

CSR Connection

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DEFINING, MEASURING AND SUPPORTING SUCCESS: MEETING THE CHALLENGES OF COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL REFORM RESEARCH

By Deborah Appelbaum and Terri Duggan Schwartzbeck

During the past decade, a new sense of urgency has propelled educators working in schools, districts and states to search for and implement more effective strategies to improve schools. Many believe that comprehensive school reform (CSR) holds real promise for improving schools, as many CSR programs, and the design models that support them, are based in research and have documented success. However, in the past year, there has been increased emphasis on CSR programs' evidence of effectiveness and scrutiny of CSR evaluations' degree of rigor. As a result, stakes are rising for those charged with improving schools through CSR, including model designers, who are increasingly asked to provide evidence that their strategies achieve results.

Within this environment, research on the outcomes of CSR models and programs becomes even more important. Questions underlying CSR evaluations—such as how success should be defined, what measures of success have been and should be utilized, and what the studies show—have come to the forefront. With these issues in mind, the National Clearinghouse for Comprehensive School Reform (NCCSR) and the Consortium for Policy Research in Education (CPRE) convened a meeting of a Network of Researchers (hence referred to as NOR or "the Network").

The Network was established to foster discussion and to build the knowledge-base among school reform researchers, practitioners, and policymakers. NOR includes national and

district-level researchers engaged in large-scale comprehensive school reform studies, as well as representatives from national organizations, practitioner organizations, regional educational laboratories, and the U.S. Department of Education.

On October 25–26, 2002, Network members gathered to consider what we know in CSR research, what we still need to learn, and to offer directions for the future. (See page 11 for a list of the meeting participants.) The meeting included opening comments from Arthur Gosling, NCCSR Director, who introduced the purpose of the Network; a presentation by Susan Fuhrman, Chair of the Management Committee for CPRE and Dean of the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania, who focused her comments on key research issues; an address by Russ Whitehurst, Assistant Secretary of the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Department of Education, who underscored the need for rigor in education research; and a presentation by Steven M. Ross of the University of Memphis on the reform story in Memphis. Subsequent conversation coalesced around the following topics:

- The goals for CSR and definitions of “success.”
- The methods of measuring success in a CSR context.
- The critical role of the district in the success of reform.

The following pages summarize the deliberations of the group. Where appropriate, readers are directed to one of the following three recently published NCCSR Research Briefs, products of the Network of Researchers conversations.

- Appelbaum, D. (February 2002). *The Need for District Support for School Reform: What the Researchers Say.*

- Schwartzbeck, T.D. (February 2002). *Choosing a Model and Types of Models: How to Find What Works for Your School.*
- Schwartzbeck, T.D. (February 2002). *Patterns in Implementing Comprehensive School Reform: What the Researchers Say.*



Defining Success – In the Eye of the Beholder?

Discussion centered on issues of who defines success and in what contexts. The following questions were considered:

- What are the contexts for definitions of success?
- How is success defined: by increases in student achievement, best practices, or fidelity to a model?
- What is “successful” practice of teaching, implementation and professional development in schools?

The Context of Success as Influenced by Differing Motivations for Reform

"Getting Off the List" versus Long-term Improvement

Many researchers noted that schools implement CSR with a variety of goals in mind. Some are striving for long-term change, while others are under pressure to rapidly improve student performance to quickly get off the low-performing schools list or to better their state or district rating. As Billie Hauser of AEL pointed out, "There is such a difference between bringing up test scores and reform." Steven Ross echoed this opinion, stating that the context of change—the reasons a school engages in CSR—often determines the school's definition of successful reform. "If you pick a model like Different Ways of Knowing, just for an example, what you are going to get is infusion of the arts into curriculum, integrated curriculum, more cooperative learning. Is that good teaching? I think that depends upon what the school wants. Another school might pick Direct Instruction, which is worlds away from a model that might involve cooperative learning. Is that better or worse? I don't think that that's a reasonable question. I think it's what the school is trying to achieve."

These motivations are often precursors to model selection and influence not only the definition of success, but also the ability to reach it. The importance of proper model selection, and how to assess model "fit," are addressed in NCCSR's brief, *Choosing a Model and Types of Models: How to Find What Works for Your School*.

Internal and External Pressure for School Change

Participants cited district pressure to link model objectives with standardized test

Steven Ross on "Learning Goals:" All models have "learning goals" that may not relate to standardized achievement scores—a truth that he feels is largely lost to the public and to policymakers who are always looking for the "bottom line." Co-nect, for example, has goals that "highly emphasize technology," and Expeditionary Learning Outward Bound's goals "highly emphasize cooperation, or respect for others, and different ways of knowing arts." In one University of Memphis study, researchers found that out of five inner-city Co-nect schools, three raised achievement, two did not, but every one of those five schools significantly increased the students' use of technology in very poor environments. "As a citizen and an educator," Ross maintained, "I thought that was good, and worth the price of the model. So, I think a lot has to do with the values of the consumer."

results as a significant influence on the definition of "success." Some researchers counseled caution in the use of district goals, such as enhanced student achievement, to delineate success, observing that too often, district pressure to raise student achievement undermines the implementation of the model. Districts often intend to stick to the model's objectives, but then pressure to increase student test scores causes them to unintentionally stray.

Another reason for caution is the tendency of district-mandated reforms to disappear with the advent of new leadership. Additionally, school staff members are often very resistant to mandated change. In contrast, when school staff "buy in" to reform, it is easier to maintain momentum. If the reform hits a stumbling block, for example, staff members are more willing to sustain their hard work when the program had their endorsement from the beginning. The following insert, *The Memphis Story*, presents a real-life illustration of the dangers of external pressure for reform:

The Memphis Story:

By 2001, national attention turned toward the outcomes of a few high-profile, districtwide CSR efforts, especially those in Memphis. Public attention focused on conflicting reports of effectiveness and the eventual collapse of CSR efforts there. Educators, researchers, and policymakers were confused, and asked for an explanation of what happened. Steven Ross presented his view of the events based on his research and experience with the Memphis Restructuring Initiative.

Ross tracked the evaluation of CSR in Memphis, beginning in 1995, when 34 of 165 Memphis City Schools adopted one of six New American School (NAS) CSR designs. By 1999, all schools had implemented a reform model, as Superintendent Gerry House expanded the reforms district-wide. During these “rise” years, as Ross referred to them, CSR efforts gave hope to staff in this high-poverty district. During the first few years, teacher buy-in for these reforms was very high. Ross found that teachers “saw a chance to transform; they saw positive attention.”

Using the School Observation Measure [(SOM)—A composite score resulting from structured 15-minute observations in a minimum of 10 classrooms per day], Ross and his team at the University of Memphis found changes in teaching, including more use of cooperative learning, projects, technology, and planning time, more focused class time and active learning. Student achievement also increased, as revealed by William Sanders’ value-added assessment work and the Tennessee Value-Added Assessment System (TVAAS), which Ross describes as measures using “more precise data” than mean percentiles. According to Ross, the CSR schools “got the best results they’d ever gotten in terms of moving kids ahead.” However, “exceptional gains of 1999 made it more difficult to show gains in 2000,” when the TVAAS results showed a significant drop in student gains.

By then, the political environment was changing dramatically. Both Superintendent House and Associate Superintendent Dale Kalkofen, big supporters of districtwide CSR, announced plans to leave the district. Enthusiasm for CSR dropped, particularly in later cohort schools—which were also more likely to have been high-performing prior to CSR or very low-performing with high teacher mobility and thus with limited capacity for whole-school reform.

New leadership in Memphis was not as supportive of CSR. When a district report on the restructured schools showed inconclusive results, all CSR programs were discontinued—despite protests from several principals who felt that CSR was making a difference for their schools. Later, the methodology of the district report was contested, and a review of this study conducted by Jim McLean of East Tennessee State University (funded by NAS) found that the Memphis study “underestimated model effects by not accounting for 40% or more student mobility” and “drew causal conclusions without a control group.”

For an in-depth look at the issue of district level involvement in reform, see *The Need for District Support for School Reform: What the Researchers Say*, an NCCSR brief.

Successful Practice

There are multiple ways to define successful practice. Some researchers look for fidelity in implementation to a given model, while others seek evidence of best practices in use in the school, while still others search for improvement in student achievement on standardized tests. Here's what the researchers had to say about successful practice with regards to teaching, implementation, and training methods:

Teacher Practice

Many of the researchers questioned the assumption that the behaviors or practices a model prescribes for teachers automatically constitute "good" practice. Nancy Doorey of Delaware's Brandywine Public School District, asked, "Is quality instruction fidelity to a particular curriculum, as clearly spelled out [by a model?] Is it certain attributes, such as rich discussions around student work? Or are you looking at student achievement, however you get there?" Some who are engaged in evaluating models tend to frame their research questions by looking for the elements that are prescribed by the model. For example, for Naida Tushnet of WestEd, who is studying Different Ways of Knowing, "fidelity to the model, not necessarily effective teaching" is important in her work. Other researchers think differently, but all agree that definitions of successful practice vary.

Confounding this issue is the debate over what in fact is "best." Many researchers questioned the reliability of many of the surveys and other instruments, because the "best practice" research on which they are based is itself controversial. Reflecting this skepticism, Ted Bartell of the Los Angeles Unified School District posed the question,

"How do you validate whether an instructional practice is sound or not?" According to Tushnet, the success Direct Instruction has had with teaching students to read, despite the fact that teacher-directed strategies are not generally considered "best practice," is a prime example of this dilemma.

"Is quality instruction fidelity to a particular curriculum, as clearly spelled out [by a model?] Is it certain attributes, such as rich discussions around student work? Or are you looking at student achievement, however you get there?"

— Nancy Doorey, Brandywine Public School District, Delaware

Teacher Training

Participants debated what the appearance of and goals for effective professional development are in a CSR context. Many felt that the most effective training incorporated subject-specific content knowledge. Betty Useem, who tracks the progress of the Talent Development High School (TDHS) program in Philadelphia for the Philadelphia Education Fund, observed that TDHS incorporates an in-classroom coach "who really takes teachers under his or her wing. We found that curriculum-specific, subject-specific professional development is the key. I interview these new teachers, and they say it really was a lifesaver for them. It's hard to imagine a comprehensive middle school model that doesn't provide this kind of intensive support, real hand-holding from day one, for these teachers, including providing them the materials."

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— Betty Useem, Philadelphia Education Fund

Other NOR members expressed reservations as to whether it is reasonable to expect models to expand teachers' content knowledge, given developers' limited involvement in schools. Some models, such as Talent Development, seek to expand teachers' content knowledge substantively. Other models view that task as beyond their capacity, opting instead to provide training to help teachers build upon their existing knowledge, with programs on topics such as lesson preparation and classroom management. It may be difficult, other participants argued, to make models responsible for the lack of teacher preparation in content areas. An area in which models could realistically participate would be providing schools with a framework for becoming "a community of practice," where the school staff members take ownership of their own learning and professional development.

Implementation Trajectories

Researchers' varying perspectives on the definition of successful implementation make comparing implementation, across models and studies, more difficult. Dan Aladjem of the American Institutes of Research (AIR) posed the question, "What do we mean by implementation? Are we

talking about fidelity implementation? Or are we talking about congruence to some form of best practices? If we're talking about that, then what are the best practices?" Clearly, the question of defining success in terms of best practices or in terms of fidelity is a critical issue that complicates the study of both changes in instruction and implementation patterns.

Measuring Success: Methods, Strategies, and Challenges

Once a common definition of success is established, measurement can commence. However, even with a definition in hand, how to measure success is a controversial question. The participants discussed measurement in the context of the following questions:

- Types of measurements: What are the benefits and limitations?
- Issues in measurement: How do we know CSR is working?

Types of Measurements

Researchers use a variety of methods to track the progress of CSR, including observation, teacher surveys, longitudinal studies, and benchmark tracking. A brief description of the researchers' experiences with each method follows.

Observation Measures

A few of the researchers examining changes in instructional practice used the School Observation Measure (SOM) developed at the University of Memphis. The SOM involves a structured 15-minute observation in a minimum of 10 classrooms per day. Rather than reporting individual classroom observations, the observations

are compiled to present a “snapshot” of a day in the life in the classroom or of the whole school. Ross called the SOM “a practical instrument for getting valid impressions of what’s going on in the school, an instrument that doesn’t require years of training.” Barbara Davis of SERVE, who uses the measure, added, “If you go into one classroom where there is really no instruction going on, that would not cloud the SOM at the end of the day, but if you saw that repeated throughout the day, then it would eventually show up on this form.”

Value-Added

Another measure that CSR researchers use is the Tennessee Value-Added Assessment System (TVAAS), which assigns a score to each teacher, based on how much that teacher’s students gained, from one academic year to the next, on standardized tests. “From a research point of view,” according to Ross, “the TVAAS gives a very precise measure of how much a given teacher changed performance, and since it’s a gain score, it’s not correlated with socioeconomic status or prior achievement, which is very valuable to have.”

Surveys

While the majority of the studies utilized some form of a teacher survey, there was skepticism from the group as to the reliability of that method. An inconsistency between teachers’ self-reporting and actual performance was the concern. “In general,” Davis found, “teachers tend to self-report very highly on any of the surveys and interviews. But when we triangulate against what we saw in the observations, we see teacher-centered direct instruction, independent student seat-work, [and] lots of worksheets [used].” Ted Bartell of the Los Angeles Unified School District agreed, “There should be a high degree of skepticism that any change in practice is occurring, given the discrepancy between the self-report versus observation. You get grandiose

assertions that teachers make about how they changed their practice, but when you go in and observe, oftentimes it’s not true at all.”

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Even if teachers report accurately, Jon Supovitz of CPRE observed, “Asking people to look back and generalize about their cumulative instructional experience is a problem.” Another distressing aspect of teacher surveys is that teacher mobility often obstructs the survey process. Helen Apthorp of McREL agreed that “surveys have a lot of problems,” especially those that neglect to use direct measures of change in teacher practice or to collect baseline and subsequent observation data.

Longitudinal Data

Many researchers used longitudinal student achievement data to gauge the success of school reforms. There was a strong sense among the participants that such longitudinal data collection was the most reliable and valuable information on teacher practice. Kathryn Borman of the University of South Florida classified such measures as “ideal.” A few such studies are currently underway, including one in the Los Angeles Unified School District where Bartell’s group is involved in “true baseline observation and subsequent year-by-year observations in the classrooms to try to determine if there’s any change in teacher practice.”

Participants pointed to barriers, however, to actualizing such longitudinal data collection. Like the teacher survey method, longitudinal studies of teacher practice are confounded by high teacher mobility. Tushnet shared, "We're trying to identify a sample of teachers to follow, but in five of the fourteen schools there will be different teachers next year, so in those schools we can't know whether there was an impact on teaching. It might be possible to know whether a change in instruction occurred at the school level even with teacher turnover, but not with individual teachers."

Benchmarks and Patterns of Success

An increasing number of model developers are providing model-specific benchmarks; there is also some agreement among researchers about expected implementation patterns. These benchmarks and patterns can help models, schools and districts ascertain how their reform is progressing. Of course, certain types of models show improvement more quickly, and some elements of models are easier to establish in a school than others. The issue of studying patterns of CSR implementation, explored by the Network, has been summarized in an NCCSR brief entitled, *Patterns in Implementing Comprehensive School Reform: What the Researchers Say*.

Accurate Data Analysis: Painting a Clear Picture of Teacher Practice

At times, it is difficult to assess the changes that are actually occurring in schools. Steven Ross explained what his research did and did not show: "In Memphis, we found that after two years of implementing a variety of designs, whether the design was Success For All, Roots and Wings, or a design like Expeditionary Learning Outward Bound, we clearly saw changes in teaching. I'm not going to say we necessarily saw

better teaching, but we saw changes in the direction of more active instruction, active learning, and more academically focused time. I think those are good, but I can't guarantee that achievement will go up automatically because there are so many other factors at work." Multiple measures are necessary to see what is really happening.

Heeding his own caution, Ross discussed his use of both observation measures and student achievement data to paint a more precise picture of the changes that occur. Using the SOM, Ross and other researchers in Memphis found a low but significant correlation between use of the best practices measured by the SOM and school gains on state tests. While the test score data was at the school rather than student level, Ross noted, "Schools that changed toward student-centered [best practices] went up on average, more than the other schools did." Relative to the control schools, classrooms in the Memphis study incorporated more student-centered learning and activity, and used more cooperative learning, project-based instruction, and higher level questioning. Teacher longevity and mobility rates seem to be factors in success: classroom instructional changes and increased student achievement were more evident among the first cohort of teachers, who had the opportunity to vote to adopt the model, than among subsequent cohorts, who arrived after it was adopted.

The Memphis study also produced some surprising results relative to teacher tenure and changes in the classroom. Contrary to what might be expected, veteran teachers most benefited from the reforms. Ross explains, "Veteran teachers at the schools using CSR improved their effectiveness score over time. We didn't expect that to happen, because you hear stories about veteran teachers being the ones who are

resistant, but they actually went up, whereas the control veteran teachers were flat, stayed the same. But new teachers at restructuring schools had a much harder time than new teachers at non-restructuring schools. Restructuring was leaving new teachers unprepared. I think those new teachers arrived with what they had learned from education programs.”

Overarching Measurement Issues and Challenges

Several factors can hinder the measurement of school improvement caused by reform. For example, a study examining reform in a particular school must be aware that the school itself is constantly changing. Sometimes, teacher turnover is so high that in terms of training needs, every year is like year one. Models themselves can be considered moving targets as model developers are constantly updating and improving their programs. Over time, an implementation study of a school might not truly be looking at the same model, if that model has evolved significantly.

Context of the reform is another barrier to measurement of change. The level of school readiness for comprehensive reform varies widely. It is difficult to compare implementation of models in drastically different schools—for instance, one where there is serious dysfunction among staff and students as opposed to one where teachers collaborate and where student discipline is not an issue. Moreover, skill levels vary within and across schools. In some cases, teachers’ skills and knowledge are low, in others there are aptly prepared staff.

Supporting Success: Understanding the District Role

Evolving District Roles

Research on the crucial role districts play in reform is compelling. This viewpoint was recently re-emphasized by new federal grant language explicitly requiring schools requesting CSR funds to demonstrate district support. At the Network meeting, the roles, pitfalls, and benefits of district involvement in CSR were the focus of much discussion and debate.

Below are some of NOR's suggestions on the ways that the district can be supportive of CSR:

- Models and districts need to work together, and to be cognizant of evolving district roles.
- Changes must be supported by the district to be institutionalized and sustained.
- A clearly articulated district role in professional development is critical.
- Districts can support change in schools in creative ways.

Some of the activities districts should avoid, as learned from the Memphis situation, include:

- Mandating CSR reforms.
- Neglecting to secure teacher buy-in.
- Including too many different designs in schools; thus, complicating monitoring and support. (There were 18 different models adopted in Memphis.)

Model Developers and District Partnerships

Many model developers are recognizing that sustainability of reform efforts is dependent on district support. Today, some models prescribe roles for the district, while others choose to work with entire districts rather than isolated schools. Amanda Datnow of the University of Toronto said, "Design teams are realizing that they really do need to work closely with districts or at least secure district support." Even so, model designers do not provide all services in every academic and administrative area. In districts where successful implementation occurred, district staff understood what the design could and could not provide and "filled in" the gaps by providing the services the model did not.

For more information on the Network's exploration of the district's involvement in schoolwide reform, including its changing role, facets of support, essential duties, and challenges, see NCCSR's brief, *The Need for District Support for School Reform: What the Researchers Say*.

Crafting Common Definitions: A Research Agenda

After sharing what they know about the particulars of CSR practice and policy, Network members had the opportunity to suggest an agenda for future research. Many of these items focused on the development of a "common language" to use across CSR studies. The group also highlighted important ideas for further study, and goals for public engagement and understanding of CSR and CSR research. Researchers also articulated a tension between the need for more rigorous investigations of CSR programs and models and the obstacles researchers face in conducting such studies.

In current CSR research, it is difficult to look across studies or across research on models, because there is so little agreement on definitions of student achievement. To develop a common language of success, the research community could do the following:

- develop common measures of achievement and implementation,
- come to some agreement about what is "significant" student progress,
- construct a method to analyze data across studies with different measures,
- more clearly define the appearance of the different components of CSR, across models,
- develop universal standards for good implementation, and
- benchmark the models' progress and effectiveness.

The meeting's discussions also led to several unanswered questions:

- What are resource allocation mechanisms and how do they facilitate CSR implementation?
- How effective are specific models with English Language Learners (ELLs) or special education students?
- How can we foster a deeper understanding of theories of change, including an understanding of school readiness, the fit between models and schools, the mutual adaptation of a school and a design, and reform within rapidly changing schools?
- How can we overcome obstacles to longitudinal data collection for investigations of student achievement gains?

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