

accountability

Turning Around Low-Performing SCHOOLS

One of the most pressing challenges states face is what to do to with schools that are persistently failing. Turning them around requires clear ways of identifying schools that need help, providing them with appropriate assistance, and stepping in and taking tough action when they continue to fall behind. Without real accountability for results, standards will become an empty promise — and all young people deserve a first-class education.



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SCHOOLS

Thanks to the leadership of governors and other policymakers, states have been pursuing standards, testing and accountability policies since the early 1990s. But the new federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which is expected to be signed into law soon, will require most states to significantly pick up the pace of those reforms. Specifically, the law will require a substantial increase in the regularity of testing. The law's requirements will pose significant challenges to states to ensure that the tests are aligned with state standards and that they provide coherent information about student performance.

States also face a serious challenge over what to do to turn around low-performing schools. Policymakers on both sides of the aisle recognize that something must be done — now — to help those schools, but few states have put in place comprehensive policies and practices that will help schools improve. Turning them around requires clear ways of identifying schools that need assistance, providing them with appropriate assistance, and stepping in and taking tough action when schools continue to fall behind. States will have to do much more in the next few years in all of these areas.

Yet such efforts are critical. Without real accountability for results, too many students will continue to languish in schools that have persistently failed, and standards will become an empty promise. That is unacceptable. All young people deserve a first-class education.

WHAT IS A LOW-PERFORMING SCHOOL?

The first step in turning around low-performing schools is determining which schools need such assistance. But only half the states currently rate school performance. According to *Education Week's* "Quality Counts 2001," 17 states rate the performance of all schools, and another 10 identify low-performing schools only. Another eight states plan to rate schools or identify struggling schools soon.

The states that rate schools generally use three methods to define performance: meeting absolute targets (for example, requiring a certain percentage of students to reach the proficient level of performance on state assessments); making relative growth (for example, improving performance by a certain percentage over the previous year); and closing gaps in achievement between low performers and high performers. All three types of information are important in determining whether schools are failing to perform adequately. Yet about half the states that rate schools consider only the first method; only two states — Delaware and Wisconsin — use all three methods.

Meeting absolute targets: Of course states want schools to reach the desired level of proficiency, and schools that are not at that point need attention. But setting the right target requires a delicate balance. Setting it too high — for example, requiring schools to show that all students attained a high score on a challenging test — might mean that nearly all schools, including those with many successful students, could be considered low performing. On the

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other hand, setting the target too low might mask problems schools are facing in enabling students to reach challenging standards.

One state that has tried to walk this line carefully is Texas. There, the state recognized when it established its accountability system that schools had a long way to go to reach high levels of performance, so Texas initially set its target rather low: 25 percent of students had to pass the state test in order for a school to avoid a designation as low performing. But the state raised its target each year, and now 50 percent of students have to pass the test for a school to be considered acceptable. The state is now raising its standards and creating more rigorous tests.

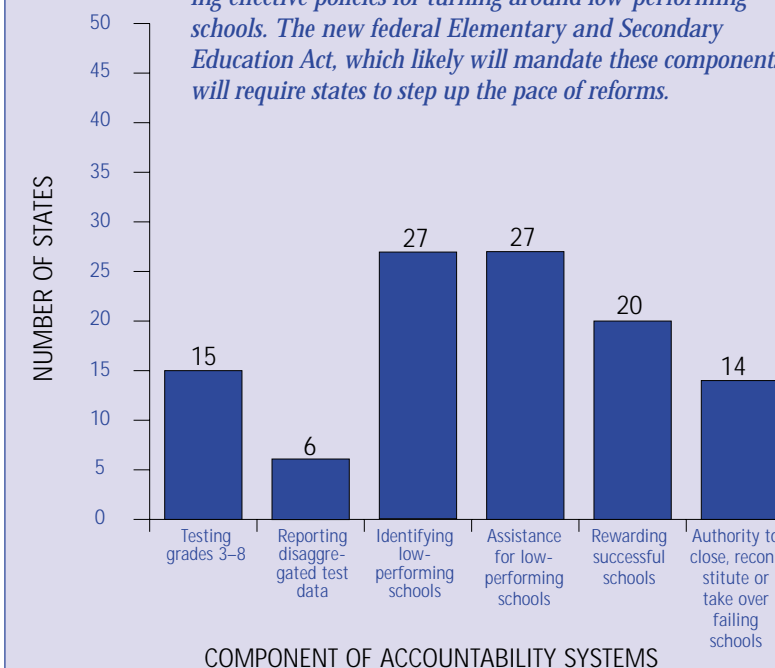
Growing over time: Meeting targets for proficiency is important, but not all schools start at the same place — and some have much further to go for students to reach high levels of performance. Schools that are improving at a fast rate and are on target to reach the goal may be performing adequately, even if their performance does not reach the goal yet. At the same time, schools that already demonstrate high performance but fail to improve or maintain their high levels may be showing signs of trouble. California recognizes this problem by requiring schools to show steady gains of 10 percent of the distance between their starting point and proficiency each year to keep them on a path to

the ultimate target; those that have already reached proficiency cannot stagnate or fall back.

Tennessee, meanwhile, has developed an unusual method for determining the "value added" that schools contribute to student performance. Using a complex statistical formula developed by statistician William L. Sanders, the state can estimate how much schools (and individual teachers) add to student performance each year. The state compiles these estimates into an index; schools that are in the bottom third of the state on the value-added index are placed on a warning list.

School Accountability: Where States Are

States have much work to do in developing and implementing effective policies for turning around low-performing schools. The new federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which likely will mandate these components, will require states to step up the pace of reforms.



Source: Education Week, "Quality Counts 2001" and Consortium for Policy Research in Education



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Closing the gaps: As important as overall school performance is, schools also should demonstrate that they are closing achievement gaps among groups of students. The standards movement, after all, is aimed at high standards for all students. Schools where some students perform well but others perform less well have problems. They should not be considered successful even though average performance is acceptable.

Because the most serious gaps separate the performance of whites and racial and ethnic minorities, a handful of states consider the performance of racial and ethnic minorities in determining school performance; six require schools to close the gaps to be considered successful. For example, in Texas, white, black, Hispanic and economically disadvantaged students all must reach the required passing rate for a school to avoid a low-performing designation. Similar systems are in place in California, Maryland, New Mexico and South Carolina, according to the Consortium for Policy Research in Education. More states must attend to the performance of all students, and the federal legislation would require they do so.

Putting it together: How can a state measure school progress to encourage schools to improve performance continually and close achievement gaps? One promising approach is the system about to be implemented in Delaware. The state determines whether students are proficient, whether schools have improved over time and whether the school has reduced the proportion of low-performing students. Using a formula to combine all of these measures, the state compares school progress with statewide targets. Schools that exceed state targets can earn cash awards. Those that fall below the targets can be designated as low performing.

Although Delaware's system does not specifically consider the performance of disadvantaged students, the requirement to raise performance of lower-achieving students will ensure that schools address the needs of all students. And the state publishes data on the performance of all groups and requires schools to use those data in their school plans.

SHINING A SPOTLIGHT

The states that identify low-performing schools use a variety of labels. Some, like Colorado and Florida, assign letter grades to schools and give Ds or Fs to low performers. Others use terms like “academically deficient” or “underperforming.”

The effect of receiving a low-performing designation appears to be powerful. Schools often work hard to avoid the stigma of such a designation and to shed the label once it has been applied. States need to do more to shine a spotlight on schools that need improvement and encourage them to step up their efforts to turn themselves around. Experience has shown that publicity can do a great deal to spur improvement, even without any additional action by the state.

States have not always taken full advantage of the power these labels can wield. Often, schools are even unaware that they have been labeled low performing. Under the federal Title I program, which aids schools with disadvantaged students, states and districts are required to identify Title I schools in need of improvement. Yet a recent survey found that in 41 percent of schools that districts identified as needing improvement, the principals were not aware that they had been so designated. If the spotlight can serve any motivating purpose, it has to be turned on.

Moreover, states may not be identifying all the schools that truly are low performing. *Education Week's* survey found that the number of schools judged low performing ranged from a handful in Kansas, Massachusetts and West Virginia to 3,144 in California. Surely these differences do not reflect only the number or quality of schools in each state. They largely reflect state rating policies. States may have set those policies because of limited resources to assist schools. But a “low-performing” designation should be applied to signal that a school needs help — and all schools that truly need help should be so identified.

STEPPING IN

Designation is only a first step. The second is to provide the assistance low-performing schools need. Data like test scores can signal a problem, but only on-the-ground observation can help educators map out a plan of action. State assistance is crucial in helping schools implement their plans. But despite the rhetoric, states are not interested in literally “taking over” schools. The preferred route is to bring state and local resources to help schools turn themselves around. Some states, such as Kentucky, provide financial assistance and make experts available.

Tips for Policymakers:

- *Have confidence in tests — a lot is riding on them. Make sure they are rigorous and aligned with standards.*
- *Test results should be publicized widely, and school ratings should not be a secret.*
- *Define adequate progress for schools by considering absolute performance, progress over time and success in closing achievement gaps.*
- *Provide assistance before applying sanctions.*
- *When confronting persistently failing schools, don't be afraid to be tough.*

Some of the most effective strategies involve state-trained educators who provide intensive aid to troubled schools. For example, North Carolina sends trained “assistance teams” of experienced educators to help low-performing schools. These teams help schools write and implement improvement plans and make recommendations about the changes needed to bring about improvements. They also evaluate the principal and staff and can recommend replacing teachers or administrators.

The program seems to be working. In its first year, the state assigned assistance teams to 15 schools, and 14 of those reached their target for improved performance. Thirteen schools improved enough to earn cash bonuses from the state.

Few states have provided such intensive and effective assistance — and even North Carolina has stepped up its efforts. There, the state formed a partnership called North Carolina Helping Education in Low-Performing Schools (NC HELPS), a joint project of the governor's office, university system, community colleges, and the state board and department of education. Using federal and state funds, the project provides professional development for teachers and school administrators, along with services like personnel evaluation, curriculum alignment and research. The project also matches schools with agencies and businesses that may have needed expertise.

APPLYING ULTIMATE SANCTIONS

Intervention and assistance can help turn schools around. But what if they do not improve? States must take more serious action. As governors, business leaders and educators at the 1999 National Education Summit pledged in their action statement: “We will be prepared to restructure or reconstitute schools or provide parents and students with other options. The state has a solemn obligation to ensure that no child is trapped in a failing school.”



Pressure and Support: How a School Turned Itself Around

Can low-performing schools become high performing? No question about it. The evidence shows that the state accountability systems' pressure, combined with the support states make available, is crucial.

Consider Fessenden Elementary School in Ocala, Fla. In 1999, that school earned an F under the state's rating system, meaning that the school's fourth and fifth graders failed to meet state standards in reading, writing or mathematics. Under Florida's accountability policy, students in schools that receive an F for two of four consecutive years can receive vouchers that can be used in private schools.

As *Education Week* reported, the F rating caused two things to happen. First, the school sprung into action. The principal and staff pored over test results and adjusted the instructional program. The school tested students frequently to assess strengths and weaknesses, reduced class sizes in the early grades, changed reading instruction, provided tutoring for struggling students, and assigned teaching assistants in the fourth and fifth grades.

Second, the state provided assistance. Florida's regional school improvement team linked the school with grant opportunities and other resources; in all, Fessenden secured \$400,000 in additional funds. And the team helped provide teachers with intensive professional development.

The result: In one year, Fessenden catapulted from an F to an A — one of only two schools in the state to make that extraordinary leap. As the district's superintendent told *Education Week*, the state's accountability system enabled the school to reach that height. "Unfortunately, it took labeling [Fessenden with] an F to focus us to do what we should have been doing all along and might not otherwise have done," he said.

Many states have laws on the books to provide some sanction for schools that continually fail. But few states actually have applied such penalties. Admittedly, the penalties are harsh, and they could cost some teachers and administrators their jobs. But applying them is essential — and the pending federal legislation would make such sanctions mandatory. Schools need to know that they cannot continue poor performance endlessly; they must be helped to turn themselves around or be put under new management. Without the possibility of sanctions, schools have little incentive to improve.

In addition to the incentives they create, the penalties themselves provide corrective action that could improve schooling right away. For example, Maryland contracts with private school-management firms to operate persistently failing schools; the state has contracted with Edison Schools, Inc., to operate three low-performing schools in Baltimore. These private managers can jump-start a rebuilding of instructional programs that may have eluded the incumbent administration and faculty. A variation of this approach is taking effect in Colorado this year. There, the state authorizes districts to convert schools rated F into charter schools.

Another approach is to give parents funds to pursue other educational options. The federal law pending in Congress would distribute Title I funds to parents of children in low-performing schools to allow them to purchase private tutoring services for their children. This approach provides immediate aid to students, and the threat of a loss of funds could encourage schools to turn themselves around before they get to that point.

States also may have to apply tough measures to turn around struggling districts. In both Illinois and Michigan, the legislature gave control over the states' largest school systems — Chicago and Detroit, respectively — to the mayor, who appointed a new

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school board and set a new course for the district. The improvement that Chicago has seen since Illinois took that step in 1995 suggests that such dramatic action can produce results. But all states need to step in when schools and districts are persistently failing. Putting off tough decisions does nothing to help students who continue to attend low-performing schools.

DEVELOPING A CADRE OF LEADERS

In the long run, states need to do more to help ensure that schools do not get to the point where they need such intensive intervention. An effective system is one where there are no failing schools.

Such a system may be a distant dream, but states can move a long way toward that goal by enhancing leadership development. The one consistent theme in reports from schools that have turned themselves around is that there is no substitute for effective leadership. Principals in such schools are true instructional leaders: They emphasize high academic standards for all students and maintain a focus, for themselves and the school, on teaching and learning. They use data on performance to plan curriculum and instructional improvements. They supervise teachers and provide appropriate support for them to improve their instruction.

While some states have made efforts to improve the preparation and ongoing development of principals, a recent study by the Institute for Educational Leadership found that few are equipped to handle their roles in a standards-based system. As that report recommended, states need to ensure that qualified individuals seek jobs as principals, that such individuals are prepared for their positions, and that principals receive ongoing support and professional development.

CONCLUSION

The debate in Congress has placed accountability at the top of the national policy agenda. But accountability does not mean creating winners and losers. It means shining a spotlight on student performance, identifying schools that are low-performing, creating incentives for schools to improve and providing resources to help turn them around. Accountability is essential in a continuously improving education system.

In the long run, states need to move toward a system where all schools function well. In the meantime, though, states have more to do to ensure that all the pieces of a fully functioning accountability system are in place, and they undoubtedly will be challenged to do so by legislation enacted by Congress and the president. States must identify all schools that need help and provide resources and assistance to turn them around. If that happens, the promise of the standards movement will be fulfilled.

Achieve Policy Briefs are regular reports on critical issues in education reform. They are designed to help policymakers, business leaders, educators and others address the challenges they face in improving the nation's schools.

Achieve is an independent, bipartisan, nonprofit organization created by governors and corporate leaders to help raise standards and performance in American schools. Achieve was founded at the 1996 National Education Summit and subsequently sponsored another Summit in the fall of 1999 that brought together more than 100 governors, business leaders and educators from around the nation.

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- provide sustained public leadership and advocacy for the movement to raise standards and improve student performance;
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- build partnerships that allow states to work together to improve teaching and learning and raise student achievement; and
- serve as a national clearinghouse on education standards and school reform.

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400 North Capitol Street, NW
Suite 351
Washington, DC 20001
Phone: (202) 624-1460
Fax: (202) 624-1468



8 Story Street
1st Floor
Cambridge, MA 02138
Phone: (617) 496-6300
Fax: (617) 496-6361