

Proposal to Chicago Public Schools

to revise the CPS student promotion policy
by Parents United for Responsible Education (PURE)
updated October 2009

Summary of recommendations

1. Because retention has not worked in the Chicago Public Schools (CPS), and has harmed children, PURE recommends that CPS stop flunking students.

2. Because single high-stakes test scores are not good indicators of student progress, PURE recommends that CPS implement an accurate, sound assessment system using high quality formative and summative assessments in all subjects, as well as other indicators to provide evidence of improved student learning and school quality. These assessments must be based on state standards and the local curriculum, assess higher-order thinking and other 21st century skills, and provide multiple opportunities and approaches for students to demonstrate their learning. The primary use of these assessments should be to improve instruction and enable teachers to better address each student's strengths and needs.

3. Because too many children are not receiving the help they need, PURE recommends that schools create a personal learning plan (PLP) for any child determined to be behind or at risk of falling behind academically. CPS's role would be to assure that schools have adequate resources to implement each PLP, that PLPs are being implemented, and that they are effective.

4. Because we are wasting between \$100 and \$200 million annually on flunking students, PURE recommends that CPS redirect those resources toward implementing high-quality early childhood education programs such as the now-defunct Child Parent Centers, parent involvement, student PLPs, smaller class sizes in the most at-risk schools, and other proven programs and practices.

Proposal to revise the CPS student promotion policy

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Narrative: Analysis and Research behind PURE's Recommendations

1. Stop flunking students.

The problem: *Flunking students does not work, and hurts children.*

The CPS policy has flunked thousands of students despite sound national and local research demonstrating that retention harms and does not help students, and that African-American and Latino students are far more likely to be flunked, and so to suffer the harmful consequences of flunking, than white or Asian students. Flunking a student makes it more likely that he or she will drop out. CPS ignored the warnings of national research and the subsequent verification of those warnings. The CPS policy has made the dropout problem worse and harmed students in other ways. The policy has had a disparate impact on African-American students.

Background of the policy: Since 1996, CPS has flunked more than 100,000 3rd, 6th, and 8th grade students whose standardized test scores were below a certain cut-off point. During the first years of the policy, CPS used a specific cut score on the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills as the sole pass-fail barrier for students in these grades.

In 1999, PURE filed a discrimination complaint against the policy with the U. S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights (OCR). As part of a resolution agreement with OCR, CPS added an automatic review prior to summer school and a parent's right to request a review of any non-promotion decision. The single cut score was replaced by a "score band." Based on where the students' individual reading and math scores fell in relationship to these score bands, classroom grades and attendance were also considered as factors in the promotion decision. In subsequent years, these criteria and the way they were used changed nearly every year.

National research predicted the failure of the CPS policy: More than 40 years of educational research has found that flunking students is risky, can have harmful effects, and leads to higher dropout rates.

(D)ocumenting the real effects on children of retaining them a grade or more has been among the most heavily researched topics in education over the past thirty years. The collective verdict from hundreds of studies 'firmly indicates that retaining students...has negative effects on students' achievement in later grades, has negative effects on student' attitudes toward school, their self-esteem and their social adjustment; dramatically increases the likelihood that students will drop out of school; is disproportionately applied to racial and ethnic minority students; and is strongly associated with criminality and incarcerations during the students' adult years.'¹

(W)hat does research from across the country say about retention? This research indicates that few practices have such negative effects. Researchers use a process called “meta-analysis” to combine data from a number of studies on a particular topic, like retention. Meta-analysis indicates that retention is either harmful or ineffective (Holmes, 1989). Students retained are a quarter of a standard deviation worse off on educational outcome measures than comparable students who are promoted. These negative effects are even stronger for academic achievement alone. When children of the same age were compared, the retained group lost .45 standard deviation in achievement on average. Evidence indicates that failing a grade is strongly tied to dropping out of school later. Being retained is as strong as low achievement in determining whether a student drops out or graduates. For example, in Austin, Texas, repeating a grade increased the chances of a white female dropping out by 17% and increased an African American male's chances of dropping out by 38% (Grissom and Shepard, 1989). This is a very powerful negative effect. ²

Research in Chicago confirms the policy's failure and the damage it causes: The conclusion of the Consortium on Chicago School Research in its landmark study, *Ending Social Promotion*, could not be clearer:

Did retaining these low-achieving students help? The answer to this question is decidedly no. In the third grade, there is no evidence that retention led to greater achievement growth two years after the promotional gate, and in the sixth grade, **we find significant evidence that retention was associated with lower achievement growth.**³ (*emphasis added*)

The CPS promotion policy has made the dropout rate worse: The Consortium found that students CPS flunked were 25% more likely to drop out by age 17. A multi-year study of CPS's student promotion policy found that flunking students increased their chances of dropping out by age 17 by 25%, and the chances of their dropping out by age 19 by 29%. The study concluded that

students with very low achievement were even less likely to graduate than before the policy was implemented....Racial gaps in school completion also grew after implementation of the (promotion) gate....In addition, the very high dropout rates among students already old-for-grade who failed the eighth grade test suggest that the combined effects of the gates at third, sixth, and eighth grade may be more adverse than that of the single gate at the eighth grade. ⁴

Recent data from the State of Illinois school report cards show that African-American CPS students are 30% more likely to drop out, and Hispanic CPS students are 35% more likely to drop out than white students. (*Illinois report cards for CPS, 2003-2008, dropout rates by race, attached*)

Flunking causes emotional harm to children: There is ample scientific evidence that flunking can increase student stress levels and lower student self-esteem and sense of efficacy as learners.

As teachers and administrators are pressured to implement policies designed to "end social promotion," students are threatened with retention if they do not meet academic standards or perform above specified percentiles on standardized tests. It is unclear if this threat is effective in motivating students to work harder. However, this pressure may be increasing children's stress levels regarding their academic achievement. Surveys of children's ratings of twenty stressful life events in the 1980s

showed that, by the time they were in 6th grade, children feared retention most after the loss of a parent and going blind. When this study was replicated in 2001, 6th grade students rated grade retention as the single most stressful life event, higher than the loss of a parent or going blind (Anderson, Jimerson, & Whipple, 2002). This finding is likely influenced by the pressures imposed by standards-based testing programs that often rely on test scores to determine promotion and graduation.

Analysis of multiple studies of retention indicate that retained students experience lower self esteem and lower rates of school attendance, relative to promoted peers (Jimerson, 2001). Both of these factors are further predictive of dropping out of school.⁵

In our 1999 OCR complaint⁶, we included the case of an African-American student who was retained. His mother wrote that he

has experienced and sustained serious emotional distress because of these multiple retentions and the extreme stress he now feels about taking the (test). He has been made to feel inferior and as if he is a failure. He has cried, made up excuses not to go to school, felt extremely nervous, and dreaded the day of the test. He is only in fourth grade, and had the rest of his schooling ahead of him, yet I am afraid that with this test as a barrier, he has been and will continue to be denied the opportunity and support he needs to be a motivated student, to be instructed in a high-quality curriculum, and to progress towards graduation, college, and a successful career.

The parent of a Latina 14-year old CPS student wrote this:

My daughter was harmed by the district's promotion policy in several difference ways: (1) she was not able to graduate with her friends, (2) she began to believe that she did not deserve to graduate with her classmates despite her excellent grades and good attendance (3) she was deeply hurt because she was well-known and respected by teachers and students alike for her intelligence, yet her (test) score in reading meant that she would not be able to graduate from the 8th grade along with her friends, (4) she did not sign up for the summer logic and science program at Daley College which she had participated in last year because she was told she had to attend summer school to re-take the test in August, 1999. Also, the experience left her with a permanent fear of having to go through a similar experience again during her high school years. This fear was definitely a factor which played a role in (my daughter's) decision to attend (a private school) rather than a CPS high school.

In its 2004 study of principal, teacher, and student response to the retention policy, the Consortium found that “with the exception of high-risk eighth graders, there appeared to be declines in students' sense of efficacy toward their schoolwork from 1997 to 2001.”⁷ More stories about the effects of high-stakes testing on students can be found in the chapter, “Crime and Punishment: How the Accountability Machine Hurts Schoolchildren” in Peter Sacks' book *Standardized Minds*.

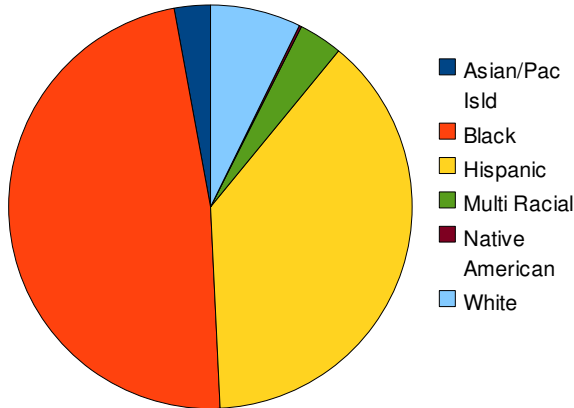
The CPS promotion policy has a disparate impact on African-American and Latino students:

According to the Chicago Public Schools report, “Promotion and Retention Rate by Race and Year for Students Enrolled in Summer School 2002-2008,” African-American students were retained at a rate five times that of white students, and Latino students were retained at a rate 2.2 times higher. (emphasis added – CPS report is attached). *Charts next page demonstrate disparate impact.*

Failin' and Flunkin' in Chicago Public Schools

Enrollment, Summer School, and Retention by Race in 2008 for 3rd, 6th, and 8th Graders
Analysis by Wade Tillett, BubbleOver.net

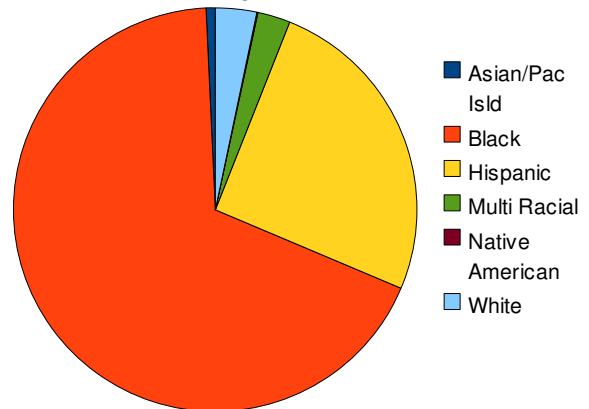
Total enrollment by race
in Chicago Public Schools



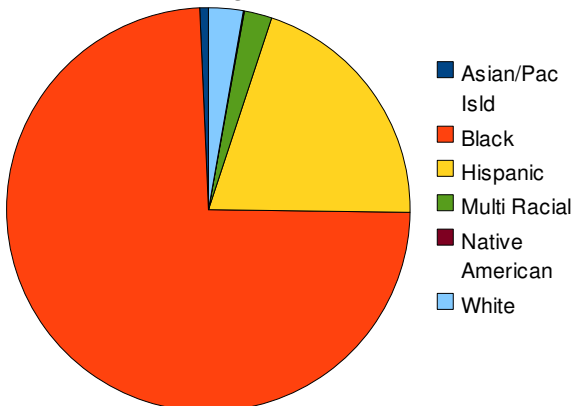
The pie charts show that African-Americans constitute 48% of the CPS student population in 3rd, 6th and 8th grades,

but 68% of those required to attend summer school,

Required summer school by race
in Chicago Public Schools

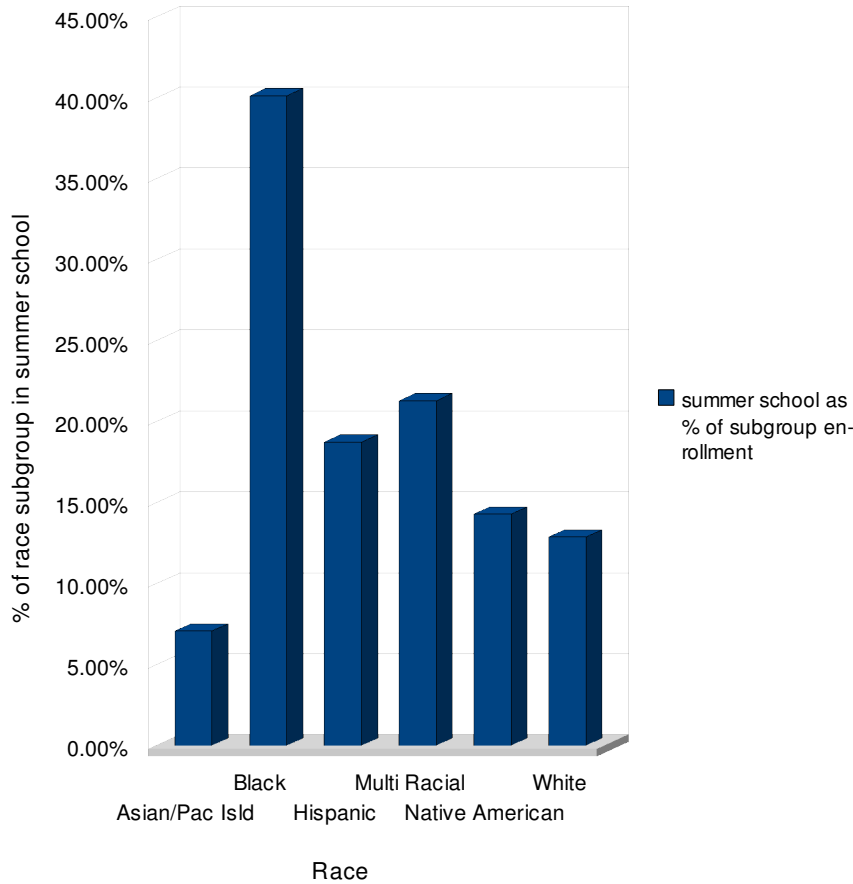


Retained by race
in Chicago Public Schools



and 74% of those retained.

Students in summer school



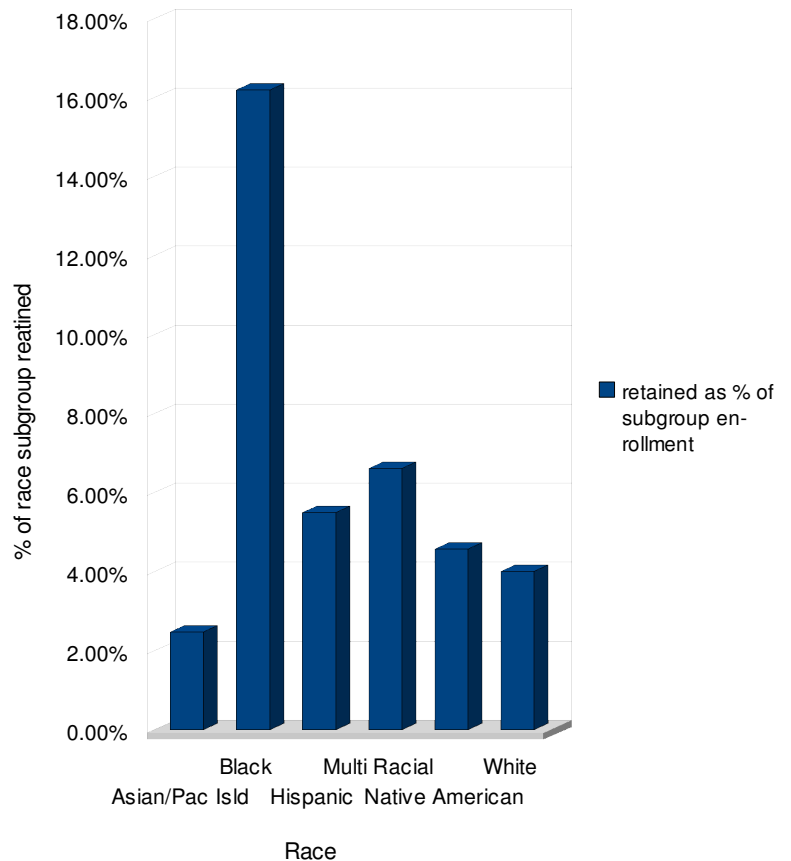
The bar graph to the left shows what percentage of each race subgroup was required to attend summer school.

For example, 40% of all CPS 3rd, 6th and 8th grade African-American students were required to attend summer school.

The bar graph to the right shows what percentage of each race subgroup was retained.

For example, 16% of all CPS 3rd, 6th and 8th grade African-American students had to repeat the grade.

Students retained



2. Implement true multiple measures of student (and school)

performance including high-quality formative and summative assessments in the various subjects, as well as other indicators to provide evidence of improved student learning and school quality. These assessments should be based on state standards and the local curriculum, assess higher order thinking and other 21st century skills, and provide multiple approaches for students to demonstrate their learning. The primary use of these assessments should to improve instruction and enable teachers to better address each student's strengths and needs.

We recommend a balanced combination of measures over time to determine a students' placement including portfolio reviews, classroom-based assessments, and occasional district-wide project-based demonstrations such as the ones proposed in 2003 by the CPS Commission on Curriculum-based Assessments.⁸

The problem: The way CPS uses standardized tests to retain students violates accepted standards for test use

CPS uses student scores on the 3rd, 6th, and 8th grade reading and mathematics SAT-10 test, which is embedded in the ISAT, to determine whether or not a student will be promoted. According to the test makers themselves as well as state and federal education agencies, this practice is improper, violates professional testing standards. The policy ignores better, sounder, less discriminatory means of identifying students who need the most help.

The SAT-10 was not designed to determine student promotion status. Using a test for a purpose for which it was not designed is considered an improper use by the test makers, the nationally-accepted standards for the testing profession, the state of Illinois, and the U. S, Department of Education.

The test makers, Harcourt Assessment, state in their *Guide for Organizational Planning*,

Another misuse of standardized achievement test scores is making promotion and retention decisions for individual students solely on the basis of these scores. This is an undesirable practice for a number of reasons. Perhaps the most important reason is that national standardized achievement tests are not built to serve this purpose...they cannot provide complete coverage of any local curriculum.⁹

In a letter written to PURE on May 11, 2009, Marcilene Dutton, Deputy General Counsel, Illinois State Board of Education, stated:

Using ISAT scores as the basis for student promotion and retention is not an ISBE policy or practice.¹⁰

A January 27, 2009 e-mail from Judith Steinhauser, representing ISBE, to parent Wade Tillett, stated:

the purpose of ISAT, its reliability and validity authenticated by a staff of psychometricians, is to calculate school accountability which is reported to the federal government as Adequate Yearly Progress. It is not the intention of the state to use the test for anything else.

The USDE manual, “Taking Responsibility for Ending Social Promotion,” states:

When a statewide or districtwide test is being used to determine student promotion, the state or district must be able to provide professionally acceptable evidence that the test is valid and reliable for the purpose for which it is being used. If a state or district chooses to use a test as a principal criterion for decisions about student promotion, the test must be designed for this use and there must be evidence that it is appropriate to use the test as a sole or principal criterion.¹¹

CPS improperly uses the SAT-10 as a sole criterion for making promotion decisions, a practice opposed by the test maker, state officials, and national experts.

The makers of the SAT-10 state:

Achievement test scores may certainly enter into a promotion or retention decision. However, they should be just one of the many factors considered and probably should receive less weight than factors such as teacher observation, day-to-day classroom performance, maturity level, and attitude.¹²

The ISAT “professional practices” manual lists under “Prohibitions: Actions that must be avoided when reporting test results”:

- No person or organization shall make a decision about a student or educator on the basis of a single test.¹³

The National Research Council, in their major study on student assessment, states this principle clearly:

(A)n educational decision that will have a major impact on a test taker should not be made solely or automatically on the basis of a single test score. Other relevant information about the student’s knowledge and skills should also be taken into account.¹⁴

Standard 13.7 of the *Standards for Psychological and Educational Testing* reads as follows:

In educational settings, a decision or characterization that will have a major impact on a student should not be made on the basis of a single test score.¹⁵

The Code of Fair Testing Practices in Education prepared by the Joint Committee on Testing Practices calls on test users to

Avoid using a single test score as the sole determinant of decisions about test takers. Interpret test scores in conjunction with other information about individuals.¹⁶

CPS has established multiple barriers to promotion, while falsely contending that they are multiple measures. After PURE filed a discrimination complaint against the policy in 1999, CPS began to include classroom grades and attendance in the promotion decision. But instead of using these other criteria as true multiple measures, which testing experts recommend, the policy uses them as multiple barriers.

It is critical to understand the difference between multiple barriers and multiple measures. Under multiple barriers, the student must meet all of several listed criteria. Under multiple measures, also called multiples sources of evidence, the various measures are combined, not used separately. True multiple measures may, for example, use a weighting system to reflect the proportionate usefulness of different assessments. Alternatively, results may be added together using a point system to come up with a total number, or one or more positive results may compensate for, or “outweigh,” a less positive outcome.

As noted above, the test makers themselves say that the test

should be just **one of the many factors** considered and **probably should receive less weight** than factors such as teacher observation, day-to-day classroom performance, maturity level, and attitude¹⁷ (*emphasis added*)

In fact, in the CPS promotion policy, **each measure operates as a single deciding factor, each of which on its own can be used to retain the student.** In other words, CPS students must meet district-wide assessment (DWA) cut scores **and** grade standards **and** attendance standards in order to be promoted without attending summer school.

Test scores alone are explicitly used in several of the policy's high-stakes decisions. For example, eighth grade students are banned from graduation with their classmates if they do not meet **all** of these measures. Students whose DWA scores were below the cut off point must pass **one end-of-summer-school test** in order to be promoted to the next grade.

Other useful information as student attendance, academic performance throughout the school year, and faculty recommendations are readily available. These factors are indeed considered when a student successfully exceeds the cut-off score, but then only in a negative sense; low attendance or a failing grade will **also** bar that student from graduation or send him or her to summer school.

Stated simply, students can be hurt by their attendance and academic performance, but these measures cannot help them. They are multiple barriers, not multiple measures, which means that **each one of the measures is a single high-stakes measure.**

SAT -10 results can differ from overall ISAT results. The SAT-10 consists of only 30-40 questions embedded in the ISAT. PURE has learned that, after attending summer school for low SAT-10 scores in 2008, some students receive their ISAT scores – scores from the same test – stating that they meet state expectations.

In a response to a PURE request under the Freedom of Information Act about the correlation of SAT-10 results with ISAT results, PURE found that CPS sent 26,992 students in the “benchmark grades” to summer school in 2008. However, 1,412 of those same students who scored below the CPS cutoff point in math were also found by the state to meet the standard in math. And 13,071 students who scored below the CPS cutoff point in math were also found by the state to fall in the state's 'below

standards' category rather the lowest category, "academic warning." The state found only 3,430 students to be at the academic warning level in math, and even fewer in reading. The difference in results was similar in 2006 and 2007.

The discrepancy occurs because CPS bases its promotion policy on only two small subsets of the overall test (30 or 40 questions each) that are graded quickly to determine who must attend summer school. These scores don't necessarily match with final overall ISAT scores.

When asked about the correlation between CPS cutoff score and the state standard levels, CPS responded that the correlation is "an ISBE matter."¹⁸

CPS's use of ISAT scores as a pass-fail barrier is not justified by any compelling educational reason, and less discriminatory alternatives are available. In its 1999 agreement with OCR, CPS agreed to monitor the policy for any discriminatory impact, and to annually report on their findings. Unfortunately, these reports have not been prepared annually. It took CPS four months and one letter from the Illinois Attorney General to produce a response to our request under FOIA for the reports. We were disappointed with the one-page document that we received (attachment E). We were also deeply disturbed that our cursory analysis of the data clearly showed a continued disparate impact of the policy.

Some assert that standardized tests scores are the only "objective" measures of student progress, and so are educationally necessary. Education experts disagree. In 2004, the Joint Organizational Statement on NCLB was developed which is currently supported by 151 education, civil rights, and civic organizations across the nation. The Joint Statement calls for the use of multiple measures which could include classroom, school, district and state tests; extended writing samples; tasks, projects, performances, and exhibitions; and selected samples of student classroom work, such as portfolios. Gathering this rich information would enable states, communities, schools, parents, teachers and students to know more about student learning and better improve schools. In addition, using such high-quality information could allow states to test less frequently, as many states did before NLCB.¹⁹

3. Create a personal learning plan (PLP) for any child determined to be behind or at risk of falling behind academically. The professionals already employed by CPS who personally know the student must be empowered to craft a personal plan that will work for him or her. CPS must assure that schools have adequate resources to implement each PLP, that PLPs are being implemented, and that they are effective.

CPS must commit the energy, resources, and will to assure that each PLP will be carried out and evaluated annually to determine its effectiveness. Based on the PLP, the students' parents, teacher, and school will determine each student's educational needs, and what supports will be the most effective. CPS should monitor the progress of these students and annually report on overall progress with PLP implementation.

The problem: Student learning deficiencies are not identified or addressed soon enough; current interventions are not effective.

Our children need more from CPS. Chicago's results on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) have been mixed at best, and show that our schools are not doing enough, even in comparison to other large urban school districts. The Consortium reports that many CPS students are so far behind by the third grade that it is a huge task to help them catch up. They state that the average low performing CPS student

started substantially behind the average CPS student in first grade, and the achievement gap for these groups widened most significantly between first and third grade, before CPS's promotional policy took effect. Waiting until third or sixth grade to identify these students and intervene seems a nonjudicious use of resources.²⁰

They further recommend:

school systems must invest in developing effective early assessment, instruction, and intervention approaches that identify students who are not moving forward and provide appropriate supports.²¹

CPS's current approach to support and intervention for at-risk students is simply not working.

The Consortium's research is clear that retention did not work. They also found that summer school, which essentially involves intensive ISAT test prep, was not effective (CITE). For a while, CPS was also providing an after school program which was also basically test prep (research?). Currently, most after school tutoring is provided under NCLB and is not likely to be coherently related to individual student needs.

4. Redirect resources currently used to flunk children (est. \$100-\$200 million per year) toward implementing student personal learning plans, lowering class size in the most at-risk schools,²² and other proven practices.²³

The problem: The \$100-200 million per year price tag to flunk students costs too much, especially for the current budget crisis, and it does not work.

Flunking students results in an additional year of schooling. At the current CPS-estimated per-pupil annual expenditure of some \$11,000, CPS spent nearly \$100 million to retain 9,000 children in 2008.

The current promotion policy generates other costs as well. Prof. House reported that "In Chicago the summer schools cost \$25 million in 1996, \$34 million in 1997, and \$42 million in 1998. Chicago's extra teachers and after-school programs for retained elementary students cost at least \$12 million."²⁴ Of course, 10 later, those estimates would have to be nearly doubled.

The Consortium expressed concern about this high cost:

In the end, the practice of retention is monetarily and academically costly. It involves investing in an extra year of schooling. It makes students overage for grade, and as a result, increases the risk of

school dropout, an outcome with a substantial set of social costs. Instructionally, high-stakes testing leads to substantial costs in time on test preparation, and it directs resources away from early intervention. **If an expensive policy is simply not working, as concluded in this report, it would make little sense to invest more money in it rather than to redirect that money toward alternatives** (emphasis added).²⁵

Yet, five years after this report as written, CPS continues to throw good money after bad, to the tune of over \$1 billion since the program began in 1996.

Enormous cost to society: The cost of failed education policies is even more mind-boggling. Cutting the dropout rate in half would yield \$45 billion annually in new federal tax revenues or cost savings, according to the Columbia University cost-benefit report. The study breaks the savings down this way:

The average lifetime benefit in terms of additional taxes paid per expected high school graduate is \$139,100.

- The average lifetime public health savings per expected high school graduate (achieved through reduction in Medicare and Medicaid costs) is \$40,500. For black females, the highest users of these programs, the figure is \$62,700.
- The average lifetime crime-related cost reduction per expected high school graduate is \$26,600.
- Being a high school graduate is associated with a 40 percent lower probability of Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF); a 1 percent lower probability of receiving housing assistance; and a 19 percent lower probability of receiving food stamps. For college graduates, the probability reductions are 62 percent, 35 percent and 54 percent.²⁶

In addition to improved assessment practices, other sound, effective alternatives to flunking and high-stakes testing exist and could be implemented using the savings from ending retention.

There are many sound, research-based strategies for addressing our children's critical educational needs. A good summary of these ideas can be found in the report, "North Carolina Early Grade Retention in the Age of Accountability," based on a review of research and of successful practices of North Carolina schools with good records of low retention rates and high achievement levels:

- Start early.
- Implement interventions in the context of the regular classroom setting.
- Coordinate and communicate with teachers and staff.
- Involve parents.
- Provide after school support.
- Offer enriched summer activities, presenting review material in new ways.
- Emphasize literacy.
- Provide high-quality professional development to all staff on working with at-risk students.
- Connect with community resources.
- Provide "can-do" leadership.²⁷

A similar set of alternative strategies is offered by the Columbia University's Center for Benefit-Cost Studies of Education at Teachers College:

In general, the study's authors identify several features that characterize effective school interventions: small-size schools; personalization; high academic expectations; strong counseling; parental engagement; extended time; and competent and appropriate personnel. They note that one of the interventions, First Things First, has the largest economic benefits relative to costs and combines all these features. Other interventions ...include Perry Preschool Project, Chicago Parent-Center Program, class size reduction, and increasing teacher salaries.²⁸

Unfortunately, despite the opposition of PURE and others over the years, CPS phased out the Child Parent Centers, which had a strong track record of success giving low-income children of color a great foundation for their education that persisted over time.²⁹

In summary, we urge CPS to stop flunking children and direct the significant resources we save to strategies that work and promote student success and well-being.

1Endnotes

1. Sacks, Peter. 1999. *Standardized Minds*. Perseus Books, Cambridge, MA 1999. p. 104, citing Jaeger affidavit in Eric V. et al v. Johnson County Board of Education (filed 1997).
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- 3 Nagaoka, Jenny, and Melisa Roderick. 2004. *Ending Social Promotion: The Effects of Retention*. Chicago: The Consortium on Chicago School Research.
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- 5 Anderson, Gabrielle., Angela D. Whipple, & Shane R. Jimerson. *Grade Retention: Achievement and Mental Health Outcomes*. National Association for School Psychologists
- 6 PURE complaint to the U. S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights. October 21, 1999.
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- 9 *Stanford Achievement Test Series, Ninth Edition: Guide for Organizational Planning* Harcourt Brace Educational Measurement. 1997. Pp. 43-44.
- 10 Letter of May 11, 2009, to PURE executive director Julie Woestehoff from Marcilene Dutton, Deputy General Counsel, Illinois State Board of Education.
- 11 U. S. Department of Education, "Taking Responsibility for Ending Social Promotion." 1999. p. 19
- 12 *Stanford*.
- 13 [Professional Testing Practices for Educators ISAT – 2009](http://www.isbe.state.il.us/assessment/pdfs/2009/Prof_Testing_Prac.pdf), Posted 11/18/08. Available at http://www.isbe.state.il.us/assessment/pdfs/2009/Prof_Testing_Prac.pdf
- 14 National Research Council, *High Stakes: Testing for Tracking, Promotion, and Graduation*, 1999. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press. p. 3.

- 15 *Standards for Psychological and Educational Testing*. 1999. American Psychological Association, Association for Educational Research and Assessment, National Council on Measurement in Education
- 16 *Code of Fair Testing Practices in Education*. (2004). Washington, DC: Joint Committee on Testing Practices. (Mailing Address: Joint Committee on Testing Practices, Science Directorate, American Psychological Association, 750 First Street, NE, Washington, DC 20002-4242; p.9.
- 17 Stanford.
- 18 Letter from Elizabeth Calhoun, Freedom of Information Officer, Chicago Public Schools, to Julie Woestehoff, dated June 16, 2009.
- 19 *Joint Organizational Statement on No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act*. October 21, 2004.
- 20 Nagaoka, p. 53.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 See, for example, attached report, "The Benefits of Smaller Classes," by Class Size Matters, 2008.
- 23 See, for example, attached report, "What Works Clearinghouse," from U. S. Department of Education.
- 24 House, p. 17.
- 25 Nagaoka, p. 53.
- 26 Levin, Henry, Teachers College, Columbia University, and Clive Belfield, Queens College, City University of New York; Peter Muennig, M.D., Columbia University's Mailman School of Public Health; and Cecilia Rouse, Princeton University. 2007. "The Costs and Benefits of an Excellent Education for America's Children." New York: Teachers College Press.
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- 29 Reynolds, A. J. *Success in Early Intervention: The Chicago Child-Parent Centers*. 2000. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.