Inside this Issue:

JTLPS

SACRAMENTO STATE
Redefine the Possible

Journal of
Transformative Leadership & Policy Studies

Executive Editor
Carlos Nevarez, PhD

Professor, Doctorate in Educational Leadership Program
California State University, Sacramento
Sacramento, California

Editor
Porfirio Loeza, PhD

Professor, Graduate and Professional Studies in Education
California State University, Sacramento
Sacramento, California

Guest Editor
Julian Vasquez Heilig, PhD

Professor & Director, Doctorate in Educational Leadership Program
California State University, Sacramento
Sacramento, California

About the Journal

Editorial Board

Review Board

Educational Leadership Ed.D.

IN THE CSU

Table of Contents

Letter from the Editors

The Journal of Transformative Leadership and Policy Studies (JTLPS), Volume 7.1, is published as a special volume in collaboration with a Guest Editor, Dr. Julian Vasquez Heilig. The thematic link across several of the manuscripts provides a focus on the impact of charter school attributes on communities of color. The authors introduce a forum for discussion that revolves around the relationship between the charter and public-school systems to give the reader a sense of how the systems converge yet diverge; why opinions are so strong both for and against the new charter school movement; and the impact of articulating information so that it informs rather than misinforms the public. Collectively, the manuscripts in this volume provide a comprehensive overview of the primary issues related to a new charter school movement. This integrative approach involves the consideration of multiple factors that limit equitable access to quality education for students of color (e.g., systems of accountability, educator working conditions, and segregation).

Volume 7.1 of JTLPS begins by featuring a critical analysis titled, "The Neoliberal Attack on the Public Education of Students of Color," which introduces the shift of a new charter school movement towards privatization. The purpose of this report is to redirect the focus of discussions away from an empowerment of the charter system and return to the value of public education. This special volume also includes two conceptual studies. The first is titled "Charter School Authorization: A Gateway to Excellence and Equity" and examines the impact of deregulation in the charter school setting on the quality of education for students of color. The writers describe the process to obtain charter authorization and consider two models of authorizer governance. The focus on charter governance and accountability addresses both diversity and equity issues and their implications.

An empirical study titled, "Teachers of Color and Urban Charters Schools: Race, School Culture, and Teacher Turnover in the Charter Sector," provides ethnographic data to identify patterns in teacher turnover. The author explores specific conditions that impact teacher turnover including structural, organizational and sociocultural. This study focuses on teachers of color as it addresses issues related to the promotion of access, retention, and equity in the charter school system. The second conceptual study titled, "Are California's Charter Schools the New Separate-But-Equal 'Schools of Excellence, or Are They Worse Than Plessy?," brings the reader back to a focus on the students of color with a thorough discussion of the issues related to undoing institutional barriers, setting high expectations, and culturally responsive instructional leadership in education.

This special volume ends by featuring a review of the book "A Smarter Charter: Finding What Works for Charter Schools and Public Education," and advances recommendations for improving the success of students of color in both the charter and public-school settings. Drawing from insights gleaned from the promoter of the original charter movement, Albert Shanker, the authors extend strategies and practices that can advance the laboratory school, teacher voice, and ethnic and socioeconomic diversity. The new charter school movement mentioned in the critical analysis, earlier on in this special volume, has led to an array of issues that the book review attempts to clarify.

The JTLPS and its editorial board wishes to thank the Chancellor's Office of the California State University and the College of Education at California State University, Sacramento for its continued support. We also invite future authors to submit their manuscripts with the understanding that they are accepted for review on a rolling basis.

Carlos Nevarez, PhD
Executive Editor

Porfirio Loeza, PhD
Editor

CONCEPTUAL INTRODUCTION FROM THE SPECIAL VOLUME EDITORS

New Insights and Directions: Considering the Impact of Charter School Attributes on Communities of Color

Julian Vasquez Heilig, PhD and Brent Clark Jr., MA
California State University, Sacramento

Charter schools, which are typically organizations that receive public money and are privately operated, have grown rapidly since the enactment of the first charter school law in Minnesota in 1991 (Toma & Zimmer, 2012). A report by the National Alliance for Public Charter Schools (NAPCS) relayed that there are more than 6,800 charter schools enrolling an estimated 2.9 million students in the United States (National Alliance for Public Charter Schools, 2015). According to NAPCS, "There are now 27 states with at least 50 operating charter public schools and nearly 20 states with 100 or more charter schools" (National Alliance for Public Charter Schools, p. 3). Furthermore, a report released by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP, 2017) found that during the past decade the number of students in charter schools has nearly tripled, with approximately 3.1 million students enrolled in 2016-17. In fact, 1 in 8 African American students now attends a charter in the United States (NAACP, 2017).

The growth of charter schools has been spurred by hundreds of millions of dollars in financial incentives from public grant programs and foundations (Berliner & Glass, 2014; Nathan, 1998; Persson, 2015). The Obama administration continued the approach of the Bush administration, but spent even more than the prior administration on market-based school choice (Persson, 2015). In fact, Persson related that the federal government alone has spent $3.3 billion on charter schools over the past ten years. Ravitch (2016) attributed the rapid growth of charters to the fact that many states have been prodded by industry lobbyists and billionaire-funded foundations. These groups have spent hundreds of millions to lift numeric caps and promote education policy that increases the number of charter schools.

Ravitch noted that the most prominent neoliberal-leaning philanthropic supporters and proponents of the school "choice" cause are the Koch brothers, American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), Walton Family Foundation, Eli and Edythe Broad Foundation, Heritage Foundation and the Foundation for Educational Excellence. Their commitment to charter schools is very public in most cases. For example, Eli Broad's Great Schools organization has suggested that at least half of all the schools in Los Angeles should be turned into charter schools (Blume, 2015).

Mike Petrilli recently argued in USA Today that education reform—specifically charter schools and school choice—have become a "mainstream" movement over the past 20 years (Toppo, 2017). During the Senate confirmation hearing for U.S. Secretary of Education Betsy DeVos, Senator Lamar Alexander essentially made the same argument on behalf of charters (Russell, 2017). Given the increased attention and focus on charter schools by President Donald Trump and Secretary of Education Betsy DeVos as an alternative to neighborhood public schools, it is crucial for Americans to analyze whether or not charter schools are efficacious public policy in a democratic system. While the popularity of charters is growing in some quarters (National Alliance for Public Charter Schools, 2015), there are important critiques in the research literature (Frankenberg, Siegel-Hawley, & Wang, 2011, Vasquez Heilig et al., 2016), media (Rotberg, 2014) and public discourse about charter schools. Criticism of charter schools has also increased in the civil rights community (NAACP, 2016) and amongst grassroots educators (Ravitch, 2013).

Considering the enrollment growth and rapidly evolving public discourse about charter schools, this special issue of the Journal of Transformative

Leadership and Policy Studies presents a timely exploration of charter schools within the decades-long era of school choice. The articles in this volume consider market-based school choice within the present discourse in the education policy and leadership landscape. More specifically, the authors examine the policy contexts, actors, challenges, and possibilities associated with school choice at a time when urban school populations are increasingly "majority–minority" and racialized gaps in inequality and student achievement are on the rise. Together, the articles in this volume revisit long-held notions of school choice and charter schools alongside critical and empirically-based perspectives.

Charter Schools and Choice

The most prominent argument heard from market-based education proponents is that school choice means that families can choose high-quality schools. Charters and their lobbying organizations often put forward test score data, student attrition, graduation rates, and college attendance rates as evidence that charter schools are superior to neighborhood public schools (Berliner & Glass, 2014). However, we must consider the validity of these data with caution. Since the inception of the charter school movement, concerns have been raised about the creaming and cropping—limiting access and fomenting pushout—high-needs students (Paquet, Holyoke, Moser, & Henig, 2002).

These concerns are linked directly to the incentives embedded in markets— under conditions of competition, organizations (such as charters) may seek to maximize their market position by targeting relatively easier-to-serve clientele (Lacireno-Paquet, Holyoke, Moser & Henig, 2002). Consistent with this theory, charters have been accused of strategically recruiting relatively advantaged, "easier to serve" students from nearby public schools (Strauss, 2012). Welner (2013) identified 12 ways, a dirty dozen, that charters avoid high needs students. National Education Policy Center (2013) noted that,

> Charter schools may be public, but they can shape their student enrollment in surprising ways. This is done though a dozen different practices that often decrease the likelihood of students enrolling with a disfavored set of characteristics, such as students with special needs, those with low test scores, English learners, or students in poverty.

Charter proponents respond that competition, instead of leading to stratification, reduces market barriers by delinking residence from schooling opportunity (Nathan, 1998). Charter advocates, in support of this theory, point to national data showing that, in the aggregate, charter schools serve higher percentages of low-income students, and higher proportions of Black and Latino students, than traditional public schools (National Alliance for Public Charter Schools, 2014). The National Alliance for Public Charter Schools argued "public charter schools across the nation enroll, on average, a greater percentage of low-income students (46 percent versus 41 percent), Black and Latino students (27 percent versus 15 percent and 26 percent versus 22 percent, respectively)." (p. 1) However, researchers analyzing data at the local district and school level, have found that aggregate diversity in state-level and national-level data tends to disappear when charters are compared to their home districts and nearby schools (Miron, Urschel, Mathis, & Tornquist, 2010; Vasquez Heilig et al., 2016).

Charter Schools, Civil Rights and Inclusion

School choice ideology came to prominence when White academics sought to influence the national conversation about desegregation and public education after *Brown v. Board of Education* (Friedman, 1960). First writing in the 1950s, the White libertarian economist Milton Friedman, followed by John Chubb and Terry Moe (1988), argued for a profit-based education system where resources are controlled by private entities rather than by democratically elected governments.

The justification for market-based choice has evolved over the years. As noted above, the initial push for school choice was not necessarily to improve the success of minority students in the United States— which is the common sloganeering heard today. In fact, the academics that recommended school choice envisioned a public education system built around parent-student choice, school competition, and school autonomy as a solution to what they saw as the problem of governmental intervention in public schools (Ravitch, 2013). In fact, in the South, school choice was utilized for "all deliberate slowness" after *Brown v. Board* to ensure that Black children would not go to school with White children (Clotfelter, 1976, 2004). During the intervening years, market-based school choice ideology, which was originally utilized for these discriminatory purposes, evolved and was retread by its proponents with the civil right themes that are prominent in the public discourse today.

Not surprisingly, the White academics writing in the 1960s were not particularly concerned or convinced that neoliberal market-based mechanisms and de facto segregation perpetuated the inequities in American public schools today (Ravitch, 2013). A growing body of research literature has identified the ways that market-based approaches are problematic for historically underserved students. Along with discriminatory public policies, such as redlining, market forces in housing markets have enhanced racial and economic segregation (Orfield & Frankenberg, 2014). Instead of making this situation better, school choice has made this societal problem worse as documented in the research literature (Frankenberg et al., 2011; Garcia, 2008a; Garcia, 2008b).

Researchers, using district and school demographics as the point of reference, have shown that charters are in fact quite segregated, enrolling either disproportionately more white students, or disproportionately high concentrations of students of color (Cobb & Glass, 1999). Studies examining individual student transfer data between traditional public schools and charters have similarly found that students tend to transfer into charter schools in which students from their own background are more represented (Booker, Zimmer, & Buddin, 2005). In summary, the predominance of data and peer-reviewed literature demonstrates that the vast majority of charters have not produced the equity and access benefits that proponents put forward in the political space and public conversation (Ravitch, 2013).

During the past seven years, the NAACP has taken notice of the research literature and decried the rise of privately-managed charter schools by passing three national resolutions at its national conventions (NAACP, 2016). At the 2010 convention, the NAACP convention delegates and national board supported a resolution concluding that state charter schools create separate and unequal conditions. In 2014, a NAACP national resolution connected school choice with the private control of public education. More recently, a 2016 resolution garnered national attention because it called for a charter moratorium until a set of civil rights concerns are addressed (NAACP, 2016). At the 2017 NAACP national convention in Baltimore, the organization's Task Force on Quality Education went a step further when they released a report that contained a set of transparency and accountability recommendations for charter schools based on public hearings held in cities across the United States (NAACP, 2017).

Richardson (2017) discussed that the NAACP is not alone in the civil rights community in taking a more critical posture towards charter schools. Other civil rights organizations such as the Journey for Justice Alliance, an alliance of charter parents and non-charter parents, and the Movement for Black Lives, which is a conglomeration of the nation's youngest national civil rights organizations, lead the moratorium movement and have taken a critical posture in the public discourse rethinking the education of Black children in charter schools.

With all of this in mind, "Are California Charter Schools Creating a System That is Worse Than Plessy," by Oluwole and Green examines the effects of the growing charter school population within the state of California on the future of education for minority students. This paper considers the growing trend of judicial deference in the realm of education, positioning this as a continuing trend, which has emerged since *Brown*. The authors also examine the role the notion of school choice has played in the delay of the desegregation of public schools historically post-*Brown*. Through an examination of California's history with issues of neo-*Plessy* school segregation and charter school access along with the consideration of the role which the judicial system has historically played in the desegregation of American schools, the authors position the present issue of charter schools within the larger narrative of unequal access to the American education system.

Charter Schools and Educators

Grassroots educators in teachers' unions were harkened by national civil rights organizations' call for a charter school moratorium. The moratorium movement led the way for a shift in the national conversation about market-based school choice in teachers' unions and has empowered grassroots educators to more pointedly raise concerns about civil rights issues in charter schools. During the summer of 2016, the leadership of the National Education Association (NEA), the nation's largest professional interest group, faced an uprising of sorts from grassroots educators (Vasquez Heilig, 2017). At the 2016 Representative Assembly (RA), the primary democratic policymaking and legislative body of educators in the organization, educators from across the United States proposed business items asking for more critical questions be asked about transparency and accountability for charter schools.

In response to these concerns, the leadership of the NEA relayed at the RA that charter schools would be taken up by a twenty-one member task force on

Charter Schools. The group of educators was charged with proposing a new NEA policy on charter schools (National Education Association, 2017). Since the union hadn't released a position on charter schools since 2001, the task force was asked to fundamentally rethink what NEA policy should be on charter schools (National Education Association, 2017). After months of meetings and deliberations, the task force agreed upon a proposed NEA policy statement on charter schools. At the 2017 RA in Boston, the policy statement was brought to the floor for deliberation and was overwhelmingly voted into policy by educators from across the United States.

Vasquez Heilig (2017) noted that the new NEA statement doesn't call for closure of all charter schools. It instead lays out three criteria charter schools must meet to provide students with the support and learning environments they deserve. The first is that charter schools should only be authorized locally by a democratically accountable authorizing entity— i.e. a local school district. The NEA argued that local authorizers can more closely monitor charter performance and spread any potential innovations to local public schools. The statement also called for empirical assessment of the initial location of a charter in a community and a justification specifically explaining how the school will serve to improve the local public system.

Adeeko and Beard's article aligns with the NEA call for more community-based accountability for charter schools. Their article considers the debate surrounding transparency via government regulation of charter school authorizers in "Charter School Authorization: A Gateway to Excellence and Equity." While comparing the charter environment in California and Ohio, Adeeko and Beard deconstruct issues surrounding the different types of school authorizers that currently exist and the economic incentives presently associated with the charter school authorization system. The authors go on to stress issues of regulation and accountability with regard to both charter school authorizers and the relationships between charter school authorizers and local communities.

The NEA task force statement also calls for charter schools to comply with the same safeguard and standards that apply to neighborhood public schools, such as "open meetings and public records laws, prohibitions against for-profit operations or profiteering, and the same civil rights, employment, labor, health and safety laws and staff qualification and certification requirements" (National Education Association, 2016 p. 6) These three criteria became even more significant because the policy statement was amended by grassroots educators at the RA to include a call for state and local moratoriums if charter schools do not meet these basic standards. Other amendments included stronger language calling for protections for special education students and limiting the state role in the approval of charter schools (Vasquez Heilig, 2017).

Considering the employment, labor, health, safety, staff qualification and certification concerns noted by the NEA task force, White's article tackles issues of culture, expectations, and commitment for educators in different types of charter schools in "Teachers of Color and Urban Charter Schools: Race, School Culture, and Teacher Turnover in the Charter Sector." Her research includes interviews and observations of 28 racially diverse teachers in three different types of New York City charter schools in an effort to interrogate issues of teacher turnover and working conditions in charter schools that primarily serve communities of color. This piece explores the similarities and differences between factors that motivate White charter school teachers to relocate and the factors which motivate teachers of color to move on. White considers factors such as resources and rigidness while deconstructing both the differences in culture and approach between different types of charter schools and the varying reasons why teachers in these urban charter schools relocate. Notably, teachers of color in charter schools explained that they had left charter schools because of not "fitting" the culture. As a result, she suggests the field must consider whether and how charters complicate retention efforts, particularly as large-scale management organizations often seek to scale-up, replicate and franchise their schools.

Conclusion

As charter schools have expanded, national polls are showing that they have actually become less popular (EducationNext, 2017). Therefore, it is vital that attention be paid to the quality and type of education that charter schools provide to all students— especially students of color. While there is no doubt that some students of color have benefitted from attending charter schools throughout the course of the last few decades, this reality does not negate the need to ensure that charter schools as an institution aren't serving to further perpetuate inequalities throughout society. Considering the research in this issue, market-based school choice approaches are a vehicle for the further segregation of schools based on racial and socioeconomic lines, less parental involvement in governance, and problematic

environments for educators. As a result, the issues represented in these articles make it clear why organizations such as the NAACP, Movement for Black Lives, Journey for Justice and the NEA have expressed concern about the current rapid expansion of charter schools throughout the country.

The aim of this special issue of Journal of Transformative Leadership and Policy Studies is to provide new insight and directions for research on charter schools. The authors poignantly address many important issues including regulation, authorization, and organizational culture. Each of these topics are critical in ensuring that young people from communities of color receive an education which both enlightens and empowers. Communities must be the leading voice in the education of their children. Otherwise charter schools are prolonging the national disservice to students of color in their name. W.E.B Du Bois once said, "Education and work are the levers to uplift a people." If education truly does serve as the

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Julian Vasquez Heilig is an award-winning teacher, researcher, and blogger. He is currently a Professor of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies and the Director of the Doctorate in Educational Leadership at California State University Sacramento. He blogs at Cloaking Inequity, consistently rated one of the top 50 education websites in the world by Teach100. Follow him on Twitter @ProfessorJVH.

Brent Clark Jr. is a former charter school attendee and current sociology graduate student. Brent is completing his M.A. at Sacramento State and will be beginning a sociology doctoral program in the fall.

REFERENCES

Berliner, D. C., & Glass, G. V. (Eds.). (2014). 50 myths and lies that threaten America's public schools: The real crisis in education. New York: Teachers College Press.

Bifulco, R., & Ladd, H. F. (2006). School choice, racial segregation, and test-score gaps: Evidence from North Carolinas charter school program*. Journal of Policy Analysis and Management, 26(1), 31-56. doi:10.1002/pam.20226

Blume, H. (2015, September 21). Backers want half of LAUSD students in charter schools in eight years, report says. Los Angeles Times Retrieved from http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-broad-draft-charter-expansion-plan-20150921-story.html

Booker, K., Zimmer, R., & Buddin, R. (2005). The effects of charter schools on school peer composition. Retrieved July 28, 2017, from http://www.rand.org/pubs/working_papers/WR306.html

California Charter Schools Association. (n.d.). FAQs: Frequently Asked Questions about charter schools. Retrieved from http://www.calcharters.org/understanding/faqs/myths.html.

Chubb, J. E., & Moe, T. M. (1988). Politics, markets, and the organization of schools. American Political Science Review, 82(4), 1065-1087

Clotfelter C. (1976). School desegregation, 'Tipping,' and private school enrollment. Journal of Human Resources. 11, 28–50.

Clotfelter Charles (2004). After Brown: The rise and retreat of school desegregation. Princeton, N.J Princeton University Press;

Cobb, C., & Glass, G. (1999). Ethnic segregation in Arizona charter schools. education policy analysis archives, 7, 1. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v7n1.1999

Du Bois, W.E.B. (1953). Negroes and the crisis of Capitalism, Monthly Review, 4, 478-485.

EducationNext. (2017). The 2017 EdNext poll on school reform. Retrieved from http://educationnext.org/2017-ednext-poll-school-reform-public-opinion-school-choice-common-core-higher-ed/#_schoolchoice

Frankenberg, E., Siegel-Hawley, G., & Wang, J. (2011). Choice without equity: Charter school segregation. Education Policy Analysis Archives, 19(1). https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v19n1.2011

Friedman, M. (1962). The role of government in education. In Captialism and Freedom, Chicago: University of Chicago Press..

Garcia, D. R. (2008a). Academic and racial segregation in charter schools. Education and Urban Society, 40(5), 590-612. doi:10.1177/0013124508316044

Garcia, D. R. (2008b). The impact of school choice on racial segregation in charter schools. Educational Policy 22, 805–829. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904807310043

Lacireno-Paquet, N., Holyoke, T. T., Moser, M., & Henig, J. R. (2002). Creaming versus cropping: Charter school enrollment practices in response to market incentives. Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 24(2), 145-158. doi:10.3102/01623737024002145

Miron, G., Urschel, J. L., Mathis, W, J., & Tornquist, E. (2010). Schools without Diversity: Education, management organizations, charter schools and the demographic stratification of the American school system. Boulder and Tempe: Education and the Public Interest Center & Education Policy Research Unit.

Nathan, J. (1998). Heat and light in the charter school movement. Phi Delta Kappan, 79(7). Retrieved July 28, 2017, from https://www.questia.com/library/journal/1G1-20521083/heat-and-light-in-the-charter-school-movement

National Alliance for Public Charter Schools. (2014). Details from the Dashboard: Charter school Race/Ethnicity demographics (Rep.). Washington, DC: Author Retrieved from http://www.publiccharters.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/NAPCS-2010-2011-Race_Ethnicity-Details-from-the-Dashboard_20120516T152831.pdf

National Alliance for Public Charter Schools. (2015). A closer look at the charter school movement Washington, DC: Author. Retrieved from http://www.publiccharters.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/New-Closed-2016.pdf

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (2016). Statement regarding the NAACP's resolution on a moratorium on charter schools Baltimore, MD: Author. Retrieved from http://www.naacp.org/latest/statement-regarding-naacps-resolution-moratorium-charter-schools/

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (2017). NAACP Task Force on Quality Education Hearing Report Baltimore, MD: Author. Retrieved from http://www.naacp.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Task_ForceReport_final2.pdf

National Education Association. (2017). The findings of the NEA charter task force in support of the proposed charter policy statement Washington, DC: Author. Retrieved from http://www.eiaonline.com/NEACharterTask forceReport2017.pdf

National Education Policy Center, School of Education. (2013, May 6). New article describes the "Dirty Dozen" ways charter schools influence student enrollment [Press release]. Retrieved from http://nepc.colorado.edu/newsletter/2013/05/tcr-dirty-dozen

Orfield, G., & Frankenberg, E. (2014). Increasingly segregated and unequal schools as courts reverse policy. Educational Administration Quarterly 50(6), 718–734. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X14548942

Persson, J. (2015, June 11). Feds spent $3.3 billion on charter schools, with few controls (Part 1). Retrieved from http://www.prwatch.org/news/2015/05/12830/federal-billions-fuel-charter-school-industry

Ravitch, D. (2013). Reign of error: The hoax of the privatization movement and the danger to America's public schools. New York: Vintage.

Ravitch, D. (2016, January 17). LA Times outdoes its Broad worship. Retrieved July 28, 2017, from http://dianeravitch.net/2016/01/17/la-times-outdoes-its-broad-worship/

Richardson, J. (2017, February). Charter schools don't serve black children well. Phi Delta Kappan 98 (5), 41-44. Retrieved from http://www.kappanonline.org/charter-schools-dont-serve-black-children-well/

Rotberg, Iris C. (2014, March 27). Charter schools and the risk of increased segregation. Education Week.

Russell, J. (2017, January 17). Senator: DeVos critics are outside the mainstream of public opinion on education Retrieved from http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/senator-devos-critics-are-outside-the-mainstream-of-public-opinion-on-education/article/2612121

Strauss, V. (2012, February 13). Ravitch: Why states should say 'no thanks' to charter schools. Retrieved July 28, 2017, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/answer-sheet/post/ravitch-why-states-should-say-no-thanks-to-charter-schools/2012/02/12/gIQAdA3b9Q_blog.html?utm_term=.79da3b598f70

Toma, E. & Zimmer, R. (2012). Two decades of charter schools: Expectations, reality, and the future. Economics of Education Review, 31(2), 209-212.

Toppo, G. (2017, July 5). Teachers' union considers hard line on charter schools. USAToday Retrieved from https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/2017/07/04/teachers-union-considers-hard-line-charter-schools/448774001/

Vasquez Heilig, J. (2017, July 7). An insider's view of charter schools: Who is working together to improve them?. The Progressive Retrieved from http://progressive.org/public-school-shakedown/an-insider-s-view-of-charter-schools-who-is-working-together/

Vasquez Heilig, J. Holme, J., LeClair, A. V., Redd, L., & Ward, D. (2016). Separate and unequal?: The problematic segregation of special populations in charter schools relative to traditional public schools. Stanford Law & Policy Review, 27(2), 251-293.

Vasquez Heilig, J, Williams, A., McNeil, L. M., & Lee, C. (2011, June 12). Is choice a panacea? An analysis of Black secondary student attrition from KIPP, other private charters, and urban districts. Retrieved July 28, 2017, from http://escholarship.org/uc/item/0vs9d4fr

Welner, K. G. (2013). The Dirty Dozen: How charter schools influence student enrollment. Teachers College Record. Retrieved July 28, 2017

FORWARD

Choices and Consequences

Alexander M. Sidorkin
Dean, College of Education

The story of the charter school movement is a testimony to the persistence of error. Science has a hard time establishing the truth claims on policies when those challenge existing social practices. Social sciences contain one essential, unavoidable paradox: To evaluate the effectiveness of any policy, one must implement or at least massively experiment with it. However, when many people get involved in the experiment, it grows a thick crust of emotional attachments, opinions, ideological biases, egos and career investments, not to mention material assets. The truth of the pilot becomes impenetrable for social science research, unless it experiences a catastrophic failure. Charter schools definitely have not failed, they just did not manage to outperform traditional public schools in any significant way, which was exactly the promise of the experiment. Because of the crust, we must now learn to live with charters for the foreseeable future. Unless we see a fundamental shift in all schooling, charters are here to stay.

The origin of the idea is not clear. It probably still originates with libertarian ideas of Milton Friedman (1955), only made more politically palatable for the Democrats to sign on. Others (Kolderie, 2005) attribute the idea to Ray Budde, a University of Massachusetts professor. Regardless of the origin, the idea of choice in education was sufficiently appealing for both American political parties to support in the early 1990s. People were hoping that freeing schools from bureaucratic constraints would make them more innovative, and more responsive to students' needs and parents' expectations. We do not have a reliable way of measuring innovativeness and responsiveness, but we can measure academic achievement. And the pattern did not budge. Even those studies showing modest impact of charter schools on educational achievement sound disappointed that greater results could not be found. The promise was revolutionary; the results are, well, modest, if any. The negative side effects have been fairly visible, and many of them are discussed in this special issue. The negatives also may not be catastrophic yet, but one has to wonder if they are worth it.

The most troubling point in the story for me is that we do not really know why the original idea has not worked. Is it because schools in general do not play a big role in children's educational achievements? Is it because we do not invest in educational R&D and literally do not have any great innovations to play with? Has schooling reached some natural limits of effectiveness and is no longer improvable?

The 2017 EducationNext poll shows a sharp decline in charter school support among both Democrats and Republicans (West et al, 2018). I find it highly unlikely, however, that the movement will dwindle and wither, for the reasons stated above. A responsible position would be to figure out how to regulate charter schools, to minimize their side effects. The original idea included a promise of swift school closures, if they did not perform. Well, the emotional investment makes this safety feature meaningless. It is just as difficult to close an underperforming charter as it is to close a traditional public school. The cultural practices of schooling imply school stability as an essential identity-building mechanism. Students who must often change schools are considered to be unfortunate, while adults who change job locations often are thought to be enriched by experiences. Now, why is that? No one really knows. What we know is that regulating charter schools is not a simple task, partly because they were envisioned as free from regulations, and partly because they are schools and serve a critical social function.

I applaud the editor's decision to put together this special volume of the journal. We do have many more questions than answers about charter schools and their impact on society. Just because we all got used to them does not mean there is no mystery there. I hope readers will enjoy this collection of thought-provoking papers as much as I did.

REFERENCES

Friedman, Milton (1955). Solo, Robert A., ed. "The Role of Government in Education," as printed in the book Economics and the Public Interest (PDF). Rutgers University Press. pp. 123–144. Retrieved 3/31/2018 from http://la.utexas.edu/users/hcleaver/330T/350kPEEFriedmanRoleOfGovttable.pdf

Kolderie, Ted (July 1, 2005). "Ray Budde and the Origins of the Charter Concept" (PDF). Education Evolving. Retrieved 3/31/2018 from https://www.educationevolving.org/pdf/Ray-Budde-Origins-Of-Chartering.pdf

West, M., Henderson, M., Peterson, P., & Barrows, S. (2018). The 2017 EdNext Poll on School Reform. Education Next, 18(1).

CRITICAL ANALYSIS

The Neoliberal Attack on the Public Education of Students of Color

Alice A. Huffman, California Hawaii NAACP President

In the late 19th century, the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision sustained a legal standard of separate but equal. The unfortunate result was a continuation of laws that relegated children to racially separate and unequal schools in the Jim Crow South. For almost 70 years, students of color dwelled in the valley of government-funded inferior legal education. Then, in 1954, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) victory in *Brown v. Board* struck down the separate but equal doctrine.

The negative reaction by Whites to integration that I experienced was deep and profound. In the South, public schools were closed. Home schooling and voucher segregation academies flourished purposefully to block integration and specifically drain funds from public schools serving African American students. In the North, segregation and redlining by neighborhood persisted. Additionally, policies were created to promote small segregated schools within large public schools—which still gave White students a separate, privileged schooling experience. Due to "White flight" from cities, the suburbs grew rapidly and school funding mushroomed in predominately White neighborhoods. With the funding came quality teachers and an abundance of resources in schools. The opposite was true in the urban core of the cities.

Despite these setbacks, schools serving students of color that remained in the inner city tried various school choice strategies to halt the White flight. Magnet schools were one of the most innovative approaches that were created initially to promote integration. Unfortunately, since that time, magnet schools have largely failed to realize their promise as mechanisms of equity and inclusion as they became increasingly selective and less integrated.

After *Brown*, Milton Friedman and other White academics wrote about giving every student a voucher so they could choose a privately managed school in an education market. The first major push to bring these economic ideas into reality occurred during the late 1980s and 1990s. Proponents of school privatization tried to pass school vouchers in California, Texas, Pennsylvania and many other states. A grand bargain was struck in many states when a different market-based school choice option was codified by legislatures instead—charter schools.

Charter schools have grown rapidly since their inception in Minnesota in 1991. There are now thousands of charter schools serving millions of students in the United States. I chaired the NAACP's Task Force on High Quality Education, and our concluding report found that that during the past decade the number of students in charter schools has nearly tripled, with approximately 3.1 million students enrolled in 2016-17. We also found that 1 in 8 African American students now attends a charter in the United States—more than any other race/ethnicity (NAACP, 2017).

Considering the rapid growth and growing critiques of charter schools—many of which are represented in this special volume for the Journal of Transformative Leadership and Policy Studies (JTLPS)—public school supporters are engaged in a heated discourse with the private sector about who should educate urban students of color. Neighborhood public schools are caught in the crossfire of neoliberal privatization and private control push for charters that has recently swept through sectors such as healthcare, energy and prisons. Titans of industry, hedge funds, and private entrepreneurs are using market-based school choice to wrest away control of the nation's annual $5 billon school budget from democratic control and the public sector.

Neighborhood public schools are also the center of an attack being waged by wealthy foundations that are spending hundreds of millions of dollars in support of privately controlled schools. Billionaires

such as the Walton Family, the Koch Brothers, Eli Broad, Bill Gates and others proffer that a market-based system benefits and improves public schools for urban students of color. Their argument is a ruse. The critical research in this special volume was recently underscored by testimony gathered by our NAACP Task Force on High Quality Education from communities across the nation. The voices from communities most impacted by charters (New Orleans, Detroit et al.) in the aforementioned report demonstrated that the market-based school choice movement is dedicated to competitive ideals that are antithetical to a public education committed to serve all students regardless of their needs or cost.

This could be the last big push to save neighborhood public schools and democratic control of public education. Here is why. We've allowed the constant bashing of public education in the inner cities to distort its effectiveness and undermine its essential mission and funding. Titans of industry, hedge funds, and private entrepreneurs used a test-score driven accountability to weave a narrative of global public education failure to seize the opportunity to profit. America should pause and examine the privatization path we are now pursuing. This issue of JTLPS undertakes this task. I commend the scholars' work in this special volume. It is clear that they are committed to the American ideal of public education and have carefully studied the opportunities and the challenges that plague charter schools today.

Public education was originally founded to lift up the American citizenry. While significant challenges still remain for urban students of color, writ large, our system of public education should be commended because our nation is still the most powerful on the planet and is one of the most productive in the history of any modern society. We must not allow the mission of public education—having a well-informed, active citizenry to reach a more perfect union—to be co-opted to empower the pursuit of private-management, privatization and profit on the backs of students of color.

REFERENCES

NAACP Task Force on Quality Education Hearing Report, 2017. Retrieved from http://www.naacp.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Task_ForceReport_final2.pdf

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Alice A. Huffman *is a grassroots leader at the local and national levels, a manager, and consultant. She is the president of the California Hawaii NAACP, a member of the National Board of the NAACP, and was the Chairperson of the NAACP Task Force on High Quality Education.*

CONCEPTUAL STUDY

Charter School Authorization: A Gateway to Excellence and Equity

Karen Stansberry Beard, PhD and Omotayo Adeeko, MA
The Ohio State University

ABSTRACT

The lack of quality education many charter schools offer disproportionately and adversely impacts communities of color. This article considered two models of charter school governance in use by California and Ohio. The first model posits that a fundamental tenet of charter schools is freedom from the burdensome bureaucracy traditional public schools bear. Based on the argument that deregulation enables charter schools to employ more innovative instructional and management practices, it assumes higher achievement scores would follow. The second model proposes to address educational inequality by increasing accountability on charter school authorizers by increasing regulatory practices. These models example the variety of governance models extant. In addition, arguments supporting each model are presented. The authors conclude with a discussion that supports the position that while autonomy is essential to maintaining the original objectives of charter schools, states must hold authorizers accountable for student achievement.

Charter schools are independently-run schools that receive state and federal funding, and operate under contracts with authorizing entities known as authorizers, sponsors, or chartering agencies. These terms are used synonymously. Authorizers are organizations which:

> Can start a new charter school, set expectations and oversee school performance, and decide which schools should continue to serve students or not. Depending on state law, authorizers can

be school districts, education agencies, independent boards, universities, mayors and municipalities, and not-for-profits (About National Association of Charter School Authorizers, n.d.).

Given the critical role that charter school authorizers have in school choice reform, they should be central to the discussion of charter school performance and accountability. Unfortunately, charter school policy continues to present issues in governance (e.g. balancing autonomy with accountability) as authorizers are often excluded from the conversation. These governance issues are disturbing considering how they disproportionately impact students, parents, and communities of color who comprise nearly half of the nation's charter school enrollments. As education reform rhetoric continues to shift from school-level improvements to system-wide change (Daly & Finnigan, 2016), the conversation must include how policymakers will provide responsible governance of charter schools and the entities that authorize them. To establish high-quality school options, policymakers must

Authorizers in California	Authorizers in Ohio
• Traditional public school districts • County School Boards • California Department of Education	• Traditional public school districts • Not-for-profit organizations • Education Service Centers • Universities • Ohio Department of Education, Office of School Sponsorship

Table 1. Authorizing organizations permitted in California and Ohio.

expand the parameters of responsibility (Allen & Mintrom, 2010) and require more oversight for charter school authorization.

This article focuses on California and Ohio authorization policy. Although the five states with the largest population of charter school students by percentage are Arizona, Colorado, Michigan, Louisiana, and Florida (U.S. Department of Education, 2016), the authors chose Ohio and California were chosen to review in this analysis for two reasons: these states educate large student populations of color, and they employ two contrasting models of authorizer governance. The models are presented as examples of the differences that exist in authorizer oversight that parents should be aware of when choosing charter schools. These two models are presented for policymakers to consider, especially those from states with similar student populations.

Student enrollment data (2014-2015) from California reflected that African American students made up 6% of the total public school enrollment[1]. African American students represent 9% of California's charter school enrollment. This was second only to the Latinx student population. Latinx students made up 54% of the total public school enrollment, and 49% of the charter school population (National Alliance for Public Charter Schools, 2015).

Ohio's student enrollment data (2014-2015) reflected that African American students made up 16% of public school total enrollment. However, this subgroup occupies 46% of charter school seats, making African Americans the largest subgroup in Ohio charter schools. Ohio's Latinx public school student enrollment is 5%. Latinx students occupy 7% of charter school seats (Ohio Department of Education, 2017; National Alliance for Public Charter Schools, 2015).

The 2015-2016 data reflect that the African American student population percentage for

California charters decreased by 0.5%, while the Latinx student percentage increased by 1.3%. In Ohio the African American percentage decreased by 0.6%, and the Latinx percentage increased by 0.3%. This may suggest that more Latinx parents are increasingly choosing charter schools as a viable option for the education of their children.

According to the 2014-2015 data, African American and Latinx students combined represent half of all students served by charter schools in Ohio (52.5%) and California (57.6%). The 2015-2016 data reflected a slight decrease in Ohio (to 52.2%) and a slight increase in California (to 58.4%).

The National Education Association (2017) policy stated:

> Charters have grown the most in school districts that were already struggling to meet students' needs due to longstanding, systemic and ingrained patterns of institutional neglect, racial and ethnic segregation, inequitable school funding, and disparities in staff, programs and services. The result has been the creation of separate, largely unaccountable, privately managed charter school systems in those districts that undermine support and funding of local public schools. Such separate and unequal education systems are disproportionately located in, and harm, students and communities of color by depriving both of the high quality public education system that should be their right. (National Education Association policy statement, 2017).

The resulting failure or success of charter schools presents either a detrimental or beneficial educational quality to these vulnerable and traditionally underserved student populations.

State	Race	2014-2015 Public School	2014-2015 Charter School	2015-2016 Public School	2015-2016 Charter School
California	African American	6%	8.8%	5.8%	8.3%
California	Latinx	53.6%	48.8%	54%	50.1%
Ohio	African American	16.4%	45.7%	16.5%	45.1%
Ohio	Latinx	4.8%	6.8%	5.04%	7.1%

Table 2. Enrollment percentage by race and school type for California and Ohio.

Lipman (2011) argued that working class African American and Latinx communities are inordinately destabilized by poor schooling and resulting closure of failing schools. She believed, "the disinvestment in schools is integral to disinvestment in African American and Latino/a neighborhoods" (p. 52). In states with large populations of African American and Latinx students attending charter schools such as Ohio and California, charter school policy *is* African American and Latinx education policy. By analyzing the governance mechanisms of both states and putting forth recommendations for state departments of education, it is our hope that policymakers across the country realize the possibilities of implementing school choice policies and governance structures toward stabilizing and enriching communities of color.

Finnigan (2007) theorized that the charter school concept is based on a trade-off or exchange of greater autonomy for increased results-based accountability. In this trade-off, state departments of education give charter schools public funds and increased autonomy in exchange for student academic achievement. A study by the Center for Research on Education Outcomes (2014) found that Ohio charter school students had such poor academic achievement scores that it was the equivalent of completing 43 fewer days of learning in math and 14 fewer days of learning in reading when compared to similarly situated peers in traditional public schools. The same data source reflected that California students reflected a deficiency of 14 days of learning in math but reflected gains in reading equivalent to 14 additional days of learning. These variances in academic achievement place students of color attending charter schools in precarious situations.

Further complicating these issues and central to this argument is the poor performance of the authorizing entities that oversee charter schools. Ohio has a new and robust authorizer evaluation system; therefore, Ohio data were used to illustrate this point. On a recent round of authorizer evaluations (October 2016), 21 of Ohio's 65 authorizers received a rating of 'poor', putting them at risk for immediate shutdown. Thirty-nine authorizers were rated 'ineffective', including the authorizer housed within the Ohio Department of Education (ODE), while only five authorizers received a rating of 'effective'. Not one authorizer received the department's top rank of 'exemplary'. If we accept charter schools as a trade-off or exchange as Finnigan suggested, whereby charter schools receive public funding in return for adequately educated students, the data reveal that the public is getting the short end of the deal.

Literature Review

Although the body of research on charter schools is extensive, the literature pertaining to charter school authorizers is limited (Anderson & Finnigan, 2001; Hassel & Vergari, 1999; Henry & Dixson, 2016; Palmer & Gau, 2005). This article seeks to add to the scant literature on charter school authorizers while informing parents and communities of color of the educational responsibility owed to their children. Palmer and Gau (2005) recognized the significance of leadership and the critical responsibility of authorizers in creating effective charter schools. Said another way, the success or failure of a charter is a function of the quality of its authorizer. They stated, "the role of authorizer…is pivotal to the overall success of the charter movement. Yet surprisingly little is really understood about authorizers. They have rarely been scrutinized closely or evaluated" (p. 352). The following section outlines other recurring themes the literature provides relevant to charter school authorizers.

Authorizers as Gatekeepers of School Choice

Authorizers are the first defense, or "gatekeeping mechanism" (Henry & Dixson, 2016, p. 220) in keeping ineffective schools from opening (or staying open) and allowing excellent schools to thrive and replicate. Ruble and Harris (2014) described the application process as the first screening tool in building high-quality schools, as authorizers use applications to "control entry" (p. 369) into the system and deem only those worthy to open schools. Bulkley (2001) defined the application, in part, as a "quality control mechanism" (p. 14) to assist authorizers in determining which applicants are most likely to be successful. Vergari (2001) concurred, writing that granting a charter to an applicant "is arguably the most important decision to be made by the charter school authorizer" (p. 134). The author further stated that when an authorizer permits a school to open, it signals to the public that the school is "likely to succeed" (p. 134). Vergari further concluded that failing charter schools are due, in part, to the poor judgment of authorizers.

Authorizer Accountability Practices

The importance of full-scale accountability measures for authorizers have been determined. Palmer (2007) understood that the creation of value-added accountability systems would allow researchers to make better determinations of the relationship between authorizer quality and charter school

performance. Zimmer, Gill, Attridge, and Obenauf (2014) argued that policymakers should determine a method for how authorizers oversee and support their schools. Vergari (2001) recognized the paradoxical nature of charter school and authorizer regulation stating, "charter school authorizers are shaping the regulatory boundaries of a policy reform based on deregulation" (p. 138). Similarly, Palmer and Gau (2005) discovered through interviews that authorizers struggle to balance the flexibility required of charter schools with the top-down administrative burdens of maintaining accountability.

As a means of checks and balances, Bulkley (2001) theorized that one method to increase accountability is to remove the renewal authority from charter school authorizers and place that responsibility with an external party. Doing so would remove "political disincentives" (p. 16) for keeping poorly performing schools open. Authorizer hopping is when charter school operators move from one authorizer to another to avoid being shut down for poor performance. The scenario is usually a variation of the following:

> An authorizer signals to a failing school their plans to revoke or not renew the school's charter contract; the school seeks out a new authorizer who agrees to keep the school open; and the failing school, which was identified for closure, avoids accountability and remains open...Authorizer hopping represents the breakdown of charter school accountability (Doyle, 2014, p. 1).

To be sure to mitigate political incentivization, the external party review should be blind, eliminating the possibility of authorizer hopping.

The Relationship Between Authorizer Type and Student Achievement

Several researchers questioned if authorizer type (i.e. a state board of education, non-profit, school board) could predict student achievement. Zimmer et al. (2014) found that students attending Ohio charter schools originally authorized by non-profit authorizers had, on average, lower gains in math and reading than their similarly situated peers attending charter schools authorized by other entities. Conversely, Gleason, Clark, Tuttle, and Dwoyer (2010) found "no statistically significant relationship between impacts on Year 2 reading or mathematics scores and type of authorizer" (p. 95). Notably, they also found that variations in achievement scores within authorizer type was high. This indicated the

need for authorizers to share best practices between and within authorizer types. Carlson, Lavery, and Witte (2012) argued for more rigorous studies to measure the relationship between authorizing type and mean levels of achievement so that drawing conclusions might occur from causal evidence (rather than correlational).

Authorizer Motivation

Motivation to authorize matters. Cowen, Fleming, and Gofen (2008) argued that motivation has "important implications" (p. 128) in accounting for the differences in achievement between charter schools. Ruble and Harris (2014) discussed how authorizers balance the competing goals of student achievement and other factors in authorization. For many authorizers, parent satisfaction (or dissatisfaction) and local political processes distorted the decision-making process causing authorizers to make choices based on factors other than student achievement. Zimmer et al. (2014) stated, "these [authorizer] fees may encourage the authorization of charter schools but create little incentive to scrutinize charter applications or performance of schools" (p. 62). They recognized the source of authorizer funding (often a percentage of the schools' per-pupil funding) potentially creates perverse incentives to sponsor new schools.

Authorizing Schools

Charter school authorization falls under various entities, including non-profit organizations, school districts, universities, and educational service centers. The literature, however, focused on the performance and challenges faced by non-profit and district authorizers. The decision was made for this study to focus on non-profit and district authorizers as supported by the literature. In this section, both non-profit authorizer performance and the specific challenges of district-based authorizing are described.

Non-profit authorizers.

Only two states, Minnesota and Ohio, have active non-profit organizations authorizing schools (Carlson et al, 2012; Zimmer et al., 2014). While the practice is not common across the country, it is nevertheless addressed in several articles. Hassel, Ziebarth, and Steiner (2005) suggested that a non-profit's possible connection to a community, commitment to a vision, and "credibility and visibility" (p. 10) within a particular population may make it an ideal candidate to be an authorizer. As previously noted, Carlson et al. (2012) found that schools authorized by non-profits had more variances in student achievement than

other schools, while Zimmer et al. (2014) found that schools authorized by nonprofits had, on average, lower achievement in math and reading. While this preliminary research is inconclusive, it points to the need to closely monitor authorizer type in relation to achievement.

District authorizers.

The question if districts should be given the power to authorize new schools was frequently addressed in the literature. Conflicting interests, lack of desire to open charter schools, political pressure, and overburdened systems were all cited as reasons why districts may not be a good fit as charter school authorizers. Ruble and Harris (2014) found that New Orleans district schools were less likely to authorize charter schools because they were "disinclined to create competition for themselves through charter schools over which they have less control" (p. 365). Palmer (2007) believed "the best authorizers are those that actually desire the responsibility" (p. 305), which suggests that only organizations with the desire to authorize should do so, as long as they are able to demonstrate their capacity and potential for effectiveness.

Vergari (2001) observed that it was unusual for school districts to eagerly authorize charter schools:

> Administrators of the traditional public school system frequently view charter schools as a distraction for other reform initiatives and as an unreasonable burden on school district budgets and personnel. School districts may also place implicit or explicit conditions on charter approval that are unappealing to charter school applicants. Thus, charter school advocates favor permitting an entity other than the school district to authorize charter schools (p. 132).

Palmer and Gau (2005) reiterated Vergari's findings, stating, "local school boards, on the whole, do not make the best charter school authorizers. They are often hampered by the influence of charter-averse education interest groups and local politics" (p. 354). Additionally, the authors wrote, local boards often do not have the necessary infrastructure to support additional schools in their districts.

The NEA (2017) proposed two safeguards for district charter authorization. The first states that a school district should authorize a charter school only if the charter is necessary to meet the needs of students and will meet the needs in a manner that improves the local public school system. The second proposes public charter schools should only be authorized by the same entity that oversees all district schools, such as a locally elected school board or a community-based authorizer to maintain local democratic control (National Education Association, 2017).

As highlighted in the literature, research reveals the challenges authorizers face. Many of the issues revolve around regulation, governance, and student achievement of the schools under their purview. The literature examined the difficulty in drawing causal relationships in authorizer-charter school research (Carlson et al., 2012; Ruble & Harris, 2014). The literature also advocated for alternative pathways to increase access to quality authorizing (Palmer, 2007). More recently, authors describe the benefits of diversity in authorizer type and the insufficient infrastructure available to authorizers in holding charter schools accountable for student achievement (Carlson et al., 2012; Palmer & Gau, 2005, Ruble & Harris, 2014).

Two Models of Authorizer Governance

The creation of charter schools and the agencies that oversee them initially began as a new form of accountability in public school education. Rather than impede these schools with the burdensome bureaucracy known in traditional school districts, charter schools were to be free to innovate. In exchange for public funds, these schools were to provide a high-quality education to the state's children. That was meant to be the extent of accountability; to show that students were learning to a satisfactory level and they would be granted autonomy in designing an education plan for students (Anderson & Finnigan, 2001; Hassel & Vergari, 1999). This "radically different approach to education" (DeMaria, Ramsey, & Bodary, 2015, p. 3) was free of regulation in its very design. However, the variation in oversight and the uneven academic performance of students of color warrant authorizer policy reform.

Two contrasting models of authorizer bureaucratic oversight from the states of California and Ohio are offered for the purpose of exampling the variety that exists in and among authorizer governance. The first model advocates that decreased regulation, with strict accountability measures, best reflects the true aim of charter school policy as it frees authorizers from bureaucratic burden. The second model argues for increased regulation and oversight from the state department of education to hold authorizers accountable for managing effective charter schools.

Model I: Decrease Regulation, Increase Accountability

Advocates for charter school deregulation argue that policymakers must increase autonomy for charter school authorizers to create space for innovative practices first promised with the conception of charter schools. They argue, schools would have the "potential to unleash creativity and innovation...the flexibility that deregulation provides can help districts and schools lift student outcomes" (DeMaria, Ramsey, & Bodary, 2015, p. 4). Rewarding accountability with autonomy is not new in educational leadership. District officials often reward schools with less oversight when they demonstrate effective achievement gains, giving "schools autonomy based on where they are in their success story" (Beard, 2015, p. 21). The Thomas B. Fordham Foundation, one of only five authorizers to receive an effective rating in 2016 in Ohio, calls this "the accountability/autonomy promise" (Palmer, Terrell, Hassel, & Svahn, 2006, p.3). In a policy guide for Ohio legislators, the Foundation stated:

> Ohio's charter schools are subject to constraining and sometimes conflicting laws and regulations. As it moves to live up to the accountability side of the bargain, Ohio must act as well to ensure that charter schools have the freedom to be different in ways that benefit their students (Palmer et al., 2006, p. 16).

In exchange for this deregulation, proponents argue, authorizers use flexibility and experimentation within schools to design better ways of addressing the needs of the state's most challenging student populations. States can monitor academic growth by enacting "rigorous standards and strict accountability" (DeMaria et al., 2015, p. 22). Model I advocates argue that decreased regulation is critical (Finnigan, 2007) if charter schools wish to maintain a separate and distinct identity from their traditional public school counterparts.

Model I highlighted.

California serves as a current example of Model I governance. As the state with the largest charter school market in the nation, it also has the largest number of charter school authorizers. However, as highlighted in a recent policy report by NACSA (2016), there is no state law that requires California authorizers to be evaluated, nor are there required sanctions for those who do not meet state requirements for authorizing. While authorizers may close schools with low student performance scores, there are no laws in place for the required closing of poorly performing or failing authorizers. Additionally, California law does not require standards-based authorizer evaluation or stipulate authorizer sanctions in cases of poor school performance (NACSA, 2016). In sum, California serves a Model I example as authorizers receive little guidance from state law and are, for the most part, left alone in overseeing charter schools. In return, authorizers are expected to maintain a strong portfolio of charter schools that meet established student performance benchmarks.

A brief history of charter schools in California.

In 1992, California became the second state in the United States to enact charter school law. A conversation on school vouchers and school choice was emerging, described by a California lawmaker as a "full-blown effort to reconstitute public education in California" (Hart & Burr, 1996). Early proponents of the charter law imagined charter schools in California to be a middle ground between the status quo of traditional districts and total decentralization of public education. Charters would retain local control while permitting families and communities a greater variety of educational opportunities for their students. The bill also ensured that schools and authorizers would still be held accountable for student learning. The drafters of the original charter bill wrote, "in exchange for their unprecedented freedom of action, charter schools clearly carry a responsibility to be accountable to the public" (Hart & Burr, 1996, p. 40). Senate Bill 1448 was passed in 1992, authorizing the creation of charter schools in California and firmly establishing charter schools as another option in public education. California's charter school population has increased steadily since the passing of its charter law (see Figure 1).

Authorizer governance was not introduced or detailed until 2003. Assembly Bill 1137, Reyes, outlined specific authorizer oversight duties, including annual school visits and compliance monitoring with state reporting requirements. The law reads as follows:

> Each chartering authority, in addition to any other duties imposed by this part, shall do all of the following with respect to each charter school under its authority: (a) Identify at least one staff member as a contact person for the charter school; (b) Visit each charter school at least annually; (c) Ensure that each charter school under its authority complies with all reports required of charter schools by law; (d) Monitor the fiscal condition of each charter

school under its authority; (e) Provide timely notification to the department if any of the following circumstances occur or will occur with regard to a charter school for which it is the chartering authority: (1) A renewal of the charter is granted or denied, (2) The charter is revoked, (3) The charter school will cease operation for any reason (California Chapter 892, Section 8, Section 47604.32).

Figure 1. California charter school enrollment by year. Dark blue represents state reported data sources, light blue represents Common Core of Data source. National Alliance for Public Charter Schools. (2015). Public charter school's dashboard.
Retrieved from http://www.publiccharters.org/dashboard/home

Additionally, the bill required that a charter school meet at least one of several academic performance criteria as a prerequisite to receiving a charter renewal.

Model II: Increase Regulation, Increase Accountability

The second model of charter school governance differs from Model I in that it advocates for strong regulation and oversight of authorizing bodies. This model increases oversight using regulatory practices along with financial incentives and disincentives (Kane & Staiger, 2002). Model II differs from Model I governance because it calls for more supervision of authorizers. It also differs from Model I in that it has built-in levers for sanctioning poorly performing authorizers. Additionally, Model II offers higher authorization caps giving them the right to authorize more schools. It also provides access to more funding which serves as rewards for authorizers who perform well.

Model II highlighted.

Ohio serves as a current example of Model II governance. Through strategic policymaking and increased regulatory statutes, the state has increased the efficiency of its authorizing sector. The changes

made included requiring all authorizers to function under the management of the Ohio Department of Education (ODE), mandating that ODE provide annual feedback to authorizers, and requiring annual reports from ODE on authorizer performance. Pushing the weakest authorizers out of system decreased the number of authorizers in the state. The following section outlines the development of Ohio charter school authorizer policy to provide perspective on the accountability policy progression. While the policies have been developed, implementation remains inconsistent.

A brief history of charter schools in Ohio.

A 1997 response to a judicial ruling mandated that Ohio spend more money on education. As a result, the Ohio legislature enacted the state's first charter school law (Community School Legislative History, 2016). At the time Republican lawmakers believed that opening charter schools would serve as a cheaper, more effective option than opening more traditional public schools (Urycki, 2015). In 1999 legislators determined that 21 more urban school districts as well as districts determined to be in academic emergency could be permitted to open charter schools as an option for their students. Thus, from 1999 to 2007 Ohio's charter schools experienced a period of rampant growth (see Figure 2). The Ohio Department of Education, however, was unable to maintain regulation of new charters as it lacked the capacity to manage the increasing volume of charter schools in its portfolio. The lack of regulation and accountability in Ohio law created fertile ground for school choice advocates and educational entrepreneurs.
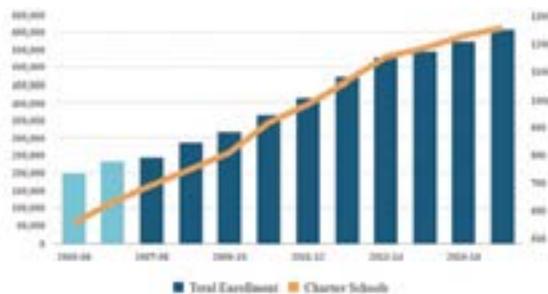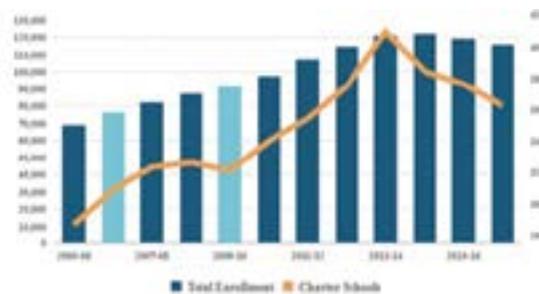

Figure 2. Ohio charter school enrollment by year. Dark blue represents state reported data sources, light blue represents Common Core of Data source. National Alliance for Public Charter Schools. (2015). Public charter school's dashboard.
Retrieved from http://www.publiccharters.org/dashboard/home

The demand created from the increased number of charter schools prompted policymakers to change ODE's role to make it an authorizer of authorizers (Community School Legislative History, 2016). In this new capacity, ODE refocused its efforts to approve entities to become authorizers, provide technical assistance to authorizers, and monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of authorizer oversight (Ohio Revised Code 3314.015). House Bill 364 stated that ODE would only sponsor schools in critical need, shifting the burden of managing operations to authorizing agents outside of ODE.

House Bill 2 (The Ohio State Legislature, 2015) was passed in December 2015 and established a new structure for evaluating sponsors and holding them accountable for public funds. Up until this time, there was no legislation guiding outcome-based accountability for authorizers. The bill ushered in a wave of reforms in authorizer regulation: ODE was now required by law to annually rate all authorizers, incentives and consequences based on authorizer evaluations were detailed, authorizers were required to keep a record of financial responsibility, and finally, they were prohibited from selling additional goods or services to any school they authorized (Ohio Revised Code, 3314.46). This was designed as a deterrent for authorizers to keep failing schools open, as well as clarify the roles and responsibilities between authorizers and the schools in their portfolios.

Through analysis of recent policy changes in Ohio, it becomes clear why advocates for increasing regulation believe that Model II works better for charter school authorizers, operators, and their students. The National Association of Charter School Authorizers recommended that states with many types of authorizers "make it clear there is room only for quality authorizing and quality charter schools" (NACSA, n.d.) because the impact of charter schools on student achievement varies throughout schools (Gleason et al, 2010). Advocates of Model II support increasing regulation through strict and consistent use of high standards, performance management tools, public reports on performance, and evaluations with clear consequences based on student performance outcome measures.

Ohio, once referred to as the "wild, wild, West" of charter schools, has enacted policy measures designed to protect communities from reckless authorization practices. The new directions in authorization could better the current outcomes of Ohio students. These measures could increase the possibility of protecting students, families, and communities from the possible self-interests of charlatans posing as educational leaders. Recent findings by Ahn and McEachin (2017) show that while Ohio charter school students are closing some gaps in achievement, they are still less likely than their peers in traditional public schools to pass the state compulsory high school graduation test. House Bill 2 serves to professionalize charter school authorization and provide much-needed regulation and guidance for the gatekeepers of Ohio's charter sector.

Concluding Discussion

State departments of education, as well as other interested policy actors, must recognize and pursue their right to govern charter school authorizers. This pursuit should include identifying what works in effective governance, and using that knowledge to support student achievement. Accountability and autonomy are essential in maintaining the original objectives of the charter school movement: to liberate schools from bureaucratic oversight in order to allow for innovation. Advocates of high-quality education for all (including communities and parents) should recognize that increased regulations could ensure that authorizers and charter school operators equitably educate all children under their care.

Literature, data, and evidence suggest that for states seeking to increase high-quality educational opportunities, best practice would be to increase regulation and increase accountability for charter school authorizers. Attention to authorizer practice must shift to the forefront of school governance policy. With Lipman's (2011) understanding, it becomes apparent that closing charters results in community instability and impoverishment disproportionately impacting students of color. Raising performance levels and keeping effective schools open should increase stability for students of color and positively impact their communities. In addition to replicating best practices when appropriate, and reducing the number of authorizers, exemplary governance practices include promoting a diverse portfolio of schools authorized by one entity and informing parent choice. In the following section, both are briefly discussed.

Promote diverse school portfolio systems

The Center for Reinventing Public Education determined the portfolio strategy of school governance is a "citywide system of high-quality, diverse, autonomous public schools" ("Center for Reinventing Public Education," n.d.). The use of portfolios in cities such as Oakland, Los Angeles, and Cleveland, expands educational opportunities through school choice, performance-based

accountability, and pupil-based funding. While no claim is made here that the portfolio strategy in and of itself guarantees academic gains, what is known is that the portfolio strategy has yielded some academic gains in Cleveland charter schools.

A 2014 Center for Research on Education Outcomes (CREDO) report noted, "Cleveland charter schools have significantly larger learning gains in both reading and mathematics. At the school level, 33% of the charter schools have significantly more positive learning gains than their TPS [traditional public schools] counterparts in reading and math" (p. 8). If the portfolio strategy continues to yield gains such as Cleveland's, it has the potential to stand as a model of best practice in governing schools of choice serving students of color. The Cleveland Metropolitan School District authorizes or otherwise partners with almost twenty charter schools within its portfolio (Cleveland Metropolitan School District, n.d.). Authorization by school boards, as recommended by the NEA, allows local communities to invest in and support charter school operators as they work together to offer communities choice in schooling options.

Informing parent choice

Parents who choose to place their children in charter schools must be well informed with accurate data including measures of: student demographics, disaggregated achievement data, outcomes aligned to career and college readiness, graduation rates, SAT scores, college acceptance rates, and attendance at the very least. Otherwise, parents are playing Russian roulette while trusting authorizers to behave with the best interest of their children in mind. Sadly, many authorizers have become independently wealthy serving their own interests at the expense of a quality education for children. In the best interest of children, parents need to have accurate data available when considering charter options. At the very least, parents should know who the school authorizers are and their rating, if the state rates them. They should also have access to review the authorizer's history pertaining to their support for students of color including disaggregated academic outcomes.

Given the uneven results charters yield in educational performance outcomes, it is imperative to hold authorizers accountable for informing parents and the public about academic performance as required for other public educators. Providing accurate and current information gives parents and caregivers the ability to make informed decisions about the best educational opportunities for their children. Doing so empowers communities of color to

partner with authorizers who have evidenced success in educating students of color, ensuring high-quality educational opportunities.

Whether policy actors are for or against charter schools is becoming increasingly inconsequential. Parents, many of whom are parents of children of color, are not only given the choice of charter schools as an alternative to traditional public education, but they are choosing them. The responsibility educators and policymakers must shoulder is to protect students, particularly vulnerable populations of students. Needed is a requirement for charter school authorizers to disclose disaggregated achievement data in addition to college readiness, as earlier described. Policymakers must hold authorizers accountable for the well-being of the children they serve by establishing policies that secure equity and excellence, and ensure conscientious implementation of those policies. The responsibilities are particularly important for educating children of color, especially in communities routinely destabilized by substandard schooling.

Educational leaders are responsible for student well-being *in loco parentis*. "Literally, *in loco parentis* means 'in place of the parent'" (Sperry, Daniel, Huefner, & Gee, 1998, p. 629). The most significant application of this concept is to the teacher-student or administrator-student relationship in K-12 settings (Rumel, 2013). The doctrine comprises two major tenets: (a) to provide a safe environment for students and (b) to protect students from foreseeable harm to both their physical and emotional well-being (Castaldo v. Stone, 192 F. Supp. 2d 1124, 1144 (D. Colo. 2001); Doe Parents No. 1 v. Dept. of Educ., 58 P.3d 545, 585, 2002). Foreseeable harm for poorly educated children of color is predicated by the fact they "experience disadvantages, inferior outcomes on almost every economically significant dimension including: earnings, education, housing, employment, status in the criminal justice system, and health" (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013, pp. 314-315). Public school court cases have established precedents to safeguard students' interests. As a result, many of the policies guiding information disclosure provide data and information, thereby granting parents and communities the opportunity and ability to monitor patterns of activity and inactivity and to evidence outcomes of effectiveness.

Reimagining a vision for charter school regulation must now emerge in every state. Systemic change is complex. The layers of policy actors, from classroom teachers to state departments of education, both enrich and complicate the processes involved in implementing school choice policy. A tipping point

in policy creation for charter school authorizers is approaching. It is imperative for states to hold charter schools accountable and implement policies requiring careful scrutiny of authorizer governance. Through improved regulation, accountability, rigorous authorizer evaluation, and increased transparency, states will then be able to ensure that students, families, and communities have high-quality school choices.

Endnotes
1. All percentages were rounded to the nearest whole number.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Karen Stansberry Beard, *PhD is an Assistant Professor of Educational Administration and Educational Policy Affiliate at Ohio State University. Her research focuses on educational administration and preparing leadership to work successfully in diverse contexts.*

Omotayo Adeeko *is a graduate student in Educational Administration at Ohio State University. Her research interests include the policies and politics of school governance, school choice, and urban education.*

Both authors contributed equally to the development of this manuscript sharing 50% co-authorship.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to:
Karen Beard or Omotayo Adeeko,
Department of Educational Studies,
The Ohio State University,
Columbus, OH 43210
beard.46@osu.edu or adeeko.5@osu.edu.

REFERENCES

About National Association of Charter School Authorizers. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://www.qualitycharters.org/about/.

Ahn, J., & McEachin, A. (2017). Student enrollment patterns and achievement in Ohio's online charter schools. Educational Researcher, 46(1), 44-57.

Allen, A., & Mintrom, M. (2010). Responsibility and school governance. Educational Policy, 24(3), 439-464.

Anderson, L., & Finnigan, K. (2001, April). Charter school authorizers and charter school accountability. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Seattle, WA.

Assembly Bill of 2003, No. 1137, Chapter 892 Legislative counsel's digest (2003). Retrieved from http://leginfo.legislature.ca.gov/faces/billTextClient.xhtml?bill_id=200320040AB1137.

Beard, K. S. (2015). Standing in the gap: Theory and practice impacting educational opportunity and achievement gaps. Urban Education, 1-29. 0042085915613553.

Banaji, M. R., & Greenwald, A. G. (2013). Blindspot: Hidden biases of good people. New York, NY: Random House.

Bulkley, K. (2001). Educational performance and charter school authorizers: The accountability bind. Education Policy Analysis Archives, 9(37), 1-22.

California Chapter 892, Section 8, Section 47604.32

Carlson, D., Lavery, L., & Witte, J. (2012). Charter school authorizers and student achievement. Economics of Education Review, 31, 254-267.

Castaldo v. Stone, 192 F. Supp. 2d 1121 (D. Colo. 2001)

Center for Reinventing Public Education. (n.d.). Portfolio Strategy. Retrieved from http://www.crpe.org/research/portfolio-strategy

Center for Research on Education Outcomes at Stanford University. (2014). Charter school performance in Ohio. Palo Alto, CA.

Cleveland Metropolitan School District. (n.d.). CMSD/Charter School Collaboration. Retrieved from http://www.clevelandmetroschools.org/domain/252

Community School Legislative History. (2016). Ohio Department of Education. Retrieved from http://education.ohio.gov/getattachment/Topics/Community-Schools/Annual-Reports-on-Ohio-Community-Schools/Community-School-LegisHistory.pdf.aspx

Cowen, J., Fleming, D., & Gofen, A. (2008). Measuring the motivation to charter: An examination of school sponsors in Texas. Journal of School Choice, 2(2), 128-154.

Daly, A., & Finnigan, K. (2016). Thinking and Acting Systemically. Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.

DeMaria, P., Ramsey, B. S., & Bodary, S. R. (2015). Getting out of the way: Education flexibility to boost innovation and improvement in Ohio [Scholarly project]. Retrieved from https://edexcellence.net/publications/getting-out-of-the-way-education-flexibility-to-boost-innovation-and-improvement-in

Doe Parents No 1 v. Department of Education, 58 P.3d 545, 585 (Haw. 2002)

Doyle, D. (2014). Authorizer hopping: Motivations, causes and ways to stop it. Chicago, IL: National Association of Charter School Authorizers. Retrieved from http://www.qualitycharters.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/PolicyBrief_AuthorizerHopping.pdf

Finnigan, K. S. (2007). Charter school autonomy: the mismatch between theory and practice. Educational Policy, 21(3), 503-526.

Gleason, P., Clark, M., Tuttle, C. C., & Dwoyer, E. (2010). The evaluation of charter school impacts: Final report. NCEE 2010-4029. National Center for Education Evaluation and Regional Assistance.

Hart, G., & Burr, S. (1996). The story of California's charter school legislation. The Phi Delta Kappan, 78(1), 37-40.

Hassel, B. C., & Vergari, S. (1999). Charter-granting agencies: the challenges of oversight in a deregulated system. Education and Urban Society, 31(4), 406-28.

Hassel, B. C., Ziebarth, T., & Steiner, L. (2005). A state policymaker's guide to alternative authorizers of charter schools. Education Commission of the States.

Henry, K.L., & Dixson, A.D. (2016). "Locking the door before we got the keys": Racial realities of the charter school authorization process in post-Katrina New Orleans. Educational Policy, 30(1), 218-240.

Kane, T. J., & Staiger, D. O. (2002). The promise and pitfalls of using imprecise school accountability measures. The Journal of Economic Perspectives, 16(4), 91-114.

Lipman, P. (2011). The new political economy of urban education: Neoliberalism, race, and the right to the city. New York, NY: Taylor & Francis.

National Alliance for Public Charter Schools. (2015). Public charter school's dashboard. Retrieved from https://www.publiccharters.org/our-work/research-and-data

National Association of Charter School Authorizers. (n.d.). State policy analysis: Scenario 2. Retrieved from http://www.qualitycharters.org/research-policies/archive/state-policy-analysis-scenario-2/

National Association of Charter School Authorizers. (2014). 2014 State policy analysis: Policy agenda. Washington, DC.

National Association of Charter School Authorizers. (2016). California 2016 state policy detail. Washington, DC.

National Education Association (2017). NEA Policy Statement on Charter Schools. Retrieved from https://ra.nea.org/nea-policy-statement-charter-schools/

Office of Community Schools. (2016). Community schools FAQ. Retrieved from http://education.ohio.gov/Topics/Community-Schools/FAQs-about-Licensure-for-Special-Education-Teacher#FAQ188

Ohio Department of Education. (2017). Advanced reports. Retrieved from http://reportcard.education.ohio.gov/Pages/Power-User-Reports.aspx

Ohio Revised Code. § 3314.015 (2016), available at http://codes.ohio.gov/orc/3314.015

Ohio Revised Code. § 3314.46 (2016), available at http://codes.ohio.gov/orc/3314.46

(The) Ohio State Legislature (2015). Retrieved from https://www.legislature.ohio.gov/legislation/legislation-summary?id=GA131-HB-2

Palmer, L. (2007). The potential of 'alternative' charter school authorizers. Phi Delta Kappan, 89(4), 304-309.

Palmer, L., & Gau, R. (2005). Charter school authorizing: Policy implications from a national study. Phi Delta Kappan, 86(5), 352-357.

Palmer, L., Terrell, M., Hassel, B., & Svahn, C. P. (2006). Turning the Corner to Quality: Policy Guidelines for Strengthening Ohio's Charter Schools. The hThomas B. Fordham Institute,

The National Alliance for Public Charter Schools, and The National Association of Charter School Authorizers.

Ruble, W., & Harris, D. (2014). To charter or not to charter: Developing a testable model of charter authorization and renewal decisions. Journal of School Choice, 8, 362-380.

Rumel, J. (2013), Back to the Future: The in loco parentis doctrine and its impact on whether K-12 schools and teachers owe a fiduciary duty to students. Indiana Law Review, Vol. 46, No. 3, 2013. http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2771309

Sperry, D. J., Daniel, P. T., Huefner, D. S., & Gee, E. G. (1998). Education law and the public schools: a compendium. Norwood, MA: Christopher-Gordon Publishers.

United States Department of Education. (2016). Figure 3: Percentage of all public school students enrolled in public charter schools, by state: Fall 2014 [Map]. National Center for Education Statistics. Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator_cgb.asp

Urycki, M. (2015, May 7). Charter schools' history in Ohio. IdeaStream Ohio. Retrieved from http://wviz.ideastream.org/news/charter-schools-history-ohio

Vergari, S. (2001). Charter school authorizers: Public agents for holding charter schools Accountable. Education and Urban Society, 33(2), 129-40.

Zimmer, R., Gill, B., Attridge, J., & Obenauf, K. (2014). Charter school authorizers and student achievement. Education Finance and Policy, 9(1), 59-85.

Teachers of Color and Urban Charter Schools: Race, School Culture, and Teacher Turnover in the Charter Sector

Terrenda White, PhD

ABSTRACT

This article explores working conditions in charter schools with varying rates of teacher turnover. Ethnographic data with 28 racially diverse teachers explores teachers' experiences, their explanations for moving charter schools, and patterns of movement when teachers leave a charter school for another school. A brief conceptual framework was used to understand multiple dimensions of working conditions in charter schools for teachers of color. Findings indicate teachers most often made structural moves between charter types, primarily from charters managed by nonprofit organizations to standalone charter schools. Teachers of color describe tensions with sociocultural conditions that limited culturally inclusive practices. Discussion includes implications for policies that push to replicate charter schools in communities of color, particularly schools with poor working conditions associated with high turnover and weak propensities to retain teachers of color.

Key words: teacher turnover, teachers of color, working conditions, charter schools

Introduction

Across the nation, district leaders and charter school advocates have pushed to "scale up" charter schools by replicating and expanding popular charter school networks (Education Sector, 2009; Farrell et. al, 2012; Hassel et. al., 2011; NewSchools Venture Fund, 2006). Critics of charter expansion, however, raise important concerns about issues of equity, noting that on average charter schools employ teachers with fewer years of experience and training and are increasingly concentrated in underserved communities where students need more support (Stuit & Smith, 2012). Other critics bring attention to the kinds of schools slated for replication, such as "no excuses" charter schools that focus on classroom management and frequent testing in lieu of broad and culturally inclusive curricula (Golann, 2015). In this article, I consider a less explored but equally important concern with charter expansion: the lack of stability and racial diversity among teachers in charter schools. Through this study I explore the patterns of teacher turnover in these schools, paying particular attention to working conditions and their implications for retaining diverse teachers. I methodically and clinically examine the experiences of 28 racially diverse teachers who worked in charter schools in New York City, including many who left their charter school by the end of study.

While charter schools enroll black students at twice the rate of traditional public schools, charter expansion in major cities has coincided with significant declines in numbers of black teachers (Albert Shanker Institute, 2015, as cited by Goldhaber, D., Theobald, R., & Tien, C., 2015). These trends raise concerns about the impact of low rates of black teacher hires in charter schools amid closures of district schools in major cities, as well as chronically high rates of teacher turnover in charter schools compared to district schools (ASI, 2015 as cited in Casey, L., Di Carlo, M., Bond, B., & Quintero, E., 2015); National Center for Education Statistics, 2013).

Because teachers of color (ToCs) play an important role in fostering academically rigorous and culturally appropriate teaching practices, particularly for students of color who make up nearly half of all students in public schools, the replication of charter schools with weak propensities to hire and retain racially diverse teachers pose challenges for the creation of stable, inclusive, and equitable public schools.

Left Behind: The Under-representation of Teachers of Color in Charter Schools

Several studies show that a school's increase in the number of teachers of color is positively associated with academic outcomes for students of color, including gains in academic achievement, higher rates of referral to gifted and talented programs, reductions in dropout rates, as well as reductions in discriminatory practices related to discipline, tracking, and referrals to special education (Dee, 2004; Egalite & Kisida 2015; Fairlie, Hoffmann & Oreopoulos, 2011; Gershenson, Hart, Lindsay & Papageorge, 2017; Grissom, Rodriguez & Kern, 2015; Meier, 1984). ToCs also serve as "cultural brokers" helping students negotiate school culture and expectations, particularly in schools with racial parity gaps between students and teachers (Irvine, 1989). Additional research has noted the important role that ToCs play in strengthening trust, connection and cohesion between schools, parents, and communities of color (Foster, 1991).

Unfortunately, the racial representation of teachers in charter schools has not kept pace with the increasing enrollment of students of color in charter schools. For example, despite the low proportion of total public school students in charter schools nationwide (approximately 6%), the expansion of charter schools in urban communities yields a much higher enrollment in these areas, ranging from nearly a quarter of students in Harlem (NY) enrolled in charter schools, to nearly one-half of students in Washington, D.C and approximately 100% of students in New Orleans enrolled in charter schools (Frankenberg, E., Siegel-Hawley, G., & Wang, J., 2010). These trends are in large part the reason why charter schools enroll black students at nearly twice the rate of traditional public schools nationwide, including an average enrollment of black students at 29% (across 5,274 charter schools in 42 states) compared to 17% in the nation's public schools (CREDO, 2013).

Higher enrollment among students of color in charter schools, consequently, as well as racial disparities in teacher hires, has produced significant racial parity gaps between students and teachers. For example, despite a higher proportion of ToCs in charters nationwide compared to district schools (27% and 16%, respectively), urban charter schools in cities like Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Los Angeles, New York, and Philadelphia have yielded representation gaps between students of color and ToCs that double (sometimes triple) representation gaps in district schools (ASI, 2015 as cited in Casey, L., Di Carlo, M., Bond, B., & Quintero, E., 2015). Gaps are wider for black teachers who are severely underrepresented in the nation's expanding urban charter sectors. New York City's charter sector, in particular, had a representation gap between black students and teachers that was four times higher than the district sector in 2012 (36.9% and 9.2%, respectively) (ASI, 2015 as cited in Casey, L., Di Carlo, M., Bond, B., & Quintero, E., 2015). Disparities in teacher hiring and teacher turnover by race and ethnicity have also contributed to lack of teacher diversity in charter schools. Indeed, between 2007 and 2012, the representation of black teachers among new charter hires was consistently and significantly lower than their share of the previous year's teaching force in various cities, including Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, New Orleans, and Philadelphia (Albert Shanker Institute, 2015).

Teacher turnover, moreover, contributes to the underrepresentation of ToCs in charter schools, as turnover overall is higher in charter schools compared to district schools (24% and 15%, respectively), whereby the turnover is calculated as the number of teachers in a given year who were not teaching the following year and expressed as a percentage (NCES, 2013). Indeed, in several cities across the country, charter schools drive some of the highest rates of teacher turnover at nearly three times the rate of district teachers (Newton et al., 2011; Zubrzycki, 2015). In major cities, turnover is higher among ToCs in charter schools compared to white teachers in charter schools. For example, "charter sector leaver rates" by race and ethnicity are often higher than district schools, whereby sector leavers were those who left their teaching position in a city's charter sector in a given period of time (periods for which data is available) due to resignation, dismissal, or retirement. In Chicago, Cleveland, and Philadelphia (during periods that data were available, with the exception of Boston), leaver rates were higher for black teachers in charter schools compared to white teachers in charter schools, and higher compared to both black and white teachers in district schools (ASI, 2015 as cited in Casey, L., Di Carlo, M., Bond, B., & Quintero, E., 2015). Overall, it is important to consider the

consequences of charter expansion in cities in light of weak propensity of charters to both hire and retain teachers of color, particularly ones who are black.

Experiences of Teachers of Color in Charter Schools: Research Design and Analysis

To understand working conditions in charter schools and its impact on teachers' decisions to leave these schools, I conducted a qualitative study using interviews and observations with 28 teachers in three schools in New York City: Community Charter (CCS), Elevation Charter (ECS), and Brighton Charter (BCS) schools. Teacher participants were racially diverse, with more than half who identified as black/African American (57%), almost a third who identified as white (32%), approximately 7% who identified as Asian American, and approximately 4% who identified as Latino/a. The teachers were asked to give interviews after several weeks of observation in classrooms, including six to seven teachers in each school who taught similar grade levels. Interviews lasted one hour on average and were transcribed verbatim.

The three charter schools that participated in the study were located in the same neighborhood in New York City and were analyzed as case studies for a larger comparative analysis of instructional practices between charter schools in a community. Case studies involve in-depth description and analysis of bounded groups or processes in a specific context (Merriam, 1988). As summarized in Table 1, charter schools in the study shared important qualities, including having the same charter authorizer (State University of New York) and thus underwent similar renewal and evaluation protocols. The schools also served similar groups of children by race and ethnicity (e.g. over 90%

black and Latino/a) and by socioeconomic status (e.g. a majority of students qualified for free or reduced priced lunch). The schools were also in operation for more than five years and therefore underwent at least one successful renewal by the state charter authorizer. Last, the schools were selected after preliminary visits to 20 charter schools in the neighborhood. One leader in each school was invited to participate in the study, resulting in 13 schools with leaders who agreed to participate (n=22), while leaders in seven schools declined to participate in the study.

While the schools shared similar student demographics, I selected schools that represented "maximum variation" in terms of different approaches to the organization of school practices (Merriam, 1988). I used literature on the organizational characteristics of schools as well as observations and interviews with leaders to inform my selection of cases, paying attention to founder type, descriptions of decision-making and autonomy, and relationships between leaders and teachers (Henig et. al, 2005; Ingersoll, 1996, 2001, Kardos et. al, 2001; Jehn & Jonsen, 2010; Simon & Johnson, 2015).

I also observed "pedagogic conditions" in schools, informed by sociologist Basil Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing, which refer to issues of power and control in areas of curriculum and pedagogy (Bernstein, 1990, 2000; Sadovnik, 1991). For example, classification, according to Bernstein, involved boundary maintenance between academic subjects, as well as boundaries between formal "academic" knowledge and local, context-specific knowledge. Framing involved control of the transmission of knowledge (i.e., pacing, sequence, selection of content; (Bernstein, 1990). For Bernstein, schools with strong classification adhered to rigid boundaries in what counts as knowledge (often

School Name (Pseudonyms)	Total Students	Grade Level	Management Type	Race/ Ethnicity	Free/ Reduced Lunch	Limited English	Union/ UFT contracts	Facility Costs	Year Founded
"Brighton" (BCS)	404	K-4	CMO	Black 76% Latino/a 20% White 0% Other 4%	74%	7%	Non-Unionized	Co-located in DOE building	2006
"Community" (CCS)	433	K-5	Stand-Alone	Black 36% Latino/a 61% White 0% Other 3%	61%	4%	Unionized	Lease	2000
"Elevation" (ECS)	294	K-5	Stand-Alone	Black 80% Latino/a 20% White 0% Other 0%	86%	4%	Non-Unionized	Co-located in DOE building	2005

Table 1. Demographic Overview of Three Case Study Schools (2013)

Structural	Structural conditions included: founder type/management of charter school (e.g., standalone charters v. charters managed by an organization); school size; scale of school (number of schools); funding; access to private donations; or location (urban, suburban, rural); staffing and hiring/firing policies; union contract.
Organizational	Organizational conditions included: descriptions of relationships between leaders, teachers, and students (hierarchical, egalitarian); views of autonomy and decision-making; collegiality/collaboration.
Sociocultural Conditions (pedagogic norms)	Sociocultural conditions include the dominant views of what and how teachers should teach in a given school setting. These views are informed by ideologies, values, and orientations held by leaders and administration. Also includes beliefs about knowledge and culture, particularly prior knowledge and cultural practices of historically marginalized groups. These conditions also include Basil Bernstein's theory of classification and framing, the former of which involves practices of boundary maintenance between official and non-dominant knowledge, and the latter involves control of how knowledge is presented and shared (i.e., pacing, sequence, selection of content).

Table 2. Conceptual Framework for Analyzing Working Conditions: Structural, Organizational, and Sociocultural

excluding local knowledge forms). Schools with strong framing adhered to highly structured pedagogical rules that prescribed the transmission of knowledge (e.g., scripted lessons). For this study, I argue that the politics of culture and knowledge, particularly in schools with strong classification and framing, are important yet overlooked sites of struggle between teachers and school leaders, particularly for ToCs.

Altogether, based on school visits and preliminary interviews with leaders, I made a purposeful selection of school cases that varied in structural, organizational,

Org. & Pedagogic Conditions	Community Charter School (CCS)	Elevation Charter School (ECS)	Brighton Charter School / CMO charter (BCS)
(In) flexibility re: curriculum, school procedures, and behavior policies	Semi-structured; moderately flexible	Semi-structured; moderately flexible	Structured; rigid
Descriptions of Teachers and their role in school policies	Primary role in shaping practice, semi-autonomous (co-teaching models)	Collaborative role in shaping instructional practice; semi-autonomous (team teaching and co-teaching models encouraged collaborative culture)	Secondary role in shaping instruction; little-to-no autonomy (scripted curriculum, uniform practices developed by senior managers)
Instruction: Whole-class, small group, individual	Co-teaching model allowed whole class, small group; individual	Co-teaching model allowed whole class, small group; individual	Whole Class
Relationships between teachers and leaders Horizontal/hierarchical	Semi- horizontal	Semi- horizontal	Hierarchical
Resources	Moderate; limited private capital / fundraising; struggled w/ recruitment of suitable teachers and funds for professional development to support model	Moderate; limited private capital, struggled to fund affordable quality instructional programs; also struggled w/ funding professional development for teachers, partnered w/ other charter schools to raise funds	Abundant: very successful at fundraising, significant private capital to finance additional resources for teachers, administrators and central/regional managers to oversee network operations
Stability of administration & Staff	Stable teachers, Stable admin, mix of teachers w/ range of experience; teachers paired together in co-teaching model, encouraged professional collaboration & mentoring;	Unstable teachers, Stable admin; mix of teachers w/ range of experience; teachers at times disagreed w/ or fell out with administrators and left school	Unstable teachers Unstable admin; teacher turnover common; and those w/ 2-3yrs encouraged to be administrators and soon left to start their own schools (to support replication/ expansion initiatives); students more stable than the staff

Table 3. Summary of Organizational Conditions in Three Charter Schools

and sociocultural conditions. Summarized in Table 2, the conditions of variance included: a) structural conditions tied to founder and managerial type (e.g., standalone and CMO); b) organizational conditions related to leaders' descriptions of teacher autonomy, decision-making, and leadership style; and c) sociocultural conditions related to views of what or how to teach (classification and framing).

Table 3 provides more detail about the organizational characteristics in each school, gleaned from interviews with charter school leaders, including principals, managers, and administrators.

After case selections were already made, and after interviews with teachers were concluded in
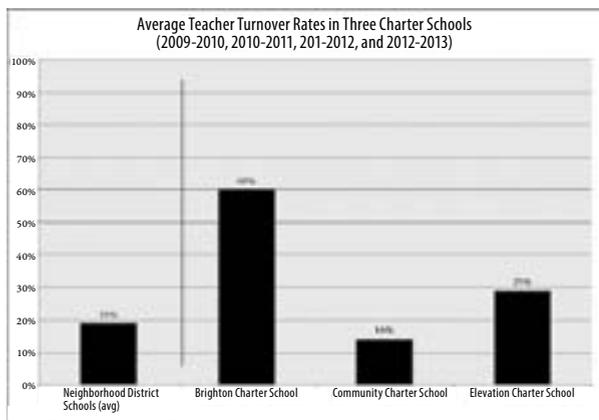
each school, I observed stark differences in rates of teacher turnover between the schools. As seen in Figure 1, for example, Brighton Charter School had a 60% teacher turnover rate (averaged over four years); nearly three times higher than nearby neighborhood district schools over the same period. Community Charter School had lower than average turnover rates compared to nearby district schools, with 14% teacher turnover (averaged over four years). Last, Elevation charter school had a turnover rate of 29% (averaged over the same four-year period) that was moderately higher than nearby district schools.

Given sharp differences in teacher turnover between charter schools in the study, I reanalyzed teacher interviews using a process of deductive coding (Miles & Huberman, 1994), whereby teachers' rationales for leaving schools were analyzed using categories derived from studies of working conditions, as well as Bernstein's framework of knowledge and pedagogy. For example, I categorized all interview statements related to teachers' satisfaction or dissatisfaction with schools as structural, organizational, or sociocultural. I also quantified the category of moves in the charter sector that teachers reported, including previous moves within the charter sector prior to their

current school, moves to their current school, moves to another charter school during the study or by the end of study, as well as decisions to leave teaching altogether. Last, not only was I able to note descriptions and explanations for school movements (previous or current moves), but I also noted the pattern and frequency of moves between charter school types. Overall, analysis of data was an iterative process of reviewing and analyzing coded transcripts with aid of qualitative software, Dedoose. Below, I share some of the most robust themes across teachers in the study.

FINDINGS: Teacher Turnover in Three Charter Schools

The 28 teachers in the study made a total of 16 moves since entering the charter sector. Despite an average of four years' experience teaching in the charter sector, nearly half of teachers in the study reported moving schools at least once since working in the charter sector (13 of 28 teachers; or 46%). Three teachers (11%) described more than one move since working in the charter sector, and six teachers (21%) were no longer teaching by the end of the study in 2013. While overall teaching experience was considered as a factor shaping movement, teachers in the study had an average of seven years teaching experience, including experience in district, charter, and private schools. Teaching experience varied only moderately across case study schools, as teacher participants in Community Charter School had an average of 6 years of experience, while teachers in Brighton Charter School had 5.8 years of experience, and teachers in Elevation Charter School had 5.1 years of experience. However, participants in the study had fewer years of experience teaching in the charter sector (4.5 years) compared to overall years of experience across all sectors, including district, charter, and private schools (7 years). Fewer years of

Total Number of Moves = 16			
Type of Move	**# of Moves**	**Pattern of Move by Charter Type**	**# of Moves**
Between charter types (Structural)	5	Stand-alone ➤ district school =	0
		Stand-alone ➤ stand-alone =	1
		Stand-alone ➤ CMO =	1
Within charter types (Organizational)	4	Stand-alone ➤ not teaching =	2
		CMO ➤ district school =	1
Across sectors (Sector)	1	CMO ➤ CMO =	1
		CMO-ch#1 ➤ CMO-ch#2 =	2
		CMO ➤ stand-alone =	4
Departures	6	CMO ➤ no longer teaching =	4

Table 4. Categories of Moves by Teachers Since Working in the Charter Sector

experience in charters indicates that most teachers in the study did not begin their teaching career in charter schools, but made mid-career changes when moving from district to charter schools.

Four types of movement emerged among teachers in the study, including structural moves that were between charter types (e.g. stand-alone to CMO schools, or vice versa), organizational moves that were within a charter type (e.g. between standalone charters, CMO-affiliated charters, or moves within a single CMO), sector moves (e.g. from charter schools back to district schools), as well as moves that were departures (e.g., moves that resulted in no longer classroom teaching).

As seen in Table 4, the kinds of movement reported by teachers since entering the charter sector were not equal across charter schools. For example, structural moves between charter types were the most commonly reported, consisting of five moves of this category and mostly from CMO charters to stand-alone charter schools (4 of 5). The high number of reported moves from CMO charters is consistent with the higher rate teacher turnover in Brighton Charter School, the only CMO charter school in the study. The second most common move was departures from classroom teaching, including six moves by teachers that resulted in "no longer teaching." Similar to structural moves, departures from teaching were

mostly from Brighton, the CMO charter school in the study (4 of 6). Indeed, the frequent movements reported by teachers that were from CMO charters maps onto similar studies about the poor quality of working conditions in CMOs, many of which use highly prescriptive practices and offer little autonomy for teachers (see Torres, 2014).

Some of the moves reported by teachers were less rooted in structural differences between CMO charters and other schools, as some moves occurred within similar charter types, including between standalone charters or within a single CMO, such as two teachers who made moves to different schools managed by the same CMO (e.g., see discussion of Theresa and Alyssa in subsequent sections). In these instances, teachers' moves were less related to structural conditions involving an external management organization or school size, but more related to specific organizational qualities inside a school, including the leadership style of a principal or relationships and collegiality among teachers. The least common move reported by teachers was across sector, with only one teacher reporting a move from a charter school to a district school.

Multiple moves by individual teachers were also reported, as two teachers reported making three moves since entering the charter sector, including one teacher who moved from a CMO-charter to another

Reason for working in Charter Sector	Name (Pseudonyms)	Record of Movement 1. Moves between charter types (standalone v. CMO) 2. Moves within a charter type (e.g., within CMO network) 3. Moves across sectors (from charter to district school) 4. Moves out of teaching (no-longer teaching)
"Disillusioned" Teachers	*Alyssa, *Theresa, Carmen, *Shawn *Donna, *Nadia, Arlene	2 teachers moved between charter types, 1 teacher no longer teaching Carmen: stand-alone → CMO-charter → no longer teaching *Shawn: CMO → CMO → stand-alone charter 2 teachers moved within a single CMO network, 1 teacher no longer teaching *Alyssa: CMO-charter 1 → CMO-charter2 *Theresa: CMO-charter1 → CMO-charter2 → no longer teaching
"Novices" recruited by Alternative teacher educ. programs	*Rachel, *Roger, Samantha, *Eric, *Lilly, Ellen, Alliyah	1 teacher moved between charter types; 1 teacher no longer teaching Ellen: CMO → stand-alone Samantha: CMO → no longer teaching
"Reformers" Community-Control	*Humphrey, *Andrew, Bridgette, *Tia, *Tracy	1 teacher moved between charter types; 1 teacher no longer teaching *Tia: stand-alone → no longer classroom teaching *Tracy: CMO → stand-alone
"Reformers" Market-Reform	*Camille, *Charles	2 teachers moved between charter types; 1 teacher no longer teaching *Charles: CMO → stand-alone *Robinson: CMO → no longer classroom teacher
"Circumstantial" Teachers	Rena, *Cindy, *Mary, *Amy, *Barbara, Kimberly, Justin	1 teacher moved between charter types *Barbara: stand-alone → stand-alone 1 teacher moved across sectors Justin: CMO → DOE school 1 teacher no longer teaching Kimberly: stand-alone → no longer classroom teaching

Table 5. Teacher Turnover by Category of Charter Participation
*Indicates Teacher of Color

charter school managed by a different CMO and then to a standalone charter school (e.g., see discussion of Shawn in subsequent sections). Similarly, another teacher reported moving from a standalone charter school to a CMO-charter only to leave classroom teaching shortly after (e.g., see discussion of Carmen below). A summary of all moves reported by 13 of the 28 teachers in the study is noted in Table 5. However, to better understand teachers' rationales for moving schools, I explore below teachers' experiences in the charter sector, including in three focal schools, and consider implications for how teachers make meaningful distinctions in the working conditions between schools.

Structural Conditions of Turnover: Weak Labor, Limited Preparation, and Powerful Donors

As noted earlier, charter schools in the study had varying rates of teacher turnover, with Brighton Charter School (BCS) having the highest average turnover rate at 60%, and Community Charter School (CCS) having the lowest average turnover rate at 14% over the same period. Interviews with teachers and leaders in each school suggest that BCS and CCS were structurally different in fundamental ways that shaped teachers' everyday experiences, including BCS having weak labor protections for its teachers (staff were non-unionized), heavy reliance on alternatively certified teachers with limited prior experience in urban settings, and a powerful cadre of external managers and private donors with prodigious influence on the educational mission of the school.

The more stable teaching force at CCS was due in part to the fact that teachers at the school were unionized with a specialized bargaining agreement with the principal, a rare status in charter schools. Yet CCS's turnover rate was lower than nearby district schools that also had unionized faculty, which signaled important differences in the structure of hiring at the school that went beyond labor protections. Terri Sheets, for example, was the principal of CCS and described intentional efforts to hire teachers from the surrounding community, as well as teachers who were previously paraprofessionals at the school, "I definitely try to avoid hiring brand new teachers who are not familiar with the school." Rachel, for example, was an African American teacher who worked as a teaching assistant at CCS and grew up only blocks from the school. When explaining her familiarity with the surrounding community, Rachel said, "I'm just a part of [the neighborhood]. I have an idea of how home life is

[for students]. I'm hoping it makes me more relatable to students. I can both expect and respect where students are coming from." As such, the leader of CCS praised the fact that many teachers in her school had roots in the local community and came from a built-in teacher pipeline of paraprofessionals and assistants. The practice of hiring local teachers, moreover, worked to benefit the racial diversity of teachers at CCS in light of its location in a predominantly black and Latinx community.

Elevation charter school (ECS) was the third focal school in the study, and reported high turnover at 29%, similar to BCS and much higher than CCS and nearby district schools (19%). Unlike CCS, neither ECS nor BCS had unionized faculty, nor did leaders in each school mention priorities for hiring local teachers. Nonetheless, while both schools exceeded turnover rates in CCS and in nearby district schools, their structural differences shaped the severity of turnover between the schools. For instance, even as BCS struggled to retain teachers, losing half of its teachers each year, it nonetheless benefited from highly centralized recruitment campaigns on the part of its CMO, as well as partnerships with prominent alternative teacher certification programs, both of which helped to recruit teachers nationally and maintain a steady supply of teachers for the school each year. Hence, the efficient recruitment strategies (and monetary investments for marketing and recruitment) on the part of its Brighton's CMO enabled the school to function "smoothly" in spite of high teacher turnover. In some ways, the steady supply of new teachers from across the country worked to dis-incentivize needed attention to working conditions and teacher satisfaction.

ECS also relied on alternatively certified teachers from out of state, and thus competed with BCS for teachers in the same labor pool. Kimberly, a teacher recruiter for ECS, described the school's struggle for teachers: "It's all actually very competitive, because we're all trying obviously to get the best teachers we can for our schools, but our school isn't as big as other places." The limited training of new teachers at ECS, due to expedited alternative certification programs, including teachers with short-term commitments, compounded the school's struggles to retain teachers. Indeed, as a strategy for recruitment, ECS adopted a "CMO-charter vibe" that Kimberly described as involving highly structured practices, particularly useful for novice teachers with limited training. These efforts, however, had noticeable drawbacks, "Sometimes I worry that the more we take on a CMO kind of vibe, of more structure and results, I worry that we might forget about the importance

of our teacher-student relationship." As a standalone school, therefore, with a limited budget for marketing and recruitment, and a much smaller central office compared to BCS, leaders at ECS struggled to recruit teachers from out of state and viewed its high turnover rates as a problem in need of a remedy.

In addition to limited preparation of teachers with shorter teaching commitments, structural conditions of turnover were related to powerful and prohibitive influences of private managers and donors, particularly in CMO schools. Charles, for example, was an African American teacher in a high-profile CMO charter school, serving as a math coach for teachers in fourth, fifth, and sixth grades. Charles admitted that he enjoyed the national attention that his school garnered for its high-test scores; even hoping one day to "shine like the executives on Wall Street" who contributed large private donations to the chain of charter schools he worked in. Unexpectedly, by the end of study, Charles was "let go" from the CMO charter (i.e., a non-renewal of his teaching contract). "The school had a great reputation and many of our board members were famous millionaires and billionaires, but they operated from a business standpoint. So they were only looking at children's test scores or results, and to them teachers were either getting results or not getting results." Unfortunately, according to school leaders, Charles learned that he was not "getting results" as senior managers expected and subsequently did not renew his contract for the following year. "I worked for that CMO for three and half years, and my dismissal took two minutes," noted Charles.

For some educators, particularly those with experience in the city's under-resourced district schools, CMO charters provided access to opportunities in the form of professional development, networking, and tangible resources for classroom instruction. Theresa was an African American woman who taught for five years in district schools located in one of the city's lowest income communities. In the charter sector, however, she described her excitement about the abundance of resources available, particularly in charter schools with affluent private donors, "The materials alone were enough to leave my district school. I remember what it was like [in my previous school]. Just to get a ream of paper was gold." According to some studies, Theresa's experience is not far-fetched, as large charter chains in the U.S. have significant private investments that can yield upwards of $5,700 in additional per-pupil funding. Based on New York's average funding, infusions of private capital in Theresa's charter school likely pushed funding to nearly $23,000 per student.

Similarly, Shawn was an African American male teacher who taught in the city's charter sector after working in district schools. Dismayed by citywide policies prohibiting teachers to develop their own discipline plans for students, Shawn sought a teaching position in one of the city's charter schools in hopes of greater autonomy, only to struggle with CMO managers who focused narrowly on student performance. Shawn attributed his conflicts with managers to the influence of private donors, "The idea from donors was that 'we are giving [your school] all of this money, so where are our results?' But when money came, the quality of instruction became diluted . . . It was suddenly about quick, short results." Shawn eventually left his charter school to find a school that fit his ideas about teaching and learning, "My [old school] wasn't really about developing the whole child. They were about results. That's it."

Overall, the experiences of teachers like Charles and Shawn involved conflicts with powerful senior managers and private donors, both of which are rooted in the unique structure of CMO charters with external managers and influential sponsors. While teachers like Theresa found CMOs provided access to more resources and opportunities for professional development (compared to her experience in under-resourced district schools), Charles and Shawn were negatively impacted by the blunt influence and hierarchical structure that empowered managers and sought employment (voluntarily and involuntarily) in other schools.

Organizational Conditions of Turnover: Struggles for Leadership and Decision-making

Organizational conditions also shaped teachers' decisions to leave schools, including school leaders with rigid expectations and little interest in negotiating with teachers' key decisions about school practices. As principal of BCS, for example, Brenda described her leadership style:

> [Our managers] believe in the replicable model . . . So [the CMO's] school curriculums are the same. Our literacy instruction is the same. Our math instruction is the same . . . There are little things that we [leaders] can tweak, but there are certain things that are by design, and we are not allowed to change.

To ensure uniformity in instruction across schools, Brenda noted the frequency with which senior managers worked with leaders across

schools, "Our senior leaders have at least two to three meetings a week with us [about instruction], whether they're on video or in person." In some ways, the influence of managers seemed to violate the "bifurcated" structure described in BCS' formal charter proposal, which delineated clear distinctions between academic personnel (e.g. principals, teachers, and instructional coaches) and managerial personnel (e.g. CMO managers, data analysts, central office staff). Over time, however, the school's board and state evaluators overlooked the ways in which the bifurcated structure had grown hierarchical, with academic personnel almost wholly subordinate to central managers who controlled curriculum development, daily lesson plans, and worked to standardize practices and protocols inside schools. Hierarchical relationships impacted teachers, who felt subordinate to both leaders and managers in decision-making about classroom practices. Camille, for example, was an African American teacher in BCS who described limited flexibility in teaching due to scripted curriculum.

> TW: Do you have enough foundation to make the [lessons] your own?
>
> Camille: Um . . . [pause] . . . sometimes I feel like I'm sort of in a confined mode . . .. I mean I feel like I don't have that full autonomy you know . . . we have planning meetings and it's like "you should be on this teaching point on this day, whatever, whatever." And sometimes it can be too much, to be honest, to where I feel like the [CMO] could have anybody in [here] teaching.

Similarly, Theresa described limitations due to hierarchical relations between managers, school leaders, and teachers: "The [CMO] goes about this whole bullying tactic with teachers. Managers try to bully teachers into doing what they want . . . but they should want people to do things because they see the value in it, not because they tell us to do it." When asked about the kinds of support that she would prefer, Camille explained that she would not force teachers to implement scripted curriculum: "If I give teachers what they need to teach, like the topic, I think they should be able to make learning happen without a script. I just feel like that's what they are supposed to do as teachers." At the time of interview, Camille expressed intentions to leave her school to open her own school. By the end of study, she indeed moved out of classroom teaching and was interning as an assistant principal for a new school. To resolve

conflicts with managers, Theresa left BCS to work in a charter school within the same CMO but located furthest from manager headquarters. In her new charter school, Theresa described her principal as less authoritarian than leaders in her previous school, adding that CMO managers were "too scared to visit" the school and thus indirectly allowed teachers more autonomy.

In contrast, leaders in standalone schools like CCS and ECS were less interested in expanding or replicating new schools, and thus retained significant influence over practices inside their respective schools. Compared to BCS, standalone schools in the study had fewer resources, but less rigidity in school-wide routines, and less hierarchical relationships between leaders and faculty. For instance, teachers in ECS described a blend of supports for teachers, including a co-teaching model that allowed autonomy within teacher-dyads to develop curriculum units. CCS, on the other hand, had a semi-structured and collaborative approach to decision-making, with grade-level teams meeting regularly to solidify practices and modify routines.

Terri Sheets, CCS's leader, emphasized the value of collaborative relationships among teachers and administration. "We're in this together," Terri noted when describing the institutional culture at CCS. Echoing this sentiment, Cindy Williams, an African American teacher in her seventh year of teaching at CCS, noted: "We have to work together if we want to get things done, but we [teachers] set the time and plan [our] time for what we're going to do." Similarly, Carl Rivers was the principal of ECS and described the defining quality of charter schools as "the capacity to have decision-makers back in the school building," referring to principals and teachers, as opposed to central office managers or district bureaucrats. Affirming this sentiment was Carmen, a white third-grade teacher at ECS who, ironically, moved from ECS to BCS in search of greater resources and a uniform, school-wide structure. When reflecting on her decisions to move schools, Carmen compared the organizational conditions of the two schools:

> I think teachers were friends more at Elevation, partly because we didn't have really absurd hours, and partly because we weren't treated as disposable . . . it felt more like 'we're all in this little venture together to make it survive.' So you feel like a more important part of the puzzle . . .. I didn't realize that was important to me until I left Elevation.

Indeed, although Carmen left ECS to work in BCS, she was overwhelmed by the CMO's expanded enterprise, which required significant amounts of time to implement curricula and routines in scores of new charter schools. Carmen was also discouraged by the hierarchical nature of relationships with leaders in BCS, and decided to quit less than 2 months into the school year, adding to what she estimated was a 30% turnover of teachers by the third month of the school year. By end of study, while Carmen was unsure what her next steps would be, she was no longer classroom teaching.

Sociocultural Conditions of Turnover: Conflicts of Race, Culture, and Knowledge

Finally, while teachers described structural and organizational conditions as important factors shaping decisions to leave schools, these conditions led to important conflicts about race, culture, and knowledge to which teachers of color in the study expressed a number of concerns. For example, BCS' structure of weak labor protections, reliance on teachers with limited training, and a cadre of private managers and donors worked together to influence hierarchical organizational conditions with authoritarian leadership and limited autonomy for teachers. These conditions, however, had important implications for teaching and learning that impacted ToCs' decisions to stay or leave schools. Leaders in BCS, for example, valued test-based measures of quality and openly demanded that teachers serve those ends, shaping rigid pedagogic conditions for what forms of knowledge were valued (i.e., only measureable knowledge mattered). In this vein, teachers were expected to focus on "official" knowledge sanctioned in textbooks or in prescribed lessons. Likewise, pedagogic conditions in BCS yielded clear distinctions between "right" and "wrong" ways of teaching, based on students' mastery of material on tests. These norms, while ostensibly created to promote college access for students, rarely integrated local forms of knowledge, cultural expressions, dialects, or styles of dress and representation on the part of students. Timothy Peters, for example, was the director of pedagogy for BCS, and for other schools managed by its CMO, and described the instructional and pedagogical conditions intended to "move" children's scores:

> Peters: I first get [students] to behave at a high level.... .No kid slips through my cracks!

I'm not going to have any "Ones" in my class.

TW: What if you do?

Peters: Well, I'd know way ahead of time, and I'd fix it.... Our [CMO] has a very strong culture that's big on "who's got it" and "who's not got it!" [Mastery of material based on test scores].

The "strong culture" of instruction, as referred to by Timothy, includes explicit ranking of students by test scores. Indeed, observations at BCS included regular incidents where children who performed below grade level referred to one another as "Ones", while children who performed at grade level referred to one another as "Twos", while children who reached proficient were called "Threes"; and children who performed above average were called "Fours." In light of BCS' strong culture of relentless focus on test scores, Timothy boasted that he could deliver results expediently, "I've been involved from the beginning of this [CMO's] project. I'd say to charter founders early on, 'what kind of scores do you want this time around?' And I'd say, 'Done!' [Slams hand on table]."

BCS' culture of testing and its narrow view of knowledge resembled Bernstein's view of strong classification and strong framing, whereby boundaries between 'academic' and local knowledge, and the control of how knowledge is presented (e.g., pacing, sequencing, and selection of activities) were impermeable. Such conditions conveyed sociocultural beliefs that were intolerable for many ToCs who regarded them as forms of marginalization on the part of largely white leaders and charter managers. Before leaving her charter school, for example, Theresa noted racial disparities between leaders and teachers: "I mean it's not that many of us [blacks] in the CMO. I could probably count on one hand how many black people there are." As such, Theresa felt that racial disparities compromised the quality of relationships with parents:

> I had to intercede a lot with parent relationships. Of the two teachers that were on my grade level team, they didn't know how to interact with parents of color . . .. So that, and just being able to build a sense of community with students and parents was something I knew how to do.

Other teachers described more direct conflicts with test-based approaches to instruction that limited the inclusion of students' culture and prior knowledge in schools. Shawn, for example, worked

in three different charter schools since entering the sector in 2008, including moves from a CMO-charter to a different CMO-charter and finally to a stand-alone charter school (ECS). Shawn described feeling out of place with each school's culture and its philosophy of teaching: "I would say I was a misfit in the charters I've been in. My philosophy was a little too much to the left." To explain his philosophy, Shawn noted: "[History] shows that change is bigger than one plus one, or two plus two, or ten times ten. Students have to be able to draw from a well of rich knowledge that will keep them pressing toward the mark of a higher prize." Shawn described his own approach to teaching as "drawing from wells of rich knowledge" among students, particularly students of color who he believed had a history of resilience and hope that could fuel social change. As such, Shawn sought to connect students to the historic meaning of education for social justice, a vision much broader than passing exams.

In a similar vein, Charles described dissatisfaction with charter schools that failed to embrace what he called a "progressive" approach to teaching:

> Educators are not supposed to make students feel as though historically their people don't function on the level as another group of people within the same nation. You shouldn't make some groups feel inferior... But kids in Harlem are in just that sort of predicament... Progressive teachers bring learning to the students, where they are. They say to students, 'Your environment is the primary tool to get you to learn, so I'm going to start with the things that you see every day to connect you to learning.'"

After leaving his CMO-charter school for a small standalone school, Charles explained that he was learning to value practices that focused less on delivering children out of "the hood" by way of test scores, and more on developing practices that would cultivate meaningful connections between school and the social and cultural contexts of his students. In doing so, Charles hoped to empower students toward critical changes within their communities, and moved away from fixing so-called cultural deficits in communities of color and toward challenging broader structures of inequality that circumscribed communities of color.

Conclusions: Listening to Teachers of Color about the Harms of Charter Expansion

Initiatives to create inclusive, diverse, and equitable

public schools must consider the challenges that charter schools pose, particularly schools with poor working conditions and chronic high turnover among teachers of color. Working conditions, moreover, involve multiple and interwoven dimensions that shape teachers' experiences, including structural, organizational, and sociocultural conditions. Based on findings in this study, structural conditions in charter schools that were harmful to the retention of teachers of color included weak labor protections, hiring practices that relied on out-of-state teachers via alternative teacher certification programs, as well as the disproportionate influence of private donors and external managers. Schools in the study with these kinds of structural conditions had the highest rates of teacher turnover, including one of the three focal schools in the study (Brighton Charter School) that was managed by a CMO.

Teacher turnover was also tied to organizational conditions inside schools, such as leadership, decision-making, and autonomy. Organizational conditions were intertwined, however, with structural conditions, as teachers who left CMO-affiliated schools described limited autonomy and decision-making due to highly structured and hierarchical norms driven by senior managers in central offices, many who regarded academic personnel (principals, teachers, and staff) as subordinate groups. Turnover was lower in standalone charter schools, particularly in Community charter school, which embraced a family-like ethos rooted in collaboration and teamwork (i.e., "we're in this together to make it work"). These qualities were supported, however, by structural conditions including unionized teachers with specialized bargaining agreements, leaders who prioritized hiring teachers from the surrounding community, and preferences for hiring teachers who worked previously as paraprofessionals or assistants and thus had strong familiarity with students and families at the school. In contrast, in the absence of a well-trained and stable cadre of teachers, charters like BCS doubled down on prescribed curriculum, as well as other forms of top-down leadership to accommodate large numbers of novice teachers, all limiting teacher autonomy.

Sociocultural conditions were also important in teachers' decisions to leave schools, and also influenced by structural and organizational conditions. Sociocultural conditions were manifested primarily in conflicts about instructional norms that minimized, and at times excluded altogether, value for the cultural resources and prior knowledge of students. Inclusive practices were particularly important for teachers of color who often serve as

"cultural brokers" for students and communities of color in terms of helping students negotiate differences between home culture and school expectations (Irvine, 1989). In this study, such roles were nearly impossible to carry out in some schools, such as BCS, with its culture of strong classification and framing, where boundaries between academic and local knowledge as well as the control of knowledge (pacing, sequencing, and selection of lesson content) were heavily regulated. Not all ToCs identified as cultural brokers, however, or viewed test-based approaches to instruction as problems, including ToCs in the study who did not leave schools with inflexible sociocultural conditions, such as Theresa and Alyssa who moved to charter schools within the same CMO with similarly rigid instructional practices. In these cases, access to material resources and professional development via prodigious donations to CMOs from wealthy funders was too desirable to give up, particularly for teachers with prior experiences in under-resourced district schools in low-income communities. This finding, however, suggests the high turnover rate at CMO charters like BCS might be even been higher if not for material resources provided to teachers. Teachers like Theresa and Alyssa, moreover, convey the importance of both material and sociocultural resources for teachers of color, including professional development opportunities, classroom materials, and culturally flexible spaces for the inclusion of diverse students from historically marginalized backgrounds.

Overall, in a sociopolitical climate where market enthusiasts look to expand the charter sector, envisioning them as models of pedagogical experimentation and innovation, this study highlights the ways in which charter schools vary in their structural, organizational, and sociocultural conditions, including some schools that limit teachers' capacity to innovate due to hierarchical working

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Terrenda White, Ph.D., is assistant professor of education policy at the University of Colorado Boulder. Her research interests include the social context of education, market-based school reform, and teacher diversity initiatives.

APPENDIX

Teacher Name	Charter School Name	Total Years in Education	Years in charter sector	Background	Teacher Education Type		Race/Ethnicity	Gender	Age
1. Ms. Amy	"Community" Charter School	9	9	charter only	Traditional	University-based	Asian/Pacific Islander	Female	30-35
2. Ms. Donna		6	4	DOE & Charter	Traditional	University-based	Black/African American	Female	25-30
3. Ms. Cindy		7	7	charter only	Traditional	University-based	Black/African American	Female	30-35
4. Ms. Rena		7	7	charter only	Traditional	University-based	White/Caucasian	Female	30-35
5. Ms. Rachel		2	2	charter only	Traditional	University-based	Black/African American	Female	20-25
6. Ms. Tracy		5	5	Charter only	Traditional	University-based	Black/African American	Female	30-35
7. Ms. Robinson	"Brighton" Charter	5	3	Private/religious & Charter	Traditional	University-based	Black/African American	Female	30-35
8. Ms. Alyssa		8	3	DOE & Charter	Alternative	Alt. Cert.	Black/African American	Female	30-35
9. Ms. Theresa		8	3	DOE & Charter	Traditional	University-based	Black/African American	Female	30-35
10. Ms. Samantha		3	2	Charter Only	Alternative	TFA & Teacher U	White/Caucasian	Female	25-30
11. Ms. Carmen		5	3	DOE & Charter	Alternative	TFA & University-based	White/Caucasian	Female	25-30
12. Ms. Lily	"Elevation" Charter School	1	1	charter only	Alternative	TFA & Relay	Black/African American	Female	20-25
13. Mr. Eric		1	1	charter only	Alternative	TFA & Relay	Black/African American	Male	20-25
14. Ms. Ellen		3	1	DOE & Charter	Alternative	TFA & University-based	White/Caucasian	Female	25-30
15. Ms. Alliyah		3	1	private & charter	Alternative	TFA & University-based	White/Caucasian	Female	25-30
16. Mr. Shawn		16	5	DOE & Charter	Traditional	University-based	Black/African American	Male	35-40
17. Ms. Kimberly Patrick		8	3	DOE & Charter	Traditional	University-based	White/Caucasian	Female	30-35
18. Ms. Barbara		4	4	charter only	Traditional	University-Based	White, Latina/o	Female	25-30
19. Ms. Marry	"Jifunza" Charter School	14	4	Foreign schools	Traditional	International	Black/African American	Female	40-45
20. Ms. Tia		7	3	DOE & private	Traditional	University-based	Black/African American	Female	30-35
21. Ms. Arlene		7	2	DOE & Private	Traditional	International	White/Caucasian	Female	30-35
22. Ms. Nadia		17	3	DOE & Charter	Traditional	University-Based	Black/African American	Female	35-40
23. Ms. Bridgette		5	1	DOE & Charter	Traditional	University-Based	White/Caucasian	Female	35-40
24. Mr. Roger	CMO-charter	9	5	DOE & Charter	Alternative	TFA & University-based	Asian/Pacific Islander	Male	30-35
25. Mr. Charles		4	4	charter only	Traditional	University-based	Black/African American	Male	30-35
26. Mr. Justin		3	1	DOE & Charter	Traditional	University-based	White, Jewish	Male	20-25
27. Mr. Humphrey	Standalone Charter	14	14	Charter only	Traditional	University-based	Black/African American	Male	35-40
28. Mr. Andrew		14	10	Charter only	Traditional	University-based	Black/African	Male	35-40

List of Teacher Participants interviewed

Teacher-Participants by Race/Ethnicy (n=28)

Asian/Pacific Islander 7%
Latina/o 4%
White 32%
Black/African American 57%
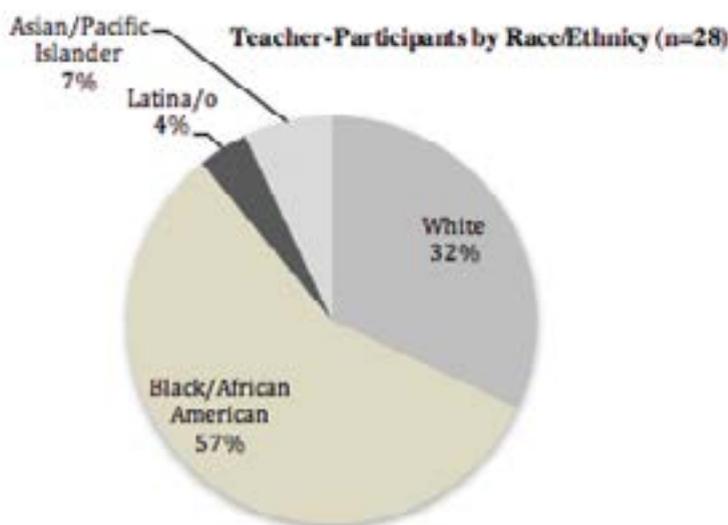
REFERENCES

Baker, Bruce. (November, 2016). Exploring the consequences of charter school expansion in U.S. cities. Washington, D.C: Economic Policy Institute. Retrieved from https://www.epi.org/publication/exploring-the-consequences-of-charter-school-expansion-in-u-s-cities/

Bernstein, Basil. 1990. The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse; Vol. 4 Class, Codes, and Control. New York: Routledge.

Bernstein, Basil. 1996/2000. Pedagogy, Symbolic Control, and Identity: Theory, Research, Critique (revised ed.). New York: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Casey, L., Di Carlo, M., Bond, B., & Quintero, E. (2015). The state of teacher diversity in American education. Washington, DC: Albert Shanker Institute.

Center for Research on Education Outcomes. (2013). Charter School Growth and Replication. Retrieved September 16, 2014 from https://credo.stanford.edu/research-reports.html

Chubb, John and Moe, Terry. 1990. Politics, Markets, and America's Schools. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.

Dee, Thomas. 2004. The Race Connection: Are Teachers more Effective with students who share their ethnicity?. Education Next. (Spring 2004), p. 53-59.

Education Sector Reports. (November 2009) Growing Pains: Scaling Up the Nation's Best Charter Schools.

Egalite, A. & Kisida, B. (2015). "Representation in the classroom: The effect of own-race teachers on student achievement." Economics of Education Review. Vol. 45, p. 44-52.

Fairlie, R., Hoffmann, F., & Oreopoulos, P. (2011). "A Community College Instructor Like Me: Race and Ethnicity Interactions in the Classroom." Working Paper 17381. Retrieved from National Bureau of Economic Research http://www.nber.org/papers/w17381

Farrell, C., Wohlstetter, P., & Smith, J. 2012. Charter Management Organizations: An Emerging Approach to Scaling Up What Works. Education Policy. 26(4), p. 499-532.

Finn, C., Manno, B., & Vanourek, G. 2001. Charter Schools in Action: Renewing Public Education. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Foster, M. (1991). Constancy, Connectedness, and Constraints in Lives of African-American Teachers. NWSA Journal, 3(2), 233-261.

Frankenberg, E., Siegel-Hawley, G., & Wang, J. (2010). Choice without Equity: Charter School Segregation and the Need for Civil Rights Standards. Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles.

Gershenson, S., Hart, C., Lindsay, C., & Papageorge, N. 2017. The long-run impacts of same-race teachers. Discussion Paper Series. Institute of Labor Economics. Retrieved from http://ftp.iza.org/dp10630.pdf

Golann, J. W. (2015). The paradox of success at a no-excuses school. Sociology of Education, 88(2), 103-119.

Goldhaber, D., Theobald, R., & Tien, C. (2015). The theoretical and empirical arguments for diversifying the teacher workforce: A review of the evidence. The Center for Education Data & Research, University of Washington Bothell. Available at: http://www. cedr. us/papers/working/CEDR% 20WP, 202015-9.

Grissom, J., Rodriguez, L., & Kern, E. 2015. Teacher and Principal Diversity and the Representation of Students of Color in Gifted Programs: Evidence from National Data. Paper presented, American Educational Research Association, Chicago, IL.

Harris, Debbi. 2007. Should I stay or should I go? Comparing Teacher Mobility in Florida's Charter and Traditional Public Schools. Peabody Journal of Education, Vol. 82, No. 2/3, p. 270-310.

Hassel, E. A., Hassel, B. C., & Ableidinger, J. (February 2011), Going Exponential: Growing the Charter School Sector's Best, Washington, DC, Progressive Policy Institute, and Chapel Hill, NC, Public Impact (available http://www.progressivefix.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/02/2.2011_Hassel_Going-Exponential_WEB.pdf).

Henig, Jeffrey, Holyoke, Thomas T. Brown, Heath & Lacireno-Paquet, Natalie. 2005. "The Influence of Founder Type on Charter School Structures and Operations." American Journal of Education, vol. 111, No. 4, School Choice (August), pp. 487-588.

Ingersoll, Richard M. (1996). "Teachers' decision-making power and school conflict" Sociology of Education; Apr 1996; 69, 2; ProQuest Central pg. 159

Ingersoll, R. (2001). Teacher turnover and teacher shortages: An organizational analysis. American Educational Research Journal, 38(3), 499-534. Retrieved February 20, 2007, from http://www.gse.upenn.edu/faculty_research/TeacherTurnoverTeacherShortages-RMI-Fall-2001.pdf

Ingersoll, R. (2003) Who controls teachers' work? Power and accountability in America's schools. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Retrieved February 20, 2007, from http://www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?isbn=9780674019904

Irvine, J.J. (1989). Beyond role models: An examination of cultural influences on the pedagogical perspectives of black teachers. Peabody Journal of Education, 66(4), 51-63.

Jabbar, H. 2015. "Every Kid is Money": Market-like Competition and School Leader Strategies in New Orleans. Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, vol. 37, no. 4, pp. 638-659.

Jehn, K. & Jonsen, K. 2010. A Multi-method Approach to the Study of Sensitive Organizational Issues. Journal of Mixed Methods Research. 4(4), p. 313-341.

Jennings, J. (2010). School choice or schools' choice?: Managing in an era of accountability. Sociology of Education, 83, pp. 227–247.

Johnson, S. M. (2006). The workplace matters: Teacher quality, retention, and effectiveness (Working paper). Washington, DC: National Education Association Research Department.

Johnson, S. M., Berg, J. H., & Donaldson, M. L. (2005). Who stays in teaching and why? A review of the literature on teacher retention. Washington, DC: National Retired Teachers Association.

Kahlenberg, Richard & Potter, Halley. A Smarter Charter: Finding What Works for Charter Schools and Public Education. NY, NY: Teachers College Press.

Kardos, S. M., Johnson, S. M., Peske, H. G., Kauffman, D., & Liu, E. (2001). Counting on colleagues: New teachers encounter the professional cultures of their schools. Educational Administration Quarterly, 37(2), 250–290.

Ladson-Billings, G., & Tate, W. 1995. "Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education." Teachers College Record 97 (1): 47–68.

Lake, R., Dusseault, B., Bowen, M., Demeritt, A., & Hill, P. (2010). The national study of charter management organization (CMO) effectiveness: Report on interim findings. Seattle, WA: Mathematica Policy Research, Inc. & Center on Reinventing Public Education.

Meier, K. 1984. Teachers, Students, and Discrimination: The Policy Impact of Black Representation. Journal of Politics, Vol. 46, No. 1, pp. 252-263.

Merriam, S.B. 1988. Case study research in education: A qualitative approach. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, M. (1994). Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Miron, G., & Gulosino, C. 2013. Profiles of for-profit and nonprofit education management organizations: Fourteenth Edition—2011-2012. Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved March 26, 2018 from http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/EMO-profiles-11-12

Miron, G., & Urschel, J. L. (2010). Profiles of nonprofit education management organizations: 2009-2010. Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved from http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/EMO-NP-09-10

National Center Education Statistics. (2013). Characteristics of Public and Private Elementary and Secondary School Teachers in the United States: Results From the 2011-12 Schools and Staffing Survey. U.S. Department of Education.

New Schools Venture Fund. (2006). Charter management organizations: Toward scale with quality. Retrieved from http://www.newschools.org/news/charter-management-organizations-toward-scale-with-quality/

Newton, X., Rivero, R., Fuller, B., & Dauter, L. 2011. Teacher Stability and Turnover in Los Angeles: The Influence of Teacher and School Characteristics. Working Paper. Policy Analysis for California Education. Retrieved Dec. 8, 2015 from http://edpolicyinca.org/sites/default/files/2011_PACE_WP_NEWTON.pdf

Ni, Yongmei (2012). Teacher Working Conditions in Charter Schools and Traditional Public Schools: A Comparative Study. Teachers College Record (114), 030303.

Renzulli, L.A., Parrott, H.M., & Beattie, I.R. (2011). Racial Mismatch and School Type: Teacher Satisfaction and Retention in Charter and Traditional Public Schools. Sociology of Education, 84(1), 23-48. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0038040710392720

Rosenboltz & Simpson, 1990. Workplace conditions and the rise and fall of teachers' commitment; Sociology of Education. Vol. 63 (4): 241-257

Sadovnik, Alan. 1991. "Basil Bernstein's Theory of Pedagogic Practice: A Structuralist Approach. Sociology of Education, Vol. 64, No. 1, pp. 48-63.

Scott, J., & DiMartino, C. (2010). Hybridized, Franchised, Duplicated, and Replicated: Charter Schools and Management Organizations. In C. Lubienski and Peter C. Weitzel (Eds.), The Charter School Experiment: Expectations, Evidence, and Implications. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Shanker, A. (1988, March 31). "National Press Club Speech." Walter P. Reuther Library. Retrieved from http://reuther.wayne.edu/files/64.43.pdf

Simon, N.S. & Johnson, S.M. (2015). Teacher Turnover in High-Poverty Schools: What We Know and Can Do. Teachers College Record.

Stuit, David & Smith, Thomas. 2012. Explaining the gap in charter and traditional public school teacher turnover rates. Economic of Education Review. 31, p. 268-279.

Torres, A.C. (2014). "Are we architects or construction workers?" Re-examining teacher autonomy and turnover in charter schools. Education Policy Analysis Archives, 22(124). http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.v22.1614

Villegas, A.M., & Irvine, J.J. (2010). Diversifying the teaching force: An examination of major arguments. Urban Review, 42:175-192.

Zubrzyck, Jacqueline. 2015a. DPS moves to address 'crisis level' teacher turnover. Chalkbeat. February. Retrieved December 8, 2015, from http://co.chalkbeat.org/2015/02/03/dps-moves-to-address-crisis-level-teacher-turnover/#.Vmc9R2DmZss

CONCEPTUAL STUDY

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

Joseph O. Oluwole, PhD and Preston C. Green III, JD, EdD

Introduction

In *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), the Supreme Court ruled that the separate-but-equal doctrine did not violate the Equal Protection Clause. However, with respect to education, the term "separate-but-equal" was a misnomer: Southern school districts provided segregated education and unequal funding to those schools that were educating black children (Green, Baker, & Oluwole, 2008; Margo, 1985). Still, despite these shortcomings, there were several examples of "schools of excellence" during the separate-but-equal era (Joyner, 2013, p. 162; Jones, 1981; Jones, 1982; Siddle Walker, 1996; Sowell, 1976). These schools were characterized by: (a) high-quality teachers and administrators; (b) educators who were determined to prepare students for the racism they would face as adults in a segregated society; (c) a stern but caring educational environment; and (d) a partnership with their communities to overcome the deprivations caused by the unequal funding (Jones, 1981; Joyner, 2013; Siddle Walker 1996; Sowell, 1974; Sowell, 1976).

Black and Latino public-school students in California are presently experiencing segregated and unequal education similar to the conditions experienced in the separate-but-equal era (Oakes & Lipton, 2004; Orfield & Ee, 2014). Some of their parents have responded to this predicament by enrolling their children in charter schools (Gross, 2017; Koran 2016; Koran, 2017; Tillotson, 2016). Charter schools are often defined "as public schools that are given considerable latitude from state rules and regulations that apply to traditional public schools while being held accountable for student achievement" (Green, Baker, Oluwole, & Mead, 2015, p. 783).

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*.

Section I: The Separate-but-Equal Doctrine

The Supreme Court ruled in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) that a state law requiring separate-but-equal passenger train coaches for blacks and whites did not violate the Equal Protection Clause. Although states had the prerogative to separate the races, the Court maintained that they were constitutionally obligated to provide equality. However, in *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education* (1899), the Court ruled that the closing of the county's one black school while maintaining the school that white school children attended did not violate the separate-but-equal doctrine.

As the *Cumming* case suggests, the term "separate-but-equal" was inaccurate with respect to black schools. Southern states failed to provide equal resources to these schools after the *Plessy* and *Cumming* decisions (Green, Baker, & Oluwole, 2008; Margo, 1985). Table 1 presents an example of this disparity. This table provides estimates of black and white expenditures on per-pupil teacher salaries in average daily attendance (in 1890 dollars). As this table shows, between 1890 and 1910, blacks experienced a decrease in per-pupil expenditures and lost ground relative to whites in the length of the school year.

State	WEXP	BEXP	Ratio	WLT	BLT	Ratio
Alabama						
1890	3.14	3.10	1.01	70.4	75.1	0.94
1910	10.07	2.69	3.74	131.3	97.3	1.35
Florida						
1890	9.42	4.63	2.03	99.7	99.8	0.99
1910	11.58	3.11	3.72	112.4	90.8	1.24
Louisiana						
1890	5.85	2.92	2.00	86.8	89.5	0.97
1910	11.54	2.07	5.57	153.1	75.1	2.04
N. Carolina						
1890	2.71	2.74	0.99	60.5	62.6	0.97
1910	5.20	2.52	2.06	107.0	96.0	1.11
Virginia						
1890	7.08	4.93	1.44	115.1	123.7	0.93
1910	11.59	4.10	2.83	139.1	123.8	1.12

Source: Margo (1985, p. 9).
Note: Figures are weighted averages of county data. Weight = Average daily attendance in county/Total average daily attendance in state. Price index used to deflate expenditures is Burgess Consumer Index.
a. 1893-94 school year.
WEXP: expenditures on teacher salaries in white schools, per pupil in average daily attendance (1890 dollars).
BEXP: expenditures on teacher salaries in black schools, per pupil in average daily attendance (1890 dollars).
WLT: length of school year in days, white schools.
BLT: length of school year in days, black schools.

Southern states used a variety of strategies to create this inequality. At the beginning of the twentieth century, state aid was usually distributed to counties according to their total school population. County and school boards were then given complete discretion to disburse this aid to school districts. These boards used this discretion to fund black schools in an inequitable fashion (Bond, 1934; Harlan, 1968). For example, in 1896, a South Carolina statute declared that state funds to each district be distributed by a school's board of trustees. Harlan (1968) observed that this law

> gave considerable latitude to district trustees, and the "judgment" of the white trustees of black counties – those with Negro majorities – was not color-blind. Acting "for the best interests of the school district," they gave the white schools a large and increasing proportion of the district's share of the county school fund. The same "judgment" prompted them to use their Negro numbers to get their district a large and increasing proportion of the school funds of the county (p. 175).

Southern states also created racial funding inequity by using dual salary schedules, which explicitly paid black teachers less than whites (Baker, 1995). In the mid-1930s, the average black teacher earned 61% of the average white teacher (Baker, 1995). Although school authorities justified dual salary schedules on the ground that black teachers were not as well trained as white teachers, wage discrimination accounted for 80% of the salary difference between these racial groups (Baker, 1995).

For Latino students attending schools in the Southwest, separate-but-equal education came in the form of "Mexican schools" and segregated classrooms within white schools (Alvarez, 1986; Salinas, 2005; Valencia, 2005; Valencia, 2010). School officials not only justified this segregation because of their English deficiencies, but also because: (a) Latinos needed to be "Americanized" before being educated with white children; and (b) integration would impede the progress of white students (Alvarez, 1986). As was the case with black schools, segregated Mexican schools also received unequal resources. Valencia (2010) summarized several studies documenting the inferior conditions of Mexican schools. One such study contrasted the Mexican and white schools for Santa Paula, California that were built in the mid-1920s:

> The Mexican school enrolled nearly 1,000 students in a schoolhouse with eight classrooms (grades K-8) and contained two bathrooms and one administrative office. On the other hand, the Anglo school enrolled seven hundred students and contained twenty-one classrooms, a cafeteria, a training shop, and several administrative offices. In short, the Mexican school had a much higher student- per-classroom ratio and inferior facilities than the Anglo school (pp. 9-10).

Just like their black counterparts, Latino families challenged the separate-but-equal doctrine in the courts. In *Romo v. Laird* (1925), for example, a Mexican-American rancher who lived near Phoenix, Arizona sued to have his children attend a school designated for white children instead of the local Mexican school. The rancher claimed that Mexican school was inferior because it did not have certified teachers. Applying the separate-but-equal doctrine, the court agreed with the rancher and ordered his children to be enrolled in the white school (*Romo v. Laird*, 1925). However, this decision did not result in full-fledged desegregation of the students in the school because the school board responded by hiring certified teachers for the Latino school. In fact, the school board continued to segregate Latino children until the 1950s (Muñoz, 2001).

In *Alvarez v. Owen* (1931), a case popularly known as the Lemon Grove incident, Latino immigrants living in San Diego successfully challenged the implementation of the separate-but-equal doctrine. Prior to the incident, Mexican-American students had attended the elementary school in the Lemon Grove school district along with white students. In January 1931, the school's principal refused to allow the Mexican-American children to enter into the white school. Instead, he directed the children to a two-room building constructed to educate them. The parents organized a boycott because of the poor condition of the school, which they dubbed "La Caballeriza" (the barnyard) (Alvarez, 1986). The court ruled in favor of the children on the ground that state law did not permit the segregation of Mexican-American children.

By contrast, in *Independent School District v. Salvatierra* (1930-1931), a Texas court upheld a school district's segregation of Latino students in a Mexican school. Although the court agreed that the district could segregate the students "merely or solely because they were Mexican," the court upheld the segregation because of the students' language deficiencies (*Independent School District v. Salvatierra*, 1930). The Supreme Court refused to hear the case on appeal (*Independent School District v. Salvatierra*, 1931).

Section II: Black and Latino Education in California: Separate and Unequal

California's black and Latino students are experiencing an education similar to that provided during the separate-but-equal era. In *Westminster School District of Orange County v. Mendez* (1947), seven years before *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954), the United States Court of Appeal for the Ninth Circuit ruled that the education of Mexican American children in Mexican schools violated the Equal Protection Clause. *Mendez* had little impact on the segregation of Latino students because it only addressed the segregation of students who lived in the attendance areas of white schools. *Mendez* did not apply to "the rapid spread of de facto segregated Latino schools that were mushrooming as the Mexican American community" (Orfield & Ee, 2014, p. 11). The *Brown* decision also had little impact on school segregation in the state because it applied only to those states with laws requiring the segregation of black students (Orfield & Ee, 2014). The impact of *Brown* did not reach California until the 1970s when the Supreme Court applied its holding to Latinos in *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver* (1973). *Keyes* was still not significantly implemented because

of opposition from President Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan, who was the governor of California at the time (Orfield & Ee, 2014).

For a time, California's attorneys were more successful in state courts because of a state supreme court decision ruling that segregation violated the state constitution (Orfield & Ee, 2014). During the 1960s and 1970s, a few school districts implemented their own voluntary desegregation plans (Orfied & Ee, 2014). However, in 1979, the state's voters put an end to efforts to desegregate public schools through state law by passing Proposition 1, a state constitutional amendment that placed no obligation on school boards to go beyond the requirements of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment (California Constitution article I, section 7).

Consequently, California's black and Latino students are presently attending public schools that are both racially segregated and poor. The typical Latino student in California attends a school that is 84% nonwhite; three-quarters of the student's classmates are poor (Orfield & Ee, 2014). Black students on average attend schools that have more than 2.5 times as many Latinos as blacks, "thus making them a minority within a school dominated by another disadvantaged group" (p. 4).

The plight of black and Latino students in California is also similar to the separate-but-equal era in that their schools are receiving unequal resources (Oakes & Lipton, 2004). In *Serrano v. Priest* (1977), the California Supreme Court held that the school finance system violated the state's constitution by relying too much on local property taxation. In 1978, the state's voters responded by passing Proposition 13, a constitutional amendment that dramatically limited the ability of school districts to raise taxation for education (Fischel, 1996). Among other things, Proposition 13 limited the property tax rate to 1% of the property's assessed value and restricted annual increases to 2%. The amendment also required a two-thirds majority vote for any new tax increases (California Constitution article XIII).

As a result of Proposition 13, the state assumed the responsibility of financing education (*Campaign for Quality Education v. California*, 2016). In *Williams v. California* (2004), the plaintiffs alleged that the state had failed to provide poor school districts serving black and Latino students with "basic educational necessities," such as qualified teachers, appropriate facilities, and adequate facilities. This lawsuit led to a nearly $1 billion settlement in which the state was required to provide more funding for educational resources and facilities (*Williams v. California*, 2004).

In *Robles-Wong v. California* (2011), the plaintiffs claimed that California had failed to provide students a constitutionally adequate education as measured by state accountability standards. The plaintiffs alleged that the state's failure to satisfy its constitutional duties had an even greater impact on its black and Latino students. In 2008-09, 50% of the state's students were proficient in English/Language Arts; only 37% of California's black students, and 36% of Latinos achieved this level (Complaint for Declaratory and Injunctive Relief, 2010). While 46% of the state's students reached proficiency in math, only 30% of black students and 36% of Latinos were proficient (Complaint for Declaratory and Injunctive Relief, 2010). However, the state supreme court upheld an appellate court's holding that the state constitution did not guarantee a right to an education of "some quality" (*Campaign for Quality Education v. State*, 2016).

In 2013, the state Legislature addressed its highly inequitable funding system by enacting the Local Funding Control Formula (LCFF) (California Education Code § 42238.02, 2018). The LCFF provides a supplemental grant to districts based on their population of English learners and low-income students. The LCFF also provides a concentration grant to school districts with more than 55% of these students. When the LCFF is fully funded by the 2019 fiscal year, California will have increased K-12 funding by $18 billion (Johnson & Tanner, 2018). Johnson and Tanner (2018) found that these increases in district revenue have had significant impacts. A $1,000 increase in per-pupil revenue for grades 10-12 resulted in a 5.3% increase in high school graduation rates. Similarly, this $1,000 increase in state revenue led to a 5.3% increase for black children and a 4.5% increase in Latino children. The authors of this study also found that a $1,000 increase in per-pupil revenue resulted in particularly strong gains in mathematics achievement for low-income students. This latter finding is significant for black and Latino students because they tend to be educated in schools with high concentrations of poor students (Orfield & Ee, 2014).

Section III: Can California's Charter Schools Become the New "Separate-But-Equal" Schools of Excellence?

The previous section explained how California's black and Latino children have for generations attended public schools that are both segregated and unequal. By implementing the LCFF, the state might finally address the inequality issues experienced by these students. Charter schools have also been touted as a vehicle for improving the education of the state's black and Latino students (Moreno, 2016; Tillotson, 2016). In 2017, there were 1,275 charter schools in the state educating about 630,000 students (California Charter Schools Association, n.d.). The racial composition of black and Latino students in charter schools appears to be similar, on average, to traditional public-school districts. According to the California Charter Schools Association (n.d.), black students made up 8% of the state's charter school enrollment and 5% of the state's traditional public-school enrollment in the 2016-17 school year. Latino students comprised 51% of the charter school population as compared to 55% in the state's traditional public-school districts (California Charter School Association, n.d.). A nationwide analysis of charter school segregation conducted by the Associated Press (AP) corroborates this finding. The AP found that the racial composition of California's charter schools reflected that of the state's traditional public schools (KPCC, 2017).

Hale (2017) argues that black support of charter schools has its roots in black people's struggle for quality schooling during the separate-but-equal era. He states that "[e]ducation history suggests that current privatization of charter-school laws allow for communities to gain control of public schools much like the civic leaders were forced to do during the era of segregation" (Hale, 2017). Black parents who are supporting charter schools are acting in a manner similar to the movement for community-controlled schools during the separate-but-equal era: they are seeking "a quality education through self-determination" (Hale, 2017). Many Latinos share a frustration with traditional public schools and see charter schools as a way to take control of their education (Yanar, 2016).

Charter schools might also enable black and Latino parents and communities to create successful schools that overcome the obstacles of segregation and funding inequality. In fact, scholars have identified several examples of black schools that achieved this feat during the separate-but-equal era (Joyner, 2013, p. 162; Jones, 1981; Jones, 1982; Siddle Walker, 1996; Sowell, 1976). For example, Sowell (1974) documented the case of Dunbar High School, an academically elite, all-black public high school in Washington, DC. During an 85-year period (1870-1955), most of the school's graduates went to college at a time when most Americans did not do so. Dunbar graduates attended such prestigious colleges as Harvard, Amherst, and Oberlin – many attaining academic honors. Dunbar attained this impressive record even though substantial numbers

of its students came from low-income backgrounds, and the school "was part of a segregated system, administered by whites at the top and perennially starved for funds" (p. 9).

Jones (1981, 1982) chronicled the success of another Dunbar High School, which was the only black public high school in Little Rock, Arkansas from 1930 to 1955. She estimated that 30% of the school's graduates earned bachelor's degrees in the early 1950s. By contrast, according to the 1960 U.S. Census – which would have included Dunbar's last graduating class – only 4.1% of blacks and 11.9% of whites had earned a four-year college degree (Jones, 1982).

These separate-but-equal schools of excellence had several defining characteristics. First, they had high-quality teachers and administrators (Joyner, 2013; Siddle Walker, 1996; Sowell, 1976). Because of segregation, there were few options for black professionals. As a result, these schools attracted administrators and teachers from prestigious schools like Amherst, Columbia, Dartmouth, and Harvard (Joyner, 2013; Siddle Walker, 1996; Sowell, 1976). Second, the teachers and administrators of these schools viewed their role as doing more than merely imparting subject matter. They also assumed the responsibility of preparing students for the racism and discrimination that they would experience as adults in a segregated society (Joyner, 2013; Siddle Walker, 1996).

Third, the schools' educators created a strict but caring learning environment for their students (Siddle Walker, 1996; Sowell, 1976). They were strict disciplinarians who made sure that students stayed focused on the task of learning. This approach was necessary because of the large class sizes. However, teachers took the time to check in with students who were disengaged to make sure they developed a positive attitude toward learning (Siddle Walker, 1996). Teachers and administrators also made themselves available outside of class (Jones, 1981; Siddle Walker, 1996). For instance, they provided counseling when students had problems at home (Jones, 1981; Siddle Walker, 1996). Teachers and administrators drove students to cultural events and helped them develop an interest in community involvement (Jones, 1981: Siddle Walker, 1996; Sowell, 1976). They even provided clothing and money to poor students who were short on money for lunch or supplies and worked to get students scholarships to attend college (Siddle Walker, 1996; Sowell, 1976).

Finally, these schools and their communities had a shared sense of duty between the school and the community. This communal spirit usually came in the form of fundraising. Fundraising was necessary because there would be no schools, facilities, books, or other materials in its absence (Anderson, 1988; Siddle Walker, 1996; Sowell, 1976). Teachers and administrators worked primarily with parent teacher associations (PTAs) to meet the resource needs of these schools (Joyner, 2013; Siddle Walker, 1996).

Charter schools might provide black and Latino parents, community members, and educators a mechanism through which they can work together to recreate the exemplary schools of the separate-but-equal era. In California, the West Oakland Community School (WOCS) shows how this process could work. This Afrocentric school, which opened in 1999, focused on college preparation, community building, and leadership development (Stuhlberg, 2015). The founding group for this school –which was almost entirely black – consisted of teachers, administrators, youth program founders, researchers, parents and community advocates (Stuhlberg, 2015). Tillotson (2016), one of the founders of the school captured the shared educational commitment of the school's creators in the following quote:

> These were a bunch of Black folks and some honorary Black folks sitting around tables in West Oakland trying to figure out how we can save our kids in the face of a system that was failing them (Tilltotson, 2016).

Section IV: How Might California's Charter Schools Create an Educational Environment That Is Worse Than Plessy?

Although charter schools provide California's black and Latino communities the opportunity to create new separate-but-equal schools of excellence, they also have the potential of creating an educational environment for these communities that would be even worse than *Plessy*. During the separate-but-equal era, schools and communities worked together to provide an education to their students. By contrast, outside entities are now seeking to authorize or operate charter schools in California's black and Latino communities. Some of these entities place financial gain above providing a quality education. If these outside organizations are allowed to develop charter schools without any restrictions, they may create a parallel system of schools that drain the resources from the traditional public-school systems that serve black and Latino communities – which are already underfunded (Black, 2017).

In 2017, the California Supreme Court appeared to close one route that outside entities used to establish

charter schools in black and Latino communities at the expense of their traditional public-school systems: resource centers for non-classroom based independent study programs (A*nderson Union High School District v. Shasta Secondary Home School*, 2016-2017). In 2016, there were more than 275 such charter schools throughout the state; 46% of their students were black or Latino (Magee, 2016). These schools were frequently located in "office buildings, strip malls, and even former liquor stores" (Strauss, 2016a). Urban districts objected to the proliferation of resource centers in their borders because they made it difficult for district administrators to plan and budget (Deerfield, 2017).

Rural school districts fueled the growth of these resource centers to generate revenue for themselves from the authorization fees, even though the students were not in the authorizers' districts (Strauss, 2016b). In turn, these authorizers hired education management organizations (EMOs), which are nonprofit or for-profit entities that provide educational services to charter schools, to manage these resource centers (Strauss, 2016a). The authorizers and the EMOs often did a poor job managing these charter schools. Desert Sands Charter School, a resource center with an enrollment of 2,000 students, is an example. The graduation rate of this almost all-Latino school was abysmal. In 2015, the four-year graduation rate of this school was only 11.5%. Even worse, more than 42% of the students who should have graduated that year completely dropped out of school (Strauss, 2016b). In 2016, a state appellate court ruled that the establishment of resource centers outside of the boundaries of the authorizing district violated the charter school law – a decision which the state supreme court declined to review (*Anderson Union High School District v. Shasta Secondary Home District*, 2016-2017).

EMOs are also engaging in another scheme – which is legal – that might deleteriously impact the resources available to the traditional public-school districts that educate black and Latino school children: the use of public funding to purchase charter school buildings (Lafer, 2017). Thus far, charter schools have received more than $2.5 billion in tax dollars and subsidies to lease, build, or buy school buildings through the Charter School Facility Grant Program. This program permits charter schools to be reimbursed up to 75% for facilities (4 California Code of Regulations § 10170.4(d), 2018; Lafer, 2017). Charter schools qualify for this grant if at least 55% of the school's student body qualifies for free or reduced-price meals (4 California Code of Regulations § 10170.3(d), 2018).

The charter school facilities financing program could negatively impact the education that EMOs provide for their students. This concern arises from the concern that EMOs and their related entities can enter into leasing agreements with their charter schools, which are paid through public funds (Green, Baker, & Oluwole, 2017). Charter schools in other states have spent up to 40% of their public funding on rent, which creates tight budgets for educational necessities such as textbooks (Green, Baker, & Oluwole, 2017). The regulations for the Charter School Facility Grant Program do not include requirements that charter schools be charged fair market rates (Lafer, 2017).

Charter school construction financing can also weaken the quality of education provided to black and Latino children by causing too many schools to be opened in their school districts (Lafer, 2017). Traditional public-school districts have to establish a need for additional class space before they can qualify for construction funding. By contrast, charter schools do not have this restriction. As a result, EMOs have frequently built charter schools in districts that already have enough seats for their student population (Lafer, 2017). This practice is disturbing because school funding is provided on a per-pupil basis. Lafer (2017) explains the danger in the following manner:

> [W]hen there are too many schools for the student population, many schools may lack the funding to support building and administrative costs. In extreme cases, unregulated charter school growth can create a destructive climate where financially insecure schools raid each other for students and funding (p. 19).

The authors of this article would also assert that charter school construction financing has the potential of creating a situation for California's black and Latino students that would be worse than *Plessy*. During the separate-but-equal era, the black community did not have to deal with an unregulated system of EMO-operated charter schools that were not concerned with the communities' needs. Even worse, as the *Robles-Wong* case suggests, the state has failed to provide an adequate education to their black and Latino students. While the LCFF provides some promise for poor school districts, there is no guarantee that this funding will continue. Unfettered charter school construction runs the risk of making this situation even more dire.

Conclusion

This article has argued that California's black and Latino children are being educated in public schools that are both segregated and unequal. In that respect, their experience is similar to the one received by black students in the aftermath of the *Plessy* case. If handled correctly, charter schools could provide a tool for the state's black and Latino children to create schools of excellence in this setting – just like in the separate-but-equal era. However, their unregulated nature could enable outside entities such as EMOs to create schools that drain resources from the traditional public-school systems, thus creating a situation that would be even worse than *Plessy*.

Because of this analysis of California's charter schools, the authors suggest that states enact the following safeguards to protect black and Latino communities. First, states should permit only school districts to be charter school authorizers. As the resource-center debacle shows, authorizers that are not under the control of black and Latino communities might be more interested in financial gain than in serving the educational needs of the students whom they are serving. Second, states should seriously consider banning EMOs from operating charter schools because of this same concern. Finally, states should allow school districts to base chartering decisions on the proposed schools economic impact on the districts' ability to serve all of their students. Communities that serve black and Latino communities already have limited resources. California's experience with charter school construction financing suggests that if districts do not have the power to accept or reject charter schools, they might proliferate in ways that will further financially compromise these districts.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Joseph Oluwole is an Associate Professor at Montclair State University. He has published several articles analyzing laws and policies affecting education and regularly presents at various national venues.

Preston Green is a professor of educational leadership and law at the University of Connecticut. Dr. Green's research focuses on legal issues surrounding educational access and school choice.

REFERENCES

Alvarez, R. (1986). The Lemon Grove Incident: The nation's first successful school desegregation court case. Journal of San Diego History, 32. Retrieved February 21, 2018 from http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/1986/april/lemongrove/.

Alvarez v. Owen, No. 66625 (Cal. Sup. Ct. San Diego Cnty. Apr. 17, 1931).

Anderson, J. D. (1988). The education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935. Univ of North Carolina Press.

Anderson Union High Sch. Dist. v. Shasta Sec. Home Sch., 208 Cal.Rptr.3d 564 (Cal. Ct. App. 3d Dist. 2016), rev. den'd (Cal. Jan, 18, 2017).

Baker, S. (1995). Testing equality: The national teacher examination and the NAACP's legal campaign to equalize teachers. History of Education Quarterly, 35, 49-64.

Black, D. (2017). Preferencing educational choice: The constitutional limits. Cornell Law Review, forthcoming, 1-54. Retrieved January 26, 2018 from https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3058266.

Bond, H. (1934). The education of the Negro in the American social order. Prentice-Hall: New York, NY.

Brown v. Board of Educ. of Topeka, Kan., 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

California Charter Schools Association. (n.d.). Growth and enrollment. Retrieved February 6, 2018 from http://www.ccsa.org/understanding/numbers/.

CAL. CONST. art. XIII.

CAL. CONST. art. I, §7.

CAL. EDUC. CODE § 42238.02 (West 2017).

Campaign for Quality Educ. v. California, S234901 (Cal., Aug. 22, 2016).

Complaint for Declaratory and Injunctive Relief, Robles-Wong v. California, No. RG10-515768 (Cal. Ct. App. May 20, 2010), https://www.csba.org/Advocacy/EducationLegalAlliance/ELAUpdates/~/media/CSBA/Files/Advocacy/ELA/2012_05_RoblesWongComplaint.ashx.

Cumming v. Richmond Cnty. Bd. of Educ., 175 U.S. 528 (1899).

Deerfield, N. (2017, April 19). From the editors – April 2017, on parachuting charter schools. Alianza North County. Retrieved February 9, 2018 from http://alianzanorthcounty.com/2017/04/19/from-the-editors-april-2017/.

Fischel, W. (1996). How Serrano caused Proposition 13. Journal of Law & Politics, 12, 607-36.

4 CAL. CODE REG. § 10170.3(d) (2018).

4 CAL. CODE REG. § 10170.4(d) (2018).

Green, P., Baker, B., & Oluwole, J. (2008). Achieving racial equal educational opportunity through school finance litigation. Stanford Journal for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, 4, 283-338.

Green, P., Baker, B, & Oluwole, J. (2017). Are charter schools the second coming of Enron?: An examination of the gatekeepers that protect against dangerous related-party transactions in the charter school sector. Paper to be published by Indiana Law Journal. Retrieved February 11, 2018 from https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2924886.

Green, P., Baker, B., Oluwole, J., & Mead, J. (2015). Are we heading toward a charter school "bubble"?: Lessons from the subprime mortgage crisis. University of Richmond Law Review, 50, 783-808.

Gross, N. (2017, February 8). The benefit of racial isolation: The charter schools praised by Education Secretary Betsy DeVos are notoriously segregated. In some cases, that's a benefit. The Atlantic. Retrieved February 7, 2018 from https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2017/02/the-benefit-of-racial-isolation/516018/.

Hale, J. (2017, January 18). The African American roots of Betsy DeVos's education platform: Expanded school choice is a continuation of forced self-determination. The Atlantic. Retrieved February 17, 2018 from https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2017/01/black-roots-school-choice/513569/.

Harlan, L. (1968). Separate and unequal: public school campaigns and racism in the Southern seaboard states, 1901-1915. Atheneum: New York, NY.

Independent Sch. Dist. v. Salvatierra, 33 S.W.2d 790 (Tex. Civ. App. 1930), cert. den'd, 284 U.S. 580 (1931).

Johnson, R., & Tanner, S. (2018, February). Money and freedom: The impact of California's school finance reform. Learning Policy Institute. Retrieved February 6, 2018 from https://learningpolicyinstitute.org/sites/default/files/product-files/Money_Freedom_CA_School_Finance_Reform_BRIEF.pdf.

Jones, F. (1981). A traditional model of black excellence: Dunbar High School of Little Rock, Arkansas: Howard University: Washington, DC.

Jones, F. (1982). Dunbar High School of Little Rock: A model of educational excellence. Phi Delta Kappan, 63, 541-42.

Joyner, S. E. (2013). The impact of positive role models of the successful African American male student's school performance (Doctoral dissertation, Capella University).

Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver (1973). Retrieved from https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/413/189/case.html

Koran, M. (2017, February 2). The learning curve: A local look at charters and segregation. Voice of San Diego. Retrieved January 24, 2018 from https://www.voiceofsandiego.org/topics/education/learning-curve-local-look-charters-segregation/.

Koran, M. (2016, December 14). In search of safe harbor, parents look beyond neighborhood schools. Voices of San Diego. Retrieved January 24, 2018 from https://www.voiceofsandiego.org/topics/education/in-search-of-safe-harbor-parents-look-beyond-neighborhood-schools/.

KPCC. (2017, December 3). The California schools where the kids are all the same race, all in one map. Retrieved January 27, 2018 from https://www.scpr.org/news/2017/12/03/78190/the-california-schools-where-the-kids-are-all-the/.

Lafer, G. (2017, April). Spending blind: The failure of policy planning in California school funding. In the Public Interest. Retrieved February 10, 2018 from https://www.inthepublicinterest.org/wp-content/uploads/FINAL_ITPI_SpendingBlind_April2017.pdf

Magee, M. (2016, November 29). Charter challenges appellate ruling to state supreme court. San Diego Union Tribune. Retrieved February 9, 2018 from http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/news/education/sd-me-charter-appeal-20161128-story.html.

Margo, R. (1985). Disenfranchisement and segregated schools: 1890: 1910. New York: Garland.

Moreno, S. A., & Slate, J. R. (2016). Differentiating charter from non-charter schools: A statewide investigation. The Online Journal of New Horizons in Education, 6(2), 12.

Muñoz, L. (2001). Separate but equal? A Case Study of "Romo v. Laird" and Mexican American education. Organization of American Historians, 15, 28-35.

Oakes, J., & Lipton, M. (2004). Schools that shock the conscience: Williams v. California and the struggle for education on equal terms. Berkeley Journal of African-American Law & Policy, 6, 152-76.

Orfield, G., & Ee, J. (2014). Segregating California's future: Inequality and its alternative 60 years after Brown v. Board of Education. The Civil Rights Project. Retrieved January 29, 2018 from https://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/segregating-california2019s-future-inequality-and-its-alternative-60-years-after-brown-v.-board-of-education/orfield-ee-segregating-california-future-brown-at.pdf.

Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

Romo v. Laird, No. 21617 (Az. Sup. Ct. Maricopa Cnty. Oct. 5, 1925).

Salinas, L. (2005). Latino educational neglect: The result bespeaks discrimination. University of Maryland Journal of Race, Religion, Gender and Class, 5, 269-324. Retrieved February 21, 2018 from http://digitalcommons.law.umaryland.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1084&context=rrgc.

Serrano v. Priest, 557 P.2d 929 (Cal. 1977).

Siddle Walker, V. (1996). Their highest potential: An African American community in the segregated South. University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill.

Sowell, T. (1974). Black excellence: The case of Dunbar High School. Public Interest, 35, 3-21.

Sowell, T. (1976). Patterns of black excellence. Public Interest, 43, 26-58.

Strauss, V. (2016a, September 28). Why California's charter school sector is called "the Wild West." Washington Post. Retrieved from February 9, 2018

from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/
answer-sheet/wp/2016/09/28/why-californias-
charter-school-sector-is-called-the-wild-
west/?utm_term=.cda866908cf3.

Strauss, V. (2016b, October 25). Why the shine is
off the charter school movement. Washington
Post. Retrieved February 9, 2018 from https://
www.washingtonpost.com/news/answer-sheet/
wp/2016/10/25/why-the-shine-is-off-the-charter-
school-movement/?utm_term=.cba8e0340b98.

Stuhlberg, L. (2015). African American school choice
and the current race, politics of charter schooling:
Lessons from history. Race and Social Problems,
7(1), 31-42.

Tillotson, D. (2016. September 8). Here's why I and
other black families support charter schools.
Education Post. Retrieved February 7, 2018 from
http://educationpost.org/heres-why-i-and-other-
black-families-support-charter-schools/.

Westminster Sch. Dist. of Orange Cnty. v. Mendez, 161
F.2d 774 (9th Cir. 1947).

Valencia, R. (2010). Chicano students and the courts:
The Mexican American legal struggle for
educational equality. New York University Press:
New York, NY.

Valencia, R. (2005). The Mexican American struggle
for equal educational opportunity in Mendez v.
Westminster: Helping to pave the way for Brown
v. Board of Education. Teachers College Record,
107, 389-423.

Williams v. California, No. 312336 Notice of Proposed
Settlement (Cal. Sup. Ct., Aug. 2004), http://
decentschools.org/settlement/Williams_
Highlights_April_2005.pdf.

Woyshner, C. (2009). The national PTA, race, and civic
engagement, 1897-1970. Ohio State University:
Columbia, OH.

Yanar, O. (2016, May 5). To our progressive friends:
There are communities of color that want charter
schools. Education Post. Retrieved February 22,
2018 from http://educationpost.org/progressives-
you-have-to-listen-to-the-communities-of-color-
that-want-charter-schools/.

BOOK REVIEW

A Smarter Charter: Finding What Works for Charter Schools and Public Education

Reviewed by Jasmine M. Nguyen, BA
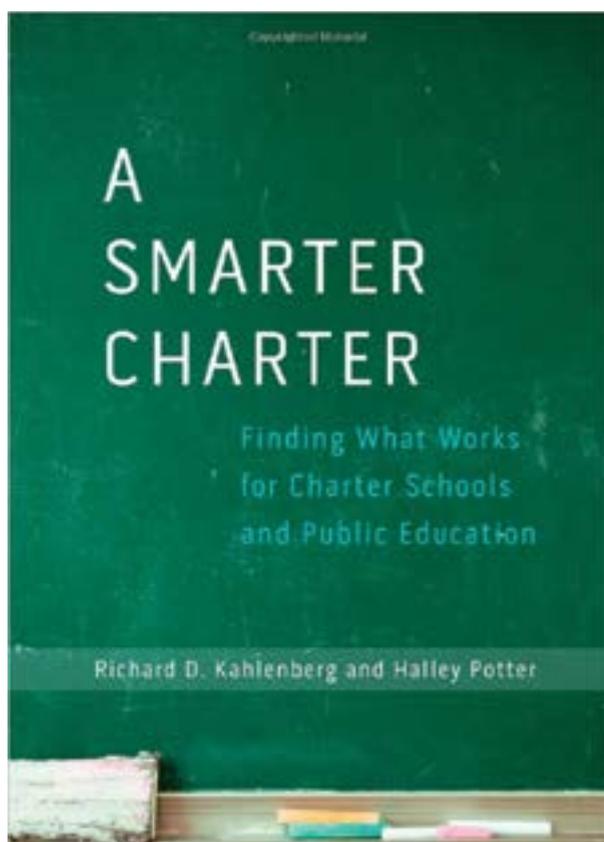
In April of 1983, the United States Department of Education declared the country as a "nation at risk" (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983). American students were underperforming students from across the globe, college aptitude assessment results were on a steady decline since the early 1960s, and almost 40% of the nation's seventeen-year old students were unable to make an inference from written text. This initiated a reform that called for an increase in government regulations in education. In 1988, Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) addressed the teachers of America with a proposal – a new school plan.

Introduction

A Smarter Charter: finding what works for charter schools and public education, reiterates a call for education reform on behalf of two unwavering advocates who polish the original vision of the late president of the AFT, Albert Shanker, as it applies to both charter and public-school settings. Educators, researchers, policymakers, and students interested in the topic will find this resource a refreshing departure from the often-split charter school debates. The authors promote productive solutions to existing problems rather than simply scrutinize the mere existence of charter schools (Rizzolo, 2016). The details include examples of both charter school successes and failures, and readers gain insight from in-depth interviews with experts in the field as they discuss the context behind mechanisms successful charters are implementing. The authors propose that such insight could potentially address ongoing concerns across both charter and public education systems. Ultimately, the authors hope to instill a message of partnership amongst educators in the various settings, while addressing pressing issues

within the charter arena.

As esteemed fellows of the Century Foundation, a progressive think-tank, authors Richard Kahlenberg and Halley Potter display their knowledgeable backgrounds within the realm of charter schools by respectfully bringing us back to 1988, when Shanker made prominent waves in education reform by paving the way for charter schools. Distinguished by his various publications about democratic principles, school diversity, and labor rights, Kahlenberg is noted as "the intellectual father of the economic integration movement" and "chief proponent of class-based affirmative action in higher education admissions" (The Century Foundation, 2018). Potter, a summa cum laude graduate from Yale, includes her perspectives from first-hand experience as a charter school teacher in Washington D.C. A commendable read, the contents of the book are both informative and provocative. With this in mind, the reader must remain open to discourse around the current charter climate meant to stimulate meaningful discussion, even though it may not adequately articulate every issue recognizable by veteran educators.

Critical Evaluation

The authors summarize Shanker's new school plan through three primary attributes:

1. A "laboratory school" – to promote the experimentation of pedagogical practices that were not restricted by the complexities of learning (Kahlenberg & Potter, 2016, p. 1);
2. "Teacher Voice" – teacher-led unions should continue to empower teachers as significant contributors to the teaching and learning processes (Kahlenberg & Potter, 2016 p. 8);
3. Ethnic and Socioeconomic Diversity – the learning environment should be all inclusive and promote ethnic and socioeconomic diversity (Kahlenberg & Potter, 2016).

The original intent of Shanker's school plan was to address the needs of students who struggled in the traditional educational setting. The charters were meant to be schools of choice for both teachers and students in the promotion of self-agency and self-attributed success. (Kahlenberg & Potter, 2016). Shanker's charter school model has since grown yet dramatically shifted away from the principal attributes identified by the authors. Throughout the text, however, the authors echo his altruistic vision and remain optimistic. Kahlenberg and Potter provide a detailed overview of the three features before they delve into the disappointments Shanker observed towards the end of his advocacy. This recount is

detailed through descriptions of the ineffective practices found across the growing number of underperforming charter schools.

As their analysis unravels, the author criticism revolves around the impact of the complete removal of or forceful limitations posed on the existence of teacher-led unions in the charter school setting. Teachers were no longer empowered to support a laboratory model, and integration was no longer a priority. The authors' focus on the loss of the laboratory model and exclusionary practices clearly validate Shanker's shift against a new charter school movement towards privatization. There is, however, limited clarity behind the idea of choice – particularly why teachers would choose to work within a system that does little to promote innovative pedagogical practices, limits teacher empowerment, and promotes the exclusion of ethnic and socioeconomic diversity.

Laboratory Model and Teacher Voice.

Shanker originally saw the combination of a laboratory or experimental model with the backing of a solid union as a unified force to advance collaborative efforts towards the growth of effective pedagogy. These efforts would not only involve charter school teachers but educators from all educational institutions, at various levels, with the soul intent to apply successful outcomes in the public sectors and improve public education nationwide. Once teacher-led unions were eliminated, however, non-union charters took advantage of selective hiring and firing processes that now left teachers at-will. These charters claimed that such practices allowed them to maintain the quality of teachers at their school sites. On the contrary, Shanker's support of teacher-led unions was based on the need to ensure support for teachers in their endeavors to generate and foster new ideas that would have a direct impact on pedagogical practices in the classroom. He argued that the presence of a teacher-led union sanctioned negotiations to ensure fair wages, "reduced class size, more professional development, and strong discipline" that empowered teachers to work more creatively and productively (Kahlenberg & Potter, 2016, p. 22).

Kahlenberg and Potter reference data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics to support the fact that the majority of public school teachers belong to a union (Kahlenberg & Potter, 2016). Union membership ensures longevity to gain the experience necessary in the development of an effective teacher. In fact, the anti-union sentiment amongst newly established charters continues to bring reasonable opposition

from teacher-led unions within the public-school system. The impact of this opposition, however, has deterred collaborative efforts amongst educators within the charter and public-school systems, and this is what stunted Shanker's experimentation with creative learning in the laboratory school model.

The authors note that there is little research on the relationship between the presence of a teachers' union and student outcomes. They do, however, include context within case-studies of charter schools in Chicago and Washington D.C. to illustrate how unpleasant anti-union environments can be. In other words, without union backing, teachers were silenced, and an array of issues arose such as high teacher turnover, direct hostility from administrators, and inadequate pay. The new charter movement led to the eventual loss of the initial goal for teachers to have academic freedom to educate students through innovative means within experimental laboratory schools (Kahlenberg & Potter, 2016).

Racial and Socioeconomic Diversity.

Kahlenberg and Potter also divulge the loss of integrated diversity within charter schools. They cite numerous studies and notable historical court cases that illustrate democratic ideals working to maintain the improvement of American education (Kahlenberg & Potter, 2016). Shanker's outspoken "democratic liberalism" took root during his upbringing in New York City public schools, where he attended alongside many immigrant classmates (Chenoweth, 2017). He argued that the new movement of commercialized charters pushed unwarranted agendas as they enhanced enrollment criteria that required parents to jump through several hoops just to enroll their children. Limitations based on religious affiliation, racial identification, or participation in a lottery system allowed charters to be more exclusive rather than inclusive (Shanker, 1988).

Charters are more frequently designed to be for-profit and privately funded. Although many publicly express an intent to reach out to underrepresented subgroups, most actually segregate students based on exclusionary enrollment requirements and/or mandated parent-volunteer commitments that charters endorse. Charters that do enroll higher percentages of underrepresented students experience what is commonly referred to as white flight. White flight is best known as a social phenomena wherein Caucasian groups relocate from an area usually based on its racial composition (Crowder and South, 2008). Kahlenberg and Potter point out trends of white flight in states like

Minnesota where significant statistical data indicated that "8.6% of charter schools did not report data on the number of students eligible for free and reduced-price lunch in 2009-2010" (Kahlenberg & Potter 2016, p. 56). The concern suggests that a large number of charter schools may be purposefully not enrolling underrepresented student populations of in their areas.

Charters that do not integrate racially and/or socioeconomically diverse students pose the argument that "at-risk" or "niche" schools already exist for those who were oppressed or ignored in public schools (Kahlenberg & Potter 2016, pp. 18-19). One example of an ethnic niche-based charter is the chain of Knowledge is Power Program (KIPP) schools. In their marketing, KIPP highlights having a "95% African-American or Latino student population" (Kahlenberg & Potter 2016, p. 21). While the authors respectfully praise these charters for positive intentions to serve underrepresented groups, they maintain that many are actually negatively encouraged by market-driven motives. Such motives are further enhanced by private sponsors who favor profit over student success and the fostering of quality educators.

Kahlenberg and Potter insist that, because students feed-in from various locations, "charter schools should not mechanically mirror the background residential segregation in neighborhoods; instead, they should aspire in most cases to reflect the socioeconomic and racial makeup of a metropolitan region" (Kahlenberg & Potter, 2016, p. 49). This would allow for the integration of a more diverse student population, and the authors provide evidence in support of the concept that higher rates of integrated diversity can lead to improvements in student achievement. This insight strengthens the authors' argument to wholeheartedly promote racial and socioeconomic diversity in all classrooms across the charter and public-school systems.

Summary

Kahlenberg and Potter make reference to the Coleman Report of 1966, research by Douglas Harris (2007), and statistics from the 2011 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), amongst others, that each include findings in support of the positive impact of integrated schools. The authors highlighted a number of schools that were able to promote teacher voice and/or student diversity and pointed out a few that were succeeding at both. For example, at City Neighbors Charter School teachers

instill democratic values across the curriculum. At High Tech High teacher voice is supported through strong unionization, and student diversity is viewed as a cornerstone to improving student success rates in higher education and beyond (Kahlenberg & Potter 2016, p. 159). The latter half the of the book highlights continued efforts on the part of some charter schools

Teacher Voice	1. Amber Charter School
	2. Avalon School
	3. Green Dot Public Schools
	4. IDEAL School
	5. Minnesota New Country School
	6. Springfield Ball Charter School
Teacher Voice and Intentional Student Diversity	7. City Neighbors
	8. High Tech High
	9. Morris Jeff Community School
Intentional Student Diversity	10. Blackstone Valley Prep Mayoral Academy
	11. Capital City Public Charter School
	12. Community Roots Charter School
	13. DSST Public Schools
	14. E.I. Haynes Pubic Charter School
	15. Larchmont Charter School

to exemplify the qualities of experimentation, teacher representation, and integration, which Shanker originally envisioned. The authors address these three features throughout the book, and they amplify the need to adopt these values within the currently existing charter schools and across public schools that have survived the numerous closures over the past two decades.

Disciplinary Research Methods of Synthesis and analysis.

Various profiles of fifteen charter schools are displayed in the appendices of the book as additional resources for analysis, but they are admittedly less detailed in the concrete processes behind their experiments:

Nevertheless, their success may be further supported by evidence of collaborative efforts to establish strong partnerships amongst educational entities – charter and public-school systems. In the case study of a partnership between an urban charter high school and an urban Northeastern university,

collaborative efforts led to the identification of recommendations to address student attentiveness, participation, and the effects of relationships with peers, educators, and loved ones (Morales, 2017). To improve student success within charter and public-school systems, the study served as a model on how to take-on responsibility for site-based faults and be proactively empathetic towards and accountable for the students and families that a school site serves. Overall, this book is a grand push and noble effort in support of collaboration across all school partners, public and private alike, throughout all levels of instruction. This thoughtful collection of information is valuable to those who wish to lend their time to promulgate strengthening the foundation of a progressively diverse public education system across the United States.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Jasmine Nguyen is an Institute for Education Sciences Pathways Fellow with a B.A. in Sociology and a minor in Education from Sac State. She conducts research to improve institutional effectiveness in California Community Colleges through the Education Insights Policy Center.

REFERENCES

The Century Foundation (Ed.). (2018). Experts. Retrieved March 24, 2018, from https://tcf.org/experts/

Chenoweth, E. (2017, April 05). Democracy's Champion: Albert Shanker. Retrieved March 18, 2018, from https://freedomhouse.org/blog/democracy-s-champion-albert-shanker

Crowder, K., & South, S. J. (2008). Spatial Dynamics of White Flight: The Effects of Local and Extralocal Racial Conditions on Neighborhood Out-Migration. American Sociological Review, 73(5), 792-812. doi:10.1177/000312240807300505

Kahlenberg, R. D., & Potter, H. (2014). A smarter charter: Finding what works for charter schools and public education. New York: Teachers College Press.

Morales, E. (2017). Generating Academic Urgency Through Improved Classroom Management: A Case Study of a University and Urban Charter High School Partnership. Educational Research Quarterly, 41(2), 25-42.

Rizzolo, A. (2016, November 29). Understanding the Debate On Charter Schools: A Nonpartisan Perspective. Retrieved March 23, 2018, from https://www.publicagenda.org/blogs/understanding- the-debate-on-charter-schools-a-nonpartisan-perspective

Shanker, A. (1988, March 31). Albert Shanker, President, American Federation of Teachers. Speech presented at National Press Club, Washington, D.C.

National Commission on Excellence in Education (1983). An open letter to the American people: A nation at risk: The imperative for educational reform: A report to the nation and the Secretary of Education, United States Department of Education. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office.

Call for Papers

SUBMISSION DEADLINE: OPEN SUBMISSIONS

About the Journal

Sponsored by the California State University's Chancellor's Office and the system's thirteen Education Doctorate programs, the Journal of Transformative Leadership and Policy Studies (JTLPS) publishes peer reviewed studies for the educational leadership and policy community in California and beyond. The focus is to advance our understanding of solutions to the problems faced by the nation's schools and colleges.

The Journal of Transformative Leadership and Policy Studies welcomes your submission of original research papers in the areas of educational leadership and policy in P-20 public education, including schools, community colleges, and higher education.

JTLPs showcases scholarship that explores:

* Learning, equity, and achievement for all students
* Managing the complexities of educational organizations
* Strategies for educators to affect the school change process
* Educational policies that bear on the practice of education in the public setting

Special Focus

* Educational Leadership and Policy Studies
* Implications of Common Core other organizational changes
* Submissions with STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) themes, including pedagogy, curriculum, leadership, policy, special education across P-20
* Timely and critical issues affecting schools, colleges, students, and their families

Genres

The Journal focuses on papers within the following genres:

* Empirical studies
* Concept papers grounded in empirical and scholarly literature
* Policy briefs
* Reflective essays on professional experience

Call For Papers

In line with our Journal's mission, we seek submissions that address the preparation and development of P-20 educational leaders. Manuscripts will be accepted on an ongoing basis.

For More Information

Journal of Transformative Leadership and Policy Studies - JTLPS

Sacramento State

Doctorate in Educational Leadership Program

6000 J Street, Sacramento, CA 95819

(916) 278-3464

jtlps@csus.edu

www.csus.edu/coe/jtlps

Call for Guest Editors

SUBMISSION DEADLINE: OPEN SUBMISSIONS

About the Journal

Sponsored by the California State University's Chancellor's Office and the system's thirteen Education Doctorate programs, the Journal of Transformative Leadership and Policy Studies (JTLPS) publishes peer reviewed studies for the educational leadership and policy community in California and beyond. The focus is to advance our understanding of solutions to the problems faced by the nation's schools and colleges.

The Journal of Transformative Leadership and Policy Studies welcomes your submission of original research papers in the areas of educational leadership and policy in P-20 public education, including schools, community colleges, and higher education.

JTLPs showcases scholarship that explores:

* Learning, equity, and achievement for all students
* Managing the complexities of educational organizations
* Strategies for educators to affect the school change process
* Educational policies that bear on the practice of education in the public setting

Special Focus of Guest Editorship may Include:

* Educational Leadership and Policy Studies
* Implications of Common Core other organizational changes
* Submissions with STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) themes, including pedagogy, curriculum, leadership, policy, special education across P-20
* Timely and critical issues affecting schools, colleges, students, and their families

Genres

The Journal focuses on papers within the following genres:

* Empirical studies
* Concept papers grounded in empirical and scholarly literature
* Policy briefs
* Reflective essays on professional experience

Call For Papers

In line with our Journal's mission, we seek submissions that address the preparation and development of P-20 educational leaders. Manuscripts will be accepted on an ongoing basis.

For More Information

Journal of Transformative Leadership and Policy Studies - JTLPS
Sacramento State
Doctorate in Educational Leadership Program
6000 J Street, Sacramento, CA 95819
(916) 278-3464
jtlps@csus.edu
www.csus.edu/coe/jtlps

Submission Guidelines

JOURNAL OF TRANSFORMATIVE LEADERSHIP AND POLICY STUDIES

Overview

JTLPS primarily publishes peer-reviewed empirical studies of interest to the educational leadership and policy community that advance our shared understanding of possible solutions to the many inequities present in America's schools and colleges. Our offerings are meant to help focus our distributed, collective actions to transform schools and colleges from places with uneven opportunities to learn from to institutions that provide an abundance of opportunities for all learners. We believe that leadership and policy are twin levers in the struggle for social justice. We are particularly interested in research into leadership in STEM education and plan to publish 1-3 articles per issue on this topic as a regular part of the journal. We invite submissions in the following genres: Empirical studies, concept papers grounded in empirical and scholarly literature, policy briefs, and reflective essays on professional experience. General guidelines regarding format must be applied to all submissions. Particular guidelines for empirical studies and for policy briefs are applied as appropriate. Independent of the genre selected for publication submission, all submissions will follow a strict peer review process. At the same time, every effort will be made to match topics with the expertise area of respective reviewers.

General Guidelines

Please read the general guidelines thoroughly. Articles will be accepted in the following format:

1. The submission file is in Microsoft Word.

2. Use 12-point Times New Roman or similar font.

3. Margins should be 1.0 inches on the top, bottom, and sides.

4. Include a title page with each author's name and contact information. (Please indicate the institutions and/ or grant numbers of any financial support you have received for your research. Also indicate whether the research reported in the paper was the result of a for-pay consulting relationship). If your submissions is derived from a paper you have published elsewhere please make that evident on your title page as well.

The Journal of Transformative Leadership and Policy Studies (JTLPs) is a peer-reviewed journal sponsored by the Doctorate in Educational Leadership Program at California State University, Sacramento. JTLPs accepts articles that focus on current research promoting and documenting work in P-16 public education, including: schools, community colleges, and higher education.

Address correspondence to:
Journal of Transformative Leadership and Policy Studies
Doctorate Program in Educational Leadership
Sacramento State
6000 J Street, MS 6079
Sacramento, CA 95819
Email: jtlps@csus.edu

5. Include an abstract of 175 or fewer words. The abstract should reflect the content and findings of the article and emphasize new and important aspects of or observations related to the study. In general, it should include information on the background or context of the study as well as the purpose(s), methods, results, conclusions, and policy and/or leadership recommendations.

6. Using the APA Style Manual, 6th edition, fully reference all prior work on the same subject and compare your paper to that work. In addition to referencing the work of other scholars, you should be certain to cite your own work when applicable.

7. Figures and Tables

• Please state the number of figures, tables, and illustrations accompanying your submission so that editorial staff and reviewers can verify their receipt.

• Where possible, supply figures in a format that can be edited so that we can regularize and edit spelling, the font and size of labels and legends, and the content and presentation of captions.

- Illustrations need to be of publishable quality as we do not have a dedicated graphics department.
- If you are submitting a figure as an image file (e.g., PNG or JPG), do not include the caption as part of the figure; instead, provide the captions with the Word file of the main text of your article.

8. We recommend short, effective titles that contain necessary and relevant information required for accurate electronic retrieval of the work. The title should be comprehensible to readers outside your field. Avoid specialist abbreviations if possible.

9. We publish a picture on the journal home page with each article. We encourage authors to submit their own digital photographs.

10. The submission has not been previously published, nor is it before another journal for consideration.

11. Where available, URLs for the references are provided.

12. Upon acceptance of the manuscript, all revisions must be made in 'Track Change Mode' when resubmitted.

General Guidelines

EMPIRICAL STUDIES

We are interested in submissions of academic studies of educational leadership consistent with quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods research designs. For our purposes, quantitative studies seek to examine, compare, describe, or discover relationships among variables through the analysis of reliable and valid numerical data. Qualitative studies seek to explore institutions, people, and their practices, activities, cases, social or cultural themes, or experiences to find meanings shared by participants in a setting; such studies rely on observations, interviews, document analysis, focus groups, and related data sources useful in interpreting local meanings. Mixed methods studies incorporate a quantitative phase and a qualitative phase orchestrated to provide the broades possible understanding of a phenomenon, problem, or case. In this section we present some guidance in the preparation of a manuscript for JTLPS. First, we discuss our assumptions about quantitative studies. Next, we outline our expectations for qualitative studies. Finally, we refer back to these guidelines as

> *Genre Guidelines govern specific instructions for the particular type of paper you are submitting. In general, JTLPs publishes three genre types:*
> 1. *Quantitative Studies*
> 2. *Qualitative Studies*
> 3. *Mixed Method Studies*

necessary and explain what we would like to see in a mixed methods study. Note that we ask our reviewers to read for these elements as they review and provide feedback on submissions.

QUANTITATIVE STUDIES

1. The introduction should state the research problem and justify its importance for an audience of school administrators, professors, other researchers, and policy makers. As a leadership and policy studies journal, we seek submissions for peer review that advocate for equity and social justice and focus on educational problems of impact on high-poverty, diverse learners. Readers should have a clear understanding early in the study of the key factors or variables causing or associated with the research problem and the posited relationship among those variables under study. These variables should constitute the set of factors measured during data collection. Additionally, these factors should be named in the research question(s).

2. The introduction should provide the theoretical perspective of the researcher(s) on previously published scholarship about the research problem and its key factors, including mention of established or emerging theoretical models or policy concepts. Extended discussion of the literature should not take place in the introduction, though collections of referenced authors in parentheses can be used assign posts for the discussion of the literature.

3. The introduction should include a statement of purpose that explains for the audience what the researcher(s) aim to accomplish by conducting and publishing the study. Again, as a policy studies journal, we welcome submissions that logically and cogently advocate for under served learners. To that end, the introduction should also include a carefully crafted research question(s) or hypothesis about the key factors in

the context of learning communities made up of high poverty, diverse learners.

4. Following the introduction, the discussion of relevant literature should make a theoretical argument for the importance of and relationships among the key variables and include current seminal empirical studies with a clear bearing on the research question and on the key factors, while engaging the readers in a critical analysis of these studies. A conceptual or theoretical framework should lead readers to a point of clarity about the logical reasons for selection of the research question(s) as the basis for data collection. We ask authors not to view the discussion of the literature in a quantitative report as they might traditionally view a full-blown review of the literature. Three critical elements we seek are currency, quality, and relevance of the studies discussed. Researcher(s) should assume the audience has non-expert knowledge of the topic and should therefore provide sufficient context for engaged readers to grasp the relevant meanings of concepts.

5. The methods section should fully explain the research design, i.e., everything connected with participants, interventions, instruments, chronology, and procedures for data collection and analysis. If human subjects are involved, readers should be provided with sufficient information to understand the nature of the population, sampling procedures employed if appropriate, criteria for inclusion and exclusion in the study, and any other information required to understand the study in its context. If a treatment is employed, it should be fully explained with attention to any ethical issues raised by the study. If instruments or surveys or other materials are employed, they should be fully explained. Planned statistical analyses should be described and explained with attention to how the analysis will answer the research question(s). Limitations and delimitations should be stated explicitly, using the terminology of threats to internal and external validity where appropriate.

6. The findings section should logically and sequentially address all research question(s) and/or hypotheses. Tables and Figures are used to contribute to the readability and comprehensibility of the report. Results of statistical tests or other analyses are explained and interpreted with sufficient background to make clear the connections between the results and the research questions.

7. The discussion section comments on conclusions drawn with regard to the research problem. The discussion should have a clear connection to the theoretical perspective and framework developed in the introduction and literature review. In this section researcher(s) should trace implications from the study with an eye toward alternative interpretations, make recommendations for action,. It is appropriate for reports published in JTLPS to argue for particular policy and leadership actions and strategies that are supported by findings as advocates for students. We encourage authors to be purposeful in taking a strong stance on the phenomena under study, when such a stance is supported by the study's findings.

QUALITATIVE STUDIES

1. Like quantitative studies, the introduction to a qualitative study should state the research problem and justify its importance for an audience of school administrators, professors, other researchers, and policy makers. As a leadership and policy studies journal, we seek submissions for peer review that advocate for equity and social justice and focus on educational problems of impact on high poverty, diverse learners. Unlike quantitative research, however, a research problem appropriate for qualitative study has not been theorized to the point that variables have been identified and defined; the need for the study derives from the need for clarity about the underlying concepts, practices, meanings, or variables involved in the problem. Alternatively, existing theory may be inaccurate, incomplete, or biased, and a need for exploration of such theory in practice invokes qualitative study.

2. The introduction should provide readers with a clear sense of any theoretical lens researchers are using to view the concept or phenomenon under exploration, e.g. critical race theory, funds of knowledge, distributed leadership models, etc. Often, qualitative studies are written from a first-person point of view, and readers are provided with insight into the experiences of the researchers that led to the study. In light of this personal stance toward the audience, writers should provide multiple reasons for the significance of the study vis a vis its contribution to existing scholarship, its potential to improve practice, or its potential to improve policy.

> *Quantitative studies seek to examine, compare, describe, or discover relationships among variables through the analysis of reliable and valid numerical data. Qualitative studies seek to explore institutions, people, and their practices, activities, cases, social or cultural themes, or experiences to find meanings shared by participants in a setting; such studies rely on observations, interviews, document analysis, focus groups, and related data sources useful in interpreting local meanings. Mixed methods studies incorporate a quantitative phase and a qualitative phase orchestrated to provide the broadest possible understanding of a phenomenon, problem, or case.*

3. The statement of purpose should include information about the central concept or phenomenon under study, the participants in the study, and the research site or context. Unlike quantitative studies where at least two variables are identified with the intention of comparing or relating them, qualitative studies focus on one central concept or idea as it plays out in a setting with participants going about their ordinary lives. One main purpose of qualitative research is to identify and explore concepts, factors, or variables (themes) emerging from the qualitative data and to develop insights that explain what these themes mean in the lives of the participants.

4. The introduction should conclude with the central question of the research followed by a limited set of subsidiary questions. The relationship between the central question and the chosen qualitative research strategy should be made explicit. For example, the ethnographic strategy is designed to explore meanings, beliefs, expectations, values, etc., of a group sharing a culture; the central question should focus on a group and shared culture. On the other hand, a phenomenological strategy is designed to produce a theory of the constituent parts of common individual experiences; the central question should focus on the individuals and the experience.

5. The methods section should identify, define, and document a recognized qualitative inquiry

strategy with a brief discussion of its history. Criteria for site selection and for purposeful sampling of participants should be clearly stated. Specific strategies for data collection should be mentioned with a rationale given for their use. Procedures and protocols for recording and organizing data during collection in the field should be described. Specific steps in data analysis should be described consistent with the qualitative strategy selected, including methods of coding. Elements in the research design that emerged during the fieldwork should be described. The role of the researcher should be thoroughly discussed, including personal experiences or connections with the site and/or participants. Checks implemented to ensure qualitative reliability and validity should be described.

6. The write-up of the findings should be consistent with the qualitative strategy. For example, narrative inquiry should include the presentation of an analysis of stories told by individual participants with appropriate quotes and chronologies. An ethnographic study should provide a detailed, thick description of life in a group that shares a culture. Tables, matrices, figures, and diagrams may be helpful in communicating findings. Unlike quantitative studies, which are often written in the third-person point of view, the findings section in qualitative studies can be written from the first-person point of view. Interpretations from the researcher(s) are often made as data are presented to help the audience grasp meaning as experienced by the participants in the setting.

7. The discussion section should be consistent with the qualitative strategy employed. For example, if the purpose of the study was to derive a grounded theory of a process or event from the fieldwork, the discussion should articulate this grounded theory and link it to previous scholarship. In almost all cases, the discussion should focus on recommendations to improve policy and/or practice as well as suggestions for future research directions.

MIXED METHODS STUDIES

1. The introduction to a mixed methods study should be consistent with the emphasis in the study. If the dominant phase of the study is quantitative, that is, if a central purpose is to explain the relationship between two or more

variables using measurements and statistical analysis, while the qualitative phase is follow up to explore the meanings of concepts for participants, the introduction should read like a quantitative introduction. If the dominant phase of the study is qualitative, that is a concept or phenomenon is explored to identify its parts/factors, while the quantitative phase is follow up to test any hypothesis that emerged during the qualitative phase, then the qualitative introduction is appropriate.

2. The mixed methods purpose statement should appear early in the study as a significant signpost for the reader. Because the study will report on two different designs with distinct inquiry strategies and research questions, readers will need to know quite clearly the rationale for integrating two designs in the study of one research problem. Readers also should be given a general overview of the procedures that were followed during the course of the study, including the timing and weighting of the two designs.

3. The methods section should begin with an overview of the design of the mix, that is, a general framework specifying when, how, and why each phase of the study was done. This overview should include an announcement of the way in which the data sets will be integrated. For example, a sequential mixed methods study with a dominant qualitative phase implemented first could be employed to discern a grounded theory of the variables important in setting; the findings from this phase might be used to develop a survey implemented to discern how widespread a particular practice or behavior is. All of the elements of the methods section in the single paradigm studies should appear in the methods section of a mixed methods study where there are two separate designs, which are connected in the end.

4. The findings section should present the data and its analysis in separate sections consistent with each paradigm. Visuals such as Tables and Figures should be displayed as appropriate for each paradigm. Integrated data analysis to show the convergences and tensions between the data sets should be presented.

5. The discussion section should clearly and explicitly explain the conclusions drawn from each of the separate designs as well as interpretations that emerge from mixing the

findings. As with all other discussions, this discussion should focus on recommendations to improve policy and/or practice as well as suggestions for future research directions.

TRANSFORMATIVE CONCEPT PAPERS GROUNDED IN EVIDENCE FROM SCHOLARSHIP, POLICY, AND PRACTICE

JTLPS seeks to publish concept papers developing a perspective on an issue or problem facing the K-12 or community college systems that analyze, discuss, and document evidence and theoretical arguments that support one or more critical recommendations for action. Such papers integrate and synthesize peer reviewed empirical studies conceptual or theoretical or philosophical articles, policy briefs, legal or historical texts, or other papers of policy or practice germane to the selected topic. The expectation is that these papers will adhere to APA Guidelines (6th edition) and will be accessible to a wide audience of academics, professionals, and practitioners. Although we would be interested in seeing concept papers on a variety of topics of current interest, we have a special interest in concept papers related to STEM education for diverse students. We want to offer papers that emerge from deep and careful reading and thinking about influential and significant texts and present an original perspective on the topic grounded in evidence and scholarship.

Evaluative criteria for transformative concept papers:

1. Coverage

2. Original Perspective

3. Mixed Methods Perspective

4. Scholarly and Transformative Importance

5. Rhetorical Effectiveness

Our reviewers will consider the following elements in making judgments about publishing submissions of transformative concept papers grounded in evidence from scholarship, policy, and practice.

1. **Coverage:** We consider a topic to be covered if the scholarly literature discussed in the paper is relevant, up to date, broadly based, and representative of the authoritative voices that have written on the topic. Authors must explain explicitly the direct connections between the sources discussed in the review and the perspective on the topic under development.

Although we expect authors to reference and discuss seminal works relevant to the topic regardless of the date of publication, we also expect authors to include the most up to date, cutting-edge literature with particular attention to current findings, conclusions, questions and challenges. A review that is broadly based includes references from across disciplines and research paradigms and arenas of policy and practice; the intent is to integrate sources in an innovative way that encourages our audience to push the boundaries from concept to action.

2. **Original Perspective:** We are very interested in concept papers that synthesize information and ideas in innovative and useful ways and point to and provoke future empirical study and/or action in policy and/or practice. While the concept paper is no place for unfounded opinions or biases, it is the place for reasoned and evidence-based argument, for taking a stance that acknowledges the strengths and limitations of available evidence, for careful judgments grounded in the views and evidence reported by other scholars, leaders, and policy analysts. Authors must accurately summarize the work of others as a way to report what others have said, but are obligated to compare and contrast, take issue or agree with what others have said, comment on the strength of the evidence. Consonant with the transformative purpose of the concept paper, our reviewers expect authors to enter the discussion as a full participant with a developed point of view.

3. **Mixed Methods Perspective:** We are especially interested in concept papers that attend explicitly to the methods researchers have implemented to study particular topics with commentary on the strengths and weaknesses of particular methodologies in regard to the topic. We encourage authors to search out any and all studies done using a mixed methodology and to comment on what and how the mixed methodology contributed to knowledge about the topic. If appropriate, authors may discuss insights into how the methods others have employed might be modified or combined to produce even more and better information.

4. **Scholarly and Transformative Importance:** We acknowledge that particular references within concept papers are more or less important for the topic at hand. We encourage authors to indicate their judgment of the level of importance

of particular papers or studies or sources of information to enable our readers to access these sources as follow up to their reading of the literature review. Our interest is in publishing literature reviews that provoke thoughtful action, ranging from motivating future empirical studies to informing policy debates.

5. **Rhetorical Effectiveness:** JTLPS seeks to publish papers of the highest quality in terms of writing and documentation. We invite submissions that are unified, organized, coherent, ordered, complete, and conventional regarding the APA Style Manual. The concept paper must have an introduction with a clear statement of the thesis or controlling idea. When a reader finishes the introduction, the reader ought to have a solid idea of the case the review will make, the organization of the material, and the direction of thought. The review must have a system of headings that provides a reader with clear signals to the structure and coherence of the ideas embodied in the text such that the reader can skim the concept paper, identify the main ideas, and search for connections among them within the paragraphs. The concept paper must have transitional statements and elements within and across paragraphs and sections of the paper as well as periodic summaries for the aid of the reader. The paper must be made up of complete, purposeful paragraphs arranged to develop the thesis, which are made up of grammatically and syntactically correct sentences with accurate and conventional spelling. Unlike a policy brief, a concept paper must be thoroughly documented so that a reader can trace the thoughts and words of others back to the source with no possibility of confusion between the words and ideas of the sources and the words and ideas of the authors.

> We are interested in publishing policy briefs that present the rationale for choosing a particular policy option related to a current policy debate in the K-12 or community college arena.

POLICY BRIEFS

We are interested in publishing policy briefs that present the rationale for choosing a particular policy option related to a current policy debate in the K-12 or community college arena. Our goal is to publish briefs that advocate for an immediate course of action likely to reduce inequities and enhance social justice for minority and high-poverty learners. The audience for the brief may be administrators or legislators, but the purpose is to convince the audience of the urgency of the problem and the intensity of the need for the particular action outlined. No longer than 3-5 pages, the policy briefs we want to publish are not academic papers fully documented with an extensive reference list. Instead, they are prepared for a busy reader who has to make a decision and needs an analysis of available evidence together with a reasoned recommendation. The following elements describe content that our reviewers will look for when they review submissions.

Evaluative criteria for policy briefs:

1. Introduction

2. Policy Options

3. Recommendations

4. Conclusion

5. Reference List

---

1. **Introduction:** The introduction should convince the target audience that an urgent problem exists. It should provide a succinct overview of the causes of the problem. It should include a map of where the argument will take the reader and explicitly state a thesis.

2. **Policy Options:** This section provides a brief overview of the policy options, including options that are currently in play if appropriate as well as options that others are proposing.

3. **Recommendations:** Authors should clearly and succinctly state their recommendations with an analysis of relevant evidence supporting the preferred option. Evidence should be drawn from research literature and other sources with in-text attributions, but the brief does not require APA-style documentation. Evidence should be analyzed and organized logically and succinctly.

4. **Conclusion:** The overall argument should be restated and summarized. Specific next steps or action should be detailed.

5. **Reference List:** Authors are not required to provide citations for all of the evidence consulted and/or discussed in the brief. However, well-chosen citations to sources of immediate importance to the audience can be provided along with annotations.

REFLECTIVE ESSAYS ON PROFESSIONAL LEADERSHIP AND POLICY EXPERIENCES

JTLPS is primarily interested in empirical studies, policy briefs, and concept papers, but we are also interested in publishing formal personal essays that give a voice to transformative educational leaders and policy makers with important stories to tell grounded in their personal experiences as professionals. We believe that even the highest quality empirical studies can never completely achieve their aims in the cauldron of living and breathing schools and communities without intelligent action, and action requires human beings to take the reins and follow a path to emancipation. To that end, we would like to publish reflective essays that provide our readers with insights into the lived experiences of leaders in the cauldron of real-world schools and colleges. Our reviewers will consider the following elements when making decisions about reflective essays.

1. **Professional Significance:** Authors of reflective essays have a powerful story to tell about a significant experience or set of experiences directly related to transformative educational leadership. Such significance does not always come from success, but may also come from failure to make a change. Regardless of the outcome of an initiative or a reform effort, the story is about the attempt to make the world more equitable and fair for diverse learners.

2. **Voice:** Authors of reflective essays may write in a highly formal style, or they may write in a more conversational style, but they always develop a recognizable voice that speaks directly to individual readers on a human level. It is this sense of the author's presence in the essay that permits readers with the opportunity to apprehend what it is really like to be on the front line of change in an educational system with well documented inequities.

3. **Ethical Stance:** Authors of reflective essays are fair to all of the individuals they name in their story. There is never an ax to grind or an individual to smear, though there may be heroes and villains. Authors are fully aware of their obligation to avoid slander and libel, diligent in avoiding malicious, false statements of a defamatory nature.

4. **High Quality Writing:** JTLPS wants all of its published pieces to reflect the highest standards of writing, but the reflective essay opens the door for authors to showcase their special writing style or talent. We would like to publish essays that can be studied not just for their substance, but also for their elegance and beauty. We invite authors to polish their essays as pieces of literature, pleasing to read as well as powerful in impact. Our reviewers will point out particularly well written passages and will also highlight awkward passages during the review process as a way to support in regard to this element.

Evaluative criteria for the reflective essay:

1. Professional Significance

2. Voice

3. Ethical Stance

4. High Quality Writing

CSU The California State University

WORKING FOR CALIFORNIA

JTLPS

Journal of Transformative Leadership and Policy Studies

SACRAMENTO STATE
Doctorate in Educational Leadership