City Studies Project Meta-Analysis by CREDO of Stanford University

Cohort 1 Cities

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Center for Research on Education Outcomes Stanford University November 14, 2022

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# 1 About City Studies Project

## 1.1 Purpose

The City Studies Project aims to provide the public with periodic reports of academic performance for public K-12 schools in selected cities across the United States. We hope that the findings provide a solid foundation for informed evaluations of and constructive discussion on the performance of the schools in these cities by stakeholders invested in public education.

# 1.2 Study Approach

The City Studies Project compares the academic performance of various student groups in the city to average statewide academic performance, while accounting for differences in student demographic characteristics based on statistical analysis.<sup>1</sup> In addition, we compare the performance of charter school students (and magnet or innovation school students, where applicable) to the performance of similar district students within the city. By focusing on academic growth, we can best isolate a school's impact on student learning from the impact of other factors in students' lives. Analyses for the project consider the performance of students grouped in a variety of ways. We examine student performance for:<sup>2</sup>

- The city as a whole
- Students in district schools and charter schools
- Students in innovation schools or magnet schools, where applicable
- Black students and Hispanic students, by sector
- Students living in poverty, by sector
- Students with English Language Learner (ELL) status, by sector
- Students receiving special education services, by sector

# 1.3 Meta-Analysis for Cohort 1 of City Studies Project

The meta-analysis presented in this report shows performance growth trends in 10 selected U.S. cities:

- The graphs in sections 2-6 show the trajectory of performance growth in a selected city between the 2014-15 and 2018-19 growth periods. The trend for the city of interest is highlighted in red, while the rest of the nine cities included in the study are shown in gray as a reference point.
- The graphs in section 7 compare the level of achievement between the students entering the charter school for the first time and those who have been enrolled in the charter school in the previous year(s). It tests the hypothesis that charter schools selectively enroll students with already strong academic achievement (cream skimming).

# 1.4 Benchmark for Effect Size Interpretation

For the general audience unfamiliar with statistical concepts, the effect size metric is translated to the days of learning metric in the city-specific reports. The description of the conversion is available on CREDO's website (link to the page).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Although the objective interpretation and comparison of the effect size across the cities is difficult due to differences in macro- and micro-level city- and state-specific factors that might influence the size of effect sizes, we provide a benchmark that readers can use to interpret the results. The benchmark in effect size range is proposed by Kraft (2020), which is also approximately consistent with the categorization suggested by the U.S. Department of Education (2022). The categorization is Large impact (Greater than |0.2|) Medium impact (Between |0.05| and |0.2|) Small impact (Less than |0.05|).



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>We benchmark the growth of Washington DC students in each sector against the city average growth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Please see further details about our study approach at https://credo.stanford.edu/city-studies/.

#### 1.5 Student Characteristics by City, Sector, and Subgroup, Based on 2018-19 Test Takers

To provide the context of the cities examined in the study, the snapshot of student characteristics by city, sector, and subgroup using the latest data in the study window is presented in Table  $1.^4$ 

Table 1: Subgroup Composition by City and Sector, Based on 2018-19 Test Takers
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		Percent						
Sector	Total N	Sector	Black	Hispanic	Poverty	ELL	SPED	
Baton Rouge								
Overall	23,616	100	75.9	7.7	76.6	4.9	8.8	
Magnet	4,759	20.2	66.5	5.4	55.6	.4	2.9	
Charter	4,413	18.7	91.8	4	86.7	2.4	13.2	
TPS	14,444	61.2	74.2	9.6	80.5	7.2	9.4	
Camden	,							
Overall	8,089	100	41.3	56.4	79.8	8.7	16.8	
Innovation	2,267	28	47	49.6	98.1	10.5	20.8	
Magnet	511	6.3	70.1	29.4	61.3	1	11.4	
Charter	2,808	34.7	31.7	66.6	83.3	6.8	12.7	
TPS	2,503	30.9	41	56.8	63.1	10.7	19	
DC	,							
Overall	28,481	100	68.5	17.5	77.3	8.6	17.8	
Magnet	1,002	3.5	53	36.2	78	14.8	7.9	
Charter	13,334	46.8	76.1	14.1	82.3	5.9	19.3	
TPS	14,145	49.7	62.4	19.4	72.4	10.7	17.1	
Denver	,							
Overall	45,087	100	13.2	54.3	64.6	24.2	10.5	
Innovation	4,007	8.9	13.5	34.2	44.8	15.4	9.3	
Charter	13,224	29.3	14.6	64.9	74.4	30.8	10	
TPS	27,856	61.8	12.4	52.2	62.8	22.3	11	
Indianapolis	.,			-		-		
Overall	16,419	100	47.4	27.2	75.7	14.6	17.3	
Innovation	3,360	20.5	58.2	24.6	79.1	14.4	16.3	
Charter	3,730	22.7	53.9	21.1	86.2	10.6	15.7	
TPS	9,329	56.8	40.9	30.5	70.3	16.2	18.3	
Kansas City	,							
Overall	9,999	100	57.7	28.8	94.3	27	11.8	
Magnet	1,136	11.4	50.7	36	100	24.8	8.5	
Charter	5,098	51	59.8	28.3	88.9	23.5	9.7	
TPS	3,765	37.7	57.1	27.4	100	32.4	15.5	
Memphis								
Overall	46,361	100	79	14.4	65.5	5.3	10.1	
Innovation	4,098	8.8	94.2	4.6	80.5	2.5	11.8	
Magnet	966	2.1	74.7	3.3	28.3	.5	1.4	
Charter	8,732	18.8	84.3	13.8	66.6	4.4	10	
TPS	32,565	70.2	75.8	16.1	64.4	6	10.1	
New Orleans								
Overall	25,711	100	81	7.5	83.9	4	11.6	
Magnet	$2,\!379$	9.3	41.1	6.6	42.2	.8	4.1	
Charter	21,760	84.6	84.2	8	88.5	4.5	12.7	
TPS	1,572	6.1	96.2	2.2	83	1.8	8.1	
San Antonio								
Overall	39,926	100	4.3	92.8	87.5	15.7	4.9	
Innovation	$5,\!551$	13.9	7.5	88.1	81.9	13.6	3.5	
Charter	5,344	13.4	7.8	83.7	78.1	10.2	4.9	
TPS	29,031	72.7	3	95.4	90.3	17.1	5.1	
St. Louis								
Overall	11,920	100	75.7	5.8	94.4	8.6	14.9	
Magnet	910	7.6	45.7	4.6	100	3.3	8.6	
Charter	4,641	38.9	68.4	7.9	85.7	7.4	13.7	
TPS	6,369	53.4	85.4	4.4	100	10.2	16.6	
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Note: Counts by Sector Denominator is Citywide Total Denominator is Sector Total

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Note: The statistical method used for the performance growth estimation controls for the differences in the student characteristics between the city and the state average.



# 2 Trends in Overall School Performance Growth, by City

# 2.1 Summary

The overall performance growth trends for each city are presented in section 2.2. The trends by city suggest that each city has its own distinct growth trajectory compared to the corresponding state averages. Cities such as Baton Rouge, Camden, and San Antonio that used to trail behind their state average have started to show an upward growth trajectory in recent years. In contrast, there are cities that show consistently higher performance growth than their state average, such as Denver and Kansas City. New Orleans had been an outlier in terms of performance growth in the state, but the growth rate seems to be slowing down in recent years (especially in reading). Indianapolis exhibited lower performance growth than the state average throughout the study window. Numerous cities performed similarly to the state averages.

Based on the benchmark proposed in Section 1.4, all statistically significant effect sizes shown in the overall city-level trends fall under the medium effect size category. This means that the impacts shown in these trends are non-trivial and, for a number of cities, there are meaningful performance growth changes during the study window.

In sections 2.3 to 2.7, we present trends in performance growth of specific subgroups relative to the state average of each subgroup. Growth trajectories for Black, Hispanic, and students living in poverty tend to closely mirror the citywide trends because these groups comprise the majority of students in the cities studied. Growth trajectories for ELL students and students receiving special education services tend to show larger variation in the estimates due to a smaller number of students belonging to these groups. However, the general trends align with the overall citywide trend for each city.

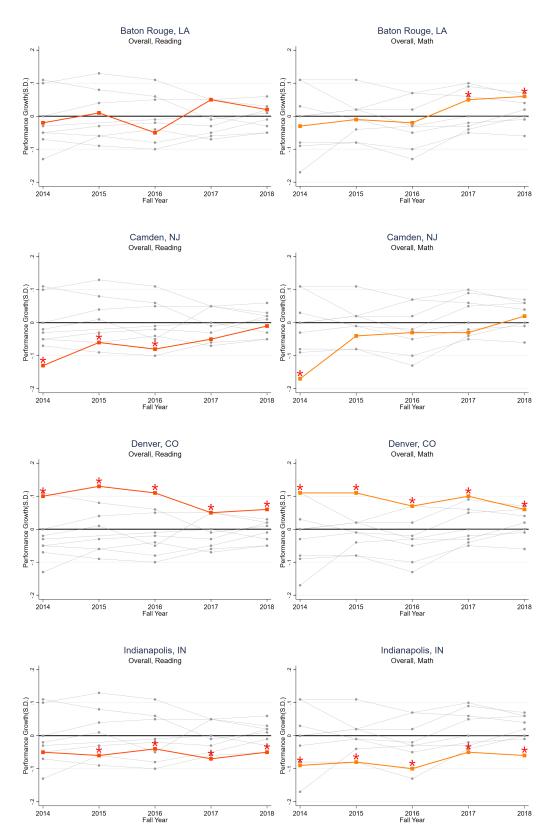
The variety of patterns shown in these comparisons suggests that it is vital to understand the city-specific contexts and which sector or subgroup contributes to the city's overall growth:

- Baton Rouge: The positive trend observed in the last two years of the study window, especially in math, mainly stems from the charter and magnet sectors in the city. As shown in Table 1, the two sectors make up about 40% of the total student body in the city. Black students are the majority of the student population (92% in charter, 67% in magnet), and the positive trends in the performance growth for the subgroup suggest the sectors positively contribute to student learning in the city.
- Camden: While the overall trend line is below or on par with the state average, the city has been showing consistent upward trends in performance growth in reading and math. Although the average charter school performance growth has been flat over the study window, the innovation (Renaissance) schools in Camden contributed to the positive trends and the share of students enrolled in charter and innovation schools has been on a steady increase in Camden, where the students enrolled in the two sectors make up more than 60% of total test takers in the 2018-19 school year (Table 1). About 30% of Camden students are enrolled in district schools, and the performance growth trend of district schools shows positive signs of improvement.
- Denver: All sectors in Denver contributed to the constant positive performance growth compared to the state average. Regarding the magnitude of the growth, the charter sector shows the largest growth, but the rate of growth has leveled off in recent years.



- D.C.: Magnet schools in Washington, D.C., show solid positive growth compared to the city average and the other sectors within the city. Students in Washington DC charter and traditional district schools were mostly on par with the city average student in both subjects across the years.
- Indianapolis: Indianapolis exhibited lower performance growth than the state average throughout the study window. However, charter schools in Indianapolis have shown consistently higher growth relative to the overall growth trends as a city, where the sector makes up about 23% of the student population in the city.
- Kansas City: The overall citywide trend is on par with the state average, while the positive performance growth in the city stems from the charter sector. The charter sector comprises about 51% of the student population in the city.
- Memphis: Magnet schools in Memphis show positive performance growth relative to the state average. However, the contribution to the overall citywide trend is small as the magnet schools make up only a small share (2%) of the overall population.
- New Orleans: Charter and magnet schools show positive performance growth in the city. However, the rate of growth in the charter sector appears to be diminished in the last years of the study window. The New Orleans schools had been poised to become an all-charter system and make up about 85% of the students in the city as shown in Table 1.
- San Antonio: The charter sector shows a steady upward trend in performance growth, contributing to the upward citywide trend. San Antonio schools are in the midst of transition after the adoption of SB1882 in 2017, facilitating district schools' opportunity to partner with an outside organization to enhance student learning and improve outcomes. The data used in this study captures the very inception of the new practices being implemented, and it will be a valuable reference point in gauging the success of the ongoing transition.
- St. Louis: The overall citywide trend suggests the performance growth is on par with the state average. The charter sector shows an upward trend in growth in recent years, and charters make up a non-trivial portion of the student population in the city, which will drive the overall citywide trends.

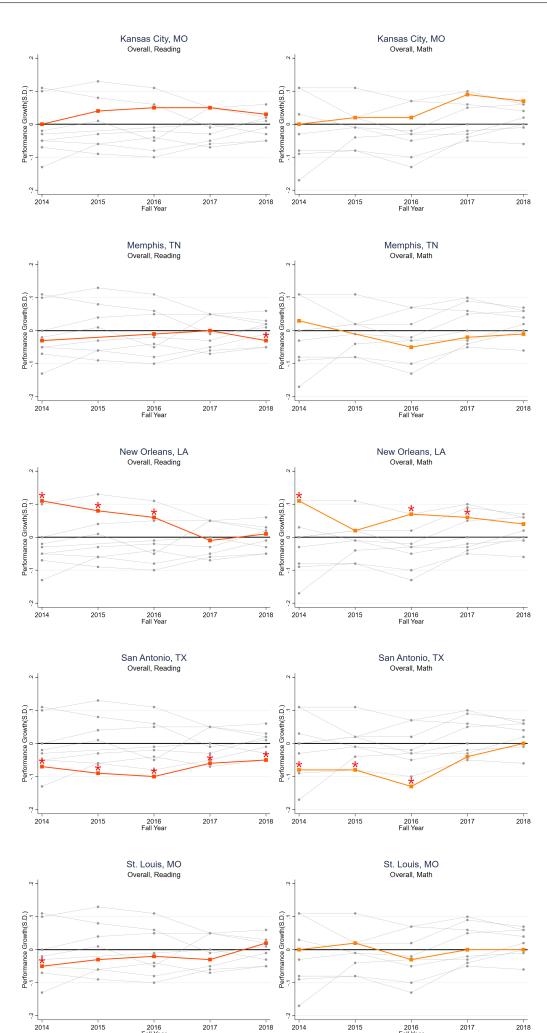
## 2.2 Overall School Performance Growth



Note: The asterisk indicates statistically significant difference from state averages at p<0.05.

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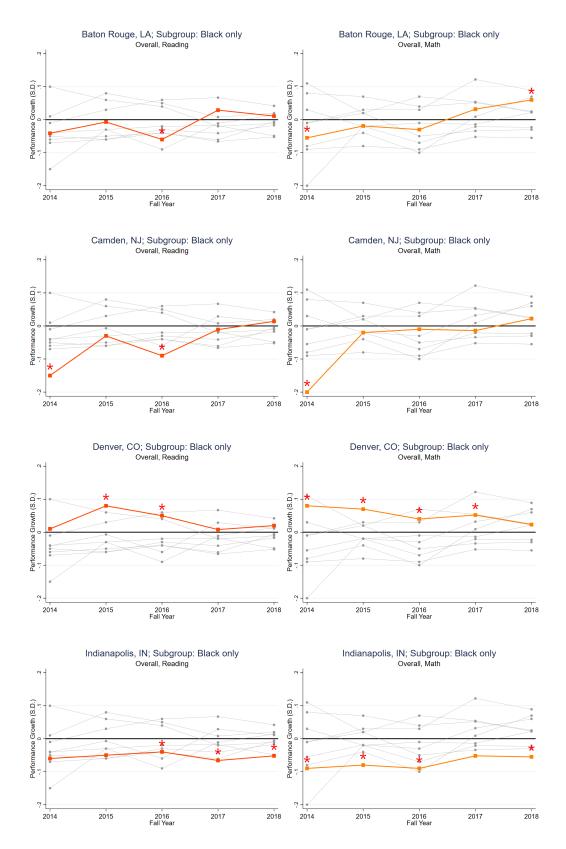


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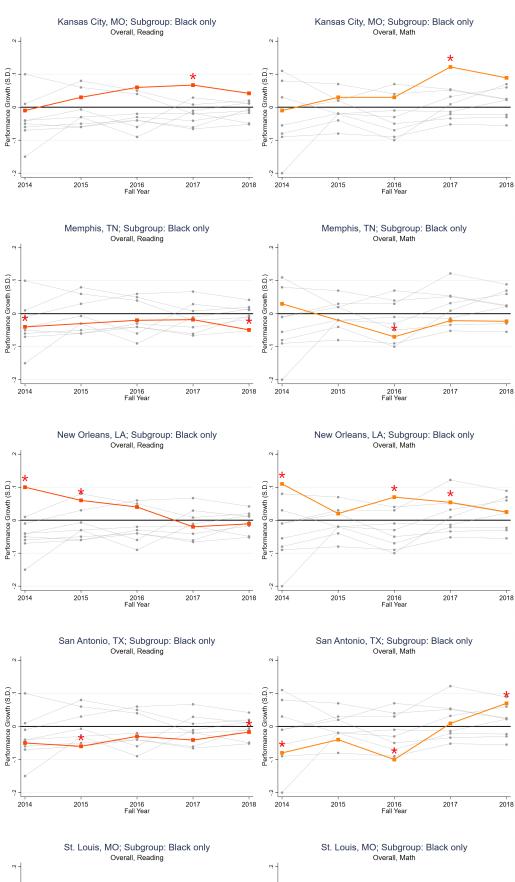
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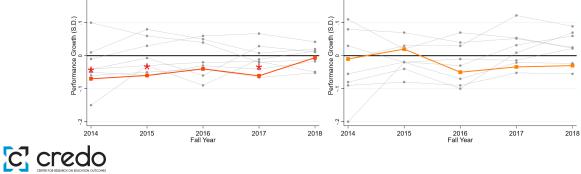


#### 2.3 Overall School Performance Growth among Black Students



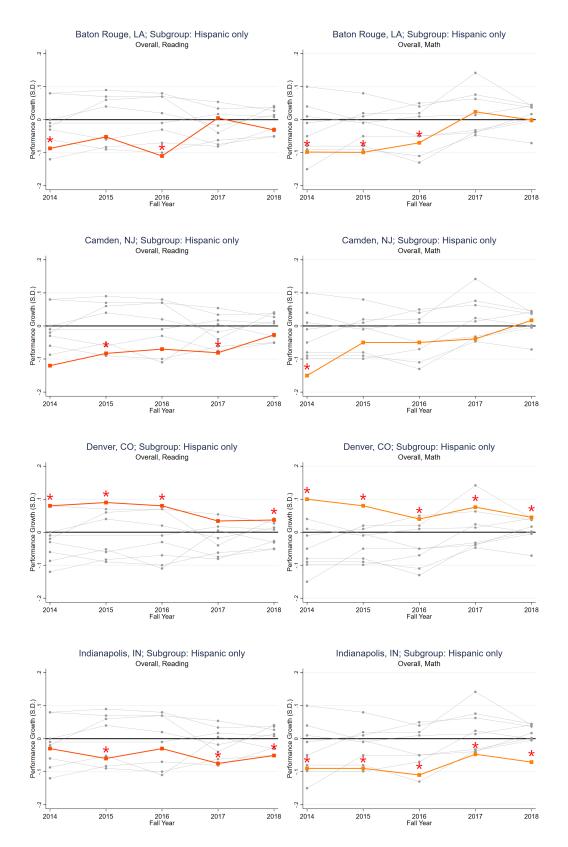




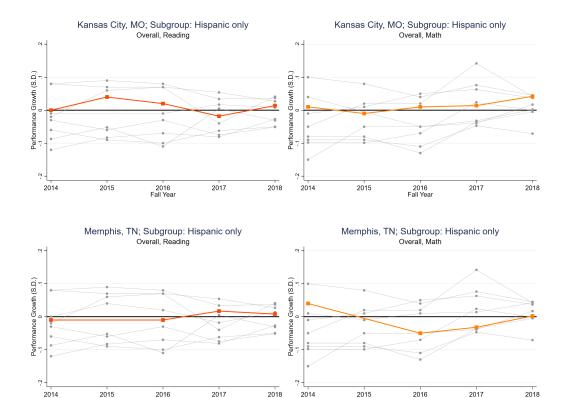


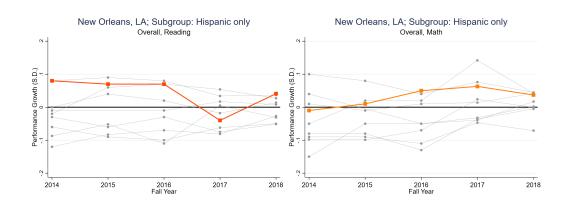
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#### 2.4 Overall School Performance Growth among Hispanic Students



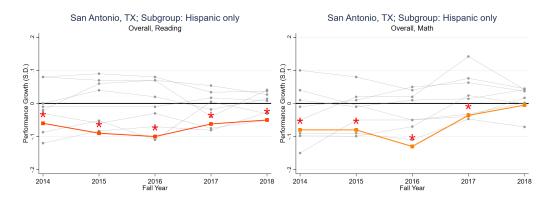


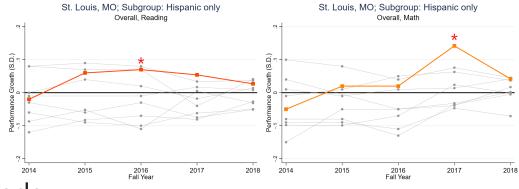




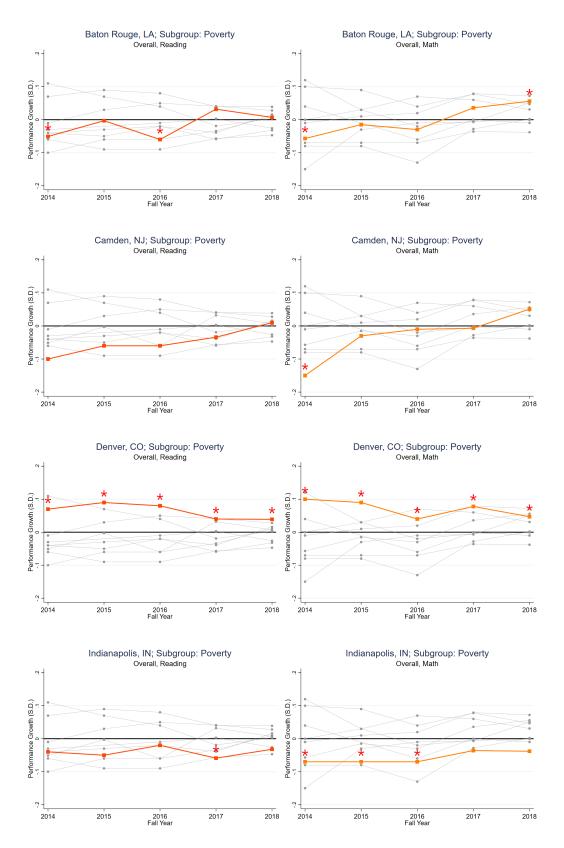
Fall Year

Fall Year

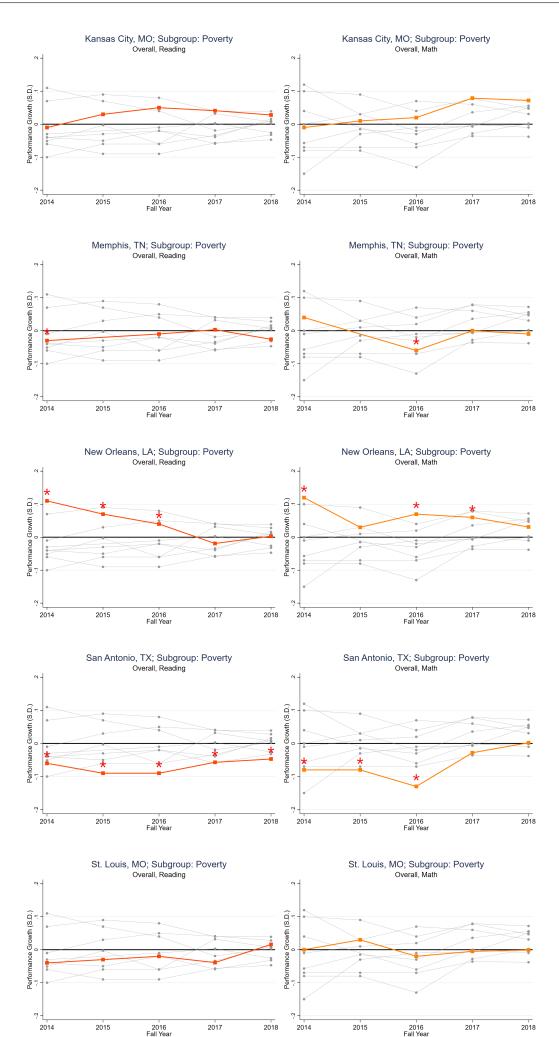




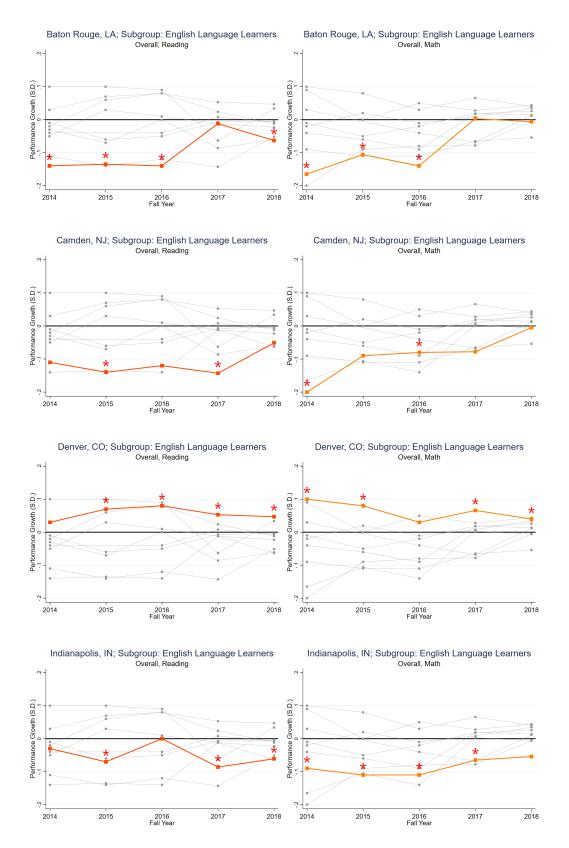
#### 2.5 Overall School Performance Growth among Poverty Students



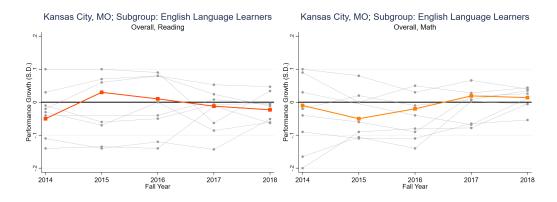


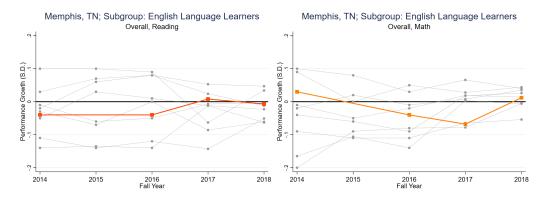


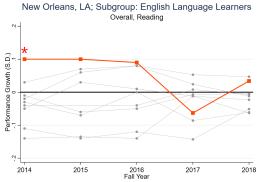
## 2.6 Overall School Performance Growth among ELL Students

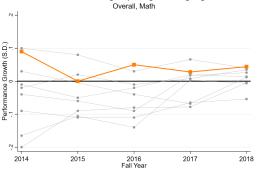




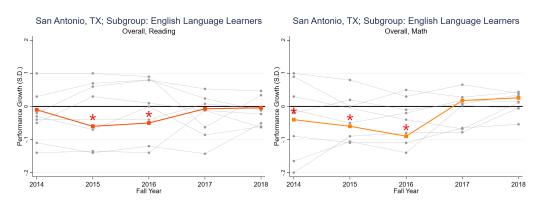


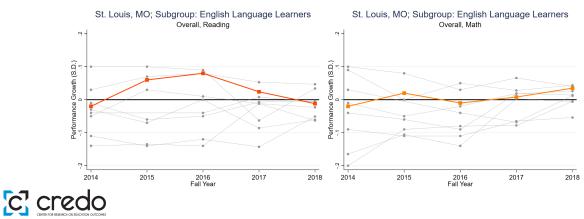




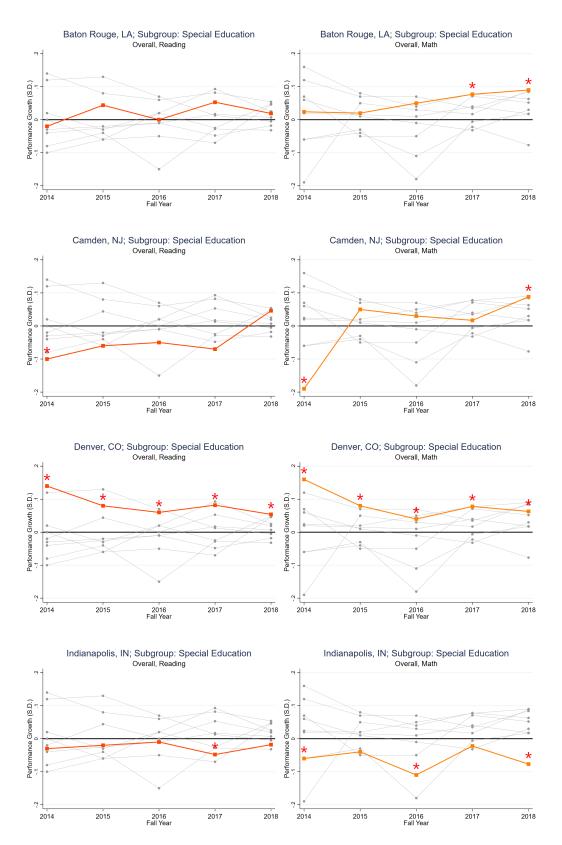


New Orleans, LA; Subgroup: English Language Learners



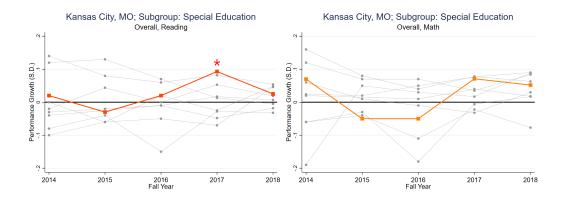


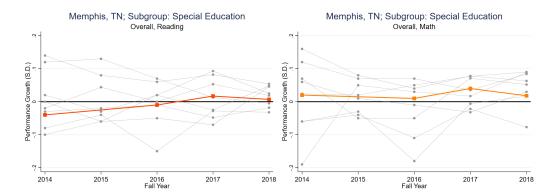
## 2.7 Overall School Performance Growth among Special Education Students

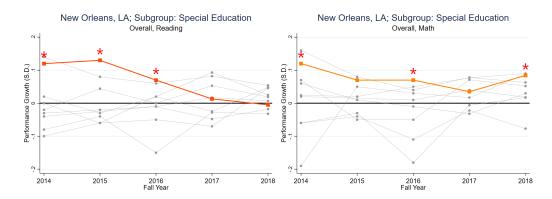


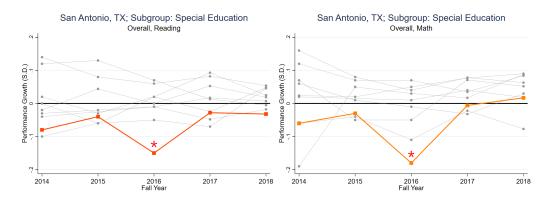
Note: The asterisk indicates statistically significant difference from state averages at p<0.05.

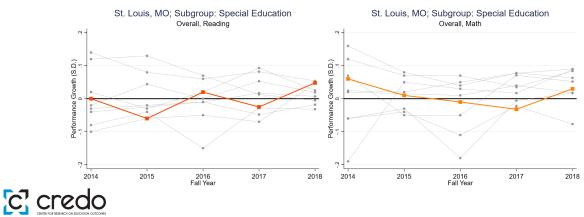












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# 3 Trends in Charter School Performance Growth, by City

## 3.1 Summary

The overall performance growth trends for charter school students are presented in section 3.2. Although the charter schools' trends correlate well with the cities' overall trends shown in the previous section, some city-specific features are worth noting. For example, charter schools in Indianapolis and Kansas City have shown consistently higher growth relative to the overall growth trends as a city (that is, compared to the trends presented in section 2.2). In contrast, San Antonio and St. Louis have shown upward trends in growth performance among charter school students in the city.

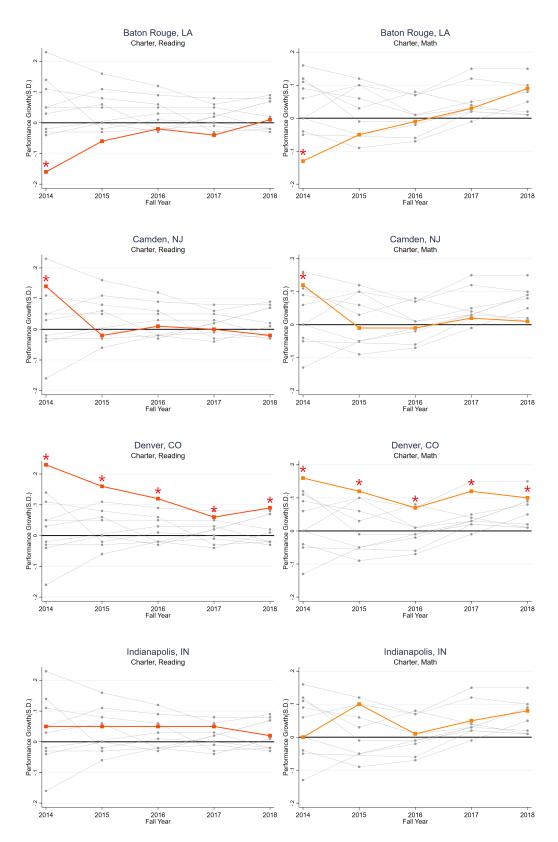
Subgroup trends show certain subgroups have particularly higher growth performance in charter schools in the city. Section 3.3 shows trends for Black students, and when compared to the overall trends for Black students in Section 2.3, Black students enrolled in charter schools in cities such as Denver, Indianapolis, Kansas City, and San Antonio have shown stronger performance trends than the Black students as a whole in those cities. For most cities, Hispanic students enrolled in charter schools perform better than the Hispanic students in the state and show more robust performance growth than the overall Hispanic students in the city. In terms of effect size, most of the subgroup-level estimates fall under the medium impact category, although there are instances where the effect sizes are greater than 0.2, which is categorized as large impact.

Economically disadvantaged students in charter schools also tend to perform better than average economically disadvantaged students in the state. Charter school students with poverty in cities such as Indianapolis and Kansas City show stronger performance growth relative to average students with poverty in those cities. San Antonio and St. Louis show upward trends in the performance growth among charter school students with poverty compared to average students with poverty in those cities.

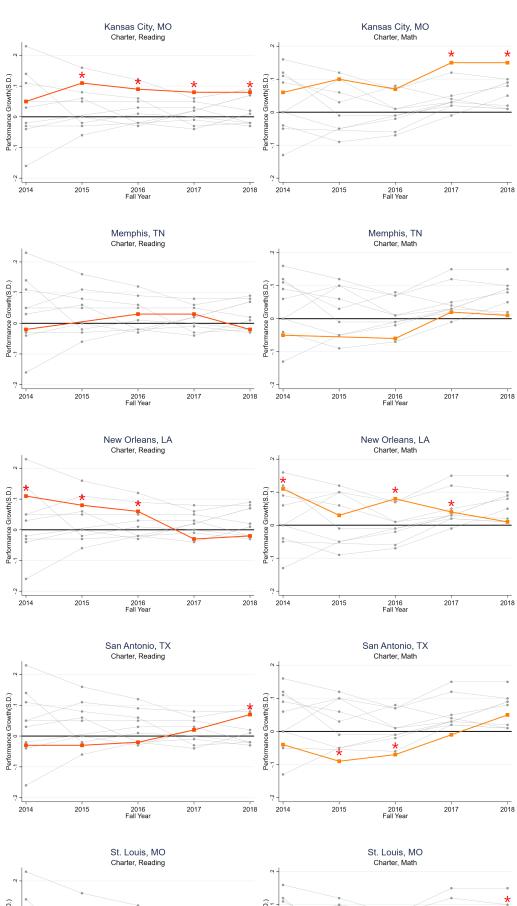
The pattern observed for groups examined above also applies to English language learner students and students receiving special education in charter schools in each city. However, ELL students and students with special education tend to show larger variation in the estimates due to a smaller number of students belonging to the group.

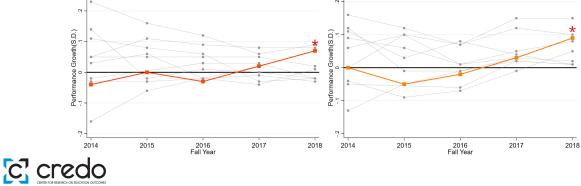


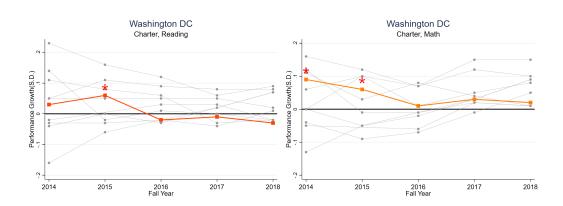
## 3.2 Charter School Performance Growth, Overall





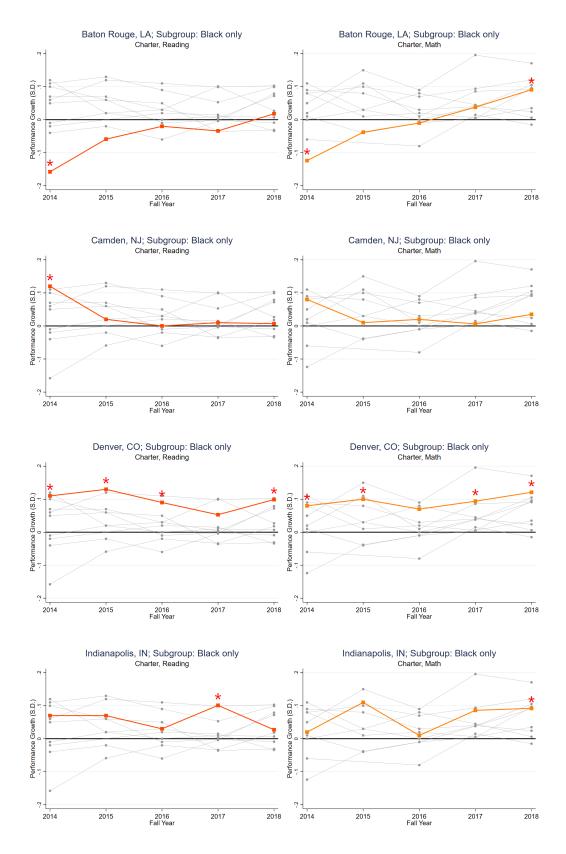




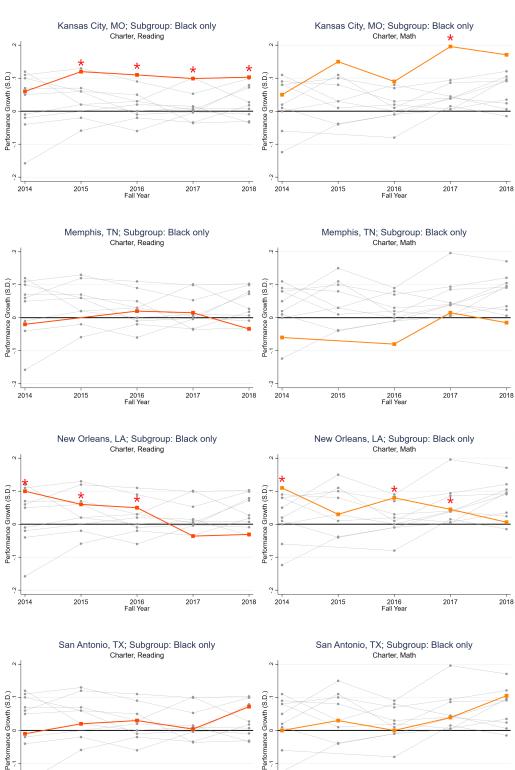


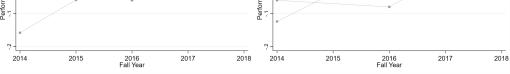


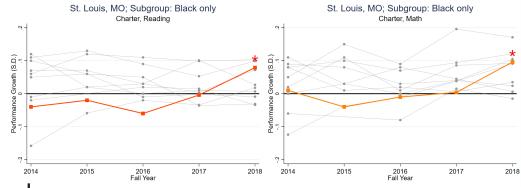
#### 3.3 Charter School Performance Growth among Black Students



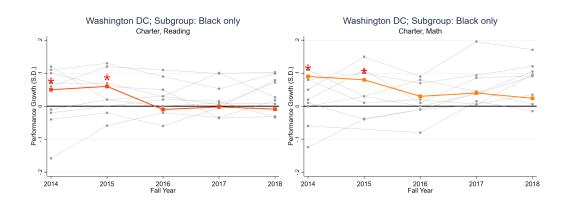






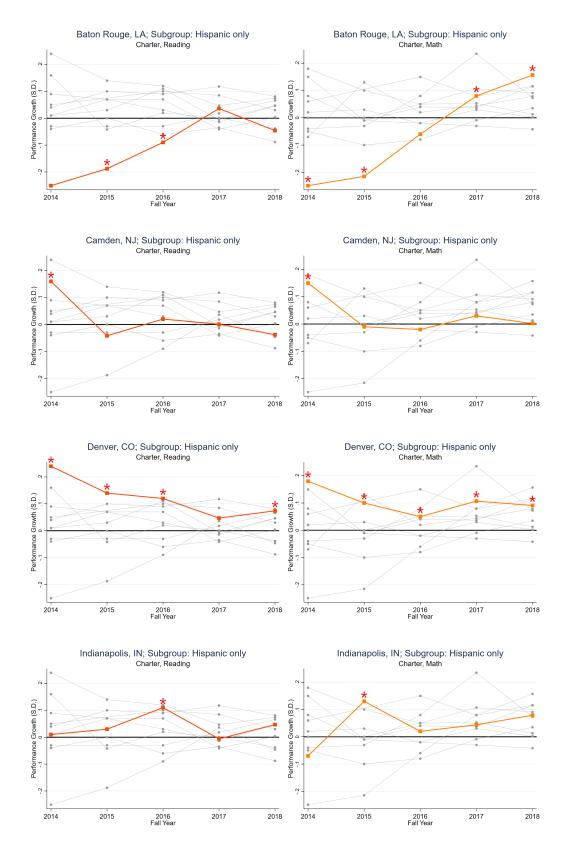




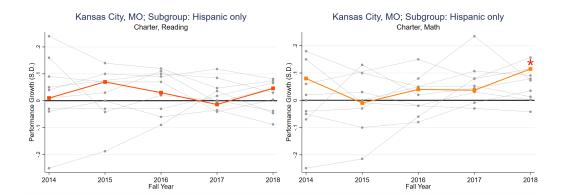


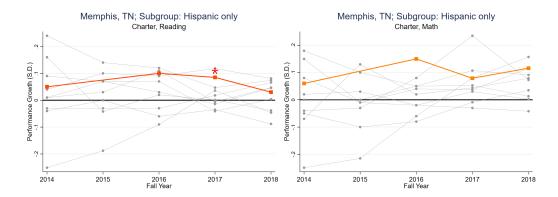


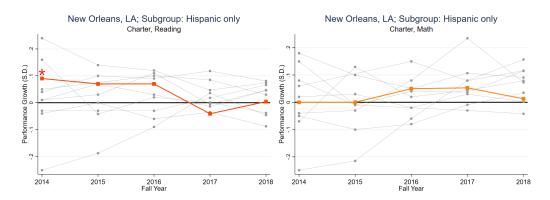
#### 3.4 Charter School Performance Growth among Hispanic Students

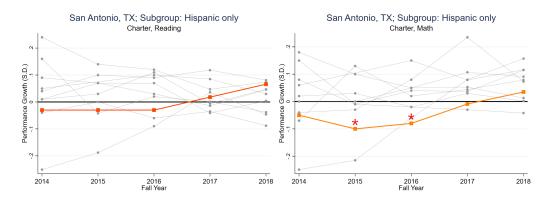


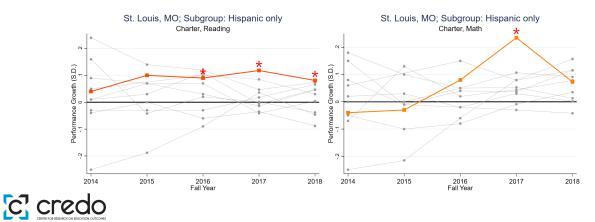




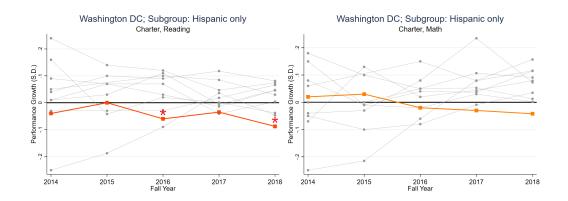






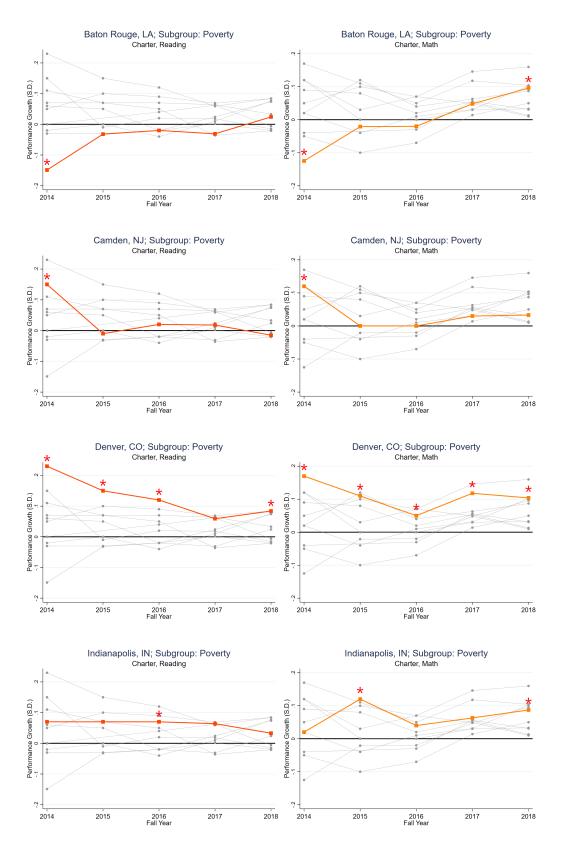


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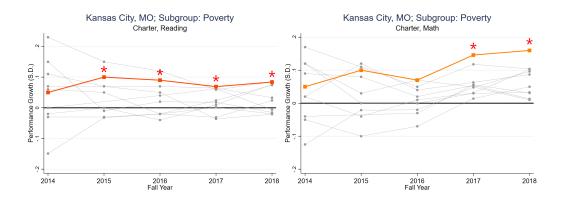


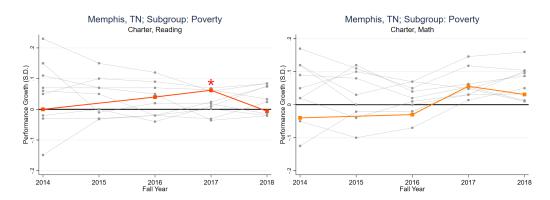


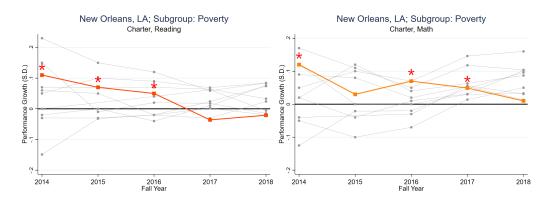
#### 3.5 Charter School Performance Growth among Poverty Students

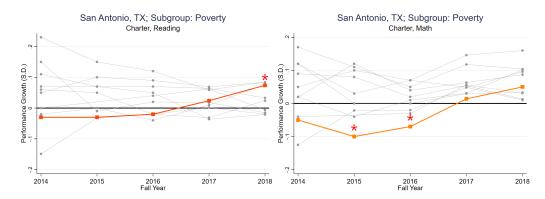


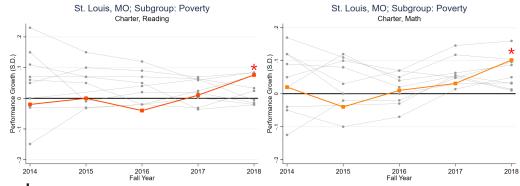




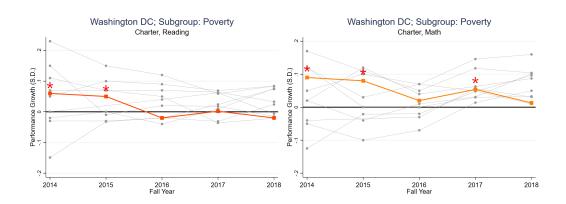






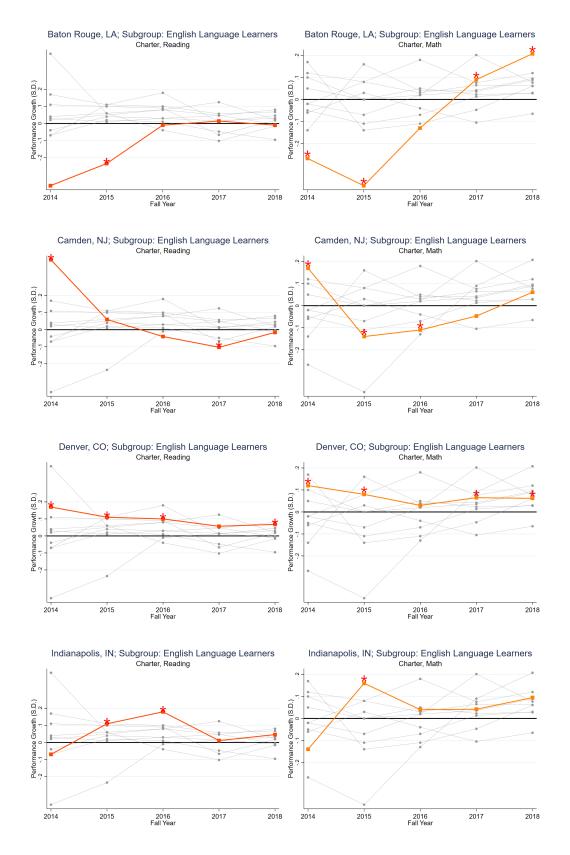




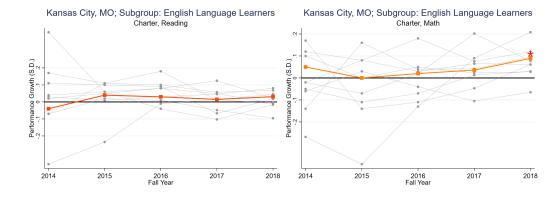


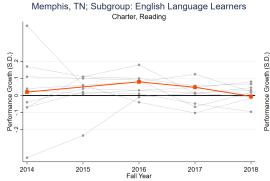


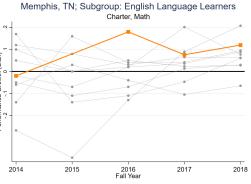
## 3.6 Charter School Performance Growth among ELL Students

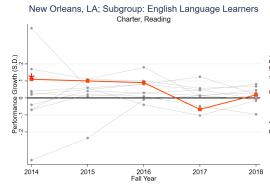


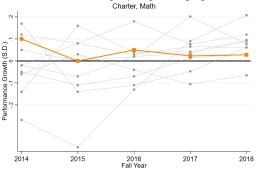




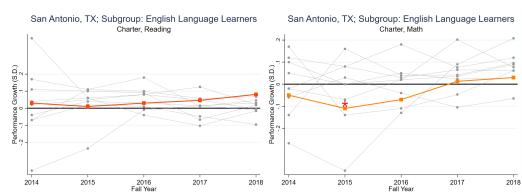






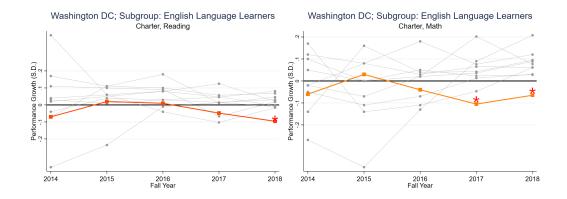


New Orleans, LA; Subgroup: English Language Learners



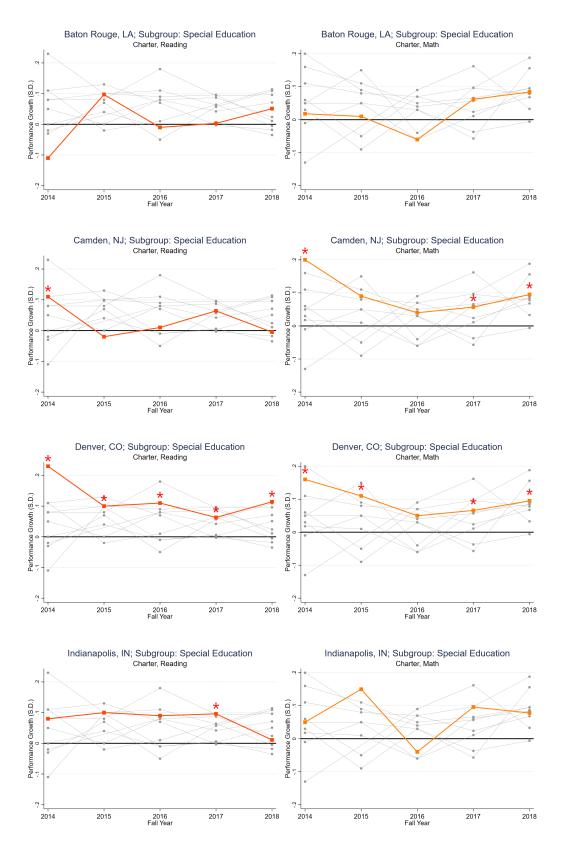
St. Louis, MO; Subgroup: English Language Learners St. Louis, MO; Subgroup: English Language Learners Charter, Reading Charter, Math 2 Performance Growth (S.D.) 2 -1 0 -1 -2 Performance Growth (S.D.) 0 2014 2015 2018 2016 Fall Year 2017 2018 2014 2015 2016 Fall Year 2017 

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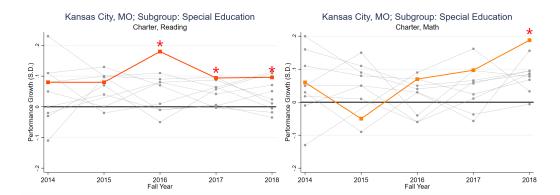


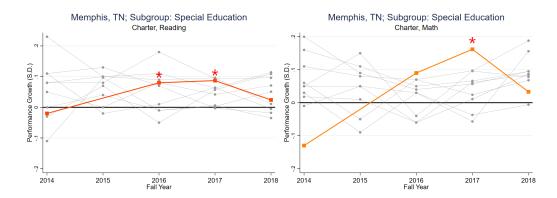


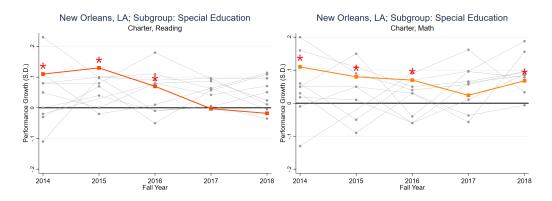
## 3.7 Charter School Performance Growth among Special Education Students

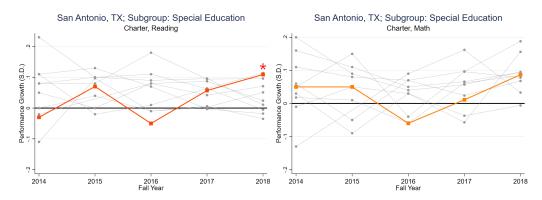


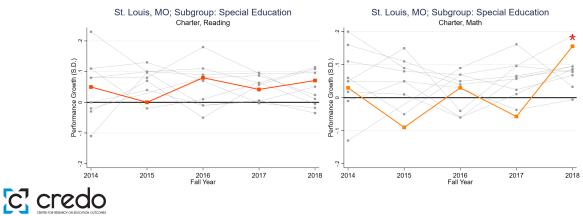




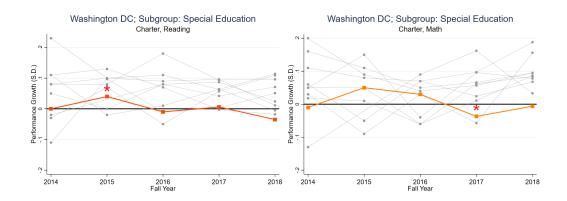








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## 4 Trends in Innovation School Performance Growth, by City

#### 4.1 Summary

Different types of innovation schools sprang up across cities in the United States. over the past decade. It is difficult to confine innovation schools to one definition as innovation schools in a state and city differ in their purpose and function. Thus, comparisons of innovation school performance across cities should be made with caution. In a broad sense, innovation schools are launched to transform existing district schools to meet the specific needs of a school's student body and to provide pathways for district schools to implement innovative practices to improve student outcomes. Innovation schools can have greater flexibility and autonomy in making decisions related to organizational management and curriculum. They are distinct from charter schools because they are often still held accountable by the school district, or they must serve students living in a particular neighborhood, much like the enrollment zone of a traditional district school.

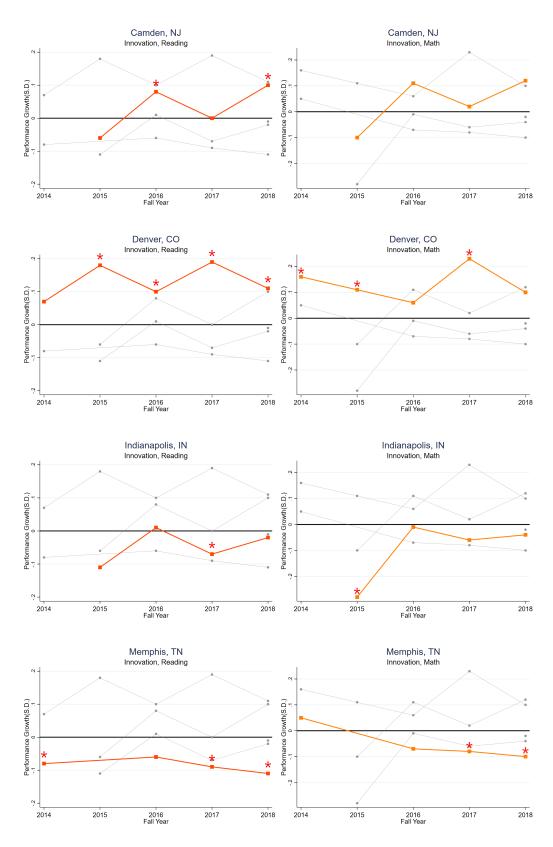
In terms of the performance growth trends, unlike the positive deviation from the overall citywide trend we saw for the charter sector, students enrolled in innovation schools mostly don't seem to deviate much from the overall citywide trends. One exception is the Denver innovation school students who outperform the state average and their peers in other sectors within the city of Denver. In contrast, Memphis innovation schools show relatively weak performance growth.

City-specific characteristics of innovation schools are described below:

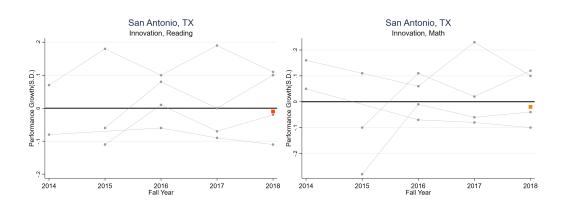
- Camden:
  - $-\,$  Established by the Urban Hope Act in 2012
  - Known locally as Renaissance Schools
  - Empower school districts to partner with experienced non-profit organizations to open high-quality schools that enroll students from the local neighborhood (narrower catchment area)
- Denver:
  - Established by the Innovation Schools Act in 2008
  - Only Innovation Zone(IZONE) schools are categorized as Innovation schools in this study
  - Innovation Zones are networks of innovation schools within Denver Public Schools (DPS)
  - Schools within a zone collaborate and have more flexibility regarding many district policies
  - The zone forms a 501(c)3 nonprofit that is governed by a board of directors and guided by an executive director hired by the board
- Indianapolis:
  - Established by House Bill 1321 in 2014
  - Known locally as Innovation Network Schools (INS)
  - Greater individual school autonomy and managerial flexibility
  - There are four pathways a school can take to become an innovation network school: new, turnaround, conversion and charter
- Memphis:
  - $-\,$  Established by the Innovation zone in 2012, federal RTT grant
  - School turnaround, goal is to improve student achievement in low-performing schools
  - Greater individual school autonomy and managerial flexibility
- San Antonio:
  - Established in 2017 by Senate Bill 1882, which provides incentives to districts to partner with nonprofit organizations to run schools
  - Known locally as "1882 Partnership Schools"
  - Schools negotiate specific levels of autonomy directly with the districts on a school by school basis
  - Enroll students from both local catchment area and out-of-district (i.e., a certain number of seats reserved for the neighborhood and then lottery for both in-district and out-of-district choice students)



#### 4.2 Innovation School Performance Growth, Overall

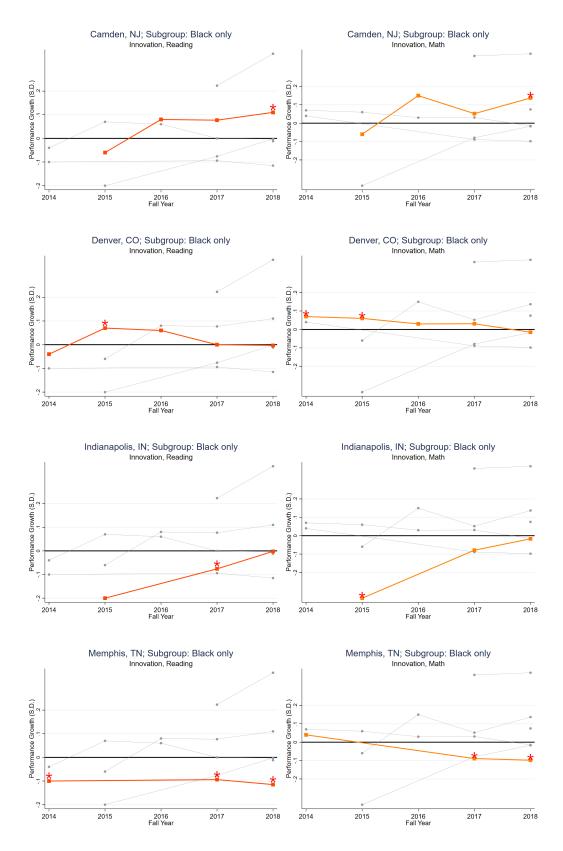








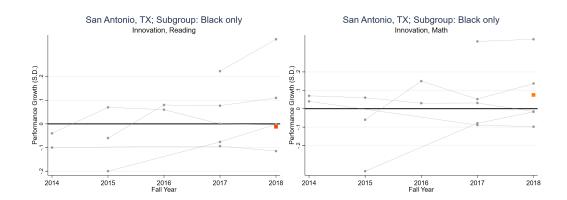
#### 4.3 Innovation School Performance Growth among Black Students



Note: The asterisk indicates statistically significant difference from state averages at p<0.05.

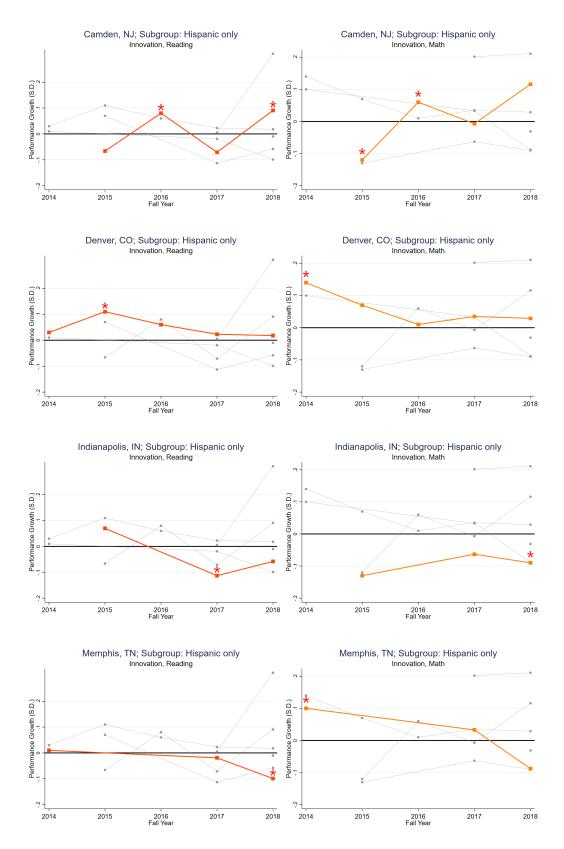
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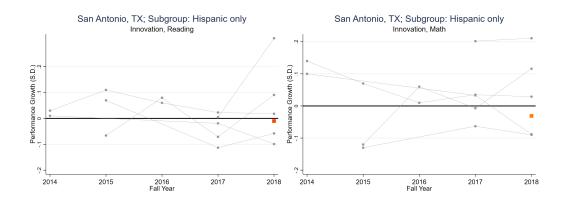




#### 4.4 Innovation School Performance Growth among Hispanic Students

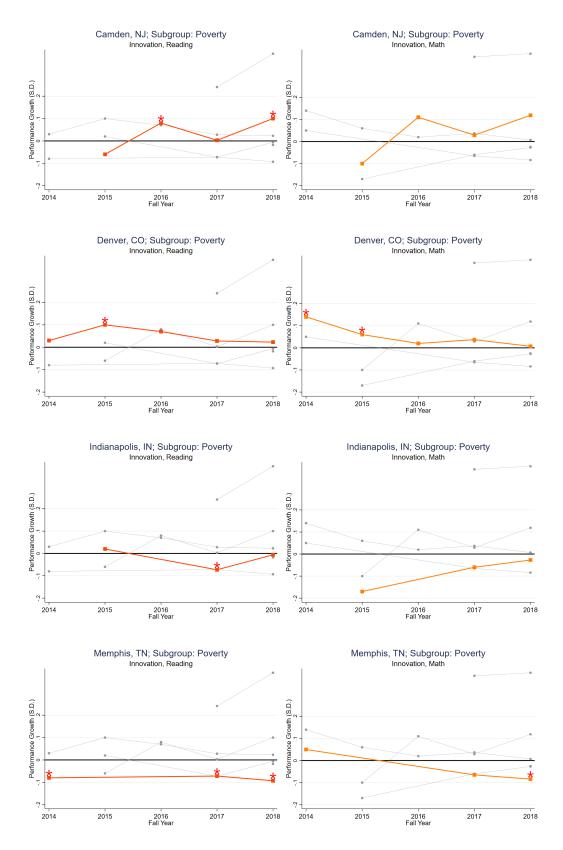




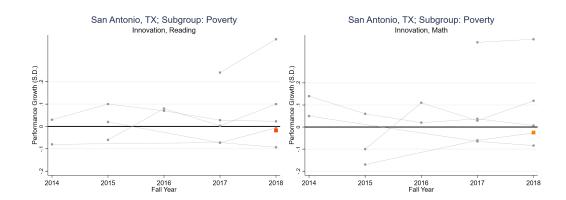




#### 4.5 Innovation School Performance Growth among Poverty Students

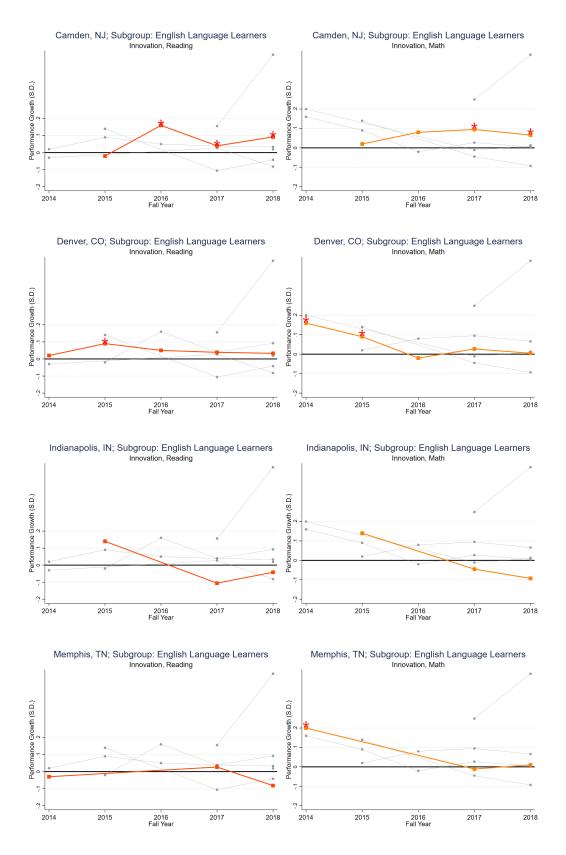




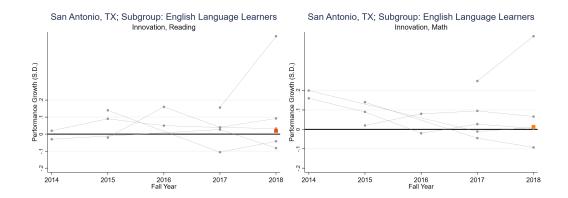




#### 4.6 Innovation School Performance Growth among ELL Students

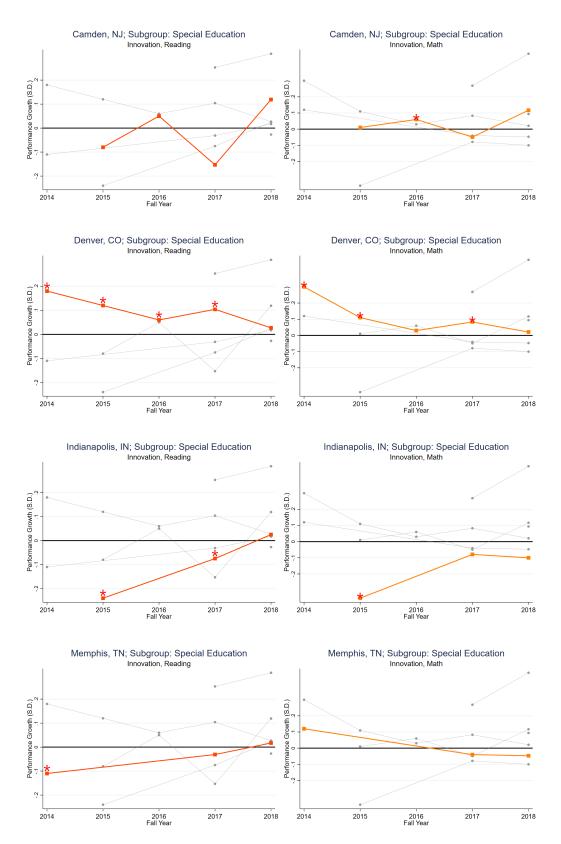




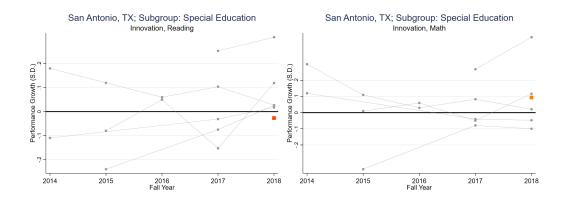




#### 4.7 Innovation School Performance Growth among Special Education Students









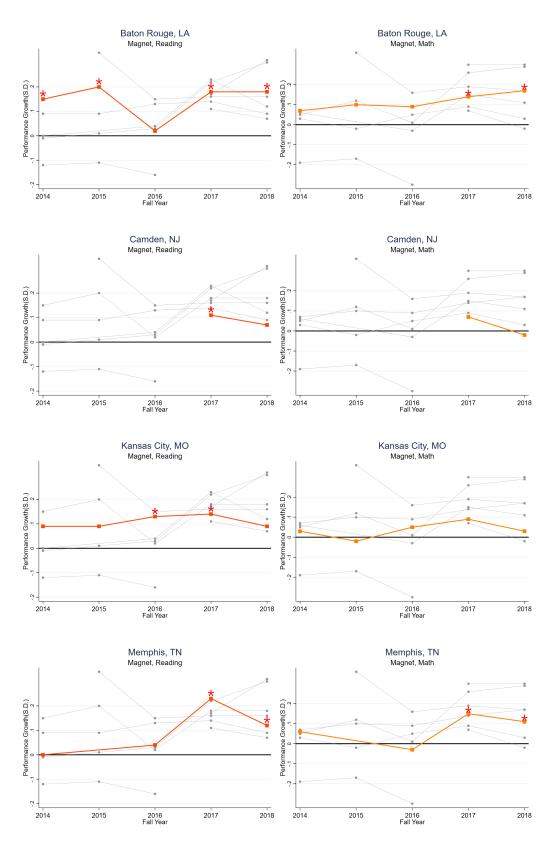
## 5 Trends in Magnet School Performance Growth, by City

#### 5.1 Summary

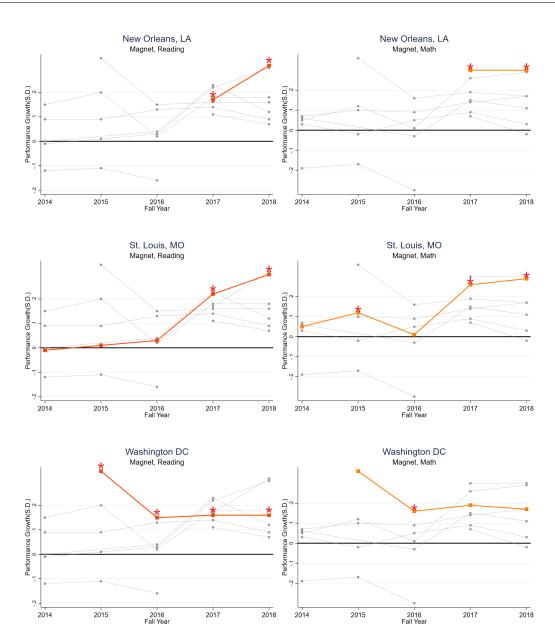
Magnet schools selectively admit students who meet certain admissions criteria. Across the cities studied, these schools have a strong positive impact on their students' performance growth. Magnet schools in Washington, D.C., show solid positive growth compared to the city average and the other sectors within the city. On the eve of the pandemic, magnet schools in Baton Rouge, Memphis, New Orleans, and St. Louis all had substantial performance gains compared to the state averages. Subgroup breakout trends are not presented for magnet schools due to the small number of students involved in the analysis.



## 5.2 Magnet School Performance Growth, Overall









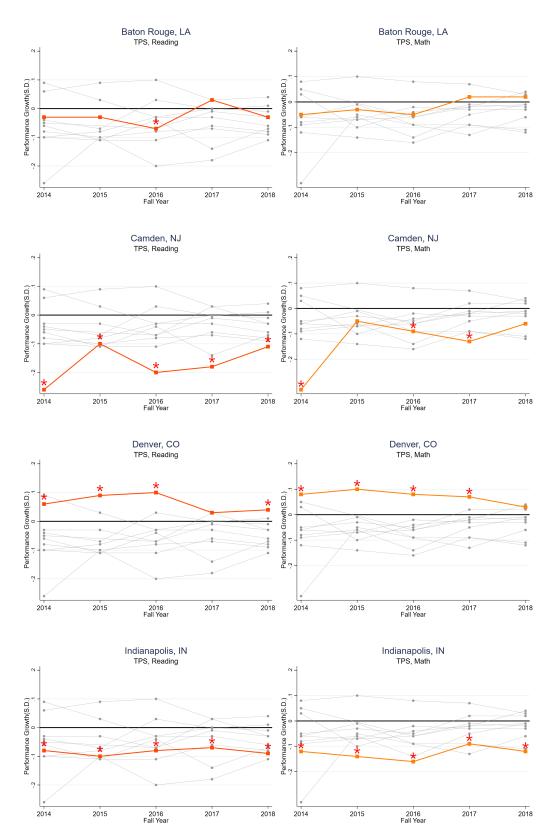
## 6 Trends in District School Performance Growth, by City

#### 6.1 Summary

District schools in most cities included in this study show, on average, consistently weaker performance growth than the corresponding state averages during the study window. However, there are a few exceptions. Denver district schools have shown continued positive performance growth compared to the state average. District schools in Baton Rouge, Camden, and San Antonio show positive performance growth trends in the late years of the study window. Recent growth in the adoption of localized decision-making practices in the district schools across the country may contribute to sustaining the positive trends. Subgroup-level trends highly correlate with the overall trends. One noticeable observation for students receiving special education is that their performance growth tends to be higher in math subjects than in reading subjects when compared to the directions for the overall district schools, especially in cities, including Baton Rouge and Camden. The higher performance in math among students receiving special education was also found in the prior research (Angrist et al., 2012) and prior studies suggest that schools tend to have higher impact on students' learning in math compared to reading as their learning of math predominantly comes from school class (Rich, 2013; Chetty et al., 2014). Regarding the fluctuating trend pattern for Hispanic students enrolled in New Orleans district schools, the small number of students in this group is likely to contribute to such a pattern. In general, the New Orleans school district had been poised to become an all-charter system in recent years, and during the 2017-18 and 2018-19 growth periods, approximately 7.2% of overall test takers were enrolled in traditional district schools. Moreover, only a tiny fraction of the student body in New Orleans is Hispanic (less than 5%).



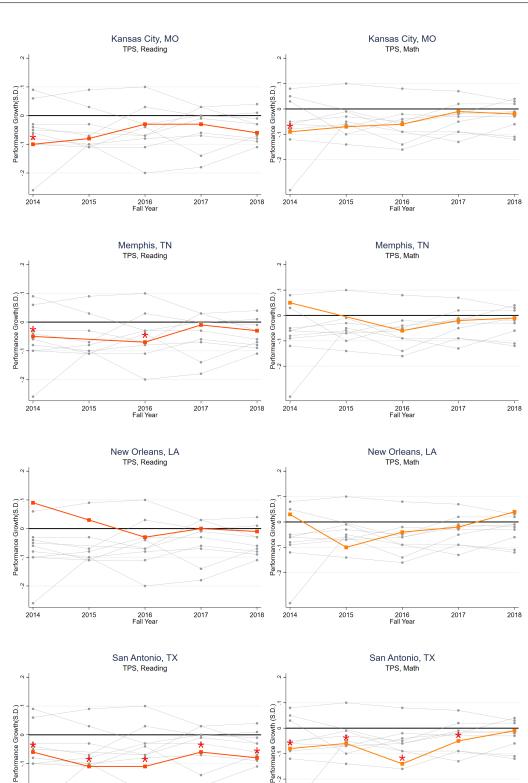
#### 6.2 District School Performance Growth, Overall

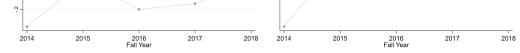


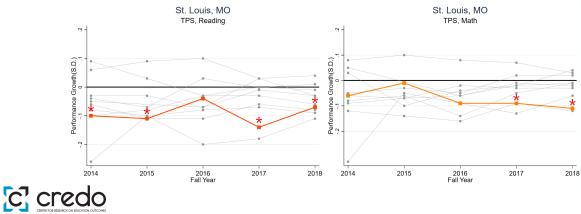
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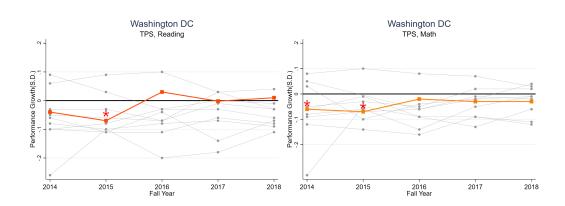






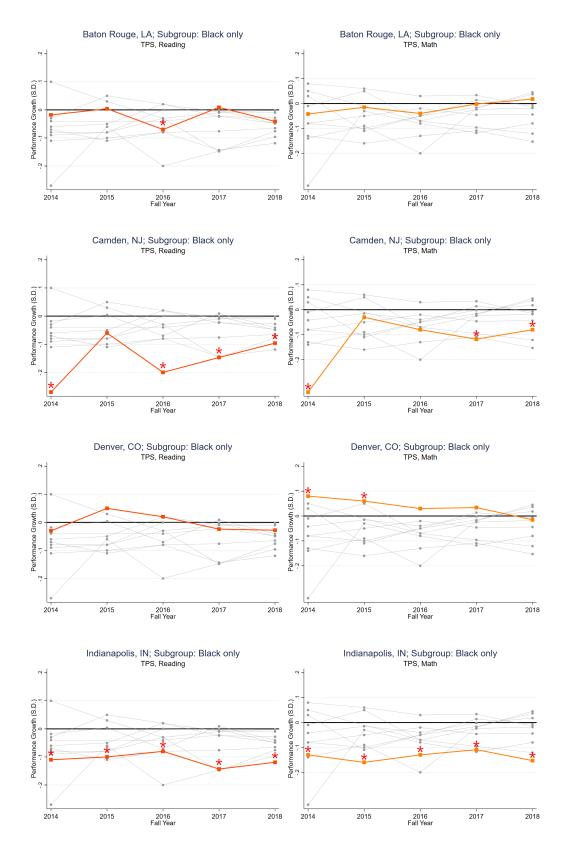








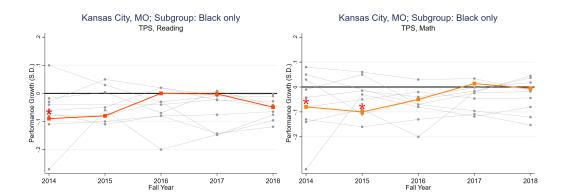
#### 6.3 District School Performance Growth among Black Students

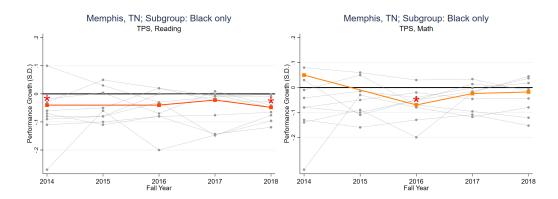


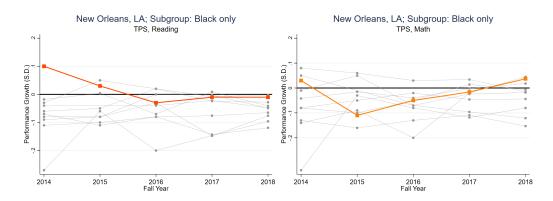
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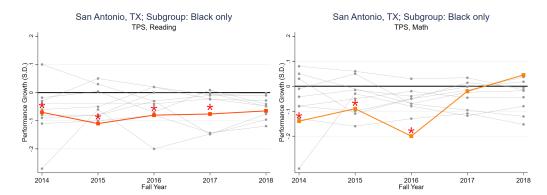
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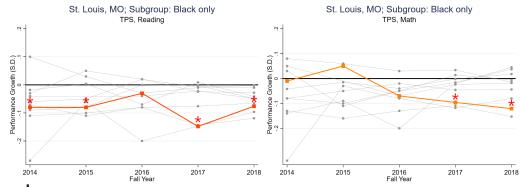




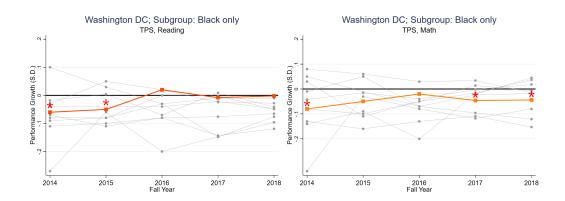






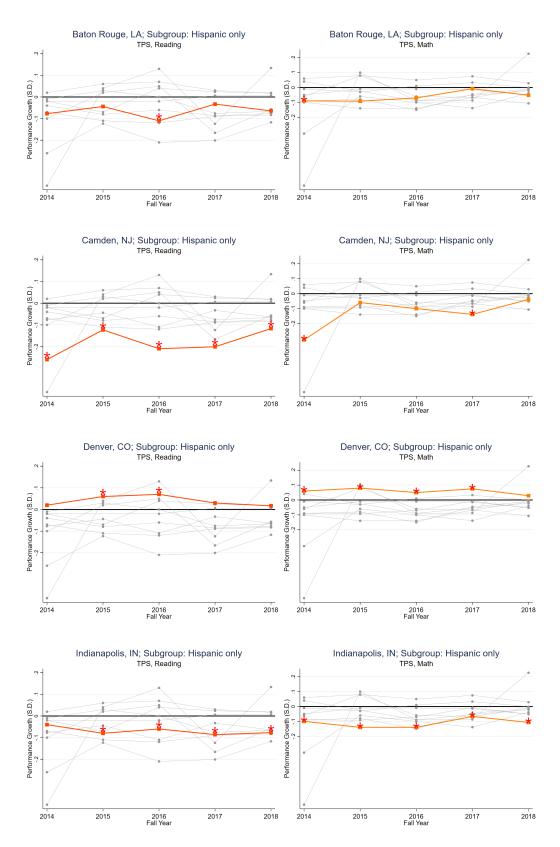




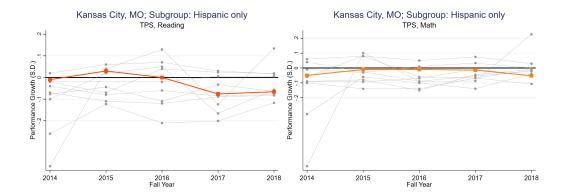


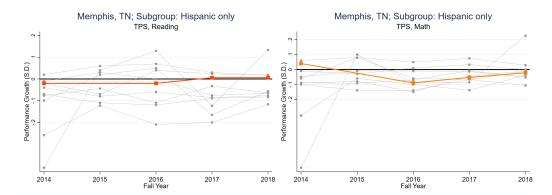


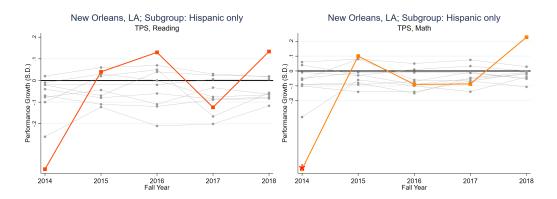
#### 6.4 District School Performance Growth among Hispanic Students

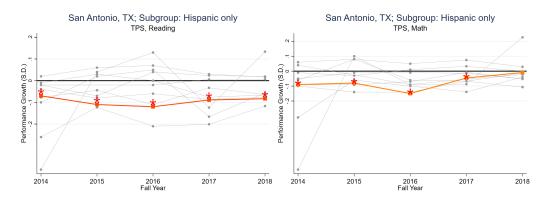


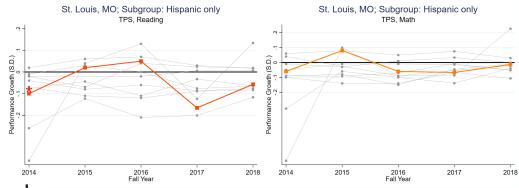




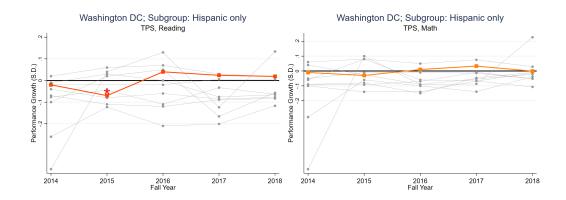






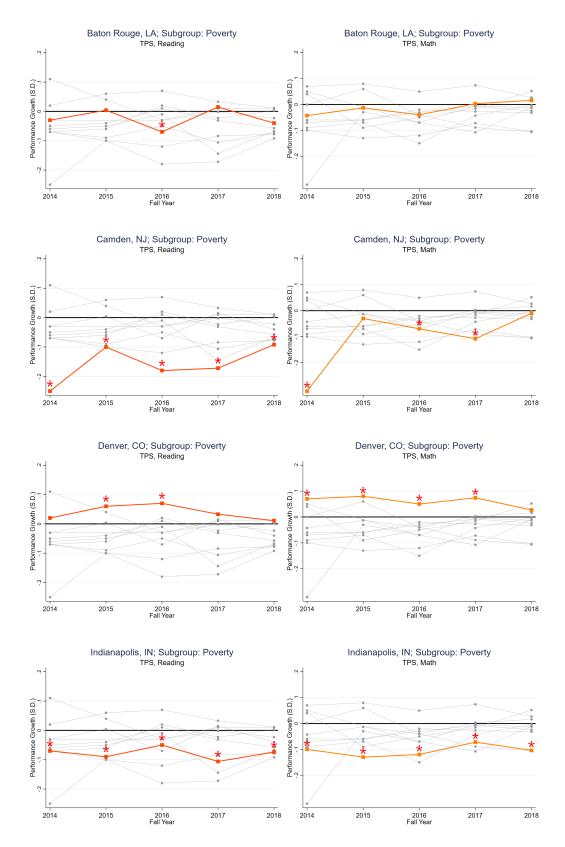




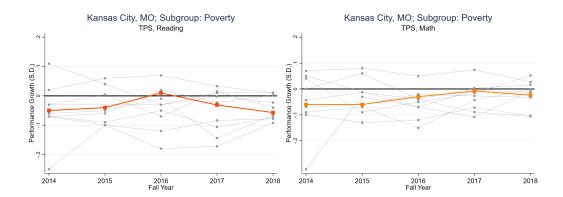


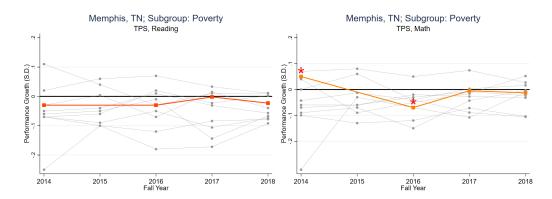


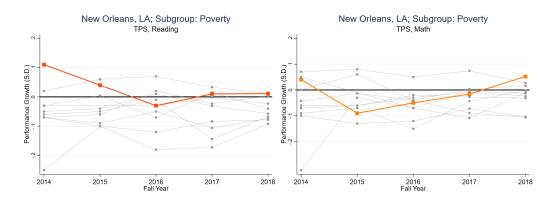
#### 6.5 District School Performance Growth among Poverty Students

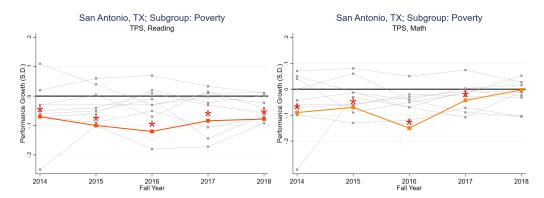


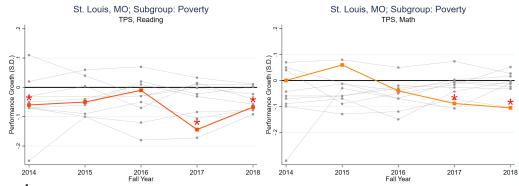




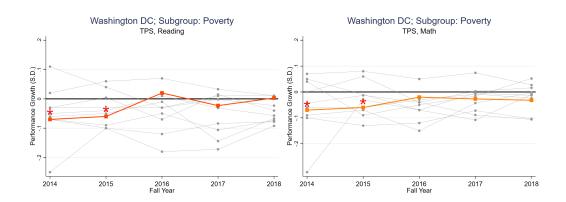






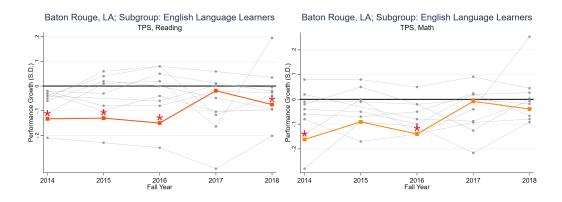


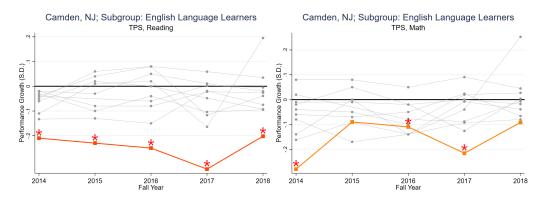


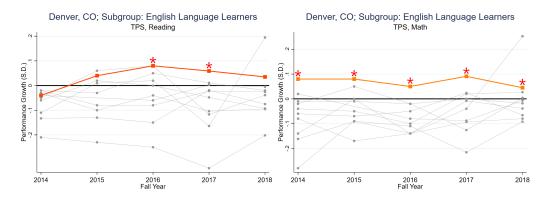


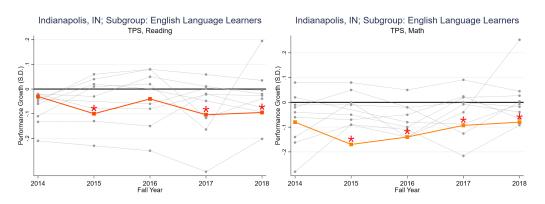


#### 6.6 District School Performance Growth among ELL Students



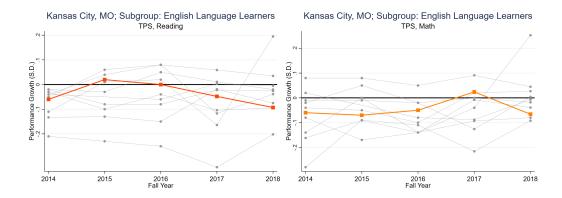


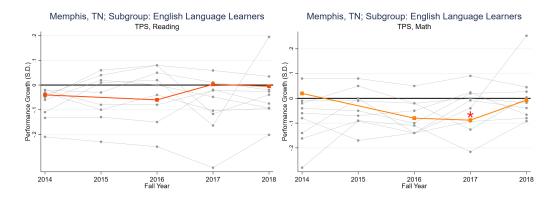


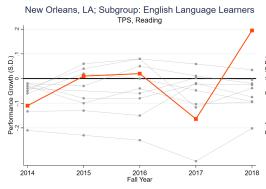


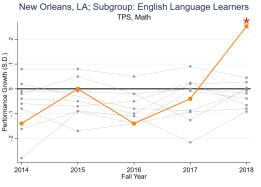
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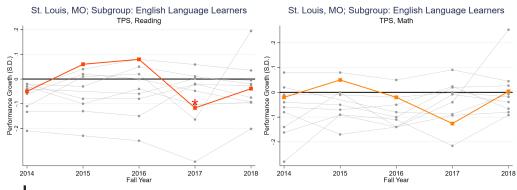






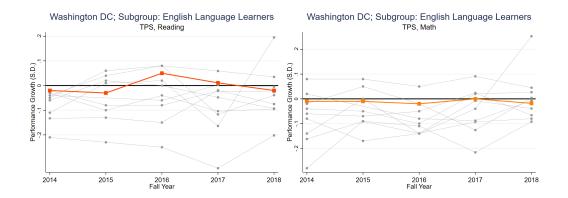


San Antonio, TX; Subgroup: English Language Learners San Antonio, TX; Subgroup: English Language Learners TPS, Reading TPS, Math N nance Growth (S.D.) nance Growth (S.D.) Perforn Perfor 2014 2015 2016 Fall Year 2017 2018 2014 2015 2016 Fall Year 2017



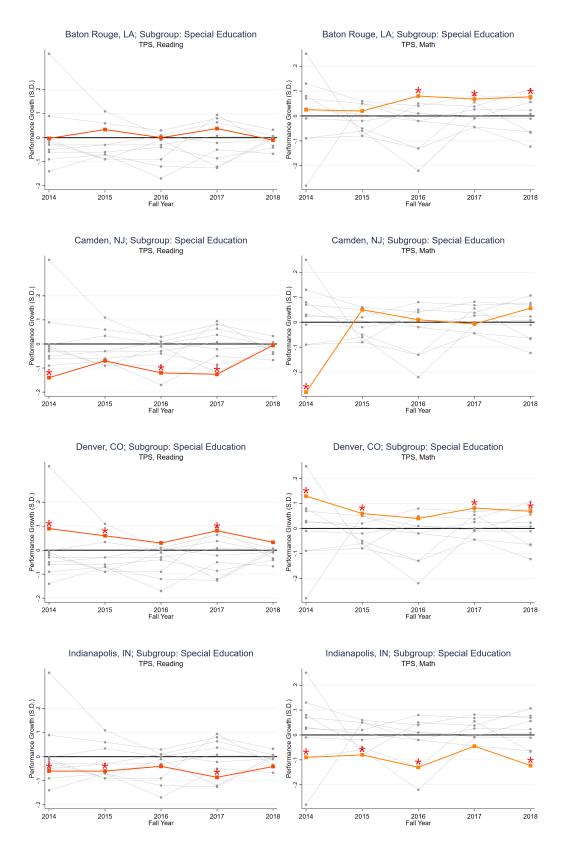


2018





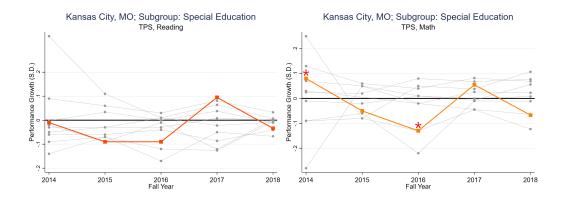
#### 6.7 District School Performance Growth among Special Education Students

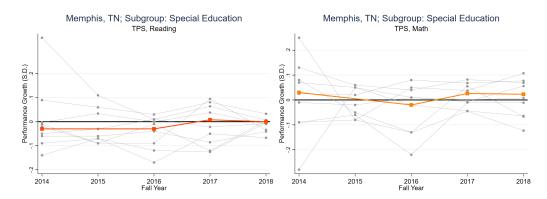


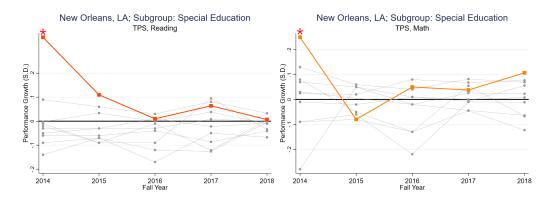
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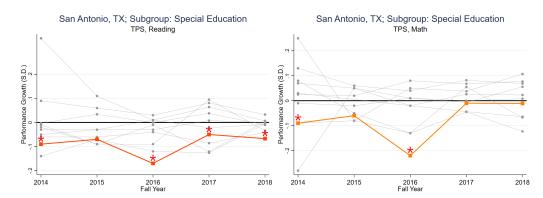
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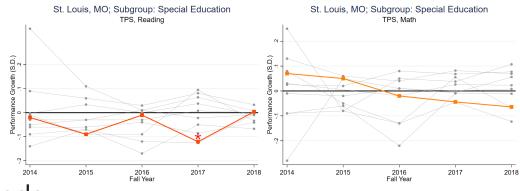


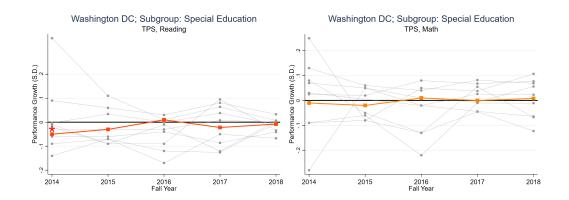














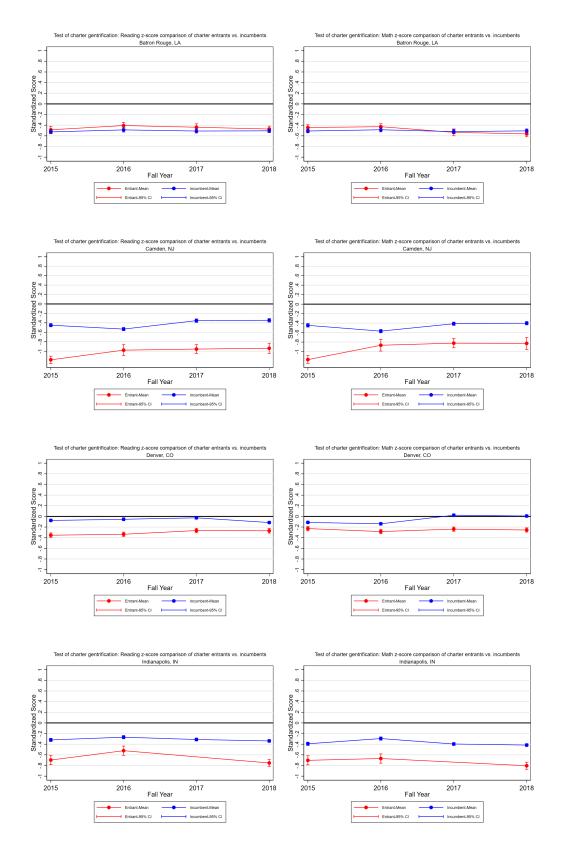
# 7 Test of Charter School Gentrification

#### 7.1 Summary

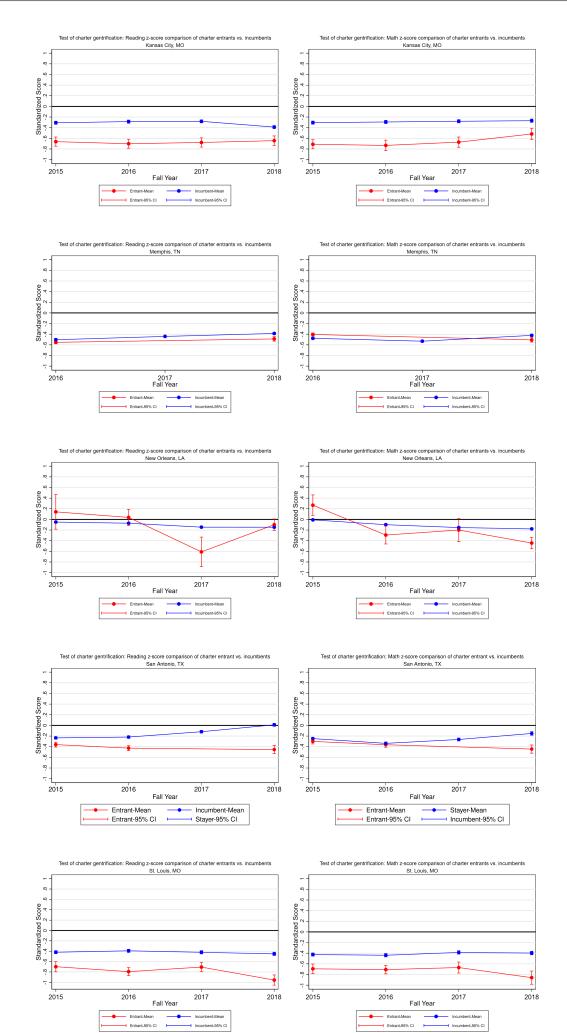
The graphs presented in this section show the achievement gap between students entering charter schools for the first time ("entrants") and those who have already been in the charter school for more than one year ("incumbents"). In all cities, charter school entrants have similar or lower overall academic achievement than charter school incumbents, which suggests that charter schools are not cream skimming, i.e., enrolling students who are academically well prepared.



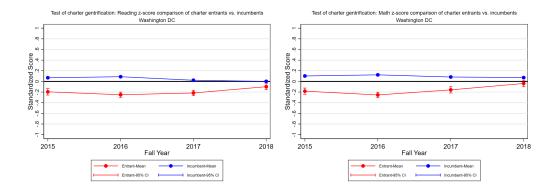
## 7.2 Comparison of Performance-level among Charter School Entrants vs. Incumbents



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## 8 Discussion

Hundreds of billions of taxpayer and philanthropic dollars are invested in providing quality education to children in public schools each year, often aiming to narrow the persistent educational disparities between various groups in the population. This project is part of this larger effort. The student body served by the schools within the cities we examine in this study is composed mainly of low-income and minority students who often reside in underserved communities and lack access to quality education. The meta-analysis of academic performance growth trends presented in this report provides an opportunity for constructive discussion among stakeholders across the cities to implement evidence-based practices that will contribute to student learning in each city.

Pieces of evidence shown in this report suggest that the practices that are conducive to effective student learning are highly localized and don't necessarily conform to one silver-bullet solution. Despite the heterogeneous trends by city, the performance growth trends in many cities included in this study show that there are overall positive contributions that charter schools make to the learning growth of students they serve. Given the general features of these organizations, it indicates that schools' ability to find locally driven solutions to the locally identified problems and to allow flexibility in implementing a proposed set of remedies could be necessary conditions for successful student learning.<sup>a</sup>

We hope that the results of this report provide a solid foundation for constructive discussion on the performance of the schools in these cities by stakeholders invested in public education.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>Magnet schools show positive performance growth in many cities we examine. Because magnet schools have different admission criteria that serve small subsets of the general population, their results are not the primary focus in this report. The recent movements in eliminating the "exam" schools across the major cities in the nation seem to be in contrast to the pieces of evidence presented in this report, as it seems logical to suppose that the solutions that spring from the local and independent discussions would lead to a diverse set of localized solutions, rather than a uniform movement across the country to eliminate one type of school that serves the specific needs of certain groups in the student population.

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# Acknowledgements

This report was made possible by the generous financial support of the City Fund. We are particularly thankful to state educational agencies who provided data and inputs in verifying the list of public schools in selected cities. Please note that the funder and educational agencies do not necessarily agree with our conclusions and are not responsible for any errors in the report.

#### **State Educational Agencies**

New Jersey Department of Education Louisiana Department of Education Office of the State Superintendent of Education Colorado Department of Education Indiana Department of Education Missouri Department of Elementary & Secondary Education Tennessee Department of Education & Tennessee Education Research Alliance Texas Education Agency

Camden Education Fund New Schools for Baton Rouge Education Forward DC RootED Denver The Mind Trust School Smart Kansas City Shelby County Schools New Schools for New Orleans City Education Partners The Opportunity Trust

Note: City-specific reports are available to download at https://credo.stanford.edu/city-studies/

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