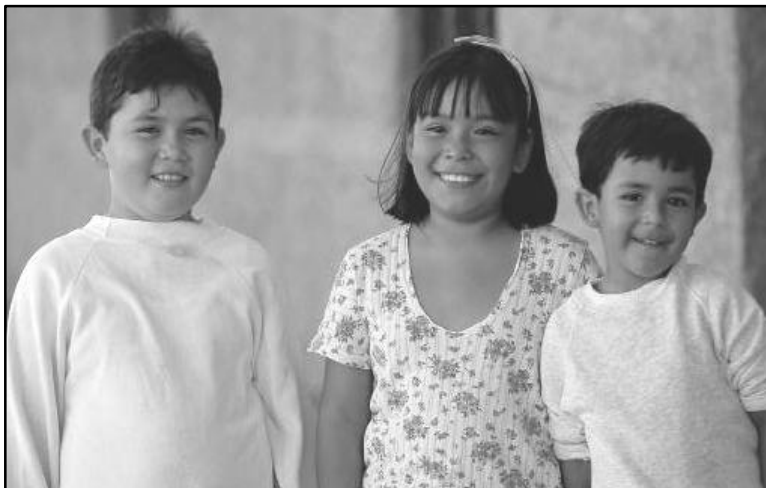


**A PROMISE TO ONTARIO'S CHILDREN
PUBLIC EDUCATION IS NOT FOR SALE**



Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario

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A PROMISE TO ONTARIO'S CHILDREN

PUBLIC EDUCATION IS NOT FOR SALE

The Elementary Teachers' Federation of Ontario believes that a high quality education for all, irrespective of needs and abilities, should be enshrined as a basic human right in the Canadian Constitution. The way to guarantee this right is through a well-funded public education system.

ETFO is opposed to vouchers, charter schools, and providing public money for the operation of private schools. These approaches to education undermine the democratic principles upon which public schools are founded.

ETFO is also opposed to the introduction of YNN to Ontario public schools.

ETFO endorses the Canadian Teachers' Federation policy stating "programs of corporate involvement should meet an identified education need, not a commercial motive."

THE THREAT TO PUBLIC EDUCATION

Over the last few years in Ontario, there has been much discussion about education reform, with some calling for

more privatization of education and more school choice. It is argued that our public education system needs radical fixing and the way to do this is to follow a market approach – that is, allowing more competition and private interests to enter into the public domain.

Ranging from charter schools and vouchers to so-called public-private partnerships, all of these encroachments on the public education system have a number of effects on the education many students receive. Some approaches are more invasive, though all have a common thread – the assumption that corporations and private interest have a specific, and some would say important, role to play in education.

Globally, public spending on all levels of education exceeds \$1,000 billion. It is estimated that total public and private spending on all levels of education is double this. In Canada, total public spending on education is about \$52 billion. In addition, according to Statistics Canada, children spend about \$1.5 billion annually, and influence the spending of more than an additional \$15 billion. Many corporations would like to have access to this “market”.

*Democracy has to be
born anew in each
generation, and
education is its
midwife.*

John Dewey

Teachers are always looking at ways to improve education for their students, but do not start from the premise that our education system is broken. Teachers and other education workers firmly hold the belief that there is always room for improvement, as we, individually and collectively, learn more from research and experience.

BENEFITS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Public education is perhaps the most important investment our province can make - a public investment in each child, society as a whole, and in the future of our province and all its citizens.

Public education is society's fulfillment of its promise to its children and to future generations.

BCTF 1999

“Education is one of the most effective ways of providing students with new, increased and different opportunities in their lives, allowing them to contribute to and improve the society in which they live. However, when students are seen as willing workers and consumers before they are seen as citizens, and when quality education is increasingly seen as the property of those who can afford it, the vast majority of Canadians lose.

“Do we want an education system that serves the marketplace? Or one that serves the public who owns it?”¹

About five million children in Canada now attend public schools. Public education is the cornerstone of a democratic society. It is publicly funded education that allows all children to develop to their full potential. The money spent on public education belongs to the public as a whole and benefits all people in the society even if they do not have children in the public school system. It is governed by local democratically elected school boards representing all of the taxpayers in a community. These school boards protect the public interest of everyone in their community when they oversee education in their communities. Public schools belong to the community. They are a worthy investment of public funds.

Public schools are the only schools that must meet the needs of all students. Every child, regardless of religion, race, family status, residence or ability, has the opportunity to be included in a public education system. This fosters a society of inclusion where every child is provided the same opportunities. Public education bonds the segments of society, facilitating understanding and tolerance that cannot be found elsewhere. All students have the opportunity for a quality education not only in the academic skills required in a future work force but the social skills of responsibility, tolerance, understanding

and caring for others. Students take what they learn into their communities and workplaces, helping to make our society a just and fair environment that values diversity and inclusion. It reduces the stigma of poverty and replaces it with the same opportunity for everyone.

Strong public schools benefit the entire community. They provide a framework for healthy, vital communities. From guiding children to become contributing members of society to teaching respect for diversity, everyone benefits from the graduates of public education. Strong public education reduces costs to taxpayers in the long run. We pay a high price for poorly educated workers. The costs associated with school dropouts affect all of us. Public education helps all children realize their potential as well as prepare them to assume their social responsibilities as citizens of a democracy.

Educational reforms such as voucher systems and charter schools are not feasible alternatives to a strong publicly funded education system. They distract us from meaningful educational reform where resources could be allocated to build strong public schools meeting the needs of our diverse society. Vouchers encourage children to leave public schools rather than to stay. This fragmentation prevents using all funds collectively to build new and better community institutions. The money used for vouchers would be better spent on

special education, teacher professional development and resources to enable all children to learn to the best of their ability. Private schooling and other incentives such as charter schools and a voucher system further stigmatize the disadvantaged and drain vital resources allocated to publicly funded schools.

A BROKEN EDUCATION SYSTEM? EXPOSING THE MYTHS

Many advocating for education reforms are really interested in the further privatization of education, hoping to capture at least part of the “education market”. A paper released by the Fraser Institute in September 1999² frames the case for school choice on faulty arguments and much misinformation. It claims the education system in Canada is in a shambles and the way to fix it is to apply market forces to ensure competition in education. Competition, the paper says, will ensure the remaining public schools will shape up or face extinction. The statements presented in the Fraser Institute study cannot be backed up by research.

MYTH: The Fraser Institute states that 27 percent of Canadian adolescents drop out of high school – a higher rate than in any other OECD country. The reference given is the 1998 Education at a Glance, an OECD publication. However, they seem to have misunderstood, or misrepresented, one of the tables in

this publication. The OECD table refers to the ratio of upper secondary graduates to the population at the typical age of graduation. The ratio reported for Canada is 73. The author seems to have assumed, therefore, that the drop out rate is 27 percent. In Canada, we have different practices across the country for years to graduation. In Ontario, it has been to grade 13. Most provinces go to grade 12; Quebec goes to grade 11 for completion of high school. Therefore, expressing the graduates as a ratio of the population for one age does not reflect the reality of the education system in Canada.³

More careful analysis by Statistics Canada shows that the graduation rate for Canada is 85 percent. This includes people who drop out but then return to complete high school.

A more appropriate table from the OECD compares the percentage of the population that has attained at least upper secondary education. In 1996, 61 percent of men and 55 percent of women had attained at least upper secondary education for all countries. In Canada, the figures are 76 percent of men and 77 percent of women. For those who are 25-34, that is, those who have more recently gone through our education system, the figures are even better. In Canada, 83 percent of men

and 87 percent of women had attained at least upper secondary education; the averages for all countries combined are 69 percent of men and 69 percent of women.

Myth: The Fraser Institute paper goes on to claim that international testing data indicate that the achievement of Canadian students in mathematics and science is mediocre. The paper references the Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS). However, the TIMSS results comparing the mathematics and science literacy achievement of students in their final year of secondary school states that Canadian students performed “significantly higher than international average.” The results for the primary grades show Canada above the international average for science and at the average for mathematics for third and fourth grade students.

Myth: The paper says that of those young adults who have completed high school in the past decade, 33 percent are insufficiently literate to cope in contemporary society. The reference for this statement seems to be an OECD study on Sweden. The results of the International Adult Literacy Survey, published by the OECD and Statistics Canada, paint a different picture. This study does not simply define people as

The true agents of change for education reform in the 21st Century are going to be the innovative for-profit enterprises built by education entrepreneurs.

EduVentures 1999

being either literate or illiterate. Rather, literacy is seen as a complex skill, divided into five levels. Level 1 is the most basic level of literacy. Of those Canadians who have completed secondary education, 90 percent performed above level 1.

Myth: The Fraser Institute paper asserts that public opinion polls show that confidence in the education system is at a 30-year low. The reference is given as a paper presented to the 1997 meetings of the American Sociological Association. The authors of this paper state that their results have been misrepresented (personal communication). The paper looked at public confidence in all institutions, not just education. Confidence in all institutions has dropped over the past three decades. The authors assert that the drop in confidence in education likely reflects trends other than some sort of falling performance on the part of schools.

What we do know is that about the same number of people are satisfied with the public education system as are dissatisfied (Angus Reid Group, June 1999). We also know that about 25 percent of Ontarians believe that elementary schools have improved, while 38 percent believe they have worsened.⁴ But more importantly, we know that 63 percent of Canadians and 62 percent of Ontarians believe that government funding for public schools should be increased (Angus Reid Group, June 1999), and half of Ontarians would be

willing to pay more taxes in support of education funding in Ontario (OISE 1998). We also know that parents rate the education system much more favourably than non-parents (1998 CTF National Issues in Education Poll).

Most such arguments are meant to have one effect – to open the door to more privatization and corporate involvement in education. There are some very serious implications of such a push for the public education system. There is scant evidence that any of these reform models will improve education for students. Indeed, there is much evidence that the education system will be hampered.

SCHOOL CHOICE

Charter schools and vouchers have been described as “solutions looking for problems.”⁵ The advocates of school choice maintain that giving parents and students complete choice over the school they attend will force all schools to improve – a laissez-faire market approach applied to education. It is also asserted that allowing all parents to choose what kind of education their children will receive ensures that there is more equity in education. As one document on school choice concludes, there are abundant hopes, but scarce evidence of results.⁶

Charter schools exist in a number of countries throughout the world, including Great Britain, New Zealand, and 34

states in the United States. Alberta has had charter school legislation for the past six years, currently with six charter schools in operation.

A “charter” or contract is given to a school by the government or school board, allowing it to operate outside of the rules and regulations governing the operation of other schools. Charter schools are essentially privately run schools receiving public funding. Although most are run by non-profit organizations, it is estimated that 10 percent of charter schools in the United States are now run by for-profit companies. Of 13 new charter schools approved for start up in September 2000 in the state of New York, 6 are to be run by for-profit companies.⁷

Vouchers provide parents the money, from either public or private sources, to enrol their children in a school of choice. While originally proposed over 40 years ago by Milton Friedman, vouchers have only recently gained some approval in the United States. The first publicly funded voucher initiative started in Milwaukee in 1990. While there is discussion in many states, public vouchers are currently provided in very few places, including Milwaukee, Cleveland and Florida.⁸

The initial voucher programs have been aimed at low-income students and students in poor-performing schools. Ultimately, however, their proponents argue that every parent should be given a voucher and free choice of school for their children. Many of the arguments for vouchers are based on legal rather than pedagogical grounds.

While the promises of school choice advocates may sound appealing to some, let’s look at what is really happening.⁹

Not everyone is able to exercise choice. While some parents can actively choose the school and programs that their children attend, not all can. Not all parents can take time off work to line up to get on waiting lists. Not all parents can afford to

provide transportation for their children to attend a school out of their neighbourhood. In an article advocating for vouchers, the authors claim that parents can actively choose among public schools by their choice of residence.¹⁰ While the public school quality and proximity may be a factor for some parents in choosing the neighbourhood they live in, it is a very limited choice for most, dictated more by finances and location to their job. In addition, not all parents can access the information needed to make choices among schools. Research has found that the

We live in a market economy. But that doesn't mean that every activity should be turned into a market activity.

David Crane
Toronto Star
October 3, 1999

more affluent and better-educated parents are, the more likely they are to actively select the school that their child attends.¹¹

The voucher programs that have been initiated may give the appearance of choice. However, they are only available for a few students, and do not really afford the chosen few students the same opportunities as students from affluent families, the private school being only one aspect of their educational experience. In addition, private schools are able to choose the students, rather than the other way around. As one critic stated: "Voucher programs claim to give parents a choice; in reality, they give parents the option to be chosen by a private school."¹²

There is no evidence that providing choice in schools produces more equity. There is growing evidence that charter schools create more, not less, social segregation. Most charter schools have a particular emphasis – on music, strict discipline, or religion. This can lead to homogeneous student populations. A recent study in Arizona found that half of the charter schools in that state exhibited evidence of substantial ethnic separation.¹³ The charter schools that had a majority of ethnic minority students tended to be either vocational secondary schools or "schools of last resort."

In order for diversity to have a positive impact, it must exist within a school rather than across schools. Each stu-

dent should be exposed to a diversity of ideas, cultures, and approaches.

There is no evidence that charter schools improve education, either in the charter schools themselves or in other schools. Some private schools are able to maintain higher levels of achievement because they choose who can attend the school, and because they have smaller classes and better resources. Charter schools and vouchers drain money and resources away from more widespread public school reforms such as improving class sizes and increasing the resources available for all students. Giving some parents choice may impose costs on students who do not choose.

While charter schools in most jurisdictions are not permitted to charge extra tuition fees, there is an expectation in many that parents will contribute more through activity fees and very aggressive fundraising. In Alberta, charter schools are permitted to charge extra "voluntary" fees.

Many charter schools do not operate within the union contracts of surrounding schools. Teachers and other school employees essentially subsidize these schools by accepting lower salaries and benefits. In one recent case in Ohio, a military-style charter school is accused of cutting pay and firing staff after its teachers attempted to form a union.¹⁴

Most charter schools, as most private schools, do not offer special programs

or special assistance for students with special needs - learning, emotional, or physical. These students remain in public schools, with funding and resources drained away.

Charter schools and vouchers are not the answer for our education system. There is no clear evidence that they improve student achievement, and they divert much-needed resources from the public system. By working for lower class sizes, special education opportunities, adequate resources, and program options for the vast majority of children in the public system, we can improve education for every student.

CORPORATE INVOLVEMENT IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

Corporations are involved in education in a multitude of ways. From the local store's donations to the fundraiser, to the schools collecting Campbell's Soup labels, to the lesson plans that teach grade three mathematics by counting Tootsie Rolls, and the book covers advertising Kellogg's Pop Tarts, businesses are in the schools.

As education funding is reduced in most public boards the issue of corporate sponsorships and partnerships has become more appealing to many schools and school boards. These are

sometimes referred to as P3s – public private partnerships.

Some corporations are looking to arrangements that would give them exclusive access to schools and students. For example, the “cola wars” are heating up in Ontario. Hamilton-Wentworth has recently signed an exclusive deal with Pepsi, while Toronto is going with Coca-Cola. The Hamilton-Wentworth deal will provide secondary schools with an estimated \$28,000 per year, while elementary schools could get about \$1,500 per year. The deal with the Toronto board is estimated to be worth \$6 million over the next three years.

Part of the deals made with school boards provides extra money for

soft drink sales over certain limits. In Colorado, one enthusiastic board official has encouraged school principals to allow students to drink Coke in classes and to ensure that the vending machines are located in easily accessible locations. He signed the letter from “the Coke Dude.”¹⁵

Parents and educators have expressed concerns regarding exclusive contracts with the soda pop companies. These concerns include the nutritional impact of allowing children and teenagers more access to beverages containing sugar and caffeine, the inequities in funding

They're not so much children as what I like to call 'evolving consumers.'

Elliot Ettenberg
Chair and CEO
Prism Communications

created among schools based on the students and employees consumer habits, and philosophical concerns of exposing children to corporate sponsorships at an impressionable age.

“These relationships are not partnerships at all, but exclusive marketing opportunities directed at a captive audience.”¹⁶

Another example of corporate involvement in Ontario has been Wal-Mart’s recent “adopt-a-school” plan. Under this plan, each local Wal-Mart store adopts a few schools in their neighbourhood. The money raised by each store will be matched by Wal-Mart Canada’s head office, up to \$2000 per school. Schools are adopted for one year. In addition to the cash donations, the stores may also sponsor events for the school, offer appropriate Wal-Mart materials for the classrooms, and conduct fundraising activities in the stores.

While this plan may sound innocuous, we must question how this fits with concerns about Wal-Mart’s employment practices and human rights violations in factories contracted by Wal-Mart in developing countries.¹⁷ Providing some of the extras for the education of Ontario students may have a high price to pay here and in other parts of the world.

There is a new “education industry” on the rise, looking to make a profit on actual instruction. Companies are now offering services in tutoring students

who have fallen behind, coaching on tests, delivering courses online, and managing public and private schools.

“The bottom line for public education has to be student achievement, not profit for private enterprises.”¹⁸

In addition to the profits that corporations are trying to ensure, another motivation behind corporate partnerships is to ensure that schools produce young adults ready to take their place in the workforce. “Productive working partnerships between schools, businesses, civic and non-profit organizations are our best guarantee of producing a capable workforce.”¹⁹

Fundraising activities also raise some concerns regarding corporate involvement in education. Inequities among schools are further exacerbated when the fundraising is used to supplement rather than complement government funding of education. While many local businesses have always played a strong role in their local community by helping out with such activities as the school barbecue or book sale, the role that they are playing now is not appropriate.

It should be noted that a recent Environics poll conducted on behalf of the Canadian Teachers’ Federation indicated that 92 percent of Canadians are opposed to advertising in schools if it means students must watch commercial advertising as part of the instructional day. Seventy percent are

opposed to advertising in schools under any circumstances.

We should not be selling access to students to the highest bidder.

YOUTH NEWS NETWORK

Youth News Network (YNN), an initiative of Athena Educational Partners owned by the Montreal-based Telescene Film Group, is a commercial enterprise targeting students in schools across Canada. It is modelled after Channel One in the United States, now in 40 percent of American high schools. Although YNN is focussing on secondary students, elementary schools are being approached by the company.

The YNN program consists of a 12.5-minute news broadcast, including 2.5 minutes of commercials. Schools participating in YNN must sign a five-year contract in which they agree to show the complete news and advertising program to students 190 days a year during regular school hours. In return for accepting YNN, schools are temporarily provided with computers, television monitors and other technological equipment.

Ontario school boards do not receive the funding necessary to equip their schools with sufficient up-to-date computers and software programs. The YNN proposal is therefore an extremely seductive one for cash-strapped school boards.

The YNN promotional video claims that the YNN mission is to lend support to teachers and to provide a wealth of educational material to students. Literature published by YNN's owners, Telescene Film Group, suggests a different goal: "Many large corporations have expressed interest in advertising on YNN, given the company's targeted demographic and difficulty in reaching teenagers through other media. There are approximately 2.3 million high school students in approximately 4,800 schools across Canada." YNN predicts that 80 percent of its revenue will be generated from advertising.

Teachers and parents across Canada have been fighting actively against the introduction of YNN into their schools. They object to students being exploited as a captive audience for commercial messages. As pointed out by the Media Awareness Network, corporate ads often contradict the lessons schools are trying to teach such as good nutrition, environmental awareness, gender equity and the questioning of consumerism and materialism. By virtue of being shown in school, the YNN ads appear to have the implicit endorsement of the school system.

Twelve-and-a-half-minutes a day also adds up to a considerable amount of time during the school year taken away from instructional time and an already crowded curriculum.

Teachers and parents also have concerns about the content of the so-called news and current affairs broadcasts provided by YNN. The segments included on the YNN promotional video lack the objectivity and balance expected of good journalism. YNN is not a news organization, does not have journalistic credentials and is not licensed by the Canadian Radio and Television Commission (CRTC).

There are other more educationally-appropriate sources of news and current affairs. Cable in the Classroom provides a wide selection of commercial-free programming from 38 established networks, including CBC Newsworld and CNN and has earned support from teachers and media education experts across the country.

To date, the fight against YNN has been successful in four provinces. There are no schools which have signed on to the YNN project in British Columbia, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia or Prince Edward Island. The provincial governments in these provinces have formally declared their opposition to YNN. A former minister of education in B.C., Paul Ramsey, stated that YNN would not be allowed to purchase instructional time in schools. New Brunswick's Conservative Education Minister, Elvy Robichaud stated, "In light of today's society where we are con-

stantly surrounded by commercialism, children deserve to learn in a commercial free environment."²⁰

In 1992, when YNN first attempted to get its foot in the doors of Canadian schools, the Ontario Education Ministry issued a memorandum to directors of education advising that the ministry did not endorse inserting commercial advertising into the school curriculum nor the compulsory viewing by students of advertising as intended by YNN. The Progressive Conservative government in Ontario has not taken a stand against YNN entering Ontario schools.

There is no question that the primary objective of YNN is to make profit from providing commercial advertisers access to a captive teenage audience.

*It's time for
education to roll up
its sleeves and learn
to play hardball on
capitalism's new
frontier.*

Education Industry
Report 2, March 1997

TRADE AGREEMENTS, THE WTO AND PUBLIC EDUCATION

The World Trade Organization, WTO, made up of 134 countries, is responsible for the implementation of the GATT, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, as well as a number of other trade agreements. Originally, trade agreements only dealt with the trade of goods. Increasingly, however, trade agreements are also governing the exchange of services, potentially including

education. "The General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) is the first multilateral agreement to provide legally enforceable rights to trade in all services. It has a built-in commitment to the continuous liberalization through periodic negotiations."²¹

The WTO talks in Seattle November 30 – December 3, 1999 were intended to launch a new round of negotiations including further liberalization of trade in services. While these talks collapsed without launching comprehensive negotiations for a new agreement, the General Agreement on Trade in Services is still in place. At this time, Canada has not opened up trade in education services for coverage under the GATS. Further negotiations on services could be launched this year. The issues for education are all still of concern.

Education International has outlined the potential concerns for public education.²² With public expenditures on education internationally exceeding \$1,000 billion, there is an increasing push mainly by the corporate sector for more privatization of public education. A free trade agreement including services could help to achieve this goal, dismantling the public education system. While we cannot know the full impact of such agreements on public education, the

purpose would be to put more control in the hands of private corporations and less control in the hands of citizens through their governments. The pursuit of a high quality education system for all would be jeopardized.

The GATS is limited in its effect on education to those member countries whose government has agreed to include it in the Agreement. As mentioned above, to date Canada has not agreed to open up services in education. 40 countries have to varying degrees. For example, Australia has included secondary education and higher education, Japan has included primary education, secondary education, higher education and adult education, and the US includes only adult education. Once a country has made a commitment

in the agreement, it cannot introduce new restrictions on foreign service without compensating the countries affected by such protectionist measures.

The WTO is not the only place for the negotiations of trade agreements. The Free Trade Agreement of the Americas is another forum, where the United States is negotiating directly with Canada and other countries in the Americas. This agreement also includes services and may ultimately pose the same threats for education. We should be

The bottom line for public education has to be student achievement, not profit for private entities.

Bob Chase,
President, NEA.

very wary of further trade negotiations in all arenas.

ETFO POLICIES AND POSITIONS

ETFO believes that the highest quality of education for all citizens, irrespective of their needs and/or abilities, should be enshrined as a basic human right in the Canadian Constitution. ETFO further believes that the way to guarantee this right is through a well-funded, high quality public education system. ETFO is opposed to vouchers, charter schools, and providing public money for the operation of private schools. All of these approaches to education undermine the democratic principles upon which public schools are founded.

ETFO is also opposed to the introduction of YNN to Ontario public schools.

ETFO endorses the Canadian Teachers' Federation policy stating "programs of corporate involvement should meet an identified education need, not a commercial motive."

Schools in the public education system are a part of the community. Privatizing them or part of them means we lose community. The schools would be a part of a corporation with no ties to the community, more concerned with ensuring profits.

Public education concerns the entire community. The adjective "public" means "of, belonging to, or concerning the people as a whole." (Gage Canadian Dictionary) Subjecting education to market rules is to divert it from its public purpose to serve private purpose, to abandon the governance of public education and make it the product of a series of individual choices. This bears repeating: parents are not consumers of schools, students are not raw materials and schools are not businesses.²³

A high quality public education system for all is a vital part of maintaining a strong democratic community. Public education is worth supporting – by our government and by all citizens. Our children deserve nothing less.

Endnotes

- ¹ "The Corporate Assault on Public Education," Canadian Labour Congress, September 1999.
- ² *The Case for School Choice*, by Claudia Rebanks Hepburn, 1999 Fraser Institute Critical Issues Bulletin, September 1999.
- ³ It should be noted that the Fraser Institute report also fails to read the whole table that shows that the ratios for both Mexico and the United States are lower than the ratio for Canada. Both of these countries belong to the OECD.
- ⁴ OISE 1998 Survey, Public Attitudes Towards Education.
- ⁵ Marc Zwelling, Address to CTF November 1999.
- ⁶ *School Choice. Abundant Hopes, Scarce Evidence of Results*, Bruce Fuller, Elizabeth Burr, Luis Huerta, Susan Puryear, Edward Wexler, Policy Analysis for California Education, University of California, Berkeley and Stanford University, 1999.
- ⁷ *The New York Times*, January 26, 2000.
- ⁸ While some refer to money from private sources to enable children to enrol in private schools as private vouchers, these are more akin to scholarships, though not tied to a specific school. In this paper, only vouchers from public money will be considered.
- ⁹ Two good overviews of the charter school myths and problems are: Canadian Teachers' Federation, "Behind the Charter School Myths," September 1997. (<http://www.ctf-fce.ca/e/what/ni/charter.htm>); Murray Dobbin, "Charter Schools: Charting a Course to Social Division," Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, January 1997. (<http://www.policyalternatives.ca>)
- ¹⁰ "School Finance Reform: A Case for Vouchers," Michael Heise and Thomas Nechyba, Center for Civic Innovation at the Manhattan Institute, Civic Report No. 9, October 1999.
- ¹¹ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), *School: A Matter of Choice*, 1994; *School Choice. Abundant Hopes, Scarce Evidence of Results*, Bruce Fuller, Elizabeth Burr, Luis Huerta, Susan Puryear, Edward Wexler, Policy Analysis for California Education, University of California, Berkeley and Stanford University, 1999.
- ¹² "Substituting the Privilege of Choice for the Right to Equality," Carol Ascher and Richard Gray, *Education Week*, June 2, 1999.
- ¹³ "Ethnic Segregation in Arizona Charter Schools," Casey D. Cobb and Gene V. Glass, *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, Vol.7, no.1, January 14, 1999. (<http://epaa.asu.edu/ipaa/v7n1/>)
- ¹⁴ The Beacon Journal, Akron, Ohio, January 5, 2000.
- ¹⁵ "Students for Sale," Steven Manning, *The Nation*, September 8, 1999.
- ¹⁶ Canadian Labour Congress, *Fast Facts for Labour Council Activists. Issue 1. The Corporate Assault on Public Education*, September 1999.
- ¹⁷ For more details on some of the concerns about Wal-Mart, see the National Labour Committee website at www.nlcnet.org.
- ¹⁸ Bob Chase, president National Education Association, quoted in "The bottom line: Is this trend good for students?" *Education Week*, December 15, 1999.
- ¹⁹ Evern Cooper, vice president and executive director of the United Parcel Service Foundation, UPS Press Release, November 4, 1999.
- ²⁰ *Saint John's Telegram Journal*, September 14, 1999.
- ²¹ WTO internet page: www.wto.org/wto/services/services.htm
- ²² *The WTO and the millennium round: What is at stake for public education?* Education International and Public Services International, June 1999. www.ei-ie.org
- ²³ Jocelyn Berthelot, "On a democratic course or drifting to market models?", paper prepared for CTF national conference, "Public Education: Meeting the Challenges" May 1995.

PM:
February 2000