–12 education is the largest single item in the state budget, accounting for 44% of all general fund spending. For 2011–13, the total budget for public schools is $19.4 billion, including state, local and federal grant funding.
Experience has shown that the policy of directing funding to select education programs does not work.

Since 1971, the number of public education employees has increased nearly three times faster than the number of students.

The bulk of K–12 education spending, over $13.6 billion, comes from the state. About $1.97 billion comes from federal grants, and about $3.8 billion is provided by local funding, primarily taken through property taxes.

Of the money for public schools, only 60% is spent on classroom instruction. The rest is spent on administrators, maintenance personnel, special education, transportation, food services and interest on debt. An additional $1.07 billion is being spent in the current budget cycle on school construction.

Between 1980 and 2010, spending on public schools doubled, while the number of students increased by only about a quarter. Today, average spending per student in Washington public schools is about $10,237 per nine-month academic year, not including capital spending.

Public education spending increased from $6,861 per student in 1980 to $10,237 per student in 2010, measured in constant 2010 dollars.

Experience has shown that the policy of directing funding to select education programs does not work. Since 1993, lawmakers have spent over $5 billion on more than 80 education reform programs such as: Smaller class sizes, increasing teacher pay, Math Helping Corps, Math Initiative, Reading Grants, Promoting Academic Success, and many others (for more examples see Appendix A). Lawmakers funded these targeted programs in the hope they would

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19 Ibid.
help students learn; none of them has succeeded in significantly raising student academic achievement.

Simply spending more money does not improve educational outcomes for students. What is needed are innovative changes, made within the current rate of budget increase, to improve the performance of public schools.

Eight Ways to Improve Public Schools

1. Put the Principal in Charge

Under the current system, principals have almost no influence over the budget, staffing or daily management of their own schools. Central office administrators and pre-set regulations exercise full control over local spending, hiring and staff assignments.

Lawmakers have imposed a rigid staffing ratio model on school districts, which requires administrators to allocate funds based on a certain number of school employees per student. The current ratio is 53 teachers, seven teacher support, 36 staff and four administrators for every 1,000 students. These arbitrary ratios are about providing good-paying jobs; they have no relation to the academic needs of students.

Staffing schools through automatic ratios means central administrators, not principals, control the assignment of personnel to individual schools. Principals have little flexibility to alter the mix of staff and faculty in a way that benefits students. As a result, local principals have almost no influence over their own budgets or their personnel. Principals typically control less than 5% of the money allocated to their schools.22

A report by the Joint Legislative Audit and Review Committee (JLARC) found:

“In most cases, central administrators determine the number of certificated and classified staff assigned to individual schools. Almost 96% of districts responding to JLARC’s survey said that central administrators determine whether to hire additional teachers and 89% said central administrators determine the number and type of classified staff employed at each school.”23

JLARC researchers found that in almost all cases central administrators and labor union officials decide when and where teachers will work. Local principals have almost no input in assembling their teacher team, or in matching a particular teacher’s skills and experience with the needs of students. Because of salary and work restrictions negotiated through binding collective bargaining, it is very difficult for a principal to reward a good teacher, or to fire a bad one.

Following are specific policies lawmakers should adopt that would put principals in charge and allow them to be education leaders in their communities.

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23 Ibid., page 17.
Put Principals in Charge of Their Schools’ Budgets

Local principals should be freed to act as instructional leaders, rather than just building managers.

Principals should be granted control over funds for purchasing curricula, so that individual principals and teachers, not central administrators, are allowed to evaluate and select the best possible curricula available. Currently efforts are being made to further centralize curriculum decision making in the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI). Education is subject to many fads which later turn out to be failures for our children. Whole Language Reading and Reform Math are examples of such fads forced on teachers by central administrators.

Efforts to learn from mistakes and rapidly improve the classroom curriculum are nearly impossible under a highly centralized bureaucratic system.

Funding Should Follow the Child, Not Pre-set Staffing Ratios

Education dollars should follow a child to the public school of the family’s choice (see next section for details on parental choice among public schools). Failure to gain the approval of parents and to attract their children would signal to principals that something is wrong at their school, and give them the opportunity to correct it. The result would be a system that funds schools based on the educational needs of families, not on politics and budget infighting. Funding the child would also allow principals and parents to know how much of education spending actually reaches the classroom.

Allow Principals to Assemble Their Teaching Teams

Principals should be able to hire the best person to teach in the classroom, even if the most qualified person does not happen to have a teaching certificate or has not been assigned by the central office. Principals should be allowed to promote excellence in the classroom by retaining teachers who demonstrate ability to teach.

Principals should also be allowed to remove teachers who are unwilling or unfit to do the important work of educating children. It is unfair and demoralizing to other teachers when poor-performing teachers are kept on staff, often with the same or higher level of pay and benefits.  

In order to assemble and maintain a high-quality, highly motivated educational team, principals should be able to fire or suspend weak teachers. To ensure accountability, school districts should hold principals answerable for teacher performance and yearly student progress at their schools. Teachers should also have access to an impartial review and appeals process, including union representation, if they feel they have been treated unfairly by the principal.

The importance of removing weak teachers from the classroom is one of the central findings of a review of the research literature conducted at Stanford University:

In 2009–10, only 459 of the state’s 59,481 teachers received a rating of unsatisfactory, despite poor academic achievement levels and high student drop out rates in many schools. See “Survey suggests need to alter teacher evaluations,” by Linda Shaw, The Seattle Times, April 8, 2011.
Moreover, a theme that emerges over and over again in the studies is the excessive difficulty in dismissing weak teachers. Although few administrators wish to dismiss large numbers of teachers, making it easier to dismiss the weakest teachers may well change the dynamics of local school reform.”

Remove Legal Barriers that Micromanage Schools

Top-down mandates — such as restrictive class size requirements, work rules, staffing formulas and limits on school hours — prevent flexibility and innovation in spending education dollars. To become education leaders, local principals should be allowed to implement the learning program that works best for their students.

If a principal feels longer school days, home visits or Saturday sessions are needed to help educate children, state mandates and union work rules should not be allowed to prevent students from learning. Principals should be able to pay teachers more for working longer hours to help struggling students. Principals should also be allowed to hire one-on-one tutors to help students at risk of falling behind.

Open Principal Positions to All Qualified Applicants

The position of principal should not be limited to applicants who hold a teaching certificate. Principals must be skilled at leading and motivating adults and students. Anyone with demonstrated skills in managing gained from business, nonprofit or military experience should be allowed to enter a principal training program. For example, former Army general John Stanford had no background in education when he was hired to head the largest school district in the state.

Teachers widely report they feel unsupported by ineffective school administrators. Broadening the talent pool for principals would improve the quality of school leadership and provide teachers the backup they need in the classroom.

Because putting principals in charge is so different from current practice, some principals will be unprepared for this new role. Many current principals were selected because of their skill in navigating the education bureaucracy, rather than for their executive ability.

All principals should receive additional training to prepare them to be education leaders, not passive administrators. Principals who cannot manage a budget and oversee a staff of teaching professionals should be replaced with ones who can.

2. Give Parents Choice among Public Schools

Allow Open Enrollment with Funding Following the Child to the Public School of the Parents’ Choice

Parental involvement is critical to the success of children in schools, yet it often receives little more than passing notice within a massive and complex education bureaucracy.

New public school parents often discover their opinions are not really respected by school district administrators. Many times parents find the really important decisions regarding their child’s education, such as what teacher he gets or what school he attends, are all made by set policies and pre-determined formulas.

However, public school parents invariably find they are asked to get involved whenever the local school levy is up for a vote, or when the school district's budget is politically threatened in Olympia. The result is that parental involvement often means being asked to support policy decisions made by others, rather than truly directing the day-to-day education of their children.

For parents to be involved in a real way, they must be given control over how and when their children receive an education. After all, society expects and the law requires parents to make real decisions about all other aspects of their children's lives by providing the shelter, food, clothing, medical care, safe play areas and emotional support that children need to grow and thrive.

To achieve authentic parental involvement, Washington policymakers should adopt a policy of open enrollment among public schools. Parents would choose the public school that best fits the needs of their children, and the money taxpayers provide would follow the child, approximately $10,237 per student, to the school of the parents’ choice.

Getting parents involved through public school choice would make principals responsive to parents. Schools that educate children effectively would attract students and dollars. Schools that fail to educate would lose students and dollars until they show improvement.

To secure the approval of parents, and the funding that would follow, school officials would engage in healthy competition for student enrollment. Satisfying parents would then become the central value of every teacher, principal and school district administrator, thus fostering a culture of excellence in public education.

Accountability is built in; low enrollment would provide an early warning to the superintendent, the school board and the community that the principal of the failing school needs to change direction or be replaced.

In choosing a school, parents should be assisted by a range of new information tools, particularly the Internet. Parents should evaluate the performance of their children's classroom teachers and provide this information to the school principal. Parents should also evaluate the principal, and provide this information to the district superintendent. In the private sector, top-performing businesses constantly solicit customer feedback, so managers can improve performance and spot errors early.
The operation of schools should become much more transparent. State
government posts all public spending online. Local public schools should do the
same. The experience, qualifications and evaluations of teachers and principals
should also be posted online, so parents have the facts they need to make
informed decisions.

Funding for each child should include a dollar multiplier to account for
children who are more difficult to teach, such as disabled children, children with
limited English proficiency and poor children. A disabled child, for example,
could receive $25,000 to meet his unique education needs. Principals would use
these extra dollars to provide services for special needs children.

Public school choice has proved successful in Hawaii, Nevada, New
Jersey and the cities of Cincinnati, San Francisco, Houston, St. Paul, and
Oakland, and there are pilot programs in Boston, Chicago, Indianapolis and
New York City. Philadelphia is the latest major city to adopt open enrollment
among public schools.

In San Francisco, allowing parents to choose among public schools has
unleashed the creative and innovative energies of parents and of the surrounding
community, resulting in improved public schools and better outcomes for
children. Student achievement and parent satisfaction rates in the city are
soaring.27

**Lift the Ban on Charter Public Schools**

Charter public schools are public schools that operate under charters with
their school district or state governing authority, and have been released from
some of the regulations that restrict traditional public schools. In the 2011–12
school year, 41 states and the District of Columbia allow charters. Nationwide
two million students attend over 5,600 charter schools.28 Charter public
schools are popular with parents, allow extensive local innovation, and have
demonstrated what works and what doesn’t in public education.

Charter public schools are successful because they allow educational
entrepreneurs to organize schools and deliver instruction to students. As a result,
a wide range of high-performing charter public school models has emerged,
including the Knowledge Is Power Program (KIPP), Green Dot, Rocketship,
Carpe Diem, Aspire, Harlem Success Academy, Preuss Academy and many
others. For more information on charter school performance see the Washington
Policy Center studies “An Option for Learning” (2011) and “Guide to Major
Charter School Studies” (2012).29

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27 “The Agony of American Education, How per-student funding can revolutionize public schools,”
Alliance for Public Charter Schools, at dashboard.publiccharters.org/dashboard/schools/page/
overview/year/2012.
29 “An Option for Learning: An Assessment of Student Achievement in Charter Public Schools,”
by Liv Finne, Policy Brief, Washington Policy Center, January 2011, at
www.washingtonpolicy.org/publications/brief/option-learning-assessment-student-achievement-
Undermine CREDO Study Findings,” by Liv Finne, Policy Brief, Washington Policy Center,
Charter public schools are so popular that parents have placed over 600,000 students on waiting lists, enough to open an additional 2,000 schools.\textsuperscript{30} In most states, charter schools are rated an education reform success, and no state has repealed its charter school law.

3. Let Teachers Teach

Research consistently shows that placing an effective teacher in the classroom is more important than any other single factor, including smaller class size, in raising student academic achievement.\textsuperscript{31} A good teacher, as opposed to a weak one, can make as much as a full year’s difference in the learning growth of students.\textsuperscript{32} Students taught by a high-quality teacher three years in a row score 50 percentile points higher on standardized tests than students of ineffective teachers.\textsuperscript{33} Research also shows that students taught by a weak teacher two years in a row may never catch up. Two decades of research shows that the qualities of an effective teacher are:

- Mastery of the subject matter
- Five years or more of teaching experience
- Training that emphasizes content knowledge and high standards of classroom competency
- Strong academic skills, intellectual curiosity and an excitement about learning for its own sake\textsuperscript{34}

Research shows that holding a teaching certificate is not a reliable indication of whether a person will make a good teacher. There is a marked difference between having a state-issued teacher certificate and being a good teacher. Getting a teaching certificate indicates a person has fulfilled certain requirements, but does not indicate they will be effective in the classroom.

Simply having a sympathetic love of children does not always make a person a strong teacher. Often the best teachers are people who display a passion for their subject, demand the most from students and take a dedicated professional attitude toward their work. In later years former students often express the most appreciation, and even fondness, for their toughest teachers, realizing these were the people from whom they learned the most.

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{33} “Cumulative and Residual Effects of Teachers on Future Student Academic Achievement,” by William L. Sanders and June C. Rivers; Value-Added Research and Assessment Center, University of Tennessee, November 1996, at www.mccsc.edu/~curriculum/cumulative%20and%20residual%20effects%20of%20teachers.pdf.
\textsuperscript{34} “Teacher quality and student achievement research review,” by Policy Studies Associates for the Center for Public Education, November 2005, at www.centerforpubliceducation.org/site/c.kjXJ5MPIwE/b.1510983/.
A Harvard Graduate School of Education study shows that a teaching credential “matters little” in raising student achievement. This extensive study of 10,000 teachers in grades four through eight found that student learning in math and reading correlated closely with mastery of the subject by the teacher, but was poorly related to whether the teacher held a state-issued certificate.

Teacher tenure laws, which automatically grant lifetime employment to instructors after three years, make it nearly impossible for administrators to remove an ineffective teacher from a classroom. These two policies — requiring a teaching certificate and life-time tenure — plus the weak authority of the principal, result in many ineffective teachers consuming the learning time of their students.

The proportion of good to bad teachers in a school is critical. Schools reach a tipping point when the number of under-qualified teachers reaches 20% of the faculty. At this level, a school loses its ability to improve student achievement.

Alternatives exist for getting high-quality teachers in front of students. For example, training programs run by Teach for America and The New Teacher Project focus on academic skills and mastery of the subject, not certification. Both programs supply highly qualified teachers to schools in 23 states and the District of Columbia.

School principals should be permitted to hire and promote teachers who show they can actually raise student achievement, especially for hard-to-teach populations. Teachers should be hired based on a deep knowledge and sense of excitement about the subject they will present to students.

Teachers who show results, regardless of certification status, should be rewarded and encouraged. Teachers who do not should be asked to pursue another profession, regardless of artificial certification and tenure rules. Poor-performing teachers should not be allowed to harm students’ chances of learning, simply to provide someone with comfortable public employment.

Over time, each school would develop a dedicated team of motivated professionals who take pride in helping students. Teachers who know that educational achievement will be recognized and rewarded will eagerly take on the most difficult students. When these students show a spark of understanding and develop an eagerness to learn, the teacher’s feeling of accomplishment is that much greater.

How State Law Benefits Private Schools

State legislators have created an exemption that allows education leaders at private schools to hire any teacher they like, giving them a distinct advantage.

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over their public school counterparts. Many private school teachers are hired based on knowledge of the subject they will teach. They end up in the classroom because they are experts in math, physics, biology, computer science, engineering, history or English, not because they hold an education degree or managed to pass the certification test.

Private school teachers routinely receive classroom training and guidance from mentor teachers. Those who show skill in educating children are retained. Those who do not are asked to seek work opportunities elsewhere. Private schools seldom allow a non-performing teacher to remain in the classroom.

This commonsense practice allows private school administrators to achieve constant improvement in their teaching staff. It also allows them to tap a vast pool of professional talent. For example, 240,000 people in Washington have college degrees or higher in math or science. State policymakers permit any of them to teach in private schools, but bar them from entering a public school classroom without a special certificate.

A Teaching Certificate Is Not Essential

Defenders of the mandatory-certificate system say someone may know a subject, but have no skills or ability to teach it to others. The research shows, however, that the academic skills a teacher brings to a classroom confer ten times the educational advantage compared to that conferred by a teaching credential.

Experienced professionals, like an engineer who wants to teach high school math, can often learn classroom procedures. His mastery of mathematics, work experience and excitement about numbers are the most important factors in whether his students will learn. A former journalist’s passion for writing will mean much more in teaching high schoolers English composition than just his lecturing technique.

However, subject mastery itself does not make a good teacher. Giving principals authority over hiring teachers means people with no aptitude in the classroom can be weeded out. The brilliant but befuddled mathematician may fit in well at a university, but he has no place in an elementary school classroom.

4. Double Teacher Pay

Most public school teachers do not earn enough money, considering the importance of the work society asks them to do.

Currently, the average teacher salary in Washington for a nine-month year is $61,118. The starting salary for a teacher in Washington is only $33,401. Teacher salaries should be increased to attract the best talent from all fields. As members of a well-paid, full-time profession, teachers should be available year round, not just for nine months, to educate students.

The best teachers, and principals, should earn well over $100,000 per year. In return, teachers and principals would be expected to perform like highly motivated people in other well-compensated professions, doing whatever it takes to get the job done. In the case of teachers and principals, the job is providing every child with an education that will serve for a lifetime.

All teacher salaries should be set by the on-site manager, the principal, without restriction. The principal knows every teacher by name and personally knows each teacher’s strengths and weaknesses. Principals know what incentives, training and guidance each teacher needs in order to improve in the classroom. In turn, the principal’s salary should be set by the district superintendent, based solely on how well student learning is progressing at each school.

Currently, public school teachers are paid based on a rigid wage ladder, calculated on an inflexible time and credits grid, while their colleagues in better-performing private schools are paid based only on ability to educate children.

Performance Pay

Leaders of Washington’s teachers’ unions strongly oppose paying teachers based on ability, but this approach is now common in many parts of the country. Public schools in Douglas County, Colorado, have had such a system since 1994. There the system is designed to “reward teachers for outstanding student performance, enhance collegiality, and encourage positive school and community relations.”

In this case, unions do not oppose merit pay. The president of the area’s teacher federation says that under performance pay, “Teachers must demonstrate how their work is being used to drive instruction, and they are rewarded for employing new skills.”

Public schools in several states, including Tennessee, Arizona, Colorado, Iowa, Ohio, Florida and North Carolina, have adopted similar performance-based pay systems for teachers.

The advantage of performance pay is that it encourages teachers to develop their talents and acquire new skills. Performance pay also allows principals and parents to recognize quality educators and encourage them to excel. Performance pay improves the quality of the teaching profession by encouraging underperforming teachers to seek a different line of work.

The Salary Grid Harms Math and Science Education

The current salary grid discourages teachers with math and science knowledge from entering the classroom. Teachers with strong backgrounds in math and science sacrifice far more financially under the single-salary schedule than their college peers who do not go into teaching. For example, four years after college, graduates with technical training who are not teachers earn almost

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41 Ibid.
$13,500 more than their peers who entered the teaching profession. After ten years the pay gap grows to almost $28,000.43

One result of the single salary pay scale is that job conditions become a substitute for performance pay, with detrimental effects for our neediest students. University of Washington researcher Dan Goldhaber notes that better-qualified teachers use their clout to avoid working in high-poverty schools:

“Teachers with more labor-market bargaining power — those who are highly experienced, credentialed, or judged to be better — will therefore tend to be teaching in nicer settings with lighter work-loads. As a consequence, the most-needy students tend to be paired with the least-qualified teachers.”44

A teacher pay grid that is supposed to provide “fair and equal treatment for all” creates schools in which the least effective teachers are assigned to the neediest students.

**Ample Funds Are Available to Double Teacher Pay**

A common objection to doubling teacher pay is that there is not enough money to pay for it. This is not true. As noted, public schools receive ample funding, but much of it is tied up in administration and low-priority programs.

For example, taxpayers are providing Seattle Public Schools with $577.7 million to educate 46,648 students, or $12,385 per student, for 2011–12.45 A typical classroom with 25 students is receiving nearly $310,000. Paying the teacher $100,000 would leave the principal with a sizable budget of $210,000 per classroom to cover other expenses, including services for special needs students.

This example is hypothetical. A look at how the Seattle school officials actually spend their budget will show why so little funding reaches the classroom, and is unavailable to double teacher salaries.

A total of 4,955 people work full time for Seattle Public Schools, but only 50% of them teach students.46 Thus in Seattle only half of public education employees are actually carrying out the schools’ central mission of instructing children. The majority of education employees are assigned to other activities, such as “teaching support,” “other support,” and “other administration.”

Shifting more resources from low-priority tasks to the core mission of the school district would free up ample money for doubling teacher pay.

**Safeguards against Abuse**

Every compensation system is subject to manipulation by dishonest managers, and school districts should adopt procedures to guard against abuse. District officials should build on the current appeals process to ensure teachers

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43 Ibid., 8.
44 Ibid., 11.
receive a truly independent review of their performance. Principals who abuse the performance pay system to benefit themselves or to enrich their friends should be disciplined or dismissed.

Other safeguards should include regular financial audits, union representation, scrutiny by the press, greater school transparency and the involvement of parents through choice among public schools.

**Ending Teacher Strikes**

An added advantage of increasing teacher pay and giving principals control over hiring would be a reduction in labor disputes, which sometimes shut down schools. In 2003, striking teachers in Marysville ultimately complied with a court’s back-to-work order, after a seven-week walkout that had delayed classroom instruction for 11,200 students.47

In August 2008, bearing signs saying “No Contract? No School!” officials from the Bellevue teachers’ union called a strike because district administrators did not agree to larger pay raises, saying the 6.6% salary increase offered by the district was too small.48 For two weeks the labor action prevented 16,000 students from attending class. Similarly, in 2008 union officials threatened teacher strikes in the Snoqualmie Valley and Northshore districts, before area school officials yielded to salary demands.49

In September of 2011, the Tacoma teachers’ union went on strike, closing school for 28,000 children a total of nine days. The union refused to accept reforms to seniority-based rules governing layoffs and assignments, or to accept a 1.9% decrease in pay. The Tacoma teachers’ union was following instructions issued in May of 2011 by the state teachers’ union, the Washington Education Association, directing local unions to go on strike if districts refused to cut school days for children or otherwise “connect the dots from state cuts to local kids.”50

**5. Replace Current State Tests with the Iowa Test of Basic Skills**

The Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction reported it spent over $1.17 billion between 1993 and 2007 to develop and administer the Washington Assessment of Student Learning. Despite this expenditure, an independent analysis of the math WASL by the State Board of Education in 2008 found the test provided insufficient emphasis on key mathematical content.

In 2009–10, the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction replaced the WASL with the Measures of Student Progress (MSP) for grades three through eight and the High School Proficiency Exam (HSPE) for high school students. The math standards for the state of Washington were also rewritten at that time.

In 2014, students in Washington will be required to take a new national test, the Smarter Balanced Assessment. That test is being developed by a group

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49 Ibid.
of 28 states, called the Smarter Balanced Assessment Consortium. The test is aligned with the Common Core Standards Initiative that the federal government has required Washington state to adopt as a condition of receiving federal education funds and policy waivers.

OSPI reported in January 2011 that the cost of informing teachers, principals and districts about the Common Core Standards is estimated at $182.6 million, $165.5 million of which local school districts will have to pay. Buying new textbooks for Washington’s students will cost an additional $122 million. These expenses do not include the cost of updating the state’s testing system. Thus the total cost to Washington state will exceed $300 million.

There is a more effective alternative. The long-standing Iowa Test of Basic Skills is a respected test that meets federal requirements and complies with the Common Core Standards. Private schools across the country currently use this test to measure the success of their students.

The Iowa Test of Basic Skills costs only $10 to $15 per student, substantially less expensive to administer and grade than the SBAC test, which will be $27 per student. Current state tests cost $30 per student to administer and assess.

Washington state students and teachers would benefit if the state were to adopt the Iowa Test of Basic Skills instead of the expensive and entirely experimental Smarter Balanced Assessment promoted by the federal government.

6. Create No-excuses Schools

The state constitution says the “paramount duty” of public officials is to provide for the education of every child within the borders of state, but when the government fails to educate a child, who is at fault? Is it the teacher, the principal, the supervisor, the school board, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the governor, the legislature? The current public education system provides no answer to this basic question of accountability.

Lines of responsibility are so muddied it is impossible for parents and taxpayers to know who is responsible for failures in public education, and who should get credit for its successes. When the dropout rate reaches nearly one-third of all students, no one is held accountable.

The complex organization of public education, with its many levels, programs and office holders, creates a strong incentive to keep lines of responsibility blurred, since it is part of human nature to avoid blame when things go wrong. When a school fails or a student drops out, it is virtually unheard of for anyone in an official position to stand up and say, “It was my fault.”

To solve this problem, policymakers should improve school governance and education leadership by establishing a clear hierarchy of responsibility. Officials at each level should be accountable to the level above, in the following descending order:
Tenure and seniority rules should be changed so non-performing teachers, principals and superintendents can be removed by the officials with responsibility over them.

The “paramount duty” described in the constitution is directed toward educating children, not providing comfortable livings for people with public-sector jobs.

1. Governor and legislature
2. School boards
3. Superintendents
4. Principals
5. Teachers

Clear lines of responsibility should work like this:

- Voters select local school board members
- School boards hire superintendents
- Superintendents hire principals
- Principals hire teachers
- Teachers educate students

Voters also elect, and can fire, the governor and the legislature, who are responsible for providing the public money needed to run the schools.

When a school has a bad teacher, parents would know the principal is responsible, since he hired the teacher. When a school is failing, parents would know the superintendent is responsible, since he hired the principal. When student performance across an entire district is poor, parents would know school board members are responsible, since they hired the superintendent.

When a school or a district is unable to hire talented teachers, principals and superintendents, parents would know the governor and the legislature are responsible, since they are not funding salary budgets, combined with local levies, at a level high enough to attract the best people.

Tenure and seniority rules should be changed so non-performing teachers, principals and superintendents can be removed by the officials with responsibility over them. Principals and teachers should not be granted guaranteed lifetime employment, with ever-increasing salaries and benefits. The “paramount duty” described in the constitution is directed toward educating children, not providing comfortable livings for people with public-sector jobs.

When parents and taxpayers are unhappy with someone in public education, they should know exactly who is responsible, and be able to have that person replaced with someone better. Currently, parents and taxpayers can do neither.

7. Transparency: Put School Budgets and Teacher Qualifications Online and Rate Schools Based on Their Ability to Educate Children

Currently it is impossible for policymakers or the public to make informed decisions about education spending because the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction does not report how spending relates to student learning, or even how education dollars are spent.

A JLARC study identified the kind of information that is needed, but is lacking, in order to inform the public and policymakers:51

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• School expenditure data
• Staff and teacher descriptive data
• Student descriptive and outcomes data
• School and community descriptive data

For example, school-level spending is not reported to the state, so important information, such as actual spending per teacher, is not available. Better information about teacher and staff costs is needed, including their academic degrees and majors, and routes to certification. Aggregate funding for each public school should be reported online, so parents and education leaders can see whether a particular school is attracting students and funding over time.

In addition, the state’s comprehensive Public School Accountability Index should be used to assign a letter grade, A through F, to every K–12 public school each year, so parents and the public can see how well local schools are performing their stated mission of providing a high-quality education to every child.

OSPI does not keep track of whether high school students are ready for college, even though most people assume possessing a Washington public high school diploma should mean a young person is prepared for college-level work.

8. Make the Superintendent of Public Instruction an Appointed Office

Every four years Washington voters are asked to elect a Superintendent of Public Instruction, which is just one of nine statewide offices voters must fill.

Since voters can only realistically focus on a few high-level offices, there is a debate about whether this is the most effective way to structure our state government.

Reducing the number of statewide elected offices, the so-called “short ballot” approach, would work better because the people would choose a limited number of top officials. These top officials would then be uniquely responsible for the proper functioning of government. The highest elected officials would be subject to greater public scrutiny because there would be fewer of them.

The work of the Superintendent of Public Instruction is similar to that of any other state agency, and there is no reason this department should be headed by an elected official. In fact, the governor’s appointed cabinet already includes many key positions, most of which are as important as Superintendent of Public Instruction. State officials appointed by the governor include:

• Secretary of Social and Health Services
• Director of Ecology
• Director of Labor and Industries
• Director of Agriculture
• Director of Financial Management
• Secretary of Transportation
• Director of Licensing
• Director of General Administration
• Director of Community Trade & Economic Development
• Director of Veterans Affairs
• Director of Revenue
Direct election of the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction does not create greater public accountability, because most Washingtonians are not even aware of the name of the official holding that office. In practice, electing the Superintendent of Public Instruction creates less accountability, because the office attracts so little public attention it is easily influenced by organized special interests that directly benefit from education spending.

The state constitution should be amended to change the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction from an elected to an appointed position. If problems arise with public education, voters would know that the solution lies with the governor, who could change the top managers of public education at any time.

The governor would then be in a position to implement needed education reforms over the objections of entrenched special interests. If the governor fails to improve the quality of public schools, voters could take that failure into account at election time. In either case, the people would know that when it comes to educating the children of Washington, the buck stops at the governor’s office.

Conclusion

Every child’s education is handcrafted. The learning process cannot be mechanized, industrialized or centralized. A child learns when a caring adult speaks to him directly, calls him by name, and conveys knowledge from one mind to another.

Knowledge is best conveyed to children by a good teacher. The most effective way to secure good teachers is to allow an education leader, the principal, who has personally reviewed their qualifications, to hire them.

The reason Washington Policy Center recommends every principal be put in charge and then be held accountable for academic outcomes is because he will hire teachers who can fulfill the educational vision he has for the children attending his school. Similarly, a principal who is an education leader will dismiss teachers who are wasting the learning time of students.

Allowing parents to choose among public schools is the only effective way to provide principals with the parental involvement they need to create “no excuses” schools, schools where the education of children is placed above every other consideration. A principal who finds parents are not choosing his public school knows he is doing something wrong and must change. When the principal sees parents are again choosing his school, he will know he is on the right track.

Educating children is the paramount constitutional duty of lawmakers. While the legislature has provided ample funds and a multitude of programs for this purpose, it should now transfer key decisions over spending, hiring and classroom instruction from centralized bureaucracies to the local principal.
Adopting this policy would revolutionize and dramatically improve our public schools.

Only principals are close enough to students and teachers to ensure that effective learning is actually taking place. Olympia cannot educate each child from afar through ever-increasing programs, initiatives and regulations. Only principals know the needs of their students and can tailor instructional programs to meet their needs. Lawmakers should give qualified principals the authority they need to manage and improve local schools. Putting principals in charge is key to providing the one element research shows is essential to student learning: Placing an effective teacher in every classroom.

The most effective way to secure good teachers is to allow an education leader, the principal, who has personally reviewed their qualifications, to hire them.
## Appendix

**Targeted education reform programs funded by the legislature, 1993–2011**

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About the Author

Liv Finne is Director of the Center for Education at Washington Policy Center. She is the author of numerous studies on education reform, including “Washington Policy Center's Education Reform Plan: Eight Practical Ways to Reverse the Decline of Public Schools,” “An Option for Learning: An Assessment of Student Achievement in Charter Public Schools,” “An Overview of Public School Funding in Washington,” “Early Learning Proposals in Washington State,” and “Reviewing the Research on Universal Preschool and All-Day Kindergarten.” Liv holds a law degree from Boston University School of Law and a Bachelor of Arts degree from Wellesley College. She retired from civil litigation practice to raise two children and work as the business partner for Finne Architects, a small business she owns with her husband.

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