

NCLB: SELLING UTAH'S SCHOOLS FOR A MESS OF POTTAGE

RESPONSIBLE CITIZEN SUMMARY

Background

- Since 2002, Utah has participated in the federal No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act which mandates a burdensome framework of standards and accountability.
- Though NCLB rules and regulations affect all Utah schools and students, NCLB funds make up a mere 3.1 percent of Utah's annual public education budget.
- The Department of Education (ED) has repeatedly refused to grant to the state waivers or exemptions from onerous federal requirements.
- Most Utah public officials and educators don't like NCLB. In 2004, the State Legislature almost opted out of the federal law.

What's at stake?

- The freedom of Utah schools to do what is best for individual students rather than adhere to federal one-size-fits-all mandates.
- The value of public schools to Utah parents and students.

What's next?

- When Congress likely reauthorizes NCLB in 2010, Utah should choose to opt out of it, which the state can't afford not to do.
- Opting out of NCLB would help Utah reclaim the freedom to operate its own schools in the best interest of Utah students.

Responsible *Citizenship*[™]

Utah has exchanged the freedom to run its schools for a meager sum of federal dollars, but it's not too late for the state to reclaim its freedom.

INTRODUCTION

In a moment of desperation, Esau, the son of Isaac, sold his birthright to his brother Jacob for a mess of pottage. Esau's momentary hunger pangs caused him to value what he needed right then – nourishment – over that which would have sustained him throughout his life – his birthright. Of course, Esau later recognized the inestimable value of what he had given up and regretted his decision made in haste. But it was too late to get it back.¹

Much like Esau, Utah has given up something of great value for something of little value, without adequate consideration of the long-term consequences of the transaction. It has exchanged the freedom to operate its schools the way it sees fit for a few federal dollars – a mess of pottage, indeed.

This unprofitable exchange took place in 2002 when Utahns chose to participate in the federal No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act. Since then, Utahns have recognized the immense value of their loss. Utah public officials and educators have pleaded for flexibility and autonomy, excoriating the federal law as a burdensome, unfunded, one-size-fits-all mandate on the state.

The good news is that, unlike Esau, Utah can reclaim its birthright. It can withdraw from NCLB, which it almost did in 2004, if it will relinquish the pottage. Now is the time to act.

President Obama and Congress are working to reauthorize NCLB this year. If tradition holds, then any revised version of the law they produce promises to offer more top-down, one-size-fits-all, innovation-smothering solutions than ever before.

As Utahns, what will we do? Will we continue to feed from the federal trough, binding ourselves to onerous, unproductive mandates? Or will we wean ourselves from federal dollars and reclaim control of our schools? The choice is ours to make.

BIRTHRIGHT LOST

What has Utah given up to participate in NCLB? It has given up much of its freedom to operate its schools in the best interest of the state and its students.

In its present form, the 669-page law mandates a system of standards and accountability with rules and regulations that affect the way schools and districts assess students, collect data, structure curriculum, allocate funding, and hire teachers.² In some cases, NCLB requires the state to do things it would choose to do on its own, but, in many cases, it ties down the hands of state officials, school administrators, and teachers, preventing them from doing what they believe is best for students in Utah's schools.

Consider the following examples:

- Static model vs. growth model. NCLB requires Utah to measure student achievement using a model that compares the test results of students in the current year with students in previous years. This static model does not track individual student progress, whereas a growth model would track such progress over the course of each year and over multiple years. State officials

have submitted customized plans for growth models which the Department of Education (ED) has denied.³

- Innovation in assessment. ED recently fined Utah \$58,000 for failure to administer a required test to two school districts while piloting computer-adaptive tests, which state officials believe will give parents more meaningful results.⁴
- Data calculations. NCLB requires the state to calculate graduation rates using a method that Utah education officials believe is inaccurate. For example, the federal formula would count special education students as dropouts at age 18, even though Utah educates them until age 22. For now, the state will expend time and money to provide graduation rates using both calculations.⁵
- Teacher contracts. In many cases, NCLB regulations obstruct sensible hiring practices. For example, rural schools often need teachers to teach several subjects, but unless teachers meet NCLB "highly qualified" requirements in every subject they cannot, even if the school and district feel the teacher is qualified.
- Teaching methods. Many Utah teachers express frustration that NCLB's emphasis on testing forces them to "teach to the test." Teachers must teach students how to pass tests rather than how to solve problems, think critically and creatively, and collaborate with peers, and they must focus on the narrow set of subjects that tests cover.⁶

NCLB has impeded Utah's educational progress in many other ways that NCLB drafters may not have predicted. To list just a few, it has created unattainable expectations for students, particularly for special education students and English language learners, which has placed undue

pressure and stress on students and teachers, demoralizing many of them. It has created perverse incentives to lower standards. Its overemphasis on testing has led to a “drill and kill” mentality that has reduced the intrinsic motivation and enjoyment of teaching and learning. Its rules and regulations have burdened teachers and schools with more paperwork and red tape which take precious time from teaching.⁷

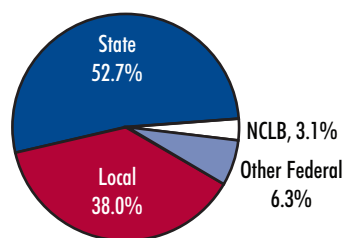
Experience shows that inflexibility and unintended consequences are inherent elements of federal initiatives. Because of the massive scope of its jurisdiction and its distance from constituents, the federal government cannot help but produce anything other than one-size-fits-all policies that fail to account for or address the unique needs of every American student, and it cannot predict how its policies will actually impact students.

POTTAGE GAINED

What has Utah gained in exchange for its freedom? Not much.

From 2002 to 2008, Utah received an average of \$86 million in NCLB funds per year – a mere 2.4 percent of

Chart 1: Sources of Utah Public Education Funds, Average FY 2003-09



Data source: Utah State Office of Education⁸

Note: Due to rounding, percentages may not add up to 100 percent

the state’s public education budget. In 2009, \$190 million in “stimulus” funds temporarily pushed NCLB’s share of the total budget to 6.4 percent and the running average to 3.1 percent.⁹

Thus, the strings attached to a piddly three percent of funding dictate how most of the other 97 percent can be used. Such an arrangement would be like a start-up company obtaining three percent of its budget from a venture capitalist and then subjecting all of its operations to specific controls, production standards, and hiring procedures imposed by the investor. Any good entrepreneur would reject such a foolish proposition, and yet, government does not.

Still, given recent budget cuts and Utah’s notorious low ranking in funding per-pupil due to high birth rates,¹⁰ \$86 million might seem like a lot to turn down. In reality, absorbing a loss of this amount would not be insurmountable and could even prove to be quite manageable over time.

Since 2002, total Utah public education spending has increased an average \$241 million per year – an increase of 6.8 percent – whereas student enrollment increased by just 2.1 percent over the same period. Even without NCLB funding, education spending would have increased an average \$125 million per year since 2002, which is nearly double the amount needed to cover per pupil expenditures for increased enrollment.¹¹

Some well-meaning people might argue, “the more funding for education the better.” However, funding attached to programs that don’t improve education and even harm it, as NCLB has done, is not better, especially when it forces the state, districts, and schools to redirect their own limited resources to programs that don’t work.

This problem occurs because NCLB is so severely underfunded. For example, the Jordan School District estimated in 2003 that it would have had to spend \$182 million to provide the support necessary to reach NCLB goals, whereas it received only \$5 million that year through NCLB – a deficit of \$177 million.¹²

By opting out of NCLB, schools and districts could put state and local resources to better use accomplishing their own worthy objectives rather than use them to comply with NCLB. For now, Utah is surrendering its autonomy and resources to obtain a meager amount of federal funds that must be spent on misguided initiatives.

LOSS OF BIRTHRIGHT RECOGNIZED

Utahns understand very well that they have lost their autonomy and that their loss has harmed public education. Resistance to NCLB has been vigorous.

In 2004, the State Legislature seriously considered but then rejected a bill to opt out of NCLB completely.¹³ State officials, including Governor Huntsman, made many requests for leniency with NCLB regulations, which ED rejected each time. Subsequently, the Legislature passed a 2005 measure that gave state education policy preference over federal policy and required state and local entities to request a waiver if NCLB regulations required a curriculum change or the expenditure of state and local resources.¹⁴

During this period, Utahns communicated forcefully that they despise substantial federal intrusion in education and that they wanted more flexibility and control. Then-State Superintendent Patti Harrington used words such as “inappropriately intrusive,” “convoluted,”

“flawed,” “unrealistic,” and even “ludicrous” to describe NCLB regulations.¹⁵

In a 2005 *USA Today* opinion piece, Harrington and then-Representative Margaret Dayton wrote: “Utahns do not believe that the approximately 6% of [total] budget monies coming from the federal government should control 100% of state education policy.”¹⁶ More recently, the Legislature passed a bill that requires executive or legislative approval for education agreements with ED when the cost to Utah exceeds specific amounts.¹⁷

Even after these concerted efforts, Utah schools are still subject to NCLB rules and regulations, which most Utahns continue to resist. The following is a brief review of what Utah government leaders and educators think of NCLB.

Government leaders

Angie Welling, communications director for Governor Gary Herbert (R), offered the following response on the Governor’s behalf:

“Governor Herbert does not favor one-size-fits-all approaches, whether it is with regard to health care reform or education. Educational needs differ from state to state, and legislation that forces them to be exactly the same is problematic. He prefers processes that leave room for innovation and creativity, which allow states to determine the best methods to deliver results.”¹⁸

According to Representative Greg Hughes (R-Draper), chair of the Utah House Education Committee:

“Education needs to be locally controlled. The federal government is too distant to understand

the challenges we face in Utah. No Child Left Behind has created a system that forces us to teach to the lowest common denominator, preventing students from excelling.”¹⁹

Senator Curt Bramble (R-Provo), chair of the Utah Senate Education Committee offered the following:

“By any measure, Utahns are far more capable of addressing the educational needs of our children than are distant federal bureaucrats. While the intentions of NCLB may be constructive, its effects are not. With the “balanced federalism” declarations being energetically expressed by state legislatures across the nation, by declining NCLB funds and requesting that those funds be returned to the state to be utilized as we see fit, Utah may find other states ready and willing to follow our lead.”²⁰

Lest we believe that distaste for NCLB is a partisan issue, note this statement from the Utah Democratic Party:

“Democrats have labeled the 2002 No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) a failure of broken promises with too much emphasis on testing, labeling schools as failures even when they were making real progress, inadequate funding, and inadvertently lowered standards for student achievement. NCLB does deserve credit for exposing achievement gaps, and expanding the standards and accountability movement.”²¹

Educators

In this important debate, perhaps the opinion of educators should hold more weight than the opinion of anyone else. After all, they are the ones working in the

trenches observing how NCLB directly impacts schools and students.

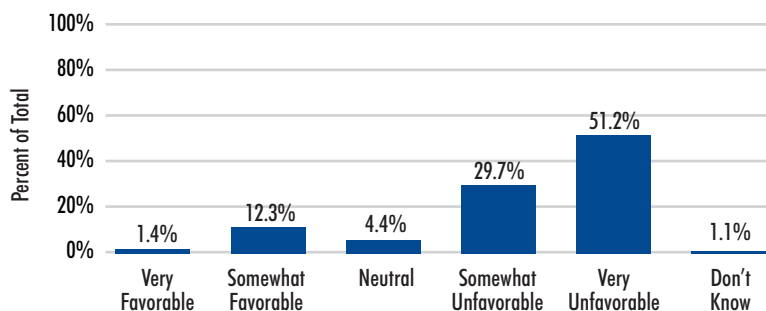
According to Dr. Larry K. Shumway, State Superintendent of Public Instruction:

“No Child Left Behind (NCLB) is, by far, the greatest increase to date of federal involvement in state systems of public education. On one hand, NCLB has helped our school system by ensuring that we consider student achievement not just by averages but also by subgroup, to ensure attention to students and groups historically ‘left behind.’ On the other hand, NCLB has twisted assessment to focus on punishment and labeling schools rather than on improving the quality of instruction. And the U.S. Department of Education, in implementing NCLB, has not recognized the unique circumstances that exist in each state or respected the competence, integrity, and knowledge of state and local leaders.”²²

Most significantly, a recent survey of 1,020 Utah public school teachers – *What Utah Teachers Think About “No Child Left Behind”*: An Independent Survey – revealed that whereas just 14 percent of Utah teachers view NCLB favorably, 81 percent view it unfavorably.²³ (See Chart 2)

In a separate survey of Utah school and district administrators, 45 percent said they view NCLB favorably, 46 percent unfavorably, and 9 percent neutrally.²⁴ Interestingly, administrators don’t seem to view NCLB as harshly as teachers do. Many of them said that NCLB has encouraged schools and teachers to address the needs of all students, especially those in minority “subgroups”; that it has been a “catalyst for change”; and that data gleaned from reporting requirements has helped educators identify “best practices” to improve pedagogy.

Chart 2: Utah Teacher Opinions of No Child Left Behind



Notes: 1. Teachers surveyed include regular classroom teachers, special education teachers, and school-based specialists (e.g., reading and math specialists, mentors). 2. The margin of error is +/-3% at the 95% confidence interval.

Still, administrators had more bad than good to say about the law. They agree with teachers that though NCLB was likely written with good intentions, NCLB standards and expectations are unrealistic, unreasonable, and unattainable, particularly for special education students and English Language Learners. Many asserted that there is inadequate funding to reach NCLB goals and that education policy should be made on the state and local level, not in Washington. In addition, teachers protested that the law greatly overemphasizes testing, damages the morale of students and teachers, and fails to take into account students' individual effort and unique abilities and circumstances.

In Utah, the cards are stacked against NCLB and against federal intervention in education generally. The vast majority of Utahns dislike NCLB, and even those who like it overall point to its many flaws.

MONEY REIGNS SUPREME

The fact that most Utahns seem to despise NCLB begs a question: Why does Utah continue to participate in NCLB year after year? Looking back to 2004, the answer becomes quite clear.

When legislators seriously considered opting out of NCLB in 2004, Bush administration officials warned the state – via letters and even personal visits – that opting out could mean a loss of up to 106 million federal dollars.

According to then-Representative David N. Cox (R), "It was a full-court press. They tried to strong-arm us. They tried to undermine our opposition with threats of loss of revenue." Those threats didn't deter Cox. He continued, "I don't believe that having the federal government dictating to us with all their wisdom will solve anything. I'd be willing to lose all that federal money to be free. Ultimately it chains us."²⁵

Others took a different view. For instance, though then-Representative Kory M. Holdaway (R) said of NCLB, "It's an intrusion that I'm baffled by," he voted against the opt-out bill, saying the state couldn't stand to lose federal funds.²⁶

To assuage the fear of losing federal dollars, the bill's sponsor, Representative Dayton, amended the bill to prohibit the state and districts from participating in NCLB "except where there is adequate federal funding."²⁷ During floor debate, Dayton said, "We can't afford to lose \$106 million, we know we're not finding adequate funds for

education...this bill make[s] sure that our state funds are not obligated in a direction we did not choose if we accept funds from the federal government.”²⁸

The substitute bill easily passed the House (64-8-3) and the Senate Education Committee (6-1-1) but was later tabled due to ongoing concerns about funding and the national media’s portrayal of the bill as “Bush-bashing” during an election year.²⁹ In the end, politics and, especially, money won the day.

Despite their aversion to NCLB, some legislators were willing then and continue to be willing to subject Utah schools and students to NCLB regulations so long as the state gets federal funding. ED’s manipulative strategy has had its desired effect. As then-Representative Patricia Jones (D) was quoted as plainly stating in 2005, “It has kind of forced us to be prostitutes for the federal government.”³⁰

WHAT NOW?

Utah can reclaim the freedom to direct its schools at any moment, it just has to let go of federal dollars. Events this year may present a great opportunity to do so.

Reauthorization

Congress has begun the process of reauthorizing NCLB, which could happen this year. When it does, Utah will need to decide whether or not to participate in the revised version of the law. In making this decision, Utahns will want to ask themselves the following questions: How has the law changed? Is it any better? Does it allow Utah to act in the best interest of its students? Is accepting money associated with it worth putting Utah’s schools at risk for another eight years?

According to the Obama administration, its proposed version of NCLB – which is actually the latest reincarnation of the original Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), one of Lyndon B. Johnson’s “Great Society” programs – would focus on preparing every student to be “college- and career-ready” upon graduation. And it would be the greatest expansion of the federal role in education ever.

Each state would be required to adopt standards and measure individual student growth toward those standards through assessments. States would rate schools and districts based on their ability to get all students college- and career-ready, to close “achievement gaps,” and to improve graduation rates.³¹ Progressing schools and districts would receive recognition and rewards, whereas the state would be required to intervene in the lowest-performing schools.³²

To be fair, the current proposal would improve upon NCLB by moving toward rewarding schools for good performance rather than only threatening them with punishment for “failure.” However, its proposed framework of standards and accountability sounds eerily familiar to George W. Bush’s and Ted Kennedy’s 2001 version. And despite lip service given to “local control and flexibility,” the proposal would bloat federal education programs more than ever before, extending them into uncharted areas of state and local policy.³³ Further, rather than allow states to determine what is best for their students and adapt to their needs over time, the federal government would seek to advance the “best practices” of the moment until, in its infinite wisdom, it comes up with something even better.³⁴

According to Secretary of Education Arne Duncan, President Obama has requested an increase of \$3 billion for

ESEA – “the largest-ever requested increase for ESEA” – and may request an additional \$1 billion this year for its “cradle-to-career education strategy.”³⁵ Though a funding increase of this magnitude might lead some people to believe that ED is finally going to fund NCLB fully, it would really just sweeten the already-irresistible carrot attached to a very heavy stick. In a potential déjà vu of 2004, ED would have even greater leverage to threaten Utah into submission to its mandates.

Let’s be honest

Some people might claim that the existing version of NCLB was a fluke; that the Feds have learned from their mistakes and will undoubtedly draft a much improved law. Hope springs eternal.

After 40 years of experience with federal education laws, do we honestly believe that Congress, with all its political machinations and partisan squabbling, will grind out a new law that actually works for Utah? Do we really believe after years of denying our repeated petitions for waivers, exemptions, and flexibility that under the new law ED will make accommodations for the unique circumstances of our state?

Based on our experience, what can we assume but that the purpose of federal education programs is to control states with puppet strings and that any new federal program will produce more of the same – red tape, unintended consequences, and one-size-fits-all solutions?

In an ideal world, the Feds would let NCLB fade into history without renewing it and return education funds to the states with no strings attached. In reality, the bribery and bullying from Washington will most definitely

continue, and we will be forced to choose once again what we value more: freedom or funding.

CONCLUSION

Utahns do not like No Child Left Behind. We don’t like any federal program that inhibits our freedom to do what is best for the good people of our state. Unfortunately, our priorities have been misplaced. We have elevated financial concerns above desires to preserve our autonomy and design sound education policy.

As Congress works to reauthorize NCLB, Utahns have a vitally important decision to make; a decision that will impact our schools and students for years to come: Will we choose to free ourselves from federal burdens and limitations that impede our educational progress, or like a person with Battered Spouse Syndrome, will we return to our abusive “partner” time and again in order to maintain a false sense of financial security?

The lessons of the past make it clear that our birth-right is worth much more than a mess of federal pottage. Utah should opt out of any version of NCLB, now or in the future. We owe it to ourselves and, especially, to our children.

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ENDNOTES

1. Genesis 25:29-40.
2. In its present form, NCLB requires states to develop academic standards, administer regular assessments, and collect and report test scores, disaggregated into subgroups such as race, ethnicity, income, disability, and language. Based on test scores, schools that fail to make “adequate yearly progress” (AYP) by not meeting state-determined proficiency standards are subject to increasingly-severe sanctions. Schools that are “in need of improvement” may be forced to provide tutoring services, replace staff, institute new curriculum, or even close and reopen at the state’s discretion. States must help all schools reach proficiency by 2014. Finally, all Title I teachers and teachers of “core academic subjects” in non-Title I schools must be “highly qualified.” For a more complete summary of NCLB regulations, see *Federal Intervention in Public Education: Is It Good for Utah*, Sutherland Institute, November 2, 2009, 5.
3. Celia Baker, “New plan for charting a school’s progress,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 13, 2005.
4. Lisa Schencker, “Feds slap education officials with fine,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 11, 2009.
5. Amy K. Stewart, “Data show progress in Utah graduation rates,” *Deseret News*, January 14, 2010.
6. *What Utah Teachers Think About “No Child Left Behind”*: An Independent Survey, Sutherland Institute, February 24, 2010.
7. *Ibid.* and James E. Ryan, “The Perverse Incentives of the No Child Left Behind Act,” 79 *N.Y.U. Law Review* 932 (2004), 939-944.
8. Calculated using data from “Schedule S,” *Annual Program Report (APR)*, for each of the seven fiscal years from 2003 through 2009, Utah State Office of Education. http://www.schools.utah.gov/finance/finance/reports/APR_reports.htm. (Accessed March 2, 2010)
9. *Ibid.*
10. In fiscal year 2007, Utah’s total expenditures per pupil for public elementary and secondary education were \$5,706, whereas the U.S. average was \$9,683. The second lowest was Idaho with \$6,648 and the highest was New Jersey with \$16,163. Lei Zhou and Frank Johnson, *Revenues and Expenditures for Public Elementary and Secondary Education: School Year 2006–07*, National Center for Education Statistics, February 2009. Utah finance reports estimate that in FY 2009 Utah spent \$6,564 per pupil whereas the national average was \$9,861. See “Current Expenditures per Pupil in Fall Enrollment, FYs 2005-2009,” *2008-09 Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction*.
11. Without NCLB, education funding would have increased an average of \$10,688 per new student per year, whereas the state spent an average of only \$5,585 per student from FY 2003 to 2009. Calculated using data from “Schedule S,” *Annual Program Report (APR)*, for each of the seven fiscal years from 2003 through 2009, Utah State Office of Education; “Current Expenditures per Pupil in Fall Enrollment,” for fiscal years 2003 through 2009, as found in the *Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction* for fiscal years 2007, 2008, and 2009; “Utah State Level Fall Enrollment & Population 1976-2009 & Projected 2010-2019,” *2008-09 Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction*.
12. “No Child Left Behind Funding,” Jordan School District, August 12, 2003.
13. *No Child Left Behind Opt Out* (H.B. 43, 2004, Utah Legislature).
14. *Implementing Federal Educational Programs* (H.B. 1001, 2005 1st Special Session, Utah Legislature).
15. Interview with Kwame Holman, “Utah Proposes Alternative to ‘No Child Left Behind,’” *NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* Transcript, April 14, 2005. Sam Dillon, “New Secretary Showing Flexibility on ‘No Child’ Law,” *The New York Times*. February 14, 2005. Marga-

- ret Dayton and Patti Harrington, "Schools are states' domain," *USA Today*, April 18, 2005.
16. Margaret Dayton and Patti Harrington, "Schools are states' domain," *USA Today*, April 18, 2005.
 17. *Federal Education Agreement Requirements* (S.B. 162, 2008, Utah Legislature).
 18. Statement, November 12, 2009.
 19. Statement, March 3, 2010.
 20. Statement, March 16, 2010.
 21. Statement, November 17, 2009.
 22. Interview, November 30, 2009.
 23. For complete survey results, see *What Utah Teachers Think About "No Child Left Behind": An Independent Survey*, Sutherland Institute, February 24, 2010.
 24. Of 78 respondents, three responded "Very favorable," 32 "Somewhat favorable," seven "Neutral," 16 "Somewhat unfavorable," and 20 "Very unfavorable." Because the sample size for administrators was relatively small, results should be considered only directional in nature. Administrators include superintendents, principals, assistant superintendents, and principals.
 25. Michelle R. Davis, "Utah Is Unlikely Fly in Bush's School Ointment," *Education Week*, Vol. 24, Issue 22, Feb. 9, 2005, 1-21. See also Elisabeth Nardi, "Utah Republican to take on NCLB law," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 21, 2005; Nora Brunelle, "Political Education: An Analysis of the Policy and Politics Behind Utah's Opposition to No Child Left Behind," 2006 *Utah L. Rev.* 419 (2006), 423; "Note: No Child Left Behind and the Political Safeguards of Federalism," 119 *Harv. L. Rev.* 885 (2006), 885-906.
 26. Ibid.
 27. *No Child Left Behind Options* (H.B. 43 Substitute, 2004).
 28. Representative Margaret Dayton, Utah House of Representatives Floor Debates, Day 23, Feb. 10, 2004.
 29. Michelle R. Davis, "Utah Is Unlikely Fly in Bush's School Ointment," *Education Week*, Vol. 24, Issue 22, Feb. 9, 2005, 1-21.
 30. Ibid.
 31. There would be an emphasis on helping minority, low-income, disabled, and English learning students.
 32. U.S. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan, House Committee on Education and Labor, "Building a Stronger Economy: Spurring Reform and Innovation In American Education," March 3, 2010, and United States Department of Education, "A Blueprint for Reform: The Reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act," March 2010.
 33. For instance, it would create several programs that impact even more how teachers are hired and retained.
 34. See Rick Hess, "Racing to the Jargon: Finalist's Edition," *Straight Up*, March 5, 2010, http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/rick_hess_straight_up/2010/03/racing_to_the_jargon_finalists_edition.html (Accessed March 6, 2010)
 35. U.S. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan, House Committee on Education and Labor, "Building a Stronger Economy: Spurring Reform and Innovation In American Education," March 3, 2010.



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