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IS COMMON CORE GOOD FOR AMERICA'S STUDENTS?



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Tony Perkins
President
Family Research Council

Is Common Core Good for America’s Students?

BY SARAH PERRY

Introduction

Common Core State Standards have been described as “rigorous,” “clear,” “internationally-benchmarked.” Their proponents claim they will bring America up to competitive par with better-performing educational systems like those in Finland and Singapore and make our children career and college ready. Education advocates and parents are told the Standards are good for the nation’s children, promote parity in education, and ensure success in college, career, and life. But are the Common Core State Standards indeed good for America’s students?

In 2010, 45 states and the District of Columbia quietly adopted educational standards for their schools. The standards had never been field-tested. They were developed with little help and input from childhood educators and scholars. The federal government incentivized their national adoption through a grant program, Race to the Top, stemming from a stimulus package designed to prop up a flailing economy.¹ The standards claimed to make students ready for college, career, and life by, in part, radically eliminating educational material previously covered by many public school curriculums and introducing

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material that supposedly will better prepare students for participation in the modern economy.

The standards were adopted with limited opportunity for public debate. They failed to provide mechanisms for their enforcement or revision, and turned what is known about early childhood development on its head.

As the effects of the Common Core State Standards (CCSS) have begun to be felt nationwide, parents, educators, and experts on all sides of the political arena have come to recognize the initiative's inherent flaws. While the Standards profess to be good for America's children and her economy, they compromise the sovereignty of the states and the authority of parents.

Standards and Assessments

In 2009, the Obama Administration's Race to the Top Program (RTTT) was introduced as a means of improving American elementary and secondary education. At the height of a worsening economy, RTTT promised \$4.35 billion in federal grants and No Child Left Behind (NCLB) waivers to



states which signed onto its attendant educational standards, those known as "the Common Core." In order to receive grants, signatory states also had to join either

the Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Careers (PARCC) or the Smarter Balanced Assessment Consortium (SBAC), two consortia contracted to provide Core-aligned tests to signatory states. Grant applications

were due by January 19, 2010, *before* the second and final draft of the standards was released on June 2, 2010.

Common Core began as a venture between two non-governmental organizations: the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO), and the National Governors Association (NGA). Both the NGA and the CCSSO are private associations of peers and possess no legislative authority. These organizations still jointly own the copyright to Common Core, a copyright that prevents the modification or substitution of its content. The development of Common Core was majority-funded by such private groups as the William Gates Foundation, which invested nearly \$200 million to advance the creation and adoption of the CCSS.



The Standards encompass two categories: Mathematics and English Language Arts. English Language Arts (ELA) standards include not only reading and writing skills but also literacy in the areas of History/Social Studies, Science, and Technical Subjects. For grades K-8, grade-by-grade standards exist in ELA and mathematics. For grades 9-12, the standards are grouped into grade bands of 9-10 grade standards and 11-12 grade standards.

For each of the two categories, the NGA and CCSSO give the following summary of standards created by the initiative, those that foster K-12 "college and career readiness."² According to the NGA and the CCSSO, the CCSS are:

- Research and evidence-based;
- Clear, understandable, and consistent;

- Aligned with college and career expectations;
- Based on rigorous content and the application of knowledge through higher-order thinking skills; and
- Built upon the strengths and lessons of current state standards, [and] informed by other top-performing countries to prepare all students for success in our global economy and society.³



Mathematics

CCSS in math were developed to address the criticism that national math curricula were “a mile wide and an inch deep.”⁴ The CCSS framework covers fewer topics than those covered by traditional math materials, and eliminate topics such as pre-calculus, calculus, and a full course in trigonometry. The standards also exclude a number of concepts traditionally associated with Algebra II and Geometry.⁵ While the drafters note that [S]ome students may decide at an early age that they want to take Calculus or other college level courses in high school. These students would need to be-

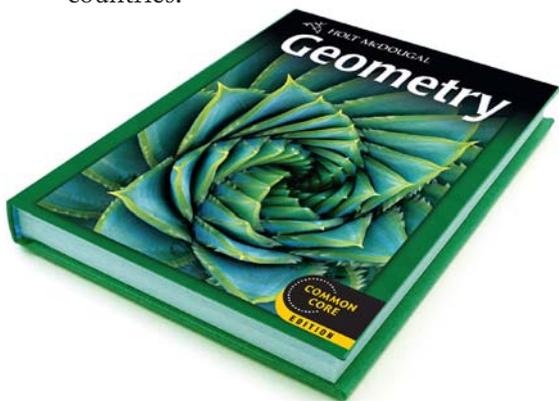
gin the study of high school content in the middle school, which would lead to Precalculus or Advanced Statistics as a junior and Calculus, Advanced Statistics or other college level options as a senior,⁶ other than a few standards in trigonometry (through Algebra II and Geometry), Common Core’s math sequence ends at Algebra II.

As Dr. James Milgram, a noted Stanford mathematics professor and former member of the CCSS official validation committee, has suggested, “In today’s world... the most critical component of opening doors for students is without any question some expertise in mathematics.”⁷

However, despite assurances that the standards are rigorous and geared toward making American students prepared eventually to compete on a global stage, the CCSS math standards leave students unprepared for STEM (science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) careers at home or abroad. Jason Zimba, the leading drafter of the mathematics standards, noted in 2010 that the basic mission of CCSS is to provide students with enough mathematics to make them ready for a non-selective college—“not for STEM.”⁸ Stanford’s Dr. James Milgram has spoken publicly about the Common Core’s failure to prepare students for STEM careers, noting that only two percent of STEM-intentioned students whose highest course is Algebra II in high school (as is the ceiling with the Common Core Standards) ever graduate with a STEM degree.

Zimba later explained in a 2013 article published by Columbia University’s Teachers College that because CCSS math removes a number of mathematical concepts altogether, “If you want to take calculus your freshman year in college, you will

need to take more mathematics than is in the Common Core.”⁹ Johnathan Goodman, a professor of mathematics at the Courant Institute at New York University, has stated that the “college-ready” standards of the CCSS fall below the admission requirements of most four-year state colleges, and that the CCSS “[have] significantly lower expectations with respect to algebra and geometry than the published standards of other countries.”¹⁰



Illustratively, the CCSS defers the teaching of algebra from 8th grade to high school, thereby reversing the 2008 recommendations of the National Mathematics Advisory Panel,¹¹ and putting the U.S. one to two years behind the math practices of higher performing nations. The standards also make puzzling omissions of Euclidean geometry basics, instead relying on an experimental pedagogy that is untested internationally.¹² All this follows on the heels of a dogmatic opposition to teaching computation skills until the later elementary grades. William Schmidt of Michigan State University has found that “internationally, the focus of eighth grade for all students in virtually all of the TIMSS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study)

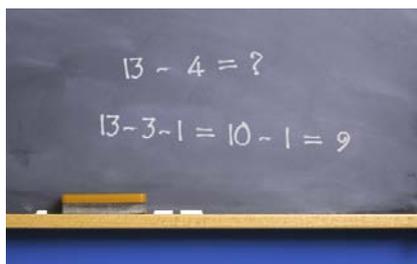
countries—except the United States—is algebra and geometry.”¹³

New York’s 2013 High School Principal of the year, Carol Burris, has noted that:

By eliminating algebra in Grade 8, moving it to Grade 9 and then compacting the study of geometry, advanced algebra, trigonometry and pre-calculus into two courses, teachers will be required to teach at break-neck speed. Few students will be able to keep up. Those who do will only get surface exposure to the topics. Our math teachers already complain that there is not enough time to adequately teach all of the topics in algebra2/trigonometry. To add pre-calculus to the mix, as well as topics excluded by the Common Core, would make the [calculus] course inaccessible to all but a handful of students. . . The Regents exams, used to evaluate schools, principals and teachers, will [also] incentivize teaching the basic courses (Common Core Geometry and Common Core Algebra 2) while giving short shrift to the additional trigonometry and pre-calculus topics.¹⁴

Common Core Math represents a movement from the concrete to the abstract, and has been criticized by many as producing young people who don’t actually have the tools they need to solve math problems.¹⁵ The pedagogical agenda of the CCSS is based on the “constructivist” theory of education, in which conceptual understanding (where children “construct” their own way of determining the answer) precedes the mastery of practical addition, subtraction, and multiplication skills. The standards require students to explain why a particular procedure works. For example,

first grade students do not have to memorize equations or calculations, but now they must be able to understand and demonstrate the use of the associative property of addition. Instead of $2 + 4 + 6 = 12$, the equation becomes $2 + 4 + 6 = 2 + 10 = 12$.¹⁶ Previously, this idea was not introduced until 2nd grade. First graders must also be able to demonstrate the “decomposition” of two-digit numbers leading to a ten in the effort to demonstrate place value. No longer is $13 - 4 = 9$ a sufficient calculation. Instead, and in a perfect illustration of the unnecessary complexity and absurdity with which CCSS mathematics is wrought, a student must now explain that: $13 - 4 = 13 - 3 - 1 = 10 - 1 = 9$.¹⁷



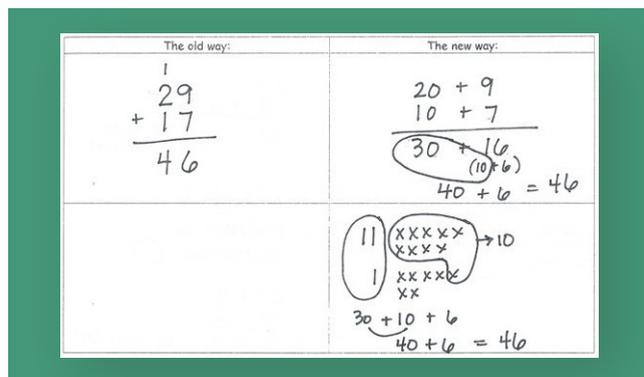
Just take the comments of Amanda August, Grayslake, Illinois School District 46 Curriculum Director explaining the focus of Common Core Math:

[U]nder the new common core ... even if they [the students] said 3×4 was 11, if they were able to explain their reasoning and explain how they came up with their answer... Really in words and oral explanation and they showed it in a picture but they just got the final answer wrong, we're more focused on the how and the why.¹⁸

The CCSS sacrifice efficiency, logic, and competency for the explanatory rhetoric of “fuzzy math.” Under the standards, children are forced to explain what they may not even understand, so that the result is the memorization of scripts

about math, but not the facts and functions of math itself. Students are forced to overwork in an effort to become fluent in non-standard approaches, while the actual math computations of adding and subtracting multi-digit numbers are delayed until 4th grade.¹⁹ Higher performing Asian countries, however, are actually *doing* math well before then. More simply put, it is absurd to teach students profoundly confusing “reasoning” exercises that do not lead to an objectively correct answer. Two plus two is always four: Not to make this definitively clear to children is a profound disservice to them.

Math standards of the CCSS also contribute to delays of comprehension. For example, the standard methods of adding and subtracting double and triple-digit numbers are not introduced until 4th grade, whereas under traditional curriculum they are introduced in 2nd grade.



Standard methods of multiplication and long division are, under the CCSS, similarly delayed until 5th and 6th grade. Students in Singapore, Japan, Korea and Hong Kong achieve fluency in fractions and decimals in 5th grade, but while the drafters of the CCSS touted fractions as the Common Core’s greatest strength, they are delayed until 6th grade.

Dr. Marina Ratner, Professor Emerita of mathematics of the University of California – Berkley, discovered the weaknesses of Common Core math firsthand when her grandson brought his homework to her attention. She later wrote,

Common Core’s ‘deeper’ and ‘more rigorous’ standards mean replacing math with some kind of illustrative counting saturated with pictures, diagrams and elaborate word problems. Simple concepts are made artificially intricate and complex with the pretense of being deeper—while the actual content taught [is] primitive.²⁰

Dr. Ratner is not alone in her concerns. In *Education Week*, Grant Wiggins, author of numerous white papers and books on curriculum reform and student assessment, wrote:

[The] mathematics components of the Common Core State Standards Initiative are a bitter disappointment. In terms of their limited vision of math education, the pedestrian framework chosen to organize the standards, and the incoherent nature of the standards for mathematical practice in particular, I don’t see how these take us forward in any way.²¹

A recent study from the Brookings Institute compared standardized test scores for all 50 states over the last five years. It revealed that states using education standards that are most dissimilar to Common Core tended to score the highest on math.²² Because Common Core math lacks accuracy, brevity, and clarity, parents and teachers are struggling to help children learn. Student assessments reflect that reality.

Dr. Milgram has gone so far as to say that if the standards are not repealed, America’s standing

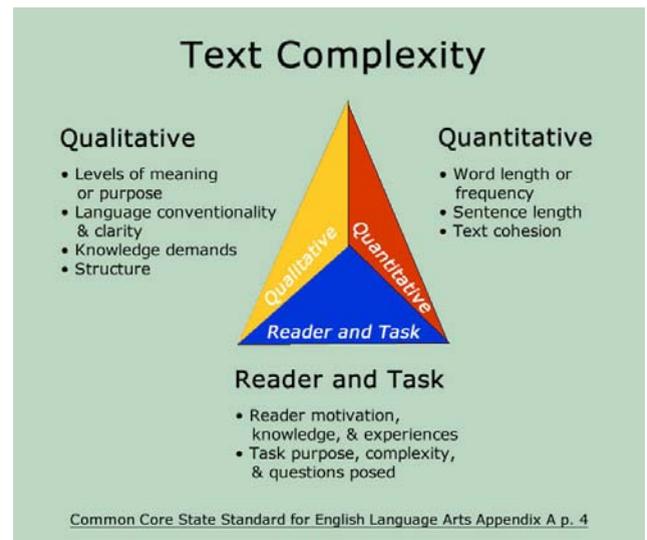
as a competitor in the fields of technology and mathematics is virtually guaranteed to fall.²³

English Language Arts & Literacy in History/Social Studies, Science, and Technical Subjects

Under the CCSS, English teachers are called to teach their students some literature as well as literary non-fiction, because “college and career readiness overwhelming focuses on complex texts outside of literature...

[T]hese standards...ensure students are being prepared to read, write, and research across the curriculum, including in history and science.²⁴

The totality of the English CCSS lays out a vision of what it means to “be a literate person in the twenty-first century,”²⁵ and call for an “interdisciplinary approach” to literacy, replacing many of the classics of literature with so-called informational texts, those more representative of writing “seen in the workforce.” Information texts are defined by the CCSS as: “content-rich nonfiction in history/social studies, sciences, technical



studies, and the arts.”²⁶ Distribution of grade-wide literary and information passages is to be 50% each in K-5, and 30% literary and 70% informational by grade 12.

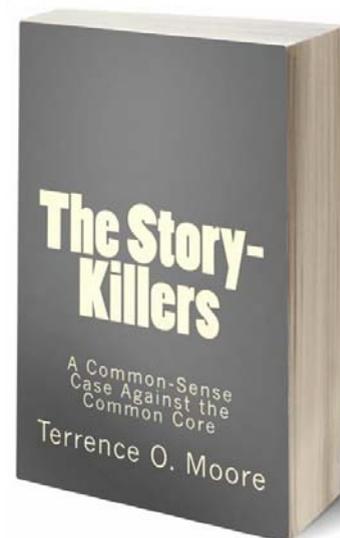
While the specific admonition to teach 70% informational material in grade 12 is explained (in a footnote to the 66-page English standards) to be “across” the grade level in a range of subjects, the reality of the CCSS has relegated English teachers to sacrificing much of their literary content as the first “line of defense” in compliance. Sheridan Blau of the Teachers College at Columbia University, and Mark Bauerlein of Emory University reported to the *Washington Post* in December, 2013 that, while science and history teachers are still focused on teaching their subject matter, they are relegating reading, writing, and comprehension tasks to English teachers, where huge sacrifices in content are necessarily being made.²⁷

Glaring omissions in the standards include the absence of any standard on British literature (aside from Shakespeare), any standard on authors of the ancient world, and any standard on the history of the English language. As with the Common Core Mathematics Standards, a series of poorly written standards with vague language prompts teachers to emphasize spotty or incomplete concepts. The English Standards stress writing over reading, fail to list literary movements or periods, and reduce overall the opportunity for students to develop critical thinking skills. Among the suggested nonfiction pieces for high school juniors and seniors as appear in the CCSS are “FedViews” (2009) by the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, and “Executive Order 13423: Strengthening Federal, Environmental,

Energy, and Transportation Management” by the General Services Administration.²⁸

Sandra Stotsky served as Senior Associate Commissioner in the Massachusetts Department of Education from 1999-2003, and was the author of Massachusetts’ highly-regarded (but now-defunct) pre-K-12 English Language Arts (ELA) state standards. Dr. Stotsky has grave concerns with the Common Core Standards, and has written both that the CCSS emphasis on “informational” and non-fiction texts is misguided. Instead, she says, tackling rich literature, like the classics, are the best way to prepare students for both college and careers. Previously mediocre reading scores, she says, can be blamed on the sub-standard young adult literature popular in recent decades.²⁹

Terrence O. Moore, Assistant Professor of History at Hillsdale College and the author of *The Story-Killers: A Common Sense Case Against the Common Core*, has remarked that CCSS is “an attempt to take away the great stories of the American people and replace them with the stories that fit the progressive, liberal narrative of the world.” According to Moore, throughout 400 years of American education, the aims were truth, knowledge, beauty, and virtue.



Under CCSS, beauty and virtue are becoming classroom relics. Literature is also being lost, and along with it, what Moore calls the most important value of literature itself: “how to be more human.”³⁰

Relatedly, good writing is an art, not a science. Certainly, there are rules for cogent sentence construction. Yet as Anthony Esolen, Professor of Renaissance English Literature at Providence College, notes, CCSS authors apparently believe “we read and write by formula.” Such a mindset, he continues, “is deadly. For writing ... cannot be taught by rule. It cannot be divided into component parts, like the levers and hammers of a machine.”³¹

Aaron Barlow, Associate Professor of English at the City University of New York, and Faculty Editor of *Academe Magazine* (a publication of the American Association of University Professors), concurs:

Mastery of ELA is participatory, a dynamic and not a thing that can be broken down into items on a list...What CCSS will do is remove this dynamic, killing the process through a focus on the vehicle, the ‘text.’ Not only does this not prepare students adequately for college success but it leaves me facing classrooms of students prepared only to be as bored by school now as they were in high school. CCSS, I believe, will make my job harder.³²

Additionally, by casting a wide net for literacy standards (combining English, science, technology, and history), the Core successfully pushes not only technical documents through the guidelines but also bits of “cold” or “de-contextualized” history.³³ David Coleman has asserted, “This close

reading approach [toward historical documents] forces students to rely exclusively on the text instead of privileging background knowledge, and levels the playing field for all students.”³⁴

Taking historical documents out of the context of the events in which they were drafted means that the authors of the Common Core Standards force students to rely solely on the documents themselves, without any knowledge of the circumstances that impacted their creation. For example, the Gettysburg Address is to be studied without mention of the Civil War.³⁵ The drafters have thereby changed both the narrative of human history, and, by combining it with other topics, the very study of that subject. For while history study requires skills such as contextualization, evidence, sourcing, and corroboration, the study of literature requires wholly different skills for its analysis. The CCSS fail to provide separate standards in English and history, further muddling the waters between these two distinct disciplines.³⁶



“Common” History

Common Core architect David Coleman also serves as president of the College Board, which runs the Standard Achievement Tests (SATs) required for many college admissions. Given his two influential roles, Coleman has the opportunity to ensure that the 34 Advanced Placement course

outlines and exams conform to his preferred narrative. The Advanced Placement U.S. History Course and its exam (APUSH), implemented in the fall of 2014, has proven patently biased. Despite the authors' stated intention that "the goal is to help students acquire a strong command of historical facts,"³⁷ there are glaring omissions. The APUSH course work includes no mention of America's moon landing, Dwight Eisenhower, Martin Luther King, Jr., or Benjamin Franklin, among others. Having eliminated much of the context of critical historical events (as with the CCSS) and removed key figures, the drafters of the course and its exam have painted a revisionist picture of American history, focusing on history's oppressors and exploiters, while downplaying its heroes and innovators.



While the authors stress that the course outline is not meant to provide a comprehensive list of historical facts and figures,³⁸ the 98-page guide (and the representation that it helps teachers prioritize among potential topics) argues to the contrary.³⁹

Peter Wood, president of the National Association of Scholars, calls the new AP U.S. history framework "a briefing document on progressive and leftist views of the American past," one which "weaves together a vaguely Marxist or at least materialist reading of the key events with the whole litany of identity group grievances."⁴⁰

Author Stanley Kurtz, who formerly taught at Harvard and the University of Chicago, joins in this critique, asserting that the College Board is pushing U.S. history as far to the Left as it can get away with, and stating that the APUSH curriculum is a "movement of left-leaning historians that aims to internationalize the teaching of American history."⁴¹

Parents, Opponents, and Authority Lost

According to the NGA and the CCSSO, The [CCSS] provide a consistent, clear understanding of what students are expected to learn, so teachers and parents know what they need to do to help them. The standards are designed to be robust and relevant to the real world, reflecting the knowledge and skills that our young people need for success in college and careers. With American students fully prepared for the future, our communities will be best positioned to compete successfully in the global economy.⁴²

Many corporate executives and education administrators may have developed and promoted Common Core with the best of intentions. But the Standards are not geared toward maximizing a child's intellectual potential or fostering his or her virtue. Rather, they are geared toward developing a child as a future worker. As Emmett McGroarty, Executive Director of the D.C.-based American Principles Project, has remarked,

It is just a gross distortion of reality to say that the interests of [Common Core supporters] Bill Gates or Exxon Mobile or Pearson publishing company or General

Electric or the Chamber of Commerce, their interests are identical with parents interests...Parents are the ones who know what's best for their children and that's just a fundamental right. They should be able to form their children's futures.⁴³



New York Education Commissioner John King has testified that the Common Core standards were “back mapped” from a description of 12th grade college-ready skills. However, there is no evidence that *early* childhood experts were consulted in the drafting of the standards, or that they were age-appropriate for young learners. As Valerie Strauss of the *Washington Post* states,

Every parent knows that their kids do not develop according to a ‘back map’—young children develop through a complex interaction of biology and experience that is unique to the child and which cannot be rushed.⁴⁴

A high-powered publicity machine has worked tirelessly to promote the apparent excellence of the Core Standards, leading naturally to the mar-

ginalization of Core opponents from the outset. For example, Paul Reville, former Secretary of Education for Massachusetts, a professor at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, and a Common Core supporter, said,

To be sure, there’s always a small voice – and I think these voices get amplified in the midst of these arguments – of people who were never in favor of standards in the first place and never wanted to have any kind of testing or accountability, and those voices get amplified... **The children belong to all of us**⁴⁵ (emphasis added).

That opponents of Common Core were outliers was once a common belief in the debate. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan went so far as to call them “[W]hite suburban moms who -- all of a sudden -- their child isn’t as brilliant as they thought they were and their school isn’t quite as good as they thought they were.”⁴⁶ He later added that Common Core had become a “rallying cry for fringe groups.”⁴⁷



Arne Duncan

However, this notion of a vocal parental minority opposing the Core Standards has quickly been replaced by criticism of the Core on all sides of the spectrum. As Dave Weigel observed in the left-leaning *Slate*:

In a very short time, opposition to Common Core has evolved from a fringe Republican position that blue-staters laugh at to a position that clearly wins out in blue New York.⁴⁸

The nation’s two largest teacher’s unions, the American Federation of Teachers and the

National Education Association have both taken public issue with Common Core's shoddy implementation. Additionally, the *Socialist Worker* has

decried its test-heavy approach and even education historian Diane Ravitch has been public about her enmity for the standards. Ravitch remarked that advocates of the Common Core standards have promoted the myth that only

the agitated and uninformed extremists oppose the standards, adding that

[T]he Common Core tests cause a huge decline in test scores. Passing rates fell 30 percent in Kentucky and about the same in New York...Where are we heading? It won't do to keep saying, as [U.S. Education] Secretary Duncan likes to, that only extremists oppose the standards. Reasonable people question them as well.⁴⁹

While conservatives find themselves quite "reasonable," it is noteworthy that CCSS have gained critics from across the political landscape.

Notable critics also recognize the tendency of the Core Initiative to widen the achievement gap between students of different socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds, thereby pushing them onto vocational tracks. As a result, the funnel

of Common Core uniquely denies more vulnerable, socio-economically challenged parents the opportunity to elevate the education of their children. The first round of Core-aligned assessments in the State of New York proved especially devastating for black and Latino children.



Carol Burris, Principal of South Side High School in New York who wrote extensively on the school's transition to Common Core over the period of its introduction, remarked:

The results expanded the black/white achievement gap...[and] the gap expansion extended to other groups as well. The achievement gap between White and Latino students in eighth-grade ELA grew from 3 points to 22 points. Students who already believe they are not as academically successful as their more affluent peers, will further internalize defeat. The percentage of black students who scored 'below basic' in third-grade English Language Arts rose from 15.5 percent to 50 percent. In seventh-grade math, black students labeled

'below basic' jumped from 16.5 percent to a staggering 70 percent. **Nearly one-third of all New York children scored 'below basic' across the grade level tests** [emphasis added].⁵⁰

Concerned, too, are parents of home-schooled and privately schooled children. While Common Core applies only to signatory states, and federal law (20 U.S.C. § 7886) prohibits any federal education mandates from applying to home schools or to private schools that do not receive federal funds, the shadow of Common Core is spreading and may make school choice obsolete. Fluctuating college admissions expectations, newly updated curricula to comply with Core standards, and revised standardized assessments all promise to extend the reach of Common Core into private and home school environments. College Board President David Coleman has promised to align AP courses, the SAT, and the PSAT with the Common Core.⁵¹ Even the GED has been redesigned for the first time since 2002 to incorporate "practices and skills from the Common Core State Standards for Mathematical Practice."⁵² As Core-acquired skills are mandatory for admission to college or graduation from high school, Core-directed curricula will be functionally (if not literally) mandated. As Diane Ravitch has predicted, "no one will escape [the Common Core's] reach, whether they attend public or private school."⁵³

Seton Hall University Professor Chris Tienken calls Common Core a "one-size-fits-all education" that fails to account for the uniqueness of each individual child. It is ridiculous, he says, to think that having every child master the same exact content at the same exact level of difficulty...is going to prepare all kids for all colleges and all careers.⁵⁴

Still more complications abound. At time of publication, the drafters and promoters of the Core had yet to articulate empirical evidence tying the nation's educational scores with American failure to compete in a global economy. States like Massachusetts and California which traditionally have scored the highest in the areas of math and English Language Arts already have diminished the excellence of their standards. They are now devolving into a regime of mediocrity through CCSS. Why? In order to gain federal funding. The lure of stimulus money has proved too much for cash-strapped states recovering from a recession.



The CCSS, while characterized as voluntary and state led, are neither. Scarcity and free will are mutually exclusive.

The conformity of copyrighted standards does not permit deviation (other than the addition of a mere 15%) in order to address the individuality, learning style, or ability of children. By jointly holding the copyright to the CCSS, the CCSSO and NGA have ensured that states who adopt the

Standards must do so word-for-word, thereby forcing teachers to deliver little more than pro forma “scripts” while teaching to tests required by the federal government under the Common Core scheme.

The CCSS, however well-intentioned, are rife with problems.

Reforming Education While Taking Away Parental Involvement in Education

In an August 2014 article in the *Washington Post*, columnist George Will noted that “The Obama [A]dministration has purchased states’ obedience by partially conditioning waivers from onerous federal regulations [from No Child Left Behind] and receipt of federal largess [\$4.35 billion in Race to the Top money from the 2009 stimulus] on the states’ embrace of the Common Core.”⁵⁵ The sweeping federal impact of the Common Core Initiative hints at an overreach as yet unseen in the arena of national education policy.

Despite U.S. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan’s claim that “We have not and will not prescribe a national curriculum,”⁵⁶ the ongoing alignment of textbooks, assessments, and standardized GED, ACT, and SAT exams require they be retrofitted to the CCSS because they are protected under copyright law, and cannot be modified (save to make the addition of a paltry 15%). The clear presentation of the standards as “rule”

and not “suggestion” belies the very nature of creativity and ingenuity in instruction, and attempts to make uniform what is taught to students across the country.

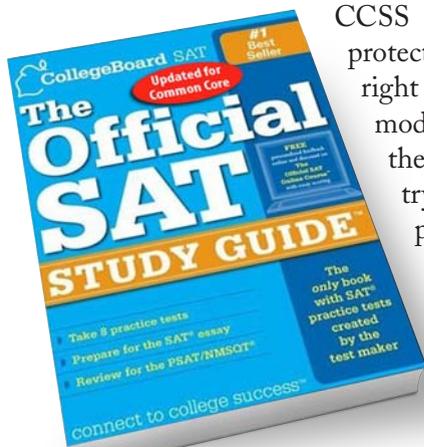
Proponents are quick to point out that the CCSS are simply “standards,” and that actual content is left to the discretion of the ground-level educators. However, as Dr. Neal McCluskey of the CATO Institute points out:

Here we see a basic problem for Core supporters: they want the public to believe either that the Core is rich and rigorous, or that it is empty and just a floor, depending, it seems, on whom they are trying to convince to support it. So in one breath they’ll talk about the obvious need for core content, and in the next they’ll protest if anyone says the standards have, well, core content. This may be because there actually is no unanimous agreement on what students should read.⁵⁷

In some cases the Core Standards outright instruct states on what teachers are to teach, as it does in the case of 3rd grade mathematics⁵⁸ further diluting the concept that these are mere standards and not actual proscriptions of instruction.

This Republic was founded on the premise that the powers of the federal government would be few and enumerated, while the states would have a far more extensive authority to order their own affairs. Thus, any power not specifically granted to the government is reserved to the states, as indicated by the 10th Amendment to the Constitution.

“Federalism as an essential principle of American government stands as the creative organizing



concept that allows the fulfillment of the basic ideals of republicanism, liberty, and the public good,” says Founding-era historian and author Ralph Ketcham, professor emeritus in History, Public Affairs, and Political Science at Syracuse University. “Any set of K-12 standards or curriculum that sidesteps or excludes this constitutional and civic reality damages students’ understanding of our republic and its history.”⁵⁹

It might also be argued that the CCSS violate explicit provisions of federal law. As summarized in a study co-authored by former U.S. Department of Education General Counsel Kent Talbert, Deputy General Counsel Robert Eitel, and Bill Evers of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, entitled “The Road to a National Curriculum,”⁶⁰ any federal role in nationalized K-12 standards, testing, curriculum, or instructional materials is expressly prohibited through (1) the General Education Provisions Act of 1970, the (2) Department of Education Organization of 1979, and (3) the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965), as amended by the No Child Left Behind Act in 2001 (NCLB), which “ban[s] federal departments and agencies from directing, supervising, or controlling elementary and secondary school curriculum, programs of instruction, and instructional materials.” The authors convincingly support the notion that the government has incentivized private agencies to do—by proxy—what it is not legally permitted to do.

The authors go on to note that [the] standards and assessments will ultimately direct the course of elementary and secondary study in most states across the nation, running the risk that states will become little more than administrative

agents for a nationalized K-12 program of instruction and raising a fundamental question about whether the Department is exceeding its statutory boundaries.⁶¹



The January 2013 report of the UCLA-based National Center for Research on Evaluation, Standards, and Student Testing concluded that the assessments themselves and their results will send powerful signals to schools about the meaning of the [Common Core standards] and what students know and are able to do. If history is a guide, educators will align curriculum and teaching to what is tested, and what is not assessed largely will be ignored.⁶²

PARCC CEO Laura Slover has herself admitted the inevitable connection between assessment and instruction:

High quality assessments go hand-in-hand with high quality instruction based, on high quality standards. . . You cannot have one without the other. The PARCC

states see quality assessments as a part of instruction, not a break from instruction.⁶³

The Dilemma of Data

An oft-mentioned criticism of the CCSS is the information gathering required by the Race to the Top Program that funded the initiative. The Common Core website professes that “The means of assessing students and the data that result from those assessments are up to the discretion of each state and are separate and unique from the Common Core.”⁶⁴ However, this is merely a matter of semantics. The Standards themselves don’t require any additional data collection. However, according to the U.S. Department of Education website, the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (of which RTTT, and therefore, the CCSS is a part) gives states grants to develop “statewide P-20 longitudinal data systems to capture, analyze, and use student data from preschool to high school, college, and the workforce.”⁶⁵ The sponsors of the CCSS have committed themselves to the notion that the Standards will succeed if more student data is collected.⁶⁶

The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act and the RTTT program worked in conjunction to *require* the creation of extensive data systems on children as young as five, so that federal money could be won.

On its website, the Department of Education makes the following explicitly clear:

The Recovery Act competition requires that the data systems have the capacity to



link preschool, K-12, and postsecondary education as well as workforce data. To receive State Fiscal Stabilization Funds, a state must provide an assurance that it will establish a longitudinal data system that includes the 12 elements described in the America COMPETES Act, and any data system developed with Statewide longitudinal data system funds must include at least these 12 elements. The elements are:

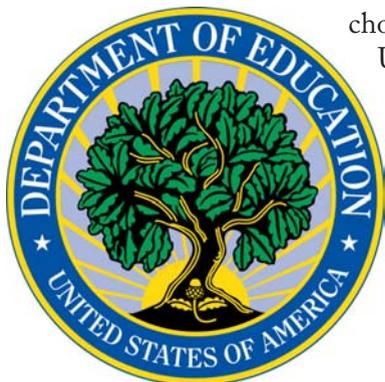
1. An unique identifier for every student that does not permit a student to be individually identified (except as permitted by federal and state law);
2. The school enrollment history, demographic characteristics, and program participation record of every student;
3. Information on when a student enrolls, transfers, drops out, or graduates from a school;
4. Students’ scores on tests required by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act;
5. Information on students who are not tested, by grade and subject;
6. Students’ scores on tests measuring whether they’re ready for college;
7. A way to identify teachers and to match teachers to their students;
8. Information from students’ transcripts, specifically courses taken and grades earned;
9. Data on students’ success in college, including whether they enrolled in remedial courses;

10. Data on whether K-12 students are prepared to succeed in college;
11. A system of auditing data for quality, validity, and reliability; and
12. The ability to share data from preschool through postsecondary education data systems.

With such comprehensive data systems, states will be able to monitor their reforms and make specific changes to advance them. These data systems will capture data on students from one grade to the next, measuring whether they are on track to graduate and telling K-12 schools whether they are preparing their students to succeed in college and the workforce.⁶⁷

Indeed, Secretary of Education Arne Duncan has hardly been secretive about his ultimate aims in data mining. In June 2009, shortly after the introduction of the RTTT program and the related CCSS, Secretary Duncan remarked before an audience at the fourth annual Institute of Education Sciences that he hoped the government will “[S]ome day [be able to] track children from preschool to high school and from high school to college and college to career.”⁶⁸

Shawn Bay, CEO of eScholar, speaking at the U.S. Department of Education’s (USDE) “Datapalooza” conference in October 2012, noted that the USDE is collecting “billions of records of data . . .



We’re pulling data from everywhere – tens of thousands of places . . . Common Core is the glue that ties everything together.”⁶⁹ His Orwellian view of data-capture is an echo of a long-cherished liberal goal. As Mark Tucker of the National Center on Education and the Economy wrote in a letter to Hillary Clinton in 1992, the federal government should

remold . . . the entire American system for human resource development . . . a seamless system of unending skill development that begins in the home with the very young and continues through school, postsecondary education and the workplace.⁷⁰

The USDE’s own February 2013 report elucidates the department’s ultimate desire to collect data not only concerns *academic* information, but a personal dossier that includes “health-care history, disciplinary record, family income range, family voting status, and religious affiliation.”⁷¹ The USDE report outlines the goal of cataloguing “attributes, dispositions, social skills, attitudes, and intrapersonal resources, independent of intellectual ability,”⁷² under the guise of tracked and tailor-made academic rigor. The study recommends that eye tracking devices, posture analysis seats, facial expression cameras, pressure computer mice, and mood-tracking software be used in schools.⁷³ The National Education Data model—a joint project funded by the USDE and coordinated by the CCSSO—“strives to be a shared understanding among all education stakeholders as to what information needs to be collected and managed at the local level in order to enable effective instruction of students and superior leadership of schools.”⁷⁴ By using a portion of the \$4.35 Billion RTTT package, it aggressively suggests

collection of 400 data points on each child, and is already in use in 18 states.⁷⁵ This is the trajectory of the data systems concurrently developing with the Common Core.

In early 2014, the Department of Education unilaterally altered by regulation the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA). FERPA once barred schools from sharing certain student information with third parties, but the USDE has restructured FERPA in such a way that any government or private entity the USDE deems to be evaluating an education program has access to a student's personally identifiable information.⁷⁶ Notifying the students' parents is no longer required.⁷⁷

“Human resource development” requires the objectification of children as human capital—the means to a globally productive end. But the professions of anonymity in the government's program requirements seem an impossible promise: “Utility and privacy [of data] are . . . two goals at war with one another. . . . [A]t least for useful databases, perfect anonymization is impossible.”⁷⁸

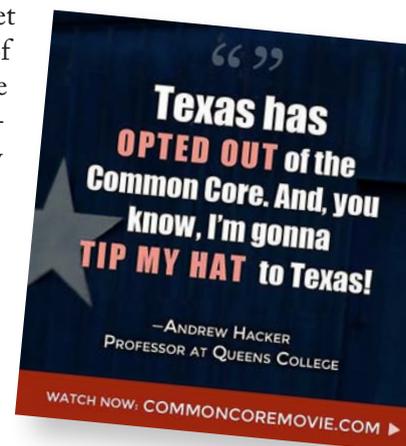
Conclusion

The motivation of the CCSS is immaterial to what they have become and how they will affect America's youth. The CCSS treat a child's education as simply a means to a career in the workforce. All of us want a strong, vibrant, and prosperous economy, but the purpose of education is not simply to churn-out competitive future employees. It is to train children how to serve as well-rounded and virtuous citizens whose capacity for self-government is informed by a base of knowledge grounded in the major academic disciplines.

While increased accountability and higher academic standards are *prima facie* good ideas, the question of our children's education ought not solely to be an economic one, tied to the “carrot” of a government grant so long as the “stick” of a uniform standard is applied. The Common Core furthers the progressive idea of centralized education, taking the development and administration of education out of the hands of the individual states, and divesting the parents and guardians of that state's children of their primary involvement and authority in education. Perhaps most convincing of all the Common Core critiques is this statement from Dr. Carla Horowitz of the Yale Child Study Center: “The Core Standards will cause suffering, not learning, for many, many young children.”⁷⁹

C.S. Lewis wrote, “Of all tyrannies, a tyranny sincerely exercised for the good of its victims may be the most oppressive. It would be better to live under robber barons than under omnipotent moral busybodies. The robber baron's cruelty may sometimes sleep, his cupidity may at some point be satiated; but those who torment us for our own good will torment us without end for they do so with the approval of their own conscience.”

The CCSS are beset with the problems of steep administrative costs and age-inappropriate content; they are un-tested, poorly written, and bureaucratically motivated. Common Core is not the answer to better American education.



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