

**Testimony of the  
Pennsylvania State Education Association (PSEA)**

**Public Hearing Regarding  
Educational Opportunity and Accountability Act**

**Presented to the  
Senate Education Committee**

**May 13, 2015**

**By**

**Stinson Stroup**

**PSEA Education Services Manager**

Good afternoon, Chairmen Smucker and Dinniman, and members of the Senate Education Committee. I am Stinson Stroup, Education Services Manager at the Pennsylvania State Education Association (PSEA). Thank you for inviting PSEA to present comments on SB 6 – the Educational Opportunity and Accountability Act. I am pleased to have the opportunity to speak with you today on behalf of PSEA’s 180,000 members about education accountability and opportunity in struggling schools.

Prior to joining the PSEA staff, I served as Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Association of School Administrators for twenty-six years; as an assistant professor of education administration at Lehigh University for four years, and held a variety of assignments in the Pennsylvania Department of Education. I was also on the planning committee and was a founding board member of one of the first “brick and mortar” charter schools in Pennsylvania. Through this experience, I have come to believe that school reform is very hard work. There are no magic bullets. There are no easy solutions. But it is emphatically work worth pursuing. Students in our lowest achieving schools deserve greater support and brighter futures.

PSEA agrees that students in our lowest achieving schools deserve greater support and brighter futures. We appreciate the opportunity to discuss constructive ways to provide all students with an education that affirms their value and enhances their future. We do not, however, support SB 6 because it recycles disproven strategies for school improvement that disrupt school communities rather than strengthen them. Several elements of SB 6 are taken directly from the Obama Administration’s failed Race to the Top and redesigned School Improvement Grant programs, both of which required the adoption of costly and disruptive “test and punish” interventions with scant evidence for success.

Relying on these unproven models of redesign, SB 6 misses the opportunity to take advantage of current knowledge about effective schools and school improvement.

SB 6 establishes an “Achievement School District” (ASD) of up to 75 of Pennsylvania’s lowest performing schools. The new structure is confusing and unlikely to accomplish its goals. Rather than focusing responsibility and resources to help schools improve, it diffuses accountability and creates new opportunities for finger-pointing. The tools given to the ASD to close the achievement gap are the blunt instruments of the federal NCLB Act and the Obama Administration’s four school turnaround models (*turnaround*, *transformation*, *closure*, and *restart*). Pennsylvania should not rush to codify these tools in state law when the Obama Administration itself is awaiting evidence of the models’ effectiveness; implementation reports commissioned by the U.S. Department of Education have not yet been released. When existing research has examined elements of the four turnaround models, it shows that these interventions simply do not work consistently to raise student achievement.

SB 6 would require the use of one of these strategies in every school assigned to the ASD and authorize their use in every intervention school.

- Authorize charter schools or convert existing schools to charter schools with admission preference to students in the area served by the school prior to conversion (a component of *restart*)
- Replace the principal and at least half of the staff at the school (a component of *turnaround*)

- Contract with a non-profit or for-profit entity to manage the school (a component of *restart*)
- Close a school and transfer students to a higher performing school (a component of *closure*)

PSEA is gravely concerned that none of the intervention strategies listed in SB 6 have a demonstrated track record of substantially improving student achievement. Indeed, several of these interventions may make it harder to increase school effectiveness.

This is what the research on each of the proposed interventions tells us.

**Authorize Charter Schools.** Research has made clear that, on average, students in Pennsylvania charter schools do no better than students in traditional public schools.<sup>i</sup> Where charter school achievement varies from traditional public schools, charter schools are more likely to perform significantly worse, not better (see Table 1).<sup>ii</sup> Stanford University researchers found that, on average, the impact of Pennsylvania charter schools on student learning gains was negative for almost every category of student and school they studied (see Table 2). Among Pennsylvania's lowest achieving schools, charter schools are disproportionately represented.<sup>iii</sup> What this means in practical terms is that charter schools, whatever else their value, simply are not a solution for large-scale turnaround in struggling schools in Pennsylvania.

**Replace the School Principal.** Schools serving high concentrations of very poor students often have a new principal every one to three years,<sup>iv</sup> a turnover rate that is substantially higher than in lower-poverty, higher-achieving schools.<sup>v</sup> High rates of principal turnover impede schools' ability, particularly high poverty schools, to initiate and sustain school improvement efforts and improve student achievement.<sup>vi</sup> Research suggests that it takes up to five years for a school leader to develop a school-wide vision, improve the teaching staff and focus it on a shared vision, and implement critical policies and practices to improve achievement.<sup>vii</sup> Persistent churn among principals makes it hard to implement and sustain meaningful school improvements, including recruitment and retention of highly effective teachers.<sup>viii</sup> When the principal of a school leaves, students, on average, achieve less in both reading and math for at least a year, and schools with chronic principal turnover experience significant cumulative effects. These negative effects particularly impact underprivileged students.<sup>ix</sup> Over time, principals tend to transfer out of struggling schools and into schools that are higher achieving,<sup>x</sup> but principals who stay longer in struggling schools tend to be more effective principals.<sup>xi</sup> SB 6 encourages the ASD to replace the principal in a struggling school, but evidence is clear that replacing a principal can actually harm a school, since principal turnover negatively impacts achievement.<sup>xii</sup> Rather than replacing large numbers of school principals, supporting and developing principals' leadership skills can be an effective way to change cultures and improve outcomes in struggling schools.<sup>xiii</sup>

**Replace Half of the School Staff.** Ineffective teachers can and should be dismissed using procedures currently established in law. However, setting an arbitrary limit on the percent of teachers who can remain in a struggling school sets the school up for excessive disruption through unnecessary staff turnover. Unnecessary staff turnover has several negative consequences for schools. These consequences are exacerbated for historically underserved communities and struggling schools, where teacher turnover is already significantly higher than average. High teacher turnover makes it hard for schools to attract and develop effective teachers. Consequently, low-income and minority students in struggling schools are more likely

to be taught by the least experienced, least effective teachers.<sup>xiv</sup> High teacher turnover also makes it especially difficult to sustain school improvement efforts.<sup>xv</sup> Stability among teachers is particularly important for low-income students who are especially dependent upon their teachers.<sup>xvi</sup> Richard Ingersoll at the University of Pennsylvania points out that replacing teachers, most of whom leave voluntarily, costs districts about \$2.2 billion each year.<sup>xvii</sup> This is substantial money that could be invested in professional growth and development, but instead is diverted to recruiting, replacing, and inducting new staff. Any arbitrary requirement that a school replace half of its staff is bound to incur additional unnecessary costs, impose high levels of instability for students, and deny the school important expertise held by experienced teachers in curriculum, pedagogy, professional development, and parent and community engagement. Experts in school improvement assert that a key to school improvement is increasing teacher stability, not turnover, and investing in the growth and development of an experienced teacher corps.<sup>xviii</sup>

**Contract with Educational Management Organizations (EMOs).** Among schools operated by EMOs, 95 percent are charter schools. This means that the mediocre results attained by charter schools (see above) are likely to apply to EMOs. In addition, charter schools managed by EMOs are significantly more segregated by race, wealth, disability, and language than schools in the public school district in which the EMO-managed charter school resides.<sup>xix</sup> Although the number of students attending schools managed by EMOs has risen over the last several years, evidence of EMO effectiveness has not. One study of EMOs in Philadelphia found that students in schools managed by EMOs did no better than students in district schools, and some schools managed by EMOs did worse than district-managed schools.<sup>xx</sup> Although student achievement in EMO-managed schools has become a topic of intense political and ideological debate, the record, after more than a decade of research, shows no clear benefit from EMO-managed schools.<sup>xxi</sup>

**Close a School and Transfer Students to Higher-Scoring Schools.** Very little research has been done on the impact of closing a school and transferring students to other schools. One research review finds that school closure and student transfer does not result in improved student achievement and may negatively impact student achievement. The same review finds that school closures may increase the likelihood of students dropping out and lower graduation rates. In addition, transfer students can lose important supportive relationships that foster academic success, and receiving schools may find it hard to receive the new students without additional resources, support, and time to prepare.<sup>xxii</sup>

A key concern about this strategy is finding proximate schools which are higher achieving that can accept students assigned from the closed school. This problem seems to be exacerbated by the concentration of the lowest achieving schools in a single state entity. Placing students from the ASD into schools that are substantially higher achieving is only possible if district lines become porous and the ASD has authority to place students outside of the ASD. This authority is not addressed in SB 6.

**Employ Uncertified Staff.** By loosening educator qualification requirements, SB 6 fosters a structure in which Pennsylvania's lowest achieving students, in our poorest and most challenged schools, can be taught by teachers who would be deemed unqualified to teach in higher performing schools.

Teacher qualifications do make a difference. The fact is that certification programs foster important knowledge and skills among teachers. Alternatively certified teachers feel less prepared than fully certified teachers; and beginning teachers who have had fewer types of

education coursework and shorter field experiences feel less prepared than teachers with more comprehensive preparation.<sup>xxiii</sup> Struggling schools already grapple with above-average rates of uncertified and conditionally certified teachers. Experts in school improvement assert that the challenge for struggling schools is to attract *more* qualified teachers, not less qualified ones.<sup>xxiv</sup>

Charter schools in Pennsylvania have had the freedom to hire up to one-fourth of their teachers without certification, and yet students in Pennsylvania charter schools, as we have discussed above, are on the whole underperforming in both reading and mathematics compared to their counterparts in district-operated schools.<sup>xxv</sup> Flexibility to hire uncertified teachers clearly has not closed the achievement gap.

### **The Achievement School District Model**

In addition to our concerns about the specific interventions outlined in SB 6, PSEA also has concerns about the overall structure of the proposed ASD Model. Only a small number of states have attempted to establish an ASD, and even fewer have succeeded.<sup>xxvi</sup> Currently, only two states have adopted an ASD model similar to the proposal in SB 6: Michigan and Tennessee. In both of these states, the model is controversial, student numbers are declining in takeover schools, and the initiative has yet to deliver substantial improvements in student achievement.

***The Michigan Education Achievement Authority (EAA)*** was established in 2011 to turn around failing schools. It began taking over schools in Detroit in 2012. Although the EAA has statewide authority, to date it has only exercised the authority to take over schools in one district, Detroit. Three of the 15 schools under EAA authority are charter schools operated by Performance Academies; the other 12 schools continue to be publicly managed by the EAA. Students in EAA schools attend a longer school day and year, and students receive individualized learning plans. Elementary- and middle-school students receive three meals a day at the schools.

The EAA reports that schools under their authority have shown progress, but 2014 state assessment results tell a different story of academic stagnation and declining enrollment within EAA schools, as measured by Michigan's School Scorecard. Data from the Michigan Department of Education shows that all EAA schools remain among the lowest achieving schools in the state according to the Michigan Accountability Scorecard, and all EAA schools lost students between 2012 and 2014, most at a rate faster than Detroit Public Schools as a whole (see Table 3). In addition to failing to demonstrate improvement in student achievement measures, the EAA remains highly controversial and polarizing in Detroit and across Michigan.<sup>xxvii</sup> A growing number of Michiganders have organized to overturn the EAA.<sup>xxviii</sup>

***Tennessee's Achievement School District.*** Tennessee's ASD was established as a part of the state's successful Race to the Top grant, with \$22 million in new funds designated specifically for the ASD. Its goal is to move struggling schools from the lowest five percent in terms of student achievement to the top 25 percent within five years. To accomplish this goal, the ASD has handed over most of its schools to charter operators. Twelve operators currently run charter schools for the ASD, but more recently, charter operators have been pulling away from the ASD, including YES Prep, a charter company that was founded by the current superintendent of ASD. YES Prep said it was pulling out of its agreement to operate an ASD school because of "inadequate community support in Memphis, an increasing political shift against the ASD, and

structural challenges in the ASD model.”<sup>xxxix</sup> Other charter operators also pulled out of agreements with the ASD this school year, including Green Dot, KIPP, and Freedom Prep.<sup>xxx</sup>

Some critics believe that charter operators are pulling out of agreements with the ASD because the ASD schools are having trouble attracting students. Eight of the 12 schools have lost substantial numbers of students since transitioning into the ASD. Aspire Coleman, Westside Achievement, and Cornerstone Prep have each lost at least one-fourth of their student numbers since transition to ASD charter schools. The average ASD school is only half full (See Table 4), even though the EAA schools were envisioned as schools that would attract more students.

Student achievement results in ASD have been mixed. At least one analysis of school test scores before and after ASD takeover found that schools in the ASD aren’t doing measurably better, in terms of student growth, than before the ASD takeover. In a number of cases, schools were improving at a faster rate prior to entering ASD.<sup>xxxi</sup>

Serious questions also have emerged about ASD’s operations: the State Comptroller’s Audit of the ASD found mismanagement of federal grant funds and other financial irregularities.<sup>xxxii</sup> In addition, the \$22 million grant, which was used to run ASDs’s 30-employee central office, expires on September 1, 2015. This means that the ASD will need to adopt a new funding strategy for central administration.<sup>xxxiii</sup>

It is important to note that in both Michigan and Tennessee, the “statewide school district” is not really statewide. In Michigan, all EAA schools are located in Detroit; and in Tennessee, the ASD schools are in two districts: the majority in Shelby County (Memphis), with a small number in Metro Nashville Public Schools. Pennsylvania’s proposal to recruit schools from across the state into the ASD would present unique logistical challenges since the schools would not be centered in one or two urban areas, as is the case in Michigan and Tennessee.

### **Improving Struggling Schools: A Way Forward**

PSEA believes that instead of recycling unproven Obama Administration strategies and administering them through an unproven and controversial administrative structure, the commonwealth would benefit from a focus on research-based promising practices that are more likely to better serve students attending struggling schools. Frankly, struggling schools aren’t likely to benefit from a new state agency with a few blunt governance/management tools at its disposal. Struggling schools need specific and sophisticated interventions focused on instructional practice that are prescribed to the school based on a detailed diagnosis of challenges within the school.

To help struggling schools improve, PSEA recommends that the Commonwealth engage in a few high-leverage strategies to improve student achievement.

**Develop a more accurate measure of school effectiveness and use the measure as a screen to direct further diagnosis.** SB 6 would designate schools for takeover based upon their School Performance Profile (SPP) scores. The problem with using the SPP to measure school effectiveness is that the SPP score is essentially a measure of poverty, not of school quality *per se*. The Center for Evaluation and Education Policy Analysis (CEEPA) at Penn State found that the percent of poverty in a school explains more than

70 percent of the difference in SPP scores among open enrollment high schools.<sup>xxxiv</sup> As a matter of fact, “that the vast majority of the differences in SPP scores across schools are explained by student- and school-characteristics that are not under the control of educators. In fact, as currently calculated, the SPP scores are more accurate at identifying the percentage of economically disadvantaged students in a school than at identifying the effectiveness of a school.”<sup>xxxv</sup> Research for Action also researched the relationship between SPP scores and school poverty measures and reached conclusions that mirror those of CEEPA.<sup>xxxvi</sup>

Creating an ASD, like the one in SB 6, that can dismantle schools based on a flawed and inaccurate measure of “effectiveness” that more closely measures poverty than school quality sets vulnerable, high-poverty schools up for inappropriate and hugely disruptive interventions that are unlikely to improve student learning. Instead of reconstituting schools based on SPP scores, PSEA recommends the SPP formula be refined to more accurately reflect salient aspects of the school rather than demographic characteristics of students or the community. In addition, broad measures of school effectiveness such as the SPP are most useful as a tool to identify schools that warrant closer examination. General measures such as the SPP are not capable of illuminating specific challenges and practices in a given school.

1. **Develop a diagnostic system to determine specific needs within schools.** State test scores are not designed to tell a school what they are doing poorly or how to improve. Consequently, accountability systems, such as the SPP, that emphasize test scores are likely to set schools on a wild goose chase for higher scores without providing clear direction on where to run.

Schools need comprehensive diagnostic tools, including self-assessment tools, and structured data gathering systems to pinpoint the focus of their improvement efforts. Some schools also need help prioritizing multiple needs and selecting a narrow set of improvement strategies that are most likely to have a positive impact. As complex communities, schools each have different needs and need to implement different high-leverage strategies to improve student learning. These needs could lie in several policy and programmatic areas, including curriculum and instruction,<sup>xxxvii</sup> learning time,<sup>xxxviii</sup> new teacher support,<sup>xxxix</sup> school safety,<sup>xl</sup> and parent involvement.<sup>xli</sup> It is important to note, however, that no single intervention will work for all schools because schools each have different challenges. PSEA’s *Solutions that Work* provides detailed information about evidence-based strategies to address specific needs of struggling schools.

- *Curriculum and Instruction.* Teaching a curriculum that is aligned with state standards increases student test scores, but aligning curriculum to standards is a time-consuming and complicated task.<sup>xlii</sup> Schools may need targeted assistance to determine if their curriculum and local assessments are aligned with state standards, and to develop new curriculum and assessments to fill gaps. Schools also may need help determining if their curriculum flows logically from kindergarten to 12th grade.

- *Learning Time.* Evidence suggests that – far from creating achievement gaps – schools do a tremendous job of equalizing learning across high- and low-income students during the school year, but this cannot offset the unequal learning opportunities during a child’s out-of-school time.<sup>xliii</sup> Schools may need help coordinating with before- and after-school care providers to make sure all learning experiences support the grade-level curriculum. Schools also may be able to adopt simple strategies to increase learning time within the regular school day.
- *New Teacher Support.* Good professional support at the beginning of a teaching career allows promising professionals to stay in teaching and fully develop their expertise. Comprehensive support for new teachers can cut attrition rates in half.<sup>xliiv</sup> However, success of induction and mentoring programs depends on the amount and types of support new teachers receive. There are many evidence-based practices that improve new teacher effectiveness and reduce attrition, but schools may need assistance in defining key elements of these practices and administering these practices with fidelity.
- *School Safety.* One of the most effective strategies to keep schools safe is the development and implementation of school safety and prevention programs that support students’ healthy social and emotional development.<sup>xliv</sup> But bringing staff, students, administrators, and parents together in a cooperative effort to maximize safety is complex work. Schools may need information about successful models to prevent bullying, gang activity, and other issues that put students at risk. Schools also may need strategies to expand access to counseling, anger management, and peer-mediation services.
- *Parent Involvement.* Research shows that some of the most effective strategies for parents to contribute to student learning come from interaction between parents and students at home; in particular, parent-child discussions related to school experiences, the importance of school, and expectations for high school graduation and post-secondary education are positively associated with students’ academic achievement.<sup>xlvi</sup> Many schools are more familiar with a traditional model of parent involvement that entails parent-teacher conferences and parent volunteering in schools, and struggle to support parents effectively with at-home interactions with students. Some schools may need support to develop comprehensive parent involvement programs that are most likely to support student learning.

Several states have developed comprehensive audit tools that provide detailed feedback to schools and districts about targeted improvement strategies. The ASD proposed by SB 6 does not have any mechanism to provide this kind of diagnostic or prescriptive information to struggling schools. Education program audit systems developed by states such as Massachusetts and school inspectorates such as those in the United Kingdom and The Netherlands provide important information to all schools about where to target improvement strategies and how to develop more effective programs.



2. **Foster stable, effective leadership.** Principals need to stay and grow in schools where they are needed most. To do this, working conditions need to foster principals' professional learning, and principals need to foster teachers' professional learning.<sup>xlvi</sup> Healthy leadership environments also distribute leadership across a school community. We are heartened by the experience of the Annenberg Distributed Leadership Project in beginning to turn around low performing schools. The project began with the premise that building instructional leadership capacity in a school-wide endeavor. Working in both district-operated and charter schools in the School District of Philadelphia and schools in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia, the project recruited team members from across the school, provided principals and teachers with intense professional development focused on instruction; and empowered them to collectively solve problems they identified in their schools. Distributed leadership makes the school less dependent on one (charismatic) leader, and more likely to sustain capacity in buildings with high staff turnover. Initial results were very promising.<sup>xlvi</sup>
  
3. **Use test scores as a trigger to review school practice, not as a weapon to punish schools.** Effective schools have instructional coherence – where standards, curriculum, instructional materials, assessments and pedagogy all align vertically and horizontally across grades and content areas. Struggling schools often have incomplete, disjointed, or incoherent instructional systems. The commonwealth could provide tools and services to ensure all schools have a coherent instructional system, including a curriculum audit that looks for completeness of the curriculum, adequacy of instructional materials, and curricular alignment. Test scores could also signal professional development needs for educators, and state oversight can help struggling schools find time for professionals to work collaboratively on issues related to instructional improvement.
  
4. **Expand early childhood education.** A growing body of research, most prominently authored by University of Chicago economist James Heckman, makes the case for investing in early childhood education, particularly for disadvantaged children.<sup>xlix</sup> Early childhood education is critical to closing student achievement gaps because disparities in student learning begin well before kindergarten. Students from advantaged families tend to arrive at school with substantially higher levels of school readiness, more advanced social skills, and more positive approaches to learning. Conversely, students entering kindergarten from low-income families demonstrate as much as a 60 percent lower knowledge in reading, mathematics, and general knowledge than students from wealthier families.<sup>l</sup> Intervening early to close these gaps is more likely to succeed at lower costs.<sup>li</sup> Both grade retention and special education referral rates are consistently and significantly lower among at-risk students who attended high-quality pre-kindergarten programs than among those who did not.<sup>lii</sup> Already, two states with widely available public preschool programs, Oklahoma and Georgia, have confirmed that students participating in the programs have made gains on almost every academic measure.<sup>liii</sup> For example, students in Oklahoma's universal pre-K had a 53 percent gain on letter and word identification test scores and a 26 percent gain in spelling scores. Similar outcomes were found in a five-year study of pre-K programs across five states: large improvements in letter awareness, math skills, and vocabulary.<sup>liiv</sup>

**5. Develop strategies to racially and socioeconomically integrate schools.** Integration benefits all students, not only students of color or students living in poverty.<sup>lv</sup> The inverse is also true: segregation has a negative effect on almost every part of school that matters.<sup>lvi</sup> The Civil Rights Project at UCLA has issued a report looking specifically at growing levels of school segregation in Pennsylvania with recommendations for addressing this critical problem.<sup>lvii</sup> One of the most challenging aspects of school segregation in Pennsylvania is that much of the segregation, both racial and economic, exists between districts, not within districts. Economic segregation has an impact not only on the diversity of students in a school but also on the resources available to educate those students. This is one reason that a robust and equalizing state funding formula is so important. In other words, our schools are segregated because our districts are segregated. This makes integration a much greater challenge. Recommendations for integration from the Civil Rights Project include the development of inter-district programs and incentives for voluntary district mergers.<sup>lviii</sup>

Again, thank you for the opportunity to testify today. PSEA looks forward to working with all of you and the Department in the coming months to develop a proposal to build a strong foundation for academic success in our lowest achieving schools.

**Table 1: Performance of Pennsylvania Charter Schools 2007 - 2010 Compared to Pennsylvania Average VCR Learning Gains**

<b>Subject</b>	<b>Percent of Charter Schools Significantly Better than Matched VCR</b>	<b>Percent of Charter Schools not Significantly Different than Matched VCR</b>	<b>Percent of Charter Schools Significantly Worse than Matched VCR</b>
Reading	30	30	39
Mathematics	25	28	46

From: The Center for Research on Education Outcomes (CREDO). 2011. Charter School Performance in Pennsylvania. p. 7.

[http://credo.stanford.edu/reports/PA%20State%20Report\\_20110404\\_FINAL.pdf](http://credo.stanford.edu/reports/PA%20State%20Report_20110404_FINAL.pdf)

**Table 2: Summary of Statistically Significant Findings for Pennsylvania Charter Schools Compared to the Average Learning Gain for VCR students in Feeder Schools**

	<b>Reading</b>	<b>Math</b>
Pennsylvania Charter Students		
Brick and Mortar Charters	No Difference	
Cyber Charters		
Elementary Charters		
Middle School Charters		
Multi-level Charters		
Charter Schools Age 1-2 Years		
Charter Schools Age 3-4 Years	No Difference	
Charter Schools Age 5-6 Years		
Charter Schools Age 7-8 Years		
Charter Schools Age 9 or More Years		
First Year Enrolled in Charter School		

Second Year Enrolled in Charter School		
Third Year Enrolled in Charter School	No Difference	
Black Charter School Students	No Difference	
Hispanic Charter School Students		
Free/Reduced Lunch Charter School Students	No Difference	No Difference
Special Education Charter School Students	No Difference	No Difference
English Language Learner Charter School Students	No Difference	
Retained Charter School Students		

From: The Center for Research on Education Outcomes (CREDO). 2011. Charter School Performance in Pennsylvania. p. 21.

[http://credo.stanford.edu/reports/PA%20State%20Report\\_20110404\\_FINAL.pdf](http://credo.stanford.edu/reports/PA%20State%20Report_20110404_FINAL.pdf)

**Table 3: Changes in Student Enrollment and State Report Card Percentile Ranking in Michigan's EAA Schools: 2012-14**

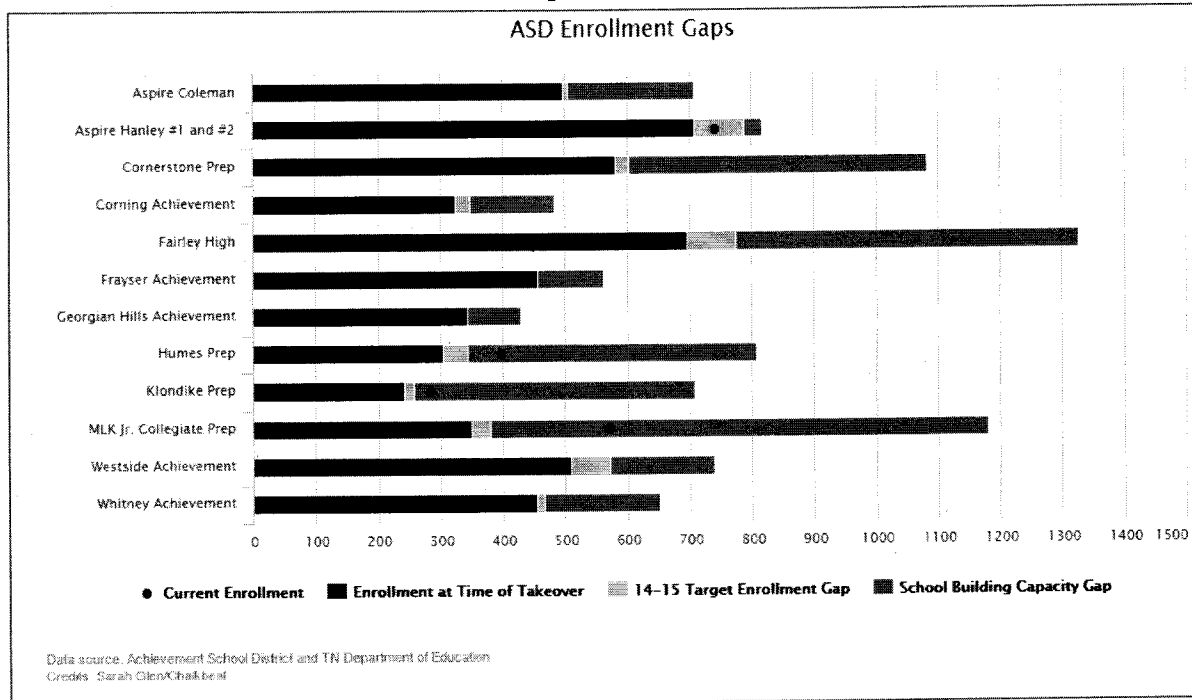
School	State Report Card Percentile Ranking 2012	Number of Students 2012	State Report Card Percentile Ranking 2013	Number of Students 2013	State Report Card Percentile Ranking 2014	Number of Students 2014	State Report Card Percentile Change 2012-14	Percent Change in Student Enrollment
Brenda Scott Academy	1	853	3	888	6	753	+5	-12
Burns Elem/Middle	4	570	1	597	0	376		
Law Elementary	9	772	5	635	1	518		
Mary M. Bethune Elem/Middle	2	804	3	845	2	649		-19
Nolan Elem/Middle	3	576	1	501	1	434		-25
Phoenix Elem/Middle	1	456	0	372	0	296		
Central Collegiate Academy	0	840	3	596	6	452	+6	
Denby High School	0	1,206	1	923	3	727	+3	

Ford High School	0	1,027	0	702	0	526		
Mumford High School	0	1,033	2	1,110	1	877	+1	-15
Pershing High School	0	846	2	724	3	512	+3	
Southeastern High School	0	1,180	4	790	1	398	+1	
Stewart Elementary	--	491	0	430	1	331	--	
Murphy Elementary	--	601	1	483	2	321	--	
Trix Elementary	--	416	1	363	5	355	--	-15
<b>Detroit City Schools</b>		<b>70,326</b>	--	<b>50,172</b>	--	<b>49,870</b>	--	<b>-29</b>

Source:

<https://www.mischooldata.org/DistrictSchoolProfiles/ReportCard/EducationDashboard.aspx>

Table 4: Enrollment in ASD Schools Compared to Enrollment at Time of Takeover



From: [http://tn.chalkbeat.org/2015/04/21/charter-schools-scramble-for-students-in-memphis-as-options-grow-and-enrollment-dwindles/#.VUpRH\\_IViko](http://tn.chalkbeat.org/2015/04/21/charter-schools-scramble-for-students-in-memphis-as-options-grow-and-enrollment-dwindles/#.VUpRH_IViko)

## Endnotes

<sup>i</sup>Center for Research in Education Outcomes (CREDO). 2011. Charter School Performance in Pennsylvania. Stanford, CA: CREDO. [http://credo.stanford.edu/reports/PA%20State%20Report\\_20110404\\_FINAL.pdf](http://credo.stanford.edu/reports/PA%20State%20Report_20110404_FINAL.pdf)

<sup>ii</sup>See the CREDO report for a description of the VCR matching method used in the research to compare charter schools with traditional public schools.

[http://credo.stanford.edu/reports/PA%20State%20Report\\_20110404\\_FINAL.pdf](http://credo.stanford.edu/reports/PA%20State%20Report_20110404_FINAL.pdf)

<sup>iii</sup>Based upon 2013-14 data, 21 of 83 priority schools, or 25 percent, are charter schools. See the list of Pennsylvania Priority and Focus Schools:

[https://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/document/1403265/2014-15\\_priority\\_and\\_focus\\_schools\\_pdf](https://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/document/1403265/2014-15_priority_and_focus_schools_pdf)

<sup>iv</sup>See, for example, Schimel, K. 2014. The Revolving Schoolhouse Door: Principal Turnover in Denver, investigated. Chalkbeat Colorado, October 21. <http://co.chalkbeat.org/2014/10/21/the-revolving-schoolhouse-door-principal-turnover-in-denver-investigated/#.VUq2yvlViko>; and School Leaders Network. 2014. Churn: The High Cost of Principal Turnover. Washington, DC: School Leaders Network.

[https://connectleadsucceed.org/sites/default/files/principal\\_turnover\\_cost.pdf](https://connectleadsucceed.org/sites/default/files/principal_turnover_cost.pdf)

<sup>v</sup>Hull, J. 2012. The Principal Perspective. Alexandria, VA: Center for Public Education.

<http://www.centerforpubliceducation.org/principal-perspective>

<sup>vi</sup>School Leaders Network. 2014. Churn: The High Cost of Principal Turnover. Washington, DC: School Leaders Network. [https://connectleadsucceed.org/sites/default/files/principal\\_turnover\\_cost.pdf](https://connectleadsucceed.org/sites/default/files/principal_turnover_cost.pdf)

<sup>vii</sup>Seashore-Louis, K., Leithwood, K., Wahlstrom, K. & Anderson, S. 2010. Learning from Leadership: Investigating the Links to Improved Student Learning. Alexandria, VA: Educational Research Service.

[http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Karen\\_Louis/publication/272786991\\_Learning\\_from\\_Leadership\\_Investigating\\_the\\_Links\\_to\\_Improved\\_Student\\_Learning.The\\_Informed\\_Educator\\_Series/links/54ff3df80cf2672e2244bce2.pdf](http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Karen_Louis/publication/272786991_Learning_from_Leadership_Investigating_the_Links_to_Improved_Student_Learning.The_Informed_Educator_Series/links/54ff3df80cf2672e2244bce2.pdf)

<sup>viii</sup>Hornig, Eileen Lai, Klasik, Daniel, & Loeb, Susanna. 2010. Principal's Time Use and School Effectiveness. American Journal of Education, 116(4), 491-523.

<https://cepa.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/Principal%27s%20Time%20Use%20AJE.pdf>

<sup>ix</sup>School Leaders Network. 2014. Churn: The High Cost of Principal Turnover. Washington, DC: School Leaders Network. [https://connectleadsucceed.org/sites/default/files/principal\\_turnover\\_cost.pdf](https://connectleadsucceed.org/sites/default/files/principal_turnover_cost.pdf)

<sup>x</sup>See, for example, Beteille, T., Kalogrides, D. and Loeb, S. 2011. Stepping Stones: Principal career paths and school outcomes, NBER Working Paper 17243. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

<http://www.nber.org/papers/w17243.pdf>

Clark, D., Martorell, P. and Rockoff, J. 2009. School Principals and School Performance, Working Paper 38 Washington, DC: National Center for Analysis of Longitudinal Data in Education

Research. [https://www0.gsb.columbia.edu/faculty/jrockoff/cmr\\_principals\\_calder\\_WP38.pdf](https://www0.gsb.columbia.edu/faculty/jrockoff/cmr_principals_calder_WP38.pdf)

Loeb, S., Kalogrides, D. and Hornig, E. L. 2010. Principal Preferences and the Uneven Distribution of Principals across Schools. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 32(2).

[https://cepa.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/Principal\\_Preferences\\_EEPA.pdf](https://cepa.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/Principal_Preferences_EEPA.pdf)

<sup>xi</sup>Hull, J. 2012. The Principal Perspective. Alexandria, VA: Center for Public Education.

<http://www.centerforpubliceducation.org/principal-perspective>

<sup>xii</sup>Beteille, T., Kalogrides, D. and Loeb, S. 2011. Stepping Stones: Principal career paths and school outcomes, NBER Working Paper 17243. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

<http://www.nber.org/papers/w17243.pdf>

<sup>xiii</sup>See, for example, Supovitz, J. and M. Riggan. 2012. Building a Foundation for School Leadership. Philadelphia, PA: Center for Policy Research in Education. [http://www.cpre.org/sites/default/files/researchreport/1346\\_1299cpre-1003dlrrfinal.pdf](http://www.cpre.org/sites/default/files/researchreport/1346_1299cpre-1003dlrrfinal.pdf)

DeFlaminis, J.A. 2011. The Design and Implementation of the Annenberg Distributed Leadership Project. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA.

<http://pcel.drupalgardens.com/sites/g/files/g168196/f/trainingdocs/FINAL%20DeFlaminis%20AREA%20Paper%202011.pdf>



- <sup>xiv</sup>See, for example, Borman, G. D., & Dowling, N. M. 2008. Teacher Attrition and Retention: A meta-analytic and narrative review of the research. *Review of Educational Research*, 78(3), 367–409. Clotfelter, C. T., Ladd, H. F., Vigdor, J. L., & Wheeler, J. 2007. High-Poverty Schools and the Distribution of Teachers and Principals. *North Carolina Law Review*, 85(1348). [http://www.caldercenter.org/sites/default/files/1001057\\_High\\_Poverty.pdf](http://www.caldercenter.org/sites/default/files/1001057_High_Poverty.pdf)
- Ingersoll, R. M. 2001. Teacher Turnover and Teacher Shortages: An organizational analysis. *American Educational Research Journal*, 38(3), 499–534.  
[http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1093&context=gse\\_pubs](http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1093&context=gse_pubs)
- <sup>xv</sup>Allensworth, E., Ponisciak, S., & Mazzeo, C. 2009. The Schools Teachers Leave: Teacher Mobility in Chicago Public Schools. Chicago: Consortium on Chicago School Research - University of Chicago, [https://ccsr.uchicago.edu/sites/default/files/publications/CCSR\\_Teacher\\_Mobility.pdf](https://ccsr.uchicago.edu/sites/default/files/publications/CCSR_Teacher_Mobility.pdf)
- Ingersoll, R. M. 2004. Why Do High-Poverty Schools Have Difficulty Staffing their Classrooms with Qualified Teachers? Washington DC: Center for American Progress and Institute for American's Future.  
<https://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/kf/ingersoll-final.pdf>
- Ingersoll, R. M. 2001. Teacher Turnover and Teacher Shortages: An organizational analysis. *American Educational Research Journal*, 38(3), 499–534.  
[http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1093&context=gse\\_pubs](http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1093&context=gse_pubs)
- <sup>xvi</sup>Downey, D. B., Von Hippel, P. T., & Hughes, M. 2008. Are “Failing” Schools Really Failing? Using seasonal comparison to evaluate school effectiveness. *Sociology of Education*, v 81 n 3. <http://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ889587>
- Simon, N.S. and Johnson, S.M. 2013. Teacher Turnover in High-Poverty Schools: What We Know and Can Do. Working Paper: Project on the Next Generation of Teachers. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Graduate School of Education. <http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic1231814.files/Teacher%20Turnover%20in%20High-Poverty%20Schools.pdf>
- <sup>xvii</sup>Alliance for Excellent Education, 2014. Teacher Attrition Costs United States up to \$2.2 Billion, Says New Alliance Report. Press Release, July 17. Washington, DC: Alliance for Excellent Education. <http://all4ed.org/press/teacher-attrition-costs-united-states-up-to-2-2-billion-annually-says-new-alliance-report/>
- <sup>xviii</sup>Simon, N.S. and Johnson, S.M. 2013. Teacher Turnover in High-Poverty Schools: What We Know and Can Do. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Graduate School of Education Project on the Next Generation of Teachers.  
<http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic1231814.files/Teacher%20Turnover%20in%20High-Poverty%20Schools.pdf>
- <sup>xix</sup>Miron, G. et al. 2010. Schools without Diversity: Education Management Organizations, Charter Schools, and the Demographic Stratification of the American School System. Boulder, CO: Education and the Public Interest Center.  
<http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/schools-without-diversity>
- <sup>xx</sup>Mac Iver, M. A. and Mac Iver, D. J. 2006. Which Bets Paid Off? Early Findings on the Impact of Private Management and K-8 Conversion Reforms on the Achievement of Philadelphia Students. *Review of Policy Research*, 23: 1077–1093. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1541-1338.2006.00250.x/abstract>
- <sup>xxi</sup>Mathis, W.J. 2009. NCLB's Ultimate Restructuring Alternatives: Do They Improve the Quality of Education? Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University Education Policy Research Unit.  
[http://greatlakescenter.org/docs/Policy\\_Briefs/Mathis\\_Restructuring.pdf](http://greatlakescenter.org/docs/Policy_Briefs/Mathis_Restructuring.pdf)
- <sup>xxii</sup>Sunderman, G.L. and Payne, A. 2009. Does Closing Schools Cause Educational Harm? A Review of the Research. Bethesda, MD: Mid-Atlantic Equity Center. <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED543514.pdf>
- <sup>xxiii</sup>See, for example, Kee, A.N. 2012. Feelings of Preparedness among Alternatively Certified Teachers” What is the Role of Program Features? *Journal of Teacher Education*. V 63, n 1: 23-38.  
<http://jte.sagepub.com/content/early/2011/11/04/0022487111421933.full.pdf>
- <sup>xxiv</sup>See, for example, Laczko-Kerr, I. and Berliner, D. 2003. In Harm's Way: How Under-certified Teachers Hurt Their Students. *Educational Leadership*. V 60, n 8. pp. 34-39. <http://www.ascd.org/publications/educational-leadership/may03/vol60/num08/In-Harm's-Way@-How-Undercertified-Teachers-Hurt-Their-Students.aspx>
- Darling-Hammond, L., et al. 2005. Does Teacher Preparation Matter? Evidence about Teacher Certification, Teach for America, and Teacher Effectiveness. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*. V 13 no 42.  
<http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v13n42/>
- <sup>xxv</sup>Center for Research in Education Outcomes (CREDO). 2011. Charter School Performance in Pennsylvania. Stanford, CA: CREDO. [http://credo.stanford.edu/reports/PA%20State%20Report\\_20110404\\_FINAL.pdf](http://credo.stanford.edu/reports/PA%20State%20Report_20110404_FINAL.pdf)

<sup>xxvii</sup>Virginia tried but the law was declared unconstitutional. The Texas legislature has tried unsuccessfully to adopt an ASD model. Virginia did pass a law to create an Opportunity Educational Institution but it was found to be unconstitutional because the Virginia Constitution vests authority to establish school divisions in the Board, not in the General Assembly.

<sup>xxviii</sup>See for example, this story from Michigan Public Radio: <http://michiganradio.org/post/what-going-emu-eea> and this story from the ACLU: <http://www.aclumich.org/democracywatch/index.php/entry/buzzkill-how-the-eea-exploited-detroit-s-most-vulnerable-kids>

<sup>xxix</sup>Mason, M.L. and Arsen, D. 2014. Michigan's Education Achievement Authority and the Future of Public Education in Detroit: The Challenge of Aligning Policy Design and Policy Goals. East Lansing, MI: The Education Policy Center at Michigan State University. <http://education.msu.edu/epc/library/papers/documents/WP43MichigansEducationAchievementAuthority.pdf>

<sup>xxx</sup>Burnette, D. 2015. YES Prep Charter School Organization Pulls out of Memphis at 11<sup>th</sup> Hour. Chalkbeat Tennessee. March 25. [http://tn.chalkbeat.org/2015/03/25/yes-prep-charter-school-organization-pulls-out-of-memphis-at-11th-hour/#.VUr22\\_lViko](http://tn.chalkbeat.org/2015/03/25/yes-prep-charter-school-organization-pulls-out-of-memphis-at-11th-hour/#.VUr22_lViko)

<sup>xxxi</sup>Burnette, D. 2014. Exclusive: Green Dot Public Schools Pulls out of Raleigh-Egypt ASK Takeover. Chalkbeat Tennessee. November 20. <http://tn.chalkbeat.org/2014/11/20/exclusive-green-dot-public-schools-pulls-out-of-raleigh-egypt-asd-takeover/#.VUuOAvIviko>

<sup>xxxii</sup>Howard, E. 2014. Just the Facts: A Longitudinal Analysis of ASD Schools before and after Takeover. Memphis, TN: Bluff City Education. <http://www.bluffcityed.com/2014/08/just-the-facts-a-longitudinal-analysis-of-asd-schools-before-and-after-takeover/>

<sup>xxxiii</sup>State of Tennessee Comptroller of the Treasury. 2014. Department of Education State Board of Education Performance Audit Report. Nashville, TN: Comptroller of the Treasury, Division of State Audit. <http://www.comptroller.tn.gov/repository/SA/pa14037.pdf>

<sup>xxxiv</sup>News Channel 5. 2014. Achievement School District Grant Running Out. December 23. <http://www.scrippsmedia.com/newschannel5/news/newschannel-5-education/Achievement-School-District-Grant-Running-Out-286657821.html>

<sup>xxxv</sup>Fuller, E. 2014. An Examination of Pennsylvania School Performance Profile Scores. State College, PA: Center for Evaluation and Education Policy Analysis, Pennsylvania State University. [http://www.psea.org/uploadedFiles/TeachingandLearning/AnalysisOfPASchoolPerformanceProfileScores\\_EdFullerPSUCEEPA\\_2014.pdf](http://www.psea.org/uploadedFiles/TeachingandLearning/AnalysisOfPASchoolPerformanceProfileScores_EdFullerPSUCEEPA_2014.pdf)

<sup>xxxvi</sup>Fuller, E. 2014. An Examination of Pennsylvania School Performance Profile Scores. State College, PA: Center for Evaluation and Education Policy Analysis, Pennsylvania State University. p. 5 [http://www.psea.org/uploadedFiles/TeachingandLearning/AnalysisOfPASchoolPerformanceProfileScores\\_EdFullerPSUCEEPA\\_2014.pdf](http://www.psea.org/uploadedFiles/TeachingandLearning/AnalysisOfPASchoolPerformanceProfileScores_EdFullerPSUCEEPA_2014.pdf)

<sup>xxxvii</sup>Sludden, J., et al. 2015. Pennsylvania's School Performance Profile: Not the Sum of Its Parts. Philadelphia, PA: Research for Action. <http://www.researchforaction.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/RFA-PACER-SPP-Brief-March-2015-Final.pdf>

<sup>xxxviii</sup>See PSEA's "20/20 Vision" for more information about curriculum and instruction. <http://www.pageturnpro.com/PSEA/10469-PSEA-20-20-Vision-for-the-Future/index.html#48>

<sup>xxxix</sup>See PSEA's "Solutions that Work" for more information about increasing learning time. [http://psea.org/uploadedFiles/LegislationAndPolitics/Solutions\\_That\\_Work/STW-MaximizeAcademicLearningTime.pdf](http://psea.org/uploadedFiles/LegislationAndPolitics/Solutions_That_Work/STW-MaximizeAcademicLearningTime.pdf)

<sup>xl</sup>See PSEA's "Solutions that Work" for more information about supporting new teachers. [http://psea.org/uploadedFiles/LegislationAndPolitics/Solutions\\_That\\_Work/STW-ImproveNewTeacherInductionAndMentoring.pdf](http://psea.org/uploadedFiles/LegislationAndPolitics/Solutions_That_Work/STW-ImproveNewTeacherInductionAndMentoring.pdf)

<sup>xli</sup>See PSEA's "Solutions that Work" for more information about school safety. [http://psea.org/uploadedFiles/LegislationAndPolitics/Solutions\\_That\\_Work/STW-EnsureSafeAndSecureSchoolEnvironment.pdf](http://psea.org/uploadedFiles/LegislationAndPolitics/Solutions_That_Work/STW-EnsureSafeAndSecureSchoolEnvironment.pdf)

<sup>xlii</sup>See PSEA's "Solutions that Work" for more information about parent involvement strategies. [http://psea.org/uploadedFiles/LegislationAndPolitics/Solutions\\_That\\_Work/STW-EncourageParent-Family-CommunityEngagement.pdf](http://psea.org/uploadedFiles/LegislationAndPolitics/Solutions_That_Work/STW-EncourageParent-Family-CommunityEngagement.pdf)

- <sup>xliii</sup>Mitchell, R. 2006. High-Stakes Testing and Effects on Instruction: Research Review. Alexandria, VA: Center for Public Education. <http://www.centerforpubliceducation.org/Main-Menu/Instruction/High-stakes-testing-and-effects-on-instruction-At-a-glance/High-stakes-testing-and-effects-on-instruction-Research-review.html>
- <sup>xliiii</sup>Downey, D. B., von Hippel, P.T., & Broh, B. 2004. Are schools the great equalizer? School and Non-School Sources of Inequality in Cognitive Skills. *American Sociological Review*, 69(5), 613-625.
- Alexander, K. L., Entwisle, D. R. & Olson, L. S. 2007. Lasting Consequences of the Summer Learning Gap. *American Sociological Review* 72, 167-180.
- <sup>xliv</sup>Alliance for Excellent Education. 2004. Tapping the Potential: Retaining and Developing High-Quality New Teachers. Washington, DC: Alliance for Excellent Education. <http://all4ed.org/reports-factsheets/tapping-the-potential-retaining-and-developing-high-quality-new-teachers/>
- <sup>xlv</sup>Booth, B., VanHasselt, V. B., & Vecchi, G. M. 2011. Addressing School Violence. *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, 80(5), 1- 9.
- <sup>xlvi</sup>Jeynes, W. H. 2005. Parental Involvement and Student Achievement: A Meta-analysis (Family Involvement Research Digest). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Family Research Project. <http://www.hfrp.org/publications-resources/browse-our-publications/parental-involvement-and-student-achievement-a-meta-analysis>
- Zhang, D., Hsu, H., Kwok, O., Benz, M., & Bowman-Perrott, L. 2011. The Impact of Basic-Level Parent Engagements on Student Achievement: Patterns Associated with Race/Ethnicity and Socioeconomic Status (SES). *Journal of Disability Policy Studies*, 22(1), 28-39.
- <sup>xlvii</sup>Mendels, P., 2012. The Effective Principal. *Journal of Staff Development*, v 33, n 1, pp 54. 58. <http://www.wallacefoundation.org/knowledge-center/school-leadership/effective-principal-leadership/documents/the-effective-principal.pdf>
- <sup>xlviii</sup>See, for example, Supovitz, J. and M. Riggan. 2012. Building a Foundation for School Leadership. Philadelphia, PA: Center for Policy Research in Education. [http://www.cpre.org/sites/default/files/researchreport/1346\\_1299cpre-1003dlrrfinal.pdf](http://www.cpre.org/sites/default/files/researchreport/1346_1299cpre-1003dlrrfinal.pdf)
- DeFlaminis, J.A. 2011. The Design and Implementation of the Annenberg Distributed Leadership Project. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA. <http://pcel.drupalgardens.com/sites/g/files/g168196/f/trainingdocs/FINAL%20DeFlaminis%20AREA%20Paper%202011.pdf>
- <sup>xlix</sup>Heckman, J. J. 2008. The Case for Investing in Disadvantaged Young Children, in *Big Ideas for Children: Investing in our Nation's Future*. [www.TheHeckmanEquation.org](http://www.TheHeckmanEquation.org)
- <sup>l</sup>Lee, V., & Burkham, D. 2002. *Inequality at the Starting Gate: Social Background Differences in Achievement as Children Begin School*. Washington, DC: Economic Policy Institute. [http://www.epi.org/publication/books\\_starting\\_gate/](http://www.epi.org/publication/books_starting_gate/)
- <sup>li</sup>Committee for Economic Development. 2006. *The Economic Promise of Investing in High-Quality Preschool: Using Early Education to Improve Economic Growth and the Fiscal Sustainability of the States and the Nation*. Washington, DC: Committee for Economic Development. <https://www.ced.org/pdf/Economic-Promise-of-Investing-in-High-Quality-Preschool.pdf>
- <sup>lii</sup>Barnett, W. S. 1995. Long-Term Effects of Early Childhood Programs on Cognitive and School Outcomes. *The Future of Children*. v 5, n3, pp. 25-50. [http://www.princeton.edu/futureofchildren/publications/docs/05\\_03\\_01.pdf](http://www.princeton.edu/futureofchildren/publications/docs/05_03_01.pdf)
- <sup>liii</sup>Committee for Economic Development. 2006. *The Economic Promise of Investing in High-Quality Preschool: Using Early Education to Improve Economic Growth and the Fiscal Sustainability of the States and the Nation*. Washington, DC: Committee for Economic Development. <https://www.ced.org/pdf/Economic-Promise-of-Investing-in-High-Quality-Preschool.pdf>
- <sup>liv</sup>Isaacs, J. B., & Roessel, E. 2008. *Impacts of early childhood programs*. Washington, DC: Center on Children and Families, Brookings Institution. [http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2008/9/early%20programs%20isaacs/09\\_early\\_programs\\_isaacs.pdf](http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2008/9/early%20programs%20isaacs/09_early_programs_isaacs.pdf)
- <sup>lv</sup>See, for example, Siegel-Hawley, G. 2012. *How Non-Minority Students Also Benefit from Racially Diverse Schools*, Research Brief no. 8. Washington, DC: National Coalition on School Diversity. <http://www.school-diversity.org/pdf/DiversityResearchBriefNo8.pdf>

---

Kahlenberg, Richard. 2012. *The Future of School Integration: Socioeconomic Diversity as an Education Reform Strategy*. New York, NY: The Century Foundation.

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/15582159.2012.702049#.VUvAcfIViko>

<sup>vi</sup>Black, D. 2014. *Why Integration Matters in Schools*. Education Week, May 14.

[http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2014/05/14/31black\\_ep.h33.html](http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2014/05/14/31black_ep.h33.html)

<sup>vii</sup>Kotok, S. and Reed, K. 2015. *Is Opportunity Knocking or Slipping Away?* Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project.

<http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/news/press-releases/2015-press-releases/decades-of-inaction-lead-to-worst-segregation-in-pennsylvania-schools-in-two-decades>

<sup>viii</sup>Kotok, S. and Reed, K. 2015. *Is Opportunity Knocking or Slipping Away?* Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project.

<http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/is-opportunity-knocking-or-slipping-away-racial-diversity-and-segregation-in-pennsylvania/kotok-reed-pa-segregation-2015.pdf>