CP 290F: Cities, Regions & Schools: Planning for the Next Generation

Policy Briefs
## Executive Summaries

April 25, 2006

Building "Smarter" Schools:
Improving Land Development and School Design
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I. The Problem

New school construction can be a major driver of suburban sprawl. Current land use and governance policies bias new school siting toward new construction, as opposed to infill development, and the reuse of existing buildings and sites. New school construction has resulted in "mega" schools, consuming large land areas on the edges of town, cut off from existing communities, and inaccessible to most students by walking, biking or public transit. In addition, large buildings and campuses work against current school reform efforts to create smaller, more personalized learning environments. Due to the fact that these schools are often constructed on lands at the edges of developed areas, a phenomenon of school sprawl has taken shape.

Exhibit 1: School Sprawl
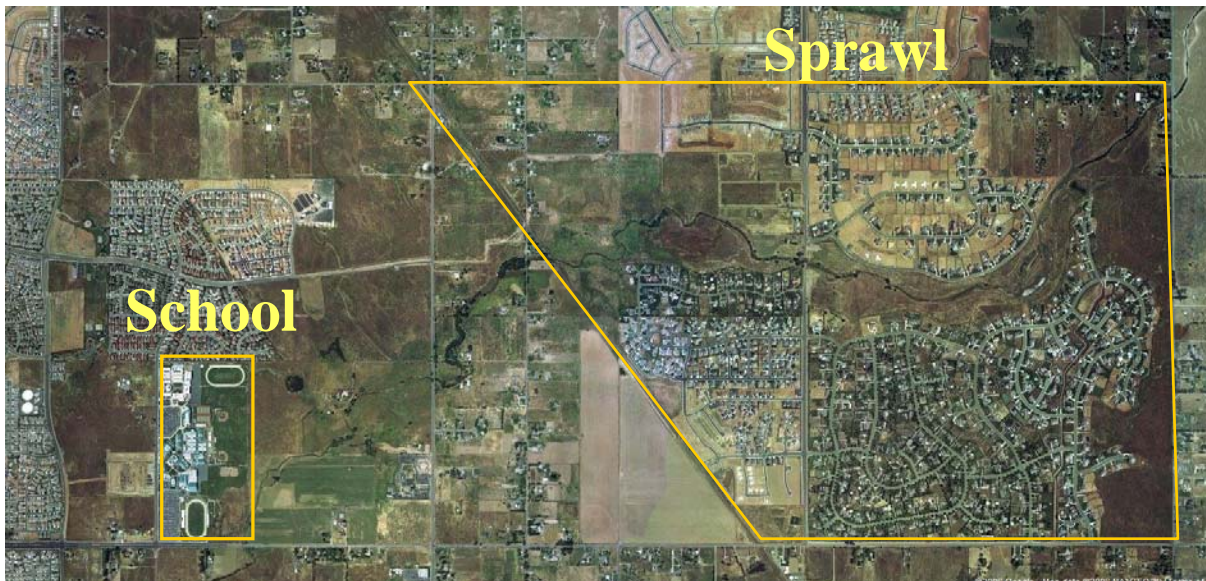
Sheldon High School, Elk Grove, CA

II. Why It Matters?

Nationally, student populations projected to increase, requiring the allocation of large amount of government funding for school facilities. The U.S. Census projects that there will be 81 million school-age children by 2050—a 32% increase over 2000.[1] In 2005, over $21 billion was spent on school facilities construction, with over 60% of those dollars spent on new school construction. The remainder was spent on the renovation of and addition to existing facilities. The confluence of these factors: population growth, school facility funds and the trend toward sprawl leads us to our central policy questions.

III. Guiding Questions

❖ How can we structure school facility funds and construction in a way that promotes sustainable development and regional equity?

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[1] U.S. Census. U.S. Interim Projections. "Table 2a. Projected Population of the United States, by Age and Sex: 2000 to 2050" Age 5-19 projection. <http://www.census.gov/ipc/www/usinterimproj/>

❖ What land use options do urban and suburban municipalities have to encourage efficient use of land and resources?

IV. Analytic Framework

Our research explores current trends in land development and school facilities planning. Changing demographic and immigration trends will have a tremendous influence on school facilities planning, student learning needs, and general land use patterns. Our final policy paper will review land use options available to school districts according to current demographic trends and regional types, as defined in the matrix below.

Table 1: School Construction & Renovation
Framework for Analyzing Demographic Trends and Regional Types

		Demographic Trends		City & Regional Examples	Land Use Options
URBAN	**Declining**	Decreasing population due to out migration and lack of in migration		San Francisco, Detroit	Infill, Consolidation, Adaptive Reuse, Historic Preservation, Joint Use Facilities
	Increasing	Increasing diversity, immigration and overall population		Los Angeles, Las Vegas	Infill, Eminent Domain, Increase Zoning Densities, Joint Use Facilities
	Stable	Relatively stable population trend		Boston, New York City	Infill, Redevelopment, Consolidation, Adaptive Reuse, Joint Use Facilities
SUBURBAN	**Inner Ring (First Suburbs)**	Increasing density, diversity, immigration and overall population		Maryland, Ohio, New Jersey	Infill, Adaptive Reuse, Historic Preservation, Redevelopment, Increase Zoning Densities, Joint Use Facilities
	Expanding (Exurbs)	Increasing diversity, mobility, immigration and overall population		California, North Carolina, Atlanta, Michigan	Increase Zoning Densities, Joint Use Facilities

<u>V. Key Issues:</u>

Disconnected Planning Processes

Currently, cities and schools make land use decision largely in isolation from one another. Cities on occasion include school planning in general plans, but rarely are schools included in revitalization efforts. Redevelopment plans tend to concentrate on residential and economic development without communicating with local school districts regarding school facilities plans. In growing suburban areas, schools are often excluded from development agreements, with school impact fees being negotiated by the city. On the other hand, schools are not required to follow general plan guidelines and they even have the power to use eminent domain if necessary to facilitate school construction, especially in large urban centers such as Los Angeles. Often, school districts must compete with private developers for land, thus they are unable to compete for lands that would best serve their educational and community needs.

Regional Equity

As mentioned above, nearly 60% of all 2005 school facilities funding was spent to build new schools. The vast majority of these schools are being built in expanding suburbs. Few of these funds are being allocated for use in older suburbs and urban schools. These schools are often the oldest, and most in need of investment. While expanding suburbs certainly demand new school facilities to meet growing population needs, older schools in existing neighborhoods must not be neglected. State and local funding formulas are not currently designed to create a geographic balance in expenditures and often pits urban and suburban schools against one another. This can prevent new school construction from focusing on those areas with the greatest need.

School Sprawl

Schools built on the suburban fringe are often disconnected from residential and economic centers. New school construction is regularly sited on "greenfield" sites, built at the expense of open space or agricultural lands. Due to the fact that industry guidelines favor large, single-story designs, surrounded by expansive parking lots and athletic fields, school districts are often forced to buy less expensive land located far from developed areas. This type of development requires substantial infrastructure expenditures, including utilities and municipal services. It also reduces the ability to commute by walking or biking, and can increase busing costs on the part of the school district. The physical isolation of the school from the town hinders community connections, and relocates a neighborhood anchor to the town's periphery.

<u>VI. Case Studies</u>

Juxtaposing two similar towns on the coast of Lake Michigan demonstrates the costs and consequences of non-collaborative decision making and the infill vs. greenfield debate.

In Charlevoix, Michigan, a community of about 2,000, the school district built a brand new high school, at a cost of $17.4 million. This 74-acre site, previously used as pastureland, lies on the outskirts of town, surrounded by woods and farmland; this suggests pretty views, but additional transportation costs for the district and individual families. The decision to build in this location was the result of closed-door sessions among just a few stakeholders, which ended in the decision to build new rather than to renovate at lower cost. This was much to the chagrin of the public, who generated several lawsuits, attempted a school board recall, and are left mistrusting their local school board.

Exhibit 2: Mega-School

Charlevoix High School, Charlevoix, Michigan

In contrast, the 1,600 person community of Harbor Springs modernized the town's 1915 nine-acre high school and built a brand new middle school a block away, at a total cost of $31.5 million. Voters approved a bond measure after prolonged community debate on the subject of school construction, which was encouraged by the school board. Whereas, in Charlevoix, the school board only held two public meetings to discuss the school construction proposal, in Harbor Springs, the school board held 70 public meetings.[2]	**Exhibit 3: Community School** Harbor Springs High School Harbor Springs, MI

This extensive planning period took 18 months to complete, but the result was a stronger community for a lower price. The community was proud of its schools, litigation was avoided, many students are able to walk or bike to schools reducing reliance on busing and vehicle traffic, and the schools consume less land, because of the infill site, higher densities and shared facilities.

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[2] McClelland, Mac and Keith Schneider. Michigan Land Use Institute, "Hard Lessons: Causes and Consequences of Michigan's School Construction Boom," February 2004: 10-11 and Harbor Springs Public Schools < http://www.harborps.org>. Accessed April 22, 2006.

VII. Conclusion

In conclusion, land development and school design are fundamental to shaping sustainable growth, supporting school reform efforts to create smaller learning environments and stimulating effective community cohesion. If implemented incorrectly, disjointed school and city planning can lead to community distrust and often exacerbate other social inequities such as racial and economic segregation, and antagonism between neighboring school districts. Bridging the disconnect between cities and schools will pave the way for more efficient land development, infrastructure spending, and community development. With an integrated planning process, schools can effectively shape smarter growth and contribute towards more sustainable development patterns. Ultimately, the purpose of redesigning schools and their relationship to cities is meant to improve the living and learning environment of students and their families.

Appendix A

The table below describes land use and building design options available to localities depending on their spatial type and demographic profile.

Table 2: Menu of Land Use Options

Land Policy Options	URBAN ⇒⇒⇒⇒⇒⇒⇒⇒⇒⇒⇒⇒⇒SUBURBAN⇒⇒⇒EXURBAN				
	Decreasing	*Stable*	*Increasing*	*Inner Ring*	*Expanding*
Infill	X	X	X	X	
Greenfield					X
Joint use	X	X	X	X	X
Adaptive reuse	X	X	X	X	
Historic Preservation	X	X	X	X	
Eminent Domain			X		
Compact School Design	X	X	X	X	X
Consolidation	X	X			

<div align="center">**EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**
Housing, Transportation and Schools

By Leigh Angres, Elinor Buchen,
Sundar Chari, and David Zisser</div>

Introduction

This policy brief explores the many dimensions along which educational opportunities are impacted by issues related to housing and transportation, and discusses several strategies for addressing these issues. It is low-income, minority communities who are disproportionately affected by a lack of housing and transportation options, a situation that serves to stifle educational opportunities. To better understand the situation, this brief seeks to answer the following questions:

1. How do housing instability, poverty concentration, and poor access to quality affordable housing (housing choice) and transportation contribute to the quality of schools and student outcomes?
2. What are the strategies we can use to address these problems?

Background

The current state of housing segregation and poverty concentration is largely a result of a stream of federal housing and transportation policies. These policies have perpetuated redlining, which prohibited African-Americans from obtaining homes in the suburbs and relegating them to homes with decreasing values in the inner cities. Other policies consolidated public housing and displaced thousands of poor, mostly black people as part of Urban Renewal and highway expansion in the 1950s. In addition, the courts enforced racial covenants, which barred blacks and other minorities from certain neighborhoods until the Supreme Court ruled it unconstitutional in 1948. The sorting of housing by race and income, therefore, is no coincidence, but largely the effect of explicit policies to exclude some people and concentrate them in the cities.

Issues Affecting Schools and Learning

Lack of Affordable Housing
According to the National Low Income Housing Coalition, nearly one-third of households in this country had housing problems; low-income people, who comprise one-quarter of the population, represent two-thirds of those with housing problems.[i] The fact that children are over-represented in low income households, for whom the lack of affordable housing is most pronounced, makes it clear that the lack of affordable housing is not just a housing problem, but an educational one as well. From 1997-2002, 150,000 publicly subsidized units were taken off the market.[ii] The affordable housing which does exist is predominantly located in central-city, low-income, minority neighborhoods. It is established that "residents of affordable housing are much more likely to live in disadvantaged neighborhoods than other US residents are,"[iii] a pattern which exacerbates concentrated poverty.

Low-income families struggling with housing affordability often end up in housing that is overcrowded or of poor quality. Children living in overcrowded homes are more liable to deal with increased family tensions, and those living in poor quality homes are more prone to poor health conditions.[iv] These are all problems that children bring to the classroom, problems that both stunt their own learning and disrupt the learning of other students. Further, in many metropolitan areas, the lack of affordable housing has weakened the bond between teachers and communities as teachers find themselves priced out of the communities that they work in.[v]

Economic Segregation

Concentrated poverty—and concentrated affluence—in neighborhoods results in de facto segregation in schools. The resulting poverty concentration in schools "is consistently related to lower performance on every education outcome measured."[vi] In fact, nationally, "a middle-class school is twenty-four times more likely to be consistently high performing than a high-poverty school."[vii]

The reasons for this are hard to pinpoint, but economic segregation "is correlated with in-school factors that impact an individual's achievement level," including the economic background of the student's peers, the economic resources available to the school, teacher quality, access to health care and proper nutrition, and the presence of gangs and crime.[viii] These conditions translate into a student body with higher needs, though the schools usually lack sufficient resources to deal with these extra challenges.[ix] These students' additional needs also take a toll on teachers, whose performance may suffer as a result.[x]

On the other hand, studies show that attending middle-class schools results in increased opportunity for low-income students. Not only do low-income students who attend middle-class schools perform higher,[xi] they are also "exposed to a higher set of educational expectations and career options,"[xii] social and democratic benefits, increased perspective, higher levels of reasoning, and more meaningful interactions.[xiii] They also get the benefit of middle-class parents with the resources, time, and education to advocate for their children.[xiv]

Forced Mobility

Scarce affordable housing options, lack of jobs, unstable income streams, and family disruptions can lead to unanticipated or undesirable residential changes. The effects of forced mobility are borne disproportionately by low-income families.[xv] Children of such low-income families experience some of the greatest negative effects, including poor educational outcomes.[xvi] The Government Accountability Office reported in 1994 that one in six third-graders have attended three different schools.[xvii] A 2002 study of children in Chicago public elementary schools reported that only 38 percent of students examined had attended the same school during the same school year.[xviii] Average achievement scores of schools with many mobile students are significantly lower than those schools with a more stable student base.[xix] Older students are also affected by residential changes. A University of Chicago study found that both residential and educational mobility are strongly correlated with early high school dropout rates.

Transportation Inequity

Low-income, central city families are less likely to possess the means to transport their children to schools in neighborhoods other than their own. This is an issue in the growing number of school choice programs across the nation. Many studies have acknowledged that school choice programs that do not provide free transportation to low-income children are not providing a real choice and risk further alienating the most at-risk children in poorly performing schools.[xx] However, offering free transportation for school choice programs can often be costly and logistically challenging, since voucher students are often very far from their school of choice, and their routes do not always coincide with regular school bus routes.[xxi] Transportation is becoming an even greater challenge as neighborhoods confront low-density, sprawl development, consolidating school districts, and rising fuel costs.

Strategies to Address These Issues

Housing Choice Vouchers

A number of studies suggest that "tenant-based subsidies that help low-income families move from high- to lower-poverty areas improve their well-being and life chances, particularly those of their children."[xxii] Current statistics on the Section 8 Housing Choice Voucher program, as well as evidence from the Gautreaux program in Chicago and the Moving to Opportunity program, demonstrate that

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participants do in fact use the vouchers to move to neighborhoods with smaller concentrations of poverty and minorities.

There is also evidence that relates the Gautreaux program directly to student achievement. Suburban movers, specifically, initially had difficulties adjusting, but after a few years in the suburbs, their grades and school performance "were the same as those of city movers." Suburban movers also "had smaller classes, higher satisfaction with teachers and courses, and better attitudes about school than city movers."[xxiii] Several years later, students who had moved to the suburbs had much lower drop-out rates than city movers, equivalent grades (suggesting higher achievement, given the greater expectations in the suburban schools), and higher college track and enrollment rates, particularly in four-year colleges.[xxiv]

The Section 8 program, however, faces some critical barriers to the goal of de-concentrating poverty. These include the difficulty for low-income tenants to search for housing in more affluent areas, the lack of participation on the part of landlords because of discrimination and because the "fair market rent" set by HUD may be too low, and the desire of tenants to live in familiar settings. The Gautreaux program, which relocated low-income urban residents to the suburbs and to other neighborhoods, has had some long-term success, on the other hand. Families currently live in areas with lower poverty, lower crime, lower concentrations of minorities, and higher incomes than their origin neighborhoods.[xxv] The program also had relatively low visibility and therefore reduced backlash and stigma.[xxvi] While the experimental Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program's results were also mixed, families generally moved to communities that were "more advantaged than those from which they originated."[xxvii] Economic conditions were improved, and poverty rates were lower, in the placement communities.[xxviii]

Inclusionary Zoning

Inclusionary zoning ordinances require builders to include a certain amount of housing for low- and moderate-income households. This strategy is a market-based solution to integrate neighborhoods, and consequently, integrate schools.[xxix] Today, especially in growing metropolitan areas characterized by skyrocketing home prices and limited resources for publicly supported affordable housing, inclusionary zoning has become a popular tool.[xxx] One of the first and most successful programs was implemented in Montgomery County, Maryland. In Montgomery, 80% of the residents of the affordable units were minority; further, studies have shown that the households represented a variety of income levels.[xxxi] Inclusionary zoning in New Jersey did not result in racial desegregation, and it appeared to benefit mostly moderate incomes rather than low incomes.[xxxii] However, this result contrasts with New Jersey, where inclusionary zoning was implemented after the Mount Laurel court decisions.

One drawback of inclusionary zoning is that it is generally more economically and politically feasible to build moderate income rather than low and very-low income housing, decreasing inclusionary zoning's ability to truly impact economic segregation.[xxxiii] In addition, there have been no studies measuring the impact of inclusionary zoning on education, and only a few on its impact on community desegregation.

The Developer Model

The Developer Model strategy focuses on schools as part of a comprehensive approach to revitalizing blighted neighborhoods. The goal of this model is to de-concentrate poverty and promote economic integration through mixed-income communities. Private and non-profit developers try to attract middle-class families by improving schools and housing, while also trying to retain existing, low-income residents by creating superior, affordable housing options. Funding for these communities is drawn from many sources, including HOPE VI grants,[xxxiv] private investments, and local housing authorities.

An example of the Developer Model is Centennial Place in Atlanta, Georgia. A joint venture between private developers and the Atlanta Housing Authority,[xxxv] The project began as a revitalization of

the nation's oldest housing projects. Centennial Place is a mixed-income community, of which 40 percent is designated for public housing, 20 percent is selected for tax credit families, and the remainder for market-rate units.[xxxvi] The hallmark of the community is Centennial Place Elementary School. Developers formed an agreement with the local board of education to replace the old elementary school. Local partnerships were integral to the reconstruction, as resources were supplied by the Atlanta-based Coca-Cola Company. In 2005, almost half of the students exceeded state standards in reading, and 20 percent exceeded standards in math, making the school one of the top performers in the state.[xxxvii]

Not all communities benefit from revitalization efforts. In Chicago, gentrification efforts coupled with school reform pushed out low-income, minority families.[xxxviii] Other problems exist regarding the extent to which new mixed-income communities can sustain a stock of good, affordable homes while the quality of education rises. A related concern is the retention of previous residents in newly renovated housing sites.

School Choice Programs with Transportation

A critical part of creating an equitable school choice program is ensuring free transportation to schools outside a student's immediate neighborhood. One example of a public school choice program that is actively seeking new, innovative ways to provide school choice with transportation is Miami-Dade County Public School (MDCPS). MDPCS is a large, geographically-dispersed, metropolitan school district that has struggled with racial and economic segregation. A study published in 2002 found that there was still a high degree of residential and school segregation in the district.[xxxix] In 2001, the district implemented a voluntary desegregation program called "I Choose" with a federal grant from the Voluntary Public School Choice Program.[xl] In order to minimize costs and maximize the number of students taking advantage of choice opportunities, the district was divided into "choice zones," each containing approximately four high schools, six to twelve middle schools, and nine to sixteen elementary schools.[xli] Transportation is provided to schools within a student's "choice zone," limiting the distances traveled. The program also uses a new computerized routing system to track buses more closely and allocate resources more efficiently.[xlii]

Providing transportation does not single-handedly lead to equitable school choice programs. Other issues such as parental education, access to information, and protections for non-choosers need to be addressed in order to create equitable school choice. Also, rising fuel costs and increasing sprawl development will likely continue to increase the cost of school transportation, limiting the number of districts that can effectively offer free transportation.

Conclusions

It is clear from the discussion that efforts to improve educational outcomes for low-income, minority communities must include efforts to improve housing and transportation opportunities. However, few studies have examined the effects of interventions such as inclusionary housing, housing vouchers, developer models or changes in transportation provision for school choice programs. In conclusion, we find that:

- *These strategies are not one-size-fits-all approaches.* Inclusionary zoning works well when there is a very strong housing market and developers are willing to provide affordable units. Developer models necessitate a lead developer who can pull together the funding and community support for a school-based project. Transportation solutions depend largely on the layout and infrastructure of a given community.
- *The effectiveness of these strategies depends on the specific parameters of the program or development.* Inclusionary zoning's effect on alleviating concentrated poverty in schools will be limited if its provision does not mandate housing for low-income households. The

highlighted school choice program's ability to provide low-income, minority students with real choices depends on how many quality choices those student have within their regional subdivision. Likewise, housing choice voucher programs will be more effective in dispersing poverty if they include counseling and target participants to low-poverty neighborhoods.

- *There is a lack of evidence regarding the effectiveness of these strategies.* These programs need to be carefully evaluated to determine whether or not they lead to positive school outcomes for students, particularly low-income students.

Endnotes

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[ii] Robinson, Lisa and Andrew Grant-Thomas. "Race, Place, and Home: A Civil Rights and Metropolitan Opportunity Agenda". The Civil Rights Project, Harvard University. 2004.

[iii] ibid

[iv] ibid

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[ix] Kirwan, p.8.

[x] Wake County, p.1.

[xi] Kirwan, p.7; Wake County, p.3.

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[xiii] Kirwan, p.9.

[xiv] Orfield 2005, pp.9-10.

[xv] Hartman, Chester. High Classroom Turnover: How Children Get Left Behind. Published in Rights at Risk: Equality in the Age of Terrorism. 2002.

[xvi] *Ibid,* page 228.

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[xix] *Ibid.*

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[xxii] Johnson, p.4.

[xxiii] Rosenbaum, p.240.

[xxiv] Ibid, pp.242-44.

[xxv] De Luca, p.31.

[xxvi] Rosenbaum, p.246.

[xxvii] Johnson, p.12.

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[xxxii] Orfield, Myron. "Land Use and Housing Policies to Reduce Concentrated Poverty and Racial Segregation".

[xxxiii] Sasso, Damiano. "The Effect of the Mount Laurel Decision on Segregation by Race, Income and Poverty Status". (April 2004).

[xxxiv] The HOPE VI program was created in the 1980s to redevelop decaying public housing projects and to help residents become homeowners.

[xxxv] Centennial Place was the first HOPE VI site.

[xxxvi] Baron, Richard. 2003.

[xxxvii] www.achievementalliance.org

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[xl] U.S. Department of Education: Office of Innovation and Improvement Creating Strong District Choice Programs 2004.

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[xlii] http://www.ed.gov/news/newsletters/innovator/2004/0601.html

Health and Safety in Schools: School-Community Solutions
Gloria Bruce and Eliza Johnston

Driving issue: The Connection Between Health, Safety, Schools and Community

Schools have traditionally focused on teaching skills, building social capital, and creating opportunities for children. However, it is becoming increasingly obvious that not all students arrive at school prepared to engage in these crucial tasks due to threats to their health and safety. Authors such as Richard Rothstein have shown that mental and physical health problems – including vision, nutrition, dental care, and self-esteem – have a greater impact on school achievement than almost any purely academic factor. Research shows that health issues and the environment of the school have a substantial impact on academic performance and perhaps the overall well-being of the school and neighborhood. Students who have their health, nutrition, and exercise needs met have higher academic achievement, self-esteem and school attendance, the main contributors to successful student performance. Safety—both psychological and physical—is a basic need that must be met in order for students to succeed in school[xlii].

Health and safety problems such as obesity, illness, or violence, often have their roots in the surrounding community, but schools can play an active role in alleviating (or worsening) these problems *(see diagram).* As a focal point of community, schools can foster health and safety programs that lead to improved student health, improved community health, and ultimately increased academic success.
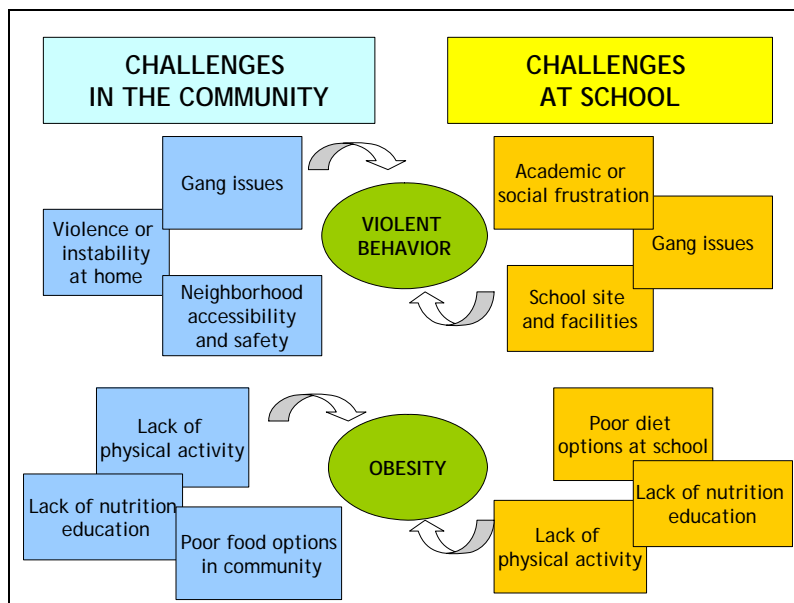
While school health, safety, and nutrition issues have been integrated with education for decades, many current programs are not solving the most pressing health and safety issues – including two public health problems of national concern: violence and obesity. What types of policies or community-based solutions can address the complexities of problems like these, without further straining already overburdened school budgets, staff, and resources? Where are such solutions appropriate, and how can they be made financially and politically feasible? Our brief, summarized here, introduces the issues and a few examples of programs that bring together schools and community resources to find answers to these questions.

Childhood Obesity: Nutrition, Exercise, and Academic Performance

The United States Centers for Disease Control reports that presently 30% of children in the United States are obese, overweight, or at risk of obesity, up from 15% percent in the 1970s[xlii]. A report on 4th, 5th and 6th grade students found that 53% of the students already had one or more cardiovascular risk factor.[xlii] The dramatic health affects aside, obesity is actually affecting school performance. A study involving 11,192 kindergartners found that overweight children had significantly lower math and reading test scores at the beginning of the year than did their healthy-weight peers and that these differences persisted into first grade.[xlii] Providing nutritious meals that exceed USDA guidelines and enhance student health and well-being is the first in a series of integrated steps toward providing an integrated health program at school. The solutions we highlight go further, though, bringing community health providers onto the campus to ensure a high level of nutrition counseling and encourage healthy lifestyles.

Safe Schools: Mental Health, Violence, and Crime

While obesity threatens the physical health of students, public health officials and educators are increasingly aware that adolescent violence is linked to mental health problems and a declining sense of safety in schools and communities. Concerns of school safety include not only the physical characteristics of the school building, site, and surrounding community but also the behavior and habits of the students. Because of this, a broad-based effort by the entire community – educators, students, parents, law enforcement agencies, businesses, and other community organizations – is needed to ensure that America's schools provide a healthy environment that encourages learning. Although most schools in the United States are not considered to be dangerous (and in fact fewer than 1% of homicides among young people happen at schools), fears about safety, the threat of violence or the psychological taunting of students, teachers, parents, and community members are growing problems and therefore need to be addressed.[xlii]

Current research definitively links school violence and psychological distress with low academic achievement. In an education era that increasingly measures success by test scores, threats of school violence and episodes of actual violence cannot be ignored. There are two main ways in which actual and perceived threats to school safety manifests themselves: bullying and the broader issues of in-school violence. Both have implications on the physical as well as mental state of the students and to a lesser extent the surrounding community.[xlii] Increasing, schools are realizing that health programs are not complete without an emphasis on mental health services including anger management and personal counseling that can help stem violence and risky behavior. To obtain the needed expertise in these areas, schools often must reach out beyond the district for resources.

New directions: Policy solutions with community health and safety vision

While it is difficult for schools – especially those that are overcrowded or underresourced – to take on more than the basic tasks of teaching and classroom management, educational institutions play such a strong role in enhancing or harming the health of students that school-based programs are a necessity. Realizing this, a number of schools have undertaken holistic approaches to mental and physical health services, drawing on community and local resources to enhance student health without overburdening school staff. As education experts such as Joy Dreyfoos and Phillip Coltoff have noted, this idea is not new. For over a century, educators and public health officials have seen schools as a logical delivery site for health services, with over 95% of American children in school. Basic services such as screenings for infectious disease or first aid are provided at most schools, and even controversial care like reproductive counseling is becoming widely accepted nationwide. But what about services that could treat complicated

problems like violent behavior and obesity? These health problems, intertwined with social and environmental conditions, need to be tackled with resource-intensive programs like anger management classes, support groups, nutrition guidance, and repeat care. Schools have dabbled in such areas for decades. But the recent wave of school-based health programs emphasizes these services, drawing on local partnerships and innovative menus of programs to make a difference.

Two case studies: School-based health centers in different metropolitan settings

School-based health centers come in many different forms. Since the first ones were founded in the 1970s, more than 1,300 have sprung up in cities, suburbs, and rural communities nationwide. We have chosen to highlight two of the newer, more comprehensive, and community-based models that show how this approach can thrive in very different settings.

Chappell Hayes, Oakland, CA
Established in 2004, the Chappell Hayes Center at McClymonds High School in Oakland is a much-touted example of how the school-based health center (SBHC) model can work. Although Oakland can be technically defined as an older suburb of San Francisco, this city of 500,000 is an urban center in its own right, and certain neighborhoods have all of the problems typically associated with older urban cores. McClymonds, located in West Oakland, serves a predominantly African-American student body in an area characterized by high levels of poverty, violence, and economic stagnation. Yet West Oakland is a proud community with a history of activism and a strong network of support from non-profits and foundations. Drawing on many neighborhood organizations and city and county agencies, Chappell Hayes is a full-time SBHC providing preventative care, mental health counseling, reproductive care and other services. Students come for programs like the "Safe Space," where they can receive confidential counseling, but also for basic check-ups, prescriptions, support groups, or sports physicals. A partnership with Children's Hospital Oakland adds to school health staff rather than straining incumbent faculty; the San Francisco Foundation provided a start-up grant for a dedicated campus facility; and Medical insurance reimbursements for low-income students keep the Center in business, providing 75% of its $1.5 million annual operating budget.[xlii]

School Based Youth Services, Pinelands, NJ
Health issues like violence and obesity are certainly not limited to low-income communities of color like West Oakland. Children who live in the rapidly developing suburban-rural fringe can also face social and environmental pressures that hinder their mental and physical health and hence their achievement. Realizing this, the state of New Jersey's Department of Human Services has helped establish community-based SBHCs at a minimum of one school in each county . Pinelands Community High School, in the exurban community of Tuckerton, serves mostly white students in a mixed-income setting. Its health services do not match those of Chappell Hayes in breadth – in part because the intense full-time care is not as necessary, and in part because most students' care cannot be financed by public insurance reimbursements. But Pinelands' School-Based Youth Services is still a crucial component of the school, providing support groups and counseling for any teenager in the area (even those not enrolled in school). In addition, Pinelands attracts students and takes advantage of community resources by offering job training and recreation programs staffed by organizations like the local police department and Tae Kwon Do school. Since the program was started, dropout and pregnancy rates have declined, test scores are up, and many states have looked towards New Jersey as a model.

Where do we go from here? Issues and challenges for the future

The case studies described above show two very different examples of how school-community partnerships can help solve health issues with roots outside of school, and help students thrive both on and off campus. All communities, regardless of their challenges, likely have local resources that can be connected with the school. But as the matrix below demonstrates, community partnerships need to be tailored to their setting. The McClymonds model, including a high level of personal care and a revenue stream guaranteed by public assistance, may not be necessary or may not work in a mixed-income environment where children have other sources of medical care outside of school. At the same time, the Pinelands model – which includes counseling and some health care but focuses on other services and is not a full-time center – may not be sufficient in some struggling neighborhoods. Whatever model is used in different metropolitan settings, however, partnerships with government and with local organizations should be a foundation for improving health.

What works where?	High-poverty urban core	Older ("inner ring" or "first") suburb	Newer suburb	Suburb/rural fringe
Full-service SBHC	YES	Feasible?	Necessary?	Necessary?
Limited service clinic	Sufficient?	YES	Necessary?	YES
Government & community partnerships	YES	YES	YES	YES

Conclusions and recommendations

Although providing health care in schools has a long history, the current wave of full-time School Based Health Centers is relatively new and still has to prove its feasibility. While school-based services have great potential to help combat complex problems like obesity and violence, they cannot do it alone. City or county-wide planning can reinforce traditional solutions like health education. With this in mind, we recommend future study in the following areas:

- *Safe and well-planned school facilities.* Campuses need ample space for health facilities, but also they also need learning environments with non-hazardous materials and secure design; open space and recreation areas; location that emphasizes walking or biking over driving.
- *Wise neighborhood planning that reinforces health and safety.* This includes community policing and youth programs to relieve gang violence on the way to and from school; attempts to keep unhealthy fast food outlets away from school campuses; easy transportation access from schools to health centers, homes, and other services. City and local government can reinforce these goals in ways the school district cannot.
- *Further examination of financing models.* Schools must have equitable financing so that they can afford full-time health practitioners – and ensure that high-poverty schools do not have to rely on concentrated poverty and the public assistance associated with it for their revenue stream.
- *Potential for full-service schools.* Should these innovative school-community partnerships be open to non-students as well? What about the families of the students, or other neighbors? Creating community health centers on school campuses is a politically popular idea and has great potential – but the financing and feasibility issues only magnify, and few examples yet exist.

- *Evaluation and best practices*. Few statistics yet exist about the true impact of the newer SBHCs. If solutions like this are to be brought "to scale," and adapted to different settings, we need more information on how well they work and whether they really do improve student achievement and community health.

As community-school partnerships grow and connect even more with local resources, hopefully educators and policymakers will find more ways to end major threats to student health, safety, and achievement – ultimately benefiting public health and welfare overall.

Equity, Segregation and Choice:
The Changing Nature of School Reform
Executive Summary
Gina Banks, Greta Kirschenbaum, Josh Mason, Jeanette Nelson

<u>Introduction</u>

Within the United States, the debate around educational equity is fueled by dynamic forces and divergent perspectives. An economy with changing workforce needs, patterns of economic and racial segregation, competing theories surrounding the structure and size of effective schools, and persistent funding and achievement disparities between races and classes all play a role in the current quest for educational reform. Within this context, this policy brief attempts to both examine the reasons for the persistent inequity of educational opportunities available to different groups and individuals, and address the undying question policy question of how to bridge the gap in educational quality and achievement that continues to exist in this county between rich and poor, white and nonwhite.

Equity, Segregation and Choice

The issue of equity is applied in various ways, often defined by school funding cases. As applied to access, equity addresses policies of inclusion, such as special education and desegregation by race or gender. When applied to funding, equity means neutrality-oriented school finance.   Equity as applied to resources deals with policies of inclusion as related to special programs (like AP) and language programs for ELL students. Finally, when applied to outcomes, equity is achieved through programs such as affirmative action. All these concepts of equity – access, funding, resources, and outcomes – are real issues in many communities and regions across America.

Segregation is often at the heart of the equity debate. According to Gary Orfield, United States public schools are now 41 percent nonwhite and are substantially segregated on the basis of race. Since the 1980s, segregation of black and Hispanic students has been steadily increasing, causing concern that the nation is returning to the segregated schools of the *Brown v. Board of Education* era. Meanwhile, achievement scores are still strongly linked to school racial composition, as well as the presence (or absence) of highly qualified and experienced teachers.   For example, a school that is performing well in academics is far more likely to be a majority of upper class white students than lower-class black or Hispanic students.

Recognizing the correlation between segregation and school quality, educational policy makers have proposed a variety of choice alternatives to the traditional schooling model. In general, the idea of choice in education is seen as important because of the positive outcomes that can result from the ability of a parent or guardian to choose a school for his or her child. Studies show parents are more involved and more satisfied when given a choice in schooling. Choice also decreases public school monopoly and increased competition can increase accountability for the schools. Parents are also given the ability to select schools that better suit the needs/interest of the child when choice is offered.

The major choice options examined in this policy brief are small schools, charter schools, and vouchers, with community organizing as an effective tactic that can be applied to all of these reform proposals.   Each of the choices produces and grows out of a different relationship with the neighborhood. For example, one choice option may strengthen the focus on revitalizing and reinvesting a struggling neighborhood, while another may bus children out of segregated neighborhoods. With each choice comes a different notion of equity and a different attempt at addressing current challenges within America's segregated metropolitan areas.

Small Schools

Popularized in a national educational context wherein large, impersonal, and often overcrowded urban high schools are perceived to be delivering less-than-adequate results, small schools represent a model for school choice featuring scaled-down, intimate and specialized learning environments. The term "small schools" can be used generally in reference to smaller than average primary and secondary educational institutions, or, more specifically, to refer to the types of school-within-a-school structures that have become popular in recent years within many large urban districts. Other commonly used terms for small schools include, interdisciplinary teams, sub-schools, mini-schools, academies, and theme schools.

Small schools have varying effects on neighborhoods, depending on the type. Because many small schools are theme-based, if a student prefers a theme that is not in their neighborhood, they may have to travel farther to attend a theme of their choice. However, because of the intimate setting, when a small school is neighborhood-based, it has the potential to strengthen the bonds in a community if most children attend the same school.

The benefits of small schools are often framed in terms of their ability to combat the problems commonly associated with large, urban schools, such as overcrowding, poor achievement, under qualified teachers, and unsafe conditions. Recent studies focused on examining the effects of downsizing schools on school climate and student performance have shown that small schools can offer the following benefits: improved academic achievement; decreases in violence and behavior problems; greater student participation in extracurricular activities; stronger personal bonds; greater parental and community involvement; improved communication among staff; improved instructional quality; and improved teacher working conditions and job satisfaction.

Insofar as the students who are most adversely affected by attending large, substandard schools are those from racial minority groups and low socioeconomic backgrounds, small schools are also perceived as a way to address educational inequities. Past research has shown that minority and low-SES students have been concentrated in states that have large school districts and large schools within those districts, and that this distribution has been a notable factor in determining levels of student achievement.

While the small schools model clearly presents an opportunity to improve school cultures and educational outcomes, various political, economic and social factors can pose real barriers to forming and sustaining implementation these types of schools. For example, long-established ideas about what a schools, and high schools in particular, should look like can present a barrier to the acceptance of the small schools model. Forming and maintaining small schools also can be hampered by a lack of sustained resources and technical assistance and by perceptions that small schools simply cost more to run than large ones can be a notable impediment.

This brief will present case studies from two locales – New York City and Oakland, CA – wherein numerous small schools have been opened as part of overarching school reform efforts. Many small schools in Oakland have been opened as part of the City's Small Schools Initiative, an effort that involved collaboration between Oakland Community Organization (OCO), the Coalition for Equitable Schools (CES), the Bay Area Coalition for Equitable Schools (BayCES) and the Oakland Unified School District. In New York City, more than 200 small high schools have been opened in various parts of the City. A driving force behind the explosion of small schools in New York City has been an organization called New Visions for Public Schools (New Visions), which has worked in partnership with the New York City Department of Education to engage communities in the process of developing and sustaining small, personalized high schools that offer academically rigorous educational opportunities for all students.

Charter Schools
Charter schools, which account for 1.5 percent of the U.S. K-12 student population, are autonomous, tax-funded public schools that are self-governing and largely freed from school district regulations. Parental choice determines pupil enrollment in charter school, not residential zones. Charter schools are an attractive reform proposal to some because they allow school leaders to design their own school programs and practices without the regulation of the school district. In theory, the idea of charter schools gives more community empowerment because parents are more in control of their children's future. While some charter schools draw from the immediate neighborhood and help to strengthen community involvement, many others attract students from a wide area and increase the mobility of students to seek a new school outside of their current neighborhood. By providing the choice to attend a different school not controlled by district placement mechanisms, charter schools often move students to new places outside of the neighborhood. This would potentially reduce resources for the local schools as students, and their average daily attendance funding, go elsewhere

Charter schools provide some advantages over traditional public schools. They are more likely to have a specialized curriculum that focuses on topics of student interest or modalities of learning that are different than the traditional audio-visual model. They are also more likely to offer curriculum in noncore subjects such as music, foreign languages and fine arts than do comparable public schools. Parental participation is higher in charter schools as well.

However, there are also barriers to effective implementation of charter school. New charter schools across the country face difficulties securing adequate facilities, obtaining start-up funding, and acquiring the expertise to run a charter school. Researchers also found evidence that the charter school accountability system is flawed because parents may not be able to determine whether or not their child's charter school is effective. Troublingly, studies have shown that charter schools lead to more racially stratified schools. Because charter schools are schools of choice, some students (or parents) may choose to attend a school that has a similar ethnic or racial composition to their own.

This brief will present case studies on successful charter schools and analyze current research on charter school student achievement. The case studies will examine both stand-alone charter schools (Lighthouse Community Charter and High Tech High) and professionalized charter schools (KIPP). The brief will also examine a case study of a Bronx charter school that closed because of financial mismanagement. Current scholarly work on the issue of charter school student achievement has yielded mixed results. Some studies came to the conclusion that charter school students, on average, begin with lower test scores than their public schools counterparts and then after an initial start up period, attending a charter school had null or negative effects on test scores when compared with public schools. Other studies have shown increases in charter school student achievement compared to their public school counterparts in their neighborhood.

Vouchers
While a controversial issue, educational vouchers – certificates issued by the government to families to be redeemed at competing public and private schools – can be a dynamic remedy for expanding school choice options among low-income students. Few publicly-funded voucher experiments have actually been implemented, however, and only at a limited intensity and duration, making it difficult to assess the impact such programs have on issues of choice and equity. The impact vouchers could have on neighborhood schools appears to be significant, as it allows for greater mobility among students. Like charter schools, vouchers often move students to new places outside of the neighborhood, which potentially reduces resources for the existing local schools.

Evidence from the limited data that does exist shows promising trends in the academic achievement of voucher students, as well as the ability to provide real choices for low-income families if the program provides sufficient funding directed at low-income participants. In Milwaukee's Parental Choice Program, two independent evaluations have shown that choice students perform higher in math than nonchoice students four years after program implementation. The program has also been effective in creating real choice options for low-income families, regenerating several parochial schools in the city, and providing vouchers to students that were more disadvantaged on average than the average student in Milwaukee public schools.

Despite the promise of improved achievement levels and choice options for low-income students, several barriers remain for the effective implementation of educational voucher programs. Chief among these are concerns that vouchers lead to disinvestment of the public school system, further segregate society along lines of race and class, increase the costs of education, and violate the constitutional separation of church and state. Some of the barriers – such as how to sufficiently fund voucher levels in ways that create meaningful choices for low-income students – are not easily resolvable and have difficult political implications. Other barriers, however – such as how to improve access for (or limit discrimination against) the highest need students – have solutions that have either been proposed in the literature or implemented in current voucher programs. Milwaukee, for instance, has a random selection requirement for participating schools, effectively limiting the ability of private schools from discriminating against students on the basis of academic performance, religious affiliation, aptitude, achievement or test scores.

Community Organizing
Community organizing for school reform represents an emerging strategy for improving urban schools and for addressing issues of educational equity that affect students attending such schools. Central to the community organizing approach is the assertion that in order to address the issues commonly associated with struggling urban schools, such as low student achievement, poor teacher training, and degraded schools facilities, schools and communities must work together to develop the relational power necessary to foster change. Working

collaboratively, organizers, educators, and community members are able to not only improve educational opportunities for youth, but to advance larger community development objectives.

Community organizing for school reform utilizes numerous strategies, depending on the specific community and educational context. Often, schools and local residents partner with community organizations, many of which are already well established before engaging in school reform efforts. These organizations often have been engaged in organizing around other issues within the community, and are thus well suited as builders of social capital. This has the potential to strengthen and revitalize communities and is the most neighborhood-focused of the reform options presented in this brief.

Several benefits to the community organizing approach to school reform are described herein. One noted benefit is that because reform efforts grow organically out of the interests and ideas articulated through interactions between parents, teachers, and concerned community members, they tend to be more strongly and enthusiastically supported than reform projects imposed from outside. Moreover, many community-based organizations engaged in school reform link their education endeavors to broader initiatives, thus enabling them to engage in more far-reaching community development efforts. And, even more importantly, by building the local leadership base, community organizing for school reform teaches local actors to develop skills and capital that will allow them to engage in future efforts for school and community change.

Several drawbacks are listed as well, such as the notion that while building social capital can be for individual school and neighborhood improvement, a broader solution would require creating the political capacity to address issues of structural inequality. Furthermore, there are many practical and ideological barriers to organization around school reform, such as a lack of willingness on the part of groups with divergent roles and viewpoint to collaborate with one another.

Herein, examples of strategies for organizing around school reform are presented both within a review of the literature related to this approach, and in the form of case studies. Each of the case studies (New Settlement Apartments, South Bronx; Orinda Educational Foundation; and Logan Square Neighborhood Association) represent examples of community organizing efforts that have made successful attempts at fostering educational change within different neighborhood contexts.

Recommendations
To address the issues of equity and segregation and to increase the effectiveness of choice options, in this brief we propose several recommendations:
1. There should be more easily accessible information for parents on school performance and choice options. Often, low-income parents who would most benefit from school choice, are least likely to know how to access information needed to make informed decisions about their child's school.
2. Charter schools and schools participating in voucher programs should have access requirements in order to limit discrimination against the highest need students. There is some evidence that schools participating in voucher programs and charter schools have discriminated against students on the basis of academic performance, religious affiliation, aptitude, achievement, or test scores.
3. Programs should create incentives for drawing in low-income students. Schools must see a benefit to seeking out and enrolling low-income and minority students in order to increase equity.
4. Schools and communities should be encouraged to work together to continually improve neighborhood schools. Community members understand what their locality needs and can be a great asset to school leaders in addressing the needs of their community.
5. There needs to be more "best practice" sharing amongst reform efforts. With the exception of a few professionalized charter schools (KIPP, Aspire), there is little "best practice" sharing amongst innovators in the field. This information can be used to make improvements in the quality of education received through different choice options.
6. More emphasis should be placed on addressing issues of equity and segregation from a regional level. Until cities and districts are willing to reach out across borders to collaborate, and potentially share funding or

students, glaring disparities will likely continue. For example, students who move to a new school could be provided a subsidy for transportation in order to cover the costs of attending a school that may be located farther away from their house. This recommendation is more likely to impact low-income students who may not be able to attend a more challenging school due to lack of transportation options or sufficient funds.

Governance and Finance as a Means to Support Increased School Performance

Mike Abbott, Heather Barondess, Heather Kinlaw, Matt Reed, Mike Smith

GUIDING QUESTION:

Our group approached the role of governance and finance in the improvement of school performance and community involvement by asking the following question:

> "What governance and finance structures would support greater integration of schools and cities/metropolitan regions and lead to increased school performance?"

Overview of Presentation and forthcoming Policy Brief:
- Background information
- The Importance of Governance and Accountability
- Trend Connecting Cities and Schools: State-Level School Finance
- Trend Connecting Cities and Schools: Strong Mayor Initiatives
- Conclusion and Recommendations

Background Information
Historically, the administration of education was largely the responsibility of a locality, rather than the state or the federal government. In recent decades this governance structure has shifted away from local control, particularly in large urban districts. The financing mechanisms that fund school operations today are also being reconsidered. Public schools are primarily administered by school districts, which constitute separate governance and finance systems from city government. A recent emphasis on the need for increased accountability of schools and local school districts has resulted in a call for more centralized administration of education – and the increasing involvement of city government and communities/community leaders.

The Importance of Governance and Accountability
Public education, particularly in large urban districts, requires a system of governance that defines who sets policy and is accountable for results. Traditionally, the accountability for school performance has fallen on local school boards, which are often elected but sometimes appointed. The onset of standards-based reform across the nation has increased the degree to which the state is responsible for accountability in schools. Recently, the federal No Child Left Behind Act not only reinforced the role of standards, and extended the power of the state in holding schools accountable, but has also increased attention to individual school performance.

Different governance and finance mechanisms are being tested to increase the accountability of schools and districts, while also addressing the connections between schools, communities and the surrounding regions. Three main approaches to increasing accountability are commonly implemented:
   (1) In some cases, local school boards are held accountable by citizens through their electoral power.
   (2) Recently, mayors have taken on more direct responsibility for school performance, centralizing the accountability on one elected official.
   (3) Elsewhere, market-based approaches, such as charter schools and vouchers, assume that by establishing competition, individual schools are held accountable by parent choice.

While the state is designed to unobtrusively administer funding, the governance structure becomes the market itself, removing regional input and reinforcing divisions that exist in the region. Meanwhile, in communities with high levels of civic capacity and social capital, the community itself holds schools accountable for their performance. Active community involvement and participation ensure mutually supportive relationships between cities and schools, by bringing a diverse group of constituents and stakeholders to the table. Attempts have been made to institutionalize this civic capacity by establishing local councils which are themselves accountable for school performance.

Trends Connecting Cities and Schools: State-Level School Finance
Traditionally, local property taxes have funded schools within the municipality, but differences in accessibility to quality schools became tied to the relative wealth of surrounding neighborhoods. Recent litigation has propelled states to develop strong state-level financing mechanisms, a measure that holds the state accountable for providing an equitable and adequate education for all of its students. This intervention is particularly important given the achievement gap that persists due to housing segregation by socio-economic status, and the association between funding levels and school quality. Sixteen states

are currently facing school finance litigation, along with suits in twenty other states that have already been decided or settled.[xlii] As a result, states have gradually become active participants in school funding to ensure adequate education for all of its students.

The increasing shift to a more state-controlled school funding system has put further pressure on ever-shrinking state budgets.[xlii] Together, state and local government revenues represent 92% of all public school revenues. Historically, the largest single source of public school funding has come from local sources such as property taxes.[xlii] In recent years, however, state dollars leveraged mostly through corporate, income and sales taxes have become the majority of revenues. Federal dollars generally represent less than 8% of dollars spent on public elementary and secondary education in a given school year.[xlii]

State governments have been struggling to develop financing mechanisms at the state level that provide schools with the resources they need, given the revenue available. As a result, states have gradually become active participants in school funding to ensure adequate education for all of its students. Thirty-one states are currently reevaluating their funding formulas and funding distribution strategies.[xlii] With increased accountability measures and inadequate resources, many local leaders have responded to the state management of finances with increased control over school operations.

Trends Connecting Cities and Schools – Strong Mayor Initiatives
In the last 15 years, a trend has emerged in large urban school districts such as Chicago, New York, and Boston, where mayors have taken charge of not only student achievement, but school performance overall. Many of these leaders recognize the decades of research showing that school performance does not solely measure student achievement, but also numerous external socio-economic factors, such as family income, housing, transportation and health. Mayoral takeover, or "integrated governance," typically involves:

- reducing the size of existing boards of education,
- appointing its members, and
- making them responsible for rehabilitating failing schools.

This last segment has most recently been the job of the state. The degree to which reorganization at the city level has benefited school performance and integrated community efforts varies from city to city, but cities with the highest levels of mayoral involvement - Chicago, New York, and Boston- show some positive effects.[xlii]

Strong mayors have had an impact on increased funding for schools, streamlined and coordinated municipal bureaucracy, and proven gains in student achievement. Mayors have used their position to integrate policymaking across issue areas, such as community development, housing, urban planning, and health policy, for example. The effect of strong mayors is due, at least in part, to charismatic leadership, which may mean that the effect mayoral leadership of schools has been overstated. Increasing civic capacity must also be a part of the puzzle as a means to institutionalize this shift. School district leaders and school boards have not succeeded in affecting cross-issue area policymaking in a city, due to their limited roles. A mayor, however, has the unique capacity to coordinate citywide initiatives to positively influence school performance, more broadly defined.

Case Studies
- The **Chicago Public Schools'** experience under Mayor Daley's control has been marked by a reduction in bureaucratic authority, and increased measure-based accountability at all levels. The city has seen test scores rise every year since the takeover, at both elementary and secondary levels, and a steadily declining dropout rate. Increases in per-pupil expenditures and private-sector money have also been overseen by Mayor Daley. The Mayor has also spearheaded a community redevelopment initiative called Renaissance 2010 which makes an effort to coordinate education policy with housing and urban policy.

- Before Mayor Bloomberg took over **New York City's** public schools in 2002, they were governed by 32 boards of education without a single unifying curriculum. In 2004, the overall graduation rate in the city's high schools went up to 54 percent, from 50.8 percent in 2002. The recently negotiated teachers' contract makes it easier for principals to deal with underperforming staff, which has been partly responsible for the fact that all New York City teachers are certified, while 15 percent were still not four years earlier. The city's new single, unified curriculum has been cited as a large reason for gains in test scores and a shrinking achievement gap between white and minority students.

- **Boston's** Mayor Menino was the first mayor to appoint the members of the reorganized seven-member board of education in 1992. The Mayor oversaw a $60 million increase in the budget for Boston's schools. The Mayor has aligned his policy priorities with those of the Superintendent of Boston Public Schools, allowing for coordination and cooperation. His major accomplishments so far have been to end social promotion, wire every school to the internet, and oversee a significant increase in test scores at all levels.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Revamped local governance structures and school finance mechanisms are a response to the increasing demand for school district accountability at state and federal levels. Strong mayors who have taken a leading role in the administration of large, urban school districts is one effort to support greater integration of schools and cities/metropolitan regions. However, as this is a new movement, it is too soon to conclusively determine whether this effort alone has a significant, positive effect. In order to address the external factors influencing school performance, including segregation, educational equity, funding, poverty and health, governance structures must support and encourage coordinated planning between school districts and the municipalities where they are located. In order to ensure the success of school reform efforts, there must be increased civic capacity to draw stakeholders from various sectors within the region.