

# the CSEF resource

Center for Special Education Finance

Fall 1996

## Escalating Special Education Costs: *Reality or Myth?*

Jean M. Wolman & Thomas B. Parrish, CSEF

As Congress moves toward the reauthorization of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), scrutiny of the rising enrollments and costs of special education programs has escalated to new heights. The costs and financing of special education have received extensive media coverage, including a June 1996 feature on "60 Minutes," as well as articles in major newspapers and news magazines across the nation.

During recent years, many educators, policymakers, and the media have reported that special education costs are rising too rapidly and are *encroaching* upon the resources of the entire educational enterprise—exemplified by the title of a *New York Times* editorial, "Special Education Soaks up New York's School Resources" (April 7, 1994).

Yet, according to this year's *Phi Delta Kappa/Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools*, 47 percent of adults said that America is spending *too little* of its total education budget on students with special needs (such as physical and mental disabilities), while 41 percent said that *about the right amount* is being spent, and only 5 percent said that *too much* is being spent (Elam, Rose, & Gallup, 1996).

Discrepant attitudes such as these raise the question: *To what extent are rapidly rising special education costs a*

*reality or myth, or perhaps somewhere in between?* If encroachment is occurring, is it because we are spending too much on special education or too little on public education overall? Further complicating these issues is the fact that we do not know how much we are spending as a nation on special education, making it impossible to track changes in spending over time.

### Basis for Concern

A variety of factors lend credence to the perception that special education costs are rising and encroaching into general education resources. For example, data from a recent study

conducted by the Economic Policy Institute indicate that, in a sample of "typical" school districts, more than 38 percent of all *new* education dollars between 1967 and 1991 went to special education, while only 26 percent of new funds went to general education (Rothstein with Miles, 1995). A California study found that, on average, more than a quarter of special education expenditures were being paid from a school district's general fund (Beales, 1993). While striking, findings like these may be understandable in light of the magnitude of new special education programs authorized under the IDEA since 1975, and the fact that in most

*(continued on page 6)*

### About CSEF

The Center for Special Education Finance was established in 1992 to address a comprehensive set of fiscal issues related to the delivery and support of special education services to children throughout the United States. CSEF's mission, as well, is to provide information needed by policymakers to make informed decisions regarding the provision of services to children with disabilities, and to provide opportunities for information sharing regarding critical fiscal policy issues.

### In this issue

Escalating Special Education Costs: Reality or Myth? .....	1
Prereferral Intervention in Pennsylvania: Is It Cost-Effective? .....	2
Visit CSEF on the World Wide Web .....	3
Finance Reform Continues in the States .....	4
Advisors Guide CSEF Toward the Year 2000 .....	5

# Prereferral Intervention in Pennsylvania: Is it Cost-Effective?

This article is based on CSEF Policy Paper No. 9: Cost Effectiveness of Instructional Support Teams in Pennsylvania, by William T. Hartman and Todd A. Fay (May, 1996).

In response to increasing numbers of students with special needs and diminishing resources to meet their needs, many states have required or recommended that school districts adopt some form of prereferral intervention to expand access of limited special assistance to more students and to reduce the numbers of students who are identified and referred to special education programs.

One such system, Pennsylvania's *Instructional Support Team (IST)* model, was initiated in 1990–91, and is now in operation in all 501 school districts in the state. The IST is a collaborative model that emphasizes assistance to students in their regular classes and home schools.

Hartman and Fay (1996) conducted analyses to determine the cost-effectiveness of the IST model. They proposed that if the IST process can keep more students in their regular classrooms instead of shifting them into separate and more costly special education programs, then instructional improvement will coincide with cost reduction. Further, since the IST has been implemented statewide and in many districts across the nation, its results would have significant implications for education policymakers at the state and national levels.

## The IST Approach

Unlike the traditional special education process, prereferral intervention is designed to provide early and systematic assistance to students with learning or behavior problems in their regular classroom environment,

and to prevent placement in separate special education classes for students who can be served more appropriately through modifications in regular education.

While its composition differs across schools, the IST always includes the building principal, an instructional support teacher, and the teacher who referred the student. The principal is responsible for the supervision and implementation of services recommended by the IST, while the support teacher facilitates screening of students, provides training and consultation to the teachers and parents of identified students, and provides instructional services to these students to determine their educational levels.

Over time, the role of the support teacher may change or diminish as the regular classroom teachers incor-

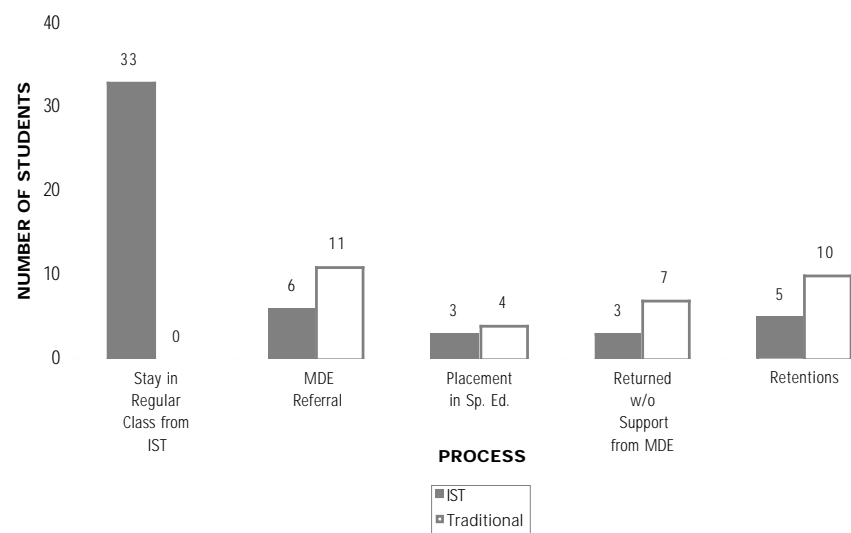
porate the strategies they learned as part of the IST training into their normal instructional practices. Other IST members may include the school psychologist, guidance counselor, remedial teachers, and any other teachers deemed appropriate. All team members receive training by the Pennsylvania Department of Education.

## Cost-Effectiveness of the IST

Cost-effectiveness was assessed by comparing data from the IST and traditional special education programs on effectiveness measures such as numbers of IST referrals, special education placements, and retentions; and personnel cost measures such as teachers' salaries and benefits.

*(continued next page)*

## Comparisons of Student Impact: IST Schools vs. Traditional Schools



[http://www.air-dc.org/csef\\_hom](http://www.air-dc.org/csef_hom)

You can visit CSEF using any available World Wide Web Browser. You can also send e-mail to CSEF directly from the Web; we welcome your ideas about our Web page, our publications, or the issues we are addressing.

Let us know what you have found useful (or not so useful), and what else you would like to see on our pages. Your feedback will help us improve and maintain a Web site that is useful and friendly.

To enhance accessibility of our Web page, a text-only version is available for users who do not have full access to the multimedia capabilities of the Web.

## Visit CSEF on the World Wide Web

CSEF is pleased to announce its new home page on the World Wide Web! Recently established to expand our network and our dissemination activities, our Web page is now on-line to provide point-and-click access to information about:

- CSEF's mission and key research areas
- Key CSEF staff
- "What's New?" in CSEF publications and research findings, including selected special education finance data
- CSEF publications, including descriptions of all policy and state analysis papers, policy briefs, and reference documents
- Ordering CSEF publications
- Downloading and printing CSEF publications directly from the Web

Plans are also underway to launch a Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ) page, providing up-to-date information related to special education costs, funding policy, and reform at the federal, state, and local levels. From our Web site, you can link directly to CSEF staff and to Web pages of the U.S. Department of Education, including the Office of Special Education Programs (OSEP); Federal and Regional Resource Centers; and the American Institutes for Research (AIR), our parent organization. □

### IST

(continued from previous page)

*How did the IST compare to the traditional special education program?*

■ **Costs**—The IST did not show a cost savings until the ninth year of implementation. However, while there were no great cost savings, there were no substantially greater costs either.

■ **Services**—The strength of the IST appears to lie in providing increased and better services to more students. Many more students with learning and behavioral problems were provided services through the IST program than the traditional program.

The accompanying figure summarizes the average IST results for a hypothetical school of 500 students: 33 of the 39 students initially referred to IST remained in regular education

after participating in the IST process and were able to function adequately in the regular classroom. Fewer students in IST schools were referred to multidisciplinary evaluation; fewer were placed in special education; fewer were returned to regular education following a multidisciplinary evaluation; and fewer were retained in the same grade.

The authors concluded that the IST program was cost-effective: that is, the IST program was more effective than the traditional program, and was able to reduce the number of students placed in special education. At the same time, the IST provided extensive and successful instructional services to many more children in regular education—at a cost that was no greater than the traditional program over a 5 to 10-year period. □

**The CSEF Resource** is published by the Center for Special Education Finance (CSEF) at the American Institutes for Research (AIR) in Palo Alto, CA. CSEF is funded by the Office of Special Education Programs (OSEP), U.S. Department of Education, under a five-year cooperative agreement #H159G20002-96. The content of this newsletter does not necessarily reflect the views of the U.S. Department of Education or CSEF's network of advisors and professional organizations.

### CSEF Staff

#### Co-Directors

Jay Chambers and Thomas Parrish

#### Manager of Dissemination/Editor

Jean Wolman

#### Graphic Design & Production

Brian Hilton and Molly Kiely

#### Staff

Ixtlac Dueñas, Christine Hikido,  
Deborah Montgomery, Robert Vergun,  
Ann Win

#### Center for Special Education Finance

#### American Institutes for Research

1791 Arastradero Road

P.O. Box 1113

Palo Alto, CA 94302-1113

Phone: 415/493-3550

FAX: 415/858-0958

e-mail: CSEF@AIR-CA.ORG

[http://www.air-dc.org/csef\\_hom](http://www.air-dc.org/csef_hom)

### Advisory Board Members

Mr. B. Joseph Ballard

*Council for Exceptional Children*

Dr. Stephen Chaikind

*Gallaudet University,  
School of Management*

Mr. Robert Feir

*Pennsylvania 2000*

Dr. Martha J. Fields

*National Association of State  
Directors of Special Education*

Dr. John Heskett

*Missouri Department of Education*

Dr. Margaret McLaughlin

*Institute for the Study of  
Exceptional Children and Youth*

Ms. Celane McWhorter

*United Cerebral Palsy*

Ms. Trina Osher

*Federation for Families for Children's  
Mental Health*

Dr. Virginia Roach

*National Association of State  
Boards of Education*

Mr. Robert Van Dyke

*Council of Administrators  
of Special Education*

Dr. Edward (Lee) Vargas

*Santa Ana Unified School District,  
California*

## Finance Reform Continues in States

Almost three years ago, CSEF reported “a flurry of reform” in special education finance across the states, based on its survey of state special education agencies for the 1992–93 school year. At that time, reform efforts were reportedly driven by (a) the need for greater flexibility in the provision of special education services, (b) the desire to eliminate incentives for the over-identification and restrictive placements of students with disabilities, and (c) more traditional goals of accountability, simplicity, adequacy of services, and equity.

Since that time, states’ interest in special education fiscal reform has continued. Concerns related to rising enrollments and costs of special education programs and increased competition for diminishing public resources also appear to have escalated. Federal policymakers are grappling with these finance issues, as well, as they reassess the funding formula for the reauthorized Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA). As we go to press, the Congressional debate is unresolved between advocates of the current IDEA funding formula based on special education student counts and advocates of a formula based on total student enrollment and the percentage of children in poverty in the state.

CSEF has continued to track state reform activities and has published case study profiles of special education finance reform in several states (Kentucky, Massachusetts, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and Vermont). In addition, CSEF recently completed its second nationwide survey on the status of state funding systems and reform, reflecting the 1994–95 school year. Results of the survey confirm continued fiscal reform activity across the nation. As shown in the adjacent table, 15 states reported having implemented special education finance reform within the last 5 years, and 29 states are considering such reform.

CSEF will publish more comprehensive results of this state survey in an upcoming report, *State Special Education Finance Systems, 1994–95*. The report will include brief profiles of each state’s funding system, along with summary data tables depicting:

- Characteristics of state funding systems (e.g., policy objectives, special factors included in formulas, separate funding mechanisms used by states for special education services, and perceived strengths and weaknesses)
- Information on state special education appropriations, sources of revenues, and child counts
- State special education expenditures

Be sure to look for this report in early 1997.

### Table Key

#### Pupil Weights:

Two or more categories of student-based funding for special programs, expressed as a multiple of regular education aid.

#### Resource-based:

Funding based on allocation of specific education resources (e.g., teachers or classroom units). Classroom units are derived from prescribed staff/student ratios by disabling condition or type of placement.

#### % Reimbursement:

Funding based on a percentage of allowable or actual expenditures.

#### Flat Grant:

A fixed funding amount per student or per unit.

Source: CSEF Survey on State Special Education Finance Systems, 1994–95

### Special Education Finance Reform in the States

State	Current Funding Formula	Basis of Allocation	State Special Ed. \$ for Target Population Only	Implemented Reform Within Last 5 Years	Considering Major Reform
Alabama	Flat Grant	Special Ed. Enrollment	✓	✓	✓
Alaska	Pupil Weights	Type of Placement			✓
Arizona*	Pupil Weights	Disabling Condition			✓
Arkansas	Pupil Weights	Type of Placement			✓
California	Resource-based	Classroom Unit	✓		✓
Colorado	Flat Grant	Special Ed. Enrollment	✓	✓	
Connecticut	% Reimbursement	Actual Expenditures			✓
Delaware	Resource-based	Classroom Unit			✓
Florida	Pupil Weights	Disabling Condition			✓
Georgia	Pupil Weights	Disabling Condition	For 90% of funds		✓
Hawaii	Pupil Weights	Placement & Condition			
Idaho	% Reimbursement	Actual Expenditures	✓	✓	
Illinois	Resource-based	Allowable Costs		✓	✓
Indiana	Pupil Weights	Disabling Condition			✓
Iowa	Pupil Weights	Type of Placement			✓
Kansas	Resource-based	No. of Sp. Ed. Staff	✓		
Kentucky	Pupil Weights	Disabling Condition		✓	✓
Louisiana	% Reimbursement	Actual Expenditures	✓	✓	✓
Maine	% Reimbursement	Allowable Costs			✓
Maryland	Flat Grant	Special Ed. Enrollment			
Massachusetts	Flat Grant	Total District Enrollment		✓	
Michigan	% Reimbursement	Allowable Costs	✓		✓
Minnesota	% Reimbursement	Actual Expenditures	✓		✓
Mississippi	Resource-based	No. of Sp. Ed. Staff	✓		
Missouri	Resource-based	No. of Sp. Ed. Staff	✓		✓
Montana	Flat Grant	Total District Enrollment		✓	
Nebraska	% Reimbursement	Allowable Costs	✓		✓
Nevada	Resource-based	Classroom Unit	✓		
New Hampshire	Pupil Weights	Type of Placement			✓
New Jersey	Pupil Weights	Placement & Condition			✓
New Mexico	Pupil Weights	Services Received			✓
New York	Pupil Weights	Type of Placement	✓		✓
North Carolina	Flat Grant	Special Ed. Enrollment	✓		✓
North Dakota	Flat Grant	Total District Enrollment		✓	
Ohio	Resource-based	Classroom Unit			✓
Oklahoma	Pupil Weights	Disabling Condition			
Oregon	Pupil Weights	Special Ed. Enrollment		✓	
Pennsylvania	Flat Grant	Total District Enrollment		✓	
Rhode Island	% Reimbursement	Actual Expenditures			✓
South Carolina	Pupil Weights	Disabling Condition	For 85% of funds		
South Dakota	% Reimbursement	Allowable Costs	✓		✓
Tennessee	Resource-based	Classroom Unit			✓
Texas	Pupil Weights	Type of Placement	✓	✓	
Utah**	Pupil Weights	Type of Placement		✓	
Vermont***	Flat Grant	Total District Enrollment		✓	
Virginia	Resource-based	Classroom Unit			
Washington	Pupil Weights	Special Ed. Enrollment	✓	✓	
West Virginia	Flat Grant	Special Ed. Enrollment	✓		
Wisconsin	% Reimbursement	Allowable Costs	✓		
Wyoming	% Reimbursement	Actual Expenditures			✓

\*Formula also contains a substantial flat grant allocation for selected disabling conditions

\*\*Formula amounts are now frozen and are based on allocations in prior years

\*\*\*Vermont's special education funding formula also contains a substantial percent reimbursement component

### Advisors Guide CSEF Toward the Year 2000

CSEF held its fourth annual meeting with the Advisory Board and OSEP staff on May 23, 1996, in Washington, DC. The purpose of the meeting was to review and refine our research agenda to meet the continuing and emerging information needs of special educators and policymakers as we move together toward the Year 2000.

As the demands to provide educational services to students with special needs continue to grow while continued resource growth becomes increasing less clear, several policy issues emerge as priorities for CSEF, OSEP, and others to address:

- Issues around continuing growth in special education enrollments and questions about encroachment on regular education (see feature article)
- Obtaining accurate and current measures of the true costs of special education
- Fiscal accountability, productivity, and cost-effectiveness related to special education
- State special education funding reform

These issues provide a foundation for CSEF's upcoming research activities. Our agenda will also be guided by practical criteria including (a) relevance to state and federal policy needs, (b) applicability to the work of other OSEP-funded centers, and (c) ability to enhance our understanding of the evolution of special education funding and programs during the last 30 years. The overarching objective remains the alignment of special education fiscal policy with program needs to meet the explicit and implicit purposes of the IDEA—that is, to improve the education programs and practices for children and youth with disabilities.

### ESCALATING COSTS

(continued from page 1)

states general education is designed to be supported through a combination of local, state, and federal resources.

Although national expenditures on special education are not really known, the best estimate suggests that about \$32 billion a year is being spent on these services, and that these expenditures are rising at a faster rate than for public education as a whole. Special education enrollments have also grown at a faster rate than general education from FY 1987 until FY 1992 (Parrish, 1996). In addition to these growth rates, a widely cited comparison is the 2.3 to 1 ratio of special education to general education costs per student (Moore et al., 1988; Chaikind, et al., 1993).

### Challenging these Perceptions

Rising special education enrollments are supported by well-documented data collections. However, the absence of recent, accurate, and comparable cost data may exacerbate the perception that special education expenditures are encroaching upon general education resources. Further amplifying these perceptions is increasing competition for limited resources among different education programs, including general and special education.

■ **Are the data adequate?** The last major national study of special education costs is based on data more than a decade old (Moore, et al., 1988). Gathering and maintaining up-to-date expenditure data by individual program, such as special education, are costly and complex undertakings that many states and school districts are not equipped to do. Where adequate accounting methods are lacking, it is difficult for education agencies to account explicitly for categorical program expenditures like special education.

In many states, education finance data are reported only in terms of “function” (e.g., administration) or “object” (e.g., salaries), and only some states are able to report expenditures by program. Furthermore, in response to a recent CSEF survey, only 13 states were able to report special education expenditures with a “high degree of confidence.” Indeed, in 1988, the federal government eliminated the requirement that states provide information on special education expenditures because many states reported the data lacked reliability, validity, and comparability.

In addition, it is not always clear what costs are included in the available data. For example, do the data include the costs of *related services* (e.g., medical, psychological)? If so, what are the costs of these related services, and what implications do including these costs have

the available data are important to note. For example, statistics referring to the growth of special education costs may *overstate the marginal cost* of serving special education students. Multiplying the overall percentage of K–12 public school students enrolled in special education and the generally accepted per-pupil cost multiple of special to general education (2.3 to 1) suggests that about one quarter of total education expenditures goes to special education. However, assuming that all special education students are entitled to receive the same services that general education students receive, the *marginal costs* of special education are closer to 14 percent of public education expenditures—a smaller, though admittedly nontrivial, public investment (Parrish, 1996).

Another issue relates to *likely shifts in the costs of educating students with disabilities*. Does the increased popu-

---

*... the absence of recent, accurate, and comparable cost data may exacerbate the perception that special education expenditures are encroaching upon general education resources.*

---

for interpreting the extent of escalating special education expenditures?

Finally, some of the reported data neither account for adjustments due to inflation, nor for the natural expansion that would be expected from implementing a major new federal initiative. That is, growth in the cost of providing special education services from initial implementation of the IDEA in 1975 until today—from \$1 billion to \$32 billion—might not merit being characterized as excessive since these expenditures represent the inception of a major new program and these amounts do not include adjustments for inflation.

■ **Are the data misleading?** Several issues relevant to interpreting

lation of students being served under the IDEA include children who were previously served by other public agencies or third-party payers—for example, students with severe disabilities who were previously served by health care, mental health and social service agencies. Indeed, inflation in health care costs has escalated at a faster rate than education costs, and, according to a recent report, “medical spending for people with disabilities is four times as great as for people without disabilities” (NIDRR, 1996). *Might the increases in special education costs be largely due to an expansion of costs in the related medical services included in the IDEA?*

(continued next page)

In a related vein, some states serve a broader age range of students under special education than others and thereby incur greater costs. While many states serve students through age 21, Michigan, for example, serves students through age 26—young adults who might otherwise be served by other public agencies.

Interestingly, as more of these children were previously served by other agencies in higher cost institutionalized settings, some of this cost shifting to education may actually have resulted in overall public savings. Even if small public savings are being realized, however, shifts in service from state agencies, such as health, to local education agencies will have the effect of transferring the tax burden from the state to the local level in many states. Recent CSEF data, in fact, suggest that local school districts are paying an increasing share of the bill for special education services in relation to that borne by the state and federal governments.

In addition, spending patterns in a number of states are clearly showing a shift away from education toward health care and prisons (GAO, 1995). In particular, escalating medical costs tend to represent a major shift in public dollars from younger to older populations whose health needs are greatest. The shift in public dollars away from education toward health care and other public growth sectors, such as criminal justice, suggests that rising special education costs are a relatively small part of a much larger debate about the best use of limited public resources.

Yet another factor may be *cost containment strategies, such as property tax restrictions, that limit growth in general education expenditures*. Such restrictions may result in a disproportionate growth in special education, since the expenses for mandated programs like special education may be less controllable than general education expenses.

Finally, *sociodemographic factors* also play a role in the rising enrollments and costs of serving students with special needs. Nationwide, the population of school-age children is becoming increasingly diverse and in need of special services. The number of economically and medically at-risk students—children in poverty, born with low birthweight, with parents engaged in substance abuse or infected with AIDS—is growing and becoming an increasing part of the population eligible for special education services.

### Questions to Address

Returning to some questions posed earlier: *Are special education costs and enrollments escalating?* Enrollments clearly continue to grow and, as expected, contribute to rising costs. However, special education cost information is neither sufficiently current nor adequate to clarify the magnitude, causes, and implications of this growth.

*Are expenditures rising faster than should be expected or accepted, and is special education encroaching on general education resources? If yes, to what extent is this due to the shifting of costs previously borne by other public agencies and also to the overall constraints placed on education budgets, especially in relation to other labor-intensive public sector activities such as health care and public safety?*

Clearly, the perception is alive and perhaps warranted that the current levels of public resources are not sufficient to meet the education needs of all students. Here again, however, the supporting data are not clear.

Answers to questions such as the following would help to clarify perceptions related to the issue of encroachment:

- What are the “real” costs of serving students with and without disabilities?

- How do state and local agencies deal with especially high-cost students? How are these costs best borne by the public—through local, state, or federal support?

- To what extent has responsibility for bearing these costs shifted from other public agencies to special education? From federal to state to local agencies?

- Are inroads in efficiency needed? What is being done? What might be done?

- What is the outlook for the future, and what demographic trends and education reforms might affect it?

As the demand for scarce resources continues to escalate, education agencies at all levels must share responsibility and accountability for bearing the costs of educating *all* students. On this broader level, questions like these need to be addressed:

- How are we using our education dollars as a nation? As states? As local school districts?

- How can districts and states use their existing dollars more effectively? How can we enhance educational productivity?

- How do national and state policies affect the implementation of shared costs and enhanced productivity? If they do not, what can be done to support cost sharing more effectively?

### Next Steps

The Office of Special Education Programs (OSEP) and CSEF recognize the need to address these challenging issues, and recently established a committee of experts to guide a systematic examination of issues of this type. As part of this effort, we will be developing a series of “fact sheets” to address key issues related to the costs of special education and perceived encroachment. We look forward to sharing this information with our readers in the near future. □

### References

- Beales, J.R. (1993, July). *Special education: Expenditures and obligations*. (Policy Study No. 161). Los Angeles, CA: Reason Foundation.
- Chaikind, S., Danielson, L.C., & Brauen, M.L. (1993). What do we know about the costs of special education: A selected review. *The Journal of Special Education*, 26(4), 344–370.
- Elam, S.M., Rose, L.C., & Gallup, A.M. (September 1996). *The 29th annual Phi Delta Kappa/Gallup Poll of the public's attitudes toward the public schools*. 78(1), 57–58.
- General Accounting Office (GAO) (1995). *School finance: Trends in U.S. education spending*. Washington, DC: GAO/HEHS, 95-235.
- Kakalik, J.S., Furry, W.S., Thomas, M.A., & Carney, M.F. (1981). *The cost of special education*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corp.
- Max, W., Rice, D.P., & Trupin, L. (March 1996). Medical Expenditures for People with Disabilities. *Disability Statistics Abstract*, (12), 1-4.
- Moore, M.T., Strang, E.W., Schwartz, M., & Braddock, M. (1988, December). *Patterns in special education service delivery and cost*. Washington, DC: Decision Resources Corp. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 303-027).
- Parrish, T.B. (1996). *Special education finance: Past, present, and future*. (CSEF Policy Paper No. 8). Palo Alto, CA: Center for Special Education Finance, American Institutes for Research.
- Rossmiller, R.A., Hale, J.A., & Frohreich, L.E. (1970). *Education programs for exceptional children: Resource configuration and costs*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin.
- Rothstein R., with Miles, K.H. (1995). *Where's the money gone? Changes in the level and composition of education spending*. Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute. □

Print copies of most CSEF publications can be ordered at no cost, or they can be downloaded from the Web. Policy papers can be ordered for \$12.00/copy or \$75 for a complete set of nine papers, including postage and handling. For an annotated list of CSEF products and an order form, see CSEF Publications.

---

AMERICAN INSTITUTES FOR RESEARCH



Center for Special Education Finance (CSEF)

- 1791 Arastradero Road, P.O. Box 1113 •
- Palo Alto, CA 94302-1113