

STRATEGIC REPRESENTATION OF SCHOOL MANAGEMENT IN TERMS OF  
DEBORAH STONE

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## Chapter I

### Introduction

Despite the historic growth of the United States economy during the 1990s, many large urban areas did not experience the benefit of this growth. This was most evident in areas such as Harlem in New York City, where 40,000 people lived below the poverty line in 1989 and that number remained the same a decade later. In 1989, 51% of Harlem's working age population was employed, this number dropped to 49% in 1999 (Tough p. 38). These economic factors widened the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots." This gap was most apparent in the large urban communities of America. During this time, most of the nation's large urban school systems were run through the traditional model in which a Board of Education worked with superintendents, administrators, and unionized teachers with very little input from parents and community based organizations.

The following chapter includes four sections. The sections include: The Purpose of the Study, Statement of the Problem, Significance of the Study, and Definition of Terms. Information contained in this chapter offers a framework to the research and guiding principles for the analysis of four competing models of school governance.

### The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to determine which model of school governance was the most effective for large urban school systems. The research involved a theme based approach for the analysis of four competing models for school governance. Deborah Stone's Policy Paradox -

The Art of Political Decision Making, provides a framework for the research in terms of political rhetoric, strategic representations of school management, goals, problems, and solutions. The competing interests apply these principals to justify their model over the others. The following question guided the study: which models of school governance is the most effective in governing large urban school systems to support and enhance student achievement.

### Statement of Problem

In The Death and Life of the Great American School System, Diane Ravitch (2010) noted, “In this new era, school reform was characterized as accountability, high-stakes testing, data-driven decision making, choice, charter schools, privatization, deregulation, merit pay, and competition among schools” (p. 21). While there were attempts throughout this time period to remedy problems in large urban school districts, these solutions were temporary and disconnected. The public’s awareness and attention to this problem was heightened with the enactment of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation in 2002. This accountability movement brought greater transparency to the work of schools. As a result, all members of the community have gained more information about the performance of their local school districts relative to neighboring districts. Differences in student performance are most disparate when comparing large urban areas to most of their suburban neighbors. Notable comparisons regarding student achievement can be identified between New York’s inner city neighborhoods and their wealthier, mostly white suburban districts on Long Island. Not only do these disparities exist in the highly segregated Long Island communities they also exist within the various neighborhoods that make up the New York City school system. For example, the schools that serve the students of Douglaston, Queens, differ greatly from those that serve the students of the South Bronx.

Over the past 15 years the traditional model of governance in New York City was comprised of the following constituencies, the Board of Education, unionized teachers, administrators, parents, and community stakeholders. The aforementioned stakeholders have been forced to rethink their roles in educating large urban communities with the onset of mayoral control of the schools. In an effort to address the perpetual lag in student achievement new models of school governance emerged. The examples analyzed for this study include, the Portfolio Management Model (PMM), which can be seen in New York City; the community based organization model, as best exemplified by Harlem Children's Zone; Clarence Stone's Civic Capacity Model, which is best demonstrated by the city of El Paso, Texas and its partnership with the University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP).

#### Significance of the Study

This study is of vital importance for all educational leaders because it illustrates the challenges that public education and public educators are facing. Public education and the status quo are under great scrutiny. This study examines the reasoning of these governance models to determine which model best serves the needs of students in large urban communities.

#### Definition of Terms

The following terms are presented by Deborah Stone in the Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision Making (2002) with the understanding that in the real world they are paradoxical in nature.

Goals- Goals represent justification through policies to attain certain valued objectives.

- Equity- "treating likes alike"

- Efficiency- “getting the most output from a given input”
- Security- “satisfaction of minimum human needs”
- Liberty- “do as you wish as long as you do not harm others”

Problems- The problem depends on one’s general perspective on the distribution of social goods, either distributive or non-distributive. Values play into to process and course of action. In the polis, problems are presented through the use of several rhetorical devices, as noted below:

- Symbols- Words used to represent things, and often used to provide explanations of how the world works, ex. narrative stories; synecdoche; metaphor; ambiguity
- Numbers- Numerical strategies in problem definitions, used as real artifacts, numbers can represent the artist or experience
- Causes- Causes are used to argue who or what is to blame; product of natural causes or man, ex. inadvertent; accidental; intentional; mechanical; complex systems; institutional; historical
- Interests- Groups that have a stake in an issue or are affected by it; the sides represented
- Decisions- An effort by a party to make it appear that a clear decision is both evident and imminent. A sequence of steps such as, defining goals, imagining alternative means to attain goals, evaluating the consequences of each course of action, then choose a course of action (making a decision) ex. cost-benefit analysis; analysis paralysis; tangible v. intangible; risk analysis

Solutions- The means of tackling policy problems through temporary resolutions all parties can agree to.

- Inducements- incentives (positive rewards) or sanctions (negative penalties)
- Rules- social coordination, rules are officially designed to accomplish social goals
- Facts- Persuasion using either rational ideal or propaganda, indoctrination, it is a policy instrument that can be viewed as either neutral or dangerous in the polis, since information is mostly used strategically and not in a neutral mode.
- Rights- positive, normative, procedural claims to provide entitlements
- Power- changes in the structure of authority and who is given the right to make decisions about a problem

Civic Capacity as defined by Clarence Stone (2003), is governmental and non-governmental agencies work together to address important large scale community problems. Stone argues this policy is especially important in public education.

A Portfolio Management Model (PMM), as defined by Katrina E. Bulkley in Between Public and Private (2010), is a market based system. This model includes various types of schools akin to a stock portfolio that compete against one another and they are moved in and out of the portfolio based on testing and accountability results. Instituting a PMM involves a change of governance regimes.

The research question for this study is: Which model of school governance is the most effective in governing large urban school systems to support and enhance student achievement? Upcoming chapters will include a Literature Review, Methodology of the Study, Presentation of Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations for further study.

## Chapter II

### Literature Review

Educational institutions at one time or another are confronted with issues of policy, politics, public interest, and continuous change. In Deborah Stone's book, Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision Making (2002), she describes how policy decisions are driven by many factors. Stone compares and contrasts the market model and the polis model as perspectives on governance and explains how the polis model is more accurate in describing how political decisions are crafted. Stone's framework focuses on the "polis," rather than the market, which is seen in the traditional rationalist view. In the rationalist model, policy decisions are sculpted in a linear fashion.

The market model focuses on an individual's self-interest. The polis model takes into account the benefits of the community as a whole. Stone uses the term polis to represent groups of people who are organized and influenced by politics. By comparing and contrasting the market model and the polis model, Stone illustrates how the many factors in the polis make political decisions extremely complicated, and that the predictability and rationality of the market model is not justified by reality. The polis model focuses more on cooperation than does the market model.

Stone explores the definition of problems and explains that the measurement of a problem is really a strategic representation of a particular situation. Therefore, one's point of view influences the definition of a problem. In politics, people seek to place the burden on a particular cause, rather than analyze the many facets of the problem. As a result, people have a false sense that a problem may be fixed with a single action. However, Stone as a social scientist



posit that modern problem solving is extremely complex. Furthermore, problems are not “solved;” they are only temporarily resolved, to be taken up again in a modified form.

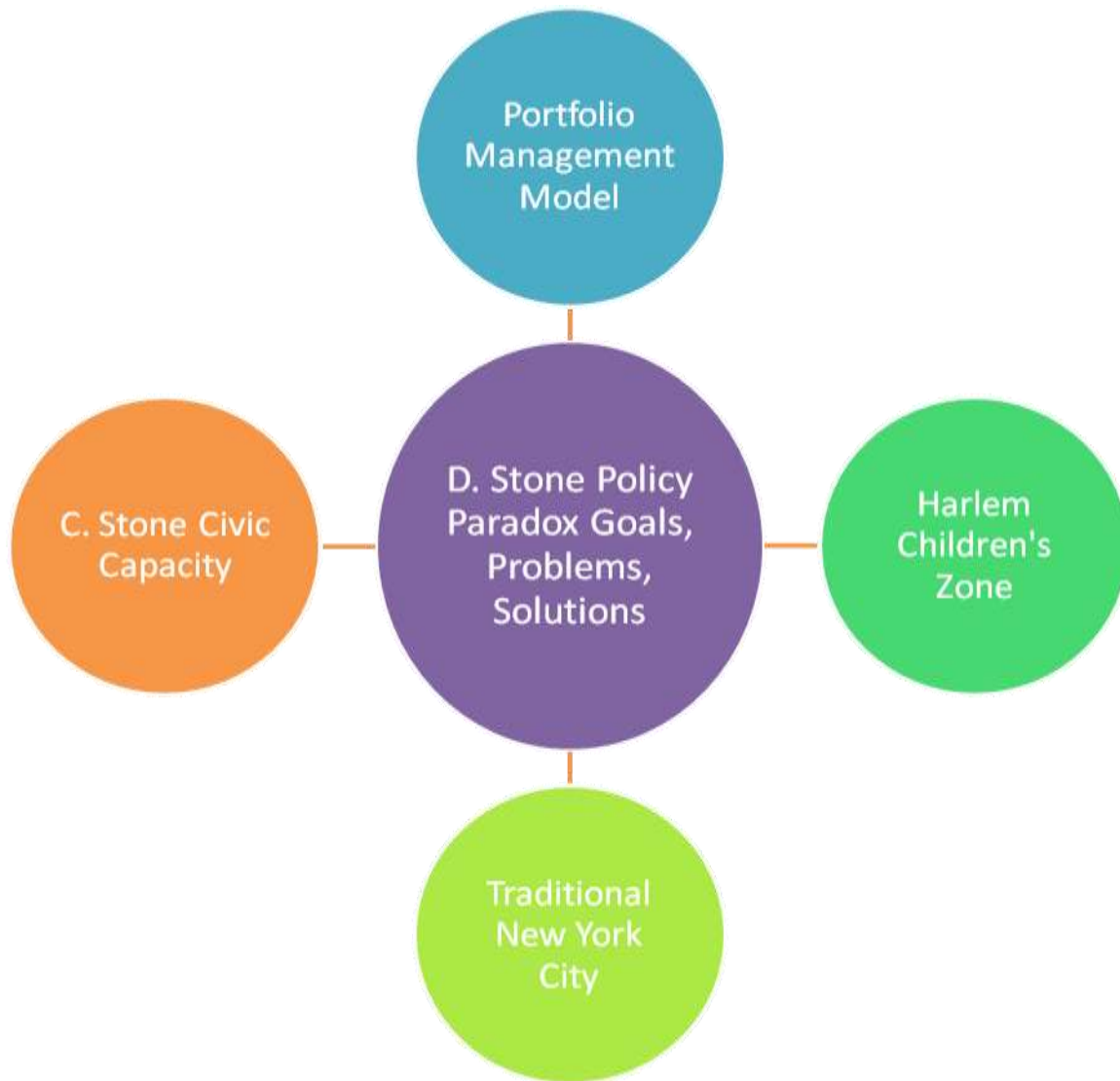
Within the polis, individuals seek to assign the responsibility and burden of reform upon specific people or groups. When communities seek the cause of a problem, they may do so in order to make it seem as though a certain person or group of people can solve the problem, which may lead to empowerment. It is not as easy to see a common problem, as it is to see a common solution. In politics, solutions are created that seem to have certain costs and benefits. Stone describes four ways that these costs and benefits may be distributed. Costs can be diffused or concentrated, meaning that the costs can be spread among many or focused on a select group. The benefits that result, likewise, can be diffused or concentrated. In this way, minorities who are greatly affected by something are more likely to demonstrate mobilization than majorities who are only slightly affected by something.

Numbers can be manipulated in the polis, and as Stone states, “Numbers are another form of poetry” (p. 187). Numbers are interpretive because in order to count, items must be placed within categories. The choice of these categories is made by people who have a plethora of viewpoints, and a political agenda. A decision must be made to determine whether or not to include information within the counting. Numbers, because they are assumed to be so precise, may help strengthen an argument, which can influence whether or not certain information is included. The fact that something is being counted makes it more visible and encourages more reporting. Numbers may also make it easier to identify the cause of a problem or not, depending on how they are represented.

In the decision making process, the facts are important. However, facts can be manipulated by leaders who highlight only those facts that will support their platform. Therefore, the facts that are given can be interpreted; this complicates the decision-making process. Stone mentions the rational ideal, whereby conflict stems from ignorance, not disparate interests. However, information is manipulated and interpreted based on the interests of people.

Deborah Stone establishes that the analysis of situations in communities is political. Decisions are made by including certain facts, while simultaneously withholding others. The process is strategic which in turn has the potential to create alliances and destroy others. Strategic representations are utilized to influence people, as well as for leaders to espouse support for their political agendas. A symbolic representation of the study follows below.

Figure 1- Symbolic Representation of the study:



## Chapter III

### Methodology

#### Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to examine and present the procedures used in order to answer the research question: Which is the most effective model for governing a large urban school system? Information was gathered through a variety of sources to obtain data on the various models and urban centers studied. These case studies were analyzed through the themes contained in Deborah Stone's framework presented in Policy Paradox- The Art of Political Decision Making. The following chapter includes three sections. The sections include: The Research Method, Data Analysis, and Summary. Information contained in this chapter offers the procedures which guided the research.

#### Research Method

The researchers used a qualitative data analysis, where the data were analyzed through themes. Thematic analysis was used to identify reoccurring themes. This type of analysis is highly inductive, that is, the themes emerge from the data and are not imposed upon it by the researcher. In this type of analysis the data collection and analysis take place simultaneously (Smith 2011, class notes).

This study used themes derived from Stone's framework and applied them to four separate case studies. The set of case studies, each defined by Bogdan and Biklen as, "a detailed

examination of one setting, or a single subject, a single depository of documents, or a particular event” (2007 p. 274) was the source of all findings.

This research included the following four case studies:

- The New York City Traditional System- Defined by traditional funding sources and educational practices, a strong centralized bureaucracy; a strong teachers union; and major stakeholders which include a Chancellor, teachers union, parent organizations, and Board of Education.
- El Paso, Texas- Defined by its implementation of the civic capacity model for reform (Smith 2011, class notes).
- Harlem, New York – The Harlem Children’s Zone (HCZ), where a community-based organization was used initially to support student achievement and improve the community in general.
- New York City – The Portfolio Management Model, defined by Bulkley as, “ a central office managing a portfolio of schools seeks diversification in the schools, so as not to put all its eggs into one instructional basket and tries to add to its portfolio those investments that are producing substantial benefits and shed those that are not” (Bulkley 2010, p.7).

The four aforementioned case studies were analyzed through Deborah Stone’s framework including goals, problems, and solutions in an effort to determine which system would provide the best model for large urban school system governance. Each case was analyzed separately to identify themes and characteristics for each system. Themes most frequently presented were

then applied to a product matrix based on Stone's framework. Stone's model aided in the organization of the data so that it could be analyzed to determine which system of governance appears to be most effective.

### Data Analysis

In order to examine each system of governance, additional data were collected from the following sub-categories in each theme.

Goals- Goals represent justification through policies to attain certain valued objectives.

- Equity- "treating likes alike"
- Efficiency- "getting the most output from a given input"
- Security- "satisfaction of minimum human needs"
- Liberty- "do as you wish as long as you do not harm others"

Problems- The problem depends on one's general perspective on the distribution of social goods, either distributive or non-distributive. Values play into to process and course of action. In the polis, problems are presented through the use of several rhetorical devices, as noted below:

- Symbols- Words used to represent things, and often used to provide explanations of how the world works, ex. narrative stories; synecdoche; metaphor; ambiguity.
- Numbers- Numerical strategies in problem definitions, used as real artifacts, numbers can represent the artist or experience.

- Causes- Causes are used to argue who or what is to blame; product of natural causes or man, ex. inadvertent; accidental; intentional; mechanical; complex systems; institutional; historical
- Interests- Groups that have a stake in an issue or are affected by it; the sides represented
- Decisions- An effort by a party to make it appear that a clear decision is both evident and imminent. A sequence of steps such as, defining goals, imagining alternative means to attain goals, evaluating the consequences of each course of action, then choose a course of action (making a decision) ex. cost-benefit analysis; analysis paralysis; tangible v. intangible; risk analysis

Solutions- The means of tackling policy problems through temporary resolutions all parties can agree to.

- Inducements- incentives (positive rewards) or sanctions (negative penalties)
- Rules- social coordination, rules are officially designed to accomplish social goals
- Facts- Persuasion using either rational ideal or propaganda, indoctrination, it is a policy instrument that can be viewed as either neutral or dangerous in the polis, since information is mostly used strategically and not in a neutral mode.
- Rights- positive, normative, procedural claims to provide entitlements
- Power- changes in the structure of authority and who is given the right to make decisions about a problem

For this research the data were analyzed using Figure 2, the Product Matrix. In the first vertical column, the matrix presents data for each case study. The descriptors found in each

column heading, identifies the data for each case study as categorized. Each cell represents one the major elements of Deborah Stone’s framework.

Figure 2- Product Matrix

Qualitative data of the school systems mentioned for this study are represented in the chart below. Each school system was analyzed for reoccurring themes to recognize which characteristics were most prevalent. A meta-analysis using Stone’s framework, was then applied to those themes. The data below represent that analysis.

### Product Matrix Traditional NYC System

Authors	Competing Policy Models	What are the Chief Characteristics of the model? Chapter II	D. Stone: <b>Goals</b> What goals does the model implicitly/explicitly seek?	D. Stone: <b>Problem</b> What/how presented?	D. Stone <b>Solution</b> What resolution offered?
NYC Traditional System	UFT Union Parent/Taxpayer Coalition	Traditional funding and educational practices which are based in both a strong centralized bureaucracy and strong teacher union. Stakeholders include: Superintendents, Teacher’s Union (UFT), parent organizations, students and local school boards.	<p>The goals vary depending on the particular stakeholders in question. More often than not and most notably in terms of the educational professionals the goal would most easily be described as maintenance of the status quo.</p> <p><b>Equity</b> –While the system desires to have a sense of equity, the reality does not support that. For example, Bronx High School of Science has alumni who donate money. This does not exist in the majority of neighborhood high schools. Additionally there is the issue of placement tests. While every incoming freshman may take citywide tests, not all students have access to test preparation. Thus a symbol of equity and fairness becomes yet another stumbling block to achieving that equity.</p> <p><b>Efficiency</b> – A class</p>	<p><b>Symbols</b> –</p> <p>The Symbols used by NYC traditional System includes the story of an impoverished populace that relies on the caring UFT teacher and central administrator. The schools are seen as</p> <p><i>catch alls</i> to assist all that ails the populace. For example some High Schools have nurseries, otherwise known as, LYFE centers. These nurseries can be used as a symbol of the problem or solution depending on who is telling the story.</p> <p><b>Numbers</b>- Teacher salaries are compared to surrounding suburban regions and add to the story of the City as training ground for the best and brightest who then leave to work in Westchester or Long Island</p> <p>Test scores are used to compare schools and neighborhoods.</p>	<p><b>Inducements</b>- In this system they are possible”, however, they are often hard to give out given the variety and instability of the student population, hence, the creation of inducements based on student performance is extremely difficult in the traditional system which relies on student growth as a measure of the decision to give inducements.</p> <p>Additionally, if sanctions are the by-product of inducements they seek to lead to a cycle of failing schools wherein failing schools come up short for inducements and end up ripe for closure.</p> <p><b>Rules</b>- The system was based on an often byzantine rule structure, where the goal was to treat likes alike, but in practice this was not the case. Hence, in the Polis, the rules of traditional NYC model were flexible rather than</p>



			<p>size of 34 for all is an example of the system's view of efficiency. Additionally, the excessive layers of bureaucracy at 110 Livingston street belies a desire to create efficiency.</p> <p><b>Security</b> – Class size of 34 does not provide security for all students. The number of school safety officers and/or police officers in a building indicates the school is unsafe. Very often issues that happen in the neighborhood spill over into the schools.</p> <p><b>Liberty</b> – As a result of a lack of general security, there is a loss of liberty for the students and teachers. Whose liberty should be maintained? It should be the kids first and foremost; however, the needs of the community and the socioeconomic needs dictate that liberty is often traded for security.</p>	<p>Numbers are also used to explain funding equity and inequity within city districts and as compared to neighboring regions and the State as a whole. This is most evident in terms of per pupil expenditures</p> <p><b>Causes</b> –</p> <p>Since so many of the problems associated with the traditional model are related to the poverty of so many of the areas served, these causes are seen as unintended but allow for the players to use them as a means to assign blame.</p> <p><b>Interests</b> –</p> <p>The interest groups in the traditional model include:</p> <p>The teachers and their union (UFT), Central Administration and Superintendents, Parent organizations and a Board of Education, with their own set of desired outcomes. For the UFT, maintenance of the status quo and their power base was paramount.</p> <p><b>Decisions</b> –</p> <p>Unlike the rational model where decisions are based on models such as the cost-benefit analysis, decisions in this governance system are based on the particular interests of the various groups cited above. While, each group would cite a "rational" reason behind a particular decision, those decisions, be they allocation of resources or desire to maintain the</p>	<p>rigid. This flexibility allowed school officials to respond "creatively" to issues that arose. For example the creation of the Chancellor's District to prevent State takeover of SURR schools. This is in essence the ability of the system to change the rules or remake them in a way that would be beneficial to some stakeholder groups.</p> <p><b>FACTS-</b> While the Rational/Democratic Model would be the ideal, the system used facts based in the Polis model; for example, the notion the facts and information are used to manipulate people.</p> <p><b>Rights-</b> Rights in this system were normative (Coming from various sources) without a sense of true equality, most notably for students. Rights were preserved for adults (UFT, Administrators, Government officials, and the Board of Education.)</p> <p>Disputes between the UFT and Administration are the types described by Stone as "repeat players" and it is their rights that were fought over ( Stone, p.345.)</p> <p><b>POWERS-</b> In many ways the powers in the traditional model were held by players that did not have direct interests in the communities that they serve and as a result sought powers as a means to an end, rather than the end of bettering the education of the community.</p>
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				status quo, was based in the murky realities of the polis rather than the best interests of the children. .	
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### Product Matrix Clarence Stone – El Paso, Texas

Authors	Competing Policy Models	What are the Chief Characteristics of the model? Chapter II	D. Stone: <b>Goals</b> What goals does the model implicitly/explicitly seek?	D. Stone: <b>Problem</b> What/how presented?	D. Stone <b>Solution</b> What resolution offered?
Clarence Stone	Community Development: Civic Capacity 4 cases, not NYC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Civic Capacity as the approach to systematic reform of the school district and address community needs.</li> <li>Involvement from community stakeholders with high civic standing such as, local colleges, business /corporate sector and local organizations, with the participation of local government officials.</li> <li>Development of a supportive resource dubbed, The Collaborative, to represent a response to concerns of educators, the community, and the business sector.</li> </ul> <p>All participants confer on educational matters</p>	<p><b>Equity</b>- who gets what, when, and how-desire to have a sense of equity, but in reality could never be</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Managing a process for the city of El Paso, Texas so that the school system provides quality education in each of its three urban school districts</li> </ul> <p><b>Security</b>-satisfaction of minimum human needs.</p> <p>Issues of security were based in the backdrop of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A low-wage local economy.</li> <li>Effects of globalization and textile industries moving away to the local economy.</li> </ul> <p><b>Liberty</b>- people should be free to do what they want unless their activity harms others</p> <p>Establish an education intermediary, the El Paso Collaborative for Academic Excellence on the local college campus of UTEP.</p>	<p><b>Symbols</b>-words used to represent things and provide explanations of how the world works</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The city and it's make-up as a border city represents a major part of the problem with so many poor students who enter school with low proficiency in English.</li> </ul> <p><b>Numbers</b>- numerical strategies in problem definitions</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>85% Hispanic</li> <li>2/3 low income</li> <li>50% of students starting with low proficiency in English</li> <li>Academic performance and overall student achievement were poor</li> </ul> <p><b>Causes</b>- used to argue who or what is to blame; product of natural causes or man</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Geographic location</li> <li>Poor parental involvement</li> </ul> <p><b>Interests</b>- groups that have a stake in an issue or are affected by it</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Weak academic performance as a concern of educators, the community, and the business sector</li> <li>Framework to present data on student performance, dropouts, and low</li> </ul>	<p><b>Inducements</b>-incentives(positive rewards)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>College enrollment (UTEP or community college)</li> <li>Local job opportunities</li> </ul> <p><b>Rules</b>- social coordination, rules are officially designed to accomplish social goals</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Skillful framing of high quality professional development on UTEP campus</li> </ul> <p><b>Facts</b>- persuasion using either rational ideal or propaganda, indoctrination</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Data on student performance, dropouts, and low college enrollment to detail and specify progress</li> </ul> <p><b>Power</b>- structure of authority and who is given the right to make decisions about a problem</p> <p>UTEP president, Dr. Diana Natalicio; Sister Mary Beth Larkin and Dr. Susana Navarro together represent a more diverse pattern of leadership.</p>

				college enrollment <b>Decisions</b> - sequence of steps to attain goals  A need for a more inclusive form of cooperation	
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### Product Matrix Tough – Harlem Children’s Zone

Authors	Competing Policy Models	What are the Chief Characteristics of the model? Chapter II	D. Stone: <b>Goals</b> What goals does the model implicitly/explicitly seek?	D. Stone: <b>Problem</b> What/how presented?	D. Stone <b>Solution</b> What resolution offered?
Tough/Canada	Community Development: Community-Based Organization	Community Development: Community-Based Organization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Create visionary leadership</li> <li>• Focus on college/career</li> <li>• Focus on results and enhancing student achievement</li> <li>• Establish high standards, expectations and rigor</li> <li>• Mobilize the community to battle against inequalities in education</li> <li>• Increase accountability on all levels: community, students, teachers, administrators</li> <li>• Implement a coherent, content-rich curriculum focusing on math, literacy and critical thinking</li> <li>• Ensure rules are enforced</li> <li>• Implement early intervention programs</li> <li>• Establish Pre-School programs</li> <li>• Manage support of stakeholders</li> <li>• Enlist support of experts</li> <li>• Organize parent programs</li> <li>• Increase time on task throughout the school year</li> <li>• After-school tutoring</li> <li>• Private funding</li> </ul>	<p>The problem was seen as the system itself. According to some stakeholders the lone solution to the problem would be to literally, “Blow up the status quo.”</p> <p><b>Equity</b> – who gets what, when and how – desire to have a sense of equity, but in reality could never be</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Represented by contamination and the lottery, creation of charter schools which ultimately save a few students and lose a few students.</li> </ul> <p><b>Efficiency</b> – getting the most out of a given input, achieving an objective for the lowest cost</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Represented by Druckenmiller, Principal McKesey &amp; KIPP Academy</li> </ul> <p><b>Security</b> – satisfaction of minimum human needs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Baby College</li> <li>• HCZ represents security vs. liberty of parental behaviors that are harmful to children</li> </ul> <p><b>Liberty</b> –people should be free to do what they want unless their activity harms others</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Charter schools emerge; Canada changes rules of lottery</li> </ul>	<p><b>Symbols</b> – words used to represent things and provide explanations of how the world works</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Bad Apples</b> The treadmill of failure by school that are unrelated in a contiguous fashion.</li> <li>• <b>Terri Grey</b> Symbolizing competing educational paradigms.</li> <li>• <b>Conveyor Belt</b></li> <li>• <b>Lottery</b></li> <li>• <b>Escape Velocity Numbers</b> – numerical strategies in problem definitions</li> <li>• Low test scores/Accountability</li> <li>• IQ does not develop w/out parental supports</li> </ul> <p><b>Causes</b> – used to argue who or what is to blame; product of natural causes or man</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family structure, cycle of poverty, lack of civic capacity</li> </ul> <p><b>Interests</b> – groups that have a stake in an issue or are affected by it</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Terri Grey symbolizes the problem of interests, ie. progressive methodologies vs. traditional/rational/quantitative education</li> </ul> <p><b>Decisions</b> – sequence of steps to attain goals</p>

					<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Graduate the 8<sup>th</sup> grade and discontinue with a 9<sup>th</sup> grade as an effort to “protect the brand”</li><li>• Battle Mode- increase test scores</li></ul>
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## Product Matrix Bulkley – Henig - Levin – PPM NYC

Authors	Competing Policy Models	What are the Chief Characteristics of the model? Chapter II	D. Stone: <b>Goals</b> What goals does the model implicitly/explicitly seek?	D. Stone: <b>Problem</b> What/how presented?	D. Stone <b>Solution</b> What resolution offered?
Bulkley/ Henig/ Levin	Portfolio Management Model: NYC Case	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mayoral control</li> <li>• Chancellor appoints community superintendent(s)</li> <li>• Chancellor with experiences in business and law.</li> <li>• Advice from school reformers</li> <li>• Rationally constructed plans based on good intentions and expertise</li> <li>• Performance based rather than compliance based on leadership</li> <li>• Large Regions become the base of the system rather than community based local boards.</li> <li>• Business community involvement</li> <li>• Autonomous schools and principals exercise greater control over budgets and staffing</li> <li>• Schools have more direct responsibility for performance</li> <li>• Separate portfolio of public schools</li> <li>• Little community input</li> <li>• Replaced the city's 32 independent school districts with 10 regions who report to Chancellor</li> <li>• Uniform curriculum in reading and math implemented citywide</li> <li>• Train principals as</li> </ul>	<p><b>Efficiency:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Appointing Chancellor – business person</li> <li>• Reform grounded in corporate values and management theory</li> <li>• Autonomous schools – principal has greater control over budget and staffing</li> <li>• Principal responsible for performance</li> <li>• Regional superintendents report to Chancellor</li> <li>• 32 school districts replaced by 10 regions</li> <li>• Premise: dysfunctional schools create dysfunctional cultures</li> <li>• Accountability system to evaluate schools' performance</li> <li>• Move from centralized system to decentralized portfolio management approach</li> </ul> <p><b>Liberty</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dismantling the old</li> <li>• Ending symbolic bastions of political patronage</li> <li>• Exempt certain city-schools from city-wide curriculum</li> <li>• Intra-system safe havens</li> </ul>	<p><b>Symbols:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 110 Livingston Street – sick bureaucracy</li> <li>• Guerillas in the bureaucracy – good folk</li> <li>• David v Goliath – Klein v UFT</li> <li>• Learning Zone – spirit of entrepreneurialism</li> </ul> <p><b>Interests:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bureaucracy and political patronage</li> <li>• More parent participation</li> <li>• More checks and balances</li> <li>• Test results and accountability in charter schools</li> <li>• New York Leadership Academy used to recruit principals and train with business / corporate methodology.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Inducements:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rationally constructed plans based on good intentions would win</li> <li>• Focused on politics and implementation</li> <li>• Sustainability</li> </ul> <p><b>Powers:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Centralizing Mayoral control</li> <li>• Klein conducted top-down study</li> <li>• Closed door decisions</li> <li>• Little input from community</li> <li>• Movement to regions.</li> <li>• Regional Superintendents report to Chancellor</li> <li>• Local school districts do not govern</li> <li>• Union relations all-time low</li> <li>• Mayor replaces existing management team</li> <li>• Centralized system at odds with school leaders</li> <li>• Cashin: top-down approach to teaching subjects</li> <li>• Private funding</li> </ul>

		<p>entrepreneurs with the foci of accountability, coherence, alignment</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Weakened the teachers union (UFT)</li> <li>• Centralized system of authority and decision making</li> <li>• Move towards smaller schools</li> <li>• Charter schools</li> <li>• The creation of an accountability system to evaluate school performance, inform school practice and guide school closings</li> <li>• Schools assigned letter grades</li> <li>• Private funding</li> <li>• Data-driven interventions</li> <li>• Rationally constructed plans</li> <li>• Sustainability</li> </ul>			
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### Summary

The use of the product matrix was pivotal in assisting the researchers' ability to compare the school systems in a qualitative and balanced manner. The researchers applied Stone's framework to compare four school governance systems through a strategic and political approach. This approach provided an understanding of the interests and values of the stakeholders involved, the problems they faced, and ultimately the decisions made.



## Chapter IV

### Findings

#### Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the analysis in an effort to determine which model of school governance is the most effective for large urban school systems. For this research, applicable rhetoric was used to analyze four case studies in different urban school communities. The research question was addressed utilizing Stone's framework of goals, problems and solutions. The New York City traditional system, the El Paso, Texas civic capacity model, the Harlem Children's Zone (HCZ) and New York City's Portfolio Management Model. (PMM)

The traditional New York City model was comprised of a board of education, teachers union, parents, chancellor, local school boards and a centralized bureaucracy and taxpayer coalitions. This powerful bureaucracy made it difficult to navigate the system. The organization was divided into thirty-two separate community school districts each run by its own school board and a superintendent. Gyurko and Henig (2010) contend, "In the final four decades of the twentieth-century, high-profile turmoil, demographic change, and a perception of declining performance left much of the public teetering between fatalistic resignation to a continuing decline and readiness to accept strong measures that would previously have been infeasible politically" (pp. 91-92). Frustrated with this bureaucracy, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, aspired to gain control of the schools and expressed a desire to "blow up" the board of education (p. 92).

This dream was realized only when Mayor Michael Bloomberg gained control of the system through the State Legislature in 2002.

The second governance model studied was Clarence Stone's framework for Civic Capacity in El Paso, Texas. As a result of a declining economy and poor academic performance, the various members of the business, educational, governmental and non-governmental organizations came together to solve the problems of the public schools. The members of the aforementioned organizations viewed the issues as a community problem, not solely as a school issue. This shared interest in solving larger community issues led to the collaboration of influential community members to solve the problem. Governmental and non-governmental agencies collaborated and addressed important large scale educational and community problems. Stone contends that this relationship is significant in public education. He also argues school systems are influenced by family background and community environment. Substandard academic achievement is found primarily in school communities where low-income populations are concentrated. In addition, poverty is closely linked to education inequity in the United States. In his book, *Dark Ghetto*, Kenneth Clark argues that schools exhibit "a pattern of low regard and expectations for poor students, low standards, and an undemanding curriculum" (1965). These low standards often led to low achievement. This trend created a vicious cycle where low expectations and poor academic performance are circuitous. Many of these low performing school systems tracked students by categorizing them according to their place in society and the economy, thereby maintaining the status quo. Additionally, research indicates that teachers in low income schools taught less, evaluated students infrequently, and when they did assess students, teachers provided students with overwhelmingly negative feedback.

The third governance model analyzed was The Harlem Children's Zone (HCZ). Visionary educational leader, Geoffrey Canada, and his staff set out to embrace the entire community in Harlem with hopes to eliminate barriers to success. Canada established high standards and expectations for parents, teachers, students, and community stakeholders. By managing the support of stakeholders and seeking advice from experts, Canada and his staff vowed to do "whatever it takes" to ensure that all students successfully graduate from college prepared for the high-skills workplace. As Canada stated in the book, Whatever It Takes by Paul Tough, "we want every single one of you to go to college" (p. 128). Canada's mission was to provide children with all the tools they needed to be successful. "...he was deeply engrossed in his early childhood initiative, and he was increasingly preoccupied by a concept he was calling the conveyor belt" (p. 194). As the notion of the conveyor belt was conceived; starting with Baby College, transitioning to Three-year-old Journeys to Harlem Gems and to Promise Academy students would be exposed to the HCZ from cradle to college. All students were provided an unprecedented array of these "wrap-around" services from pre-kindergarten classes to medical care to healthy meals. The practices, ideas, and structures championed by Canada are essential to achieve success. Although Canada's vision was to ensure equity for all of Harlem's children, his original idea of starting with older school children and admitting them by "the lottery" to ensure equity among the many who wanted access, hindered the full attainment of this goal.

Traditionally, school districts operated with hierarchical, top-down control with central office administration making the decisions and creating the rules. Central office decisions were often committed to standardized procedures and practices across the panorama of schools they directly controlled. In theory, districts adopting the Portfolio Management Model (PMM)

prudently introduced non-standard new kinds of schools, including charter schools and schools managed or partnered with for-profit or non-profit organizations, and provide schools with more discretion in exchange for greater accountability for performance results. At the heart of the matter is the suspension of the negotiated union contracts that constrained the actions of teachers and local administrators in order to ensure standard practices for all children. As individuals might do in managing their stock portfolio, PMM districts try to regularly weed out poorly performing schools and replace them with new schools and independent providers who have proven records in the city or elsewhere. PMM, at least in principle, places the school district in the role of “general contractor,” rather than manager and boss. PMM administrators need to know a considerable amount about potential providers, as well as how to define clear contracts, monitor performance, and intervene when things are not going well. This model of school governance was implemented in the nation’s largest school system, New York City, which began with the tenure of Mayor Michael Bloomberg. In 2002, Mayor Bloomberg was given the authority to take over the school system. Mayor Bloomberg applied business principles to reform the New York City Schools. By dismantling the thirty-two, cumbersome, bureaucratic community school districts, the mayor and chancellor reorganized the system into ten regions, led by a regional superintendent. In addition, a uniform curriculum for reading and math was mandated across the city. Following the corporate model, the Leadership Academy was created and run by Jack Welch, the former CEO of General Electric. The reorganization of the New York City Schools was a corporate model of tightly centralized hierarchical, top-down control based on predetermined performance numbers. Mayoral control did not prove to be a guaranteed path to school improvement, and as a result, New York City shifted from its GE corporate-style

model to the stock market model and continues to experiment with the PMM as a model for school governance.

### Summary

The data reveal many important findings. A consistent governance goal for all four case studies was to improve student achievement despite the socioeconomic limitations of the communities served by these large urban school districts. However, each of these systems sought to employ different methods according to varying stakeholder beliefs on how best to attain improved student achievement.

The New York City Traditional System's stakeholders included a Chancellor, a powerful teacher union, and a strong centralized bureaucracy. These groups and their interests often revolved around maintaining of the status quo. This problem of interests did not lead to significant student achievement. Additionally, the powers and rules of this system hindered progressive and effective school governance. In many ways the failures of this system led to the growth of both the Harlem Children's Zone and the Portfolio Management Model System. New portfolio management based approaches began with mayoral control of school governance in 2002.

The system, in general, was rife with inequity. This general inequity could be seen through the day-to-day learning experiences of students representing different communities. Specifically in neighborhoods such as Forest Hills or Douglaston, Queens, the typical school day and subsequent student achievement were far different from the achievement in areas such as Harlem or the Bronx. Furthermore, this inequality was often promulgated by Board of Education

policies and bureaucratic structures. These conditions may best be exemplified by the high school admissions processes, such as placement tests, which led to inequitable student body representations.

In 2002, Mayor Michael Bloomberg gained control of the New York City school system. He immediately sought to implement a GE like corporate model. Shortly thereafter it became apparent that this corporate model alone, was not sustainable in the New York City system. As a result, a PMM system based on the principle of applying a stock portfolio model to the public school system was implemented. Under this new system of governance, the data reveals a model based in efficiency, liberty, inducements, and powers.

Evident in the data is the totality of paradigm shift from a community-based Board of Education to mayoral control to a PMM. This change in mayoral authority initially led the way to top-down management in a system where decisions were made behind closed doors. The failure of the mayoral control system of governance led to the PMM. As a result, previous interests and values were set aside in an effort to improve the system as a whole.

The HCZ schools were an outgrowth of a community based organization. The basis of this model was to “contaminate” an entire community by fostering an environment that eliminated barriers for success. Despite the many successes of the HCZ and its continued growth the data reveals several areas of deficiency. Firstly, low test scores were still prevalent despite the emphasis on test preparation. Poor attendance also plagued both the elementary and middle schools of the HCZ. Lastly, the decision to discontinue the high school plan was most indicative of the struggles experienced by the HCZ. Regardless of the overt financial support the HCZ

received, it continued to struggle to solve many of the socio-economic, community and family based deficiencies within the community.

The El Paso, Texas model was one in which both members of the community and outside interests worked collaboratively to improve school governance. This model, referred to as Civic Capacity by Clarence Stone, was based in a meaningful understanding of the power of collaboration. To improve education, one needs to improve the community, not the schools alone. Civic Capacity is best evidenced by the disparate stakeholders included in educational efforts and decision-making. The community's concerns regarding low wages, poorly prepared students, and the affects of globalization, led to the formation of the Collaborative.

The Collaborative did not seek sole governance of the school system, but rather sought to work within the system along with integral outside stakeholders. Most notably, the University of Texas-El Paso (UTEP) took the lead in professional development, engaging the community, and establishing business partnerships. The end result of this work is a system where stakeholders are participating, valued, and aligned in an effort to improve the school system.

## Chapter V

### Conclusions and Recommendations for Further Study

Throughout this study, the researchers looked at the four governance systems through the framework for political decision making as espoused by Deborah Stone. In doing so, it appeared that the model of governance that would best suit large urban school systems would be the El Paso model as described by Clarence Stone. There are several factors that lead to this conclusion. Most notably, however is the sheer force of the desire of multiple constituencies to work together and within the school system to affect sustainable change (See Figure 2 for complete Product Matrix.)

While the work of Geoffrey Canada's, Harlem Children's Zone (HCZ), is as compelling as his own personal narrative, it relies too heavily on outside expertise and resources to be sustained throughout the nation's most underprivileged regions. To be clear, the notion of the conveyor belt, in of itself, is an important idea when considering the larger socio-economic issues faced by the community members of the large urban areas studied. However, its sustainability over the long term in addition to its ability to truly "contaminate" is somewhat questionable.

As for the Portfolio Management Model (PMM) and the traditional NYC model it has sought to replace; the research and day to day realities bear out problems that both have and will most likely continue to experience. The traditional NYC model, with its overt focus on maintaining the status quo is at this time politically unpalatable and unsustainable. As for the PMM, the sheer confusion regarding options for the community around types of schools with a single Mayor and Chancellor, holding the keys to the system is far too unwieldy and shuts out a



great deal of the community from the decision-making process and the consequences that are left in the wake of poor student achievement. While Canada's HCZ could be viewed as one successful part of the larger portfolio, it is in many ways one of the exceptions but hardly the rule in a system that is very large, complex and as a result of the PMM extremely disparate.

It is for these reasons that the El Paso model has emerged as the best of all possible solutions. It has sought to transform the schools and school culture from within. It has included the schools and its personnel, the University of Texas, El Paso, the community and its various community based organizations, and the larger business community. Each of these constituencies has a "seat at the table" and work together to promote initiatives that are beneficial for children, their schools and the community at large. It is this singularity of focus through a diversity of constituencies that allows this system to stand out.

In terms of further study, the overt recommendation would be to review these systems in the future and as accountability systems continue to grow. It is the opinion of the researcher that time will bear out the findings discussed herein, however, in many cases, such as the NYC PMM model, these systems are works in progress and hence they are in constant flux. Despite this, it is clear that the El Paso model seems most well poised to sustain itself over the long term.

### Recommendations

The El Paso, Texas model was most effective for governing a large urban school district. What should be understood from this model is the importance of meaningful stakeholders who have a vested interest in collaborating to work toward student success and achievement. The community needs to agree on what the common problems are, and then tap the most effective people and resources to invest in the issues to improve the community. El Paso improved

college enrollment, skillfully framed high quality professional development of teachers, and presented relevant student data to analyze progress. This approach using civic capacity was most effective.

When a community is engaged in developing its civic capacity by attending to the problems in the polis, the important leaders and powers will be accepted by the community to make meaningful decisions and efficiently allocate resources. Narrow political self interests are less likely to prevail, and community citizens are more likely to collaborate with professionals toward common goals. In this way it is clear that different powers, interest, values, decisions, and solutions will be part of the natural process of problem solving in the governance of a large urban school district. Common goals can be identified, resources allocated, and decisions made through a healthy balance of power in governance models similar to the El Paso model. HCZ was not able to see the same level of sustainable success in the area of civic capacity. While Harlem's programs attempted to address community problems, it did not have the right people in power to generate the same synergy. They failed to enlist the community leaders necessary to maintain a cohesive vision with common goals and interests. The people with financial influence did not agree on the same community goals, nor did they agree on a timetable for data analysis on student progress to accomplish the same level of governance as El Paso. The traditional NYC model similarly failed to agree on common goals, and also struggled for power and rights in their approach to governance of the school system. El Paso had the right balance of community leaders, goals, interests, and power to generate civic capacity. Ultimately, this led to their overall success.

## References

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