

# Privatization of Public K-12 Education: Racial Disparities in Politics, Power, Policy, and Practice

Prepared for Race Equity  
Through Prevention  
Workgroup // Santa Clara  
County Juvenile Justice  
Systems Collaborative  
July, 2018

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\*Affiliation provided for identification purposes only.

Views presented within this presentation do not necessarily represent the official position of the Lurie College of Education or SJSU

## A few things to keep in mind...

- There is variation across both public and charter sectors - community based, corporate, online, virtual, and regionally may have different outcomes
- Macro and micro level perspectives are important to understand trends
- Concern about unchecked charter growth has been primarily focused on rapidly proliferating charter chains
- Current charter law does not allow for true local control about charter school expansion - “First do no harm” does not apply.
- More research needs to be done locally to match state data with what is happening on the ground in communities

# Research Lens

## Educational Psychology

Past published research focused on evaluation of violence and bullying prevention programs, social-emotional learning, interpersonal school climate, and student health and well-being

# Research Lens

## Educational Psychology

Past published research focused on evaluation of **violence and bullying prevention** programs, social-emotional learning, interpersonal school climate, and student health and well-being

Definitions of bullying vary, yet have two main features...

*Power imbalance*

+

*Repeated harm* → → → → →

# Shift in perspective of analyses

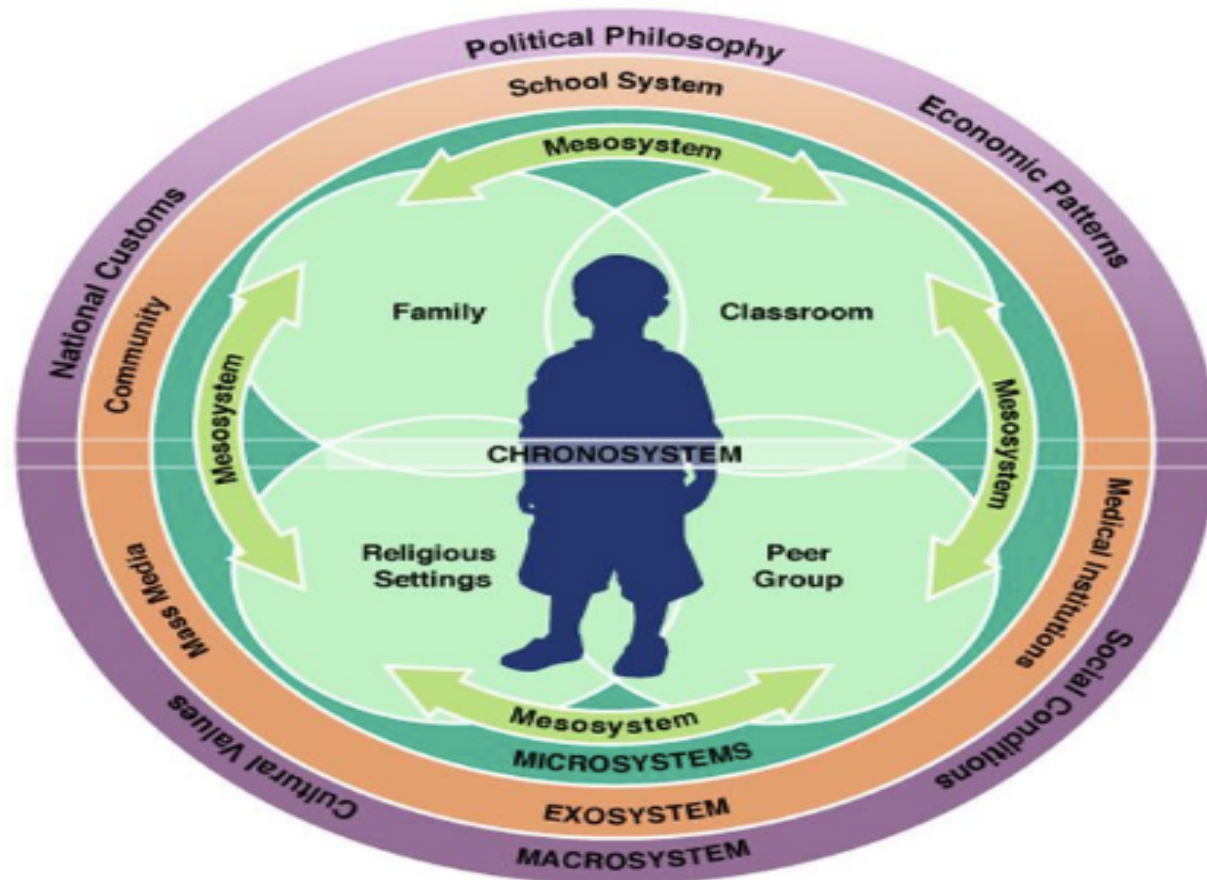


... from micro to macro  
... from playground to policy  
... from sandbox to society

Need for attunement to Race Equity  
“Blind Spots” in policies impacting students, schools, and communities



## Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Model of Child Development



# California Enrollment Data 2016-17

## Ethnic distribution of public school students: 2016–17

Ethnicity	Number of students	Percentage
African American not Hispanic	350,338	5.62%
American Indian or Alaska Native	33,369	0.54%
Asian	559,159	8.98%
Filipino	153,670	2.47%
Hispanic or Latino	3,378,344	54.24%
Pacific Islander	29,384	0.47%
White not Hispanic	1,470,499	23.61%
Two or More Races Not Hispanic	207,170	3.33%
None Reported	46,302	0.74%
<b>Total</b>	<b>6,228,235</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

<https://www.cde.ca.gov/ds/sd/cb/ceffingertipfacts.asp>

# Enrollment in Charter vs. Public Schools - 2016-17

**Enrollment and number of public schools by type: 2016–17**

School Type	Enrollment	Number of Schools
Elementary	3,083,643	5,868
K-12	209,694	325
Middle	991,319	1,300
Junior high	30,150	48
High	1,741,575	1,313
Continuation	53,439	441
Alternative	59,694	259
Community day	3,577	177
Special education	20,826	132
Other	34,318	614
<b>Total*</b>	<b>6,228,235</b>	<b>10,477</b>

\*The total enrollment count includes students enrolled in charter schools.

**Enrollment and number of charter schools by type: 2016–17**

School Type	Enrollment	Number of Schools
Elementary	223,081	544
K-12	180,845	277
Middle	57,260	140
Junior high	380	3
High	134,075	267
Continuation	0	0
Alternative	146	1
Community day	1	1
Special education	0	0
Other	7,049	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>602,837</b>	<b>1,248</b>

<https://www.cde.ca.gov/ds/sd/cb/ceffingertipfacts.asp>



Santa Clara County  
Office of Education

2016-2017  
**ANNUAL CHARTER  
SCHOOL DATA BOOK**

CHARTER SCHOOL OFFICE  
OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT

## 23 Charter Schools

### Authorized Grade Level

8	TK-5
3	TK-8
3	K-8
2	5-8
2	6-8
2	6-12
1	7-12
1	9-12
1	9+

## 9,345 Students Enrolled

2.5%	African American
12.6%	Asian
60.3%	Hispanic/Latino
11.3%	White
35.8%	English Learners
61.1%	Socioeconomically Disadvantaged

<b>Total Charter School Revenues</b>	\$100,530,334**
<b>Total Charter School Expenditures</b>	\$ 94,385,204**

**Source:** California Department of Education, available at <http://dq.cde.ca.gov/dataquest>

\*\*Refer to Chart on page 15 "2015-2016 School Financial Status"

<https://www.sccoe.org/supoffice/charter-schools-office/Documents/2016-17%20Charter%20School%20Report%20Final.pdf>

# Brief History and Timeline

**1991** Minnesota is the 1st state to pass laws allowing charter schools

**1992** Nation's first charter school opens


**2000** U.S. has nearly 2,000 charter schools

**2011** There are more than 5,000 charters, and they enroll ~5% of all public school students.

**2016** Number of charter schools nationally tops 6,800\*  
[after 2,500+ have been closed since 2001]

**Privatizing Schooling and Policy Making: The American Legislative Exchange Council and New Political and Discursive Strategies of Education Governance**

Gary L. Anderson<sup>1</sup> and Liliana Montoro Donchik<sup>1</sup>

Educational Policy  
2016, Vol. 30(2) 322–364  
© The Author(s) 2014  
Reprints and permissions:  
sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav  
DOI: 10.1177/0895904814528794  
epx.sagepub.com  


## Journal of Education Policy, 2014

### Abstract

In this article, we examine the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) as an example of a unique node within larger policy networks composed of new policy entrepreneurs (e.g., venture philanthropists, think tanks, private “edubusinesses” and their lobbyists, advocacy organizations, and social entrepreneurs). These new policy networks, through an array of new modalities of governance and political and discursive strategies, have come to exert an impressive level of influence on public policy in the last 30 years in the United States. We describe and analyze several model education bills that ALEC has promoted and describe the political and discursive strategies ALEC employs. We found that these strategies, which are employed by corporate leaders and largely Republican legislators, are aimed at a strategic alliance of neoliberal, neoconservative, libertarian, and liberal constituencies with the goal of privatizing and marketizing public education.

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0895904814528794>

# School Privatization & EdTech: Two Sides of The Same Coin



EDUCATION FEATURE DECEMBER 5, 2011 ISSUE

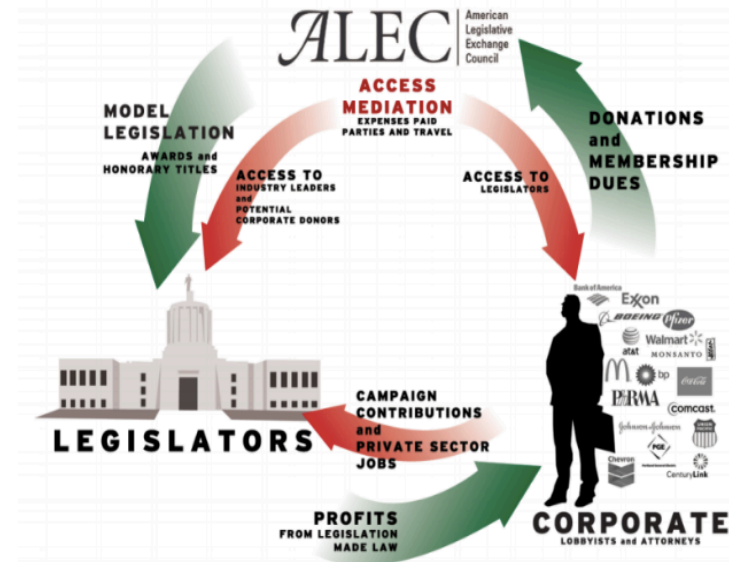
## How Online Learning Companies Bought America's Schools

*Under the banner of high-tech progress, corporate lobbyists have rammed through legislation privatizing K-12 education across the country.*

By Lee Fang

NOVEMBER 16, 2011

<https://www.thenation.com/article/how-online-learning-companies-bought-americas-schools/>



[https://eduresearcher.com/2017/02/05/alec\\_devos](https://eduresearcher.com/2017/02/05/alec_devos)  
<https://www.prwatch.org/news/2016/03/13054/cashing-kids-172-alec-education-bills-2015>

EDUCATION & YOUTH

# Cashing in on Kids: 172 ALEC Education Bills Push Privatization in 2015

WRITTEN BY

Zachary Peters,  
Brendan Fischer, PR WATCH

PUBLISHED

March 9, 2016



<http://sco.lt/6bQhur>

# Funding and Politics Drive Policy [Example from Maine]

## Following the money and influence for digital education



### The Companies & Intermediaries

**Foundation for Excellence in Education:** Conservative foundation supports school choice, abolishment of teacher tenure, and expanded digital learning and full-time virtual schools and removal of "man-made obstacles" to students achieving their "God-given potential." Member of ALEC's education committee.

**American Legislative Exchange Council:** Secretive corporate-funded club for conservative legislators, who are given model bills to call their own back in their state capitals.

**K12 Inc.:** Nation's largest online education company. Seeks to start full-time, taxpayer-funded virtual school in Maine. Funds FFEE, member of ALEC.

**Connections Education:** Nation's second-largest online education company, now a division of Pearson. Seeks to start full-time, taxpayer-funded virtual school in Maine. Funds FFEE, was member of ALEC until May.

**iQity:** Ohio-based online education software company. Funds FFEE. Patricia Levesque has been their lobbyist in Florida.

**Blackboard Connect:** Digital education software provider based in Washington D.C. Levesque is their lobbyist in Florida.

### The Players

**Jeb Bush**  
Championed virtual schools as governor of Florida. Founded, and leads FFEE. Sees Maine as potential "model" for the nation in digital education.

**Patricia Levesque**  
Bush's chief education adviser, executive director of FFEE, which pays her through her lobbying firm, which represents online education companies. Advises Bowen on Maine policy.

**Stephen Bowen**  
Until becoming Maine's education commissioner, was a member of ALEC's education committee. Outsourced digital education policy development to Levesque and FFEE.

**Gov. Paul LePage**  
Issued an executive order Feb. 1 embracing FFEE's agenda for digital education, most of which was written by FFEE. K12 Inc. spent \$19,000 to help get him elected in 2010.

RESEARCH: Colin Woodard

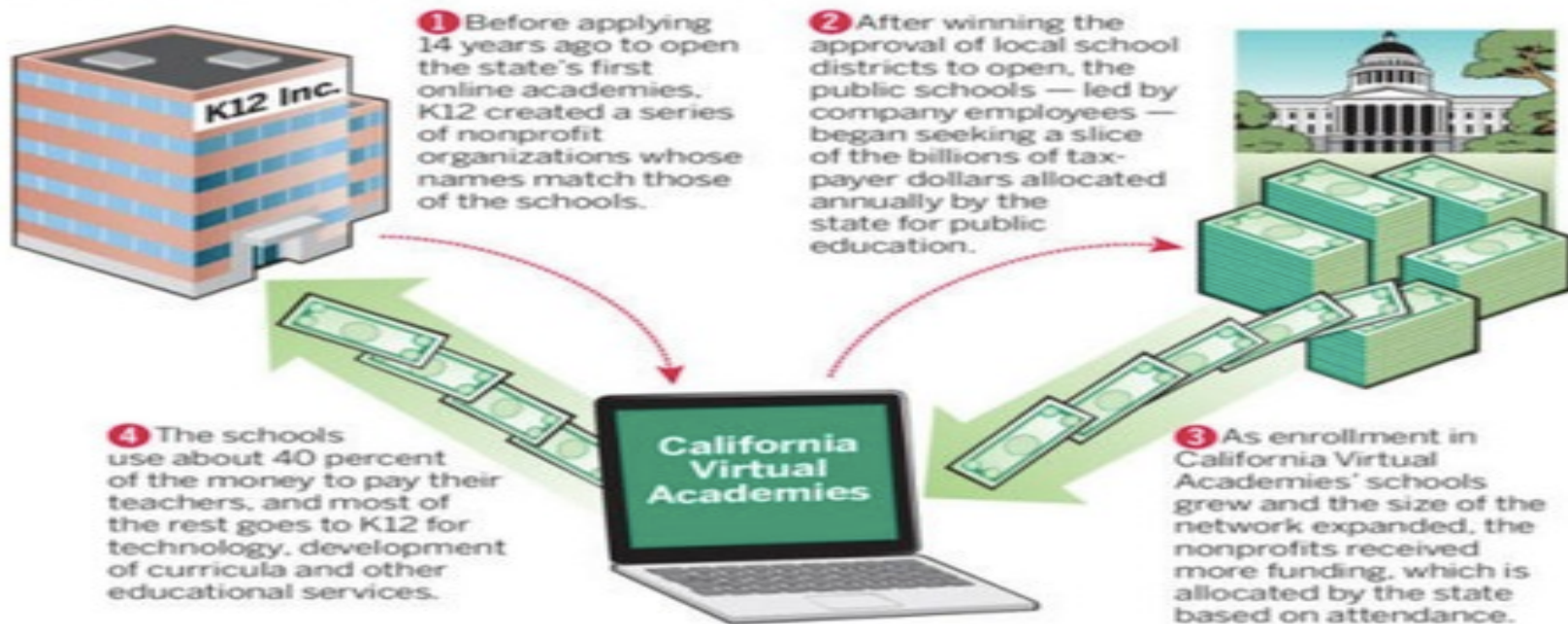
STAFF GRAPHIC | MICHAEL FISHER

[https://www.pressherald.com/2012/09/01/virtual-schools-in-maine\\_2012-09-02/](https://www.pressherald.com/2012/09/01/virtual-schools-in-maine_2012-09-02/)

## Example from California also with K12Inc.

### VIRGINIA COMPANY RAKES IN TAXPAYER MONEY FOR SCHOOLS

Schools in California Virtual Academies' network may look like typical charter schools, but records show they're established and run by Virginia-based K12 Inc. The company gets to pick the teachers and write curricula. K12 employees have even signed the schools' tax returns. Here's how the company uses the schools to collect public money.



Sources: California Department of Education, IRS, K12 Inc. contracts for products and services.

BAY AREA NEWS GROUP

<https://www.mercurynews.com/2016/04/17/k12-inc-california-virtual-academies-operator-exploits-charter-charity-laws-for-money-records-show/>

## The Perfect Storm: Disenfranchised Communities (Video on Vimeo)

IN THE 2015-16 SCHOOL YEAR, 44,000 STUDENTS ACROSS THE COUNTRY ATTEND SCHOOLS CONTROLLED BY STATE TAKEOVER DISTRICTS.

97% OF THOSE STUDENTS ARE BLACK OR LATINO.

ALLIANCE TO RECLAIM OUR SCHOOLS 2016



<https://vimeo.com/161523742>

Selected quote from book review:

“Taken from a critical race theory perspective, these counterstories are used with other evidence to present the experiential perspective of communities of color on the lessons learned from the implementation of this public educational policy. These counterstories thematically share the argument that allegedly innovative market-based reforms fail to serve the needs of the students and the communities they live in. These failures are comprised of the **marginalization of experienced minority teachers in favor of predominantly inexperienced white teachers, the restructuring of public education as a primarily profit generating asset, reducing access to special education services through “cost containment” measures, and a non-democratic process of external actors imposing reforms without regard to community input or participation.**”

<http://sco.lt/6vGDMf>

# CHARTER SCHOOLS, RACE, AND URBAN SPACE

Where the Market Meets Grassroots Resistance

Kristen L. Buras



## Student concerns shared at NAACP Task Force Hearing on Charter Schools in New Orleans (2017)

“...we shared how we face **two hour commutes to and from school, are forced to experiment with digital learning with systems like Odyssey, are punished for having the wrong color sweater,** or how we worry about being able to attend a school that will give us the education we need.”...

<https://eduresearcher.com/2017/04/29/nola-charter/>



# BLENDED LEARNING

*A Wise Giver's Guide to Supporting Tech-assisted Teaching*

Laura Vanderkam  
Karl Zinsmeister, series editor

[http://www.philanthropyroundtable.org/file\\_upload/s/Blended\\_Learning\\_Guidebook.pdf](http://www.philanthropyroundtable.org/file_upload/s/Blended_Learning_Guidebook.pdf)

Philanthropy Roundtable (formerly chaired by B. DeVos) published 150 page philanthropic guidebook for givers. Clearly acknowledges ***lack of research*** yet outlines dozens of strategies to continue to push BL into schools.

## Bottleneck 1: A Lack of Research

While blended-learning proponents can point to some initially good test scores, there is little solid data published in peer-reviewed journals. “Honestly, it’s so early on, no one knows what works and doesn’t work,” says Diane Tavenner, leader of Summit Public Schools. “Indeed,” notes Scott Benson, who directs blended-learning grants at the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, “part of me is really nervous—that the dialogue and enthusiasm is outpacing the results.”

Report includes heavy representation of charter school case studies of software adoptions (focusing on primarily low-income Black and Latino children). Content analyses reveal **zero** mention of health, safety, or developmental concerns. Only mention of “health” is of the *“Slow uptake of technology in healthcare and education”*

**Choice without Equity:  
Charter School Segregation and the  
Need for Civil Rights Standards**



**By  
Erica Frankenberg, Genevieve Siegel-Hawley, and Jia Wang**

**Foreword by Gary Orfield**

**January 2010**

**The Civil Rights Project**  
*Proyecto Derechos Civiles*



<https://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/choice-without-equity-2009-report/frankenber-choices-without-equity-2010.pdf>

# How privatization increases inequality

*Section 5: Privatization perpetuates socioeconomic and racial segregation*

In the Public Interest • September 2016

[https://www.inthepublicinterest.org/wp-content/uploads/InThePublicInterest\\_Inequality\\_Sec5\\_Sept2016.pdf](https://www.inthepublicinterest.org/wp-content/uploads/InThePublicInterest_Inequality_Sec5_Sept2016.pdf)

# *Charters as a Driver of Resegregation*

Jenn Ayscue

The Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles  
University of California, Los Angeles

Amy Hawn Nelson

UNC Charlotte Institute for Social Capital  
University of North Carolina at Charlotte

Roslyn Arlin Mickelson<sup>1</sup>

Department of Sociology and Public Policy Program  
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Department of Sociology  
University of North Carolina at Charlotte

January 2018



<https://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/charters-as-a-driver-of-resegregation/Charters-as-a-Driver-of-Resegregation-012518.pdf>

# Are California's Charter Schools the New Separate-but-Equal 'Schools of Excellence,' or Are They Worse Than Plessy?

*Journal of Transformative Leadership and Policy Studies (Forthcoming)*

23 Pages • Posted: 5 Mar 2018 • Last revised: 6 May 2018

[Joseph Oluwole](#)

Montclair State University

[Preston Green](#)

University of Connecticut

Date Written: February 23, 2018

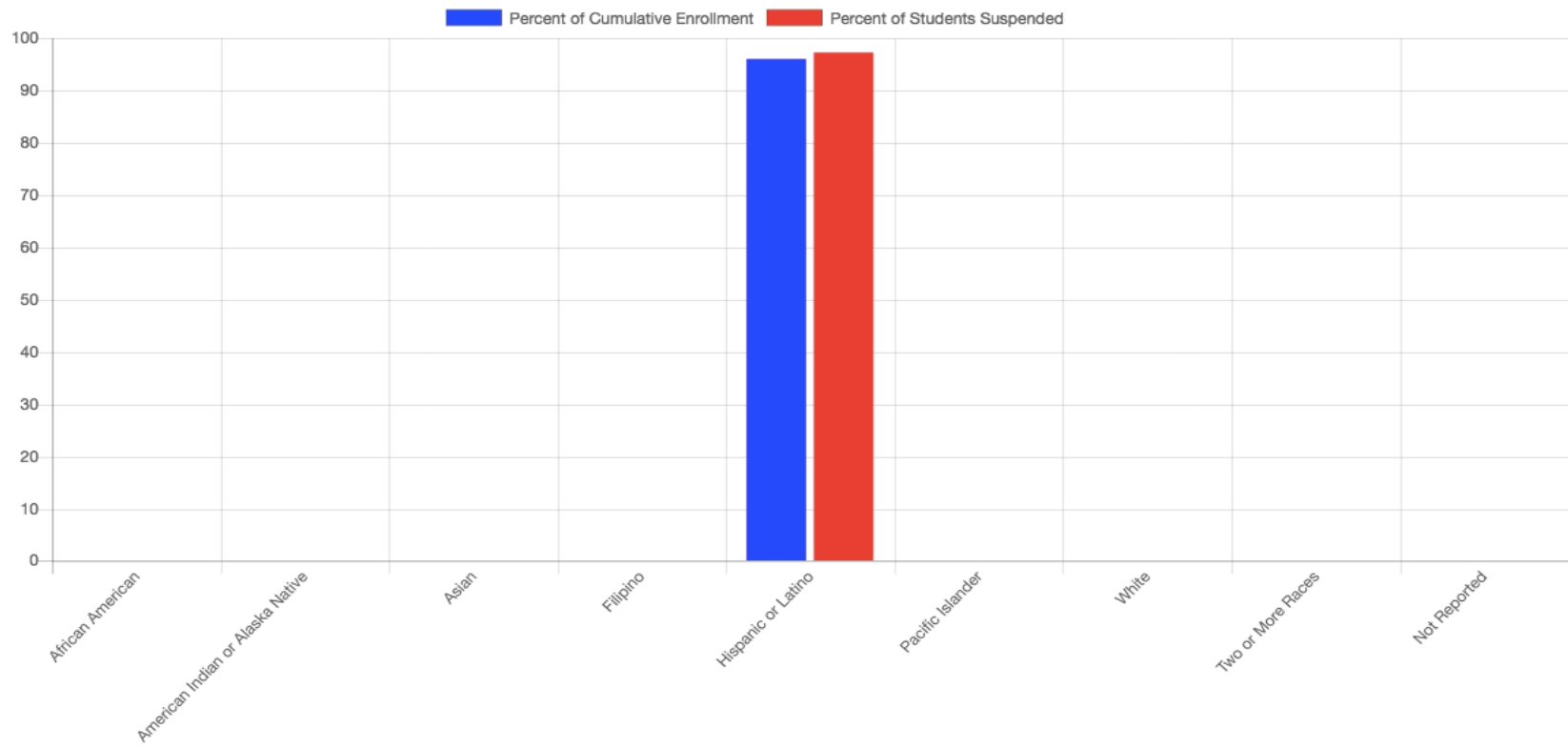
## **Abstract**

This article explains how charter schools provide California's black and Latino communities the opportunity to create modern separate-but-equal schools of excellence. However, they also pose a danger. Outside entities that prioritize financial gain are also seeking to offer charter schools to black and Latino communities. Unfettered charter school expansion spearheaded by these groups could further drain educational resources, thus creating a situation that would be even worse than Plessy v. Ferguson.

[https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3128802](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3128802)

# ACE Charter High School - East San Jose

## Cumulative Enrollment vs Students Suspended

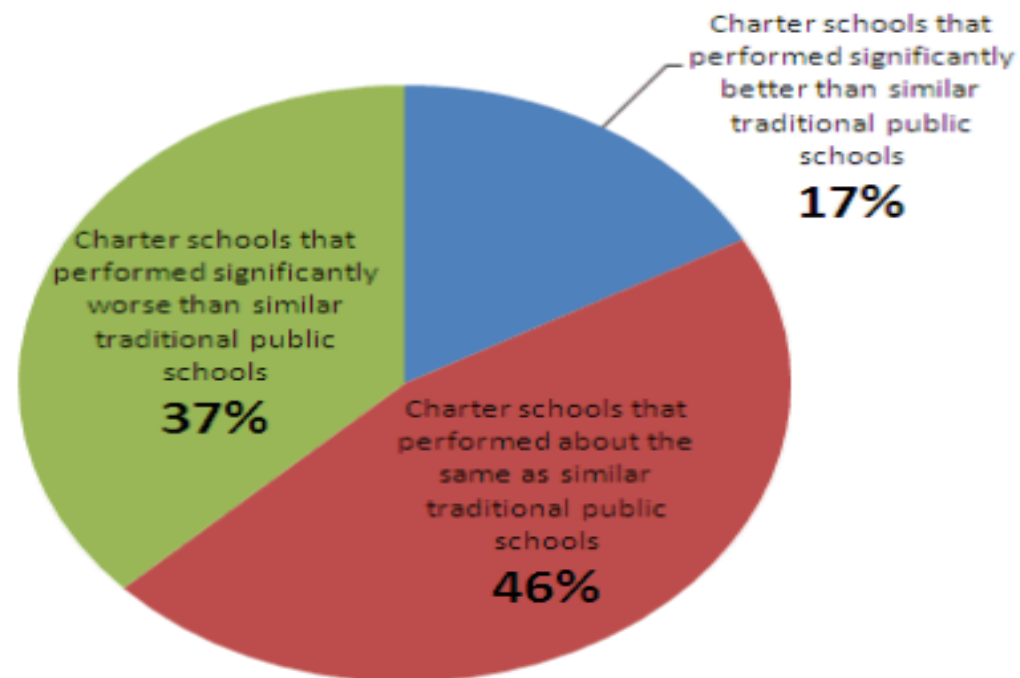


<https://dq.cde.ca.gov/dataquest/dqCensus/DisSuspRate.aspx?year=2016-17&agglevel=School&cds=43694270125617>

Marketing + media appear to be shaping public opinion more so than research

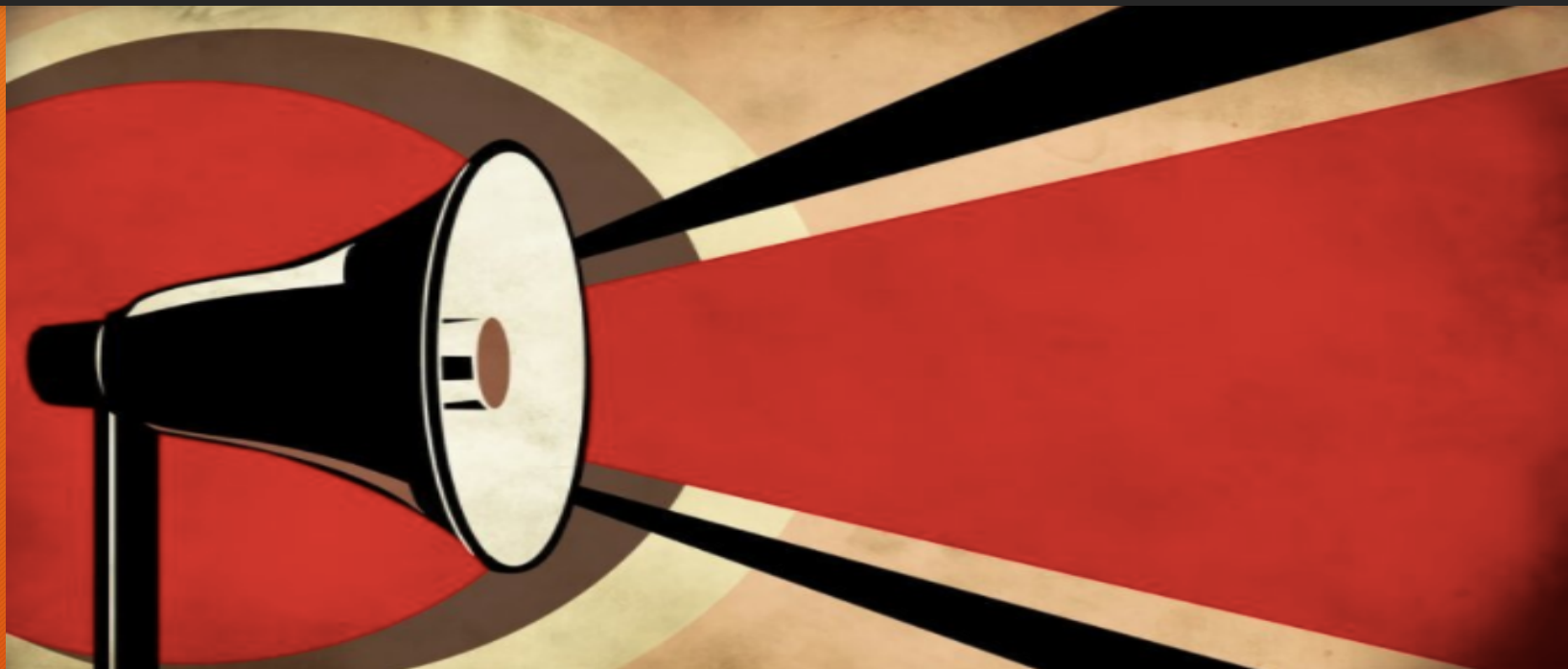


## Charter school effects are varied; more charters lag behind similar traditional schools than outperform them



SOURCE: Center for Research on Education Outcomes, 2009

Media messages have focused on highlighting the “1 in 5” charters: Public largely unaware of issues and concerns with larger sector



For more, see: Charter Schools & “Choice”: A Closer Look: [http://bit.ly/chart\\_look](http://bit.ly/chart_look)

# Virtual and Blended Learning Schools Continue to Struggle and Grow



**NEPC**  
NATIONAL EDUCATION  
POLICY CENTER

- "Key Takeaway: **Increasing numbers opting for online and blended learning schools despite evidence of poor performance.**"
- [Selected quote]:
- "Measures of school performance consistently show virtual school outcomes that lag significantly behind those of traditional brick-and-mortar schools," said Gulosino. "While this finding did not surprise us, given past research with similar findings, we were surprised to find that blended schools tended to score similar or lower on performance measures than virtual schools."
- "Nevertheless, enrollment growth has continued, assisted by vigorous advertising campaigns, corporate lobbying, and favorable legislation."

<http://nepc.colorado.edu/newsletter/2016/04/virtual-schools-annual-2016>

# “Cyber Charters Have Overwhelming Negative Impact”

Figure 6: Online Charter Effect Size by State, Math



The 0.00 line for this graph represents the average TPS VCR, White, non-poverty, non-ELL, non-SPED student.

\* Denotes significant at the .05 level. \*\* Denotes significant at the .01 level.

- [http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/DigitalEducation/2015/10/CREDO\\_online\\_charters\\_study.html](http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/DigitalEducation/2015/10/CREDO_online_charters_study.html)

Center for Popular Democracy, May 2017

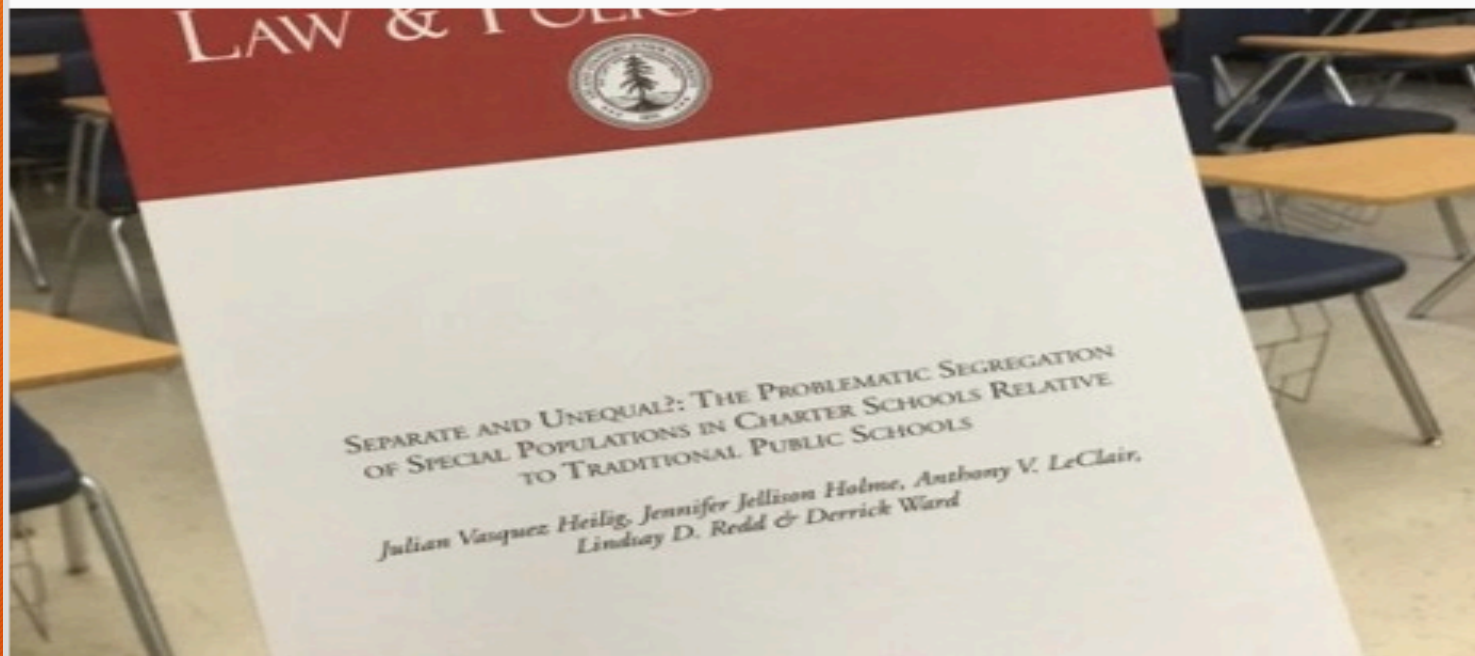
May 2017

# CHARTER SCHOOL VULNERABILITIES TO WASTE, FRAUD, AND ABUSE

**Federal Charter School Spending, Insufficient Authorizer  
Oversight, and Poor State & Local Oversight Leads to  
Growing Fraud Problems in Charter Schools**

[http://populardemocracy.org/sites/default/files/Charter-School-Fraud\\_Report\\_2017](http://populardemocracy.org/sites/default/files/Charter-School-Fraud_Report_2017)

# "Separate and Unequal: The Problematic Segregation of Special Populations in Charter Schools Relative to Traditional Public Schools" // Stanford Law & Policy Review



<http://nepc.colorado.edu/blog/are-charters-beacons>

# Charter Schools, Civil Rights and School Discipline

A Comprehensive Review



The Center for Civil Rights Remedies

at The Civil Rights Project | *Proyecto Derechos Civiles*

<https://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/resources/projects/center-for-civil-rights-remedies/school-to-prison-folder/federal-reports/charter-schools-civil-rights-and-school-discipline-a-comprehensive-review/losen-et-al-charter-school-discipline-review-2016.pdf>

## Recommendations

Our findings in this report have led to the following recommendations:

1. States should ensure that the state plans they create to implement ESSA do not exempt charters from their required efforts to improve the conditions of learning, including identifying and curbing the overuse of suspension.
2. Pursuant to the new ESSA requirements, states should select school climate as the required additional indicator for their statewide accountability systems, and also include a review of discipline disparities by race, disability, and gender as one of the ways school climate is evaluated.
3. To ensure that parents can make an informed choice of school for their children, charter and non-charter schools should publicly report their disaggregated discipline data annually, in keeping with ESSA's required annual state and district report cards.
4. Federal civil rights enforcement agencies should monitor charter schools closely for discipline disparities generated by harsh policies and practices.
5. OCR should hold all schools accountable if they fail to collect or report the required data, and also indicate such non-compliance in public reports.
6. In the course of monitoring charter schools with high and disparate discipline rates, federal and state civil rights enforcement agents should insist that schools relying on "broken windows" theory or similar zero-tolerance approaches consider less discriminatory alternatives.
7. Researchers should identify and study charter schools that demonstrate an exemplary school climate, including the infrequent use of disciplinary exclusion.
8. Legislators should support the replication of charters that have created an exemplary school climate without relying on punishment or exclusion, in particular those that also provide a diverse learning environment and help reduce racial isolation.
9. Federal and state policymakers should take action to ensure that charter schools enroll a representative population of students with disabilities and English learners.

<https://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/resources/projects/center-for-civil-rights-remedies/school-to-prison-folder/federal-reports/charter-schools-civil-rights-and-school-discipline-a-comprehensive-review/losen-et-al-charter-school-discipline-review-2016.pdf>

Experiences of communities harmed by charter expansions are not being covered by media



**Voices from America's Affected Communities of Color  
(Journey for Justice Alliance, 2014) Death By A Thousand Cuts:**

**Racism, School Closures, and Public School Sabotage**



**Voices from America's Affected Communities of Color  
Journey For Justice Alliance**

May 2014

[http://j4jalliance.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/J4JReport-final\\_05\\_12\\_14.pdf](http://j4jalliance.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/J4JReport-final_05_12_14.pdf)

## Selected quote from NAACP Resolution Calling for a Moratorium on Charter School Expansion

“...Whereas, the NAACP shares the concerns of the Journey for Justice Alliance, an alliance of 38 organizations of Black and Brown parents and students in 23 states, which has joined with 175 other national local grassroots community, youth, and civil rights organizations calling for a moratorium on the Federal Charter Schools program, which has pumped over \$3 Billion into new charter schools, many of which have already closed or have failed the students drawn to them by the illusive promise of quality”...

<https://eduresearcher.com/2016/10/21/naACP/>

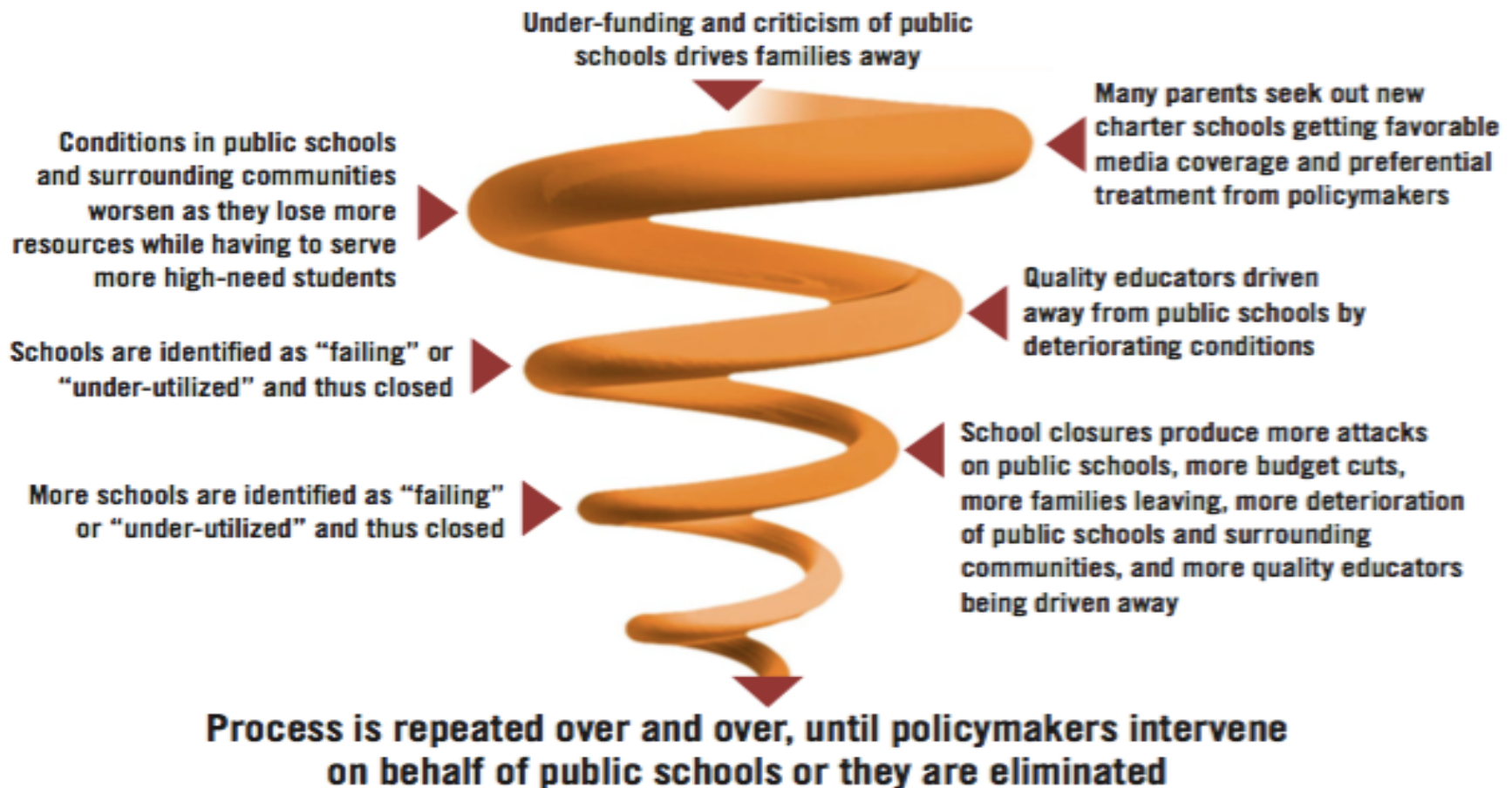
**Figure 2:  
Shrinking Public School Districts**

Sources: National Alliance for Public Charter Schools; U.S. Department of Education Office of Civil Rights  
(\* indicates that 2012-13 data was not available)

School District	% Students of Color (2011-12)	Reduction in Public School Enrollment 2005-06 to 2012-13	Increase in Charter School Enrollment 2005-06 to 2012-13
Detroit Public Schools	98%	↓63%	↑53%
Gary (IN) Community School Corp.	99%	↓47%	↑197%
Cleveland Metropolitan SD	85%	↓32%	↑71%
Indianapolis Public Schools	78%	↓27%	↑287%
St. Louis Public Schools	87%	↓25%	↑88%
District of Columbia Public Schools	90%	↓23%	↑95%
Los Angeles Unified SD	91%	↓23%	↑243%
San Antonio Independent SD*	98%	↓22%	↑483%
School District of Philadelphia	86%	↓21%	↑105%
Camden City Public Schools	99%	↓20%	↑88%
Memphis City Schools	93%	↓17%	↑377%
Newark Public Schools	92%	↓17%	↑197%
Tucson Unified	76%	↓15%	↑35%
Chicago Public Schools	91%	↓14%	↑219%
Baltimore City Public Schools	92%	↓14%	↑366%
Oakland Unified	90%	↓13%	↑55%
Pinellas County (FL) Public Schools	41%	↓12%	↑601%
Broward County (FL) Public Schools	74%	↓12%	↑119%
Miami-Dade County Public Schools	92%	↓11%	↑184%
Houston Independent SD*	92%	↓11%	↑178%

Figure 16:

## The Downward Spiral of School Closures and Charter School Expansion



Failure [Closure/Land Grabs] By Design?

# “A Comprehensive Guide to Charter School Closure”

<http://sco.lt/80B85Z>

SCHOOL CLOSURE GUIDE

## Accountability in Action

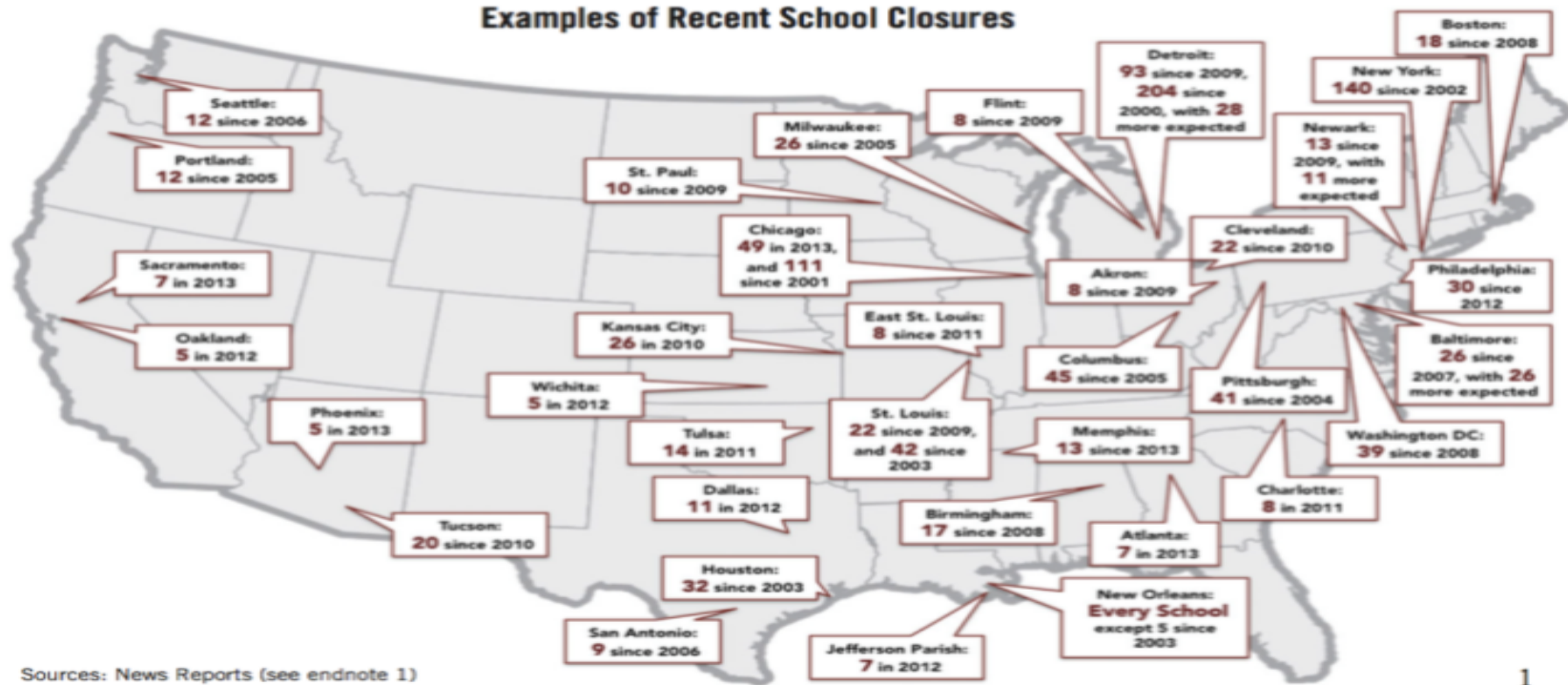
A Comprehensive Guide to Charter School Closure

*Edited by Kim Wechtenhiser, Andrew Wade, Margaret Lin, and Parker Baxter*



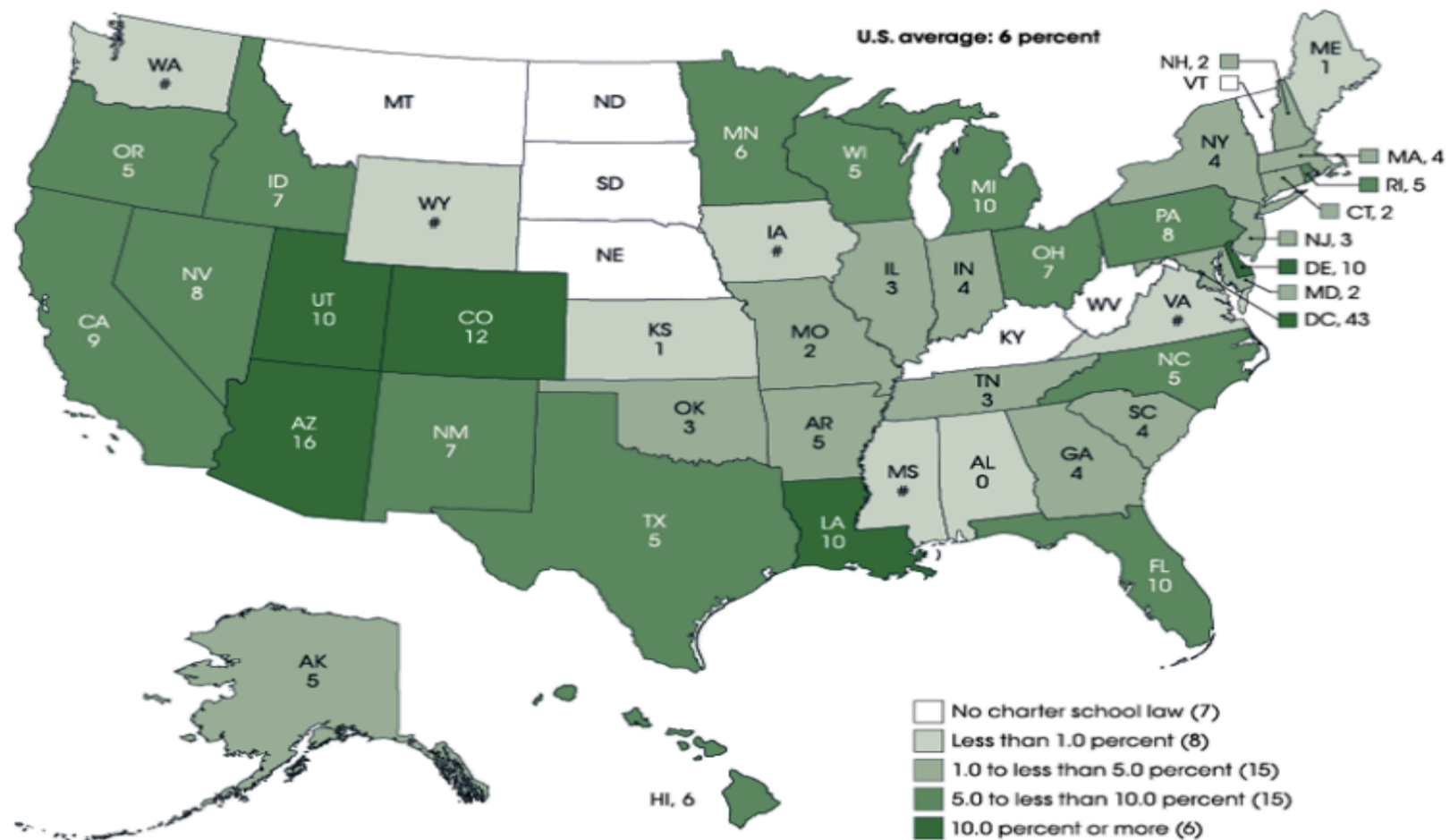
# Public School Closures (2012)

Figure 1:  
Examples of Recent School Closures



Sources: News Reports (see endnote 1)

Percentage of all public school students enrolled in public charter schools, by state: Fall 2014



<https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=30>

# Center for Media and Democracy Publishes List of [2,200+] Closed Charter Schools (with Interactive Map) // CMD, PR Watch



<https://eduresearcher.com/2017/04/24/privatization-explained/>

“Paramount Collegiate Academy” whose charter was denied at District and County Levels, and approved at State closes abruptly mid-year

## Charter school closure leaves parents scrambling for alternatives



BY DIANA LAMBERT  
[dlambert@sacbee.com](mailto:dlambert@sacbee.com)



February 08, 2018 11:02 AM  
Updated February 09, 2018 09:10 AM



Paramount Collegiate Academy, whose charter was initially denied by San Juan Unified and the Sacramento County Office of Education, and eventually approved by the California state school board, closed abruptly Wednesday.



Parents started showing up at San Juan Unified School District asking to enroll their children after they received a letter from the El Camino Avenue school announcing it would be closing that same day. The letter said the school board was initiating bankruptcy proceedings.

“These decisions were not rendered easily or hastily,” the letter said. “Quite the contrary, the board understands the great levity of this decision and its consequences for all students and all staff.”

The letter said that the board voted to close the school in a special meeting because of financial problems caused by low enrollment and undisclosed issues with a new landlord.

<http://www.sacbee.com/news/local/education/article199107149.html>

Answer Sheet

# Ed school dean: Urban school reform is really about land development (not kids)

By Valerie Strauss May 28, 2013



Dean Leslie Fenwick  
(howard.edu)

*(Correction: Fixing publication date for book, and removing quote attributed to book)*

Here is a provocative piece from [Leslie T. Fenwick](#), dean of the Howard University School of Education and a professor of education policy, about what is really behind urban school reform. It's not about fixing schools, she argues, but, rather, about urban land development. Fenwick has devoted her career to improving educational opportunity and outcomes for African American and other under-served students.

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/answer-sheet/wp/2013/05/28/ed-school-dean-urban-school-reform-is-really-about-land-development-not-kids/?utm\\_term=.ef77a9f69fd5](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/answer-sheet/wp/2013/05/28/ed-school-dean-urban-school-reform-is-really-about-land-development-not-kids/?utm_term=.ef77a9f69fd5)

## **THE CONTINUUM OF STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE: SUSTAINING EXCLUSION THROUGH SCHOOL CLOSURES**

Jesus Hernandez\* and Anne Galletta\*\*

*In this paper we demonstrate the utility of structural violence as an analytical device to make visible intergenerational patterns of exclusion obscured by institutional arrangements initially established to represent and defend community interests. We apply an interdisciplinary critical analysis of the history of economic and social marginalization of neighborhoods to the recent closure of seven neighborhood elementary schools in South Sacramento. By stressing the importance of distribution as an important social arrangement that can cause injury to individuals and populations, we demonstrate how disparate impact, briefly defined as the unequal distribution of resources that affect life chances, has current as well as future effects on households and neighborhoods. We argue that patterns of structural violence are not only contingent upon historical processes but are also embedded prospectively, or in other words, into the future of neighborhood stability. We find that the structural violence continuum is a phenomenon embedded in the past, present, and future in a manner that constrains the inclusion of certain neighborhoods in the social and economic life of urban settlements.*

**Keywords:** school closure, economic divestment, desegregation, structural violence

## Equity related concerns include...



- Rapid growth, increasingly targeting low-income communities
- Privately managed boards do not represent public interests yet make decisions about how public funds are spent
- Increased segregation
- Disproportionately high use of suspensions/expulsions
- Violations of parent's/children's rights
- Conflicts of interest, fiscal mismanagement, and psychologically harmful environments within rapidly growing Charter Management Organizations

<https://eduresearcher.com/2016/10/21/naacp/>

## Equity related concerns include...



- Annual missing charter funds estimated at nearly half a billion dollars
- Growth trends and [lack of regulatory] practices mirror predatory lending practices that led to sub-prime mortgage disaster
- Forced co-locations increase tensions/conflict within school communities
- Weak oversight leads to waste and high rates of closures
- Overrides of district/county decisions erode local control
- <https://eduresearcher.com/2016/10/21/naacp/>

## Selected quotes from NAACP Resolution Calling for a Moratorium on Charter School Expansion (2016)

... “the NAACP hereby supports a moratorium on the proliferation of privately managed charter schools...

... opposes bills that would weaken the investigative powers of any legislative body from uncovering charter school fraud, corruption and/or waste...

... supports legislation and executive actions that would strengthen local governance and transparency of charter schools, and in so doing, affirms to protect students and families from exploitative governance practices.”

<https://eduresearcher.com/2016/10/21/naacp/>

## “School Closure Playbook” (Video on Vimeo)



**Chicago is not alone. Cities around America have followed a nearly identical playbook of closures and privatization.**

<https://vimeo.com/120338240>

# “Out of sight, out of oversight” Limitations for cross sector/equity analyses

SOURCE: Data Supplement to: *The Hidden Cost of California's Harsh School Discipline* (2017) by Rumberger and Losen



The Center for Civil Rights Remedies  
at The Civil Rights Project | *Proyecto Derechos Civiles*

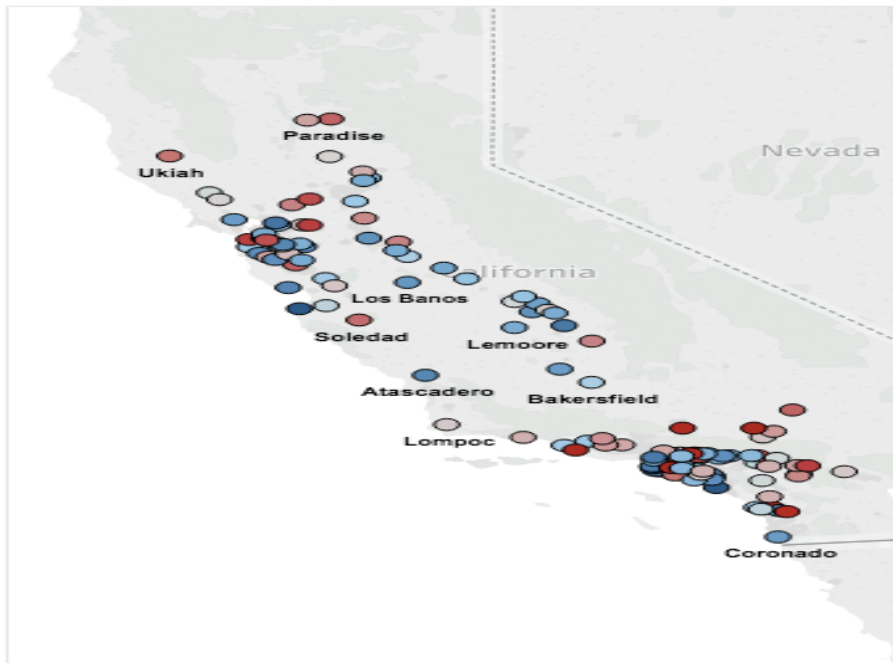


California Dropout Research Project

UC Santa Barbara | Civitz Graduate School of Education

## School District Graduation Rates

\*Based on cohort rates for California (10th graders from the 2011-12 and 2013-14 school years)



	Suspended Students Grad Rate	Non Suspended Students Grad Rate
Downey Unified	83%	95%
Duarte Unified	48%	69%
Dublin Unified	78%	94%
East Side Union High	44%	85%
El Dorado Union High	78%	95%
El Monte Union High	40%	66%
El Rancho Unified	82%	93%
El Segundo Unified	91%	97%
Elk Grove Unified	73%	94%
Escalon Unified	80%	98%
Escondido Union High	43%	59%
Eureka City Schools	73%	89%
Exeter Unified	43%	83%
Fairfield-Suisun Unified	77%	94%
Fallbrook Union High	64%	86%
Farmersville Unified	82%	87%
Fillmore Unified	60%	84%
Firebaugh-Las Deltas ..	82%	95%
Folsom-Cordova Unified	76%	92%
Fontana Unified	76%	93%
Fort Bragg Unified	78%	91%
Fortuna Union High	86%	93%
Fowler Unified	76%	94%
Fremont Unified	83%	95%

<https://public.tableau.com/profile/civil.rights.project.at.ucla#!/vizhome/CostofCASuspensions/DistrictDash>

# “Out of sight, out of oversight” Limitations for cross-sector/equity analyses



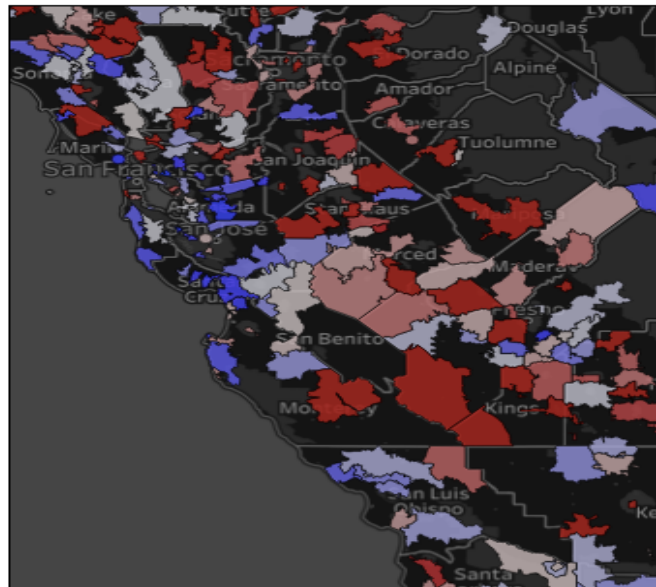
The Center for Civil Rights Remedies  
at The Civil Rights Project | *Proyecto Derechos Civiles*



In the 2014-15 school year, California students were deprived of an estimated **840,656 days of instruction** through suspensions. This map displays California school districts, and dark **red** indicates students lost at least **25 days per 100** enrolled in the district. This is nearly one standard deviation above the state average for students (13.6 days per 100 enrolled).

DISTRICT/LEA TYPE	
<input type="checkbox"/>	(All)
<input type="checkbox"/>	County Office of Ed (COE) or St...
<input type="checkbox"/>	Elementary School District
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	High School District
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Unified School District

DAYS OF LOST INSTRUCTION PER 100 STUDENTS STATE AVERAGES, 2014-15								
All Students	Black	American Indian	Pacific Islander	Two or More Race	Latino	White	Filipino	Asian
13.6	43.4	29.7	16.2	13.9	13.2	11.2	4.3	3.0



School District	Suspension Rate per 100 Students	Days of Lost Instruction per 100	Black Students Days of Lost Instruction per 100	Latino Students Days of Lost Instruction per 100	White Students Days of Lost Instruction per 100	All Students Number of Days of Lost Instruction	Enrollment
Sulphur Springs Union	0.7	1	4	1	1	552	5,437
McCabe Union ELEM	0.7	1	0	1	3	20	1,368
Liberty ELEM	0.7	1	0	2	1	6	414
Little Lake City ELEM	0.7	1	3	1	2	64	4,512
Jacoby Creek ELEM	0.7	1	0	0	2	6	427
Three Rivers Union ..	0.7	1	0	0	2	2	143
Saratoga Union ELEM	0.7	1	0	0	2	28	2,069
Montecito Union ELE..	0.7	1	0	0	1	6	448
Bennett Valley Union..	0.7	1	0	0	2	14	1,048
Bonsall USD	0.7	1	0	1	1	30	2,287
Alpine Union ELEM	0.7	1	15	1	1	24	1,845
Anaheim ELEM	0.6	1	6	1	2	1,874	19,164
Del Mar Union ELEM	0.6	1	0	2	2	56	4,399
Lafayette ELEM	0.6	1	0	1	2	44	3,525
Baker Valley USD	0.6	1	0	1	0	2	162
West Side Union EL..	0.6	1	0	0	2	2	166
Los Altos ELEM	0.6	1	0	0	2	56	4,675

## Demographic Analysis of Schools Slated For Closure in Oak Grove School District, San Jose, California

School	Black	Native	Asian	Filipino	Hispanic	Hawaiian	White	Two	Socioeconimcally	English L	Disabilit	Foster	All minorities
Miner	2.50%	0.60%	8.20%	5.10%	73.60%	0.60%	6.10%	3.20%	73.40%	46.00%	5.30%	0.20%	90.60%
Del Roble	5.70%	0.00%	13.90%	4.30%	60.90%	0.20%	10.40%	4.60%	62.80%	35.40%	7.80%	0.90%	85.00%
Anderson	2.20%	0.20%	24.10%	4.20%	50.00%	1.30%	13.40%	4.60%	50.70%	40.40%	19.70%	0.40%	82.00%
Baldwin	8.90%	0.00%	13.30%	6.30%	47.10%	0.80%	16.90%	6.80%	43.80%	22.10%	7.30%	0.80%	76.40%
Gilder	3.30%	0.70%	29.30%	4.20%	36.30%	1.60%	18.50%	6.20%	34.50%	24.10%	4.90%	0.20%	75.40%
Santa Teresa	1.90%	0.20%	23.70%	5.50%	41.50%	0.00%	19.40%	7.90%	31.60%	23.40%	11.10%	0.20%	72.80%
Oak Ridge	2.90%	0.00%	17.40%	1.40%	38.70%	0.40%	32.00%	7.20%	30.50%	19.10%	16.60%	0.80%	60.80%
Frost	1.80%	0.80%	14.90%	1.80%	37.30%	0.50%	35.60%	7.40%	30.40%	15.60%	5.50%	0.20%	57.10%

Document submitted to SJ/SV NAACP by parent from Del Roble. Highlighted schools were those initially slated for closure (with Baldwin placed on a one-year delay pending follow up evaluation of enrollments). There are 16 elementary schools district and 3 middle schools in the district.

# DEBUNKING THE MYTHS OF SCHOOL CLOSURES





## Most students **won't** go to better schools.

When schools close down, students have to go somewhere. The vast majority of them are transferred to receiving schools that are equally under-resourced or worse than the schools that closed.



## Closures **won't** save the district big bucks.

Closing schools is **expensive**. Districts pay to:

-  Relocate inventory
-  Transport students to new schools
-  Renovate receiving schools to accommodate new students
-  Demolish or fix up (to sell) closed schools

<http://schottfoundation.org/blog/2013/07/09/debunking-myths-school-closures>

# These aren't empty schools.

Officials often use a "utilization" argument to close schools, but it's a double standard. A public school with 15-20 students per classroom can be labeled "underutilized," while private schools just a few blocks away can pride themselves on having small class sizes.



# Closures **do** have a big impact – on everyone.

## School closings disrupt whole communities.

- Receiving schools aren't equipped for an influx of new students, creating a cycle of struggling schools.
- Students must travel through unfamiliar neighborhoods (and sometimes gang territory) to attend new schools.
- Low-income areas and communities of color lose pre-k programs, health clinics and other programs housed in school buildings — exacerbating ongoing waves of foreclosures, declining public housing and job loss.
- Closures are often decided without community input: disempowering parents, students, and educators.



**You can't improve schools by closing them.**  
Learn about alternatives and take action: [www.otlcampaign.org](http://www.otlcampaign.org)

## Privatization Drains Resources from Public Schools



## Breaking Point:

The Cost of Charter Schools for  
Public School Districts

IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST | MAY 2018

In The Public Interest, April 2018

### Report: The Cost of Charter Schools for Public School Districts

5/8/2018 By In the Public Interest

**In a first-of-its-kind analysis**, In the Public Interest has found that public school students in three California school districts are bearing the cost of the unchecked expansion of privately managed charter schools.

The report, *Breaking Point: The Cost of Charter Schools for Public School Districts*, calculates the fiscal impact of charter schools on Oakland Unified School District, San Diego Unified School District, and San Jose's East Side Union High School District.

- Charter schools cost Oakland Unified **\$57.3 million per year**. That's \$1,500 less in funding for each student that attends a neighborhood school.
- The annual cost of charter schools to the San Diego Unified is **\$65.9 million**.
- In East Side Union, the net impact of charter schools amounts to a loss of **\$19.3 million per year**.

<https://www.inthepublicinterest.org/report-the-cost-of-charter-schools-for-public-school-districts/>

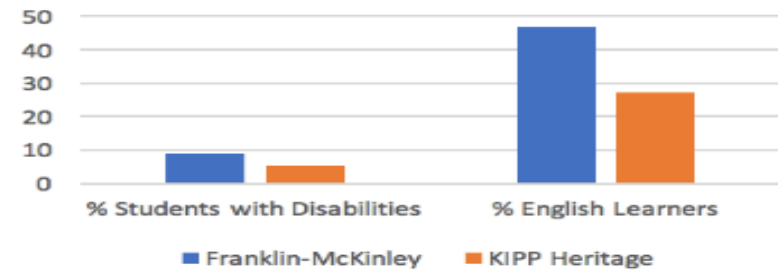
Intersecting Issues with privatization in East Side Union High School District

State “Rubber Stamp” Forces Charter Schools onto Districts Despite Local Denials and Admitted Refusal to Abide by Conflict of Interest law

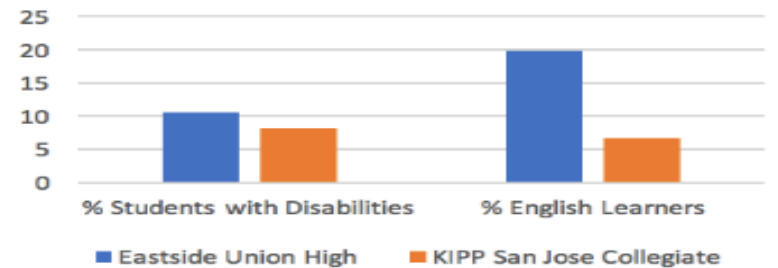
Why Doesn't KIPP Sign Agreement To Abide By Conflict of Interest...  

Excerpts From Santa Clara County  
Board of Education Decision to Deny KIPP  
November 1st, 2017

**% Student Subgroups 2016-2017  
Franklin-McKinley**



**% Student Subgroups 2016-2017  
Eastside**



<https://eduresearcher.com/2018/03/13/denykipp/>

**“One of the state’s fastest-growing SELPAs is El Dorado County’s charter-only SELPA, whose number of affiliated charter schools has grown in just years from 41 in 2011 to 264 in 2016. The affiliates include many of the state’s largest CMO chains. Schools affiliated with the Alliance chain in Los Angeles, KIPP in San Francisco and Oakland, King-Chavez in San Diego, and **Rocketship in San Jose** all have their special education needs met by rural El Dorado County, hundreds of miles away in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada”. ...**

**“This flood of long-distance affiliation may reflect a substantial financial incentive. For instance, where the LAUSD SELPA traditionally retained 100% of a school’s special education funding, along with a contribution from each schools’ general fund, most charter schools associated with the El Dorado SELPA pay the SELPA no more than 5% of their special education funding, keeping the rest. In return, of course, the El Dorado SELPA also provides more limited services, and these schools are responsible for meeting their students’ needs. **But for schools with limited numbers of special education students—or whose students’ needs are sufficiently mild that a school’s staff can meet them with minimal need for outside professional help—the arrangement may make financial sense. All ten schools in the Rocketship chain, for instance, were affiliated with the El Dorado SELPA in 2015-16, with special education students accounting for just 5.5% of their combined student body—less than half the statewide average. Such schools may realize substantial savings by retaining average per-pupil special education funding while serving below-average needs. But as a result, their home districts are left serving the neediest children but without the needed resources.”****

(p. 34)

<https://www.inthepublicinterest.org/report-the-failure-of-policy-planning-in-californias-charter-school-facility-funding/>

# School Privatization Explained

Are charter schools truly public schools?

Do charter schools and school vouchers “hurt” public schools?

Do charter schools get better academic results than public schools?

Are charter schools and vouchers a civil rights cause?

Are charter schools “more accountable” than public schools?

Do charter schools profit from educating students?

Do school vouchers help kids in struggling schools?

Are charter schools innovative?

Are online charter schools good options for families?

Do “Education Savings Accounts” lead to better results for families?

Do education tax credit scholarships provide opportunity?

Are tax credit scholarships a voucher by a different name?

Do charter schools and vouchers save money?

<https://eduresearcher.com/2017/04/24/privatization-explained/>

# The Promise and Realities of “Pay for Success/Social Impact Bonds”

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## The Promise and Realities of Pay for Success/Social Impact Bonds

*Kenneth J. Saltman*

University of Massachusetts Dartmouth  
United States

**Citation:** Saltman, K. (2016). The promise and realities of Pay for Success/ Social Impact Bonds. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 25(59). <http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.25.2640> This article is part of EPAA/AAPE's Special Issue on *Restructuring and Resisting Education Reforms in Chicago's Public Schools*, Guest Edited by Dr. Federico Waitoller and Rhoda R. Gutierrez.

**Abstract:** This article considers proponents' arguments for Pay for Success also known as Social Impact Bonds. Pay for Success allows banks to finance public services with potential profits tied to metrics. Pay for Success has received federal support through the Every Student Succeeds Act of 2016 and is predicted by 2020 to expand in the US to a trillion dollars. As school districts, cities, and states face debt and budget crises, Pay for Success has been advocated by philanthropists, corporate consulting firms, politicians, and investment banks on the grounds of improving accountability, cost savings, risk transfer, and market discipline. With its trailblazing history in neoliberal education, Chicago did an early experiment in Pay for Success. This article provides a conceptual analysis of the key underlying assumptions and ideologies of Pay for Success. It examines the claims of proponents and critics and sheds light on the financial and ideological motivations animating Pay for Success. The article contends that Pay for Success primarily financially benefits banks without providing the benefits that proponents promise. It concludes by

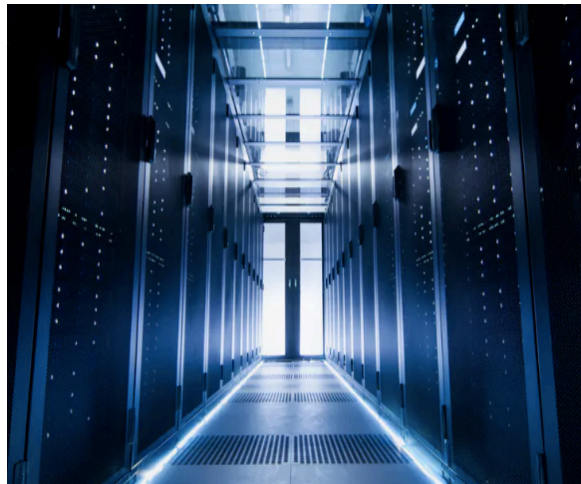
Journal website: <http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/>  
Facebook: /EPAAA  
Twitter: @epaa\_aaape

Manuscript received: 20/7/2016  
Revisions received: 10/4/2017  
Accepted: 25/4/2017

“The article contends that Pay for Success primarily financially benefits banks without providing the benefits that proponents promise. It concludes by considering Pay for Success in relation to broader structural economic considerations and the recent uses of public schooling to produce short-term profit for capitalists.”

For more information on Social impact Bonds, see:  
<http://bit.ly/sibgamble>

<http://epaa.asu.edu/ojs/article/view/2640/1918>  
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.25.2640>



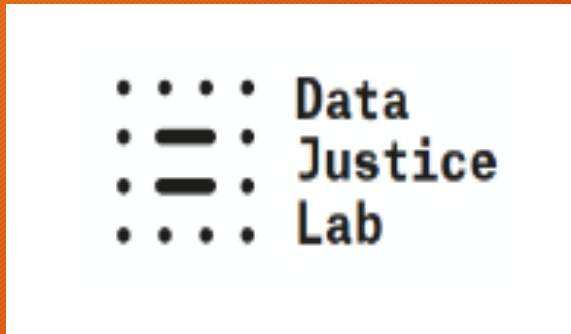
## Six ways (and counting) that big data systems are harming society

December 7, 2017 5.32am EST

Zapp2Photo/Shutterstock.com

Gorodenkoff/Shutterstock.com

-Joanna Redden, Co-Director, Data Justice Lab, Cardiff University



1. Targeting based on vulnerability
2. Misuse of Personal Information
3. Discrimination
4. Data Breaches
5. Political Manipulation and Social Harm
6. Data and System Errors

<https://theconversation.com/six-ways-and-counting-that-big-data-systems-are-harming-society-88660>



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## RESEARCH-BASED OPTIONS FOR EDUCATION POLICYMAKING

### **The Effectiveness of Class Size Reduction**

*William J. Mathis, University of Colorado Boulder*  
*June 2016*

<http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/research-based-options>

## Class size (reduction) matters...

**The gains lasted.** The students that had been assigned to smaller classes were more likely to graduate in four years, more likely to go to college, and more likely to get a degree in a STEM field. **The positive effect was twice as large for poor and minority students, and thus narrowed the achievement gap.** The original STAR study and follow-up reports, called the *Lasting Benefits Studies*, and subsequent *Project Challenge* <sup>5</sup> had an impact in the political arena. President Bill Clinton proposed a \$12 billion class size reduction program in his 1998 State of the Union address that was subsequently adopted by Congress.

Molnar *et al.* (1996-2001), in a well-designed series of five annual evaluations of the Wisconsin SAGE (Student Achievement Guarantee in Education) class size reduction program utilizing a quasi-experimental design, reproduced the STAR results.<sup>6</sup> With class sizes of 15, they found **significant and substantial effect sizes of 0.2 standard deviations**, indicating that class size was a very effective school improvement strategy. **Gains were greatest for African-American students**, and teachers reported better classroom climates and fewer discipline problems. The continuation of small class sizes into the higher grades increased its impact. But cost considerations resulted in class size reduction activities being concentrated in the lower grades, mostly among economically deprived and children of color.<sup>7</sup>

<http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/research-based-options>



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