



ADVOCATES FOR CHILDREN

Helping children succeed in school

This letter, written by Class Size Matters and Advocates for Children in Feb. 2004, protesting the Mayor Bloomberg's proposal to hold back students on the basis of their test scores was signed by 107 eminent academics, researchers, and national experts on testing who say that such a policy is unfair and unreliable, and is likely to lead to lower achievement and higher drop out rates.¹

The signers included four past presidents of the American Education Research Association, the nation's premier organization of educational researchers, as well as the chair of the National Academy of Sciences Committee on the Appropriate Use of Educational Testing, and several members of the Board on Testing and Assessment of the National Research Council.

Signers also included Dr. T. Berry Brazelton, renowned pediatrician and author of numerous works on child care and development, Robert Tobias, former head of Division of Assessment and Accountability for the Board of Education and now Director of the Center for Research on Teaching and Learning at NYU, and Dr. Ernest House, who did the independent evaluation of New York City's failed "Gates" retention program in the 1980's. . Even the two companies that produce the third grade tests are on record that a decision to hold back a child should never be based upon test scores alone.

February 11, 2004

Dear Mayor Bloomberg and Chancellor Klein:

We ask that you reconsider and withdraw your proposal to retain 3rd grade students on the basis of test scores. All of the major educational research and testing organizations oppose using test results as the sole criterion for advancement or retention, since judging a particular student on the basis of a single exam is an inherently unreliable and an unfair measure of his or her actual level of achievement. *In fact, there are few issues about which there is such a powerful consensus among the professionals in the field.*²

The American Educational Research Association (AERA), the nation's largest professional organization devoted to the scientific study of education, opposes their use,³ as does the National Board on Educational Testing, the International Reading Association,⁴ and the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, which argues that "far-reaching and critical educational decisions should be made only on the basis of multiple measures."⁵ The Standards for Educational and

¹ The letter is also posted here:

² For a partial list of the many professional educational organizations that oppose the use of high-stakes testing, see AZ Standards; http://www.azstandards.org/documents/antiHSpositions/High-Stakes%20testing%20opposition%20URLs.pdf

³ American Educational Research Association (AERA), Position Statement Concerning High-Stakes Testing in PreK-12 Education, Adopted July 2000; http://www.aera.net/about/policy/stakes.htm

⁴ International Reading Association, Summary of their position statement from *High-Stakes Assessments in Reading* (August 1999); http://www.reading.org/positions/high-stakes.html

⁵ The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, "Position statement on High-Stakes Testing;" http://www.nctm.org/about/position_statements/highstakes.htm

Psychological Testing, developed by the American Psychological Association, the American Educational Research Association, and the National Council on Measurement in Education, contain the following statement:

"Any decision about a student's continued education, such as retention, tracking, or graduation, should not be based on the results of a single test, but should include other relevant and valid information."

The National Academy of Sciences published a comprehensive report a number of years ago, explaining in detail why the use of high-stakes testing is intellectually indefensible as well as counterproductive. As the authors point out, A student's score can be expected to vary across different versions of a test....as a function of the particular sample of questions asked and/or transitory factors, such as the student's health on the day of the test. Thus, no single test score can be considered a definitive measure of a student's knowledge.

Harcourt and CTB McGraw Hill, the two largest companies that produce standardized tests, and the developers of New York City's 3rd grade reading and math exams, are on record opposing the use of their tests as the exclusive criterion for decisions about retention, because they can never be a reliable and/or complete measure of what students may or may not know. As Harcourt, the company that produces New York City's 3rd grade reading exam, has written:

"Another misuse of standardized achievement test scores is making promotion and retention decisions for individual students solely on the basis of these scores....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."

CTB-McGraw has the following statement on its website: "No single test can ascertain whether all educational goals are being met. A variety of tests--or, multiple measures--is necessary to provide educators with a well-rounded view of what students know and can do. Just as different tests provide different information, no one kind of test can tell us all we need to know about a student's learning." ¹⁰

In addition, as with all standardized tests, a substantial margin of error exists, inescapable given the nature of these exams. Thus, we are likely to fail many students who would really pass if we took account of the statistical uncertainties involved. ¹¹ There is also the distinct possibility that the tests themselves may be flawed, or are scored incorrectly, as has occurred in the recent past. In this case, even more students would be unfairly held back, and their futures put at unnecessary risk.

Another reason we strongly oppose this policy is that the consensus among researchers and experts is overwhelming that retaining students, no matter what their actual level of achievement, is likely to damage rather than help their educational prospects.

⁶ AERA, op.cit., 2000; http://www.aera.net/about/policy/stakes.htm

⁷ Jay P. Heubert and Robert M. Hauser, eds., Committee on Appropriate Test Use, National Research Council, High Stakes: Testing for Tracking, Promotion, and Graduation, National Academy Press, 1999; http://www.nap.edu/catalog/6336.html

⁸Jay P. Heubert and Robert M. Hauser, op.cit., p. 3.

⁹ Harcourt Brace Educational Measurement, Stanford Achievement Test Series, Ninth Edition: Guide for Organizational Planning, 1997,pp., 43-44.

¹⁰ CTB McGraw Hill, "Educational Assessment: Four Principles to Consider"; http://www.ctb.com/articles/article_information.jsp?CONTENT%3C%3Ecnt_id=35477&FOLDER%3C%3Efolder_id=62821&bmUID=1064947932339

¹¹ For example, a recent analysis showed that those students who really belonged at the 50th percentile of the widely-used Stanford 9 test would be expected to score within five points of that mark only about 30% of the time in math, and only 42% of the time in reading. David Rogosa, Stanford University, "How Accurate Are the STAR National Percentile Rank Scores for Individual Students?—An Interpretive Guide,' August 1999; http://www-stat.stanford.edu/~rag/ed351/drrguide.pdf;

After reviewing the many controlled studies of grade retention, the National Academy of Sciences report concluded that: "Low performing students who have been retained in kindergarten or primary grades lose ground both academically and socially relative to similar students who have been promoted." 12

Several large scale studies of retention have found that these policies are counterproductive. A meta-analysis of 63 controlled studies found 54 that were negative, with only 9 positive. The author concluded that "[o]n average, retained children are worse off than their promoted counterparts on both personal-adjustment and academic outcomes."

After controlling for student background and academic achievement, a longitudinal study of more than 12,000 students concluded that being held back before the 8th grade increased the likelihood of dropping out by the 12th grade by more than 200%. Furthermore, "students who were held back before the 8th grade were more than four times as likely as students who were not held back to not complete high school or receive a GED" six years later. 14

The results of New York City's "Gates" program from the early 1980's were found to be similarly harmful. In 1981, then-chancellor Macchiarola launched a large-scale retention program that held back 25,000 students from the fourth and seventh grades, on the basis of low scores on the citywide reading tests. In following years the program was expanded to students who had low scores on the standardized math exams as well.

The program was later rescinded when research indicated that the achievement level of retained students had not improved compared to students with similar scores who were promoted in earlier years, even after extensive intervention and summer school, at a cost of more than \$100 million per year. Moreover, long-term follow up showed that 40% of the students who were retained eventually dropped out, compared to 25% of those with similar test scores who had been promoted. According to Ernest House, one of the authors of the evaluation, "the Promotional Gates Program had retained tens of thousands of students at huge dollar and human costs without benefits." ¹⁵

More recently, the large-scale retention policy carried out in Chicago has also been at best, ineffective, and at worst, extremely detrimental. An independent evaluation concluded that for those students who were promoted after attending summer school, the program "produced short-term test score gains but did not significantly address the ongoing learning problems of low-achieving students," with the results particularly disappointing for 3rd graders. ¹⁶

The fate of those Chicago public school students who were retained even after summer school has been even more dismal. As the researchers noted, "Few of these students retained in 1997 made adequate progress the next year. After two years in the same grade and a second Summer Bridge, only 43% of retained third graders and 47% of retained sixth graders were able to raise their test scores to the promotional cutoffs. Passing rates were lowest among retained eighth graders because so many of these students dropped out." 17

¹³ Thomas C. Holmes, "Grade level retention effects: A meta-analysis of research studies," in Flunking Grades: Research and Policies on Retention (Lorrie A. Shepard & Mary L. Smith eds., 1989), p. 27.

¹² . Heubert and Hauser, op.cit., p. 285.

¹⁴ W. Rumberger and K.A. Larson, Student Mobility and the Increased Risk of High School Dropout, *American Journal of Education*, November 1998.

¹⁵ E.R. House, R. Linn, R. and J. Raths, An Audit of the Evaluation of New York City's Promotional Gates Program. Four reports, October 1981, February 1982, April 1982, October 1982. Ernest House, one of the coauthors of the study, has summarized the report's conclusions in "The Predictable Failure of Chicago's Student Retention Program, November 1998; http://www.designsforchange.org/pdfs/houseChicago.pdf. See also the negative evaluation of the Gates program, carried out by R. Gampert, and Opperman ,1988, "Longitudinal Study of the 1982–83 Promotional Gates Students," cited in Hauser and Heubert, op.cit., footnote 13, p. 128.

¹⁶ Melissa Roderick, et al. "Ending Social Promotion: Results from Summer Bridge," February 2003, p. 32. http://www.consortium-chicago.org/publications/pdfs/p59-5-6-summary.pdf

¹⁷ Melissa Roderick, et al, Update: Ending Social Promotion: Passing, retention, and achievement trends among promoted and retained students, September, 2000. This study also notes that in the following year, "students who were retained in 1998 had an extra chance to meet the test cutoffs in January...Even with this extra chance, however, the performance of retained students was only slightly better than in 1997. After two years in the same grade and two summers in Summer Bridge, 53 percent of third graders

The large-scale retention policy now under consideration is not only unfair and counterproductive; it is also inherently inequitable.

The practice of retaining large numbers of New York City students on the basis of test scores alone is likely to disproportionately affect those who are poor and minority. Moreover, the policy of using high-stakes tests to make retention decisions has been shown to be much more common in school districts with high percentages of black and Hispanic students compared to the rest of the nation. Given the fact that research shows that these policies on balance are harmful to students who are subjected to them, their use appears to exacerbate rather than ameliorate racial and class differences.

As the authors of the National Academy of Sciences report conclude, "...it is cause for concern that low-SES children and minority students are disproportionately subject to any negative consequences. Those who leave school without diplomas have diminished chances. High dropout rates carry many social costs." 18

At the very least, even if you decide to carry through with this misguided policy, despite its inherent unfairness and poor record in the past, we ask that you delay its implementation to the fall of 2004. Only then will those 3rd grade students at risk of being retained have the opportunity to take advantage of whatever intervention services you intend to offer them for more than a few months, as well as making it more feasible that a workable summer school program could be designed and implemented.

We trust that you will reconsider this proposal, and instead, put into practice measures that identify students at risk of low achievement earlier in their educational careers, and provide them with programs that research and experience have been shown to actually improve their chance of success: increased access to preKindergarten, smaller classes where they can receive more individual attention and support from their classroom teachers, and intensive intervention for those who have fallen behind, including afterschool and/or weekend tutoring.

As George Santayana wrote, "Those who do not learn from history are doomed to repeat it." Let us not make our children suffer from our failure to learn from the unsuccessful policies of the past.

Yours respectfully,

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retained in 1998 were able to meet the test score cutoffs, compared with 43 percent of third graders retained in 1997. For retained sixth graders, the number rose from 47 percent in 1997 to 55 percent in 1998. The performance of retained and Transition Center eighth graders was again an area of concern. Only about 38 percent of eighth graders who were retained or sent to Transition Centers in 1998 were able to raise their scores to the test cutoff by August. One of the reasons that the progress of retained eighth graders looks so dismal is that many of these students are beginning to drop out of school as they reach the minimum age of 16." p. 10, http://www.consortium-chicago.org/publications/pdfs/p0g01.pdf

¹⁸ Hauser and Heubert, op.cit., p. 131.

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