



Closing the Gaps



A Campaign Action Guide for

Illinois

Maryland

New Mexico

New York

Ohio

Texas

(for inside cover/opening page)

**Legislative Champions who attended the
Targeted States Meeting in Washington, DC on January 9,
2004**

Commissioner Donna Alvarado
Ohio Commission on Hispanic/Latino Affairs

Ezra Escudero
Ohio Commission on Hispanic/Latino Affairs

Delegate Ana Sol Gutierrez
Maryland House of Delegates

Delegate Carolyn J.B. Howard
Maryland House of Delegates

Senator Tony Muñoz
Illinois State Senate

Representative Dora Olivo
Texas House of Representatives

Assemblymember Felix Ortiz
New York State Assembly

Senator C.J. Prentiss
Ohio State Senate

Delegate Victor Ramirez
Maryland House of Delegates

Assemblymember Annette Robinson
New York State Assembly

Senator Bernadette Sanchez
New Mexico State Senate

Representative Sheryl Williams Stapleton
New Mexico House of Representatives

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	2
Chapter 1 <i>Policy Consensus Recommendations</i>	3
Chapter 2 <i>Targeted States</i>.....	8
Maryland.....	14
New Mexico	18
New York	23
Ohio	27
Texas.....	31
Chapter 3 <i>Strategies for Success: Political and Legislative</i>	35
Chapter 4 <i>Strategies for Success: Communications and Media</i>.....	43
Chapter 5 <i>Information and Funding Resources</i>	43

Introduction

The National Black Caucus of State Legislators (NBCSL) and the National Hispanic Caucus of State Legislators (NHCSL) have joined forces on a new campaign we call *Closing the Achievement Gap*. Both a communications and a legislative approach, *Closing the Achievement Gap* will rally the country to take the necessary steps to bring quality public education to under-resourced schools. It contains consensus policy recommendations, profiles of our target states, and strategies to make sure that the need for quality public education not only resonates with leadership and ordinary Americans, but inspires them as well.

Closing the Achievement Gap is a multi-pronged strategy that—if you act on it—will set the education agenda for your state and create a groundswell of support for your legislative initiatives. It consists of five practical tools: (1) *A model action plan* with a template you can customize to your state's needs; (2) *state profiles*—data to help you tailor your plan; (3) *information and funding resources*, to help you plan and execute your strategy, develop case studies and access the most up-to-date research, along with suggested funding sources to support your efforts. Finally, we've included *a checklist* to return to *Closing the Achievement Gap* staff. The checklist will help us help you to mount the most effective campaign possible.

Education is the foundation of every right that comes with being American: the right to self-determination, to participate in this democracy, to economic security and opportunity for the future. The education of children—all children—is too important to our future as a nation and a participant in the global economy to leave to rhetoric, or silver bullets, or to deal with another day. We invite you to join the drive to close the achievement gap in your state. High standards and small classes. Quality teachers. Adequate funding. We know that these practical, proven approaches will meet the needs of under-resourced schools and look forward to working with you to achieve them.

Chapter 1
*Policy Consensus
Recommendations*

NHCSL/NBCSL Education Policy Recommendations

Having completed education policy studies, The National Hispanic Caucus of State Legislators (NHCSL) and the National Black Caucus of State Legislators (NBCSL) share a common interest in building a broad-based coalition in support of public schools and increased investment in public education. The similar findings contained in the studies on closing achievement gaps demonstrate that the educational challenges, opportunities and outcomes for Hispanic and African American children are closely linked.

Their recommendations focus on two general topics – recruiting & retaining quality teachers and improving the classroom experience. Among these two general topics there are 14 specific areas for improvement identified for which both papers offer similar policy recommendations.

Attached is a side by side comparison containing direct language from the papers to demonstrate where NHCSL and NBCSL are in consensus.

Bringing quality teachers to underserved schools by:

- increasing salary;
- providing incentives;
- creating induction and retention programs;
- increasing opportunities for non-traditional routes to teaching;
- encouraging qualified teachers to teach in minority schools; and
- improving professional development programs.

Improving the classroom experience for students by:

- expanding access to preschool;
- increasing literacy rates;
- reforming standardized testing;
- reducing class size;
- encouraging the adoption of “best practices;”
- eliminating differences in facilities and curriculum;
- offering challenging classes to all students;
- addressing the cultural and language needs of Hispanic and African-American students; and
- creating programs that facilitate parental involvement

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Chapter 2

Targeted States

TARGETED STATES

This chapter of the guide outlines important findings in the six states targeted for initial activity --- Illinois, Maryland, New Mexico, New York, Ohio and Texas. Population demographics, education indicators, a political profile, current education priorities and the biggest challenge facing the NHCSL-NBCSL effort in the state are included in each of the state reviews.

NHCSL and NBCSL identified these six states for one or all of the following:

- Identified NHCSL and NBCSL leaders in the state.
- Geographic and political diversity.
- Need for immediate action based on education indicators.
- Probability of creating a successful NHCSL-NBCSL coalition.
- Opportunities for legislative success.

A review of the population and political profiles reveals that the six selected states are a good cross-section of the United States. Big states and small states are represented, as well as states in the South, Midwest, Southwest and Northeast. Additionally, states with split legislative chambers, all Democratic states and all Republican states are included. The political and geographic balance is an important part of reviewing success of this joint effort and possibly identifying factors that influence how such an effort should be implemented in other states.

The education indicators included in this guide are also important, as one of the major goals of the NHCSL-NBCSL partnership is to demonstrate greater achievement among Hispanic and African-American students. Using these indicators on the front end of the selection process will allow us to use the same factors when we complete an assessment of the effort. These statistics are also important because they quantify the achievement gap issues in each state and reveal just how troubling the achievement gap issues are state-by-state and nationally.

Sources:

The following sources were used to create the six targeted state profiles.

1. *The Almanac of American Politics*. National Journal Group; 2004 edition.
2. *Education Watch*. Prepared by the Education Trust, Inc.; Winter 2002-2003.
3. *Rankings and Estimates*. National Education Association Research; May 2003.
4. *Review of U.S. Department of Education Elementary and Secondary Education Statistics*. American Federation of Teachers; 2001-2002.
5. *Report on School Finance*. U.S. Census Bureau; 1999-2000.
6. National Center for Education Statistics. 2001-2002.
7. www.ecs.org. Education Commission of the States; 2003 downloads.
8. www.ballot.org. Ballot Initiative Strategy Center; 2003 downloads.

ILLINOIS

Population Profile:

Population:	12,419,293 ➤ 87.8% Urban ➤ 12.2% Rural
Population Change:	8.6% increase (<i>between 1990 and 2000 census</i>)
Population Rank:	5 th of 50 (<i>4.4% of total U.S. population</i>)
Most Populous Cities:	Chicago - 2,896,016 Rockford - 150,115 Aurora - 142,990 Naperville - 128,358 Peoria - 112,936

Demographic Profile:

Race/Ethnic Origin:	White - 8,424,140 (67.8%) Black - 1,856,152 (14.9%) Hispanic - 1,530,262 (12.3%) Asian - 419,916 (3.4%)
Illinois Natives:	67.1% of residents were born in-state
Education:	High School Graduates – 81.4% College Graduates – 26.1%

Economic Profile:

Work Force:	Blue Collar – 24.0% White Collar – 61.8% Gray Collar – 14.3%
Work Sector:	Private Companies – 81.8% Government – 12.7% Self-Employed – 5.3% Unemployed – 0.3%

Education Indicators:

National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) Scoring			
NAEP 4th Grade Reading			
Select Race	1998 Score	Achievement Gap vs. White	Achievement Gap National Average
African-American	n/a	-	-32
Hispanic	n/a	-	-30
White	n/a	-	-
NAEP 8th Grade Mathematics			
Select Race	2000 Score	Achievement Gap vs. White	Achievement Gap National Average
African-American	255	-33	-39
Hispanic	261	-27	-33
White	288	-	-

Populations and Enrollment of School-Aged Children				
Select Race	Pop. Age 5-	% in Public K-	% in 2-year Colleges	% in 4-year Colleges
African-American	18%	21%	14%	12%
Hispanic	14%	3%	15%	7%
White	64%	61%	64%	65%

Advanced Placement Tests				
Select Race	% Enrolled in Public School	% taking AP Calculus	% taking AP English	% taking AP Biology
African-American	21%	3%	10%	5%
Hispanic	15%	5%	6%	5%
White	60%	76%	69%	69%

Special Student Placement				
Select Race	% Enrolled in Public School	% in Gifted and Talented	% in Special Education	% Suspended
African-American	21%	8%	27%	36%
Hispanic	15%	6%	13%	12%
White	60%	80%	60%	50%

Additional Education Indicators			
Category	State Performance	National Average	National Ranking
Per Pupil Spending	\$7,185	\$6,835	16
Student-Teacher Ratio	15.7:0:1	15.9:1	29
Teacher Salary	\$49,679	\$44,367	9

Political Profile:

State Senate:	Democrat Majority	32 D – 27 R
State House:	Democrat Majority	66 D – 52 R
State Term Limits:	No	
Governor:	Democratic Governor – Rod Blagojevich	
Registered Voters:	No party registration	

Illinois is going through a miniature political shift --- away from statewide Republicans to a more solid Democratic state at all levels. The 1990s brought about power changes in the House and Senate, and also led to the emergence of Speaker Michael Madigan as a legislative and political force. Both chambers now have Democratic majorities, Rod Blagojevich won the Governorship in 2002, and the state will have a competitive U.S. Senate race in 2004, although many observers give an edge to whoever wins the Democratic nomination.

Blagojevich's win ended 30 years of Republican governance. His first challenge in office, however, was to end corruption in state government. Blagojevich's predecessor, George Ryan, faced charges of selling state government to the highest bidder in the awarding of contracts and other favors. These charges recently turned into a federal indictment on corruption charges, and will hopefully allow the state to turn the page on the previous administration.

In addition to stabilizing state government against corruption, Blagojevich faced a \$5 billion budget deficit. His first year in office brought about new business taxes and the selling of state-buildings, without raising personal property or income taxes on individuals. Blagojevich has received high marks, and as the economy begins to turn around, he will be faced with long-blocked Democratic initiatives.

Current Education Priorities:

Illinois was one of few states to tackle major budget deficits and still create new education programs. Governor Blagojevich's initiative to provide preschool access for every at-risk child in Illinois is being phased in as a way to begin to address the problem within the budget realities of a \$5 billion deficit.

Over the next four years, Illinois is expected to need 44,000 new teachers. To address this need, Blagojevich proposes \$5,000 annual scholarships to college juniors and seniors who agree to teach in hard-to-fill positions for five years. The scholarship would be increased to \$10,000 for those agreeing to teach subjects such as reading and science in areas with teacher shortages.

Blagojevich is also ahead of the curve on popular opinion as it relates to education policy. Teachers and parents alike say that parental involvement is key to a child's success in the classroom. To this end, the Governor's plan supports parents who want to be involved in

their children's education. Blagojevich introduced legislation expanding leave time for parents' participation in school activities from eight hours of unpaid leave per year to three days. He announced the immediate implementation of a three-day school-related leave policy for employees in his office and state executive agencies. The governor asked all state schools to adopt the national PTA's standard for parental involvement, ensuring communication between schools and home. Blagojevich announced the creation of a new Web-based system to provide parents with information on their children's education activities. He also proposed providing teachers with voice mail to improve communication with parents. As the issue of parental involvement gains prominence in the education debate, many of these initiatives will serve as model legislation in other states and at the Congressional level.

The Challenge:

The Black and Hispanic leaders in Illinois are all Democrats, meaning now is the right time to take advantage of Democratic control at all levels. The challenge of NHCSL-NBCSL will be to raise the achievement gaps as an issue in the general debate and make them critical issues that Governor Blagojevich and Speaker Madigan are forced to support in order to maintain the important relationships with the Black and Hispanic caucuses.

MARYLAND

Population Profile:

Population:	5,296,486 ➤ 86.1% Urban ➤ 13.9% Rural
Population Change:	10.8% increase (<i>between the 1990 and 2000 census</i>)
Population Rank:	19 th of 50 states (<i>1.9% of total U.S. population</i>)
Most Populous Cities:	Baltimore - 651,154 Frederick - 52,767 Gaithersburg - 52,613 Bowie - 50,269 Rockville - 47,388

Demographic Profile:

Race/Ethnic Origin:	White - 3,286,547 (62.1%) Black - 1,464,735 (27.7%) Hispanic - 227,916 (4.3%) Asian - 209,738 (4.0%)
Maryland Natives:	49.3% of residents were born in-state
Education:	High School Graduates – 83.8% College Graduates – 31.4%

Economic Profile:

Work Force:	Blue Collar - 18.1% White Collar - 67.7% Gray Collar - 14.2%
Work Sector:	Private Companies - 72.1% Government - 22.3% Self-employed - 5.4% Unemployed - 0.2%

Education Indicators:

National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) Scoring			
NAEP 4th Grade Reading			
Select Race	1998 Score	Achievement Gap vs. White	Achievement Gap National Average
African-American	195	-34	-32
Hispanic	200	-29	-30
White	229	-	-
NAEP 8th Grade Mathematics			
Select Race	2000 Score	Achievement Gap vs. White	Achievement Gap National Average
African-American	249	-41	-39
Hispanic	265	-25	-33
White	290	-	-

Populations and Enrollment of School-Aged Children				
Select Race	Pop. Age 5-	% in Public K-	% in 2-year Colleges	% in 4-year Colleges
African-American	31%	37%	27%	22%
Hispanic	5%	4%	6%	6%
White	60%	55%	58%	59%

Advanced Placement Tests				
Select Race	% Enrolled in Public School	% taking AP Calculus	% taking AP English	% taking AP Biology
African-American	37%	10%	11%	16%
Hispanic	5%	2%	3%	4%
White	54%	74%	70%	62%

Special Student Placement				
Select Race	% Enrolled in Public School	% in Gifted and Talented	% in Special Education	% Suspended
African-American	21%	16%	42%	52%
Hispanic	5%	4%	4%	3%
White	53%	69%	52%	43%

Additional Education Indicators			
Category	State Performance	National Average	National Ranking
Per Pupil Spending	\$7,496	\$6,835	14
Student-Teacher Ratio	16:0:1	15.9:1	34
Teacher Salary	\$48,251	\$44,367	13

Political Profile:

State Senate:	Democratic Majority 33 D – 14 R
State House:	Democratic Majority 98 D- 43 R
State Term Limits:	No
Governor:	Republican Governor – Robert Ehrlich
Registered Voters:	Democrats - 1,555,569 (56.1%)
	Republican - 832,616 (30.0%)
	Unaffiliated - 386,428 (13.9%)

Maryland is the definition of a Democratic state – in every way – except for the recent election of Bob Ehrlich as Governor. Ehrlich’s election marks the first time since 1966 that Maryland elected a Republican Governor. The Ehrlich victory highlighted the importance of the Baltimore suburbs - not the Washington, DC suburbs - in winning a statewide election. Many reasons are given for the Ehrlich win --- including that it was more of a loss by Kathleen Kennedy Townsend than it was a win by Ehrlich who simply ran a good campaign and presented himself as a moderate that Democrats – particularly Democratic women – could be comfortable with in office.

Democrats have solid majorities in the legislature, and hold all major offices in the largest counties in the state. Maryland’s black population (28%) is the highest percentage outside of the Deep South in the country, providing for a solid Democratic lean in most elections.

The legislative politics are the most interesting. The State Senate is ruled by Senate President Thomas V. Mike Miller. The House is facing a new regime with a new Speaker – Michael Busch. Most of the deal-making and legislating is done in the Senate, where Miller’s support is nearly a prerequisite before legislation is even considered, much less debated and passed.

Ehrlich faces constant opposition and challenges from the Democratic legislature, and all eyes are on contenders to challenge Ehrlich in 2006. At this time, the 2006 politics do not appear to impact the legislature, as the most rumored candidates are Baltimore Mayor Martin O’Malley and Montgomery County Executive Doug Duncan.

Current Education Priorities:

Local control over education has become the biggest issue in the last year. Prince George’s County is home to a school system in turmoil. For parts of 2003, the state took total control over running the county school board, and later dissolved the board and replaced it with a committee appointed by the Governor. The gubernatorial governance is still in place. Problems continue to persist in Prince George’s County, as technical errors have forced some education professionals (teachers and support staff) to work without receiving full compensation. All of these problems will face the legislature when

they convene in January, with many of the same questions and concerns dominating the debate, as in the 2003 session.

The financing debate over public education is around the Thornton Commission – a series of recommendations presented to the legislature and governor on how Maryland can more equitably fund public education. There is an opportunity to attach some of the NHCSL-NBCSL needs to Thornton recommendations and Thornton funding. To the extent possible, this avenue should be explored when developing a legislative strategy. Recently, Governor Ehrlich has back-tracked on his position to fully fund the Thornton Commission’s recommendations.

Ehrlich, like other Republican governors, has set education policy around reforms and programs that measure accountability and provide school choice opportunities. Ehrlich will propose charter school legislation, and a series of reforms known as Thornton II, that will restructure Maryland’s school system in general.

The Challenge:

Identifying legislation that can pass Democratic majorities in the House and Senate, but also be signed by Republican Ehrlich will be one of the biggest challenges facing the NHCSL-NBCSL coalition.

The other significant challenge is finding the best way to introduce the policy recommendations into a debate centered around local control and limited budgets. When the Governor and Senate President want to talk about slots and closing the budget gap, how can closing achievement gaps reach the level of prominence necessary to mount a successful legislative effort? The answer may be to advance legislation that highlights accountability and minimizes the impact on the state budget.

NEW MEXICO

Population Profile:

Population:	1,819,046
	➤ 75.0% urban
	➤ 25.0% rural
Population Change:	20.1% increase (<i>between 1990-2000 census</i>)
Population Rank:	30 th of 50 (<i>0.7% of total US population</i>)
Most Populous Cities:	Albuquerque- 448,607
	Las Cruces- 74,267
	Santa Fe- 62,203
	Rio Rancho- 51,765
	Roswell- 45,293

Demographic Profile:

Race/Ethnic Origin:	White- 813,495 (44.7%)
	Hispanic- 765,386 (42.1%)
	Asian- 161,460 (8.9%)
	Black- 30,654 (1.7%)
New Mexico Natives:	51.1% of residents were born in-state
Education:	High School Graduates – 78.8%
	College Graduates – 32.5%

Economic Profile:

Work Force:	Blue Collar - 22.2%
	White Collar - 59.9%
	Gray Collar - 17.9%
Work Sector:	Private Companies – 68.5%
	Government – 22.7%
	Self-Employed – 8.4%
	Unemployed - 0.4%

Education Indicators:

National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) Scoring			
NAEP 4th Grade Reading			
Select Race	1998 Score	Achievement Gap vs. White	Achievement Gap National Average
African-American	183	-39	-32
Hispanic	199	-23	-30
White	222	-	-
NAEP 8th Grade Mathematics			
Select Race	2000 Score	Achievement Gap vs. White	Achievement Gap National Average
African-American	NA	NA	NA
Hispanic	251	-27	-33
White	278	-	-

Populations and Enrollment of School-Aged Children				
Select Race	Pop. Age 5-	% in Public K-	% in 2-year Colleges	% in 4-year Colleges
African-American	24	12	2%	2%
Hispanic	47%	49%	36%	32%
White	38%	37%	38%	41%

Advanced Placement Tests				
Select Race	% Enrolled in Public School	% taking AP Calculus	% taking AP English	% taking AP Biology
African-American	2%	1%	2%	0%
Hispanic	50%	25%	26%	26%
White	35%	63%	62%	69%

Special Student Placement				
Select Race	% Enrolled in Public School	% in Gifted and Talented	% in Special Education	% Suspended
African-American	2%	2%	4%	4%
Hispanic	50%	26%	52%	50%
White	35%	66%	32%	30%

Additional Education Indicators			
Category	State Performance	National Average	National Ranking
Per Pupil Spending	\$5,748	\$6,835	39
Student-Teacher Ratio	15.2:0:1	15.9:1	26
Teacher Salary	\$36,716	\$44,367	42

Political Profile:

State Senate:	Democrat Majority	24 D – 13 R
State House:	Democrat Majority	43 D – 27
State Term Limits:	No	
Governor:	Democratic Governor – Bill Richardson	
Registered Voters:	Democratic – 495,221 (52.1%)	
	Republican – 310,337 (32.6%)	
	Unaffiliated - 145,185 (15.3%)	

New Mexico has the highest percentage of Hispanics in the country, but most are natives, as only 8% of residents are foreign-born. The inherent diversity in this majority-minority state, coupled with a state torn by tradition versus modern technology, makes for interesting political dynamics. The population continues to increase, and high tech markets are expanding, but income and education levels have not grown at the same pace. This discrepancy creates significant challenges for New Mexico to keep up with neighboring states (Arizona and Colorado) that have done a better job integrating economic changes and population growth.

Politically, the state is the epitome of a swing Presidential state. It was a solid Republican state in the 1980s. It voted for Bill Clinton both times in the 1990s. Al Gore won New Mexico by 366 votes, and a popular George Bush will target New Mexico as a state he can win in 2004. The emergence of Governor Bill Richardson as a National Democratic Party leader and even possible national candidate, helps New Mexico lean a little more Democratic at the national level. Richardson won the Governor's mansion in 2002 with 55% of the vote. It was a big win for Democrats, and is helping to build and bring Hispanics (especially Hispanics who are culturally conservative) back to the Democratic Party.

Although Democrats have solid majorities in both the House and Senate, Richardson replaced a two-term, term-limited, Republican Governor in 2002. During statewide elections, the Democratic Party fights not only the Republican Party, but also a growing Green Party. The Green Party has not begun to be competitive at the state legislative level.

Governor Richardson has had a successful term thus far. He campaigned on income tax cuts --- and got them. He pushed for education reforms, and although the issues went on the ballot in late 2003, Richardson ran a successful campaign again and got approval of Questions 1 and 2. Question 1 promised greater accountability of how money is spent by creating a new cabinet-level position of Secretary of Education. Question 2 changes the funding formula and sets a Permanent School Fund that will be used to raise teacher salaries, attract and retain new teachers and provide more money for education in general.

Current Education Priorities:

Governor Richardson's win on Questions 1 and 2 are significant victories for the Governor and for education in the state. These initiatives will bring more money and administrative guidance for education programs in New Mexico, and any legislative effort brought by NHCSL-NBCSL to create or expand programming will likely have to be done within the context of Questions 1 and 2. The Governor's success makes it less likely for him to make another big legislative push on new education initiatives. But, the public attention paid to education makes for a good time to continue the conversation on addressing the achievement gap. This may be the perfect scenario for addressing many achievement gap issues administratively.

Beyond the ballot initiatives, Governor Richardson has been successful in making education a top priority, and he is certainly committed to many of the issues NHCSL-NBCSL hopes to address. He has begun to address the amount of money going to education from state and local governments – raising teacher salaries, funding basic school programs, fund full-day kindergarten, and doing a full audit of the system to build a system that works. All of these initiatives are in line with the joint policy recommendations in the NHCSL-NBCSL program, making the Governor an ally that can help us achieve our goals.

Because teachers are at the heart of a strong education system, Richardson proposed a 6% teacher salary increase for the next fiscal year, moving New Mexico from a national ranking of 46th to 39th in teacher salaries, with additional salary increases in following years. Forty percent of new money in the governor's proposed budget is appropriated for education. New Mexico currently spends a lower percentage of its education dollars in the classroom than the national average.

Richardson asked school districts to find savings of 5% of their budgets for redirection to teacher salaries and classrooms, and commit \$36 million of districts' non-emergency, non-allocated cash balances - less than 20% of the total cash reserves - for funding basic school programs and services.

He proposed using \$11 million from the federal Temporary Assistance to Needy Families Block Grant to funding full-day kindergarten for all schools. Keeping children in school is a critical component of student achievement so the governor proposed a \$1 million matching-grant appropriation to fund coordinated truancy prevention efforts.

The governor's education policy advisor will work with the proposed New Mexico School Performance Review division to audit school and teacher performance, starting with troubled districts and eventually covering all districts. Richardson also plans an in-depth study of restructuring the state's education system. To support future economic development, he wants schools to teach business and entrepreneurial skills, and recommended a \$9 million one-time expenditure to complete funding for endowed chairs in business and technology research at several state postsecondary institutions.

The Challenge:

Based on legislative and initiative success in the last year, New Mexico should begin to see strengthening signs in education indicators in the next few years. This success is critical to the future of public education in the state, but could be the biggest hurdle for future activity. Governor Richardson has an expansive agenda --- beyond public education --- and has a friendly legislature to help him achieve success. As a result, the Governor may feel like he has accomplished what he needs to accomplish on education policy and will be less likely to champion the NHCSL-NBCSL effort.

The best vehicle for success in New Mexico may be through the newly created Secretary of Education cabinet position. The Secretary will be responsible for oversight and administrative matters when it comes to public education, serving as one of the most promising opportunities for NHCSL-NBCSL to maximize legislative and administrative influence.

NEW YORK

Population Profile:

Population:	18,976,457 ➤ 87.5% Urban ➤ 12.5% Rural
Population Change:	5.5% increase (<i>between 1990 and 2000 census</i>)
Population Rank:	3rd of 50 (<i>6.7% of U.S. population</i>)
Most Populous Cities:	New York - 8,008,680 Buffalo - 292,648 Rochester - 219,773 Yonkers - 196,086 Syracuse - 147,306

Demographic Profile:

Race/Ethnic Origin:	White - 11,760,981 (62.0%) Hispanic - 2,867,583 (15.1%) Black - 2,812,623 (14.8%) Asian - 52,499 (5.5%)
New York Native:	65.3% of residents were born in-state
Education:	High School Graduates – 79.1% College Graduates – 27.4%

Economic Profile:

Work Force:	Blue Collar - 19.3% White Collar - 63.8% Gray Collar - 16.9%
Work Sector:	Private Companies - 76.8% Government - 17.0% Self-Employed - 0.2% Unemployed - 0.2%

Education Indicators:

National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) Scoring			
NAEP 4th Grade Reading			
Select Race	1998 Score	Achievement Gap vs. White	Achievement Gap National Average
African-American	202	-24	-32
Hispanic	187	-39	-30
White	226	-	-
NAEP 8th Grade Mathematics			
Select Race	2000 Score	Achievement Gap vs. White	Achievement Gap National Average
African-American	257	-32	-39
Hispanic	259	-30	-33
White	289	-	-

Populations and Enrollment of School-Aged Children				
Select Race	Pop. Age 5-	% in Public K-	% in 2-year Colleges	% in 4-year Colleges
African-American	24	12	15%	12%
Hispanic	17%	20%	12%	9%
White	18%	18%	62%	55%

Advanced Placement Tests				
Select Race	% Enrolled in Public School	% taking AP Calculus	% taking AP English	% taking AP Biology
African-American	20%	5%	6%	7%
Hispanic	19%	5%	6%	5%
White	55%	72%	75%	73%

Special Student Placement				
Select Race	% Enrolled in Public School	% in Gifted and Talented	% in Special Education	% Suspended
African-American	20%	10%	26%	36%
Hispanic	6%	10%	2%	2%
White	55%	69%	52%	45%

Additional Education Indicators			
Category	State Performance	National Average	National Ranking
Per Pupil Spending	\$10,039	\$6,835	2
Student-Teacher Ratio	12.6:0:1	15.9:1	3
Teacher Salary	\$51,020	\$44,367	5

Political Profile:

State Senate:	Republican Majority 37 R – 25 D
State Assembly:	Democratic Majority 103 D – 47 R
State Term Limits:	No
Governor:	Republican Governor - George Pataki
Registered Voters:	Democrats - 5,255,521 (46.7%)
	Republican - 3,132,161 (27.9%)
	Unaffiliated - 2,858,680 (25.4%)

Although New York’s population increased from 1990 – 2000, it was at a much lower rate than other states, forcing a reapportionment plan that cut two Congressional Districts from the third most populated state in the country. New York’s power is not marginalized because of this loss, but there is a slow power shift away from the Northeast and more towards the Southwest part of the country.

New York is generally seen as two states – New York City versus upstate New York. The mayor of New York City is often just as powerful and influential as the Governor --- especially at the national level. The “Two New Yorks” provide stark differences in population diversity, economic indicators and politics.

While New York City is the world’s economic engine, upstate New York is burdened with many of the same economic challenges facing the rest of the country. The state’s economy, in general, was significantly damaged with the September 11 terrorist attacks, and the political and legislative realities of those attacks still drive many of the decisions made in Albany.

A solid Democratic state at the national level, New York is led by Governor George Pataki, a popular and moderate Republican, who has roots in both the State Assembly and State Senate. The Governor was a national figure during the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, and continues to be a leader on national security issues. With so much national attention paid to New York by George Bush, as well as the Republicans holding their national convention in New York City, many political observers are wondering if the state is as solid a Democratic state as it has been in previous years.

After an improbable victory in 1994, Pataki has been a Republican tapped for national office, and courted for U.S. Senate and Vice-President over the last few years. He has achieved many successes in New York, and has forged unique partnerships with business and labor, and even within political divisions. He has achieved electoral success by being moderate enough for New York City Democrats and conservative enough for Upstate Republicans. Legislatively, Pataki has co-opted many traditional Democratic issues --- including environmental support and teacher pay increases.

Current Education Priorities:

While Governor Pataki has worked closely with NEA and AFT on teacher salary issues, he has refused to spare education spending from needed budget cuts. The Governor's budget did not exempt any segment, except public security, from spending less money than they did in 2002.

Without new money, the legislative issues facing education have mostly been structural reforms. The most significant of these reforms has been how schools are governed in New York City. The state legislature turned over administrative responsibility to the mayor's office. Mayor Michael Bloomberg then appointed a chancellor and set up his own bureaucracy for city school governance. Pataki has viewed this as a success and has proposed similar reforms to empower other mayors of urban cities. As the state legislature continues to decentralize control, the Assembly and Senate become more marginalized when addressing education policy. Instead, education advocates begin to make requests directly to the mayors. This reality could drive any legislative proposals initiated by NHCSL-NBCSL in closing the achievement gap.

New York's legislature and Governor have addressed other important education issues in recent years, including (1) school safety legislation, (2) high learning standards and resources to implement them, (3) after-school programs, and (4) teacher recruitment programs.

The Challenge:

This document is drafted as a reflection of state legislative activity. But, the influence of education advocates at the local level should not be overlooked. NHCSL-NBCSL must be cognizant of how legislative action will impact this local control.

The battleground at the state level is the State Senate. The upper-chamber has greater influence over legislative priorities, so advancing an agenda within the Republican-led Senate will be a challenge. The Governor appears to be an ally on certain aspects of the NHCSL-NBCSL agenda, and it may be necessary to emphasize standards and accountability more than new funding and new programs in order to build a majority in the Assembly and Senate.

OHIO

Population Profile:

Population:	11,353,140 ➤ 77.3% Urban ➤ 22.7% Rural
Population Change:	4.7% increase (<i>between 1990 and 2000 census</i>)
Population Rank:	7 th of 50 (<i>4.0% of total U.S. population</i>)
Most Populous Cities	Columbus - 711,470 Cleveland - 478,403 Cincinnati - 331,285 Toledo - 313,619 Akron - 217,074

Demographic Profile:

Race/Ethnic Origin:	White - 9,538,111 (84.0%) Black - 1,290,662 (11.4%) Hispanic - 217,123 (1.9%) Asian - 21,985 (0.2%)
Ohio Natives:	74.4% of residents were born in-state.
Education:	High School Graduates – 83.0% College Graduates – 21.1%

Economic Profile:

Work Force:	Blue Collar - 27.8% White Collar - 57.3% Gray Collar - 14.9%
Work Sector:	Private Companies - 82.0% Government - 12.2% Self-Employed - 5.5% Unemployed - 0.3%

Education Indicators:

National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) Scoring			
NAEP 4th Grade Reading			
Select Race	1998 Score	Achievement Gap vs. White	Achievement Gap National Average
African-American	NA	-	-32
Hispanic	NA	-	-30
White	NA	-	-
NAEP 8th Grade Mathematics			
Select Race	2000 Score	Achievement Gap vs. White	Achievement Gap National Average
African-American	255	-32	-39
Hispanic	270	-17	-33
White	287	-	-

Populations and Enrollment of School-Aged Children				
Select Race	Pop. Age 5-	% in Public K-	% in 2-year Colleges	% in 4-year Colleges
African-American	14%	16%	13%	9%
Hispanic	2%	2%	2%	1%
White	82%	81%	81%	79%

Advanced Placement Tests				
Select Race	% Enrolled in Public School	% taking AP Calculus	% taking AP English	% taking AP Biology
African-American	16%	4%	5%	4%
Hispanic	2%	1%	1%	1%
White	81%	89%	90%	85%

Special Student Placement				
Select Race	% Enrolled in Public School	% in Gifted and Talented	% in Special Education	% Suspended
African-American	16%	6%	19%	34%
Hispanic	2%	1%	2%	2%
White	81%	91%	79%	63%

Additional Education Indicators			
Category	State Performance	National Average	National Ranking
Per Pupil Spending	\$6,999	\$6,835	20
Student-Teacher Ratio	15.1:0:1	15.9:1	24
Teacher Salary	\$44,266	\$44,367	18

Political Profile:

State Senate:	Republican Majority	22 R – 11 D
State House:	Republican Majority	62 R – 37 D
State Term Limits:	Yes	
Governor:	Republican Governor – Bob Taft	
Registered Voters:	Democrats - 1,010,662 (14.3%)	
	Republicans - 1,364,270 (19.3%)	
	Unaffiliated - 4,683,120 (66.4%)	

Ohio has become a solid Republican state, although both national parties still will be keeping an eye on the state for the 2004 Presidential Election. Democrats usually fair better at the national level than at the state level, but not enough to consider it a swing state. In short, Republicans rule Ohio.

Having such large majorities in the House and Senate should make it easy for Governor Bob Taft to pass his agenda. Recent budget problems, however, have caused Taft to face off with hard-nosed conservatives over budget cuts versus tax increases. Taft had to continue to go back to the budget to slash spending in order to balance the state budget, and it led to a drawn out Republican v Republican legislative dispute.

Republicans control state government, but Democrats do have some emerging mayoral leaders in the state's largest cities --- namely Columbus. There are no established Democratic leaders, at this time, begging the question of who can challenge for statewide office. In 2004, at least, the answer is not Jerry Springer, but his potential candidacy speaks volumes of the current state of the Ohio Democratic Party.

Republican control in the state legislature has not led to Republican stability. Term limits brought about major turnover in membership and leadership in 2001. New leaders meant jockeying for political power. The new conservative leaders forced Taft to take positions against right-wing initiatives on abortion, concealed weapons and gambling, making Taft have to negotiate more with Republicans than perhaps he would have if either chamber was more closely divided.

Because of solid Republican legislative majorities and Executive level consensus, the battleground for education issues over the years has been in the State Supreme Court. The court has made numerous rulings and recommendations on how the state should fund education. The *DeRolph v State of Ohio* cases have been debated and challenged for the last ten years. The court has consistently (through 2002) ruled that the Governor and Legislature must find a reasonable, balanced, fair and long-term solution for the funding of Ohio's public schools. Republicans have, instead, supported a state funding plan directly connected to local property taxes. As a result, the rich districts get more money back from the state and are able to provide for better materials and a better overall educational experience. The reverse is true for the poor school districts. This funding problem is a leading factor in the achievement gap debate, and is a fundamental flaw in any Ohio education policy. This problem is compounded with the retirement of a

supportive judge and the election of the former Lieutenant Governor, Maureen O'Connor, who is now the deciding vote on the issue and will shift the court away from its *DeRolph* position.

Current Education Priorities:

Many of Governor Taft's education initiatives revolve around higher standards and accountability rather than programs that extend opportunities to all Ohioans. As noted above, state budget woes made it difficult for the Governor to keep his pledge to protect education spending. In the middle of 2003, he had to reverse course and agree to cuts across the board --- even education. And, with less money coming from the state, and a system built on property tax revenue, Ohio will continue to see great disparity between rich and poor school districts. The result is a future that looks to only expand the achievement gap – despite new testing standards meant to bring about greater levels of achievement.

Taft's education legacy is about student achievement standards and building more new facilities. Taft wants to improve math and reading skills and have a high-quality teacher in every classroom --- following the rhetoric of the national No Child Left Behind legislation. While many legislators support the intent of these proposals, the implementation and lack of funding only sets public education up for failure, allowing Taft and others to advocate for more charter schools and alternatives to public education. The charter school craze is being realized in Cleveland, as some right-wing business leaders are financing continued growth for new charters and more school choice options.

The Challenge:

The challenge in Ohio is simple politics. The NHCSL and NBCSL leaders are all Democrats in a state dominated by Republicans. The next chapter of this document, *Strategies for Success*, outlines a number of possible strategies leaders may undertake to advance the joint NHCSL-NBCSL legislative proposals. Leaders in Ohio will have to use every single one of these strategies to overcome the political realities that dominate the state legislature.

TEXAS

Population Profile:

Population:	20,581,820 ➤ 82.5% Urban ➤ 17.5% Rural
Population Change:	22.8% increase (<i>between 1990 and 2000 census</i>)
Population Rank:	2 nd of 50 (<i>7.4% of total U.S. Population</i>)
Most Populous Cities:	Houston - 1,953,631 Dallas - 1,188,580 San Antonio - 1,144,646 Austin - 656,562 El Paso - 563,662

Demographic Profile:

Race/Ethnic Origin:	White - 10,933,313 (52.4%) Hispanic - 6,669,666 (32.0%) Black - 2,364,255 (11.3%) Asian - 554,445 (2.7%)
Texas Natives:	62.2% of residents were born in-state
Education:	High School Graduates – 75.7% College Graduates – 23.2%

Economic Profile:

Work Force:	Blue Collar - 24.1% White Collar - 60.6% Gray Collar - 15.3%
Work Sector:	Private Companies - 78.0% Government - 14.6% Self-Employed - 7.1% Unemployed - 0.3%

Education Indicators:

National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) Scoring			
NAEP 4th Grade Reading			
Select Race	1998 Score	Achievement Gap vs. White	Achievement Gap National Average
African-American	197	-35	-32
Hispanic	204	-28	-30
White	232	-	-
NAEP 8th Grade Mathematics			
Select Race	2000 Score	Achievement Gap vs. White	Achievement Gap National Average
African-American	252	-36	-39
Hispanic	266	-22	-33
White	288	-	-

Populations and Enrollment of School-Aged Children				
Select Race	Pop. Age 5-	% in Public K-	% in 2-year Colleges	% in 4-year Colleges
African-American	13%	14%	12%	10%
Hispanic	37%	39%	29%	19%
White	47%	44%	52%	59%

Advanced Placement Tests				
Select Race	% Enrolled in Public School	% taking AP Calculus	% taking AP English	% taking AP Biology
African-American	14%	5%	6%	6%
Hispanic	3%	13%	9%	15%
White	42%	58%	62%	58%

Special Student Placement				
Select Race	% Enrolled in Public School	% in Gifted and Talented	% in Special Education	% Suspended
African-American	14%	10%	19%	30%
Hispanic	41%	28%	39%	42%
White	42%	57%	41%	27%

Additional Education Indicators			
Category	State Performance	National Average	National Ranking
Per Pupil Spending	\$6,145	\$6,835	33
Student-Teacher Ratio	14.7:0:1	15.9:1	21
Teacher Salary	\$39,230	\$44,367	30

Political Profile:

State Senate:	Republican Majority	19 R – 12 D
State House:	Republican Majority	88 R – 62 D
State Term Limits:	No	
Governor:	Republican Governor – Rick Perry	
Registered Voters:	No party registration	

In the last 30 years, Texas has shifted from a mostly oil-based economy to a diverse economy of high-tech, energy and other sectors that come to Texas for solid infrastructure and low taxes. The economic shift brought about political and population changes that still dominate politics in Texas. The urban centers of the state are home to diverse communities of Hispanics and African-Americans, but the rest of the state is more Anglo and embodies the hard-nosed, rough-and-tough culture that is synonymous with the state’s signature phrase – “Don’t Mess with Texas.”

The politics are much more conservative today, and Republicans dominate at all levels. Texas is a solid Republican state in Presidential elections, all statewide offices are held by Republicans and the GOP has solid majorities in both legislative chambers. National Republicans also view Texas as a state to make greater gains in Congress. As a result, Texas is facing new redistricting lines and court challenges --- all in an effort to create more Republican seats of the state’s 32 Congressional Districts. Today’s delegation is the only area where Democrats have a majority (17-15). But, many political observers speculate that if Congressman Tom Delay has his way, Republicans could hold a sizeable majority, picking up anywhere from 5-7 seats.

Republicans in Texas are disciplined --- from President Bush to State Legislative leaders. Their discipline allowed them to move forward with a redistricting proposal in the face of commonsense. Their Party discipline and political acumen allowed them to play power politics perfectly --- including protecting relationships with Congressional and Legislative African-Americans and Hispanics to keep and expand majority Black and Hispanic districts in the redistricting plan.

Democrats hold out hope that the growing Hispanic population could bring an end to Republican dominance. However, the “Diversity Dream Team” in 2002 – with Tony Sanchez and Ron Kirk at the top of the ticket – proved that any Democratic boost is still a number of years away. Hispanics make up 32% of the population, but not the voting population. Empowering Hispanic voters, and moving them to the Democratic Party, is a challenge, but is likely the only chance Democrats will have of winning statewide in the near future.

Governor Rick Perry took office upon the election of George Bush as President. He was elected to a full four-year term in 2002, and has held statewide office since 1990 (Agriculture Commissioner and Lieutenant Governor). By becoming Governor, Perry actually lost a lot of legislative power. Texas has one of the weakest governorships in the country, but centralizes a lot of legislative power, in the State Senate, to the Lieutenant

Governor. In either position, Perry has been seen as a pit bull. While he has moderated many of his positions since becoming Governor, or to have a legacy outside of George Bush, Perry has been known for being a conservative. On issues like school vouchers, prisons, opposition to hate crime legislation and other conservative issues, he has been a trusted leader of the Republican's right wing. As Governor, however, Perry has done good things on behalf of educators, including providing affordable health care and additional training opportunities.

Current Education Priorities:

Governor Perry lists education as one of his top priorities, and spared education while trimming an average of 9% from other budget areas. In fact, Perry's budget increased education spending by \$500 million.

As mentioned above, in recent years Perry has reached out to help retain teachers by providing funding for affordable health care and training opportunities. Most of Perry's education initiatives are focused on higher education. The governor joined House Speaker Tom Craddick in calling for tuition deregulation to give postsecondary institutions and boards of regents' greater fiscal control. Perry also supported legislation to provide in-state tuition rates to illegal immigrants who completed high school in Texas.

Perry has been in tune with some achievement gap issues, including his proposed High School Completion Initiative to help at-risk students graduate. He wants high school students to have more options for completing coursework such as flexible scheduling, tutoring or mentoring and access to alternate learning environments. Additionally, he believes he is helping solve the achievement gap by supporting more school choice options for students in low-performing schools. How this works in practice remains to be seen.

The Challenge:

Politics would appear to doom an effort led by legislative Democrats. That may not be true in Texas, considering the population diversity of Hispanics and African-Americans in the state, as well as Governor Perry's commitment to some of the achievement gap issues included in the NHCSL-NBCSL agenda. The challenge will be to reject partisan labels and make a legislative effort bi-partisan --- including identifying legislative Republicans who will carry key legislative proposals.

Chapter 3

Strategies for Success: Political and Legislative

STRATEGIES FOR SUCCESS

This chapter outlines some general strategies and specific types of activities targeted states should consider to advance NHCSL-NBCSL policy recommendations through the legislative process. The right strategy must be determined by each targeted state. Specific strategies must be developed within the context of the political and legislative realities in each state.

General Guidelines:

Model Legislation

Crafting legislation that calls for new rules, new programs or new money is always a challenge to pass. When possible, we must learn from those who have gone before us, and model new legislative proposals around successful proposals in other states or even in Congress.

One question that always comes up during legislative hearings is: “Has any other state passed this type of legislation.” Whenever the answer is “yes” and there are positive results of implementation, it increases the chances of passage in your state. NHCSL-NBCSL must view this alliance as an opportunity to share ideas and learn from legislative successes and failures. A success in one state will increase the likelihood of success in another state.

There are many sources for model legislative ideas. The National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers are excellent resources and can provide insight on federal legislation that could be crafted at the state level. The best source of recent legislative initiatives is the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL). NCSL has a database of legislative proposals from 2002, 2003 and will continue to build in future sessions. The education database, alone, addresses 38 different issue areas --- ranging from accountability to vouchers. The database does not distinguish between good or bad legislation, rather it simply serves as a resource for any legislation that has either passed, failed or is pending. The database can be found online at:

http://www.ncsl.org/programs/educ/educ_leg.cfm

The following list is a sample of proposals provided by the National Education Association and from the NCSL database for legislative ideas to address one or more of the issues advanced in the policy recommendations. (State legislation can be located at http://www.ncsl.org/programs/educ/educ_leg.cfm using NCSL’s search engine and federal legislation can be located at <http://thomas.loc.gov> using Thomas, the search engine of the Library of Congress.)

Class Sizes

2003-2004 Congress: HR 3450 Class size reduction with qualified teachers
Reducing class sizes with the addition of more highly qualified teachers in
America's public schools.

2003-2004 Congress: HR 717 America's Better Classroom Act of 2003
Creates more incentives for the construction and renovation of public schools.

Funding *(includes multiple parts of policy recommendations)*

2003 Arizona HB 2462 Classroom Site Fund
The legislation specifies use of classroom site funds for teacher salaries,
drop-out and academic intervention programs and class size reduction.
Additionally, these funds are prohibited from being used for
administrative purposes or for school sponsored athletics. The bill passed.

Literacy Rates

2003-2004 Congress: HR 3085 Graduation for all
S 1554 Pathways for all students to succeed
While not companion legislation, these bills both seek to improve
adolescent literacy. This legislation combines multiple issues adopted by
NHCSL-NBCSL.

Parental Involvement

2003 Arkansas HB 1387
Requires public school districts to establish parental involvement plans
and requires each district to review the plan annually. The bill passed.

Teachers/Equalizing Curriculum/Bilingual Education

2003 California SB 5
This passed the California legislature and was signed into law. It sets
long-term plans to adopt content standards and curriculum for instruction
in languages other than English.

Teacher Retention

2002 West Virginia HB 4054 Tuition reimbursement
This bill was signed into law and provides for the reimbursement of tuition
funds from completed courses toward certification renewal and additional
endorsement in a shortage area.

2003-2004 Congress: HR 785 Tax relief for educators
This is federal legislation that provides tax relief for educators who spent
their personal income on school supplies and professional development
expenses.

2003 Arkansas SB 349 Teacher preparation.

Requires school districts provide no less than 40 minutes a day (or 200 minutes a week) for each teacher to schedule time for conferences, instructional planning and preparation. The bill passed.

Multi-year approach – Persistence Pays Off

Every legislature has a handful of members who are so dedicated to a cause that they will introduce the same bill, year after year, just to continue the debate. Surprisingly, this method of constant introduction, conversation and debate has a track record of succeeding, even if it is just a watered down version of what was originally being requested. The moral of this strategy is simple: Persistence Pays Off.

Closing the achievement gaps must become the pet issue for NHCSL-NBCSL leaders. Even as a small coalition of Hispanic and African-American legislators, we can begin to increase the profile of the issue. As one or more of the 14 policy recommendations are addressed in targeted states, we cannot be discouraged with legislative defeats. There is even success in having legislation considered, as it raises awareness and begins open debate with members and the general public who may not have even considered the issue before. Coming back with the same legislation a year later will further the debate, until eventually something is done.

So many factors influence the ability to pass legislation and just because one factor contributes to killing a bill in one legislative year doesn't mean that factor will kill it in future years. One year, a stubborn legislative opponent may kill your bill. Three years later, however, that person may no longer be in office. In the last few years, education budgets have been slashed in many states because of struggling state economies, and many of the proposals generated from these policy recommendations would probably not be successful. But, as the national economy strengthens, and state economies follow, there may be a greater willingness to protect and enhance education spending.

Coalition Building

The committed partnership of Hispanic and African-American legislators at the national level is unprecedented and creates new legislative and political opportunities for both groups and the progressive movement in general. For many years, these two groups have worked independently on similar issues. This new alliance presents tremendous opportunities to achieve a legislative agenda that neither group could achieve independently. Coalition building is an important part of any legislative or political effort, and the first place to look for support is from groups of legislators who share policy goals. The political benefit of this alliance cannot be overlooked given the changing population dynamics in the United States and in many of the targeted states. A coalition of Hispanics and African-Americans could be a force as voting patterns begin to catch up with the population shifts and Hispanics and African-Americans make up a majority of the electorate.

Winning coalitions, however, are about more than natural alliances. It is more about finding the more obscure connection and realizing the political adage, “politics make for strange bedfellows.” NHCSL-NBCSL must look for every ally in order to address key policy recommendations, including friends outside of Hispanic and African-American caucuses.

Many of the educational indicators that highlight the achievement gaps, show similar gaps in groups other than race and ethnicity. Geography and income are two leading factors in determining educational achievement. The two --- geography and income --- can be linked as top targets for coalition building.

While a majority of NHCSL-NBCSL members represent urban areas, a non-traditional political partner may be found in rural areas of the country where schools are also struggling. Rural areas share many of the same economic indicators of urban areas, and test results are beginning to show that rural and urban schools are jointly lagging behind suburban school districts. No legislator wants their local high school failing on state or national standardized testing, so if NHCSL-NBCSL reaches out to legislators in areas where schools are failing, this new “education coalition” can begin to build partners and possibly even challenge for majority status in the State House or State Senate.

Geographic coalitions are not the only partnerships to consider. The NHCSL-NBCSL “education coalition” could easily find common agenda items with any of the following caucuses typically found in state legislatures across the country:

- Democratic Caucus
- Rural Caucus
- Women’s Caucus
- Technology/Cyber Caucus
- Business Leaders
- Labor Union Leaders
- Religious Leaders
- Real Estate Industry

Coalition building is a very important part of legislative success because a strong coalition is hard to stop. A strong coalition, from a logistical point of view, is also hard to create. As we move forward, we should keep a few things in mind in building our education coalition:

1. Be diverse and develop partners with different constituencies (regional, political party, etc.) and connections that can increase the scope of the coalition.
2. Each targeted state’s coalition must be specific on what it wants. If we are successful in bringing in multiple groups and multiple legislators, we must resist the urge to let the legislative proposals become the “Christmas Tree” legislative package that could ultimately splinter parts of the coalition. Once the coalition is established, everyone must agree on the end result they want. This will build early consensus and make the legislative objective clear for proponents and opponents.
3. Unify the group and unify the message. We will not always have the luxury of the Governor’s bully-pulpit, making message discipline even more important. We

will have limited opportunities to get our message out to other legislative leaders and the general public, so it is critical to always be on message. If there are a lot of different messages being communicated from the coalition, then it confuses and undermines the unified message of the group.

4. Unification of a large group, around targeted policies will avoid legislative compromise to the lowest common denominator. We cannot allow our initiatives to be so watered down that legislative success does not equate with results in the classroom.

Executive Orders and Regulations

A friendly Governor or Board of Education makes a big difference in the legislative process, and can even be helpful in advancing policy recommendations outside of the legislature. Many of the issues NHCSL-NBCSL hopes to address could at least begin with a gubernatorial directive or a change in education policy through amended regulations. Partnering with the Governor is also a valuable way to build additional coalition partners and further highlight the partnership between NHCSL and NBCSL. This path of partnering, however, is generally done with less fanfare than winning a legislative battle, so this strategy may not fully achieve the objective of raising the groups' profiles and visibility.

It is important to recognize the regulatory influence the Board of Education has over policy implementation. A major objective of this NHCSL-NBCSL partnership is to demonstrate success amongst Hispanic and African-American school children. This can be realized through influence of the Board of Education, making membership on the Board a premium for anyone who shares the NHCSL-NBCSL agenda. When possible, Hispanic and African-American legislators should work with Governors to make friendly appointments, and NHCSL-NBCSL should work closely with these appointees to achieve regulatory success.

Avoid Omnibus Bills

Similar to the multi-year approach, we must address these issues piece-by-piece. Each one of the 14 policy recommendations will have a constituency that either supports or opposes it. The opposition may be different with each issue; therefore, we do not want to create opponents by developing an omnibus education bill that attempts to achieve everything at one time. While a comprehensive piece of legislation makes it easier to have the full conversation about the education gaps in America, it does not typically work as a legislative strategy.

We can build a real agenda by passing individual building blocks --- one legislative success at a time, and one legislative session at a time.

Legislative Strategies

Budget Amendments

Money alone will not close the achievement gaps, but it will help secure implementation of some of the 14 policy recommendations. Many NHCSL-NBCSL members are involved in budget negotiations and serve on Appropriations or Finance Committees. This committee service must be maximized in pursuit of our joint policy recommendations.

Budget amendments can generally be introduced by any member, but will ultimately be debated by conference committees and the Governor's Office. Being involved in these negotiations, or identifying conferees who share our goals will help secure passage of key legislation.

Studies

Either as an initial bill or resolution, or simply as a fall-back compromise position, NHCSL-NBCSL could begin to address a targeted issue with the authorization of a legislative study. Seeking a legislative study is often times a legislative maneuver to kill a program. In this case, most mainstream research would indicate all of our issues are backed up with solid research. We should invite additional legislative study to identify the specific impact of achievement gap issues in targeted states, rather than as a national epidemic. This study would likely provide excellent research to use in future legislative sessions to build support for future legislation.

Pilot Programs

Financial restraints and the uncertainty of certain programs make some legislators reluctant about passing policies that impact the entire state. These same legislators may be open to possible solutions by testing the policy in targeted areas through a pilot program. NHCSL-NBCSL should welcome the opportunity to begin a pilot program in any school district that has good diversity of Caucasian, Hispanic and African-American students --- especially if NHCSL-NBCSL identifies this school or school district as epitomizing the achievement gaps problem. If the pilot program is successful, there is a far greater chance of being able to implement the program statewide.

Sunset Clauses and Evaluations/Assessments

The ability to end and reauthorize a program, or to study the impact of a particular initiative is not only an important part of judging the success of this entire effort, but is also a useful tool in legislative compromise. Including sunset clauses, or language

calling for independent legislative study of a program's success is a good way to talk about accountability and to determine how successful a program is. When legislators are unwilling to create a new program and fund it indefinitely, this type of strategy could make them more willing to implement --- then study --- then reauthorize.

Ballot Initiatives

The procedures for putting questions on statewide or local ballots vary from state-to-state. The ballot initiative option, however, is a useful tool to create action, or even threaten action, when the legislative process is not as friendly. Many of the issues addressed in the joint policy recommendations are likely favored by a majority of voters in every state, increasing the political power of the issue and strengthening the threat of a ballot initiative effort. This tool is best used when all that is required is the gathering of a sufficient number of signatures, rather than initial legislative action. The more we can use these issues in grassroots activities, the more the profile of the issue and the NHCSL-NBCSL partnership is highlighted.

Ballot access in each of the targeted states is different. A quick synopsis of the ballot initiative rules in each state is below:

- Illinois: Illinois allows for both constitutional and statutory amendments. The statutory initiatives, however, are simply considered advisory opinions and are not binding actions for the legislature. The legislature also has the power to initiate binding or non-binding referenda in the following areas: tax, bond, or miscellaneous. Initiatives are to be considered during even-year general elections only.
- Maryland: Citizens are permitted to petition for referendum any act that has been approved by the legislature. Liquor laws are the only issues that cannot be petitioned for referendum. The legislature can refer constitutional amendments to the ballot.
- New Mexico: Citizen-initiated ballot measures are not permitted. The legislature does have the ability to put constitutional amendments and referenda on the ballot. The legislature reserves the right to put such issues on any regularly scheduled ballot.
- New York: New York does not allow for citizen-initiated ballot activity. Changes to the constitution are limited constitutional convention allowed by the current state constitution. The question of holding such a convention is put to the voters every 20 years. If they approve the call for a constitutional convention, delegates would be elected and would have unlimited time to offer amendments to the state constitution. The last constitutional convention was in 1967.

Ohio: Ohio has a direct initiative process for constitutional amendments and an indirect process for statutory initiatives. The direct process is a straight-forward citizen-initiated amendment. The indirect process gives some power to the legislature to act on the petition first, and it only going to the voters if they fail to take action. Every measure in Ohio must involve only a single subject and are limited to measures the legislature could consider. Initiatives are not permitted to concern property taxes. Ohio allows initiatives to be placed on both odd-year and even-year ballots.

Texas: Access to the ballot is limited to constitutional amendments referred by the legislature. Citizens do not have direct access for citizen-initiated ballot measures. The legislature can decide to have amendments considered during any regularly scheduled election.

Political Strategies

Power Politics – Maximizing Influence Over the Legislative Process

Legislative action and politics go hand in hand, and in order to be successful with this legislative effort, we must recognize the political power of the collective Hispanic and Black caucuses in nearly every state legislature across the country. Whether it is the influence to elect leaders of party caucuses or of chambers, or simply the difference in a tight budget vote or to sustain a veto, the collective block voting power of NHCSL-NBCSL should at least be a threat worth making. Hispanic and African-American members should never be taken for granted, and if the education coalition is to be successful, the minority members must flex some political muscle to let other legislative leaders understand the cost of not adopting the joint agenda.

Using power politics extends into electoral politics, as well. NHCSL-NBCSL must have a shared priority to use these education issues to better frame the education debate and to use as a litmus test when evaluating competing candidates for public office. Leaders should work with education groups in the state to include these policy issues on legislative questionnaires or during town-meetings or political debates. NHCSL-NBCSL must make clear that in order to earn the endorsement of the Hispanic or Black Caucus candidates must respond favorably to the targeted policy recommendations.

The positive solutions being offered in the joint policy recommendations are a compelling argument that the public will generally respond to --- the challenge is to get the public engaged and involved in the process. Injecting the issues in public discourse will be the first challenge, and can influence electoral and legislative politics.

Power politics is a difficult card to play if the caucuses are not unified, or if these policy recommendations fall off of the top of an individual legislator's priority list. Additionally, NHCSL-NBCSL must be cautious of who this strategy is used to persuade. While one member is moved with power brokering, others are going to be moved with statistics about the issues, or simply by a coalition of groups that are generally supportive of a member's policies.

Campaign Within a Campaign – Creating the “Bandwagon Effect”

Once there is legislation being considered, we need to make sure decision-makers hear from our group. We must run a mini-campaign that focuses on the number of impressions, or contacts, key leaders have from students, parents, teachers and other education advocates. We must build a groundswell of support --- even if it is just an illusion. The base supporters of this program must create a culture (through letters, phone calls, office visits or other activities that drown a legislative office) of overwhelming support. The bandwagon effect will help bring about additional legislative support, because legislators will want to sign-on to proposals that are so popular and generate such passionate activists.

Chapter 4
*Strategies for Success:
Communications and Media*

CLOSING THE ACHIEVEMENT GAP MODEL ACTION PLAN

Communications and Media Strategies

SITUATION ANALYSIS

A finely tuned slogan and clever sound bites can be highly effective communication strategies. They can motivate and inspire. They can change hearts and minds. But they can also be used to divert attention from a hidden agenda.

Proponents of school choice, also known as vouchers, and other reform schemes understand the power of slogans, sound bites, and strategic communications. They understand how cleverly naming an education program, such as the *No Child Left Behind Act*, can divert attention from true education reform – reform that will provide a quality education to all students. Opponents of true education reform know how to influence public opinion through the media by moving their message from a research base through opinion leading journals, columns, and influential spokespeople, to the news cycles of mainstream media, talk shows and beyond. They understand that the *consistent* delivery of a message and the *persistent* delivery of that message are key to persuading the public of the effectiveness of their agenda.

Consider vouchers. The voucher concept has been around for more than two decades. When it was first promoted as taxpayer relief for parents who send their children to private schools, the concept was not well received. But when the concept was renamed *school choice*, and heavily marketed to minority parents as an escape from their challenged neighborhood schools, the concept took on new life. According to Joint Center on Political and Economic Studies *National Opinion Poll on Education*, a majority of African Americans (57 percent) supported taxpayer-funded vouchers for private schools in the fall of 2002, compared to 52 percent of the public.¹ Far more people support vouchers as the solution to the problems with public education today, including those who will be least served by them.

True proponents of education reform need to engage in the art of strategic communications because it works. We need to study the success of the modus operandi of our opponents carefully and expose their real agendas. Then we need to do some marketing of our own.

Real improvement in under-resourced public schools will not happen unless elected officials, opinion leaders, and the public are fully engaged. According to a recent news report, not even the Democratic Presidential candidates are highlighting the education

¹ *National Opinion Poll on Education*, David A. Bositis, Joint Center on Political and Economic Studies, Washington, DC: 2002, p. 7.

issue as they campaign for the 2004 election.² We have to *create* the groundswell of support that will enact legislation to transform under-resourced schools into institutions that offer comprehensive, quality education to the low-income African-American and Latino students who attend them.

We need to take the following steps:

First, we need to create messages that broaden the appeal of education issues beyond families with children and traditional progressive constituencies. In poll after poll, broad segments of Americans have said that quality education for children is a top priority. We need to reach them and remind them that high quality education is not simply a goal for children; that education is so important to every aspect of American life that to fail to educate all Americans is to fail the country's collective future.

Second, we need to convey that those messages are grounded in fact. *Closing the Achievement Gap* is not a campaign of sound bites and sloganeering. We have the experts and the data on our side.

Third, we need new, nontraditional messengers to carry new pro-public education messages. Much as the opponents of public education have borrowed progressive rhetoric and co-opted liberal voices to balkanize education, we need to join forces with some unusual suspects to deliver the message that a quality education for every child serves everyone's needs.

Business already has signaled that it is receptive to this role. As many as 65 major corporations, including 3M, Alcoa, BankOne, Chevron, General Dynamics, General Electric, Kraft Foods, and Xerox, filed briefs in the recent affirmative action case before the Supreme Court, *Grutter v University of Michigan Board of Regents*.³ They said, a quality education for all "...plays a crucial role in preparing students to be the leaders this country needs in business, law, and all other pursuits that affect the public interest." They further observed, "Individuals of all backgrounds who have been educated and trained in a diverse environment...are important to [our] continued success in the global marketplace."⁴ A true commitment to diversity begins with a renewed commitment to the public schools.

Fourth, we need to expose the regressive agenda behind the "compassionate conservative" feel-good rhetoric that promises success for a few but traps the majority of low-income children in resource-starved neighborhood schools.

The strategy that won passage of the *No Child Left Behind* Act is one that we see every day in the marketplace. The real effect of *No Child Left Behind* bears little resemblance

² *Education Not a Priority of the Democrats' Political Agenda*, Claudio Sanchez, National Public Radio, August 24, 2003

³ *Grutter v University of Michigan Board of Regents*, 02-241 and 02-516 U.S. 2 (2003).

⁴ *Ibid.*

to progressive policy. It is not improving education or the lives of the children whose schools need education reform the most. But you'd never know it from the name.

Finally, we need make use of a newly “conditioned marketplace” to enact a solid program of substantive policies and proven practices. *Closing the Achievement Gap* is that blueprint. The premise behind *Closing the Achievement Gap* is that, working together, we can forge an education system that educates every child to his or her fullest potential.

We know what to do. Establish high standards and small classes; recruit and retain high quality teachers; and, provide adequate funding. That formula has worked in suburban schools. It can work in under-resourced urban schools too. States whose students have shown remarkable gains report higher per-pupil expenditures, lower teacher-pupil ratios in the lower grades, higher participation in public preschool programs and greater numbers of teachers who report they have adequate classroom resources. No silver bullets like -vouchers - just practical, proven strategies to meet the real needs of low-income urban schools.

If concerned citizens fail to implement real reform, we will be left with a two-tiered educational system where students who need the most attention and support are trapped in resource-starved neighborhood schools. Education is the foundation of every right that comes with being American: the right to self-determination, to participate in this democracy, to economic security and opportunity for the future. We can't afford to be diverted by sound bites and sloganeering.

This communications plan is the companion piece to a legislative strategy that begins with seven target states: New York, Maryland, Ohio, Illinois, Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico. It provides strategies to rally both the leadership and the public to take action on quality education for minority students. Our ultimate purpose is to prepare all students to compete in the global economy, to succeed in the complex, technology-based 21st Century, to give students the foundation they need to take their places as fully contributing citizens of the United States of America.

We're calling the campaign *Closing the Achievement Gap*, but that's a slogan that actually works to achieve what it claims to mean.

The communications plan follows.

TARGET AUDIENCES

Primary: *State legislators*

Secondary: Influentials who can carry the message.

- *Media influentials*, including nationally syndicated and local columnists, education beat reporters, and education trade publications.
- *Business leaders*, including local business leaders, business trade associations, and heads of major, multinational corporations.
- *Community leaders*, including heads of influential local, regional, and national nonprofit associations.

Tertiary: The general public/grass roots who are affected by public policy and who can influence the influentials.

- *Voters*, the natural constituents of the above targets, who, at the same time, can drive home the importance of education to political and media influentials.
- *Parents of school-age children*, to motivate them to advocate in their own self-interest, for their neighborhood schools, and for quality education in general.

GOAL AND OBJECTIVES

Goal:

Pass legislation in seven target states— New York, Maryland, Ohio, Illinois, Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico—that will put programs and policies in place to close the achievement gap between white and minority students.

Objectives:

- Convince target audiences that under-resourced, deteriorating public schools can and should be saved.
- Bring to light the existing record of accomplishment in closing the achievement gap to target audiences.
- Expose guerilla marketing tactics, slogans, and sound bites that cloak divisive policy in false advertising.

STRATEGIES AND TACTICS

Strategy: Conduct background research and literature review.

A thorough review of existing information and opinion is essential to develop a fact-based campaign, as well as to effectively discredit the arguments of the other side effectively.

Tactic: As part of developing its public policy reports, the campaign has already assembled a ready source of facts and data to support education reform messages.

In addition, the campaign should, on an ongoing basis, research and review demographic and polling data, advocacy pieces, scholarly articles, and evaluations of successful efforts to raise the level of education in low-income minority communities.

Sources may include: the Education Trust; National Education Association; American Federation of Teachers; Joint Center on Political and Economic Studies *National Opinion Poll*; *Journal of Education Finance*; National Urban League; Council of Great City Schools; Brookings Institution; *Phi Delta Kappan*; Public Policy Forum; National Center for Education Statistics; US Census; and mainstream and trade media.

Tactic: Engage in environmental scanning of media sources in your state to determine opponents' messages and strategies.

The campaign should research and review advocacy pieces, arguments of public education opponents, and reviews of the *No Child Left Behind* program, in order to explain why such approaches are not credible. Sources may include Abigail Thernstrom; Bush Administration U.S. Department of Education; Heritage Foundation; Bradley Foundation; Olin Foundation; American Enterprise Institute; Cato Institute, mainstream media pieces and others.

Strategy: Craft campaign messages.

Using information gathered from background research and environmental scanning, craft messages designed to persuade your target audiences of your position and expose the duplicitous messages of your opponents. Messages should be tailored to the needs of your respective audiences. They should convey the self-interest of the audience in supporting your campaign.

For example, messages targeted to business leaders might address their need for a well-educated workforce to be competitive in the technology-based 21st century global marketplace; messages targeted to voters might include the social consequences of not providing every child with a quality education: the correlation between students who receive a quality education and stay in school vs. those who are warehoused, dropout and become a drain on the economy; senior citizens might be reminded that the social security of each one of them depends on contributions of three workers, one of whom is a minority, and that based on current demographic trends, two of the workers will be minority in the not too distant future.

Strategy: Conduct market research.

Market research ensures all messages are relevant, credible, and have impact. It is invaluable in providing clues about audience acceptance and direction for future communications strategies.

If possible, involve members of the primary target audiences in developing the most effective messages to reach the target audiences by conducting focus groups with target audience members to test messages for their power and resonance.

Strategy: Establish a campaign brand identity.

Effective communications campaigns are built around a consistent strategy—a brand.

Tactic: Develop a logo and slogan by tying the *Closing the Achievement Gap* theme to the overall communications strategy: for example, the *Texas Closing the Achievement Gap Campaign*.

Tactic: Brand all communications with the slogan including PSAs; collateral materials such as letterhead and fact sheets; and, promotional products such as pens, mugs, or canvas bags.

Tactic: Incorporate the campaign slogan and messages into stump speeches and special events produced by the campaign. Use every opportunity to promote your campaign at special events to which you're invited to participate. The campaign slogan should be heralded (for example by wearing buttons to business affairs and tee shirts to casual ones) and campaign messages should be incorporated into all remarks and presentations.

Strategy: Recruit messengers.

Tactic: Recruit influentials as additional campaign spokespeople. The campaign should work with respected national and local leaders, such as members of the Congressional Black and Hispanic Caucuses, governors, education experts, local and national education activists, and heads of influential nonprofit organizations.

Tactic: Recruit “unusual suspects.” The campaign should identify and reach out to conservative influentials willing to express public support for real education reform. These may include national, regional, and local business leaders from chambers of commerce and business trade associations, and former or current conservative spokespeople.

PLAN AND EXECUTE A MEDIA, MARKETING, AND PUBLIC SERVICE CAMPAIGN.

Strategy: Plan and execute a media relations campaign to circulate your messages through the media and into the marketplace.

Tactic: Develop a comprehensive **press list**, including mainstream print and broadcast media, education trade press, ethnic media, opinion journals, and columnists.

Tactic: Develop **press materials** to background media on the campaign. The materials should be included in a kit **branded** with your campaign slogan on it and left behind with journalists with whom you meet. Examples of **press kit** materials are:

- Fact sheets about the issue in your state.
- Case studies based on real stories in your state, to humanize the issue.
- Research that grounds your position and expert opinion/testimony on the issue. (Third party endorsements).

Tactic: Launch the campaign using the introduction of legislation as the media hook.

The launch should be designed to give maximum possible exposure to the *Closing the Achievement Gap* campaign in each of the six target states. The campaign launch should include the fact that your state campaign is the first phase of a joint national effort to close the achievement gap in states throughout the nation. Several of the targeted states house or are located near major national media markets, such as New York City, Chicago, and Washington, DC (for the Maryland target population). These media markets, especially, offer an opportunity to promote your story on a national level.

A special event should be staged—for example, a press conference at a local public school—using national, regional, and/or local leaders as well as students who will be served by the campaign as spokespeople.

Tactic: Continue the momentum of the campaign launch. Subsequent to the launch, the campaign should involve interviews with local media representatives, talk shows, etc., using a single set of talking points to ensure that spokespeople stay on message.

Tactic: Conduct background editorial meetings with key media. This tactic is designed to educate the media and to correct some misinformation that they have from public education opponents. The purpose is not to get a story, but to establish your relationship with key journalists as a credible source of information on the issue and to help ensure that your perspective is heard when that journalist writes on the achievement gap issue again. Sometimes editorial backgrounders result in a story, but that is not the objective of this tactic.

Tactic: Regularly update media on the progress of the campaign.

- Distribute news releases and pitch letters about events, speeches, and milestones in the life of the campaign.
- Provide policy papers to mainstream, education, and ethnic media.
- Hold press conferences on major announcements including legislative initiatives and wins or the consummation of high profile partnerships.
- Develop a stump speech about the campaign and book speeches with influential organizations and high profile events.

Strategy: Plan and Implement a PSA campaign.

Tactic: Develop a statewide *Close the Achievement Gap Public Service Advertising Campaign* that promotes the message that closing the gap is in everyone's interest.

Tactic: Partner with local media outlets to develop a cooperative ad campaign that promotes a solution to an achievement gap issue, for example, parental involvement. Seek partnerships with mainstream and ethnic media in planning such a campaign.

Strategy: Market campaign messages via a campaign website and materials.

Tactic: Establish a campaign website.

Place **information about the campaign and its importance** on the site.

- **Keep the site current** with updated information on the campaign. (Partners, coalitions, initiatives; news releases, etc.)
- **Provide mechanisms for citizen action** and support of your legislative initiatives. (Draft support letters, petitions, etc.)
- **Link website with coalition partners' sites** and other groups that might be supportive.

Strategy: Produce branded campaign materials.

Develop promotional materials and products featuring *Closing the Achievement Gap* logo, such as pens, mugs, or canvas bags to use as thank you gifts for supporting the campaign, and to increase campaign visibility.

Strategy: Plan and Execute a Fundraising campaign.

Forging partnerships is not only essential for effective message dissemination; it will provide the financial underpinning to carry out the *Closing the Achievement Gap* campaign. Outside funding will enable many critical strategies in this communications plan, such as branding and logo design, the development of public service advertising, underwriting paid ads, the launch, and maintenance of a web site, printing, travel, and other communications costs.

Tactic: Identify a range of prospective funders among corporate and philanthropic prospects.

Research sources include: the Chronicle of Philanthropy; the Foundation Center in Washington, D.C.; Business for Social Responsibility; the Social Venture Network; and, individual philanthropists such as George Soros.

Corporate sources including corporate foundations and business leaders include: 3M; Abbott Laboratories; Alcoa, Inc.; American Airlines, Inc.; American Express Company; Amgen Corporation; Bank One Corporation; Baxter Healthcare Corporation; The Coca-Cola Company; Deloitte Consulting L.P.; Deloitte & Touche LLP; Eastman Kodak Company; Fannie Mae; General Dynamics Corporation; General Electric Company; General Mills, Inc.; John Hancock Financial Services; Hewlett-Packard Company; Illinois Tool Works Inc.; Intel

Corporation; Johnson & Johnson; Kaiser Foundation Health Plan, Inc.; Kellogg Company; Microsoft Corporation; Mitsubishi Motors North America; The Procter & Gamble Company; Reebok International; Sara Lee Corporation; Shell Oil Company; Whirlpool Corporation; and, Xerox Corporation.

Tactic: Develop a fundraising plan that includes the fundraising goal, targeted giving levels, solicitation timeline, and ranking of prospective donors.

Tactic: Develop a fundraising presentation and materials packet that tells your story in a compelling way. The urgent need for closing the achievement gap should be delivered, along with the potential funder's self-interest in supporting the campaign. That interest may be global, as in facilitating a more educated workforce for a more competitive and prosperous America, or it may be more specific to the potential funder, such as opportunities the campaign provides to demonstrate good corporate citizenship and philanthropy.

Chapter 5
*Information and Funding
Resources*

Funding and Information Resources

This chapter contains a list of funding and informational resources to consider as you build your state campaign. A brief description and contact information is included for each to assist you. While this list includes resources at the national level, there are many state and local foundations, organizations, and corporations interested in supporting local education efforts that should not be overlooked.

1. **Alcoa, Inc.** - <http://www.alcoa.com/global> - Alcoa's giving priorities include Global Education and Workplace Skills; Business and Community Partnerships; and Safe and Healthy Children and Families.
2. **American Express Company** - <http://home3.americanexpress.com/corp/philanthropy> - American Express supports initiatives that (1) encourage, develop and sustain economic self-reliance through programs that serve youth, emphasizing school-to-work efforts and work experiences; (2) build awareness about career and employment options for individuals facing significant barriers to employment; provide education, training and workplace experiences so they may actively pursue these options; (3) provide education in the fundamentals of business and economics, the importance of savings, the basics of personal financial management and related consumer issues; and, (4) promote entrepreneurship and small business development.
3. **American Federation of Teachers** – <http://www.aft.org/issues/index.html> - The mission of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, is to improve the lives of their members and families, to give voice to their legitimate professional, economic and social aspirations, to strengthen the institutions in which they work, to improve the quality of the services they provide, to bring together all members to assist and support one another and to promote democracy, human rights and freedom. The link above highlights a number of issues and "hot topics" for the AFT and its members. Within each issue page also look for links to other sections of the AFT Web site or other sites for more information and resources.
4. **Amgen Corporation** - http://www.amgen.com/community/foundation_guidelines.html - The Amgen Foundation's focuses on projects directed at helping K-12 teachers teach science more effectively, raising the community's understanding of the value of science literacy, improving access to resources for teachers and their students and measuring achievement of students in science education. The Amgen Corporation does not fund political organizations.
5. **Annenberg Foundation** - <http://www.whannenberg.org/> - The Foundation exists to advance the public well-being through improved communication. As the principal means of achieving its goal, the Foundation encourages the development of more effective ways to share ideas and knowledge. The

Foundation's focus is not on chips and wires but rather on education, particularly public school restructuring and reform in the United States.

6. **Ballot Initiative Strategy Center** - <http://www.ballot.org> - Founded in 1998, the mission of the Ballot Initiative Strategy Center is to utilize the ballot initiative process to further the goals of the labor and progressive community by developing a proactive, national strategy to advance progressive ballot measures and connecting advocates across state and issue lines with a growing network of organizational leaders and experienced consultants so that valuable tactical and strategic ballot initiative resources may be shared. They do this by building a funding, research, and training infrastructure to support progressive ballot measure activity.
7. **Bank One Foundation** - <http://www.bankone.com/answers> – Bank One has four education priorities: early childhood literacy; youth financial literacy; education partnerships between schools, parents and community agencies; and initiatives to help students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds prepare for and gain access to college. Bank One does not fund political organizations.
8. **The Broad Foundation** – <http://www.broadfoundation.com> - The Broad Foundation's mission is to dramatically improve K-12 urban public education through better governance, management and labor relations.
9. **Brookings Institution** - <http://www.brook.edu> – Brookings’s Brown Center on Education Policy conducts research on topics in American education, with a special focus on efforts to improve academic achievement in elementary and secondary schools. The center seeks to inform policymakers at all levels of government, to influence the course of future educational research, and to produce a body of work not only valuable to policymakers and scholars, but also parents, teachers, administrators, taxpayers, school board members, and the general public.
10. **Carnegie Corporation of New York** - <http://www.carnegie.org/sub/program/education.html> - Andrew Carnegie’s charge that the Corporation dedicate itself to the “advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding” has led it, over nearly 100 years of work, to support efforts to improve teaching and learning that have the potential to make a lasting and long-term contribution to the field of education. That history resonates throughout their current educational work in education, which is focused on three major areas: 1) advancing literacy: reading to learn, 2) urban school reform, and 3) teacher education reform. A theme that unites these subprograms is the overall goal of increasing access to quality education and a rich educational experience for all students that will prepare them for success in today’s knowledge-based economy.
11. **Annie E. Casey Foundation** - <http://www.aecf.org> - The grant making of the Annie E. Casey Foundation is limited to initiatives that have significant potential

to demonstrate innovative policy, service delivery, and community supports for children and families. Additionally, KIDS COUNT, a project of the Annie E. Casey Foundation, is a national and state-by-state effort to track the status of children in the U.S. By providing policymakers and citizens with benchmarks of child well-being, KIDS COUNT seeks to enrich local, state, and national discussions concerning ways to secure better futures for all children.

12. **Children's Defense Fund** - <http://www.childrensdefense.org/head-resources.htm> - The mission of the Children's Defense Fund is to Leave No Child Behind[®] and to ensure every child a Healthy Start, a Head Start, a Fair Start, a Safe Start, and a Moral Start in life and successful passage to adulthood with the help of caring families and communities.
13. **Chronicle of Philanthropy** – <http://philanthropy.com> - *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* is the newspaper of the nonprofit world, used by charity leaders, fundraisers, grant makers, and other people involved in the philanthropic enterprise. *The Chronicle* is published biweekly except the last two weeks in June and the last two weeks in December (a total of 24 issues a year).
14. **Citigroup Foundation** - citigroupfoundation@citigroup.com - A recent grant provided support to increase the number of African American, American Indian, and Hispanic-American faculty members at business schools nationwide.
15. **Council of Great City Schools** - <http://www.cgcs.org> - The Council of the Great City Schools is a coalition of 60 of the nation's largest urban public school systems. Founded in 1956 and incorporated in 1961, the Council is located in Washington D.C., where it works to promote urban education through legislation, research, media relations, instruction, management, technology, and other special projects designed to improve the quality of urban education. The Council serves as the national voice for urban educators, providing ways to share promising practices and address common concerns.
16. **The Coca-Cola Company** - <http://www2.coca-cola.com/citizenship/foundation.html> - The Coca-Cola Foundation's Mission Statement says, "We are determined not only to make great drinks, but also to contribute to communities around the world through our commitments to education, health, wellness, and diversity."
17. **College Board** – National Task Force on Minority High Achievement - <http://www.collegeboard.com/about/association/academic/taskforce/taskforce.html> The College Board organized the National Task Force on Minority High Achievement in 1997 to study and make recommendations for addressing a crucial, if little known, national issue: the chronic shortage of African-American, Latino, and Native American students who achieve at very high levels academically.

18. **Deloitte & Touche LLP** - <http://www.deloitte.com> - Deloitte & Touche supports education through many other programs and initiatives. These include grants to support institutions and individuals engaged in worthy educational projects or research. On a local level, the Deloitte & Touche practice offices often have their own programs to support institutions, professors, and students in their area.
19. **Dell Foundation** - <http://www1.us.dell.com/topics/global.aspx/corp/foundation/> - Paul McKinnon, Senior Vice President for Human Resources, sits on the board of the National Urban League. No mission statement available.
20. **Education Commission of the States** - <http://nclb.ecs.org/nclb/> - Information in the database represents state laws, departmental regulations, board rules, directives and practices related to 40 requirements across seven major sections of the NCLB legislation. These baseline data, compiled by ECS researchers in conjunction with state policymakers and their staff, will be updated frequently as policies change.
21. **Educational Testing Service Center for Policy Evaluation and Research** - www.ets.org - The center conducts original research and synthesizes research findings from ETS and others into reports, policy perspectives, and workbooks in nontechnical language. Policy Information Reports, workbooks, and newsletters do not advocate particular policies. Policy Information Perspective series reports are authored by scientists and scholars and may include professional judgments.
22. **The Education Trust** - <http://www.edtrust.org> - The Education Trust works for the high academic achievement of all students at all levels, kindergarten through college, and forever closing the achievement gaps that separate low-income students and students of color from other youth. Their basic tenet is this — All children will learn at high levels when they are taught to high levels.
23. **Ford Foundation** - <http://www.fordfound.org> - In the program area of *Education and Scholarship* they seek to increase educational access and quality for the disadvantaged, to educate new leaders and thinkers and to foster knowledge and curriculum supportive of inclusion, development and civic life. Grant making supports policy, research and reform programs in both schools and higher education institutions, with particular emphasis on enhancing the performance of educational systems through improving finance, governance, accountability and training. Scholarship is supported to deepen understanding of such issues as gender, identity, pluralism and social change, as well as particular non-western areas of the world and the relationships between them.
24. **The Foundation Center** - <http://fdncenter.org/> - The Foundation Center's mission is to support and improve philanthropy by promoting public understanding of the field and helping grantseekers succeed. To achieve their mission, they: collect, organize, and communicate information on U.S. philanthropy; conduct and facilitate research on trends in the field; provide

education and training on the grantseeking process; and ensure public access to information and services through their World Wide Web site, print and electronic publications, five library/learning centers, and a national network of Cooperating Collections.

25. **Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation** - <http://www.gatesfoundation.org/Education/Grants/ProgramGuidelines.htm> - In Texas, the Gates Foundation funds public-private efforts to strengthen low-performing schools and create new academically rigorous schools aimed at helping underserved students.
26. **GE Foundation** - <http://www.ge.com/foundation/index.html> - The GE Foundation operates a continuum of targeted initiatives to increase educational opportunity from pre-college through higher education, including their award-winning College Bound and Community Partnerships programs.
27. **General Electric Company** – gefoundation@ge.com - A continuum of targeted initiatives supports increased educational opportunity from pre-college through higher education, including our award-winning College Bound and Community Partnerships programs.
28. **Grand Rapids Community Foundation** - grfound@grfoundation.org; www.grfoundation.org – Grand Rapids Community Foundation’s mission is to build and manage the community’s permanent endowment and lead the community to strengthen the lives of its people. A recent grant provided Michigan-specific support for summer school and tutoring activities for at-risk students and early childhood learning and socialization activities.
29. **William T. Grant Foundation** – <http://www.wtgrantfoundation.org> – The goal of the William T. Grant Foundation is to help create a society that values young people and enables them to reach their full potential. This foundation is primarily New York focused.
30. **George Gund Foundation** - <http://www.gundfdn.org/> - Education funding is primarily directed at Ohio initiatives, however, limited support is provided to national organizations that address school improvement policy issues.
31. **William and Flora Hewlett Foundation** – <http://www.hewlett.org> - Increase student achievement by developing, demonstrating, evaluating, and disseminating approaches to systematically improve classroom instruction in urban school systems.
32. **IBM Foundation** - <http://www.ibm.com/ibm/ibmgives/grant/education/> - The Reinventing Education grant program forms the centerpiece of IBM's global commitment to education. Through Reinventing Education, IBM is working with school partners throughout the world to develop and implement innovative technology solutions designed to solve some of education's toughest problems.

33. **Intel Corporation** - <http://www97.intel.com/education> - Intel's large-scale involvement with education began in 1989 and has increased dramatically during the past several years. Through 2002, it invested in excess of \$700 million worldwide in education efforts, and pledges to deepen its efforts through a sustained commitment of time and resources.
34. **Walter S. Johnson Foundation** – www.wsjf.org – The Foundation seeks to help young people realize their potential by strengthening public education and ensuring the well-being of children and youth. The Foundation focuses on teacher quality including new teacher support, professional development and leadership for student learning.
35. **Joint Center on Political and Economic Studies** – <http://www.jointcenter.org> – The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies is an international, nonprofit institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and other minorities. The Joint Center's 2002 National Opinion Poll on education found that the majority of whites rate their local public schools highly, while most African Americans and Hispanics give their schools only a fair grade. The questions in this survey of 2,463 adults (including 850 African Americans and 850 Hispanics) also examined opinions on school vouchers, government spending on education, and school violence.
36. **Journal of Education Finance** - <http://www.uark.edu/misc/elrc/jef/mission.html> - In its 25th year of publication, the *Journal of Education Finance* provides original research and analysis essential to studies and policy decision making on such issues as school finance equalization; education reform; business / education partnerships; international spending comparisons; judicial intervention in finance issues; social / school agencies linkages; voter-approved tax limitation measures and their effect on schools; and factors influencing teacher salaries.
37. **W.K. Kellogg Foundation** - <http://www.wkcf.org> – In addition to a Youth and Education initiative, the foundation is supporting the ENLACE initiative. ENLACE is a multiyear initiative to strengthen the educational pipeline and increase opportunities for Latinos to enter and complete college. The initiative will serve as a catalyst to strengthen partnerships between communities and Hispanic-serving colleges and universities designed to create more educational and opportunity and access for students.
38. **KnowledgeWorks Foundation** - <http://www.kwfdn.org/> - KnowledgeWorks Foundation is committed to furthering universal access to high-quality educational opportunities for individuals to achieve success and for the betterment of society. KnowledgeWorks Foundation's mission is to increase the number and diversity of people who value and access education, by creating and improving educational opportunity at pre-kindergarten through high school and post-high school institutions and, through community organizations.

39. **Merrill Lynch & Company Foundation** - <http://philanthropy.ml.com> – a recent grant funded the Harlem Educational Activities fund' five-week program in entrepreneurship and investment education for students entering the eighth grade.
40. - <http://www.mott.org/> - The foundation has two focuses in education – 1.) To develop effective community-driven reform strategies that increase student achievement across a school district and at the state or regional level. Specifically, they are interested in programs that strengthen the ability of community-organizing groups and parents to impact student achievement; build coalitions across a state or regional level; distill and disseminate community-driven reform strategies that show promise across multiple schools, a district or a state; and study how community- and youth-organizing efforts impact change at the high school level. 2.) To expand effective educational opportunities for vulnerable youth that prepare them for both college and careers. Specifically, they are interested in projects that improve the quality of alternative education; build advocacy at the state level; re-shape policies across the systems that serve vulnerable youth so that incentives are structured to increase educational achievement and opportunities; and support high school reform models for low-performing schools.
41. **National Association for the Education for Young Children** - <http://www.naeyc.org/> - The National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) is the nation's largest and most influential organization of early childhood educators and others dedicated to improving the quality of programs for children from birth through third grade.
42. **National Center for Education Statistics** – <http://www.nces.edu.gov> – NCES is the primary federal entity for collecting and analyzing data that are related to education in the United States and other nations. The National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP) results are available on this site.
43. **National Conference of State Legislators** – <http://www.ncsl.org/public/issues.htm> - This resource includes a legislative tracking database, education policy issue briefings, technical assistance opportunities, the National Center of Education Finance, the Legislative Education Staff Network, the Educations Chairs Network and the State Action for Education Leadership Project.
44. **National Education Association** - <http://www.nea.org> – To fulfill the promise of a democratic society, the National Education Association shall promote the cause of quality public education and advance the profession of education; expand the rights and further the interest of educational employees; and advocate human, civil, and economic rights for all. The NEA website includes a Legislative Action Center, issue briefs and education statistics.
45. **National Governors Association** - <http://www.nga.org/nga/1,1169,,00.html> – The collective voice of the nation's governors and one of Washington, D.C.'s,

most respected public policy organizations, NGA provides governors and their senior staff members with services that range from representing states on Capitol Hill and before the Administration on key federal issues to developing policy reports on innovative state programs and hosting networking seminars for state government executive branch officials. The NGA Center for Best Practices focuses on state innovations and best practices on issues that range from education and health to technology, welfare reform, and the environment. NGA also provides management and technical assistance to both new and incumbent governors.

46. **National (or targeted state) PTAs** – <http://www.pta.org> – Resources include legislative information and information on parental involvement programs including handouts in Spanish and English to encourage parental involvement.
47. **National Urban League** - <http://www.nul.org> - The Urban League is the nation's oldest and largest community-based movement empowering African Americans to enter the economic and social mainstream. The first point of its three-point strategy to enable African Americans to secure economic self-reliance, parity and power and civil rights is to ensure that African-American children are well-educated and equipped for economic self-reliance in the 21st century.
48. **David and Lucile Packard Family Foundation** – <http://www.packard.org> - The Children, Families, and Communities (CFC) Program works to ensure opportunities for all children to reach their potential. In 2003, the CFC Program will concentrate grantmaking on the central goal of achieving preschool for all in California and, ultimately, the nation. Grantmaking will also support two other ambitious goals: promoting access to health insurance for all children and implementing after-school programs for all elementary and middle school-aged children in California.
49. **Phi Delta Kappan** - <http://www.pdkintl.org/kappan/kappan.htm> - *Phi Delta Kappan*, the professional print journal for education, addresses policy issues for educators at all levels. Advocating research-based school reform, the *Kappan* provides a forum for debate on controversial subjects. Published since 1915, the journal appears monthly September through June.
50. **Public Education Network** – <http://www.publiceducation.org> - Lasting change in public education begins in communities like yours. PEN's membership is made up of community-based organizations called local education funds (LEFs). LEFs are nonprofit organizations that work with, but are independent of, their local school systems. Local education funds were established in 1983 with funding from the Ford Foundation to improve public education for low-income and minority children living in urban areas. Today, local education funds are leaders in school reform—working to engage citizens like you in public education reform where you live. There are LEF's in Illinois, Texas, Maryland, Ohio and New York.

51. **Public Policy Forum** - http://www.publicpolicyforum.org/about_forum/about.html - Established in 1913 as a good government watchdog, the nonpartisan Public Policy Forum currently focuses its policy research on a broad range of issues affecting southeastern Wisconsin, the state and the nation. They include education, tax and economic development policy, transportation, public safety, health, public infrastructure and other quality of life concerns. The Forum publishes an annual report on public schools in Southeastern Wisconsin. It released an issue brief on the *No Child Left Behind* Act's effect on Wisconsin schools in September 2003.
52. **Robin Hood Foundation** – <http://www.robinhood.org> - Robin Hood makes grants to organizations exclusively in the five boroughs of New York City whose work falls within the following five issue areas: Early Childhood, Education, Youth & After School, Job Training, and Survival. Robin Hood has a continuing commitment to community-based programs and strong leaders in the city's poorest neighborhoods.
53. **Sara Lee Corporation** - <http://www.saraleefoundation.org/assets/funding/givingguidelines.pdf> - Community Initiatives guidelines include grants to reduce the barriers to equal opportunity. However, Sara Lee's guidelines state that the foundation does not fund formal education programs. Priority for support is given to organizations located in and serving the city of Chicago.
54. **State Farm Companies Foundation** - <http://www.statefarm.com/foundati/citizenship.htm> - Through their Good Neighbor Citizenship program, State Farm and State Farm Companies Foundation commit resources to helping raise the levels of achievement of the nation's teachers and students, to making homes and highways safe, and to building strong communities.
55. **U.S. Census Bureau** - <http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/education.html> - The Census Bureau provides information on educational attainment by race and geographic area in addition to school enrollment information and demographics by school district.
56. **Verizon Foundation** - <http://foundation.verizon.com/> - Verizon Foundation supports programs that create innovative eSolutions, help bridge the digital divide, foster basic and computer literacy, help enrich communities, and create a skilled workforce.
57. **The Wallace Foundation** - www.wallacefunds.org - The Wallace Foundation is focusing on strategies to help principals and superintendents be more effective in their work. Without strong leaders to run schools and districts, efforts to produce changes that yield quality instruction for all students - especially in America's low-performing public schools - are not likely to succeed or be sustained. This

emphasis on education leadership builds on the Foundation's past work to improve teaching and learning in schools.

58. Whirlpool Foundation -

http://www.whirlpoolcorp.com/social_responsibility/whirlpoolfoundation/ - Whirlpool says, "Providing early educational opportunities is one of the most important investments we can make in our future." The foundation provides grants to partner with families, communities and educational systems in advancing basic core skills at all ages and create or expand advanced skills training and retraining opportunities responsive to the workforce needs of the 21st Century.

59. Xerox Corporation - <http://www.xerox.com/go/xrx/template/Promotions> -

Xerox is committed to a program of grants to colleges and universities that prepare qualified men and women for careers in business, government and education; to further the advance of knowledge in science and technology; and to enhance learning opportunities for minorities and the disadvantaged.

60. 3M - http://www.3m.com/about3m/sustainability/perf_community.jhtml -

3M describes its giving program as investing in education for lifelong learning. Support for education is targeted to higher education in science, technology and business. Higher education grants are awarded for scholarships, grants-in-aid, fellowships, non-tenured faculty development and organizations supporting minority students. Grants are not awarded to support lobbying or the passage of legislation or to organizations not located in communities where 3M has a facility.