CALIFORNIA EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY REPORT

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Free Fall: Educational Opportunities in 2011

"Our kids are more on their own to succeed and navigate their way through school than they have ever, ever been."

— California high school principal

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Free Fall Educational Opportunities in 2011

By: John Rogers, Melanie Bertrand, Rhoda Freelon, Sophie Fanelli

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UCLA IDEA and UC/ACCORD

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AT A GLANCE

Free Fall: Educational Opportunities in 2011

"At a Glance" presents core findings from the 2011 Educational Opportunity Report. Below, the Roman numeral section numbers correspond to the section numbers in the full report. Unless stated otherwise, the percentages refer to principals' responses in the survey.

I. Overview

For several years, UCLA's Institute for Democracy, Education, and Access, in partnership with UC/ACCORD, has produced an annual report on the learning conditions and educational outcomes across California public schools. These reports have highlighted California's weak educational infrastructure and disparities across California's communities. Now conditions have gotten worse. In 2011, California public schools struggle to provide all students with a quality education amidst economic crisis and deep cuts to education spending.

This year's report examines falling educational opportunities in California public high schools and their consequences for student learning and progress to graduation and college. The report is based on a summer 2010 survey with a representative sample of 277 high school principals about the effect of the budget cuts on learning opportunities. The principals represented 22% of all high school principals in California, and the survey was followed by 78 in-depth interviews with an equally representative sample of these principals.

Core Findings from our Surveys and Interviews:

- California high schools are providing less time and attention and fewer quality programs. As a consequence, student engagement, achievement, and progress to graduation and college are suffering;
- School reform has all but sputtered to a halt due to staff cutbacks and the elimination of time for professional development;
- Even as high schools across the state are impacted by declining budgets, inequality is growing across and within schools;
- California's high schools face growing demands from families experiencing economic crisis; these demands point to the interrelationship of California's education and social welfare budgets.

II. The Class of 2009: Educational Opportunities and Outcomes as California Entered the Recession

The class of 2009 entered 9th grade at a time of expanding economic opportunities, but graduated in a period of economic decline. During the 2009 class's enrollment, California's perpupil expenditures were less than almost any other state, with the near worst ratios of teachers and counselors to students. In 2008-09, the many California middle schools that served more than 90 % Latino, African American, and American Indian students were almost 10 times more likely than majority white and Asian schools to experience severe shortages of qualified teachers.

III. The Study of California High School Principals

Often, researchers and policy makers use the term "opportunities" as an abstract indicator of concrete conditions. For example, a state's or a school's student-toteacher ratio suggests typical or average circumstances. Such indicators are useful for comparisons among groups and to compare gains or declines over time. We surveyed principals to gain this sort of indicator data, but also to gain and share concrete sensibilities of daily, real-world struggles that often are invisible beneath the numbers.

IV. Findings: The Impact of Budget Cuts and the Economic Crisis on California High Schools

Less Instructional Time

- 49% report reduced instructional days since 2008
- 32% report reduced after-school programming
- 65% report reduced or eliminated summer school

Steven Chavez, Orange County: "Students [who can't attend summer school] are going to not be able to make the credits up... and that's going to impact their eligibility to graduate."

Less Attention From Teachers and Counselors

- 74% report increased class size, since 2008
- 50% report fewer counselors
- 66% of schools that had offered university or nonprofitbased college access programs had them reduced

Denise Garrison, Placer County: "I think it's very difficult for [students] to come and ask questions, come and ask for help when they know the teachers...just have so much to do."

Less Instructional Materials

• 63% report reduced access to calculators, measuring instruments, and other key mathematical tools

Todd Lapitor, San Diego County: "Yeah, basically we can't upgrade our computers. So we have a lot of dinosaurs over five years old.... It's difficult because we use technology in all our classes."

Less Diverse and Engaging Curriculum

- 29% report fewer art or music classes
- 34% report cuts to social studies electives
- 60% of schools trying to develop engaging career and technical programs report setbacks

Less Safe and Welcoming Environments

- 46% report cutbacks to security guards and other staff have negatively impacted student safety on campus
- 67% report declines in the cleanliness and safety of classrooms and the school grounds
- 45% of schools that had community liaisons report that these staff had been cut
- 34% of schools that provided translation services report cuts to these services

Less Capacity for Improvement

- 86% report that opportunities for teachers' professional growth and development had been reduced by budget cuts
- 78% report cuts to school reform and improvement efforts

Maritza Sandoval, San Bernardino County: [The loss of professional development time means that teachers are] "not going to be able to work together to the same degree that they did before."

Growing Inequality

- One quarter of principals from high-wealth districts reported cutting instructional days, compared with more than half of principals from other districts
- One quarter of principals from high-wealth districts reported reductions to counseling staff; more than half of principals in other districts reported such cuts
- High-poverty (poorer) schools raised \$1 from private donations for every \$20 that low-poverty (wealthier) schools raised
- Most low-poverty (wealthier) schools solicit donations or charge families fees to pay for services that had previously been covered by the school—for example, 54% required fees for arts and music and 53% required fees for field trips, while only 9% of principals in high-poverty schools required fees for arts and music and only 26% required fees for field trips—as they feel they cannot place this extra burden on families

Lana George, Santa Clara County: "I think because we're basic aid, and because...we had a parcel tax, we haven't seen the effects. I think this year we'll start to see the effects."

Growing Needs

- 75% report that homelessness has increased among students
- 82% report increased rates of residential mobility
- 56% report increased food insecurity among students

Kristin Hughes, Del Norte County: "We see a lot more kids that are stressed out about it, they're worried about losing their homes, you know, kids are hungrier, they're not making it to the end of the month with the salary that their parents have, and so we're seeing a lot more kids just in a state of struggle all the way around with their basic needs. You know, that's going to impact their academics, because...learning math today is not immediate whereas eating is."

Growing Pressures on Graduation and College-Going

• 78% report their belief that economic decline is responsible for fewer graduating seniors moving on to four-year colleges and universities

Henry Gonzalez, Solano County: "It's kind of sad. The kids have done what they needed to do to go to a four-year college but the economic situation of their families just makes it so that they're going to a junior college and that's not necessarily a bad thing. It's just sad that they took care of their business and there's just no way for them to go on to a four year."

A broader set of analyses of educational conditions and outcomes, including reports on each California legislative district and reports on each public high school and middle school in the state, can be found online at:

www.edopp.org



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Free Fall: Educational Opportunities in 2011

In the last two years, because of the fiscal crisis and budget cuts, I am down eight teachers.... I'm down six counselors. I'm down 10 clerks. I've lost all my security. And I almost lost my nurse and my school psychologist.... They gave us a new budgeting thing this year, and it allowed me to flex some things. It wasn't enough, though. And so I drained the instructional materials account to zero – zero – to keep people working, who are getting exhausted.

—Martin Baker, Principal,¹ Los Angeles County High School

I. Introduction

Like Martin Baker, many California public school principals are scrounging to find ways to provide their students with a quality education. With a mix of commitment and desperation, they look for ways to support a system battered over three years of economic and fiscal crisis. Despite their creative and energetic efforts, educational opportunities in California are falling.

The challenges facing California educators are not new, just worse. For several years, UCLA IDEA (in partnership with UC/ACCORD) has produced an annual report on learning conditions and educational outcomes across California public schools. Our analysis of publically available state and national data sets has found that California lags behind most other states in key educational resources (such as teachers and counselors), and that these resources are distributed unevenly across California's communities. As a consequence, California students have underperformed on many key measures of educational achievement for several years.

As we reported last year, the "great recession" created new challenges for California's weak educational infrastructure. Our 2010 report documented the extraordinary social welfare needs of California students and their families and the efforts of public schools to meet their educational goals while coping with these growing needs. Drawing on interviews with K-12 principals, we also provided the first systematic evidence of the likely impact of budget cuts on learning opportunities in California.

A year later, economic and fiscal crisis has become California's new reality. The state's unemployment rate has been in the double digits since January 2009 and now is higher than anywhere else in the nation except Nevada.² Public education expenditures, which decreased last year, fell even further in 2010-11.³ Such sustained decline moves California into uncharted territory. How are California public schools coping with falling public investment in education (even as they face additional demands from students who lack housing and sufficient food)? How have cuts affected the quality and distribution of educational opportunities? What is the perceived effect of changing conditions on student engagement, learning, and progress to graduation and college enrollment?

The 2011 Educational Opportunity Report draws on information gathered from California high school principals to address these questions. We surveyed 277 high school principals about learning conditions in their schools. Their schools reflect the state's diversity and collectively represent almost a quarter of California's high schools. We also conducted follow-up interviews with a representative sample of 78 of these principals to explore the effects of changing conditions on California's students. The surveys and interviews reveal that district finances, school size, student demographics, and economic circumstances in the surrounding community shape demands on California public schools and their capacity to respond. But the data also highlight the shared experience of high school principals struggling to realize their goals with insufficient resources.

Principal Martin Baker, quoted above, has been honored for instructional leadership leading to steady gains in student achievement. Baker leads a large and diverse urban school in which three quarters of students are eligible for free or reduced priced lunch. He describes his teachers as "intelligent, caring hard-working people who do everything they can and even more than their resources would even possibly allow them to."

Yet, with unemployment at over 14% in the neighborhoods surrounding Baker's high school, many students come to school feeling the effects of the economic crisis, and there is just so much that caring teachers in a well-led school can do. "We have more homeless kids. We have more hungry kids. We have more poor kids." They try to provide students with food and clothing, but "there is not a lot of resources for that."

Baker's school has a highly competitive debate team, but no funds for travel to tournaments. The school has seen extraordinary increases in class size. "Our classrooms are just packed.... You got classrooms built in 1927 for 32 kids packed in there with 43, 45, 47. They're sitting on top of each other. I got furniture for everybody, but that doesn't help. It's like Sardineville without the olive oil so everybody can fit." Baker believes that with less attention from teachers and counselors and fewer engaging programs, student achievement "is always going to suffer."

Principal Baker fears that budget cuts will leave his most vulnerable students less likely to pursue college. He has tried, unsuccessfully, to raise funds from the hard-strapped local community to re-employ a college counselor. Although the few middle class families in his school can access private counselors, most students will lack critical college guidance. "When you starve the resources that schools desperately need to help people who are poor and have no kind of academic setup in their homes, if we can't provide extra things for them that allow them to even believe for one second that they can make it into college, they're not going to do it. It's not going to happen." High school principals from across California echo Baker's concerns over the effects of ongoing budget inadequacies. Core findings from our surveys and interviews include:

- California high schools are providing less time and attention and fewer quality programs. As a consequence, student engagement, achievement and progress to graduation and college are suffering;
- School reform has all but sputtered to a halt due to staff cutbacks and the elimination of time for professional development;
- Even as high schools across the state are impacted by declining budgets, inequality is growing across and within schools;
- California's high schools face growing demands from families experiencing economic crisis, pointing to the inter-relationship of California's education and social welfare budgets.

The remainder of this report is presented in four sections. First, we report on California's Class of 2009, the most recent cohort for which we have state data. This section highlights the conditions and outcomes in California public schools as the recession began. Second, we outline the research methods we used for our survey and follow-up interviews. Third, we draw on data we gathered from the principals to add context and deeper understanding to the core findings of the report. We conclude by looking to principals in our study for insights into how California can best move forward.

II. The Class of 2009: Educational Opportunities and Outcomes as California Entered the Recession

California's Class of 2009 is the most recent cohort for which the state has reported graduation and college enrollment figures. Throughout its four years of high school, the class benefited from growing per-pupil expenditures for California's public schools. In addition, legislation resulting from the settlement of *Williams v. California* and *CTA v. Schwarzenegger* directed new resources to schools that previously had been underserved.⁴ Yet the Class of 2009 was also shaped by changing conditions outside of schools. It entered 9th grade at a time of expanding economic opportunities, but graduated in a period of economic decline. In September 2005, California's unemployment rate was 5.3%. Unemployment remained relatively low for the next two and a half years. But the economy began to constrict in early 2008. Unemployment then grew dramatically until it reached 11.5% as the Class graduated in June 2009.⁵

The Class of 2009 thus represents both the last group who did not experience budget cuts and the first group who graduated amidst the recession. As we see in the "Pathway to College" chart, roughly two thirds of the original cohort's 9th graders graduated in June 2009. About one quarter graduated having successfully completed the A-G course sequence making them eligible for California's public universities. In fall of 2009, a little more than one in eight from the original cohort enrolled in California State University or University of California campuses. These figures represent the entire Class of 2009.



Outcomes for Latino and African American students lagged substantially behind their peers.



Per–pupil Expenditures (Cost Adjusted) 2008

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Georgia 9,89 Kentucky 9,89	
Kentucky 9,89	
	7
Florida 9,81	3
Colorado 9,54	3 1
Mississippi 9,49	3 1 0
Oklahoma 913	3 1 0 1
California 885	3 1 0 1 8
Washington 872	3 1 0 1 8 7
Idaho 863	3 1 1 1 8 7 2
Tennessee 850	3 1 0 1 8 7 2
Texas 843	3 1 0 1 8 7 2 3
Arizona 843	3 1 0 1 8 7 2 3 7
North Carolina 826	3 1 0 1 8 7 2 3 7 9
	3 1 0 1 8 7 2 3 7 9 5
Nevada 822 Utah 652	3 1 0 1 8 7 2 3 7 9 5 1

Source:

2008 data from: http://www.edweek.org/media/ ew/qc/2011/16sos.h30.finance.pdf

Education Week, "Quality Counts"

The poor outcomes overall and the inequalities amongst different groups of students result in part from the inadequacy and inequality of educational resources *before* California imposed deep cuts to its educational budget. Throughout the period that the Class of 2009 was enrolled in high school, California's per-pupil expenditures were less than almost any other state.⁶ According to *Education Week*, California spent \$2371 less for each student than the national average in 2008.⁷ During this same time, California ranked last or next to last of all states in the number of students served by each teacher and counselor.⁸

While California's settlement of the Williams and CTA lawsuits increased support for infrastructure and staffing in many California schools serving high numbers of low-income students and students of color, these changes were only a partial response to prevailing inequalities. Conditions in schools receiving additional funds did improve from 2005 to 2009, but the "opportunity gap" in California persisted. In 2008-9, California middle schools serving more than 90% Latino, African American, and American Indian students were almost 10 times more likely than majority white and Asian schools to experience severe shortages of qualified teachers. Similarly, student demographics predicted shortages of appropriately trained college preparatory teachers in high school and severe overcrowding of school facilities. (A broader set of analyses of educational conditions and outcomes, including reports on each California legislative district and reports on each public high school and middle school in the state, can be found online at www.edopp.org.)

Secondary Student– Teacher Ratio, 2008-09

State or Jurisdiction	Secondary Student-Teacher Ratio
Kansas	7.4
West Virginia	7.7
D. C.	7.9
Wyoming	7.9
Rhode Island	8.0
New Jersey	8.4
Vermont	8.5
Missouri	8.5
North Carolina	8.8
Oklahoma	8.9
Delaware	9.1
Wisconsin	9.3
lowa	9.3
Arkansas	9.4
Pennsylvania	9.7
North Dakota	10.1
Georgia	10.2
Texas	10.3
Hawaii	10.3
Mississippi	10.3
Virginia	10.5
Alabama	10.5
Ohio	10.7
Alaska	10.8
Maryland	10.9
Indiana	11.2
Connecticut	11.2
Colorado	11.3
Idaho	11.3
Nebraska	11.4
Minnesota	11.4
New York	11.5
Florida	11.8
Louisiana	12.2
Massachusetts	12.3
Maine	12.6
New Hampshire	13.0
Montana	13.3
Michigan	14.2
South Carolina	14.7
Washington	14.7
Illinois	14.0
Tennessee	15.2
South Dakota	15.2
Nevada	15.8
Utah	16.2
New Mexico	10.2
-	19.3
Oregon Kentucky	19.4
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	20.2
Arizona	20.2

Source:

http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2010/2010347.pdf

National Center for Education Statistics

Student–Counselor Ratio, 2008-09

State or Jurisdiction	Student-Counselor Ratio	
Wyoming	102.4	
Vermont	109.1	
D.C.	137.6	
Hawaii	137.8	
Rhode Island	145.7	
New York	161.3	
Oklahoma	166.5	
West Virginia	168.5	
North Carolina	172.6	
Arkansas	173.0	
Kansas	178.8	
Colorado	183.6	
Louisiana	185.9	
New Hampshire	186.1	
Virginia	187.3	
Idaho	194.2	
Delaware	199.1	
Texas	202.5	
Pennsylvania	205.1	
Missouri	205.7	
Maryland	206.6	
Alaska	214.5	
Georgia	220.0	
Massachusetts	222.3	
Maine	225.6	
Indiana	226.1	
Florida	229.3	
Nevada	229.8	
Nebraska	236.0	
Wisconsin	242.3	
Mississippi	245.4	
Washington	245.9	
Utah	248.1	
North Dakota	250.2	
Connecticut	251.8	
Ohio	260.2	
Montana	261.8	
Michigan	264.2	
lowa	282.5	
Illinois	293.9	
South Carolina	296.9	
Kentucky	297.4	
Minnesota	303.5	
New Mexico	306.9	
South Dakota	315.4	
Tennessee	317.9	
Alabama	318.1	
New Jersey	337.0	
Oregon	383.7	
California	395.5	
Arizona	398.5	

Source:

Common Core of Data (CCD), "State Nonfiscal Survey of Public Elementary/Secondary Education", 2008-09 v.1a

http://nces.ed.gov/ccd/

III. The Study of California High School Principals

The 2011 Education Opportunity Report draws on survey and interview data from high school principals across the state. The survey was designed to assess the impact of budget cuts on conditions in California public high schools as well as the effects of the economic crisis on high school students. The followup interviews aimed to illuminate survey responses, in particular the effects of changing conditions on students.

Data was collected between July 4 and Labor Day of 2010. In July 2010, UCLA IDEA researchers e-mailed all public high school principals in California and invited them to participate in the survey. In total, 277 principals, representing 22% of all high school principals in California, completed the survey.

The schools that these 277 principals lead reflect the demographic and geographic diversity of California high schools. The survey sample is evenly distributed between schools enrolling low, medium, and high proportions of students from low-income families, as determined by the percentage of students receiving free or reduced price lunch. (See chart below.) It includes roughly the same percentage of high schools with low, medium, and high proportions of Latino, African American, and American Indian students (who are underrepresented in California's public universities) as the state as a whole. (See chart below.) The geographic distribution of schools in the survey was representative of those statewide. Schools in the survey pool were from 45 of the 58 counties in Northern, Central, and Southern California. Finally, charter schools are represented in our survey pool in proportion to charter school enrollment in California high schools generally.



Survey Sample Characteristics

Source: California Basic Education Data System, available at <u>www.cde.ca.gov/ds/sd/cb/</u>

As in California as a whole, the neighborhoods served by the high schools in our survey sample have suffered since the recession began. At the beginning of the 2010-11 school year, the state's unemployment rate was 12.5%. Forty-one percent of schools from our sample are located in communities that have even higher rates. Indeed, 29% of the high schools surveyed are located in neighborhoods with unemployment rates greater than 15%.

For the next phase of our study, we asked principals who had completed our survey to participate in a 30-minute, confidential, audio-recorded phone interview. After an initial wave of principals responded, we continued to contact non-responders, especially targeting principals from subgroups of schools with demographics that would make our sample more representative. Our interview sample includes a roughly even distribution of principals from schools with low, medium, and high proportions of low-income students. (See chart below.) Our final sample included a slightly higher proportion of principals from schools with 0-49% underrepresented students and 90-100% underrepresented students than the state as a whole. (See chart below.) The 78 principals we surveyed lead schools in 28 counties across the Southern, Central, and Northern regions of California.



Interview Sample Characteristics

Graduate students in UCLA's Principal Leadership Institute conducted half of the principal interviews, while IDEA researchers interviewed the other half. We tailored each interview to the principal's survey responses. For example, if the principal had reported that budget cuts had negatively impacted professional development, we asked him or her to describe the impact and its consequences. We then transcribed the resulting 78 audio recordings.

Once we had collected all the survey and interview data, we began the analysis phase of our study. We quantitatively analyzed the survey data, calculating percentages across the data and for subgroups of schools. We qualitatively analyzed the interview data, first creating a coding scheme that included more than 100 codes. We coded the interviews in an on-line qualitative research program, noting patterns in the data. In combination, these two sources of data illuminated not only the breadth of the impacts of the budget cuts and economic crisis on California high schools, but also the day-to-day struggles of students, families, and school personnel.

Source: California Basic Education Data System, available at www.cde.ca.gov/ds/sd/cb/

IV. Findings: The Impact of Budget Cuts and the Economic Crisis on California High Schools

Over the last decade, high school reform has emerged as a central issue for state and federal policy. A great deal of attention has centered on the problem of high dropout rates.⁹ Equally important has been the press to expand access to college.¹⁰ This focus on high schools emerges in part from recognition that a high school degree and access to college matter more now for adult earnings than a generation ago.¹¹ There is also a related concern that the United States has fallen relative to many other nations in the proportion of students who attain a bachelors' degree.¹²

Recent research and policy reports identify critical elements of high quality and equitable high schools. These components include ample instructional time, small classrooms, targeted support and guidance, curriculum and instructional practices that engage learners with diverse interests, and opportunities for educators to participate in professional learning communities.¹³ On each of these criteria, the principals in our study report that conditions in California high schools have deteriorated.

Less Time: Cutting Instructional Days, After-School Programs, and Summer School

A growing body of research has pointed to the potential of extending learning time—through more instructional days, longer school days, or summer programs—as a strategy for promoting student success and closing the achievement gap. By adding instructional time, schools can integrate more project-based learning and broaden curricular offerings, thereby making learning more engaging. Extending learning time also provides opportunities for students struggling with new material, or English Learners encountering curriculum in a new language, to access additional supports.¹⁴ Pointing to research that shows that the rate of learning loss during summer months is greatest for students from low-income families, the National Academy of Education concluded that quality learning time in summer can play an important role in equalizing educational achievement.¹⁵



% of Principals Reporting Fewer Days of Instruction

Despite the clear relationship between increased instructional time and academic outcomes, nearly half (49%) of California high schools have reduced instructional days since 2008. Principals like Miles Garrison in Los Angeles County point out that shortened calendars fly in the face of recent research. "So much of the evidence," he says, indicates "we should be extending the year to bridge the achievement gap." For Henry Gonzalez, a principal in Solano County, there is a "sense of urgency" when the calendar is shortened because "we are at a minimum" and "we can't afford to miss one day." Maria Sanchez, who recently has taken over a Los Angeles County school that has been in "program improvement" for many years, agrees. "Every day that students

aren't in the classroom impacts their progress." Given her students' low scores in math and reading, she pointed to the "need to find time to have them in school longer."

Roughly one in three (32%) California high school principals report reducing after-school programming and two in three (65%) report cutting back or eliminating summer school. Students at both ends of the academic spectrum are deeply impacted by the cuts. Many principals, such as Susan Louden of Kern County, worried that struggling students would not catch up without tutoring and other support services. Steven Chavez, a principal from Orange County, feared that cuts in summer school would prevent students from repeating classes they failed during the regular school year. "Students are going to not be able to make the credits up... and that's going to impact their eligibility to graduate." Riverside County's Mike Mendez argued that the loss of summer school also would have a "major impact" on college-going. His students would no longer be able to take "accelerated" classes in the summer that allowed "them to take a third or fourth year of science or a third or fourth year of foreign language" during the regular school year.

Less Attention from Teachers and Counselors

High school students benefit from personalized learning environments in which teachers, counselors, and other trained adults provide regular and extensive feedback and ongoing guidance. Such interaction enables educators to build on student strengths and interests and identify and respond in a timely manner when students need additional help. Small class sizes are key to such personalization.¹⁶ So too are reasonable student-counselor loads.¹⁷ Yet, even before the recent round of budget cuts, California high school teachers and counselors served more students than any other state in the nation. (See charts on page 5.)

Californian students' access to teachers and counselors has declined further since 2008. Three in four (74%) high school principals report that class size has increased. And this increase often has been dramatic. "We were blessed with 20 to 1 in English and 24 to 1 in math in my first two years, at the 9th grade," notes Glen Cohen of Santa Cruz County. Now those classes are at 35 to 1. Many other principals reported class sizes of more than 40. Denise Garrison from Placer County remarks, "I think it's very difficult for them to come and ask questions, come and ask for help when they know the teachers ...just have so much to do." Craig Galloway in Los Angeles County says, "Sitting in a sea of 42 kids per class, they barely have room to get through the aisles, they get less teacher time, less interaction." Galloway calculates that with each assignment, English teachers grade 210 papers across five classes. "I shudder to think what the long-term impact of 40 students per class is going to have."



% of Principals Reporting Cuts to After-School Programs



% of Principals Reporting Cuts to Summer School



% of Principals Reporting Class Size Increases

Free Fall: Educational Opportunities in 2011



% of Principals Reporting Cuts to Academic Counselors



% of Principals Reporting Cuts to College Access Programs

Half (50%) of California high schools have reduced their academic counseling staff. In addition, two thirds (66%) of schools that previously benefited from university or non-profit-based college access programs saw cutbacks in these initiatives. "Having less counselors for the same number of kids" has consequences for college access, argues Henry Gonzalez from Solano County. "It impacts their ability to sit one-on-one to talk to kids about what they want to do....[and to provide] the information and tools to go to college." Scott Townsend, a principal in Los Angeles County, saw a 20% increase in college admissions after hiring a ful-time college counselor a few years ago. "With him gone now, all that [has] been eliminated. You know, you're going to have a significant and immediate detrimental impact on that link. It's a vital link."

We bad a full-time college center career director, and she would [meet with] every single English class two times a year ... and the kids would investigate careers. [She would ask the students] "If you want this career then what kind of college do you need? ... And then they would have a lot of college guidance. She would help with them filling out their applications, their FAFSA forms, their student aid, all that kind of stuff. ... With the cutback, ... we only get her two days a week. ... So much of that personalized service, those classroom visits, she can no longer do. ... The juniors and seniors knew what to go get from her, but the freshmen and sophomores will never have known what they could have gotten from her.

-Maritza Sandoval, principal in San Bernardino County

Less Access to Instructional Materials

The majority of California principals report that their schools have cut instructional materials for English, science, and math classes. Students at almost two thirds (63%) of high schools have reduced access to calculators, measuring instruments, and other key mathematical tools. Principals don't purchase equipment, wait longer to replace old materials, require students to share, or ask families to purchase materials. All of these strategies affect learning, and they have a disparate impact on students whose families can't afford to help.

In Los Angeles County, Craig Galloway has not repaired or replaced broken lab equipment. "Kids are sharing microscopes, which gives them less time individually using them." He concludes, "Without the money to purchase equipment and supplies, instruction and learning suffers." Alameda County's Mike Gordon can no longer afford up-to-date learning tools: "We were trying to get our lower, struggling students access to the graphic calculator so they could better understand graphing and what happens when you change a slope and the Y intercept, etc." Similarly, Paula Diamond in Riverside County describes how her science teachers can no longer purchase a class set of frogs for dissection in wet labs. Now there is just one set "for the class [which] the teacher shows on a document camera, and so that's not really engaging learning."

% Principals Reporting Less Student Access to ...

Materials for English Classes	52%
High-Functioning Science Labs	58%
Math Materials	63%

Such reductions make it harder, notes Dan Taylor in San Diego County, for science teachers to "go a little bit deeper" and stretch the understanding of their strongest students.

"Yeab, basically we can't upgrade our computers. So we have a lot of dinosaurs over five years old. ... It's difficult because we use technology in all our classes. In the 9th grade physics class, kids are using Flash animation to illustrate different concepts in physics. And it's becoming barder and barder to do because there are fewer computers that are still functioning properly."

-Todd Lapitor, principal in San Diego County.

"I guess the biggest problem we have is, you start off with a pretty healthy infrastructure of technology. But without resources to support it, your technology begins to falter. Then who corrects that? And so we struggle, and I'm sure many schools are in the same position. Sometimes our computer will go down, or our printer; there's nobody here to deal with it."

-Frank Johnson, principal in Los Angeles County

Less Diverse and Engaging Curriculum: Cuts to Electives and Career and Technical Education

In many California high schools, course offerings have narrowed over the last two years. Nearly a third (29%) of principals reported that their schools offer fewer art or music classes. In addition, more than a third (34%) of principals indicated that their schools have cut back social studies electives. "Last year we were able to offer psychology, sociology, ... Latin American studies, and an international relations class," explains Rebecca Stevens from Los Angeles County. "But right now, in order to keep the class sizes from growing we've had to pull our teachers to do the core classes." Joe Hernandez in Riverside County reasons that restricting choice of courses "negatively impacts motivation and engagement."

Career and technical education (CTE) programs also have been impacted. In Los Angeles County, Pablo Torres reported that he has teachers prepared to teach green technology in auto shop, but lacks computers and equipment for such lessons. And reform efforts such as "Linked Learning," (formerly known as "Multiple Pathways"), that combine a thematic or career-based curriculum with academic learning in real-world settings, have also suffered cutbacks.¹⁸ More than three fourths (78%) of principals said their schools try to integrate CTE courses with academic courses, and the majority (60%) of these respondents said their efforts had been negatively impacted by the budget cuts. Daryl Sugarman of San Joaquin County explained that Linked Learning requires time for CTE and academic teachers to connect their



% of Principals Reporting Cuts to Art and Music



% of Principals Reporting that Efforts to Link Career Technical Education and Academic Courses have been Impacted

curriculum, and that he no longer had funds to support such planning time. It has become more difficult for schools to provide students with opportunities to learn in real-world settings (through work-site projects, job shadowing, or internships) as businesses struggle to stay afloat.

Less Safe and Welcoming Environments: Facilities and Infrastructure Suffer

Reductions to key personnel have taken their toll on the social and physical environment of many California high schools. Nearly half (46%) of California high school principals reported that cutbacks to security guards and other staff had negatively impacted student safety on campus. Two thirds (67%) of high school principals revealed that budget cuts have impacted the cleanliness and safety of classrooms and the school grounds. Los Angeles County principal Mike Bianco noted that his smaller custodial staff has not been able to keep up with trash disposal, and this has led to "an increase in rodents, roaches, and other living things." Glen Cohen in Santa Cruz County bemoans the fact that despite the efforts of the depleted grounds staff, his "beautiful facility" is being "beat to a pulp."

Many California principals also noted that the budget has impacted their ability to foster a welcoming and empowering environment for parents. Nearly half (45%) of principals whose schools had community liaisons reported that these staff had been cut. A similar proportion of principals noted reductions to parent workshops. Such programs, argues Sacramento County's Linda Garfield, had played a key role in providing parents with the information "they need to know to help navigate their child through high school." In addition, more than a third (34%) of principals whose schools provided translation services said that these services had been cut. Ana Lopez, whose Los Angeles County high school serves a primarily Spanish-speaking community worries that reductions to translators will "create barriers" for parents to participate in school meetings.

Less Capacity for Improvement: New Barriers to Implement Reform

Researchers and policy makers agree that professional collaboration and professional learning are key to improving high schools.¹⁹ Both beginning teachers and seasoned professionals stand to benefit from quality professional development that draws on teachers' expertise, exposes them to new strategies, and supports them to tailor these ideas to their students and the unique context of their classrooms.²⁰ Such professional development requires time for teachers to meet, access to outside experts and networks of reforming educators, and a collegial and supportive environment.²¹ Few California high schools provide these conditions today.



% of Principals Reporting that Staff Cuts have Impacted Safety



% of Principals Reporting that Cuts have Impacted Safety and Cleanliness of School



% of Principals Reporting Cuts to Community Liaison Positions



% of Principals Reporting Cuts to Translation Services

Almost all California high school principals believe that budget cuts have undermined teacher learning and reform. More than six in seven principals (86%) indicated that opportunities for teachers' professional growth and development had been impacted by budget cuts. Eighty-eight percent reported that budget cuts have impacted reform and school improvement efforts. Henry Gonzales' school in Solano County had been in the middle of introducing teachers into professional learning communities when the recession hit. "That all has been shot down," he noted, "and now we're scrambling around." Orange County principal Kim Rogers similarly recounts how reform in her school "just sort of came to a standstill" after "the district froze our budget and said...you can't pay to release them to give them time to work together."

Faced with the loss of professional development days, many principals have tried to find smaller blocks of time for teachers to meet within the existing schedule. But, as Maritza Sandoval in San Bernardino County notes, "To really do the work you can't do it in 45 minutes a week." She concluded, "Yeah, they're not going to be able to work together to the same degree that they did before."

While time for professional learning is in short supply, so too is the sense of trust and commitment that fuels collective improvement. Many principals echo the sentiment of Denise Garrison from Placer County who acknowledged that she and her hard-working and caring staff have become "just so very demoralized" by the spate of pink slips she has distributed each of the last two years. Mike Mendez in Riverside County says his remaining "teachers feel like they're being pounded and pounded" as they are asked to do "more and more and more with less, less, less." The furloughs imposed by Linda Garfield's district in Sacramento County have left her with a deep sense of ambivalence about whether to request her teachers to take on important additional work. "So then when you say, we're going to cut you, but yeah, we want you to do these five things for free now, are there people who would do it? Yes. But do I feel like we should ask them? No.... I mean, you can only squeeze the turnip so much."

Growing Inequality

To this point in the report, we have focused attention on how budget cuts have affected all California high schools. The principals' responses on surveys and interviews confirm that there are fewer educational opportunities across small schools and big schools, urban and rural communities, regions hardest hit by the economic downturn, and areas that are beginning to experience recovery. Yet some schools have been able to protect vital services more than others. While these have been hard times for all, they have been far harder for some.

For example, high schools in districts that rely less on state funding because of their substantial local revenue base have been better able to protect instructional days and counseling staff. We compared survey responses of principals in "basic



% of Principals Reporting Fewer Opportunities for Teachers' Professional Growth

"At this point we have not had to cut as deeply as revenue limit districts, but we're getting there."

—Jessica Hampton, principal in a basic aid district.

aid" districts or in school districts with local revenues greater than \$1,000 per pupil to the responses of other principals in our sample. One quarter of principals from basic aid or high local revenue districts reported cutting instructional days, compared with more than half of principals from other districts. Similarly, whereas one quarter of principals from basic aid or high local revenue districts reported reductions to counseling staff, more than half of principals in other districts reported such cuts.

% of Principals Reporting Cuts to	Schools in High Wealth Districts	Schools in all other Districts
Instructional Days	25%	51%
Counselors	25%	52%

Basic aid districts are school districts whose substantial local property tax revenues exceed the core funding promised to all districts. As a consequence, these districts do not receive so-called "revenue limit" funds from the state, but only categorical funds for particular programs. (Until 2003, basic aid districts received \$120 per student of "basic aid" in lieu of revenue limit funds. In 2003, the state stopped providing these funds, arguing that it fulfilled its constitutional obligation through categorical funds.) Districts with high local revenues generate these additional funds through contributions from local cities, fees on construction, parcel taxes, or donations from community members and foundations. Combined, basic aid districts and high local revenue districts serve about 6% of California's students. On average, these districts spend more per student than the rest of the state.

"I think because we're Basic Aid, and because ... we bad a parcel tax, we baven't seen the effects. I think this year we'll start to see the effects."

—Lana George, principal, Santa Clara County. Our research also found that high-poverty schools have less capacity to generate private donations than low-poverty schools, and they raise one dollar for every twenty raised by schools serving few poor students. The median response among all principals surveyed was that they raised \$20,000. However, schools with few students from low-income families received an average of \$100,000 in donations compared to \$5,000 for schools with a high proportion of poor students.

	All High Schools in Survey	Low Poverty High Schools	Mid-Level Poverty High Schools	High Poverty High Schools
% Free/Reduced Lunch		0%-33.9%	34%-62.9%	63%-100%
Median Donations	\$20,000	\$100,000	\$20,000	\$5,000

In addition to soliciting donations, California's high schools increasingly are calling upon families to pay for services that had previously been covered by the school. Principals were most likely to ask families to pay for field trips and sports, but a sizeable number of principals reported requiring parents to contribute for instructional materials or arts and music. Again, the impact differs according to whether a school is high or low poverty. For every service, principals from low-poverty schools were much more likely to require family contributions than principals from high-poverty schools. Six times as many (54% to 9%) principals of low-poverty schools reported that they required family contributions for arts and music. These differences are not surprising: principals in high-poverty schools know that the families they serve cannot afford additional expenses.

	All HS	Low Poverty	High Poverty
Field Trips	43%	53%	26%
Arts and Music	34%	53%	9%
Instructional Materials	19%	32%	9%
Summer School	12%	20%	5%
Tutoring	10%	15%	4%
Clubs	12%	17%	9%
Sports	47%	57%	30%

Has your school begun requiring students and families to pay for or make additional contributions to any of the following services as a consequence of the budget cuts?

As high schools shift costs to families, inequality between schools often grows. Low-poverty high schools that charge fees are better positioned to maintain services than high-poverty schools that do not. Further, when parents in lowpoverty schools cover costs that high-poverty schools must pay out of their school budget, the low-poverty schools end up with more funds to spend on other budget items. (See Miles Garrison's story on this page.) Requiring families to pay for services also exacerbates inequality within schools. "Low poverty" is not the same as "no poverty," and hence the imposition of fees can disadvantage students from poor families whose classmates are primarily middle class or affluent. Kristin Hughes in Del Norte County reports that, since her school began requiring students to bring additional materials, beyond the textbook, students "whose families are very poor... will come without pencils, they'll come without paper, and we're unable to help them with that as we have in the past."

It's the difference between what's equal and what's equitable. For instance, my kids go to the wealthy school in our district—it's not that wealthy but wealthy enough. And we buy them [calculators] as parents because [we] can afford to.... That principal at that school never has to spend money on calculators, because the parents buy them. For that matter, the parents buy the novel that they are reading as well. They send home a little note that ... sort of intimates that you're a lousy parent if you don't buy them the novel, so [the students] can keep notes in it. So we buy the novel, To Kill a Mockingbird, for my daughter, and she goes and takes the English class. Well, as a principal at Saguaro High School, I have to buy To Kill a Mockingbird for every student that's reading it at the time. So that is, not only am I spending my principal's allocation, versus the other principal who is getting the same amount of money per child, and he's not spending any money... They can then have money to do some of the bigger ticket items..... We get nickel and dimed and...it is the poor schools that are suffering more because of this. —Miles Garrison, principal of a high-poverty high school in Los Angeles County

When the scope of public school services shrinks, families with financial means often seek additional support in the private sector. For example, upper middle class and affluent families often employ private college counselors.²² One recent national survey of students who performed well on the SAT or ACT found that more than one quarter hired a private educational consultant to help them with the college admissions process.²³ Data from the United States

Bureau of Labor Statistics point to the advantages that more affluent parents provide to high school students. On average, families of 15-17-year-olds with earnings above \$98,000 spent more than seven times as much on education-related expenses as families earning less than \$57,0000.²⁴ Students from low-income families have few options when public schools cut back on counseling and other college access programs. Larry McLaughlin, a principal in Alameda County, explains, "We've been able in the past to contract someone to help our students, particularly students of color and first-generation...going to college, help them with writing their essays to get into college and support. And those programs, we don't have the money for that."

Growing Needs (Due to Economic Crisis)

The diminished capacity of California public schools coincides with growing social welfare needs of high school students due to the economic crisis. With statewide unemployment over 12% and underemployment estimated at more than 20%, many California youth lack secure housing, food, and clothing.²⁵ The failure of our economy and our social safety net to provide the basics for California's youth has a direct human cost that cannot be overstated. It also strains the capacity of our public schools and impacts educational outcomes.

This final section of our findings highlights the growing social welfare demands that California high school students bring into their schools and the effects of economic stress on valued educational outcomes. There is a growing body of international research documenting the relationship between parental unemployment and educational achievement. Data from Australia, Canada, and the United States converge on a common finding: On average, parental unemployment negatively affects the educational trajectories of children.²⁶ These studies suggest that policy makers should look upon K-12 education as inextricably connected to economic development and the provision of social welfare. California's high school principals intuitively understand this idea, and they highlighted its importance throughout their interviews.



% of Principals Reporting an Increase in Homelessness

Growing Housing Instability

Three in four (75%) high school principals reported that homelessness has increased among their students. Homelessness rose even in affluent neighborhoods like the one where Kim Rogers works in Orange County. "We've just seen more kids who have needed more support, either with transitional housing or that are living in hotels, being evicted. It used to be, I mean, we're in a pretty good area socio-economically and I think it's been shocking over the last couple of years to see how many more of our kids are either evicted or [forced to move] because families lose their home." In addition to homelessness, five in six (82%) principals reported higher rates of residential mobility. When jobs are lost, homes foreclosed, or eviction notices served, students end up moving. The uncertainty about housing makes it difficult for students to focus on, let alone, complete, homework. Miles Garrison whose school is in a high foreclosure section of Los Angeles County, identifies another problem: As his students follow their families to new housing, they end up transferring into and out of his school, and this "wreaks havoc on their grades."

"We have several students who have lost their homes; their parents have lost their homes and they may be living in a hotel, motel; they may be living at a center, they may be living in their car. So sometimes they don't know where they may be living tomorrow."

—Alice Nelson, principal in Los Angeles County

"Well, what we're finding here is...a huge increase in the number of students whose entire family has moved in with their grandparents or an aunt and an uncle or something like that, and so we have multiple families in a single home." —Ted Dryfuss, principal in San Luis Obisbo County.

"Just the number of students that come in and out, the number of students that check in and check out of our school. We are a lower income area, so although we have students that have come in constantly, we have the same amount that are moving out. We have students that move home to home. ... The stability alone affects how our students are growing and having the ability to do homework or not do homework. A home plays a very important part of students' lives and their ability to be successful at school." —Sue Booth, principal in Riverside County

"We are ground zero...for the economic crisis. No area in the country has been hit harder than us, and we have three areas of this city that have absolutely been devastated by home foreclosures and people losing their jobs.... Our mobility rate is over 50%... That's the number of students coming and going throughout a school year. I had over a thousand students last year who either entered [the high school] brand new, or left.... And when you have that kind of mobility rate, when we talk about standardized testing, [it] makes it much more difficult."

—Daryl Sugarman, principal in San Joaquin County

Growing Hunger

More than half (56%) of the principals we surveyed reported an increase in food insecurity amongst their students. Jim Villa is a principal in Merced County that has among the highest foreclosure rates in the nation and an unemployment rate of over 20%. His school now provides free lunches to 82% of all students. Kristin Hughes in Del Norte County says, "We see a lot more kids that are



% of Principals Reporting an Increase in Student Residential Mobility



% of Principals Reporting Student Food Insecurity

stressed out about it, they're worried about losing their homes, you know, kids are hungrier, they're not making it to the end of the month with the salary that their parents have, and so we're seeing a lot more kids just in a state of struggle all the way around with their basic needs. You know, that's going to impact their academics, because...learning math today is not immediate, whereas eating is."



% of Principals Reporting a Decrease in Social Welfare and Health Services

Diminished provision of social welfare outside of school impacts schools. More than half (53%) of principals surveyed indicated that they have seen a decrease in social welfare and health services provided to their students by government agencies or community groups.

"I think the impact I have noticed has been in terms of student depression and stress because parents are unemployed...and they're coming into their counselors in need of assistance because of economic reasons that impact their mental health."

—Jerry Chin, principal in Ventura County

Growing Threats to Graduation and College-Going

Economic stress has made it more challenging for some students to remain in high school. Sasha Trenton in Sacramento County recounts, "I have had a 12th grader and her 10th grade sister leave the school mid-year and go into an independent study program so that they could work most of the day, because they needed to work to support the family."



% of Principals Reporting Fewer Graduates Going to a Four-Year College or University

Economic problems have had a huge impact on students' college plans. With unemployment and underemployment rates higher than in decades, many families lack the financial wherewithal to pay for college.²⁷ Nearly eight in ten (78%) principals blamed the economy for fewer graduating seniors moving on to four-year colleges and universities. Riley Wilson, a principal in Siskiyou County, where unemployment stands at 19%, tells the story of his class valedictorian. He was a "very, very talented young man, and instead of him going to a four-year institution, because of the economy he has chosen to go to a two-year institution." Wilson does not dismiss the value of community colleges, but regrets that his student did not have a choice-even with available scholarships. Similarly Henry Gonzalez in Solano County reasons, "It's kind of sad. The kids have done what they needed to do to go to a four-year college, but the economic situation of their families just makes it so that they're going to a junior college and that's not necessarily a bad thing. It's just sad that they took care of their business and there's just no way for them to go on to a four year."

V. Ending the Free Fall



The high school principals whose experiences and voices are at the heart of this report understand the direct and immediate connection between the opportunities they can provide and whether or not their students move on a pathway toward graduation and college. To thrive in school, their students need more instructional time, more attention from teachers and counselors, more and newer materials, more engaging and rigorous curriculum, and more social supports. Yet budget cuts and the economic crisis have left their schools with less, often much less, of these critical conditions. Schools serving large numbers of low-income families have been hit hardest. Meanwhile, staff layoffs and the elimination of professional learning time have brought improvement efforts in many schools to a virtual halt. In the last three years, California's high schools have fallen from advancing reform to just barely surviving.

This is not to say that the principals we spoke with have given up. Every day, principals across California struggle to do the best they can with what they have. Murray Rose, a principal in the San Joaquin Valley, tells his staff, "Four or five years from now when our students...are entering the job market...they can't [tell their prospective employers]...there was an economic downturn in the time that I was in high school.... We have to prepare them." So principals like Linda Garfield in Sacramento County work 14 or 15 hour days, rallying their staff and encouraging their students, to "keep [their] eyes on the prize" of achievement, graduation, and college access.

Courage, motivation, and focus cannot, by themselves, sustain a system of quality public education. Such commitment is a wonderful resource that speaks to the potential for California to build a first-class educational system when it invests the necessary resources. But, at best, relying on heroic acts creates a patchwork of low and high quality educational services. At worst, it leads to frustration, resentment, and burnout. Californians desire and deserve better. Eighty-six percent of Californians surveyed this fall said that a college education is "very important today." (By comparison, only 75% agreed with this statement in a national survey.) Latino and African American respondents were most likely to view college as necessary for success in the work world. Almost all California parents hope that their children will attain at least a bachelors' degree.²⁸

How can this hope be transformed into a force to stem California's free fall? Californians need to understand the connection between opportunities, learning, and budgets. Certain opportunities matter for student outcomes time, attention, engaging curricula, up-to-date instructional materials—and these conditions cost money. Martin Baker, the award-winning principal we introduced at the beginning of this report, notes that it is not enough to tell schools, "just do it," if the state does not provide the resources—the "how to do it." Californians also must recognize their shared responsibility and collective agency. "We have to look in the mirror," says Principal Baker. "All of us as citizens have failed to provide for the futures of our kids." It is now time for California's public to invest in its youth and renew its commitment to quality public education for all.

Endnotes

- 1 All principal names used in this report are pseudonyms. We promised confidentiality to the high school principals who participated in our survey and follow-up interviews. We do identify the county where the principals work.
- 2 "Local Area Unemployment Statistics," U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, accessed March 4, 2011, http://www.bls.gov/data/.
- 3 This is the second year of declining expenditures. See Mac Taylor, "The 2011-12 Budget: Year-Two Survey—Update on School District Finance in California" (Legislative Analyst's Office, 2011), accessed March 4, 2011, http://www.lao.ca.gov/analysis/2011/education/ed_survey_two_020711.pdf.
- 4 The legal settlement of *CTA v. Schwarzenegger* required the State of California to pay to public schools the amount it still owed them based on agreements in the 2003-04 fiscal year. SB 1133 (Torlakson) codified the terms of the settlement and placed significant restrictions on how those additional dollars could be spent by creating a new program, the Quality Education Investment Act (QEIA). *Williams v. State of California* was settled in 2004 and required that all students have instructional materials, that their schools be clean and safe, and that they have qualified teachers.
- 5 "Local Area Unemployment Statistics."
- **6** This claim is based on cost adjustment. "Quality Counts," *Education Week*, 2011, accessed Feb. 28, 2011,http://www.edweek.org/media/ew/qc/2011/16sos.h30.finance.pdf
- 7 "Quality Counts."
- 8 National Center for Education Statistics, accessed March 3, 2011, http://nces.ed.gov/
- **9** Robert Balfanz et al., *Graduating America: Meeting the Challenge of Low-Graduation-Rate High Schools* (Everybody Graduates Center and Jobs for the Future, 2009), accessed February 16, 2011, http://programs.ccsso.org/projects/Membership_Meetings/APF/ documents/Graduating%20America.pdf.
- 10 Margaret Orr, "Transitions to College: An In-Depth Look at the Selected Influences of Demographics, Development, and Policy," *Teachers College Record 111 (2009): 2311-2319.*
- 11 Cecilia Elena Rouse and James J. Kemple, "Introducing the Issue," *The Future of Children* 19 (2009): 3-15.
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- 14 Elena Rocha, Expanded Learning Time in Action: Initiatives in High-Poverty and High-Minority Schools and Districts (Center for American Progress, 2008), accessed February 11, 2011, from http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2008/07/pdf/elt1.pdf.

- 15 Brian Rowan et al., *Time for Learning: Education Policy White Paper*. (National Academy of Education, 2009) accessed February 9, 2011, http://www.naeducation.org/White_Papers_Project_Time_for_Learning_Briefing_Sheet.pdf.
- 16 Linda Darling-Hammond and Diane Friedlaender, "Creating Excellent and Equitable Schools," *Educational Leadership* 65 (2008): 14-21.
- 17 Patricia McDonough, *Counseling and College Counseling In America's High Schools* (Alexandria, Virginia: National Association for College Admission Counseling, 2005), accessed February 28, 2011, http://www.inpathways.net/McDonough%20Report.pdf.
- 18 Jeannie Oakes and Marisa Saunders, *Beyond Tracking: Multiple Pathways to College, Career, and Civic Participation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Education Press, 2008).
- 19 Suzanne Wilson et al. Teacher Quality (National Academy of Education, 2009)accessed February 11, 2011, http://www.naeducation.org/White_Papers_Project_Teacher_Quality_ Briefing_Sheet.pdf; Darling-Hammond and Friedlaender, "Creating Excellent and Equitable Schools."
- 20 Anthony S. Bryk et al., Organizing Schools for Improvement: Lessons from Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
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- 25 For discussion of underemployment, see, "Alternative Measures of Labor Underutilization for States, 2010 Annual Averages," U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, accessed February 28, 2011, http://www.bls.gov/lau/stalt.htm.
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- 27 A fall 2010 survey found that 60% of California parents worried about paying for college. Mark Baldassare et al., *PPIC Statewide Survey: Californians and Higher Education* (Public Policy Institute of California, 2010), accessed March 7, 2011, http://www.ppic.org/content/pubs/survey/S_1110MBS.pdf.
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