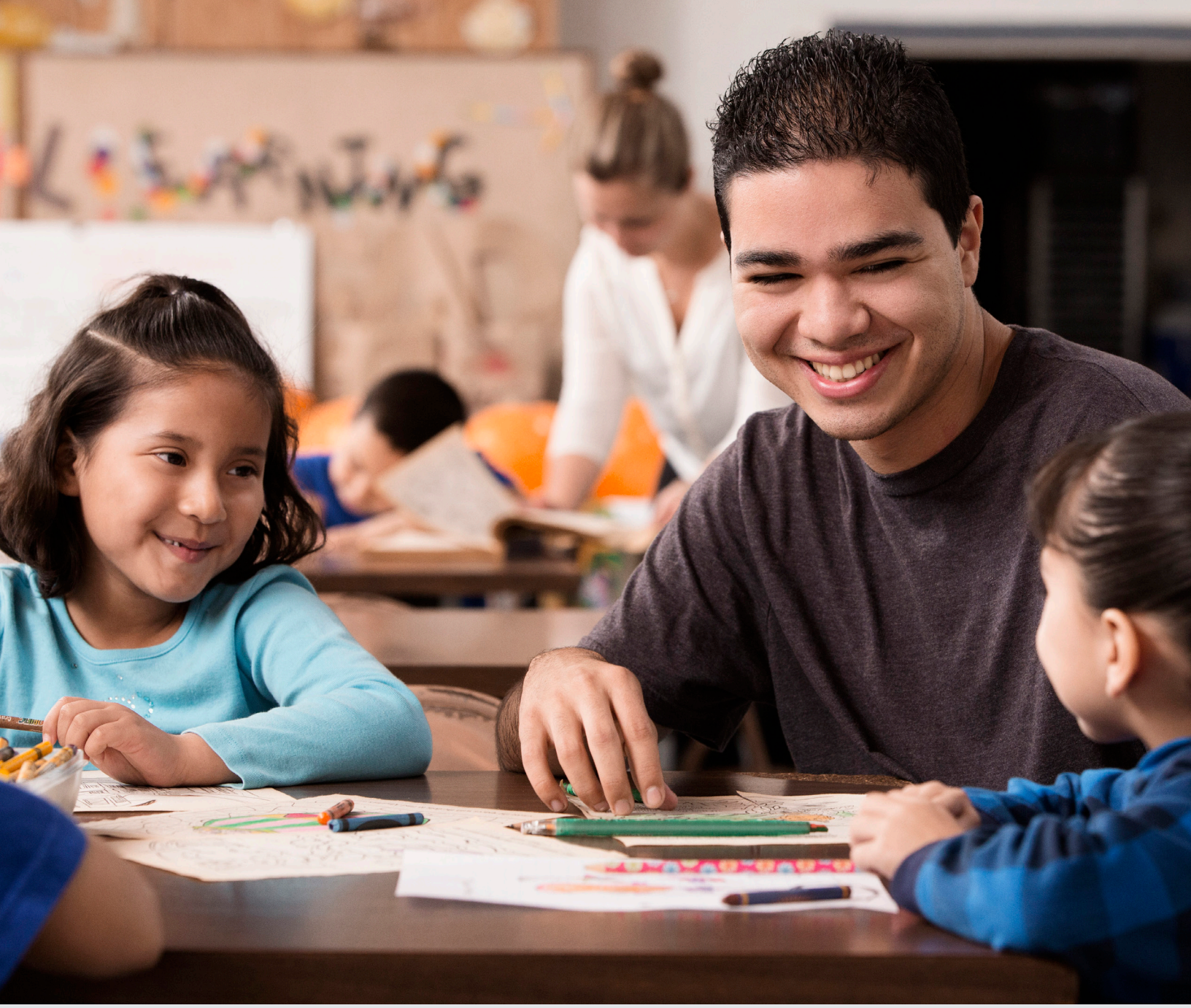

Community Schools as an Effective School Improvement Strategy:

A Review of the Evidence

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LEARNING POLICY INSTITUTE

NEPC NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY CENTER

DECEMBER 2017

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Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank David Kirp for his thoughtful contributions to this report, along with Reuben Jacobson, John Rogers, Russell Rumberger, Michelle Renee Valladares, and Kevin Welner for their feedback on earlier drafts. In addition, thanks to Naomi Spinrad, Bulletproof Services, Gretchen Wright, and Aaron Reeves for their editing and design contributions to this project, and Lisa Gonzales for overseeing the editorial and production processes. Without their generosity of time and spirit, this work would not have been possible.

This research review was made possible in part by funding to the National Education Policy Center from the Ford Foundation. Core operating support for the Learning Policy Institute is provided by the Sandler Foundation, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and the Ford Foundation. This work does not necessarily represent the views of these funders.

External Reviewers

This report benefited from the insights and expertise of two external reviewers: Jon Snyder, Executive Director of Stanford Center for Opportunity Policy in Education; and Tina Trujillo, Associate Professor at the University of California at Berkeley's Graduate School of Education and Faculty Director of the Principal Leadership Institute. We thank them for the care and attention they gave the report; any shortcomings remain our own.

The appropriate citation for this report is: Maier, A., Daniel, J., Oakes, J., & Lam, L. (2017). *Community schools as an effective school improvement strategy: A review of the evidence*. Palo Alto, CA: Learning Policy Institute.

This report can be found online at https://learningpolicyinstitute.org/product/community-schools-effective-school-improvement-report.

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Executive Summary

Increasing economic inequality and residential segregation have triggered a resurgence of interest in community schools—a century-old approach to making schools places where children can learn and thrive, even in under-resourced and underserved neighborhoods. This report synthesizes the research evidence about the impact of community schools on student and school outcomes. Its aim is to support and inform school, community, district, and state leaders as they consider, propose, or implement community schools as a strategy for providing equitable, high-quality education to all young people.

Community schools represent a place-based strategy in which schools partner with community agencies and allocate resources to provide an "integrated focus on academics, health and social services, youth and community development, and community engagement."[1] Many operate on an all-day and year-round schedules, and serve both children and adults. Although this strategy is appropriate for students of all backgrounds, many community schools arise in neighborhoods where structural forces linked to racism and poverty shape the experiences of young people and erect barriers to learning and school success. These are communities where families have few resources to supplement what typical schools provide.

Community schools vary in the programs they offer and the ways they operate, depending on their local context. However, four features—or pillars—appear in most community schools and support the conditions for teaching and learning found in high-quality schools.

1. Integrated student supports
2. Expanded learning time and opportunities
3. Family and community engagement
4. Collaborative leadership and practice

This report examines 143 research studies on each of the four community school pillars, along with evaluation studies of community schools as a comprehensive strategy. In each area, the report synthesizes high-quality studies that use a range of research methods, drawing conclusions about the findings that warrant confidence while also pointing to areas in which the research is inconclusive. In addition, we assess whether the research base justifies the use of well-designed community schools as an "evidence-based" intervention under the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) in schools targeted for comprehensive support.

Findings

We conclude that well-implemented community schools lead to improvement in student and school outcomes and contribute to meeting the educational needs of low-achieving students in high-poverty schools. Strong research reinforces the efficacy of integrated student supports, expanded learning time and opportunities, and family and community engagement as intervention strategies. Promising evidence supports the positive impact of the type of collaborative leadership and practice found in community schools, although little of this research has been done in community schools. The research base examining the "full service" community schools model that includes most or all of the four pillars is newer, more limited in size, and consists primarily of evaluation studies of particular sites. But here, too, the evidence from well-designed studies is promising. Ample

evidence is available to inform and guide policymakers, educators, and advocates interested in advancing community schools, and sufficient research exists to meet the ESSA standard for an evidence-based intervention.

Specifically, our analyses produced 12 findings:

Finding 1. The evidence base on community schools and their pillars justifies the use of community schools as a school improvement strategy that helps children succeed academically and prepare for full and productive lives.

Finding 2. Sufficient evidence exists to qualify the community schools approach as an evidence-based intervention under ESSA (i.e., a program or intervention must have at least one well-designed study that fits into its four-tier definition of evidence).

Finding 3. The evidence base provides a strong warrant for using community schools to meet the needs of low-achieving students in high-poverty schools and to help close opportunity and achievement gaps for students from low-income families, students of color, English learners, and students with disabilities.

Finding 4. The four key pillars of community schools promote conditions and practices found in high-quality schools and address out-of-school barriers to learning.

Finding 5. The integrated student supports provided by community schools are associated with positive student outcomes. Young people receiving such supports, including counseling, medical care, dental services, and transportation assistance, often show significant improvements in attendance, behavior, social functioning, and academic achievement.

Finding 6. Thoughtfully designed expanded learning time and opportunities provided by community schools—such as longer school days and academically rich and engaging after-school, weekend, and summer programs—are associated with positive academic and nonacademic outcomes, including improvements in student attendance, behavior, and academic achievement. Notably, the best-designed studies show the strongest positive effects.

Finding 7. The meaningful family and community engagement found in community schools is associated with positive student outcomes, such as reduced absenteeism, improved academic outcomes, and student reports of more positive school climates. Additionally, this engagement can increase trust among students, parents, and staff, which has positive effects on student outcomes.

Finding 8. The collaborative leadership, practice, and relationships found in community schools can create the conditions necessary to improve student learning and well-being, as well as improve relationships within and beyond the school walls. The development of social capital and teacher-peer learning appear to be the factors that explain the link between collaboration and better student achievement.

Finding 9. Comprehensive community school interventions have a positive impact, with programs in many different locations showing improvements in student outcomes, including attendance, academic achievement, high school graduation rates, and reduced racial and economic achievement gaps.

Finding 10. Effective implementation and sufficient exposure to services increase the success of a community schools approach, with research showing that longer operating and better implemented programs yield more positive results for students and schools.

Finding 11. Existing cost-benefit research suggests an excellent return on investment of up to $15 in social value and economic benefits for every dollar spent on school-based wraparound services.

Finding 12. The evidence base on comprehensive community schools can be strengthened by well-designed evaluations that pay close attention to the nature of the services and their implementation.

Research-Based Lessons for Policy Development and Implementation

Community school strategies hold considerable promise for creating good schools for all students, but especially for those living in poverty. This is of particular relevance in the face of growing achievement and opportunity gaps at a moment in which the nation faces a decentralization of decision making about the use of federal dollars. State and local policymakers can specify community schools as part of ESSA Title I set-aside school improvement plans and in proposals for grants under Title IV. If a state or district lacks the resources to implement community schools at scale, it can productively begin in neighborhoods where community schools are most needed and, therefore, students are most likely to benefit.

Based on our analysis of this evidence, we identify 10 research-based lessons for guiding policy development and implementation.

Lesson 1. Integrated student supports, expanded learning time and opportunities, family and community engagement, and collaborative leadership practices appear to reinforce each other. A comprehensive approach that brings all of these factors together requires changes to existing structures, practices, and partnerships at school sites.

Lesson 2. In cases where a strong program model exists for one or more of the pillars, implementation fidelity matters. Evidence suggests that results are much stronger when programs with clearly defined elements and structures are implemented consistently across different sites.

Lesson 3. For expanded learning time and opportunities, student access to services and the way time is used make a difference. Students who participate for longer hours or a more extended period receive the most benefit, as do those attending programs that offer activities that are engaging, well aligned with the instructional day (i.e., not just homework help, but content to enrich classroom learning), and that address whole-child interests and needs (i.e., not just academics).

Lesson 4. Students can benefit when schools offer a spectrum of engagement opportunities for families, ranging from providing information on how to support student learning at home and volunteer at school, to welcoming parents involved with community organizations that seek to influence local education policy. Such engagement can help establish trusting relationships that build upon community-based competencies and support culturally relevant learning opportunities.

Lesson 5. Collaboration and shared decision making matter in the community schools approach. That is, community schools are stronger when they develop a variety of structures and practices (e.g., leadership and planning committees, professional learning communities) that bring educators,

partner organizations, parents, and students together as decision makers in development, governance, and improvement of school programs.

Lesson 6. Strong implementation requires attention to all pillars of the community schools approach and to their placement at the center of the school. Community schools benefit from maintaining a strong academic improvement focus, and students benefit from schools that offer more intense or sustained services. Implementation is most effective when data are used in an ongoing process of continuous program evaluation and improvement and when sufficient time is allowed for the strategy to fully mature.

Lesson 7. Educators and policymakers embarking on a community schools approach can benefit from a framework that focuses both on creating school conditions and practices characteristic of high-performing schools and on ameliorating out-of-school barriers to teaching and learning. Doing so will position them to improve outcomes in neighborhoods facing poverty and isolation.

Lesson 8. Successful community schools do not all look alike. Therefore, effective plans for comprehensive place-based initiatives leverage the four pillars in ways that target local assets and needs. These plans also recognize that programming may need to modified over time in response to changes in the school and community.

Lesson 9. Strong community school evaluation studies provide information about progress toward hoped-for outcomes, the quality of implementation, and students' exposure to services and opportunities. Quantitative evaluations would benefit from including carefully designed comparison groups and statistical controls, and evaluation reports would benefit from including detailed descriptions of their methodology and the designs of the programs. Policymakers and educators could also benefit from evaluation studies that supplement findings about the impact of community schools on student outcomes with findings about their impact on neighborhoods.

Lesson 10. The field would benefit from additional academic research that uses rigorous quantitative and qualitative methods to study both comprehensive community schools and the four pillars. Research could focus on the impact of community schools on student, school, and community outcomes, as well as seek to guide implementation and refinement, particularly in low-income, racially isolated communities.

Although we call for additional research and stronger evaluation, evidence in the current empirical literature shows what is working now. The research on the four pillars of community schools and the evaluations of comprehensive interventions, for example, shine a light on how these strategies can improve educational practices and conditions and support student academic success and social, emotional, and physical health.

As states, districts, and schools consider improvement strategies, they can be confident that the best available evidence demonstrates that the community school approach offers a promising foundation for progress.

Chapter 1. Why Community Schools?

Americans want, need, and deserve schools for all children that make meaningful learning and well-rounded development their first priority; that provide the resources, opportunities, and support that make such learning and development a reality for every student; that are staffed by educators who have the knowledge and skills to teach all children well; that build trusting relationships between teachers and students; and that create strong ties among parents, students, schools and communities.

Study after study confirms what we all know: Such schools make a difference in the lives of children and in the health of our society. Although there is no doubt that every student would be better off attending a school with the attributes described above, children from low-income families see the biggest benefit. Unfortunately, these are the very families who are most often denied this kind of education.[2] Citing research, the United States Department of Education (ED) declared in a 2014 letter to states and districts, "high-quality schools can make a dramatic difference in children's lives, closing achievement gaps and providing students with the opportunity to learn and succeed in college and their chosen careers."[3]

Community schools bring educators and community partners together to create high-quality schools with an integrated approach to academics, health and social services, youth and community development, and community engagement. They employ a more than century-old strategy for strengthening struggling communities and helping young people thrive. Today's increasing economic inequality and residential segregation have triggered a resurgence of interest in community schools.

In this report, we assess the evidence base regarding the efficacy of the community schools approach as a lever for creating good schools and advancing educational equity for children living in underserved neighborhoods. In what follows we:

- summarize the inequalities in and out of school that constrain teaching and learning in communities facing concentrated poverty and racial isolation (Chapter 1);
- explain the new opportunities that the current policy context (including increased interest at the state and local levels and in the federal ESSA legislation) provides to support community schools (Chapter 1);
- describe the community schools approach, emphasizing how its core features support educators and community partners to develop school conditions and practices proven to be effective for helping children develop and learn (Chapter 2);
- review the research about community schools and their core features, or pillars, to assess the effectiveness of the community schools strategy, using the ESSA definition of evidence-based interventions as one lens for analysis (Chapters 3–7); and
- summarize findings across the research, and provide research-based recommendations to guide the implementation of community schools in ways that will maximize their positive impact (Chapter 8).

Oakland International High School: A Community School in Action

At Oakland International High School, approximately 29% of students—virtually all of whom are recent immigrants—arrived in the United States as unaccompanied minors. Some have lost family members to violence; some come to school hungry; some face risks simply getting to and from school. All are English learners, and most live in poverty. Across the country, most students like them experience limited learning opportunities and barriers to success at school. But Oakland International students thrive at surprisingly high rates. Two thirds of those surveyed in 2015–16 said they are "happy at school," compared to just over half of other Oakland high school students.

Why the difference? Oakland International High School is a community school. As such, it has an integrated focus on academics, health and social services, youth development, and family/community engagement. For example, the school directly addresses the out-of-school barriers to learning faced by recently arrived immigrant students. These young people are adjusting to a new life in the United States and, in many cases, processing the traumatic circumstances that caused them to flee their home countries. Available supports include free legal representation to students facing deportation, after-school tutoring, English as a second language (ESL) classes for parents (provided by the nonprofit Refugee Transitions), mental health and mentoring services at the school wellness center, medical services at a nearby high school health clinic, and an after-school and weekend sports program run by Soccer Without Borders.

As students' physical and mental well-being is supported, so is their learning. As a core part of Oakland International High School's academic studies, students work all year developing a portfolio around topics relevant to them. They develop artifacts to share their academic findings with audiences of peers, teachers, family members, and community members. The portfolio project enables students to develop advanced academic skills and demonstrate what they have learned in more meaningful ways than on a single test. When presenting, they practice their English skills, showcase and reflect on what they have learned, and answer audience questions. Their work is graded with rubrics, and students have multiple opportunities for revision.

To engage families as partners, Oakland International teachers and community school staff conduct at least two home visits each year to develop relationships with families, and they encourage and support parent participation on school teams that develop programs and determine budgets. Staff also participate in immersive "community walks" designed by parents, students, and community leaders in which they visit important landmarks and meet with community leaders and families.

Community members are part of the Community School Advisory Committee (the site leadership team) and the Coordination of Services Team (the primary link between students and community partners), which help determine the best supports for students and families. Team members review student attendance and other data sources each week to determine which students would benefit from case management, home visits, or other interventions. Valuing the knowledge and engagement of families and community members infuses the school climate with trusting relationships that support student learning and well-being.

Careful internal tracking of the 5-year graduation rate for the class of 2015 shows a 72% success rate—high for this extremely vulnerable population (the figure includes nontraditional paths, such as completing credits at adult school or proceeding directly to community college and earning an associate degree). The school also does a remarkable job of preparing and sending students to college. More than half of Oakland International's 2014–15 graduating students (51%) took and passed the rigorous A–G courses required for admission to California state universities, compared to 24% of their English learner peers districtwide and 46% of all Oakland Unified School District students. In addition, college enrollment rates for Oakland International students reached 68% by 2014, outperforming the 2009 state average of 52% for English learners (the most recent statewide data available. These are internal data drawn from the Western Association of Schools and Colleges, or WASC, accreditation review process. Oakland International is a WASC-accredited institution.

In short, Oakland International High School addresses learning barriers outside of school, and it provides challenging and engaging learning opportunities through a collaborative process involving students, teachers, families, and community members. It has become a place where students learn and thrive. Oakland International is just one of many community schools across the United States that has found a way to become a true hub for the community it serves and to provide students, parents, and staff with the support they need to be successful.

Source: Coalition for Community Schools. (2017) School Award Profiles, online at http://www.communityschools.org/2017_Awardees/; Maier, A. & Levin-Guracar, E. (n.d.) *Performance assessment profile: Oakland International High School.* Palo Alto, CA: Learning Policy Institute; Unpublished contextual information supplied by the school.

Unequal Access to High-Quality Schools

Over the past decades a growing body of research has identified the characteristics of schools where all children learn and thrive. Such schools are valued in all communities.[4] Nevertheless, children living in predominantly middle class, White neighborhoods are far more likely than other children to have access to them. Advantaged neighborhoods have higher local tax bases with which to finance high-quality schools.[5] They also benefit more from community-based and private out-of-school learning opportunities—activities that supplement what schools provide. They are more likely to have the resources and support systems to help children grapple with out-of-school factors that may otherwise impede their learning. Although few schools in any community provide the full range of social-emotional learning and nurturing/high expectations environments that children need, middle-class parents and communities can supplement what schools provide with resources and supports outside of school.

Today, more than half of the nation's school children—approximately 25 million—live in low-income households, the highest proportion since this statistic became available in the 1960s.[6] Increasingly, they are living in neighborhoods of concentrated disadvantage, racial isolation, and uneven education spending. Bearing the brunt of long-term disinvestment, these children are often locked out of schools with high-quality curriculum, instruction, supports, and facilities.[7] Recent decades of state budget cuts to education and other policy choices have exacerbated such shortfalls.[8] Without adequately resourced neighborhood programs, youth from low-income families miss valuable learning experiences that middle-class youth access with relative ease. Fewer family resources mean fewer opportunities for early education, limited after-school and summer learning programs,[9] and constrained capacity to support college ambitions.[10]

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Out-of-School Barriers to Learning

Children growing up in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty face society's neglect of their most basic needs. Many suffer adverse experiences and persistent hardship. Food insecurity is commonplace.[11] Families who are unable to pay the rent move repeatedly—as often as three or four times a year—and homelessness is widespread,[12] increasing the likelihood of changing schools and absenteeism. Toxic waste and hazardous air quality coupled with inadequate access to health care cause untreated asthma, undetected vision and dental problems, and other health concerns.[13] Structural factors, such as decades of disinvestment, have driven people to informal economies and illegal activities. These, in turn, increase violence in communities, including violent police responses, to which many young people have lost a family member or close friend. We typically think of post-traumatic stress disorder, or PTSD, as a problem faced by soldiers returning from war, but psychologists report that many children growing up in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty are living with this often-debilitating condition.[14]

Chronic stress from these and other harms of poverty diminishes learning readiness and academic success[15] and contributes to the persistent inequities in schooling outcomes between wealthy and poor students and between White students and students of color, such as disparities in academic achievement, high school graduation, college attendance, and adult occupational and economic attainment.[16] Unsurprisingly, students from poor families are five times more likely to drop out of school than their better-off peers.[17]

Chronic stress from the harms of poverty diminishes learning readiness and academic success and contributes to the persistent inequities in schooling outcomes between wealthy and poor students and between White students and students of color.

Family investment in children's education has changed dramatically from the 1970s to 2000s, but these changes differ between high- and low-income families. What was a modest difference in parental investment between the poorest and richest families more than doubled in this period—even as the poorest families dramatically increased their investment in children's education as a proportion of their income. In this way, growing economic inequality has profoundly shaped out-of-school gaps in opportunities. Cumulatively, these differences create and perpetuate inequalities in life chances that conflict with Americans' commitment to basic fairness, and contradict the belief that education is society's great equalizer.[18]

Community Schools as a Response to Poverty and Inequality

Educators, community leaders, and advocates have long viewed community schools as a powerful, comprehensive response to the needs of neighborhoods experiencing poverty and racial isolation. The approach can be traced back to early 20th century efforts to make urban schools "social centers" serving multiple social and civic needs.[19] With increasing industrialization, immigration, and urbanization, the socioeconomic shifts of the late 19th century created new roles for public institutions to address the needs of the urban poor. Social reformers looked to schools to be social centers that could help address these needs, teach what the reformers deemed "wholesome" community values and proper hygiene, and act as sites for open discussion with people from various class backgrounds and political orientations.

The next wave of support for community schooling came in the 1930s as social reconstructionists sought to give schools a critical role in addressing the social upheaval of the Great Depression. They believed the crisis called for new economic and political structures and large programs to relieve poverty. Drawing on the ideas of John Dewey, America's foremost education philosopher, community schooling proponents sought to create a strong social fabric, preserve American democracy, and strengthen struggling communities through democratic, community-oriented approaches to education.[20] Schools, such as Franklin High in East Harlem, NY, acted as centers for community life that could support the well-being of the entire community while practicing democratic community-based inquiry that would help shape local ideas and politics.[21] For example, students at Franklin conducted neighborhood surveys to assist the neighborhood's campaign for more public housing. However, growing conservatism in the following decades largely undermined such progressive approaches.

Community schooling also has its roots in African American struggles for quality education and local control that sought to create more positive school-community relations.[22] Under both de jure and de facto segregation, schools for African American children functioned as important social hubs controlled by and serving the Black community with broad-based participation, collaborative relations, and shared experiences and attempts to mitigate economic hardships and violence from White supremacists. The James Adams Community School is one example of a school rooted in this history. Between 1943 and 1956, this segregated school located in Pennsylvania served Black students in grades k-9 by day and operated as a community center by night, offering free activities and classes for students, families, and community members. Its existence challenged the belief that Black students were inferior as the school and community worked together to create activities, curriculum, and community-based learning opportunities that were both challenging to and supportive of the students.[23]

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The 1960s and 1970s brought a resurgence of community schooling. Advocacy groups saw these institutions as a way to build power by improving learning and addressing social issues,[24] including largely segregated and underfunded schools in urban centers were not providing quality education to students.[25] Interest in community schooling also increased as a response to desegregation, as students of color bore the brunt of desegregation efforts and faced discrimination in their new schools. Community control of the schools represented a chance to remedy the downward spiral of urban education, make schools accountable to low-income Black parents the way they were to parents in suburban schools,[26] promote democracy through wide-scale participation, and challenge discriminatory practices.[27] These initiatives struggled from lack of political support, insufficient funding, and opposition from some teachers who worried that community control threatened their professional responsibilities and standing.[28]

Like their predecessors, today's community schools build partnerships between the school and other local entities—higher education institutions, government health and social service agencies, community-based nonprofits, and faith-based organizations. These partnerships intentionally create structures, strategies, and relationships to provide the learning conditions and opportunities—both in school and out—that are enjoyed by students in better resourced schools, where the schools' work is supplemented by high-capacity communities and families. Like much of American education, today's community schools focus more on meeting the individual needs of students and families (in terms of health, social welfare, and academics) than the earlier emphasis on strengthening communities or civil society more generally. However, the most comprehensive community schools today also seek to be social centers where neighbors come together to work for the common good.[29]

Community schools cannot overcome all problems facing poor neighborhoods—that would require substantial investments in job training, housing and social safety net infrastructures, and other poverty alleviation measures. However, they have a long history of connecting children and families to resources, opportunities, and supports that foster healthy development and help offset the harms of poverty. A health clinic can deliver medical and psychological treatment, as well as glasses to myopic children, dental care to those who need it, and inhalers for asthma sufferers. Extending the school day and remaining open during the summer enable the school to offer additional academic help and activities, such as sports and music, which can entice youngsters who might otherwise drop out. Community schools can engage parents as learners as well as partners, offering them the opportunity to develop a skill, such as learning English or cooking, or preparing for a GED or citizenship exam, and it can support their efforts to improve the neighborhood—for example, by securing a stop sign or getting rid of hazardous waste.[30]

Community schools have a long history of connecting children and families to resources, opportunities, and supports that foster healthy development and help offset the harms of poverty.

The Federal Commitment to Educational Equity

The goals of community schools are aligned with those of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), passed by Congress as part of President Lyndon B. Johnson's "War on Poverty." For more than 50 years, as ESEA has funded programs to improve the educational opportunities and outcomes for disadvantaged young Americans, equity has been the justification for federal involvement in k-12 education.[31] Federal and state courts have reinforced this goal by upholding the rights of all young people (including children of undocumented immigrants) to go to school and to receive equitable, high-quality schooling.[32]

Although cuts to these programs during the Reagan administration have never been fully restored, policymakers have continued to experiment with new approaches; making education a tool for combating poverty while fostering equity remains a goal. Among the various recent approaches, the federal government provided support for community schools, including dedicated funding for 21st Century Community Learning Centers, Promise Neighborhoods, and Full-Service Community Schools. Localities have adopted and are implementing community school projects, including New York City, Philadelphia, Newark, Austin, Salt Lake City, Oakland, Portland, Oregon, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, Las Vegas, Albuquerque, and Tulsa; there are also state-level initiatives, as in New York. Many districts have turned to community schools as part of larger communitywide investment initiatives. In some districts, constituents have demanded community schools as alternatives to closing struggling schools or turning them into charters.[33] These initiatives have moved the community schools strategy from the margins into the mainstream of school reform.

ESSA Offers New Opportunities to Support Community Schools

Consistent with the growing attention to community schools across the country, the 2015 reauthorization of ESSA provides new opportunities to develop them.[34] Many state and local policymakers and advocates would also like to incorporate community schools into their ESSA

plans as a strategy for improving low-performing schools. However, using federal funding under ESSA must be justified with positive findings about the impact of the proposed strategy from rigorous, well-designed studies. Accordingly, community school advocates must demonstrate that the approach satisfies the criteria for evidence-based interventions. We describe these elements of ESSA in what follows.

ESSA shifts the balance of power from Washington, DC, to states and communities such that states and local districts have the flexibility to build community schools into their plans to use federal funding to carry out the provisions of the law.

ESSA shifts the balance of power from the federal government to states and communities such that states and local districts have the flexibility to build community schools into their plans to use federal funding to carry out the provisions of the law. "[Building] upon the critical work" of state education agencies (SEAs) and local school districts, (also known as local education agencies, or LEAs) over the years, the Department of Education writes that the new law allows states, districts, schools, and communities

> the opportunity to broaden definitions of educational excellence, while maintaining civil rights for all students. Additionally, the ESSA includes provisions designed to enable SEAs and LEAs to focus on providing students the diverse, integrated curriculum and learning experiences necessary for a well-rounded education.[35]

The law charges states with specifying in their ESSA plans how they will use the federal legislation and its considerable funding to ensure access to the resources, supports, and relationships that are critical for students' academic, social, and physical development. It establishes the expectation under Title I that states will design standards and assessments that develop and measure higher order thinking skills for what the law terms "college and career readiness." As such, ESSA allows states to turn attention to critical thinking and problem solving, in place of the rote-oriented education that disadvantaged students regularly received under No Child Left Behind (NCLB). Title II provides resources for professional learning that can be used toward these ends. The new law moves toward a more holistic approach by encouraging multiple measures for accountability. This means that states can now select indicators beyond those the federal government requires, including alternative measures of student outcomes, school functioning, and student learning opportunities.

Title I of ESSA also departs from NCLB, the prior version of the law that maintained a federally mandated, test-based accountability approach to improving schools that are performing poorly on standardized tests. ESSA empowers states and school districts to make pivotal decisions on behalf of children in the lowest 5% of schools. Although ESSA still contains room for counterproductive and short-term school "turnaround" strategies, it also allows educators, leaders, and community stakeholders to use other evidence-based approaches in schools identified as needing targeted support and improvement.

Title IV of ESSA acknowledges the need to attend to the whole child emotionally, socially, physically, and academically and provides formula grants for this purpose. Title IV also establishes incentives for local districts to target funding strategies based on student needs through two new

programs: The Flexibility for Equitable Per-Pupil Pilot and the Student Support and Academic Enrichment Grants. The latter is a grant program to help school districts boost community engagement, and it incorporates community school practices. Title IV requires the engagement of community partners.

ESSA also shifts responsibility from federal to state governments to ensure that issues of educational equity receive attention. Under ESSA, educators and leaders have the challenging responsibility of not only building new accountability systems but also designing a framework that addresses enduring inequalities in student learning opportunities and outcomes within a model of continuous improvement. LEA improvement plans must identify resource inequities. Certainly, ESSA risks rolling back some equity safeguards, particularly as a lack of federal oversight would lead to considerable state variation. Nevertheless, the law's additional freedom and responsibility for states presents an opportunity for policymakers and educators to choose strategies that restructure and drive each level of the system toward the equitable conditions and practices described above.

Under ESSA, educators and leaders have the challenging responsibility of not only building new accountability systems but also designing a framework that addresses enduring inequalities in student learning opportunities and outcomes within a model of continuous improvement.

The new law holds the potential to advance the community schools strategy to improve struggling schools and presents a promising alternative to NCLB's top-down turnaround strategies. Its requirements for stakeholder engagement can be used to prioritize and create the conditions for states and districts to bolster school-community relationships. Thus, although ESSA doesn't guarantee that federal funds will be spent on community schools, it does permit states to make them part of their plans. Those states choosing the community schools route to achieve these goals will be investing in the long haul, taking a more laborious but, in the long term, more constructive path.

One of the key questions that states and localities must answer, however, is whether community schools meet the evidence-based standard for interventions that are appropriate to support schools in need of assistance. That is, state and local plans must establish that the positive impact of their chosen interventions is supported by well-designed research that backs the claims made by advocates describing a broad range of benefits for students, families, and communities. Such claims include:

- Children are ready to enter school.
- Students attend school consistently.
- Students are actively involved in learning and their communities.
- Families are increasingly involved with their children's education.
- Schools are engaged with families and communities.
- Students succeed academically.
- Students are healthy physically, socially, and emotionally.
- Students live and learn in a safe, supportive, and stable environment.
- Communities are desirable places to live.

ESSA defines state, LEA, and school activities, strategies, or interventions as "evidence based" if they "demonstrate a statistically significant effect on improving student outcomes or other relevant outcomes" through "at least one well-designed and well-implemented" study or if they demonstrate a research-based rationale and include ongoing evaluation efforts (see Table 1).

Table 1
ESSA's Definition of "Evidence-Based Interventions"

Tier 1	*Tier 2*	*Tier 3*	*Tier 4*
Strong Evidence	**Moderate Evidence**	**Promising Evidence**	**Emerging Evidence**
At least one well-designed and well-implemented study demonstrates a statistically significant effect on improving student outcomes using a(n)			Demonstrates a rationale that the intervention is likely to improve student outcomes, based on high-quality research Includes ongoing evaluation efforts
Experimental methodology	Quasi-experimental methodology	Correlational methodology with statistical controls for selection bias	

ESSA requires that Title I, Part A interventions for low-performing schools, as well as competitive grant programs, employ evidence-based strategies that fall into Tiers 1–3.[37] It is up to states and local education agencies to develop a plan for how to spend the Title I, Part A set-aside in support of low-performing schools, which includes selecting among a variety of strategies that meet the definition for an evidence-based intervention. Other formula grant programs, such as Title II teacher supports and Title IV, Part A student supports, encourage (but do not require) the evidence-based standard. See the Research Compendium for the ESSA classification of each study we reviewed.

Our Approach to Assessing the Evidence Base

The findings presented in this report are based on a comprehensive, systematic review of existing literature. Our goals were to summarize the available evidence to inform and guide policymakers, educators, and advocates interested in advancing community schools. We also sought to determine whether sufficient research exists to meet the ESSA standard establishing community schools as an evidence-based intervention.

We began by specifying a research-based definition of community schools. By reading a wide range of descriptive accounts of community schools, the research team identified four pillars as common features of this diverse approach to school improvement:

1. Integrated student supports
2. Expanded learning time and opportunities
3. Family and community engagement
4. Collaborative leadership and practice

The team reviewed empirical studies and research syntheses examining the impact of each pillar individually, as well as research and evaluations of comprehensive community school programs that pull together most or all community school pillars. This process involved an examination of

the impact of these interventions on a range of student academic, behavioral, and social-emotional outcomes in the short and long term. (See the appendix for a list of databases, websites, and academic journals used in this research; a more detailed explanation of the search process used, the results of the search, and list of search terms; and a more detailed discussion of the inclusion criteria.)

The review process began with a broad literature search to identify relevant published studies, evaluations, and research syntheses, as well as conversations with community school experts to learn about additional evaluation efforts that were not identified through the initial search.

The research team conducted a broad sweep of the evidence base to identify an initial set of community school studies. After reading and discussing this initial set of studies, the researchers identified and then searched for literature on the four community school pillars. This search yielded academic research, community school program evaluations, and research syntheses on all four pillars and on comprehensive community school programs that include most or all of the four pillars.

All studies that met a set of the preliminary criteria identified below were reviewed by at least one of the authors.

- The studies examined programs that included one or more of the community school pillars we identified.
- The majority of studies were released within the past 15 years. This decision took into account two major community school research reviews that came out around the beginning of that period (one in 2000 and the other in 2003).[38]
- The studies either explained the research methods they used and reported statistical output when relevant, or the authors supplied this information upon request.

The inclusion criteria intentionally captured studies using a broad range of research methods, including randomized control trials, quasi-experimental studies, well-designed case studies with no comparison group, and published research syntheses with clearly outlined methodologies for the selection and analysis of studies. Considering multiple research approaches adds depth and breadth to our understanding of the effectiveness of potential interventions. This selection approach yielded 143 studies that met the criteria for inclusion.

Table 2
Overview of Student and School Outcome Studies Reviewed

Category	Number of Studies
Comprehensive community school evaluations	24, including 3 research syntheses
Pillar 1: Integrated student supports	27, including 6 research syntheses
Pillar 2: Expanded learning time and opportunities	24, including 14 research syntheses
Pillar 3: Family and community engagement	29, including 13 research syntheses
Pillar 4: Collaborative leadership and practice	35, including 13 research syntheses
Cost-benefit analyses	4 studies
TOTAL	143, including 49 research syntheses

We grouped studies according to their primary focus (see Table 2) and screened them using the inclusion criteria. Some of the distinctions between areas of focus can be rather artificial, as any given community schools reform is likely to include multiple strategies. However, most initiatives identify areas of focus. Studies in each group were summarized (see the Research Compendium for a full summary of the studies we reviewed). We then coded all original community school research studies with student and school outcome data (excluding syntheses and meta-analyses) by outcome category using an inductive process. The categories that emerged were:

- Academic Outcomes
- Behavioral Outcomes
- Social-Emotional Outcomes

Finally, we classified the methodologies that each of the studies employed according to the ESSA statutory definition of an "evidence-based intervention."[39] (See the Appendix for a more detailed explanation of the categories and inductive process as well as an account of the ESSA analysis process employed by the research team.) We turn in the next chapter to the community schools approach itself and why it appears to be a promising strategy for providing high-quality, equitable schools.

2. Community Schools: Creating Schools Where Students Learn and Thrive

The Coalition for Community Schools defines community schools as "both a place and a set of partnerships between the school and other community resources, [with an] integrated focus on academics, health and social services, youth and community development, and community engagement."[40] These partnerships enable many community schools to be open year round, from dawn to dusk, six days a week, becoming neighborhood hubs where community members have access to resources that meet family needs and are able to engage with educators. This contrasts sharply with a "no excuses" approach in which schools that deliver high-quality instruction in a high-expectation culture are expected to surmount barriers imposed by poverty. Rather, community schools focus simultaneously on providing high-quality instruction and addressing out-of-school barriers to students' engagement and learning.

A Diverse Approach With Common Pillars

The community schools approach is not a program, in the sense of specific structures and practices that are replicated across multiple contexts. Rather, it is grounded in the principle that all students, families, and communities benefit from strong connections between educators and local resources, supports, and people. These strong connections support learning and healthy development both in and out of school and help young people become more confident in their relations with the larger world. In distressed communities, this general principle takes on heightened urgency, as educators and the public recognize that conditions outside of school must be improved for educational outcomes to improve and that, reciprocally, high-quality schools are unlikely to be sustained unless they are embedded in thriving communities.[41]

Community schools are grounded in the principle that all students, families, and communities benefit from strong connections between educators and local resources, supports, and people.

In any locality, educators developing community schools operationalize these principles in ways that fit their context, linking schools to like-minded community-based organizations, social service agencies, health clinics, libraries, and more. They take full advantage of local assets and talent, whether it is a nearby university, the parent who coaches the soccer team, the mechanic who shows students how to take apart an engine, the chef who inspires a generation of bakers, or the artist who helps students learn how to paint. Not only do student needs and community assets differ across contexts, so does the capacity of the local school system. Not surprisingly, then, community schools vary considerably from place to place in their operation, their programmatic features, and in some cases, their theories of school improvement.

Some schools coordinate with health, social, or other educational entities to provide services on a case-by-case basis in response to the needs of students and their families.[42] Others work with service providers to integrate a full range of academic, health, and social services into the work of the school and make them available to all students, a strategy often called "wraparound" services.[43]

Some schools complement their provision of services for students, families, and communities with practices that bring community and family voices into governance, treating families as partners rather than as clients.[44] Still others engage with partners in economic development, community organizing, and leadership development of community members, as well as offering learning opportunities and social supports to parents and students.[45] This diversity is evident in the array of names that various community school initiatives use to identify their work, including school-linked services, school-based services, full-service community schools, school-community partnerships, and the Strive Together initiatives, among others.[46]

Notably, however, our comprehensive review of community schools research identified common features that are found in different types of community schools. **These four features, or community school "pillars," include (1) integrated student supports; (2) expanded learning time and opportunities; (3) family and community engagement; and (4) collaborative leadership and practice.**

Integrated student supports, or wraparound services, such as dental care or counseling for children and families, are often considered foundational. Expanded learning time and family engagement are also common programmatic elements. Collaborative leadership can be viewed as both a programmatic element and an implementation strategy. The synergy among these pillars is what makes community schools an identifiable approach to school improvement: The pillars support educators and communities to create good schools, even in places where poverty and isolation make that especially difficult.

Community School Pillars Support Effective Conditions and Practices

The four pillars are fundamental to the success of community schools. Individually and collectively, they serve as scaffolds (or structures, practices, or processes) that support schools to instantiate the conditions and practices that enhance their effectiveness and help them surmount the barriers to providing high-quality learning opportunities in low-income communities. This section makes the case that the four pillars increase the odds that young people in low-income and under-resourced communities will be in educational environments with meaningful learning opportunities, high-quality teaching, well-used resources, additional supports, and a culture of high expectations, trust, and shared responsibility. These features are associated with high-quality schools in more affluent and well-connected communities where local institutions, family resources, and the social capital of community members complement what the local schools can provide.

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The conditions that these pillars enable are those that decades of research have identified as school characteristics that foster students' intellectual, social, emotional, and physical development. A skillful teacher, a challenging curriculum, and supports for both students and teachers form

the starting point. Join these elements and others described below, and evidence shows, real learning—academic, physical, and social-emotional—will take place.[47] We summarize some of these evidence-based characteristics of highly effective schools in what follows and then show how the pillars of community schools correspond to and provide scaffolding for them, particularly in high-poverty communities.

In good schools, **creating meaningful learning and well-rounded development is everybody's top priority.**[48] Instead of training students to regurgitate facts, the curriculum encourages deeper learning, thinking through complex problems, and collaborating to figure out solutions.[49] Notably, growth and achievement mindsets lead educators and students to view such learning as expected from and normal for everybody. Educators understand that children learn to be smart.[50] They reject the view that some, often poor and minority youth, lack the ability to succeed.

Instead of training students to regurgitate facts, the curriculum encourages deeper learning, thinking through complex problems, and collaborating to figure out solutions.

Learning is facilitated by well-trained, experienced, efficacious teachers,[51] who share a culture of collaboration and learning. Traditionally, teachers worked in isolation, behind closed classroom doors, but they are more effective when they have ample time to work together, collaborating on pedagogy and devising strategies to overcome the difficulties students are having.[52] Mentoring from fellow teachers is also crucial, particularly for those new to the classroom. All teachers can improve through coaching and other professional development opportunities.[53] This contributes to teachers' efficacy, or their confidence that they can teach their students well, and a culture where adults take collective responsibility for all children's learning.[54]

Assessment plays a valuable role in the life of the good school, but instead of using test scores as the means of identifying "good" and "bad" teachers, **assessment is used as a tool for professional learning and the improvement of practice.** Assessment results pinpoint where students and teachers are struggling—in mathematics word problems, for instance—and indicate where help is needed to make them stronger learners and educators.[55]

Moreover, **the principal sets the tone.**[56] While attentive to accountability, a good leader relies on multiple ways to measure teachers' and students' performance, and to use those data in collaborative improvement processes.[57]

Funding and resources are sufficient to meet the needs of the school community and are used well. The curriculum, teaching, and assessment practieces previously described require sufficient resources. If children are to go beyond superficial learning, classrooms must be well equipped; schools also need libraries, laboratories, art and music facilities, sports and play equipment, and well-maintained outdoor space. There must be enough time for teachers to teach and children to learn deeply.[58] Good schools also ensure that **students get the additional support they need to be ready and able to learn.** Such support addresses students' academic, social, and health-related needs.[59]

Intangibles also matter. If students are to become committed to the demanding business of learning, **teachers and students must trust and respect one another.**[60] Students thrive in relationships with caring and stable adults.[61] Teachers can generate trust by setting high expectations and encouraging all their students to realize those expectations. The willingness of teachers to relate to their students on a personal, not simply an academic, level also helps students connect to school. Every student is known well and feels cared about.[62] As students often say about a teacher they trust, "s/he has my back."[63]

However well cemented their relationships may be, teachers and students do not live in a bubble. The way they relate to one another must be supported by a **positive school climate.** Do students feel safe from violence and bullying? Do they view discipline as fair and respectful? Does their school embrace diversity of all kinds, making welcome students of different races and classes, different abilities and disabilities, different sexual orientations, and different levels of fluency in English? Are their families made to feel welcome? Do their teachers inspire them to become enthusiastic about ideas?[64]

Effective schools also foster **strong ties among families, community members, and the school.**[65] Families and community members are vital resources for helping the school reach long-term goals and solve day-to-day problems. To build a school premised on mutual respect, school leaders share authority with teachers, students, and parents.[66] Such ties enhance students' motivation and participation. They also provide students with a rich array of resources and relationships. These relationships enable both young people and their families to build social and cultural capital and prepare them to be engaged community members and citizens.

Schools with these characteristics don't come cheap, but those dollars are well spent. States in which many such schools (and districts) are to be found, such as Massachusetts and New Jersey, outperform states with a similar demographic profile that are lacking such schools. States with community schools have also dramatically shrunk the achievement gap.[67] The lifetime gains, both for the individual and the larger society, from being educated in good schools, as measured by economists' cost-benefit metrics, substantially outweigh the costs. Measured in terms of better lives and more engaged citizens, the benefits are incalculable.[68]

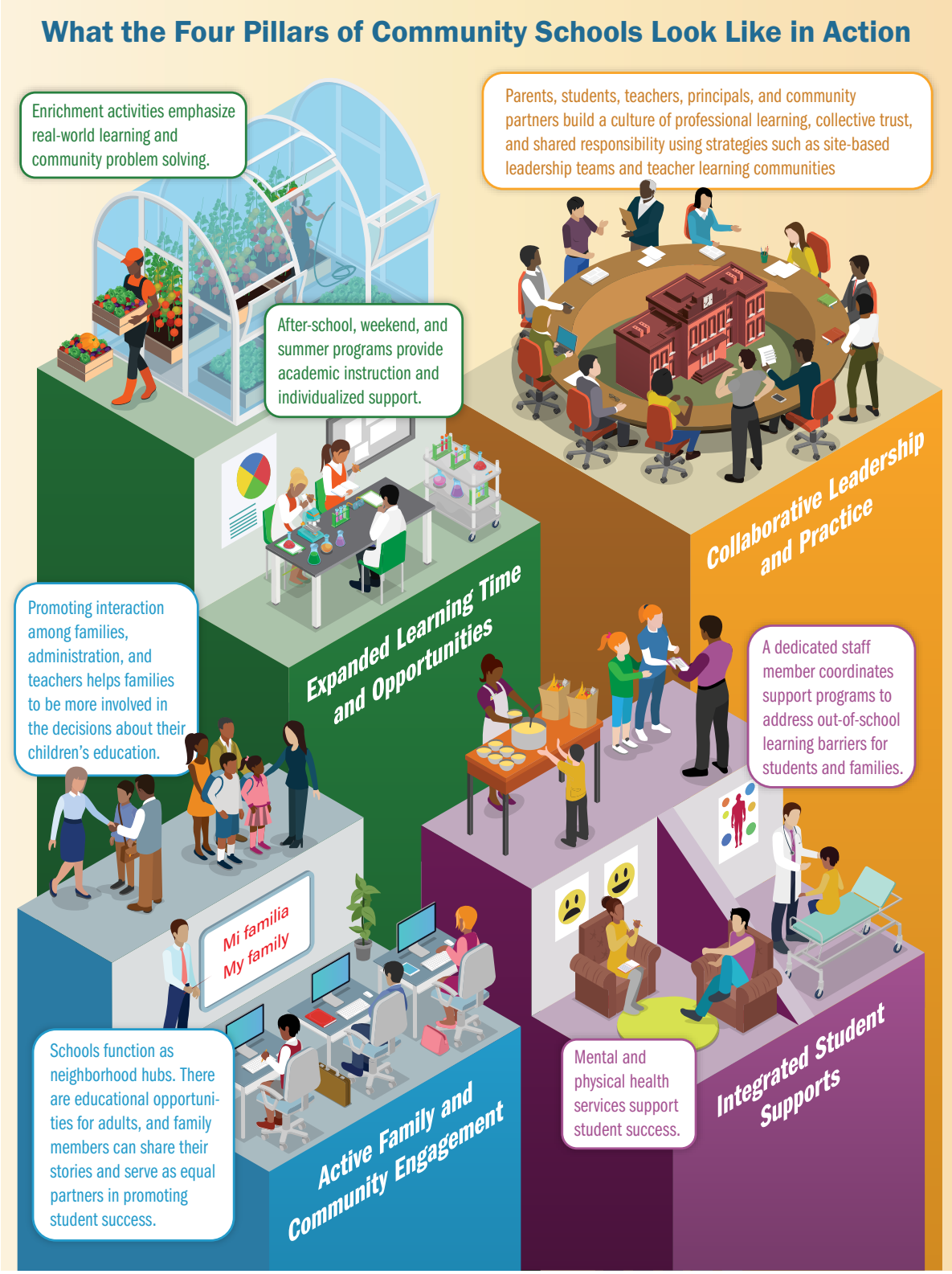
Schools with these characteristics don't come cheap, but the lifetime gains, both for the individual and the larger society, from being educated in good schools, as measured by economists' cost-benefit metrics, substantially outweigh the costs.

Table 3 and Figure 1 show the high-quality school conditions and practices that the four community school pillars scaffold.

Figure 1
The Community School Pillars Correspond With Characteristics of High-Quality Schools

Pillars of Community Schools	Characteristics of High-Quality Schools
Integrated student supports address out-of-school barriers to learning through partnerships with social and health service agencies and providers, ideally coordinated by a dedicated professional staff member. Some employ social-emotional learning, conflict resolution training, trauma-informed care, and restorative justice practices to support mental health and lessen conflict, bullying, and punitive disciplinary actions, such as suspensions.	• Attention to all aspects of child development: academic, social, emotional, physical, psychological, and moral • Extra academic, social, and health and wellness support for students, as needed • Climate of safety and trusting relationships
Expanded learning time and opportunities, including after-school, weekend, and summer programs, provide additional academic instruction, individualized academic support, enrichment activities, and learning opportunities that emphasize real-world learning and community problem solving.	• Learning is the top priority • High expectations and strong instruction for all students • Sufficient resources and opportunities for meaningful learning
Family and community engagement brings parents and other community members into the school as partners with shared decision-making power in children's education. Such engagement also makes the school a neighborhood hub providing adults with educational opportunities, such as ESL classes, green card or citizenship preparation, computer skills, art, STEM, etc.	• Strong school, family, and community ties, including opportunities for shared leadership • Climate of safety and trusting relationships
Collaborative leadership and practice build a culture of professional learning, collective trust, and shared responsibility using such strategies as site-based leadership/governance teams, teacher learning communities, and a community school coordinator who manages the complex joint work of multiple school and community organizations.	• Culture of teacher collaboration and professional learning • Assessment as a tool for improvement and shared accountability

Figure 1


What the Four Pillars of Community Schools Look Like in Action
Enrichment activities emphasize real-world learning and community problem solving.
Parents, students, teachers, principals, and community partners build a culture of professional learning, collective trust, and shared responsibility using strategies such as site-based leadership teams and teacher learning communities
After-school, weekend, and summer programs provide academic instruction and individualized support.
Collaborative Leadership and Practice
Expanded Learning Time and Opportunities
Promoting interaction among families, administration, and teachers helps families to be more involved in the decisions about their children's education.
A dedicated staff member coordinates support programs to address out-of-school learning barriers for students and families.
Mi familia
My family
Schools function as neighborhood hubs. There are educational opportunities for adults, and family members can share their stories and serve as equal partners in promoting student success.
Active Family and Community Engagement
Mental and physical health services support student success.
Integrated Student Supports

In sum, community school pillars are the mediating factors through which schools achieve good outcomes for students. The extent to which a community school is likely to create these conditions will depend, of course, on the emphasis it places on particular pillars and the quality of their implementation.

The remainder of this report reviews the research on community schools to understand whether the evidence supports advocates' claims. We do this primarily to provide guidance and support to policymakers, educators, and community members considering community schools as both an approach to school improvement and as a means to creating high-quality and equitable schools in neighborhoods where they are lacking. However, we also demonstrate that the community schools approach meets the evidence standard that is required for states and localities to incorporate interventions into their ESSA plans for the use of Title I funding, as well as for funding under the Title IV grants programs.

3. Evidence About Pillar 1: Integrated Student Supports

Chapters 3–8 consider the community schools evidence base from the perspective of individual features—or pillars—that constitute the overall approach and from the perspective of comprehensive programs that include most or all of the pillars. The current chapter and chapters 4–6 review studies of the four community school pillars, beginning with a definition and illustration of each pillar and a summary of the findings. These chapters provide evidence supporting each pillar's status as a core feature of community schools. Next presented are the research evidence about the pillar's impact, both as an independent intervention and in the context of community schools, and information about the implementation of each pillar. Following this consideration of research about the four pillars, Chapter 7 then turns to evaluation studies of community schools as a comprehensive strategy.

What Are Integrated Student Supports?

Integrated student supports represent a school-based approach to promoting students' well-being by providing and coordinating services for students and families that target academic and nonacademic barriers to educational and life success. Given the compounded inequalities disadvantaged children face outside of schools, integrated student support processes entail "wrapping" a comprehensive array of individualized services and support networks "around" young people in the community.[69] These services may include:

Given the compounded inequalities disadvantaged children face outside of schools, integrated student support processes entail "wrapping" a comprehensive array of individualized services and support networks "around" young people in the community.

- health and human services, such as physical, dental, and mental health programs, as well as student and family counseling;
- on-site child care and early childhood development programs;
- job training and placement, transportation, and housing assistance; and
- child nutrition (breakfast, lunch, supper, snack) and food assistance programs.[70]

The terms "integrated student supports,"[71] "community/school partnerships,"[72] "school-linked services,"[73] and "wraparound services"[74] are used interchangeably to describe the principles, practice, and provision of human and health support services designed to address the social and economic challenges facing disadvantaged youth. Integrated student supports and wraparound services provide a tool for building constructive relationships and addressing gaps in care for youth in need of support.[75] When well designed, these services are collaborative (including opportunities for family input), community based, culturally competent, individualized, strengths based, and outcomes oriented. These shared principles of care provide the basis for understanding the integrated student supports delivery model in schools.[76]

What Do Integrated Student Supports Look Like in Action?

Communities in Schools (CIS) is a national dropout prevention program overseeing 2,300 schools and serving 1.5 million students in 25 states. For nearly 40 years, CIS has advocated bringing local businesses, social service agencies, health care providers, parent and volunteer organizations, and other community resources inside the school to help address the underlying reasons why young people drop out.

From health screenings to tutoring, food, clothing, shelter, and other needs, CIS provides integrated student supports by leveraging community-based resources in schools, where young people spend most of their day. CIS places a full-time site coordinator at each school; the site coordinator is typically a paid employee of the local CIS affiliate (a nonprofit entity governed by a board of directors and overseen by an executive director). Working with the CIS national office, state CIS offices provide training and technical assistance to local affiliates, procure funding through numerous sources, and offer additional supports that enable capacity building for site coordinators at the local level.

CIS site coordinators spearhead and cultivate the community relationships needed to support the development and implementation of efficient integrated service delivery. Collaboration is a key lever. The site coordinator conducts a needs assessment for students and their families at the beginning of the school year and then meets with the school support team to develop individually tailored support plans that the school and community-based partners implement throughout the academic year. Some integrated student supports benefit the entire school community, such as clothing or school supply drives, career fairs, and health services, while more intensive supports are reserved for students who need them most.

Source: Communities in Schools. (n.d.). About us. https://www.communitiesinschools.org/about/ (accessed 3/8/17); Bronstein, L. R., & Mason, S. E. (2016). *School-linked services: Promoting equity for children, families and communities.* New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Wraparound processes were first developed and implemented in the mental health field for children and adolescents with serious emotional and behavioral disorders, but other child-serving agencies have also begun to integrate the wraparound process into their systems. Whereas the implementation of traditional treatment approaches is determined by the availability of placements in health clinics, special education programs, and other conventional formats, wraparound processes are driven by student and family need, with service provision planned accordingly. Across many settings, improved mental health, reduced juvenile recidivism rates, and more successful permanency outcomes in child welfare have been achieved through wraparound processes.[77]

The basic concept of coordinating support services to remove barriers to learning in wraparound fashion in education systems is not new. Beginning with initiatives, such as Schools of the 21st Century in New Haven, CT, the Children's Aid Society in New York City, and the West Philadelphia Improvement Corps, the strategy of linking social services within schools through community partnerships has been employed for over 30 years.[78] For students with comprehensive needs in and out of school, wraparound has been found to be an important factor associated with improved school achievement and attendance and with retention in home- or community-based settings with less restrictive disciplinary procedures.[79]

High-quality schools ensure that all students have the supports they need to be successful, whatever those needs may be. In middle- and upper-income communities, adequate school resources, strong parent support, and student readiness upon entering school all contribute to a positive learning environment. Integrated student support strategies recognize that disadvantaged children benefit from the same types of opportunities that are available to their wealthier peers.[80] The growing interest in bringing integrated student supports into schools stems largely from an acknowledgement that children whose families are struggling with poverty—and the housing,

health, safety, and other concerns that often go with it—cannot focus on academics unless their other needs are addressed.[81] Integrated student support strategies can not only improve learning conditions within a school but also create institutional structures and supports within communities, countering inequalities in opportunities that impede learning for children living in poverty.

The growing interest in bringing integrated student supports into schools stems largely from an acknowledgement that children whose families are struggling with poverty—and the housing, health, safety, and other concerns that often go with it—cannot focus on academics unless their other needs are addressed.

In a review of nine different integrated student support programs, Moore and colleagues found schools adopting this approach offered similar supports and services, focusing on physical and mental health interventions and in-school academic and expanded learning time opportunities at the student-level, while providing social services, parent education, and counseling for families in need.[82] Integrated student support strategies also share similar structures. The review found needs assessments, coordinated student supports, community partnerships, integration within schools, and data tracking to be common features across these models.[83] Among the schools incorporating wraparound services, a central focus was tailoring the integrated student supports to meet the needs of students and families using resources available in the school and community. Although these models share common components and services, what is distinct among them is the variation in implementation.

This section presents integrated student supports as a core feature of community schools. It then reviews the evidence base for integrated student supports, both as an independent intervention and in the context of schools. Finally, it presents information about the implementation of this pillar. The substantial evidence base on integrated student supports in schools, as well as in community-based and juvenile justice settings, is largely positive. The evidence also clearly shows that careful program implementation improves student outcomes. Notably, however, a handful of randomized control trials examining integrated students supports, some of which only provided a partial test of the program under review, have not shown the positive impact seen in the evidence base as a whole.

Integrated Student Supports as a Core Feature of Community Schools

Proponents of community schools assert that an "integrated focus on academic, health and social services, youth and community development, and community engagement leads to improved student learning, stronger families, and healthier communities."[84] Of the integrated student support programs that serve more than 1.5 million students in nearly 3,000 elementary and high schools across the country, the bulk are community school organizations (2,200).[85]

Integrated student supports offer a method of incorporating a broad range of individually tailored services to systemically address the comprehensive needs of students and families. Bronstein and Mason emphasize the range of integrated student supports delivered in different models and manifestations of community schools.[86] They describe a continuum that goes from individual schools partnering with a single community agency for a service, such as after-school recreation,

mental health counseling or health care, and focusing these supports on a single population, such as immigrant or elementary school students, to full-service community schools that integrate a range of services at and/or near schools for all community members, not only students, and based on community needs.[87]

Another element of integrated student supports that can be found in many community schools is trauma-informed care. This approach is particularly prevalent in schools serving students from low-income families, refugees, homeless families, and other populations that have likely experienced trauma.[88] An extensive research base documents the harmful impact of exposure to adverse childhood experiences (ACEs), such as witnessing or being a victim of violence, and food or housing insecurity.[89] These ACEs, and the chronic or "toxic" stress associated with them, can negatively impact children's brain development and cognitive skills, reducing attention, memory, or creativity and making it difficult for them to succeed in school. Traumatic childhood experiences are also associated with behavioral problems, such as aggression, hyper-reactivity, impulsivity, or withdrawal, as well as longer term health problems, such as alcoholism, drug abuse, depression, cancer, and heart disease.[90]

An extensive research base documents the harmful impact of exposure to adverse childhood experiences, which can negatively impact children's brain development and cognitive skills, reducing attention, memory, or creativity, and making it difficult to succeed in school.

Strategies to address these issues in school have been dubbed "trauma-informed care" and may include an assessment of school culture and evaluation of discipline policies led by a school social worker; identification of social-emotional learning curriculum; staff education on the link between trauma, behavior, and academic performance; ongoing support for school staff who are working with traumatized students; and targeted interventions for students experiencing trauma.[91] This approach is intended to result in fewer office disciplinary referrals, more adult support, and increased self-awareness and resiliency.

The importance of promoting stable and nurturing adult relationships cannot be overstated, particularly in terms of preventing long-term damage from traumatic experiences.[92] Parents are the first and most important adults in a child's life and are most in control over the ACEs a child may experience. Therefore, campaigns to raise awareness of the damaging impacts of ACEs can help, as can increased provision of social services for at-risk families. These services can include home visiting programs for infants and toddlers, parenting classes, and domestic violence prevention. It may also be helpful to screen parents for their own adverse childhood experiences and to offer mental health services to help break the cycle of trauma.[93]

How Is Trauma-Informed Care Implemented in a Community School?

The Island School in New York City, a recent recipient of the Coalition for Community Schools Award for Excellence, implements a trauma-informed approach to schooling. All students may attend the combined elementary and middle school from 8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. throughout the week. Parents have access to a computer lab, health center, and on-site clinical social workers. Students, nearly all of whom live in public housing or the adjacent shelter for homeless families, receive mentoring from the New York City Police Department, attend educational field trips, and are exposed to STEM and arts activities. The Island School staff has been trained in the Sanctuary Model, which focuses on addressing the effects of exposure to trauma through scientifically grounded knowledge about trauma, adversity, and attachment, and implementation of a values-based, interactive system with a shared language and a toolkit of practical instructions. Teachers and community-based partners have also been trained in the RULER program to support social-emotional learning in classrooms and after-school groups, with an emphasis on emotional intelligence and feeling words. Acknowledging, understanding, and providing trauma-sensitive supports has become an important part of the school culture.

Source: Coalition for Community Schools. (2017). *New York City school blends high expectations with trauma-informed practices.* Washington, DC: Institute for Educational Leadership.

The General Impact of Integrated Student Supports Outside of Education Settings

The practice of integrating student supports in wraparound fashion continues to grow, as does the accompanying evidence of its effects on student outcomes. Research over the past two decades suggests that integrated student supports and wraparound models are aligned with empirical research on the varied factors that promote educational success[94] and can contribute to student academic progress.[95] It is also well understood in the research community that academic success, especially for disadvantaged students, is likely enhanced by a more comprehensive set of supports. The Research Compendium that accompanies this report provides more detail about each of the reviews and studies included in the discussion.

Beyond the field of education, work related to wraparound processes is extensive. This approach has been used in more than 100 federal systems of care grants in child mental health since 1992 and is the subject of more than 100 publications. This evidence-based best-practice model meets the needs of high-risk youth populations who experience some of the same obstacles, such as poverty and exposure to trauma, as students in many community schools. In a systematic, peer-reviewed evaluation of wraparound research between 1986 and 2014, Coldiron, Bruns, and Quick looked at more than 200 related studies and publications.[96] They found that 60% of the studies involved empirical research on youth and family outcomes, as well as on implementation issues, such as necessary system conditions and the importance of implementation fidelity. The review included 20 controlled effectiveness studies, seven of which employed experimental methods, such as random assignment to wraparound services with a control group receiving traditional intervention services (ESSA Tier 1 evidence), and 13 of which employed a quasi-experimental design featuring some sort of comparison group of similar youth (ESSA Tier 2 evidence).

The 20 controlled effectiveness studies found positive evidence for wraparound services, particularly in the short term, and some nonsignificant results as well. Of the seven experimental studies, one compared youth receiving wraparound plus enhanced feedback to wraparound plus routine feedback,and found that the wraparound approach significantly improved functioning and decreased problematic behaviors for participating youth, regardless of whether support teams

received enhanced feedback throughout the process. Four studies demonstrated significantly positive short-term effects of wraparound services as compared to traditional forms of intervention, such as counseling or other services delivered in a non-coordinated manner. The short-term effects included decreased problematic behaviors, greater use of community services, not running away as frequently, and placement in a residential setting with less restrictive security measures for youth not residing at home. However, longer term effects, such as decreased arrests or incarcerations were mixed or did not show significant differences. The other two experimental studies found no significant differences between wraparound and other forms of traditional intervention, suggesting that the two approaches are comparable, although implementation of wraparound services was found to be poor in one of the studies.

The short-term positive effects from wraparound services included decreased problematic behaviors, greater use of community services, not running away as frequently, and placement in a residential setting with less restrictive security measures for youth not residing at home.

Of the 13 quasi-experimental effectiveness studies, five found that wraparound produced consistent, significantly more positive results for youth in all major areas assessed, including criminal recidivism, living situation, hospitalizations, and clinical functioning. Six studies found more positive outcomes for the wraparound group on some, but not all, outcomes being assessed, with no outcomes in favor of the comparison group receiving a range of traditional intervention services. One study found no significant differences between families participating in wraparound and those receiving conventional support, although it is important to note that the comparison group either rejected the wraparound option or did not meet the eligibility criteria, suggesting that the two groups may not have been directly comparable. Another study that added wraparound services to pre-existing behavioral health services found that the addition of wraparound services did not further improve outcomes.

This review suggests a promising basis for the effectiveness of wraparound services compared to traditional forms of intervention, particularly when examining functional and residential outcomes, such as being suspended less often, using more community services, not running away as frequently, and for those not living at home, placement in a residential setting with less restrictive security measures. In 15 of the 19 studies that compared a wraparound group to a non-wraparound control group, the wraparound group did better in regard to this category of functional and residential outcomes. The evidence for more distal outcomes, such as rate of arrests or incarcerations is weaker, with five of the 19 studies finding universally positive effects of wraparounds.[97] These outcomes are affected by many variables in addition to wraparound services, such as criminal justice and policing policies, which adds an additional layer of complexity to interpreting the results. There is a clear need for more empirical research and increased attention to issues of implementation.[98]

Suter and Bruns conducted a meta-analysis of seven studies between 1986 and 2008 that documented the effects on youth and families of participating in a team-based, collaborative wraparound process for developing and implementing individualized care plans to address

social-emotional and behavioral disorders.[99] The study examined outcomes for mental health, functioning, assets/resiliency, and stability/level of security measures in place for youth not residing in their family homes. Specifically, the researchers compared differences in these outcomes for wraparound groups and control groups receiving conventional services, wait-listed for services, or not receiving treatment. The results of the meta-analysis support the view that wraparound services can yield better outcomes than conventional services for youth with social-emotional problems. The overall mean effect size across these studies was moderate and significant at 0.33.[100] Other significant effects included mental health improvements (effect size of 0.31) and overall youth functioning (effect size of 0.25). The remaining effects were positive but not statistically significant.

Wraparound services can yield better outcomes for youth with social-emotional problems than conventional services.

Research on youth-related outcomes in the juvenile justice system addresses early, comprehensive, and consistent interventions critical to preventing future delinquent behavior,[101] with wraparound services offering the most comprehensive and cost-effective standard method of care for troubled youth.[102] Several program evaluations have examined the provision of wraparound services for youth involved in the juvenile justice system, who receive a variety of individually tailored supports through a collaborative planning process involving the child, family, a rehabilitation counselor, and community-based support agencies.[103]

An example comes from one study included in the peer-reviewed evaluation of wraparound research from 1986 and 2014, discussed earlier. The study focused on the Juvenile Delinquency Task Force Implementation Committee, a 3-year demonstration project created to address the programmatic needs of over 500 delinquent youth in Columbus, Ohio.[104] Carney and Butell employed a random sample (ESSA Tier 1) of 141 youth served by the program and, over an 18-month time period, compared those receiving wraparound services (52%) with those receiving conventional services of the juvenile court system (48%). Using follow-up parent/guardian interviews and juvenile court rearrest data, Carney and Butell predicted whether a youth would reoffend.[105] The study found that youth who received wraparound supports were significantly less likely to miss school, be suspended, run away from home, commit assaults, or be picked up by the police, although this type of service intervention had little effect on reducing recidivism.

Another example included in the evaluation of wraparound research focuses on The Connections Project, an individualized, coordinated mental health service in a juvenile department in Washington State. In a quasi-experimental program evaluation (ESSA Tier 2), Pullmann and colleagues employed a form of regression analysis and found lower recidivism for youth in the wraparound group, compared to young people receiving traditional mental health and juvenile justice services.[106] Youth in Connections had one more offense than youth in the comparison group at the outset of the intervention. After spending an average of about 11.2 months in the program, youth in Connections were less likely to recidivate on any type of offense (effect size of 0.25) and specific felony offenses (effect size of 0.26), and were less likely to serve in detention (effect size of 0.85). Among those who did serve in detention, youth in Connections served fewer episodes of detention (effect size of 0.76) and spent fewer total days in detention (effect size of 0.66).

In sum, the evidence base for integrated student supports in community-based and juvenile justice settings is largely positive. In terms of evaluations employing a treatment and comparison group, short-term positive effects, such as decreased problematic behaviors and living in a stable situation with fewer security measures in place are more strongly associated with wraparound services than longer term effects, such as decreased arrests or incarcerations. However, there are some nonsignificant findings across these different studies and programs, suggesting that the positive effects of wraparound services were sometimes comparable to those of other interventions studied, such as counseling and other services not coordinated with a team-based approach. Descriptive program evaluations also show positive trends for program participants pre- and post-intervention.[107] There continues to be a need for rigorous empirical research that compares participant outcomes with a control group.

> An integrated focus on academic, health and social services, youth and community development and community engagement leads to improved student learning, stronger families, and healthier communities.

The Impact of Integrated Student Supports in Schools

A number of studies have examined outcomes for integrated student support programs that are typically implemented in community schools or are considered to be part of the "community schools family" (although not all of these initiatives employ that terminology).

In their seminal peer-reviewed study of integrated student supports in schools, Moore and colleagues synthesized existing research, conducted empirical analyses of high school graduation and postsecondary attendance rates, and examined implementation evaluations.[108] They found that the influence of individual, parent and family, peer, school, neighborhood, and public policy factors have relatively small individual effects, but collectively, these factors lead to educational success and shape students' futures.

This study also assessed whether integrated student supports improved academic and nonacademic outcomes. The authors identified 11 evaluations that met rigorous standards for ESSA Tiers 1 and 2, including four intent-to-treat randomized control trials and seven quasi-experimental cross-sectional studies.[109] They found significant positive effects for student school progress (three quasi-experimental studies[110]), attendance (three quasi-experimental studies and one randomized control trial[111]), mathematics achievement (four quasi-experimental studies and one randomized control trial[112]), reading achievement (four quasi-experimental studies[113]), and overall grade point average (two quasi-experimental studies[114]). More specifically, the researchers found significant decreases in grade retention, dropout rates, and chronic absenteeism, along with significant increases in attendance rates and mathematics scores.[115] Significant positive effects also emerged for improving school attachment (one quasi-experimental study[116]) and school behavioral problems (two quasi-experimental studies[117]), both considered nonacademic outcomes.

Several of the evaluations discussed in this study deserve a more detailed examination, due to methodological rigor and the important role that they play in the community schools evidence base. The following sections review the evidence for these programs, including City Connects, Comer's School Development Program, and Communities in Schools.

City Connects

One integrated student support program with a substantial research base is City Connects, affiliated with the Lynch School of Education at Boston College and Boston and Springfield Public Schools in Massachusetts. City Connects was designed to address the out-of-school factors that impact learning for children living in poverty and is currently implemented in 17 public elementary and k-8 schools and one public high school.[118] City Connects partners with a wide variety of community-based service agencies, including 286 in Boston alone. They are the primary providers of prevention and enrichment, early intervention, intensive intervention, and other tailored supports that are delivered within the school, at home, in the community, or a combination of the three. In addition, a coordinator is placed at each participating school site to promote collaboration among stakeholders, develop individualized support plans for students, and provide direct services, such as after-school programming or intensive mental health/crisis management interventions. More recently, City Connects has established a partnership with Children's Aid Society community schools in New York City to provide a systematic way to use data in connecting school and community resources to "the right child at the right time, over time."[119] City Connects helps to coordinate existing resources in Children's Aid schools, as well as identifying and developing new community resources. This promising partnership model is currently undergoing evaluation.

Evaluation research released by City Connects in 2016 builds upon a substantial existing evidence base of biannual program evaluations dating back to 2010, which is corroborated by several publications in peer-reviewed academic journals.[120] The 2016 evaluation compares elementary report card trends over time pre- and post-intervention.[121] Although this evaluation was conducted by researchers affiliated with the program, it merits consideration because it employs a number of rigorous quasi-experimental methodologies that satisfy ESSA Tier 2 evidence standards and documents the extensive history of evaluation efforts for the program. According to the evaluation report, City Connects students in elementary school had significantly lower reading and mathematics grades than comparison students at the start of the intervention, but by 4th grade had caught up to their peers in mathematics, and by 5th grade had caught up to their peers in reading and were significantly outperforming their peers in mathematics.

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The report also examined middle school standardized test outcomes for City Connects students and a comparison group carefully matched based on student demographic and academic characteristics. Middle school students in City Connects significantly outperformed students at non-City Connects schools on standardized mathematics and language arts tests and GPA, with small to moderate practical effects. This analysis builds upon the findings from a 2014 study in a peer-reviewed academic journal. Walsh and colleagues conducted a quasi-experimental evaluation (ESSA Tier 2) of school- and student-level academic achievement outcomes for a sample of 7,948 k-5 students from 1999 to 2009 and found that City Connects students demonstrated better report card grades and scored higher on middle school English language arts and mathematics tests than similar students

at non-City Connects schools.[122] Overall, the evidence base for City Connects provides extensive documentation of the program's positive impacts on participating students and schools.

Massachusetts Wraparound Zones

The American Institutes for Research (AIR) recently released a series of five evaluations on the Wraparound Zones (WAZ) program in Massachusetts.[123] The Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education's WAZ Initiative is another integrated student supports approach that encourages schools to take on the nonacademic needs of students by systematically addressing climate and culture, implementing needs assessments in key academic and nonacademic areas, integrating tailored resources to address individual students, and developing districtwide support systems to ensure communication, collaboration, evaluation, and continuous improvement. Implementation of this approach varies by locality. In Holyoke, MA, a full-time district administrator supports wraparound services in school sites. Schools have received supports, including site coordinators, health clinics, family liaisons, and service provision, from community partners, although these services have not been expanded districtwide due to funding and staffing limitations.[124] Fall River Public Schools also has a district coordinator supporting wraparound services who convenes a districtwide task force to advance implementation. Each school assigns administrators, counselors, and community partners to support wraparound services at the site level.[125]

Taking a mixed-methods formative and summative evaluation approach, AIR collected data from interviews of WAZ district and school coordinators, school principals, and a sample of external partners in each WAZ district. AIR also conducted focus groups with teachers in a small sample of schools, administered surveys to all students and staff, and collected district- and school-level documents related to WAZ planning and implementation. The evaluation employed a comparative interrupted time series approach (ESSA Tier 2) to compare student outcomes in WAZ schools to those in matched comparative non-WAZ schools. The findings show that WAZ has been successful in supporting student achievement. Analyses of the quantitative extant data conclude that students in the program performed significantly better on the Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System English language arts and mathematics assessments, as compared with students in similar non-WAZ schools.[126]

> The Wraparound Zones program in Massachusetts, which uses an integrated supports approach, has been successful in promoting achievement, with students performing significantly better on English language arts and mathematics assessments, as compared with students in similar non-program schools.

Comer's School Development Program

The School Development Program, developed by James Comer in 1968, provides children and their families with extra supports in schools using wraparound services. Created nearly four decades ago at the Yale Child Study Center and well known in the research community, the Comer model targets youth from low-income families and students of color and is the first intervention recognizing that the likelihood of academic success is enhanced by a more comprehensive set of supports.[127] Now implemented in more than 1,000 schools in 26 states, the District of Columbia, Trinidad

and Tobago, South Africa, England, and Ireland, the Comer model emphasizes the importance of children's health and safety, social-emotional development, behavior, and relationships to their educational success, along with school-based services that are well coordinated among a team of support staff.[128] Although the primary focus of this model is the provision of integrated student supports, it also incorporates elements of family engagement and collaborative school leadership.

With a substantial history of research and evaluation by its own staff and external evaluators, the Comer School Development Program is the first reported school intervention program in which the attendance, achievement, and behavior of poor and/or socially marginalized students improved dramatically in the majority of studies.[129] A peer-reviewed synthesis examining studies of schools implementing the Comer model in New Haven, CT, Benton Harbor, MI, and Norfolk, VA, revealed significant gains in student achievement, behavior, and overall adjustment compared to students in matched control schools.[130] A series of in-depth case studies (ESSA Tier 4) of five urban Comer schools (three elementary schools, a middle school and a high school) showed school successes for children of diverse backgrounds (including income, geography, language, ethnicity, and culture), suggesting that all students can gain the social and academic skills necessary for school success when extra supports are provided to address their needs.[131]

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Cook and colleagues conducted a randomized control trial evaluation (ESSA Tier 1) of the full Comer School Development model in Prince George's County.[132] The evaluation took place in 23 Maryland middle schools (some of which were randomly assigned to implement the Comer model) and involved more than 12,000 students, 2,000 staff, and 1,000 parents. Outcomes for Comer schools were comparable to those for non-Comer schools on a variety of measures, including grade point average, absenteeism, and school attachment. Although no significant differences emerged when comparing these measures at the individual or school level, in some instances—for example, absenteeism rates—both Comer and non-Comer schools improved over time. This improvement could reflect additional reforms occurring in Prince George's County at the time of this study.

The comparable outcomes for Comer and non-Comer schools may have been due to uneven program implementation, as the Comer schools did not consistently implement the program's central features. For many programmatic elements, the Comer schools did not appear to engage in substantially different practices from the control schools. Cook and colleagues assessed the quality of program implementation using the Comer implementation index, which measures the perception of school staff relative to the functioning of various teams that are expected to work collaboratively in implementing the Comer model.[133] They then conducted quasi-experimental analyses of the relationship between implementation quality and student outcomes within the sample. The researchers found that higher implementation quality was associated with improvements in absenteeism, psychological well-being, endorsement of conventional beliefs, and involvement with

petty misbehaviors. However, higher implementation quality was also associated with slightly lower standardized mathematics scores.[134]

The Comer model theorizes that a strong academic focus cannot be achieved in a school unless students and teachers have positive relationships and, thus, that school social climate mediates achievement effects. The quasi-experimental analyses of implementation quality and student outcomes did not support this proposed interaction between school climate and academic achievement. The program theory did correctly predict changes in psychological and social outcomes, such that schools with a good social climate improved students' personal and social outcomes. These schools did not, however, show improved achievement effects on average. Schools that maintained a more explicit academic focus, as defined by teacher expectations for the academic performance of students, the amount of homework done by the average student, and the percentage of students in advanced mathematics classes, did improve test scores. However, these schools did not improve personal and social outcomes. This suggests that educational improvement efforts should focus on enhancing both school climate and academics simultaneously, as the proposed mediation effect of school climate did not seem to occur.

Schools that maintained a more explicit academic focus did improve test scores. However, they did not improve personal and social outcomes, suggesting that educational improvement efforts should focus on enhancing both school climate and academics simultaneously.

A subsequent evaluation of the Comer School Development Program model in Chicago created a demographically similar sample of schools serving 5th- through 8th-grade students and then used a coin toss to designate nine of those schools as Comer schools.[135] The Comer schools demonstrated a number of significant positive effects, including a three-percentile-point gain in both reading and mathematics, relative to the control schools. Comer students also reported less acting out on a scale whose items are correlated with more serious criminal involvement later in life, endorsed more conventional behavior norms, and reported greater ability to control their anger. By the last 2 years of the study, both the Comer students' and teachers' perceptions of the schools' academic climates had also improved relative to the control schools. However, the Comer program did not benefit students' mental health or their participation in activities deemed "wholesome" by adults.

In the Chicago evaluation, implementation was also measured using the Comer implementation index and was found to be strongly associated with students' positive perceptions of their schools' social and academic climates.[136] There was not a significant difference in reading and mathematics scores for higher implementing Comer schools. This is not surprising, since the Comer model primarily focuses on changing social and psychological outcomes and does not have a specific curricular or pedagogical focus.

The positive results from the numerous studies of the Comer model, including the Chicago evaluation, suggest the potential benefits of the approach, while the evaluation of the Prince George's County effort highlights the importance of strong implementation in order for the benefits to emerge.

Communities In Schools

Communities In Schools (CIS) is another program offering integrated student supports that is closely tied with the community schools movement. CIS is primarily designed for dropout prevention, and thus academic impacts are not the main focus. The CIS intervention operates on a vast scale, with 164 partner organizations serving students in 363 districts and 2,400 k–12 sites.[137] CIS provides school sitecoordination to bring local businesses, social service agencies, health care providers, parent and volunteer organizations, and other community resources inside the school to help address the underlying reasons why young people drop out (see vignette titled "What Do Integrated Student Supports Look Like in Action?" for more detail).

Evaluation is also incorporated into the CIS model, offering data on attendance, behavior, course performance, dropouts, and graduation rates across the network. CIS has conducted third-party evaluations of its model both schoolwide and at the individual student level, satisfying the requirements for ESSA Tiers 1 and 2. Some studies examined the model as a whole, while others focused on specific aspects of the model.

In order to examine the effects of the whole-school CIS approach, ICF International and MDRC have both employed quasi-experimental designs to compare carefully matched CIS and traditional schools, thus attempting to fully test the CIS model. In 2008, ICF International evaluated 602 CIS schools and 602 demographically similar non-CIS schools across seven states and found statistically significant improvements for student attendance at the CIS schools over the course of 3 years.[138] The 2008 evaluation also found small but consistent net gains on state-mandated mathematics assessments for CIS schools during this time period. Only the net gain for 4th-grade mathematics was statistically significant across the entire sample. No significant differences were found in reading.

The extent of implementation had a significant effect on outcomes. Although the ICF comparison of CIS schools to non-CIS schools did not show a statistically significant difference in graduation[139] or dropout rates,[140] schools fully implementing the CIS model produced better results. For those schools, graduation rates increased by 8.6% over 3 years, significantly better than the 3.8% improvement in the comparison group.[141] High implementers were also 3.6% more likely to keep students in school than non-CIS schools.[142] Both cases demonstrated substantively important effect sizes of 0.31 for graduation rates (the 8.6% increase) and 0.36 for dropout rates (the 3.6% increase).[143] These results compare favorably with other, more expensive dropout prevention programs included in the What Works Clearinghouse index.[144] For schools fully implementing the CIS model, students made net gains on mathematics and reading at all levels except 10th grade, although not all of these gains were statistically significant. There were small but statistically and practically significant positive effects for 8th-grade reading and mathematics.[145] Schools serving primarily Hispanic/Latino students were consistently the fullest implementers of the CIS model, and Hispanic/Latino students significantly outperformed other racial/ethnic subgroups on mathematics and reading achievement.[146]

> In schools fully implementing the CIS model, graduation rates increased by 8.6% over 3 years. High implementers were also 3.6% more likely to keep students in school than non-CIS schools.

In 2017, MDRC released a similarly constructed evaluation comparing 53 CIS schools with 78 demographically similar non-CIS schools across two states.[147] CIS high schools significantly increased their graduation rates (by 15.58%) and significantly decreased their dropout rates (by 3.8%) over the course of the study. However, the comparison schools also improved on these metrics, yielding a nonsignificant difference between the two groups. CIS elementary schools significantly improved their attendance rates in comparison to the non-CIS schools (effect size of 0.41). No significant differences in test scores emerged between the two groups.

Experimental studies that focused only on some aspects of the model had less positive results. In 2010, ICF International released findings from randomized control trials in Jacksonville, FL; Austin, TX; and Wichita, KS, over the course of 2 years.[148] These evaluations compared students receiving intensive case management services (individualized attention from a staff member tasked with coordinating services for the student) to their peers receiving general schoolwide support services, thus representing a partial test of the whole-school intervention model that CIS offers. The randomized control evaluations, as a whole, yielded largely nonsignificant results for academic progress, achievement, and attendance and for nonacademic outcomes, such as behavior or health and safety. There were some small positive effects on dropout rates: In Austin, 4.8% fewer case-managed students dropped out during their 9th-grade year, while in Jacksonville 4% fewer 6th graders dropped out when receiving case management services, but these results were not tested for statistical significance. In Wichita, 10th-grade students receiving case management services had worse attendance than non-case-managed students, but by 11th grade the trend reversed, with case-managed students having significantly fewer absences.[149]

A follow-up randomized control evaluation released by MDRC in 2017 (and structured in the same way as the ICF studies) also found that, after 2 years, case management services alone did not significantly improve students' school progress, achievement, attendance, educational goals, participation in extracurricular activities, or behavior, relative to students not receiving case management services.[150] However, the study did find that case management had a statistically significant positive effect on several nonacademic outcomes, including the rate at which students reported having a caring adult at home, at school, and outside of home and school, and on the quality of their peer relationships (effect sizes ranging from 0.14 to 0.15). Case management also had positive and statistically significant effects on students' engagement with school, their educational attitudes, and their belief that education has value for their lives (effect sizes ranging from 0.09 to 0.15).

Although these results do not provide strong support for the added value of case management services alone, they offer only a partial test of the whole-school intervention model promoted by CIS. The CIS evidence overall presents some positive findings, especially when the entire model is examined. Quasi-experimental whole-school evaluations found positive effects for attendance, although comparison schools also showed attendance increases. Test score differences were less apparent. Analyses of schools judged to be implementing the full CIS model with fidelity show stronger and more positive outcomes.

CIS recently partnered with Johns Hopkins University's Talent Development Secondary school reform model and City Year to implement a comprehensive dropout prevention strategy called "Diplomas Now." Diplomas Now teams offer a data-driven, tiered approach to intervention in secondary schools across the United States. The model attempts to transform the academic experience of all students while providing targeted interventions for students exhibiting "early

warning indicators" related to attendance, behavior, and course grades. By identifying students at risk of dropping out and providing them with individualized supports, the Diplomas Now partners seek to stabilize the trajectory of struggling students and keep them in school. Each partner agency contributes a different strength to the intervention effort. Talent Development Secondary focuses on improving academic instruction and performance, City Year provides AmeriCorps members to support students, and CIS offers in-school trained case managers for the neediest students.[151]

> Diplomas Now offers a data-driven, tiered approach to intervention in secondary schools across the United States and attempts to transform the academic experience of all students while providing targeted interventions for students exhibiting "early warning indicators" related to attendance, behavior, and course grades.

MDRC and ICF International are conducting an experimental evaluation (ESSA Tier 1) of the impact and implementation of Diplomas Now. In order to evaluate interim impact findings from the first 2 years of implementing the program, 62 secondary schools in 11 school districts agreed to participate in a random assignment process between 2011 and 2013.[152] Of those schools, 32 were assigned to implement Diplomas Now, and the other 30 schools continued their existing school programs or implemented other reform strategies of their choice. The interim impact study found that Diplomas Now produced a significant 3.6 percentage point increase in the number of students with no early warning indicators.[153] Helping students to stay above or move above the early warning threshold is an explicit goal for school teams implementing the program. Average attendance, discipline, and course passing rates in 6th and 9th grades improved for all schools in the sample. Significant differences did not emerge between Diplomas Now and non-Diplomas Now schools, suggesting that Diplomas Now was comparable to other intervention approaches in regard to these outcomes. Students at Diplomas Now schools reported participating in more academically focused after-school activities and were more likely to report having a positive relationship with an adult at school who is not a teacher than their peers at comparison schools. Students in both groups reported similar perceptions of school climate and safety, and students' self-perceptions and school behaviors did not differ significantly.

Diplomas Now represents a comprehensive dropout prevention approach that complements the core CIS model with a strong academic focus and more in-school staff resources to support intervention activities. The interim evaluation results suggest a promising increase in the number of students avoiding early warning indicators for schools implementing Diplomas Now, which was a key area of focus for initial program implementation. It will be interesting to see whether Diplomas Now schools outpace the comparison schools in improving attendance, discipline, and course passing rates as the intervention advances. It can take time for interventions to mature, especially when multiple partners are involved. Ongoing evaluation efforts will contribute to a better understanding of how this comprehensive approach impacts participating students and schools.

Kent School Services Network

The Kent School Services Network (KSSN), based in Grand Rapids, MI, operates in 29 schools. The initiative seeks to reduce chronic absenteeism in participating schools by placing a community school coordinator and on-site behavioral health services at each site, and also at some sites placing a Department of Health and Human Services staff member and a nurse. The hope is that by offering additional services, the school becomes a community hub where parents and students are engaged in learning and their needs can be more easily met to allow students to succeed.

From 2008 to 2012, an initial group of 18 KSSN schools included in the initial evaluation achieved significantly better attendance outcomes than non-KSSN schools in the same districts, according to a descriptive evaluation that employed a mixed-method approach (ESSA Tier 4).[154] Although the practical effect of this gain was quite small (equivalent to 0.3 more days attended in KSSN schools, a 0.2% increase), non-KSSN schools experienced a decline in attendance during this time period (an average of 2 fewer days attended, a 1.2% decrease). Gains were concentrated in the 12 schools supported by the local Department of Health and Human Services; these schools experienced an average increase in attendance of 5 days over 2 years, compared to an average decrease of 2.5 days for non-Department of Health and Human Services and non-KSSN schools. A subsequent evaluation found that satisfactory attendance continued to increase, with a significant 7% jump at KSSN schools the following year.[155] Furthermore, students who had satisfactory attendance reported talking to adults significantly more than students with lower attendance rates and were significantly more likely to feel that their teachers were good at teaching. This suggests, not surprisingly, that it is more common for students who attend school regularly to have positive adult relationships and a positive view of school. However, it is unclear whether student attendance is the cause or the result of engagement with school.

Overall, the evidence base for integrated student supports is largely positive in community-based and juvenile justice settings as well as in school-based settings. Young people receiving wraparound services and integrated student supports often show significant improvements in behavior, social functioning, academic achievement (particularly in mathematics), and attendance, to name just a few relevant outcomes. As with any broad survey of research literature, there is some inconsistency with nonsignificant findings emergent in certain studies. Differences in program implementation help to explain this, with some of the nonsignificant findings apparently accounted for by lack of fidelity to the program model. Although a handful of randomized control trials examining integrated student supports (some of which only provided a partial test of the program under review) have not shown the positive impact seen in the evidence base as a whole, fully implemented integrated student support programs are supported by extensive and rigorous research.

Effectively Implementing Integrated Student Supports

Across various programmatic models, integrated student support strategies emphasize the importance of coordination and strong relationships between organizations, including shared governance and the blending of resources as a cost-effective means to address student and family needs.[156] But Adelman and Taylor caution that true integration "will not be easy to attain" because building consensus around sharing resources among stakeholders, each with its own special interest, will likely require commitments to systems changes that take a considerable amount of time.[157] The authors differentiate key dimensions of school-community collaboration:

- Focus is either on collaborative efforts between specific programs and services or major systemic reform.
- Scope of collaboration varies (e.g., number of programs and services involved)
- Collaboration takes place either horizontally within and among schools and agencies or vertically within a catchment area including different levels of jurisdiction.
- Ownership of programs and services can reside in the school, community, or public-private partnerships or can be shared.
- Location of programs and services can be either school linked or school based.
- Degree of cohesiveness among multiple interventions serving the same student/family can vary (i.e., service providers are either unconnected, communicating, cooperating, coordinated, or integrated).

The most fully developed integrated student support strategies seek total integration, where steps are taken to counter the fragmented approaches that characterize most school and community efforts. Such approaches deal effectively with multiple governing bodies and use blended resources so that programs and services operate within a sound infrastructure to support changes in student learning.[158] In schools, this could include restructuring to combine parallel or complementary efforts supported by general funds, special education entitlements, grants, and philanthropic funding. The importance of implementation in school settings is borne out by the research on Comer's School Development Program and CIS discussed earlier in this chapter, which showed much stronger improvements in student outcomes for schools that were identified as implementing the program model with fidelity.

4. Evidence About Pillar 2: Expanded Learning Time and Opportunities

Expanded learning time and opportunities (ELT/O) take place before and after the typical school day, and over summer vacation and other breaks, and augment the learning opportunities offered during the traditional school day and year. ELT/O provide students with more time for learning and opportunities to develop academically, socially, emotionally, and physically in ways that complement, but do not replicate, activities in the regular school day/year. They are intended to expand students' academic interests and increase their success, as well as contribute to positive youth development. In some cases, expanded time is used to extend instruction in the regular school day. In most cases, however, the time is used to engage students in community-based learning opportunities with partners. In such situations, the activities often take the form of informal, out-of-school learning experiences rather than traditional classroom instruction.

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Such time is especially precious in lower achieving schools in communities of poverty, where educators often feel compelled to spend the "regular" school time focused on teaching a narrow range of knowledge and skills preparing students for the high-stakes standardized tests in English language arts and mathematics that drive state accountability systems. In many of these schools, the pressures have reduced or eliminated students' access to other opportunities, such as social studies, science, art, music, and physical education. They have also limited the time to pursue deeper learning pedagogies, such as project-based and experiential learning, focusing instead on instruction that matches the type of questions students will be expected to answer on tests.[159] ELT/O can enable such schools to teach beyond tested subjects, topics, and test-taking skills.

Because ELT/O aim to complement, rather than duplicate, the regular school day, they can be focused on enrichment activities, including those that take students beyond the school campus, allow students to pursue their own interests, and provide one-on-one mentoring and tutoring. ELT/O often resemble informal learning settings and, as such, provide opportunities for deeper learning through projects, apprenticeships, and problem-based learning connected to the real world. Because of the resources higher income youth enjoy and their parents' ability to arrange and pay for academic support and enrichment, they are more likely than lower income youth to have access to aopportunities, such as sports, music, and art.[160] In many lower income communities, schools are the only places where young people have such opportunities.

ELT/O can also expand the number of knowledgeable adults from whom students can learn. These additional adults not only increase students' access to expertise and learning experiences, they also provide more opportunities to develop the trusting relationships upon which meaningful learning and development depend, and make it far more possible to respond to individual students' needs with additional support.

What Do Expanded Learning Time and Opportunities Look Like in Action?

In the ExpandED Schools national demonstration, 11 elementary and middle schools in New York, NY, Baltimore, MD, and New Orleans, LA, partner with experienced community organizations to expand the learning day. They create or expand time for subjects, such as science, and they offer arts, movement, small group support, and project-based learning activities that require creative and critical thinking. The result is that students get about 35% more learning time than their peers in traditional public schools. Together with their community partners, ExpandED School leaders re-engineer schools to align their time and resources to meet shared goals for students. Community organizations add to faculty by bringing in teaching artists and AmeriCorps members, among others. In some schools, community educators help teachers deliver small group instruction before 3 p.m. Teachers have the flexibility to work beside community educators as students explore enrichment and leadership opportunities that would otherwise be squeezed out of the school day.

Source: ExpandED Schools. (n.d.). *Three ways to expand learning*. New York, NY: ExpandED Schools. http://www.expandedschools.org/sites/default/files/expanded_scheduling_brief_0.pdf.

ELT/O have received increased attention as an education reform strategy over the past 15–20 years, particularly for schools in communities of concentrated poverty. Since 1994, the federal government's 21st Century Community Learning Centers program has sought to increase "academic enrichment opportunities during non-school hours for children." Its funding, $1.14 billion per year, supports after-school and summer learning opportunities, as well as extended school-day strategies.[161] Some states (for example, Massachusetts and California) provide additional funding to support ELT/O programs.[162] Policy and program development work has been widely supported by national and local philanthropy, including the Mott Foundation, the Wallace Foundation, and the Ford Foundation. ELT/O have been actively supported by national and state advocacy organizations, including the National Center for Time and Learning (NCTL), the Afterschool Alliance, and the National Summer Learning Association.

The NCTL has provided technical assistance to many states and schools seeking to lengthen the school day. It uses the brand "Expanded Learning Time Schools" (ELT) to identify schools that provide additional learning time for all enrolled students, operate with a school day of at least 7 hours, and have a substantially longer day or year when compared with surrounding public schools. At last count, NCTL had identified 40 state laws relating to the expansion of the school day and year, including several that developed grant programs to provide support for districts and schools and others that allow for innovation schools and zones wherein districts and schools can employ ELT strategies.[163] The Afterschool Alliance focuses primarily on developing voluntary after-school programs that connect schools and community partners and offer a wide variety of hands-on, engaging learning opportunities that typically runs until 5 or 6 p.m. most days of the week.[164] The National Summer Learning Association works to close the achievement gap by increasing summer learning opportunities for all youth.[165]

Although ELT/O are provided through a variety of structures and practices, as we describe below, they all share common elements. Many emphasize student-centered, hands-on, engaging learning experiences and include community partners.[166]

Expanded Learning Time and Opportunities as a Core Feature of Community Schools

The Coalition for Community Schools emphasizes the centrality of expanded learning time and opportunities to community schools, which "become centers of the community and are open to everyone—all day, every day, evenings and weekends. Using public schools as hubs, community schools bring together many partners to offer children, families, and communities a range of supports and opportunities, including expanded learning opportunities."[167] The Coalition offers the following definition of ELT/O in the context of community schools:

Using public schools as hubs, community schools bring together many partners to offer children, families, and communities a range of resources and supports, including expanded learning opportunities.

> Expanded learning opportunities are activities that provide more time for academics and enrichment beyond the conventional school day (e.g., extended day, summer, and after school) and include efforts to provide learning and development experiences that enhance the school curriculum during the conventional school day (e.g., community-based learning, problem solving, linked learning). School staff, contracted providers, and/or community partners are responsible for providing more time and more opportunities.[168]

Examples from community schools in Boston, MA, and Oakland, CA, illustrate how some community schools include ELT/O. These may include expanding time, and/or the spaces in which students learn, as well as increasing the number of adults with whom they are learning and the content of what is being learned. Boston's academically based, community-focused approach takes students into the neighborhood to examine environmental justice topics with a broad range of community partners. Oakland's approach expands learning opportunities by organizing academic learning around career themes, and by extending learning beyond the school in partnership with local businesses for internships, job shadowing, and volunteer opportunities. Note that like other comprehensive community school initiatives, Oakland's community schools also provide integrated student supports and family engagement strategies (see box below).

What Do Expanded Learning Time and Opportunities Look Like in Community Schools?

Creating learning experiences that are relevant and meaningful to students is a core part of one Boston community school. Young Achievers Math and Science Pilot School (YA) is dedicated to creating a learning environment where students are empowered to address social justice issues in their community. YA's leaders have recently focused on environmental themes through field- and community-based learning projects. Partnerships with community organizations are essential to YA's learning approach. These partnerships assist YA in providing students with environmental curricula, investigations of the local community, and multidisciplinary study units, including yearlong retreats, field trips, and research projects. These learning partnerships involve over 50 local organizations, including Outward Bound, Boston Harbor National Park, Boston Nature Center, and the University of Massachusetts-Boston. At YA, students at each grade level can participate in a wide array of community-building activities and field-based learning experiences.

Across the country in California, the Oakland Unified School District is a full-service community school district that leverages assets of local business and community organizations to integrate college prep academics, technical education, and work-based learning opportunities for students. Through Linked Learning, a districtwide initiative to equip students with the knowledge and skills necessary for postsecondary success, students can choose to enroll in one of Oakland's 24 career pathways, where they engage in a rigorous curriculum of academics and hands-on work experiences. Community partners play a central role in making career pathways and Linked Learning possible by connecting students to opportunities, tools, and networks for their desired careers. Students participate in internships, job shadowing, and volunteer opportunities run by local business and community organizations. Community partners may also mentor Pathway Teachers, who lead the curriculum inside the classroom.

Source: Jacobson, R., & Blank, M.J. (2015). *A framework for more and better learning through community school partnerships*. Washington, DC: Coalition for Community Schools.

Other organizations, including the National Center for Community Schools, also include ELT/O as a core part of the community schools strategy, as do researchers.[169] Child Trends' review of the research on ELT/O identifies community schools as one way to accomplish the goal of expanded learning opportunities because of the focus on partnering with community organizations and extending the hours of operation to offer academic and other services and supports for students and their families.[170]

Evidence that ELT/O has been implemented in community schools comes from a Coalition for Community Schools 2013 survey of local networks that measured the extent to which community schools incorporate ELT/O and in what forms.[171] Responses were collected from 31 of the 45 high-implementing community school initiatives in the Coalition's Community Schools Leadership Network, representing 706 community schools in urban, suburban, and rural communities. School-level data were also collected from 394 schools in 34 districts participating in the Network. Notably, almost 90% of community school initiatives reported including ELT/O activities as part of their strategies, and about a third reported that this work accounted for approximately half of their programming.

Responses to the survey of community school networks conducted by the Coalition for Community Schools provide examples of many types of ELT/O and of schools incorporating more than one type. After-school offerings were the most common (90% of responding schools), followed by summer programming (65% of responding schools). More than a quarter offered both extended school day and expanded learning opportunities during the conventional school day. Nearly all (90%) reported that community partners supported educators during this expanded time, and 85% were part of larger ELT/O collaborations in their communities.[172]

Advocates at the Coalition of Community Schools emphasize the positive impact of community-based education on students' learning and development:

> [M]ultiple theoretical frameworks and supporting research … suggest that young people are more likely to be engaged in learning—to invest attention and expend energy—when the content has personal meaning and builds on what they already know. Moreover, students are more likely to retain and transfer knowledge when given opportunities to apply what they are learning to real world issues and to assess their performance in ways that suit their personal learning styles.
>
> As an intentional dimension of the curriculum, community-based learning helps students acquire, practice, and apply subject matter knowledge and skills. At the same time, students develop the knowledge, skills, and attributes of effective citizenship by identifying and acting on issues and concerns that affect their own communities. When implemented thoughtfully, these strategies create a pedagogy of engagement. Students invest time and attention and expend real effort because their learning has meaning and purpose. Community-based learning helps students build a sense of connection to their communities. At the same time, it challenges them to develop a range of intellectual and academic skills in order to understand and take action on the issues they encounter in everyday life. By intentionally linking academic standards to the real world of their communities, community schools are narrowing the gap between knowledge and action and between what students must learn and what they can contribute.[173]

This rationale reflects the conclusions of groups of leading researchers, including three panels commissioned by the National Research Council, who have reviewed the evidence from the learning sciences about how people learn and the effect of informal learning environments on student academic and developmental outcomes.[174] It is also consistent with the conclusions reached by the National Research Council's comprehensive 2003 review of the evidence about making high school education more engaging and meaningful to young people in urban schools. That review concluded the following:

> Evidence on teaching indicates that instruction that draws on students' preexisting understandings, interests, culture, and real-world experiences can make the curriculum more meaningful to them. Students are also more motivated when they are actively engaged in problem solving and applying new knowledge to real-world problems.[175]

The General Impact of Expanded Learning Time and Opportunities

Over the past few decades, program evaluators and researchers have studied the impact of ELT/O. This work has led advocates and practitioners to conclude that the research provides substantial evidence that high-quality ELT/O programs have a positive impact on student engagement and achievement and that such programs support the needs of the whole child in ways that are consistent with both academic and social-emotional learning objectives.[176]

Our analysis examined 14 scholarly reviews of this research, each scrutinizing the quality of the studies, summarizing the most trustworthy findings, and drawing conclusions about what the body of evidence supports. These studies differ from one another in important ways. Some focus primarily on the impact of lengthening the school day and year; others examine the impact of additional learning opportunities—voluntary after-school and summer programs. One considers

both added time itself and the expanded opportunities that take place during that time. Most are narrative syntheses, but some include quantitative meta-analyses of effects across the most rigorous studies. Most of the reviews focus on the impact of ELT/O on academic achievement; a few include social and emotional learning, as well as youth development outcomes. These reviews have themselves been reviewed by peers, with many published in leading research journals.

Taken together, the scholarly reviews provide a strong evidence base for policymakers and practitioners considering ELT/O. However, additional time will not, in itself, have a positive impact on students' achievement and social-emotional development. Rather, additional time that is spent in particular ways and under particular conditions contributes to positive outcomes. Effective programs do not simply warehouse kids before and after school, which sometimes happens under the banner of "enrichment." Moreover, they are not merely academic in focus. The complex relationship among time, learning opportunities, and student outcomes is presented in more detail below.

Reviewers also note limitations in the research base for making strong causal claims or understanding fully the conditions under which additional time and opportunities lead to positive outcomes. Although there are hundreds of studies, most are either descriptive case studies and/or rely on correlational data. Far fewer are quasi-experimental or controlled studies, employing an experimental design, that directly measure the impact of greater time or specific opportunities. Moreover, most reviewers observe that it is very difficult to tease out the independent effects of additional time and the activities occurring during that time. Nevertheless, sufficient evidence exists to consider expanded learning time coupled with additional learning opportunities an evidence-based practice, particularly since in many cases the strongest positive effects are found in studies with high-quality designs and analyses.

The discussion that follows presents evidence about two facets of expanded learning time and opportunities: additional time in itself and the additional learning opportunities beyond those in the regular school day or year. It also reviews studies of ELT/O in the context of community schools. The Research Compendium that accompanies this report provides more detail about each of the reviews and studies included in the discussion.

Evidence about the impact of adding time to the school day and year

The best research on longer school days and years suggests that more time in itself is unlikely to have an impact on student outcomes. At the same time, additional time spent in particular ways and under the right conditions does increase positive student outcomes, and the effects seem strongest for those placed most at risk—i.e., students of color, students from low-income families, and those who are struggling academically.

Additional time spent in particular ways and under the right conditions does increase positive student outcomes, and the effects seem strongest for those placed most at risk—i.e., students of color, students from low-income families, and those who are struggling academically.

With that caveat in mind, two recent reviews are particularly helpful in laying out the evidence base about the relationship between expanded time and outcomes. In 2010, Patall, Cooper, and

Allan analyzed 15 well-designed empirical studies conducted since 1985 that examined the impact of extended days and/or years, seeking to determine whether students performed better in schools employing these strategies.[177] The studies reviewed included one employing an experimental design with random assignment of students to conditions (ESSA Tier 1). Other studies used cohort designs in which a cohort of students from one school year who experienced a lengthened school day or year were compared to a cohort of students from another school year who experienced a shorter school day or year (ESSA Tier 2). Seven studies were quasi-experimental (ESSA Tier 2), five of which employed matching of extended time and traditional school time students. Other studies used correlational designs examining naturally occurring differences in the length of the school day or year (ESSA Tier 3). One study was a qualitative account of the effects of school time at particular schools (ESSA Tier 4)

Of the 15 studies included in the review, 14 found a positive relationship for at least one achievement outcome or for at least one subsample of students. The most rigorous quantitative research designs (quasi-experiments and true experiments) produced more consistent and more positive results. Patall, Cooper, and Allan conclude:

> We would argue that the cumulative evidence, although imperfect, would suggest that there is some positive effect of extending school time on academic achievement. This is likely the case particularly because the strongest research designs (those in which individual differences in students were accounted for) produced the most consistent evidence for a positive effect of extended school time.[178]

Patall and her colleagues also concluded that adding time appears to be particularly effective with students of color, low-income students, or low-achieving students. However, they caution that more research is necessary to guide policymakers and educators to make the most effective use of expanded learning time.[179]

Child Trends undertook a rigorous review in 2012 investigating the relationship of longer school days and years.[180] This review synthesized findings of studies in which districts or schools either expanded the length of the day or the number of days in the school year. It also analyzed studies of out-of-school-time programs; we will return to this second dimension below. Child Trends examined 27 studies of expanded day programs, 17 of which also had an extended year. The programs included four charter school models, two magnet school models, a statewide model, a districtwide model, and a few independent school models. The studies employed quasi-experimental designs (ESSA Tier 2) or nonexperimental, pre-post study designs, including studies examining the effects of extending the school day using national or statewide data about charter schools, as well as ESSA Tier 3 studies examining the relationship between the length of the school day and academic outcomes using other national, state, or local datasets.

Most studies found that expanded day programs were positively related to improved student outcomes. Specifically, of 20 quasi-experimental studies, 16 reported at least one positive academic outcome. These studies focused mostly on charter school models that bundle an extended school day with other reforms; therefore, it is impossible to attribute the results to extended time alone. With respect to nonexperimental analyses and pre-post studies of expanded day programs, five of six reported positive correlations between expanded day programs and academic achievement, and one demonstrated mostly nonsignificant or mixed findings.

In addition, Child Trends examined 28 studies focusing on the relationship between expanded school year program models and student outcomes (including 17 that also expanded the school day). Here, the findings showed considerable variation among programs. Most models (18 out of 28) had a positive effect on attendance, as well as on achievement test scores. Among the quasi-experimental studies reviewed, about half found favorable achievement outcomes of the models they examined. These findings are consistent with the overall conclusion in the Patall review that, although expanded time can have positive effects, not all program models are effective. Both reviews emphasize that the way longer days or years are used is likely key to whether the additional time is effective, a point we return to in a later section on implementation.

Also like the Patall review, Child Trends found that expanded learning time programs were most beneficial to students of color, students who are eligible for a free or reduced-price lunch, and students who have performed poorly on standardized tests. This is not unexpected since these are also the students who have had fewer educational opportunities. Although few studies addressed this issue specifically, Child Trends noted that "to the extent that these programs benefit students academically, targeting ESD [expanded school day] programs in communities serving high concentrations of disadvantaged students could be an effective means to narrow the achievement gap."[181]

Expanded learning time programs were most beneficial to students of color, students who are eligible for a free or reduced-price lunch, and students who performed poorly on standardized tests.

Evidence about the impact of out-of-school-time learning opportunities (after-school and summer programs)

Several recent reviews have examined the evidence base concerning the impact on student outcomes of voluntary school- or community-based activities during out-of-school time. These reviews focus on summer and after-school programs, extracurricular activities, and youth development programs. Research in these domains helps address the question of how additional time can best be used. These studies focus on student outcomes beyond academic achievement. Because they all employ somewhat different measures, their findings cannot be aggregated with precision. However, they do provide insights into a range of outcomes. They also help illuminate the role that community partners play in increasing students' access to positive relationships with adults and to learning spaces beyond school. As such, they are particularly useful for understanding expanding learning time and opportunities in the context of community schools.

These reviews, taken together, attest to an evidence base showing modest but significant positive effects of summer and after-school programs and participation in extracurricular activities on a range of academic and other outcomes, including student engagement, educational attainment, and behaviors. In many (but not all) cases, the strongest effects were found in studies with the most rigorous designs. However, as with the studies of additional time, mixed evidence cautions against concluding that all such programs are effective. The level of program intensity (e.g., length), the extent of student participation, and the matching of programs with students' needs appear to matter.

Summer programs

It is well documented that the long summer vacation contributes to "learning loss," with children, on average, losing one month on achievement test scores. September to June progress is similar across socioeconomic status, so summer loss accounts for the growing achievement gap. Although these losses are greater in mathematics than reading, the summer losses in reading also increase disparities between middle-class and disadvantaged students.[182]

A seminal synthesis published in 2000 by Cooper and colleagues includes both a narrative review and meta-analysis of 93 evaluations of the effects of summer learning programs. The authors included studies comparing the effects of summer learning using a pre-post comparison or comparing outcomes between students attending versus not attending (ESSA Tiers 2 and 3). Ten studies used experimental designs (ESSA Tier 1).[183] The researchers concluded that the evidence showed a positive impact on students' knowledge and skills from summer school programs focused on remediating achievement deficits and accelerating learning or enrichment. They found these positive academic effects for students from both middle-income and low-income families. The strongest effects were found for programs run for smaller numbers of students and those that provided more individualized and small-group instruction. However, even the largest programs showed positive effects. Four studies that used a random assignment of students found a somewhat smaller, although still significant, benefit (average effect size 0.14) than that across all studies (average effect size 0.25), which exceeded the estimated average summer loss. This is an important finding.

Evidence showed a positive impact on students' knowledge and skills from summer school programs focused on remediating achievement deficits and accelerating learning or enrichment.

A later review by RAND focused on 13 experimental or quasi-experimental research studies (ESSA Tiers 1 and 2) of summer programs conducted after 2000. The researchers found evidence of benefits in those studies similar to those identified in the Cooper review.[184]

After-school programs

After-school programs and extracurricular activities have also been the subject of recent reviews. In 2002, Eccles and Templeton published a comprehensive synthesis of studies and previous reviews of extracurricular activities, nonexperimental studies of after- and during-school programs, and experimental studies of intervention and positive youth development programs (ESSA Tiers 1–4).[185] Notably, none of the programs studied had academic instruction as its primary mission; some were located at schools and others in community settings. The reviewers concluded that evidence exists for a significant positive impact of programs on a range of student outcomes, and that effective programs can occur as extracurricular activities in schools, as nonacademic programs during and after school in the school building, or as positive youth development programs in communities. Some of these nonacademic programs yielded significant increases in students' academic achievement, school engagement, and high school graduation rates, as well as decreases in problem behaviors, particularly those related to violence and bullying as well as to dropping out of school. The reviewers posit that the positive effects found across the array of programs were a function of

the strong social support, caring relationships with adults, leadership opportunities, and the generic "learning to learn" atmosphere, and other nonacademic features that were observed across many diverse programs. They emphasized the consistency of the findings across studies, and noted the strength of this convergence, given the variety of research strategies employed.

The positive effects found across the array of programs were a function of the strong social support, caring relationships with adults, leadership opportunities, and the generic "learning to learn" atmosphere, and other nonacademic features that were observed across many diverse programs.

In a review looking across summer and other out-of-school-time programs, Lauer and colleagues in 2006 conducted a meta-analysis of 35 experimental (ESSA Tier 1) and quasi-experimental (ESSA Tier 2) studies that employed control or comparison groups and met other inclusion criteria to assess the impact on reading and mathematics achievement of out-of-school-time programs for students placed at risk, including formal after-school, tutoring, and summer school programs. Included were 21 studies focused on programs that emphasized academics, and nine focused both on academics and social skills. Among the nine were programs that included recreational, cultural, or vocational components in addition to their emphasis on academics and social skills. The researchers found small but statistically significant positive effects on both reading and mathematics achievement and larger positive effect sizes for programs with specific characteristics, such as tutoring in reading (effect size 0.50).[186] Programs with both social and academic foci had greater impact than those that were solely academic. And the largest effect sizes came from programs lasting approximately 45 or more hours, with an effect size of 0.23 for mathematics programs and 0.28 for reading programs of that duration.

A 2005 review by Feldman and Matjasko looked at quantitative studies of the impact of participation in school-based extracurricular activities on adolescents' academic achievement, substance use, sexual activity, psychological adjustment, delinquency, and young adult outcomes.[187] The research—which included correlational (ESSA Tier 3) studies, many using large, longitudinal data sets and employing controlled comparison groups—found mostly positive associations between participation and outcomes. Studies examining participation in sports activities accounted for many of these positive effects, whereas fewer studies of other types of activities found positive effects. These mixed findings across the studies led the reviewers to caution against concluding that all extracurricular activities produce strong outcomes in these areas.

A 2010 meta-analysis by Durlak and colleagues reviewed 68 studies, most of which were published after 2000, of after-school programs seeking to enhance the personal and social skills of children and adolescents.[188] A third of these used randomized designs (ESSA Tier 1). Included were studies of 21st Century Community Learning Centers, programs conducted by Boys and Girls and 4-H clubs, and a variety of local initiatives developed by various community and civic organizations. Although not all individual programs were equally effective, researchers found evidence of a positive impact of participation on self-perception, bonding to school, positive social behaviors, school grades and levels of academic achievement, as well as significant reductions in problem behaviors, compared with students in control groups. Here as well, studies employing randomized designs were associated with higher levels of positive social behaviors.

Although not all individual programs were equally effective, researchers found evidence of a positive impact of after-school programs seeking to enhance personal and social skills on self-perception, bonding to school, positive social behaviors, school grades, and levels of academic achievement, as well as significant reductions in problem behaviors.

The 2012 Child Trends review, discussed earlier, also examined research on the effects of social intervention programs that expand learning opportunities outside of the school day and which incorporate at least one academic component. The studies included in the review were random assignment evaluations, quasi-experimental studies, or nonexperimental designs (ESSA Tiers 1–3). Child Trends examined 36 studies of the impact of 31 ELT/O programs on a variety of outcomes, including scholastic behaviors and skills, academic achievement and attainment, and psychological indicators of adjustment. The key findings were that impacts varied considerably across the programs. Among 31 programs evaluated with experimental and quasi-experimental methods, 17 found mostly positive results, 10 found mostly nonsignificant results, and 4 found a mix of positive and nonsignificant findings. None found negative effects.

Child Trends concluded that these programs have the potential to positively impact a range of educational outcomes. For each outcome included in their review, the researchers identified at least one ELT/O program with a positive impact. More than half of programs reviewed were effective in improving scholastic behaviors, such as academic skills, homework completion, and study habits.

In a 2014 meta-analysis of studies examining the impact of increased learning time, Kidron and Lindsay reported that only 30 of the 7,000 studies published within the previous 5 years were quasi-experimental design (ESSA Tier 2) studies that established the baseline equivalence of the intervention and comparison groups.[189] Their analysis found positive effects across all student subgroups on students' academic motivation and positive effects on literacy and mathematics achievement when the instruction during increased learning time programs focused on those subject areas, with the effects greatest in programs employing traditional instruction. They also found that expanded learning time programs using an experiential learning instruction style had positive effects on students' social-emotional skills (for example, self-confidence and self-management).

Kidron and Lindsay also found that increased learning time was most effective when it addressed students' specific needs. For example, literacy-focused programs improved the literacy achievement of low-performing students, and programs focused on increasing the social-emotional skills benefitted students with attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder. These findings led the authors to conclude that no single program is likely to fit the needs of all students.

The Impact of Expanded Learning Time and Opportunities in Community Schools

Although the studies that have looked specifically at the impact of ELT/O in the context of community schools tend to be correlational rather than experimental, taken together they show consistently positive effects of community schools that offer these opportunities on leading indicators of student succes, such as attendance, course completion, and behavior, as well as some impact on student achievement. They also suggest positive effects on school climate that likely contribute to these positive outcomes.

> Taken together, studies that have looked at the impact of ELT/O in community schools show consistently positive effects on leading indicators of student success, such as attendance, course completion, and behavior, as well as some impact on student achievement.

Biag and Castrechini's 2016 correlational, multilevel modeling of longitudinal data (ESSA Tier 3) from six low-income primarily Latino community schools in Redwood City, CA, found that youth who participated in the extended learning programs or who had families that were engaged in the schools exhibited higher attendance and achievement in mathematics and English language arts than their peers.[190]

An analysis using propensity score matching of data about Baltimore, MD, community school students participating in extended learning time activities found that participants new to the program had significantly higher average daily attendance rates and significantly lower chronic absenteeism rates than a group of carefully matched nonparticipants.[191] In middle school, participants averaged 3.2 more days attended and were 77% less likely to be chronically absent by the end of the school year, while in elementary school participants averaged 0.8 more days attended and were 32% less likely to be chronically absent than nonparticipants.

In Chicago, IL, an evaluation using multilevel statistical models (ESSA Tier 3) compared participants and non-participants attending out-of-school time programs as part of the Chicago Public Schools Community Schools Initiative. Participants showed better attendance during the regular school day, with 11% fewer absences than non-participants attending the same schools.[192] Changes in student perceptions of teacher support appeared to be a significant mediator between extended learning time participation and student changes in increased school-day attendance. Students participating in extended learning time programs through Chicago Public Schools Community Schools Initiative were suspended for an average of 0.98 days in 2007–08, compared to 1.14 days for non-participants, an 11% lower suspension rate.[193] Participants also achieved higher scores on state-mandated standardized exams, gaining the equivalent of an additional 0.7 months of regular-school-day instruction in both reading and mathematics.[194]

In 2002, Furrer and colleagues used a quasi-experimental design (ESSA Tier 2) to study high school students in the Schools Uniting Neighborhoods (SUN) initiative, a community schools model with an extended learning time program operating in Multnomah County, OR.[195] They found improvements in course completion rates and attendance, with the 441 students participating in extended learning time programs earning an average of 6.5 credits, 1.2 more credits than 499 carefully selected comparison students.[196] Not only does this represent a substantial positive effect (effect size of 0.57), it also indicates that participating students are on track to graduate, whereas the comparison students were not.[197] Participating students also had 4.2% higher attendance rates than a carefully selected group of comparison students.[198] Comparisons of the achievement of SUN students with nonparticipants, however, did not find a significant advantage for SUN students in terms of 10th-grade mathematics and reading scores on the state-mandated standardized exam. The authors observe that, although one third of SUN programming is academically focused at the high school level, common activities, such as homework assistance may not be sufficient to impact standardized test achievement.

After-school programs at six Children's Aid Society community middle schools in New York City found that participating students reported significant increases in their self-esteem, school engagement, and career and life aspirations over the course of 3 years.

A 2008 evaluation of after-school programs at six Children's Aid Society (CAS) community middle schools in New York City found that participating students reported significant increases in their self-esteem, school engagement, and career and life aspirations over the course of 3 years. This longitudinal evaluation was "theory-based" (ESSA Tier 4), in that it was designed to test whether expected results did in fact occur. It examined academic and development outcomes for youth that could be expected to be influenced by after-school programs, such as engagement in academic enrichment activities. It used correlational analyses to compare CAS after-school participants to non-participants. The study found that 45% of the students who were in CAS after-school programs from 2004 to 2007 demonstrated a steady increase in their performance levels in mathematics compared to 37% of those students who did not attend—a statistically significant difference. No differences were found in reading achievement. CAS after-school participants developed more positive behaviors and attitudes; school attendance was better among CAS participants than among those who did not participate. A dosage effect also emerged in that teachers reported that students with high levels of extended learning time participation were more motivated and involved with school than students with low levels of participation. Students had greater school attendance with more years of participation in CAS programs.[199]

Other correlational (ESSA Tier 3) evaluations in Maryland and Washington, DC, provide additional insight regarding the relationship between community school initiatives focused on expanded learning time and student outcomes. At J.C. Nalle Community School in Washington, DC, a package of reforms including increased use of technology and extended learning time built upon a variety of existing behavioral and academic supports to significantly improve student mathematics test scores, although there was no demonstrable effect on reading scores. This study employed propensity score matching and differences-in-differences regression analysis to

create a carefully selected comparison group.[200] In Maryland, evaluations employing demographic controls in statistical analyses found that middle school students who participated in extended day programming supported by the Eisenhower Foundation received significantly higher mathematics grades than students who did not.[201]

Effectively Implementing Expanded Learning Time and Opportunities

The quality of ELT/O implementation is crucial. The impact of these interventions varies as a consequence of "dosage"—i.e., the intensity of students' participation and how time is used. Moreover, implementation is also affected by how policymakers and educators translate the intent of policies meant to provide more learning time and opportunities into programs.

Dosage

Nearly all reviews of research on expanded learning time and opportunities note that levels of students' exposure to the programs are likely to affect the impact of programs. In 2010, Roth, Malone, and Brooks-Gunn synthesized the findings of 35 studies that used quasi-experimental designs (ESSA Tier 2) to examine the impact of various levels of participation in formal, group-focused, after-school school programs (excluding extracurricular activities and individual activities, such as mentoring) seeking to provide youth with regular access to a safe and enriching environment during non-school hours. The researchers concluded that participation was linked to improved academic performance and fewer problem behaviors, but only when youth with high levels of participation were compared to youth not attending the after-school program.[202]

> Levels of students' exposure to expanded learning time and opportunities programs are likely to affect the impact of programs.

The importance of the extent of students' participation is also shown in several studies of community schools. In Chicago, for example, the more students participated in extended learning time activities at Community Schools Initiative schools, the more their perceptions of school climate improved over the course of a year. For example, a typical student attending 73 days of programming had somewhat more positive perceptions of teacher support and expectations than non-participants, although no relationship was found between extended learning time participation and perceptions of school safety.[203]

Dosage was also an important factor in Redwood City community schools. Although researchers found no gains in student attendance after 1 year of participation in community school programming, students who accessed a combination of extended learning time and social support services for at least 2 out of the 3 years studied gained approximately two days of attendance per year compared to similar students who had never received this combination of services.[204]

Similarly, students who participated in all 3 years of middle school after-school programming at Children's Aid Society community schools experienced greater academic gains on mathematics and reading test scores than their peers who did not participate in the after-school program. Participating students also reported increases in their self-esteem, school engagement, and career and life aspirations over the course of 3 years. Those who participated more frequently

and over a longer period had greater test score gains than their peers who participated less, and teachers reported that students with high levels of extended learning time participation were more motivated and involved with school than students with low levels of participation.[205]

The importance of adequate exposure to out-of-school-time services is also shown in studies of community schools in Paterson, NJ, and Elev8 Out-of-School-Time programs in Baltimore, Chicago, and Oakland. A three-school descriptive evaluation based on a carefully constructed logic model found that students participating in the after-school program at the most mature community school, which had been operating for 3 years, attended school for an average of 20 more days than students not in the after-school program.[206] In the two community schools that started their programs a year later, after-school participation was associated with an average of 12–17 more days of attendance.[207] Students with higher participation levels in Elev8 had, on average, higher GPAs in reading, mathematics, science, and social science.[208]

Students participating in the after-school program at the most mature community school, which had been operating for 3 years, attended school for an average of 20 more days than students not in the after-school program.

How time is used

The studies of ELT/O consistently make clear that positive outcomes—whether from formal expansion of the day or year or from less formal activities—follow not just from the additional time, but also from how that time is used. Child Trends, for example, concluded that expanded day programs may work better when they promote greater academic engagement, since studies examining school climate effects of longer school days consistently found that effective programs fostered more pupil-teacher interaction and that students in these programs exhibited a strong sense of academic engagement and high rates of attendance.[209]

Studies of summer and after-school programs also note that the substance of the programs matters for student outcomes. For example, the Cooper review concluded that summer school programs were most effective when they focused on remediating achievement deficits or accelerating learning or enrichment and that the most positive effects were found for programs serving smaller numbers of students and those that provided more individualized and small-group instruction.[210]

Lauer and colleagues found after-school programs that included tutoring were more effective than others, but that those with both social and academic foci had a greater impact on achievement than those that were solely academic.[211] There is also evidence that the types of outcomes impacted by programs differ as a consequence of their content and approach, with those emphasizing academics effecting academic outcomes and those emphasizing enrichment in nonacademic areas yielding noncognitive benefits. Some nonacademic programs also have a positive effect on academic outcomes.

Fidelity to expanded learning time and opportunity goals

Finally, the implementation of ELT/O programs (and, consequently, their impact) can be shaped by prevailing ideas about school improvement in the larger policy arena. Using data from Colorado,

DiGiacomo and colleagues illuminate how divergent forces can weaken expanded learning time reforms in ways that compromise their potential benefits to students who have less access to learning opportunities in and out of school. In a state policy context dominated by fiscal scarcity and a view that accountability policies were the key to school improvement, policymakers favored reforms seen as effective at increasing test scores and doing so at little or no cost. Accordingly, advocates of digital and blended learning were successful in convincing Colorado's policymakers that these were the most efficient way to realize ELT/O in the state. The result was a focus on developing and piloting digital learning technologies that largely replicated or intensified traditional instructional approaches, "pushing aside efforts … directly aimed at providing students in disadvantaged communities with the sort of enrichment that wealthier families often obtain for their children through available community resources."[212]

5. Evidence About Pillar 3: Family and Community Engagement

Family and community engagement encompasses a broad array of interactions among parents, students, educators, and community members that fall along a spectrum in which families and community members exercise varying degrees of power within schools. At one end of the spectrum, parents take a more active role in supporting their children academically and volunteering in the school, while at the other end, families and community members have meaningful roles and power in shaping change at the school and district levels.

Most common are the school-related supports that families provide their children at home (i.e., creating a safe and stable environment, helping with homework); ongoing interactions between home and school to check in about programs and children's progress; and parents and community members volunteering at school (helping out in classrooms or on the school grounds, as well as supporting events, such as field trips, talent shows and fundraisers).[213] Family and community engagement also includes parents or community members coming to the school to access services related to their own or their family's well-being. Finally, engagement encompasses community organizing outside the school focused on school improvement, led and conducted by parents, youth, and/or community members.[214] In this practice, families and communities arguably exercise the most power in relation to schools. Community organizing builds power among members of the community, including students and parents, through relationships, leadership development, and campaigning to change school and district policies and to promote school reform.[215]

Schools often initiate programs designed to require or encourage parental participation.[216] These family and community engagement strategies seek to improve student outcomes and strengthen families and communities by involving families and community members in children's education, both at home and at school, and forging strong bonds between families and schools.

> Because family and community engagement tends to have its most direct effects on creating conditions for learning, such as increased trust, the impact on student outcomes is often indirect. Therefore, much of the research seeks to understand the mediating effect of family and community engagement on school conditions, as well as on student outcomes.

Traditionally known as "parent involvement," the term "family and community engagement" is now used more frequently to recognize increasingly diverse family arrangements and to highlight the active or participatory nature of effective parent and community involvement. For example, researchers Henderson and Mapp use the term "family" rather than "parents," recognizing that many family members—siblings, grandparents, and "fictive kin" such as close family friends—often contribute to children's education and development.[217] "Community" refers to the people and organizations that are in the neighborhood(s) near the school that include, but are not limited to, families of students.

What Does Family and Community Engagement Look Like in Action?

Redwood City 2020 has transformed six of 16 schools in the Redwood City, CA, school district into community schools. Each school has a Family Resource Center, and one third of the families participate in the program. Parents not only receive services; they are offered a range of educational opportunities, become involved, and are empowered to teach other parents, creating a strong community. Many of the parents are immigrants facing language barriers. But at the Family Resource Centers, they find a community of other immigrant parents who speak their languages playing a leadership role in the schools. By becoming involved, they are better able to support their children and ignite a love of learning.

Family Success Story: Maria Guerra de Ortiz and Agnes Ortiz

Maria was shy when she first brought her daughter Agnes to kindergarten. She didn't speak to other parents, and she didn't speak to the teacher. Though Maria had gone to school and been a nurse in Guatemala, she didn't speak English very well, and she felt disconnected. All that changed as she got involved in the Family Resource Center.

"In other countries, you leave your children at the door of the school, and their education is up to the teachers," said Maria. "But through the Family Resource Center, we are getting involved and showing our kids that school is important."

Over the 3 years that Agnes has been in school, Maria has become a leader in the Parent Mobilization Group organized by the Family Resource Center. The group volunteers to work in the classrooms, help with the after-school program, and perform outreach to other parents to get them involved, too. Since Maria has been involved, parent participation has risen from 25% to 50%. "This program isn't just about getting; it's about giving," said Maria. "I am not just motivated to reach my goals, I am motivating other parents in a thread of friendship to create a strong community."

That feeling of community is important, especially for the largely immigrant population at the school. However, for Maria, the bottom line is ensuring that her daughter gets a good education. "My dream is for Agnes to go to college and be a professional so she can be successful in life," said Maria. "That starts now, and because of this program, I am planting a seed in her mind so that she has a love of learning."

Redwood City community schools work with their partners to engage communities and families to promote school readiness among children. By creating community mobilization teams made up of family members, educators, and other community members who have participated in professional development programs, they enhance family-to-family education and outreach, preparing the community for success. Such efforts have led to 70% of students in Redwood City schools having families who are actively engaged with school campuses through adult education, leadership opportunities, and school meetings. Students whose families participate consistently have shown positive gains in attendance and in English language proficiency for English learners.

Source: United Way Bay Area. (n.d.). *Community Schools: Redwood City 2020.* San Francisco, CA: United Way Bay Area.

As we describe in what follows, strong family and community engagement is associated not only with improved academic outcomes, but also with students reporting more positive school climates, reduced absenteeism, and longer term academic success. However, because family and community engagement tends to have its most direct effects on creating conditions for learning, such as increased trust, the impact on student outcomes is often indirect.[218] For this reason, the evidence base on family and community engagement differs from that regarding integrated student services and ELT/O. It includes considerably more research seeking to understand the mediating effect of family and community engagement on school conditions, as well as on student outcomes. This includes numerous qualitative studies, which differs from the emphasis on experimental and quasi-experimental studies in Pillars 1 and 2.

Family and Community Engagement as a Core Feature of Community Schools

As part of a community school strategy, schools, families, and community institutions and agencies work together to help children develop in a myriad of ways. Community schools are well positioned to engage families and communities because the other three pillars together can support strategies for engagement. When integrated student supports, expanded learning opportunities, and collaborative practice (as described in the following section) are strong, they can make schools more welcoming for families and community members and can bring students into the surrounding community for learning opportunities. They create partnerships with community agencies that can enable many community schools to stay open for extended hours, on weekends, and in the summers to welcome families and community members into the building for various services and activities.[219]

The Coalition for Community Schools defines family and community engagement as an integral part of a community school:

> Using public schools as a hub, community schools bring together a wide variety of partners to offer a comprehensive range of services and opportunities to children, youth, families and communities. Its integrated focus on academics, health and social services, youth and community development, early learning and care, expanded learning, along with family and community engagement leads to improved student learning, stronger families and healthier communities.[220]

The Coalition argues that such connections are essential to having strong collective impact on student success. Family and community involvement in learning and development matters because it expands the resources and supports available to children and their families both inside and outside of schools, builds and deepens trust,[221] and increases students' motivation and engagement in learning.[222]

And, in fact, considerable evidence shows that family and community engagement is central to many community schools. For example, Dryfoos' 2000 review of 49 studies of community schools found that a typical community school had partnerships with both support centers to assist families with accessing services and with community organizations and volunteers engaged at the school.[223]

Family and community engagement in community schools can take many forms, including all those described above. Many community schools also work to have two-way culturally and linguistically relevant communication between schools and families, and to build trusting relationships between all members of the school community. Such schools also demonstrate a deep commitment to family and community ownership of the school strategy. Community schools can have site-based leadership teams that include family and community members who guide collaborative planning, implementation, and oversight, providing leadership development opportunities to strengthen stakeholders' capacities to work together.[224] (The collaborative structures and practices in which parents participate will be discussed in the next chapter.)

Many community schools also work to have two-way culturally and linguistically relevant communication between schools and families, and to build trusting relationships between all members of the school community, thereby demonstrating a deep commitment to family and community ownership of the strategy.

In what follows, we have organized our review of research about the impact of family and community engagement into three sections: (1) what is known about the impact of family and community engagement overall, (2) what is known about the impact of various types of family and community engagement, and (3) what is known about the impact of family and community engagement specifically in the context of community schools.

The General Impact of Family and Community Engagement

Researchers began examining the impact of parent involvement on learning in response to the decades-old finding that out-of-school factors have an overwhelming influence on student outcomes.[225] This research has established that community and family engagement in its multiple forms plays an important role in academic success and is beneficial in multiple other ways for children, youth, schools, parents, and communities.[226] Based, in part, on this large body of research, ecological models of schooling have been developed that intentionally emphasize family-school collaborations to promote children's development and learning.[227] Schools using such collaborations have also been the subject of considerable research. Many of the studies we reviewed used measures, such as grade point averages, standardized test scores, attendance, grade promotion, improved behavior, and healthy development. The Research Compendium that accompanies this report provides more detail about each of the reviews and studies included in the discussion.

Several high-quality reviews of the research on parent engagement conclude that parent participation in schools does improve student outcomes, and that programs to promote parent participation are often effective at developing such participation. The research also clearly demonstrates the importance of school programs to support family and community engagement in its myriad of forms. For this reason, it is important to consider school-level effects as well as student outcomes.

Dryfoos' review of research prior to 2000 found most studies reported that family and community engagement led to positive changes in academic achievement, social behavior, and healthy youth development, reductions in substance abuse and student mobility, increases in families addressing housing, food, and financial issues, and lower incidences of violence and street crime in communities.[228] For example, six of the programs in Dryfoos' review reported lower violence rates and safer streets in their communities. In terms of academic gains related to implementation, at PS 5 in New York City, the percentage of children reading at grade level rose from 28% to 42% as they moved from grades 4 to 6. Such quantitative research helps to measure program effects. However, much of the research in this area is qualitative and provides rich analysis of how community schools can effectively engage families and community members.

Family and community engagement led to positive changes on academic achievement, social behavior and healthy youth development, reductions in substance abuse and student mobility, increases in families addressing housing, food, and financial issues, and lower incidences of violence and street crime in communities.

Henderson and Mapp's 2002 review looked at 51 high-quality studies on parent and community engagement—including reports, case studies, experimental designs, quasi-experimental studies, pre-experimental research, and literature reviews (ESSA Tiers 1–4).[229] They included research on the effects of a broad range of engagement strategies on a variety of student outcomes, including students' enrollment in programs, achievement, attendance, social skills, grade promotion and retention, and postsecondary enrollment. They also included research focused on school facility improvements, school leadership and staffing, program quality, programs to improve teaching and curriculum, and school resources and funding.[230] The authors concluded that the research as a whole demonstrates

> a positive and convincing relationship between family involvement and benefits for students, including improved academic achievement. This relationship holds across families of all economic, racial/ethnic, and educational backgrounds and for students at all ages. Although there is less research on the effects of community involvement, it also suggests benefits for schools, families, and students, including improved achievement and behavior.[231]

Similarly, the series of meta-analyses of statistical studies conducted by Jeynes in 2003, 2005, 2007, 2012, and 2017 found significant relationships between parental involvement and improved educational outcomes for students across racial backgrounds.[232] Jeynes' 2017 meta-analysis, examining the association between parental involvement and the academic achievement of Latino students, found that analyses that used statistical controls had a statistically significant effect size of 0.22, a result warranting confidence that parental involvement is related to positive outcomes among Latino youth.[233]

The Impact of Various Forms of Family and Community Engagement

The impact of family and community engagement varies across programs that differ in the way parents participate and that use different mechanisms to encourage participation. To understand the impact of these various dimensions, we divide our analysis of the literature on parent, family, and community engagement into three parts: (1) parent support of student learning, (2) family and community participation in school, and (3) family and community organizing.

Impact of parental support for learning

In Mattingly and colleagues' 2002 analysis of 41 parent involvement evaluations, researchers examined the quality of evidence about the effects of parent engagement programs in the United States and considered relationships between program and evaluation characteristics and reported intervention outcomes. The researchers found that the most common type of family involvement interventions are ones that seek to increase parent support for student learning at home.[234] Such parent involvement consists primarily of activities, such as parents reading with children, school and family

The most common type of family involvement interventions are ones that seek to increase parent support for student learning at home. Many school-initiated efforts focus on increasing parent involvement for youth who aren't performing strongly.

communicating with one another about learning challenges and progress, and parents checking homework.[235] Many school-initiated engagement efforts focus on increasing these types of parent involvement for youth who aren't performing strongly.[236]

McCarthey's 2000 narrative literature review examined studies of the impact of family literacy activities in home settings and within school settings that have shown promise for connecting schools and homes. These studies show that for children from different racial and economic backgrounds, the type and amount of literacy materials they're exposed to, the amount of time that parents and children engage in literacy-related activities, and the nature of those activities are important to their academic success.[237]

Henderson & Mapp's 2002 review came to a similar conclusion about parent support for learning. Studies evaluating programs serving students of different ages, populations, and geographies and that used different methods found that family involvement tended to have a protective effect such that the more parents supported student learning, the more students tended to succeed in school and continue their education.[238] Mapp and Henderson highlighted a longitudinal study conducted in 71 Title I elementary schools that used quasi-experimental statistical modeling (ESSA Tier 2) to examine the relationship between student test scores and various school and district factors.[239] These factors included teacher outreach to parents through face-to-face meetings, sending materials home, and phone calls home on a routine basis as well as when children were having issues. The authors found that teacher outreach to parents of low-performing students was related to higher reading and mathematics achievement.[240]

A quasi-experimental study (ESSA Tier 2) of 253 middle school students in the Teachers Involving Parents in Schoolwork (TIPS) program reached the same conclusion. Students in TIPS science classrooms earned significantly higher grades than did their peers in the control group.[241] Another quasi-experimental study (ESSA Tier 2) looked at the impact of school-based parent workshops on 335 Title I students' academic achievement. Across all income and education levels, when parents were highly involved in the workshops, attending sessions designed to their interests and getting training in how to use learning materials, their children were more likely to gain in reading and mathematics than their peers with less involved parents.[242]

When parents were highly involved in the workshops, attending sessions designed to their interests and getting training in how to use learning materials, their children were more likely to gain in reading and mathematics than their peers with less involved parents.

Similarly, a 2012 meta-analysis of 51 studies (ESSA Tiers 1–3) examined different types of parental involvement programs, finding that programs that emphasized teacher-parent partnerships had a significant positive relationship to student achievement for students of all ages with an effect size of 0.35.[243] In these programs, parents and teachers worked together to develop common strategies, rules, guidelines, and expectations to support the student.

Hill and Taylor's synthesis of different primary qualitative studies (ESSA Tier 4) found that, as parents gain more skills and information through relationships with school personnel, their social

capital increases their ability to better support their children. Similarly, as parents and school personnel develop common understandings of appropriate student behavior, they are better able to communicate these at home and in school.[244]

Mapp and Henderson's review also concludes that there is a lasting effect when students feel supported both at home and in school. Correlational studies (ESSA Tier 3) they reviewed suggest that students with involved parents tend to have more self-confidence, feel school is more important, be less disruptive, earn higher grades, and attend college.[245] For example, Trusty's quasi-experimental analysis (ESSA Tier 2) of National Educational Longitudinal Study data from 1988 to 1994 of nearly 10,000 8th-grade students demonstrated that students who felt that their parents communicated with them and supported their learning were more likely to have high aspirations for postsecondary education 6 years later, showing the importance of families as long-term resources. This parental involvement effect held across family income and background.[246]

Fan and Chen's 1999 meta-analysis of 25 studies that were based on data of parent involvement and student achievement and employed either regression or path analysis (ESSA Tier 3) reached similar conclusions. This study found a small to moderate relationship between parental involvement and academic achievement, with variance between different dimensions of parental involvement. Specifically, they found that parent's aspirations and expectations were strongly related to achievement (correlation of 0.4) and parent involvement more generally also had a close relationship with achievement (correlation of 0.3).[247]

Impact of family and community participation at school

A second important form of family and community engagement is the participation of parents, family members, and community members in a variety of activities to support students and schools. Research on this form of engagement also considers the impact of families participating in schools to access services provided to them.

This section reviews research on how and why parents and community members engage in their schools, what schools do to support such engagement, and the impact of such engagement. Here, the focus is on family or community engagement that includes connections that come from attending school meetings, talking with teachers, and volunteering at the school.[248] Longitudinal research by Bryk and colleagues on 100 Chicago schools that substantially improved over 7 years of reform found such involvement to be one key factor. They assessed the impact of a variety of school characteristics on learning, as measured by student test scores and school attendance. Data from principal, student, and teacher surveys identified five essential supports necessary for successful school improvement: leadership, parent-community ties, professional capacity, a student-centered learning climate, and ambitious instruction. Schools with robust ties to parents and the community benefitted from such involvement by creating supportive environments for students, which helped improve teaching and learning:

> Learning gains were more prevalent in schools where professionals were committed to that community and oriented toward innovation. Schools with substantial parent involvement were four times more likely to improve in reading and ten times more likely to improve in math than schools with poor parent involvement.[249]

Intentional efforts by teachers and administrators can be effective in increasing parental participation at school. Mapp's 2002 ethnographic study (ESSA Tier 4) of an urban elementary

school serving racially and socioeconomically diverse students found that school staff created a culture of family at the school and that power was shared between school staff and family members, helping to foster relationships that support active involvement. Recognizing families as partners in the education of their children, welcoming them into the school, honoring their participation, and connecting with them through a focus on learning helped families to become loyal participants in the school community.[250]

The development of trusting relationships that support such engagement ideally happens at many levels of the school and district. As families and community members engage in schools and support student learning outside of school, relationships among school professionals, families, and community members can improve and trust can deepen. As Bryk and colleague's extensive research (ESSA Tier 2) in Chicago demonstrates, schools that foster positive relations with families and local communities can help repair long-standing distrust.[251] This increased trust and engagement, in turn, helps produce an improved learning environment for student success. For example, a school's capacity to partner effectively with community groups directly increases the effectiveness of supplemental services to support students and promote learning.[252] Additionally, as teachers understand the communities in which their students live, they are better able to provide relevant instruction and support.

Schools that foster positive relations with families and local communities can help repair long-standing distrust. This increased trust and engagement, in turn, helps produce an improved learning environment for student success.

Similarly, a 2016 qualitative study (ESSA Tier 4) examined an ecological approach to Collective Parent Engagement (CPE) that considered the social networks and interactions among all school and community stakeholders.[253] Guided by an empowerment-based philosophy, CPE develops interventions to engage more socially isolated parents, builds collaborations to support parents in accessing resources, and creates new institutional practices and policies to support low-income parents. CPE conducts outreach to parents, collaborative needs assessments, leadership training with parents, development of parent collectives to design and implement programs to meet the needs of other parents and families, and systems development that helps school and neighborhood service providers better respond to the strengths, needs, and challenges of the community. The researchers found that CPE provided transformative experiences for parents, as the initial outreach, assessment, training, and development activities engaged individuals successfully and led to collectively developed programs. When school-community collaboratives were powerful and engaged all relevant stakeholders in the school community, schoolwide academic outcomes improved.[254] As one example of this broader trend, a parent from a CPE program shared the following with the researchers:

> I saw many positive things … that I knew would help the community because this community is a community that is very poor and no one had ever done anything to help the community. Through the program, we saw that we could help the school … but we needed first to help the community … and its families … to help ourselves because we are part of the community.[255]

Such research demonstrates the strength of multilevel ecological interventions to engage parents and communities in improving the conditions for learning.

Similarly, a 2009 case study (ESSA Tier 4) by Warren and colleagues of three community-based organizations (CBO) and school partnerships found that when CBOs have existing trust-based relationships in a community, they can build bridges between educators and parents. Such bridges help schools develop a better understanding of the culture and assets of families and, as a result, bring more of those assets into schools.[256] The study concludes that if educators collaborate with community partners and develop parent leadership, they can "meet the interests, values and capacities of any particular school community."[257] Such collaborations can be powerful forms of parent engagement in schools that can help shift the educational culture and bring them more into alignment with the families they serve.

Impact of community organizing

Organized family and community engagement pushes schools and districts from the outside, in an effort to enable families to help improve schools. It is led and conducted by families, youth, and/or community members who collectively campaign to transform low-performing schools by building power, social capital, and leadership skills.[258] Building social capital means that these stakeholders are developing relationships that benefit community members, as they learn that they can rely on each other.[259] As organizing groups recruit members, build their leadership, and win strategic victories that improve schools, they increase the leadership capacity of community members.

What Does Community Organizing Look Like in Action?

Padres and Jovenes Unidos (PJU) has been organizing parents and students in schools in the Denver area since 1992, with a focus since the early 2000s on ending what it terms the School to Jail Track. PJU research found that Black, Latino, and Native American students were more likely to be suspended, expelled, and referred to law enforcement than White students, and it began a campaign to hold schools and the police accountable for disciplining and criminalizing students. By raising awareness in the community and holding rallies and public forums, PJU leaders were able to win an agreement that students would not be criminalized for behaviors that school administrators could resolve and that restorative justice would be implemented. As this agreement was implemented, PJU worked to organize and lead meetings with school officials to support restorative justice and continued to monitor implementation of the program to hold the district accountable. The accountability work continues today, and this policy shift demonstrates the power of community members working together to demand school reforms.

Source: Fernandez, J. S., Kirshner, B., & Lewis, D. G. (2016). Strategies for systemic change: Youth community organizing to disrupt the school-to-prison nexus. In J. Conner & S. Rosen (Eds.), *Contemporary youth activism: Advancing social justice in the United States.* Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

A 2002 nationwide survey of 200 community organizing groups found they shared the following characteristics:

- They all work to make public schools more equitable and effective.
- They build a membership base that will take collective action.
- They build relationships and collective responsibility through alliances and coalitions.
- They develop leadership among the members and determine agendas with a democratic governance structure.
- They build power in low- and moderate-income communities through leadership development, civic participation, and public action.[260]

As described below, the research evidence suggests that organizing as a form of parent engagement can have profound impacts on schools and communities. By pushing decision makers to improve policies and practices and holding them accountable for results, such groups aim to increase equity, improve the quality of education, and expand the resources available to schools serving low-income communities and communities of color.[261] These effects, in turn, create conditions conducive to improved student outcomes. Although the evidence base about organizing is quite different from studies that examine the direct effects of practices on student outcomes, it is nevertheless relevant and important in understanding the overall impact of community schools.

For example, Henderson and Mapp's review of literature on community organizing for school improvement found that community organizing efforts contributed to changes in policy, resources, personnel, school culture, and educational programs.[262] One study included 66 organizing efforts in eight cities, many of which had significant success training new leaders, building skills and knowledge needed to demand accountability, and winning concrete changes, such as upgraded facilities, improved school leadership, higher quality learning programs for students, new resources and programs to improve teaching and curriculum, and increased funding for after-school programs and supports.[263]

A 6-year national mixed-methods study (ESSA Tier 4) by Mediratta, Shah & McAlister in 2009 examined both qualitative and quantitative data related to school reform organizing by eight national groups. Collecting interviews and surveys of organizers, members, educators, parents, and youth, and using publicly available administrative data, the authors sought to understand perceptions of the impact of organizing among different stakeholders, as well as student educational outcomes in relation to organizing efforts. They found that efforts led by parents and youth to build the political and social capital of neighborhoods and improve educational outcomes for students

> increased the responsiveness of district leaders to the concerns of low-income parents and community members; secured substantial new resources and ensured their equitable distribution; and introduced new policy to improve curriculum, school organization, teacher recruitment and preparation, and parent engagement.[264]

Through such work, members also deepened relationships and skills for navigating the political system, built new aspirations for themselves and their families, and developed a deep sense of their capacities to create change through collective community action.

Warren and Mapp in 2011 conducted six case studies (ESSA Tier 4) of the impact on school improvement of community organizing efforts, showing they were strong enough to make a difference in the educational context in which they were working and that community organizing brings a "powerful bottom-up thrust to education reform efforts."[265] By activating broad participation and offering people a chance to become leaders in a change process while working collectively and building relationships, community organizing can grow the social

By activating broad participation and offering people a chance to become leaders while working collectively and building relationships, community organizing can grow the social capital of families, educators, and communities to improve school conditions.

capital of families, educators, and communities to improve school conditions. Because the community organizations in this study approach parents and other members with dignity, Warren and Mapp argue, the approach "can foster widespread and powerful forms of parent participation in schools."[266] For example, parent leaders from the Logan Square Neighborhood Association in Chicago were trained through a parent mentor program called Grow Your Own Teacher that helped develop parents to become bilingual teachers in the schools.[267]

The Impact of Family and Community Engagement in Community Schools

Community schools are particularly well positioned to have strong family and community engagement programs that can be bolstered by their collaborative practices, expanded learning opportunities, and integrated student supports. In addition, the meaningful collaboration of families and communities in school engagement can help to align and integrate other components of their strategy in ways that are most responsive to community needs.[268] We turn now to examine the research on the impact of family and community engagement in community schools. Results are largely positive, although this is an emerging area of research within the community schools field.

Researchers at Stanford University have studied family and community engagement at local community schools in Redwood City, CA, using correlational research methods (ESSA Tier 3). These community schools demonstrated significant mathematics gains on state-mandated tests for students whose parents accessed family engagement programs, as well as those who used both social support services and extended learning time programs for 2 to 3 years.[269] Children of family participants started out scoring three points behind demographically similar non-participants, but they gained almost two points more per year than non-participants; 3 years later, they outscored students whose families did not participate by nearly three points.[270]

A more recent exploratory study of student growth in Redwood City community schools found that students who participated in extended learning time programs or whose families participated in support services improved their attendance by 40%.[271] Additionally, community school participants reported higher levels of feeling cared for at school than non-participants—47% of students whose parents participated in family engagement programs and who themselves participated in extended learning time programs reported a high sense of care, compared to 27% of non-participants. This holds true even after accounting for student demographic differences and the extent to which they felt cared for the previous year.[272] Program participants also reported a higher sense of care, on average, than they had the prior year. Students with family engagement in elementary school entered middle school more likely to report that their schools provided a supportive environment than students whose families didn't participate. Importantly, the researchers also found strong links between family engagement and gains in English language development scores for English learners.[273]

By making services available to families and communities, community schools can be important resources that are welcoming and help address social, physical, cognitive, and economic needs by providing, among many options, classes for parents, health and legal services, housing support, and even access to laundry. Another study of community schools in Redwood City (ESSA Tier 3) found that such supplemental programs reached more than 70% of the families of enrolled students and generally served the most socioeconomically disadvantaged students.[274] Students whose families were engaged in these schools were more likely to show gains in English language development and mathematics scores and to demonstrate positive attitudes about their schools.[275]

Similarly, a descriptive study (ESSA Tier 4) of parent perceptions of connectedness in a full-service community school in Providence, RI, examined the effect of school-community collaboration on parent-teacher relationships. Using a parent-teacher involvement questionnaire that was developed as part of an intervention program, researchers analyzed measures of parent-school connections over the 4 years of the model's implementation.[276] Results initially were mixed, as three of the four measures (parent comfort, parent activity, and parent-teacher communication) decreased in the first year. However, all four indicators improved from the 2nd to the 3rd or 4th years of the study, suggesting that the community schools were improving parent-school connections over time.[277]

Warren's 2005 case study (ESSA Tier 4) of community and school collaboration highlights Quitman Community School in Newark, NJ, as an example of a community school that builds the social capital of a community by providing services and classes for students and families, thereby becoming a center for the community's social life. The school achieved this by building trust between teachers and parents and by helping parents develop their skills and leadership: Parents began to take more initiative in the school, including challenging the school to change some of its practices and advocating changes, such as class size reduction.[278] As one parent said,

> It is the first school to make me feel welcome as a parent. This school is a good community school. Everyone takes a hand in caring for children. The attitude here is that all kids are our kids. The kids are my babies. Any child or parent that comes in the door feels welcome.[279]

Such sentiments demonstrate the potential that community schools have for creating meaningful engagement of parents and community members.

These studies also demonstrate that leadership development and collaborative relationships among families, communities, and schools, which can happen via schools or organizing groups, can increase the internal capacity and change the culture of the school to address issues that are rooted in local conditions, interests, and values, while families and community members can increase their relational power in the schools.[280]

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Effectively Implementing Family and Community Engagement Strategies

As with the other community school pillars, the quality of the implementation of family and community engagement programs determines their effectiveness. As we considered the spectrum of family engagement, we have seen that different forms involve different degrees to which parents, families, and community members participate of their own volition rather than being encouraged and/or supported by schools to participate. There is also variation in the levels of power that families exercise within the school, whether as recipients of services, as volunteers, or as school leaders.[281]

The research demonstrates the importance of structures and practices in schools to support all forms of family and community engagement practices. Henderson & Mapp in 2002 found that schools that successfully engaged parents focused on building trusting, collaborative relationships among teachers and families; recognized and respected families' class and cultural backgrounds as well as their needs; and shared power and responsibility.[282]

These studies and others also found that the way programs were implemented made a difference in their effectiveness. Teachers' perceptions of families as lacking resources or abilities to contribute created barriers to home-school connections. Mismatches between student and teacher views of their respective roles and their use of different languages created barriers as well.[283] When teachers value and learn from the experiences of parents and communities, seeing them as "funds of knowledge," they can build stronger relationships with parents and expressly value the students' home lives by incorporating their newfound knowledge into the classroom.[284]

Although there is little research on the role of school districts in collaborating with community schools, promising research on district support for programs that involve parents and communities demonstrates the possibilities of such collaboration. Epstein and colleagues' 2011 study used quantitative survey data from a "nested" sample of 24 districts and 407 schools to measure district assistance to schools and shared work on partnership program development. Using statistical modeling (ESSA Tier 3) to understand this model, they found that consistent district leadership and facilitation contributes to the quality of the school programs as measured by basic program implementation and advanced program outreach.[285] Schools in districts that provided assistance on partnerships and conducted evaluations for 3 years had more basic and advanced partnerships than those in districts without consistent attention to partnerships and program development. This research finds that district assistance contributed significantly to basic program implementation as well as to advanced outreach to involved families.[286]

Engaging with partner organizations that are trusted in the community can help to build strong relationships that are both key to the strategy and important for its effective implementation.[287] At least one researcher has concluded that these relationships may be best coordinated by a full-time community school director/coordinator who works closely with a principal who values community and family engagement.[288] Another researcher suggests that when schools engage families and communities in meaningful ways (for example, in discussions of the school budget or improvement strategies), they demonstrate a long-term commitment to the relationship and thus can help increase the depth and breadth of their engagement.[289]

When schools engage families and communities in meaningful ways, they demonstrate a long-term commitment to the relationship and thus can help increase the depth and breadth of their engagement.

6. Evidence About Pillar 4: Collaborative Leadership and Practice

Collaborative leadership and practice engage stakeholders with different types of experience and expertise, including parents, students, teachers, principals, and community partners in working together and sharing decisions and responsibilities toward a commonly held vision or outcome for the school.[290] Such practices rely upon leadership that skillfully manages relationships by creating structures and activities to support and sustain these interactions over time.[291] Leading researchers in the field Heck and Hallinger note that collaborative leadership "emphasizes governance structures and processes that foster shared commitment to achieving school improvement goals, broad participation and collaboration in decision making, and shared accountability for student learning outcomes."[292] Spillane also specifies that such collaboration includes spaces for frequent and open communication between players, allowing time for trusting relationships to be developed.[293]

Collaborative leadership "emphasizes governance structures and processes that foster shared commitment to achieving school improvement goals, broad participation and collaboration in decision making, and shared accountability for student learning outcomes."

In most schools, collaborative leadership and practice involve collaboration among professionals—teachers, administrators, and union leaders. This includes professional learning communities and school teams making decisions and planning to improve school policy and classroom teaching and learning, as well as teacher development strategies, such as peer assistance and review. In community schools, collaboration extends to include community school directors, local government agencies, families, community members, and leaders of community-based organizations. These expanded collaborations focus on school governance and program planning, the coordination of services associated with the other three community school pillars, and the maintenance of constructive relationships among professional staff, families, and community partners.

This fourth pillar of community schools differs from the other three. As discussed previously, integrated student services, ELT/O, and family and community engagement are strategies intended to have a direct impact on student outcomes, as well as on schools and communities. In contrast, collaborative leadership and practice may be more accurately characterized as a mediating factor—the key to making these other three pillars effective. As stakeholders work together to assess issues, make plans, and improve practices, they can more effectively build the important partnerships that support the implementation of programs, instructional practices, and supports for successful implementation of the approach.

However, like the other three pillars, collaborative leadership and practice consist of organizational structures and practices, in this case, for school governance, decision making, accountability, and ownership. These go far beyond members of an organization being respectful and cooperative with one another as they implement the other pillars.

What Does Collaborative Leadership and Practice Look Like in Action?

In one urban school district in the eastern United States, full-service community schools partner with a coordinating agency from the community and offer extended learning opportunities; health, mental health, and social services; family engagement strategies; and community-centered activities to support improved educational outcomes. One of the schools in this district is an elementary school serving approximately 200 students, the majority of whom are from low-income families and first-generation Latino American. The principal at this community school, according to a case study by Sanders, was well connected to district and city leaders and particularly able to build and nurture relationships with colleagues, district officials, and community partners. This helped position the school to partner with organizations to address the needs of the students and also to draw attention to the need for continued funding for the community school program in the district.

Working with the community school coordinator, the principal built expansive community partnerships that provided enriched extended learning activities, including a summer learning program and an after-school program with tutoring, homework help, and enrichment activities. The partnerships also offered site-based dental screenings, education, and referrals; mental health and counseling services; a music program; and Spanish and English classes. The community school coordinator was also able to help nearly 100 families secure supplemental nutritional assistance, eyeglasses, and clothing, and was able to address food and other needs within the community. The principal encouraged teachers at the school to engage in partnerships with community groups that supported student academic and social engagement. The "close-knit" faculty valued the community schools approach, working together to create various partnerships to address the needs of families and students, ultimately promoting student success. With its highly developed partnerships and organizational programming linked to academic benefits, this school was able to garner positive attention to sustain the partnerships and to benefit the students and families. The school's attendance rate and performance on state assessments were well above the district averages, with high levels of family engagement.

Source: Sanders, M. (2016). Leadership, partnerships, and organizational development: Exploring components of effectiveness in three full-service community schools. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement, 27*(2), 157-177.

There is promising evidence supporting the positive impact of the type of collaborative leadership and practices found in community schools, although little of this research has been done in community school settings. The large-scale research base for community schools is newer and less extensive than in other areas. Many studies are descriptive in nature (rather than the meta-analyses and quasi-experimental evaluations reviewed in other sections of this report). Nevertheless, they add important and useful findings to the community schools evidence base.

The research examining collaborative leadership and practice shows that this approach to school governance and decision making fosters conditions necessary to improve student outcomes, as well as to improve relationships within and beyond the school walls. When well done, such collaboration leads to several positive outcomes for students, most likely because it increases the commitment and trust among stakeholders—social capital, that is—and it increases teacher capacity.

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Collaborative Leadership and Practice as a Core Feature of Community Schools

The Coalition for Community Schools identifies collaboration among school staff, community partners, and families as a central component in its comprehensive community schools framework.[294] It argues that collaboration is necessary for creating conditions in community schools that enable all students to learn.[295] The Coalition explains that in community schools,

> [l]ocal citizens and local leaders decide what happens in their schools, and schools return to their historic role as centers of community where everyone belongs, everyone works together, and our young people succeed.[296]

Community schools typically seek to involve community partners and families deeply in the functioning of the school, as well as in supporting students. To facilitate this, community schools create structures that allow multiple stakeholders to exercise leadership, work toward a common vision, and align programs, while contributing different areas of expertise. Inclusive leadership teams facilitate collective responsibility for governance and decision making.[297] Stakeholders share responsibility for continuous improvement and are held accountable. Teachers work together in professional learning communities, and they meet regularly with nonprofit partners to improve instruction both in classrooms and in ELT/O. For example, Tulsa's Center for Community School Strategies highlights the importance of inclusive and expanded leadership for community school success, describing it as an:

> Inclusive and expanded school leadership structure focused on building a culture of collective trust, founded on a well-trained principal linked with a strong community school coordinator, effective teacher peer supports and open communication with a broad array of constituencies.[298]

Community school partners can incorporate a wide range of local organizations that are concerned with education, including non-profit organizations and universities, private agencies serving youth and families, faith-based institutions, neighborhood groups, and civic organizations. Although the nature of partnerships varies by community, all seem to agree that the active engagement of local partners is essential to the successful implementation of a community school strategy.

In its research, the Coalition found that many community schools rely on collaboration to draw on local knowledge as they create community-led, active learning experiences for students both inside and outside of the classroom. Educators work together with outside partners to ensure that the additional services they provide families and students are relevant and responsive to community needs and cultural practices. Such collaboration provides an infrastructure that supports young people and their families to access tutoring, enrichment, mentoring, health services, nutritious meals, and more. Finally, collaborative leadership and practice among schools, agencies, and community-based

Collaborative leadership and practice among schools, agencies, and community-based organizations can support families and communities to develop safe and supportive school and neighborhood environments, drawing on the different knowledge and skills of stakeholders.

organizations can support families and communities to develop safe and supportive school and neighborhood environments, drawing on the different knowledge and skills of stakeholders.[299] Next, we discuss some of the diverse collaboration practices used by community schools.

Sharing decision making among professional staff

Community schools, like other types of schools, develop shared leadership and decision-making teams in which principals, teachers, and other school staff together assess issues, make plans, set goals, implement new programs, and ensure cohesion and integration of curriculum and instructional practices. In community schools, such teams often include community school directors (also called coordinators). Such teams can coordinate efforts to align resources and programs and to develop strategies for the important work of linking students and families to additional services and supports that can help address issues that challenge learning.[300] They can also develop ways to incorporate knowledge of the community into the curriculum.[301] In addition, such teams can enable community school directors to play integral roles in shaping the school vision, planning, coordination, and managing services and programs. Often, school principals and community school directors together create and lead these structures for collaborative work.[302]

Including families and community members in decision making

Community schools often recruit families and community members to join leadership and decision-making teams at the school as a strategy for mobilizing assets and building trusting relationships that can strengthen and enrich school governance and planning. Some principals routinely meet with parents to discuss the school budget and make decisions about priorities together.[303] This practice reflects the value that community schools place on the experience of families and community members from diverse backgrounds.[304]

Partnering with community organizations

As discussed in Pillars 1 and 2, integrated student supports and expanded learning opportunities are often delivered through partnerships with outside organizations and agencies, making it important that collaborative practices that create and maintain good working relationships be in place. Accordingly, community schools often develop formal partnerships with a variety of organizations, including hospitals, local colleges and universities, churches, and community-based organizations that provide services, such as legal services, pre-k and after-school programs, and housing subsidies.[305] These partnerships vary among community schools as they are based on the particular needs and priorities of a school and its surrounding communities.[306] The partnerships provide a structure in which these outside groups collaborate with each other as well as with school staff, families, and communities, identifying issues and developing joint plans to address the out-of-school factors that can be barriers to learning and to make the best use of expanded learning time.[307]

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Universities can collaborate with community schools by expanding access to support services and specialized learning opportunities. For example, as discussed in Pillar 1, the Diplomas Now partnership among Communities in Schools, Johns Hopkins University, and City Year is an integrated strategy can help support students in graduating. Universitites can also support teachers to develop new content knowledge and pedagogical approaches and provide other types of training.[308] Such collaborations can benefit the university as well as the school community. For example, pre-service teachers can get experience working in traditional and nontraditional classroom settings, while community schools benefit from having more instructional staff supported by the teacher preparation program of the university.

What Do University Partnerships Look Like in Action?

The partnership between a university and a community school in New York City takes a unique approach that uses graduate students to design and implement a variety of extended learning time programming. Because many of the graduate students have been in teaching, they have the extra support of the professional development offered by the university as they implement these programs. The community school benefits from both the range of professional supports and the people carrying out the extended learning time programs. The university also benefits, as its students are getting a practicum experience and additional experience in an after-school program that is not a traditional classroom. The projects the graduate students are implementing are diverse, including a study of media and social justice with high school students and a project-based learning activity concerning substance abuse among high school students, identified by the students as a topic important to them. Such projects provide opportunities for enriched learning for students as well as important experience for future teachers.

Source: Personal communication with anonymous staff and students at Teachers College, Columbia University.

Collaborating with teachers unions

Increasingly, teachers unions are advocating for and supporting the implementation of the community school strategy. In McDowell County, WV, for example, the American Federation of Teachers has played a key role in bringing together 40 partners to develop a community school effort and related strategy to lift schools, students, and their families. The partners from businesses, foundations, nonprofits, and the labor sector have committed to address complex problems through providing services, money, products, and/or expertise to improve the schools.[309] The other major teachers union, the National Education Association (NEA), also has done considerable organizing to build member support for community schools; for example, the Milwaukee Teachers' Education Association's Community Schools Institute, which trains members, administrators, and community members in community school principles and organizing skills. The NEA website includes a 108-page community schools "toolkit" and suggests that the union can "serve as the first mover in getting a community to survey its needs and commit to moving forward with the community school strategy. We can lead community conversations; serve on planning teams; raise public awareness about student needs and how community schools can meet them; and we can make sure our members understand their roles at the site level."[310]

The General Impact of Collaborative Leadership and Practice

As we describe in what follows, research has found that collaborative leadership and practice have a positive effect on student outcomes.[311] It has also found that collaborative leadership and practice help create school conditions that, in turn, promote positive student outcomes. The Research Compendium that accompanies this report provides more detail about each of the reviews and studies included in the discussion.

Impact on student outcomes

Several empirical studies and research syntheses provide evidence that collaborative leadership and practice positively impact student outcomes. Some find that these positive effects accrue because of changes in the school climate that increase the social capital of students and families. Others find that collaborative leadership and practice have a positive impact on student outcomes because they increase the capacity of a school to improve academically through such mechanisms as peer learning among teachers.

Collaborative leadership and practice have a positive impact on student outcomes because they increase the capacity of a school to improve academically through such mechanisms as peer learning among teachers.

For example, a series of empirical studies by Heck & Hallinger (ESSA Tier 3) found that collaborative leadership indirectly affected student learning by building the school's capacity for academic improvement.[312] One of these studies used a randomly selected sample of 198 elementary schools to examine schools' capacities for improvement and collaborative leadership based on teacher surveys over 4 years, controlling for student backgrounds.[313] This study found that changes in collaborative leadership were positively related to changes in school capacity. Specifically, they found that schools can improve learning outcomes, as changes in collaborative leadership over time are associated with changes in school improvement capacity and growth in student achievement.[314]

Similarly, in 2006, Leithwood and colleagues examined peer-reviewed empirical studies of school leadership (ESSA Tiers 3 and 4). Among their findings, they determined that robust evidence exists that demonstrates the relationship between redesigning the school organization (i.e., initiating collaborative cultures, restructuring, relationships with families and communities, connecting schools to wider environments) and student achievement, with moderate effect sizes. They also found that the research "unambiguously supports the importance of collaborative cultures in schools as being central to school improvement, the development of professional learning communities and the improvement of student learning."[315]

In 2013, Anrig published a research synthesis that included detailed descriptions and analyses of well-designed studies (ESSA Tiers 2–4) of schools characterized by collaborative leadership and practice.[316] Many of the studies employed mixed methods, including careful quantitative analyses of existing and original data and qualitative analysis of data from observations, interviews, review of documents, etc. Anrig also presented detailed case studies of two districts—Cincinnati, OH, and Springfield, MA—that made extensive efforts to create collaborative cultures in existing schools, arguing that the evidence strongly supports the conclusion that high-performing

schools, even in poor socioeconomic settings, are characterized by cultures in which teachers and administrators engage in more collaboration, communication, coordinated responses to testing data, and structured problem solving than is the norm. He also found that schools striving to create collaborative systems realize gains in student achievement outcomes. The development of social capital and teacher peer learning appear to be the factors that explain the link between collaboration and positive student outcomes. Notably, although the direction of causation cannot be firmly established in several of the studies reviewed, others looked at outcomes over time and showed a sequence of social capital development or peer learning preceding outcome gains.

One of the studies included in the Anrig synthesis is Bryk and colleagues' research on 200 Chicago schools using multiple methodologies over a period of 7 years (ESSA Tier 3). Collaborative structures and activities were key to nurturing relational trust among teachers as well as between educators, parents, and community members.[317] As a part of this research, Sebring and colleagues' rigorous research (ESSA Tier 3) on school transformations in Chicago found that partnerships among teachers, parents, and community members were important in providing the social resources needed to improve school conditions that directly affect student learning, the learning climate, and ambitious instruction. They found that when these adult actors were most effective at supporting students academically and personally, they created a climate where students felt motivated and challenged to work hard.[318]

Partnerships among teachers, parents, and community members were important in providing the social resources needed to improve school conditions that directly affect student learning, the learning climate, and ambitious instruction.

> Equally as important as the skills of individual teachers, though, is the presence of a school-based professional community focused on developing instructional capacity across the school. Partnership and cooperation among teachers, parents, and community members provide the social resources needed for broad-based work on conditions in the school and the challenges involved in improving student learning. The work of adult actors, in turn, results in the conditions that directly affect student learning—learning climate and ambitious instruction. The most basic requirement is a safe and orderly environment that is conducive to academic work. Schools that are most effective will further create a climate where students feel motivated and pressed to work hard while knowing that adults will provide extensive academic and personal support.[319]

Additionally, Chicago schools that were strong in these essential supports were at least 10 times more likely than schools weak in such supports to show substantial gains in both reading and mathematics.[320]

Research also links positive effects on student outcomes to the teacher learning that occurs in collaborative practice. Specifically, teachers benefit from being part of a positive school community in which they can participate in shared decision making and learning. Sebring and colleagues' Chicago study (previously discussed) found that schools with collaborative teacher efforts and inclusive school leadership that focuses on instruction improved teachers' instructional practice and tended to show the largest improvements in student learning over time.[321]

Robinson and colleagues conducted a 2008 meta-analysis (ESSA Tiers 2 and 3) of the effect of different dimensions of leadership on student outcomes, as measured by achievement on tests as well as other measures. They found that principals' participation in and promotion of learning communities with teachers produced the largest effect size (0.84 standard deviations) of any of the examined dimensions of leadership.[322] They also found that "the more that teachers report their school leaders (usually the principal) to be active participants in teacher learning and development, the higher the student outcomes."[323] Similar results were obtained by Vescio and colleagues in a 2008 research synthesis of 11 quasi-experimental, correlational, and descriptive studies (ESSA Tiers 2–4) examining the impact of teachers' participation in professional learning communities. The authors concluded that well-developed professional learning communities have a positive impact on both teaching practice and student achievement. Specifically, teachers became more collaborative and student centered. Studies reporting student learning outcomes indicated that an intense focus on student learning and achievement in the professional learning communities positively impacted student learning.[324]

Well-developed professional learning communities have a positive impact on both teaching practice and student achievement.

More recently, Kraft and Papay's 2014 quasi-experimental study (ESSA Tier 2), which employed regression analysis and a large database, showed greater teacher effectiveness and stronger outcomes in schools with collaborative teams and learning opportunities.[325] Darling-Hammond, Hyler, and Gardner's 2017 review of 35 methodologically rigorous studies demonstrating a positive link between teacher professional development, teaching practices, and student outcomes found that high-quality professional development creates space for teachers to share ideas and collaborate in their learning, often in job-embedded contexts. By working collaboratively, teachers can create communities that positively change the culture and instruction of their entire grade level, department, school, and/or district.[326]

Another 2017 study by Ingersoll and colleagues on school leadership used regression analysis of national survey data (ESSA Tier 3) to examine the relationship between eight measures of teacher leadership in schools and student achievement, as measured by the percentile ranking of a school's student proficiency levels and controlling for school-level characteristics. The researchers found that all eight measures of teacher leadership were positively and significantly associated with student achievement. These findings were robust: "regardless of the type of school, increases in the role of teachers in leadership are strongly associated with improvements in student achievement."[327]

Finally, promising research on union-management partnerships suggests benefits for students. Using a combination of surveys, interviews, observations, and student performance data from 27 schools, Rubinstein & McCarthy used regressions that controlled for poverty and student baseline test scores (ESSA Tier 3). They found that the strength of teacher union-management partnerships is a strong predictor of student performance over time and is mediated by stronger educator collaboration at the school.[328] This research confirmed their earlier 2012 case study research finding that collaboration between teacher unions, management, and districts is both possible and necessary for district reform.[329]

The Impact of Collaborative Leadership and Practice on Conditions Thought to Produce Positive Student Outcomes

A substantial number of studies have found that collaboration in schools facilitates the development of relational trust, teacher feelings of efficacy, and strong ties between parents, communities, and educators. Although these conditions are associated with positive student outcomes in the research previously noted, the studies discussed here did not examine the impact on student outcomes. For example, Sergiovanni's 2000 narrative review of research (ESSA Tier 4) on leadership in schools found that school climates that are supportive, focus on shared decision making, and have a common sense of purpose can lead to cooperative relationships and increased teacher motivation, efficacy, and accountability, all important factors in student achievement.[330]

A substantial number of studies have found that collaboration in schools facilitates the development of relational trust, teacher feelings of efficacy, and strong ties between parents, communities, and educators.

Similarly, Spillane and Diamond found that when teachers, parents, and community members work together intentionally, they have the time, space, and support to address issues collaboratively, analyzing the challenges they face and developing collective solutions (ESSA Tier 4).[331] Bryk and colleagues (discussed above) found that the relational trust fostered by collaborative relationships enhanced the capacity of stakeholders and the school to develop a common vision and strategy for improving the culture and learning environment.[332] Building on Bryk's prior research, Mapp conducted qualitative case study research (ESSA Tier 4) on family-school partnerships. Those cases show that as schools built the capacities of staff, families, and communities to work together under the conditions identified as essential by Bryk—effective leadership, the professional capacity of staff, a student-centered learning climate, and instructional support and guidance—dramatic shifts took place in the culture and climate.[333] Studies by Richardson, Sanders, and Warren (ESSA Tier 4) all found that such relationships also make it easier for schools to identify families' and students' particular needs and provide appropriate supports.[334]

Leithwood and colleagues' 2006 review of research (ESSA Tiers 3 and 4) found that extending leadership beyond the principal is an important lever for building effective professional learning communities in schools.[335] A growing body of research also finds evidence that strong professional communities characterized by close collaborative relationships among teachers who are focused on student learning foster teachers' sharing of expertise and learning. Sebring concluded from the Chicago studies discussed earlier, "By engaging in reflective dialogue about teaching and learning, teachers deepen their understanding and expand their instructional repertoire."[336]

Kraft and Papay's recent study of the effects of professional environments in schools on teacher development found that teachers who reported working in more supportive environments tended to improve their effectiveness over time more than teachers in less supportive environments. Using data from teachers and schools in an urban district in North Carolina that employs over 9,000 teachers, the researchers used teacher responses to a state working conditions survey to understand the professional environment based on five elements: order and discipline, peer collaboration, principal leadership, professional development, school culture, and teacher evaluation. Using

statistical analyses with controls, they found that on average, "after 10 years, teachers at a school with a more supportive professional environment move upwards in the distribution of overall teacher effectiveness by approximately one-fifth of a standard deviation more than teachers who work in less supportive professional environments."[337]

Darling-Hammond and Richardson's 2009 review of research on teacher learning found that effective professional development occurs in such communities of practice and that collaborative and collegial learning environments promote school improvement beyond individual classrooms.[338] Such practices can improve school climate and student engagement as well.[339] Darling-Hammond and Richardson describe the focus and outcomes of studies related to teacher learning in peer-reviewed academic journals, professional handbooks, and policy-relevant publications. They also provide two in-depth examples of professional development at individual schools.[340] They concluded that the evidence supports positive outcomes on teacher learning from professional development that is collaborative and collegial, intensive, and sustained over time. Specifically, such professional development enables teachers to acquire new knowledge, apply it to practice, and reflect on the results with colleagues.

Evidence supports positive outcomes on teacher learning from professional development that is collaborative and collegial, intensive, and sustained over time. Specifically, such professional development enables teachers to acquire new knowledge, apply it to practice, and reflect on the results with colleagues.

Additionally, other research supports the proposition that when teachers have a role in school decision making, they tend to feel more motivated and efficacious.[341] For example, Ross and colleagues' 2003 study of 2,170 teachers in 141 elementary schools found that teacher ownership in school processes (school goals, schoolwide collaboration, fit of plans with school needs, and empowering school leadership) exerted a strong influence on collective teacher efficacy, or the teachers' expectations of their own effectiveness.[342] Other studies found that when teachers see themselves as part of a collaborative team that is working to improve their schools, feel supported by school leadership, and feel they have influence over their work environments, they are more likely to stay at a school.[343]

The Impact of Collaborative Leadership and Practice in Community Schools

Although there is not a large base of research on collaborative leadership and practice in community schools specifically, several studies provide useful insight and promising evidence that the positive impact of school collaboration described above also occurs in community schools.

Case studies and quantitative research suggest that collaborative relationships in community schools can have benefits for students, families, and communities.[344] Sanders' 2016 study and Richardson's 2009 studies (ESSA Tier 4) highlight how, in community schools, school leaders influence organizational processes and structures that in turn influence student outcomes.

As Richardson explains, the relationships "between leadership, collaborative partners, and organizational development build on each other over time, producing, in a best-case scenario, a sustainable successful institution."[345]

The school that had the highest capacity also had more expansive school partnerships with community groups, and the principal had exercised greater relational and political leadership.

Blank, Jacobson, and Melaville's 2012 qualitative study (ESSA Tier 4) of partnerships in seven communities helps inform our understanding of how collaboration in community schools works. They conducted interviews and reviewed documents to better understand what they deemed to be robust networks with schools, districts, unions, local government agencies, and other organizations. They found that the ability of community schools to deliver positive results is strengthened when school and community leaders partner around a common vision, develop collaborative structures, continue to dialogue about challenges and solutions, share data, are supported by central offices, and can leverage community resources and funding streams.[346]

Case studies (ESSA Tier 4) of community schools in Oakland found that as adults collaborated to address barriers to learning and improve instruction, the school climate improved.[347] In addition, a qualitative dissertation study (ESSA Tier 4) conducted by a director of the Beacon school support program in San Francisco sheds light on the mechanisms underlying these impacts. It found that when principals, Beacon directors, community school directors, and lead agency partners shared decision-making power in schools, the relationships became elevated to more committed partnerships.[348] In particular, when school teams, which had school leadership and/or a community school or a Beacon director participating, developed a common agenda or mutually agreed upon goals, they were more cohesive than school teams that didn't share decision-making power. In this scenario, partners could come together to make decisions feeling valued and respected.[349] Collaborative efforts with community school directors and other school and community stakeholders make it possible for the resources to be better leveraged and aligned to meet student needs.[350]

Sanders' 2016 case study examined effectiveness in three community schools as measured by the school's capacity to improve academic and behavioral outcomes of students, attendance, and student mobility and suspension rates as well as parent engagement. This study found that community school directors played critical roles in developing community partnerships by assisting principals with establishing and maintaining partnerships. One community school director in this study explained his relationship with the principal in the following way: "Basically, in terms of my understanding of the agreement with the principal, he is the principal in the school, and I am the principal vis-a-vis the community."[351] The school that had the highest capacity also had more expansive school partnerships with community groups, and the principal had exercised greater relational and political leadership. Similarly, Richardson's 2009 case study of community schools found that principals and community school directors can be more effective when both are actively engaged in developing and maintaining community partnerships.[352]

Community partnerships

Although the nature of partnerships varies by community, the active engagement of local partners is essential to the successful implementation of a community school strategy. Partnerships

can be with different kinds of organizations that are based in the local community and concerned with education, including nonprofit organizations, private agencies serving youth and families, faith-based institutions, neighborhood groups, and civic organizations. Although there is not a large base of quantitative research on community partnerships in community schools, Blank, Jacobson, and Melaville's 2012 qualitative study (ESSA Tier 4) of such partnerships in seven communities helps inform our understanding of how they work. They found that community schools are best able to show positive results when school and community leaders work collaboratively toward a common vision with continuous dialogue about challenges and solutions, receive support from central offices, and can leverage community resources and funding streams.[353]

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Effectively Implementing Collaborative Leadership and Practice Strategies

The planning and implementation of collaborative leadership and practice are essential to success. In a 2001 study (ESSA Tier 3) of schools with comprehensive school, family, and community partnership programs, Sanders found that schools that had widespread support for collaboration were more likely to be successful. Some schools faced barriers to such partnerships, including difficulties identifying community partners, time constraints, and a lack of leaders to facilitate and coordinate activities.[354] We conclude this section by examining the implementation of collaborative practices.

As we describe in more detail below, research suggests that the following conditions can facilitate effective collaborative practices:

- Collaborative goal setting: Stakeholders benefit from having time to assess issues, set goals, and make plans together.
- Capacity building: Collective leadership development, supports, and models help build capacity.
- Process: Designated times and processes for collaboration among stakeholders increase success by allowing for time to reflect and make improvements in structured ways.
- Relationships and structure: Formal relationships and structures help sustain participation and leadership.[355]

Collaborative goal setting

Collaborative forms of goal setting are important at both the school and district levels. Superintendents' collaborative goal setting involves relevant stakeholders (including central office staff, building-level administrators, and board members) and is associated with improved student outcomes.[356] In 2008, Robinson and colleagues' conducted a meta-analysis of 22 peer-reviewed studies (ESSA Tiers 2 and 3) that looked at the impact of leadership on a variety of

student outcomes. They found that goal setting has indirect effects on students by focusing and coordinating the work of teachers and parents.[357] Many of the studies reviewed demonstrated that relationships were key to successful communication of goals and expectations[358] and that staff consensus about goals significantly differentiated between high- and low-performing schools.[359]

Capacity development

Capacity for improvement, as defined by Heck and Hallinger, is a "set of conditions that support teaching and learning, enable the professional learning of the staff, and provide a means for implementing strategic action aimed at continuous improvement."[360] Support from leadership and direct participation in learning are important for successful capacity building. Leithwood and colleagues' 2006 review of qualitative and quantitative research found that practices designed to develop school stakeholders' capacities, such as offering intellectual stimulation and providing support and appropriate models of best practice and beliefs that are considered fundamental to the organization, have made substantial contributions to school improvement.[361] Bryk and colleagues found that leadership can function as a catalytic agent for systemic improvement and enhance the faculty's professional capabilities, supporting effective school improvement.[362] Hallinger's 2011 review of empirical research found that principals can only achieve success by enlisting the cooperation of others and that leadership should be aimed at building the school's capacity for improvement.[363]

Process

Designated times in which stakeholders can work together to honestly and constructively solve problems are essential to collaborative processes.[364] School leadership is key to opening such processes with school and community stakeholders.[365] In a 2016 study (ESSA Tier 4) of community schools in Oakland, Fehrer and Leos-Urbel found that while principals with collaborative approaches were a guiding force, partner agencies, community school managers, and families played integral roles in shaping a school's vision, coordination, and management.[366]

Relationships and structures

Formal relationships and collaborative structures, including regular meetings, assigned roles, and consistent practices, can support collaboration among stakeholders.[367] Leadership that is both supportive and challenging can help change attitudes, beliefs, and practices for effective implementation.[368] Sanders' forthcoming study on leadership in community schools found that principals who were able to actively engage with diverse stakeholders, facilitate stakeholder interaction, and purposefully select faculty and staff to maintain collaborative school cultures could attract partnerships that were beneficial to the school community and garner continued political and financial support to sustain the community school strategy.[369]

In sum, looking across all four pillars, there is strong research supporting integrated student supports, expanded learning time and opportunities, and family and community engagement. There is promising evidence supporting the positive impact of the type of collaborative leadership and practices found in community schools.

7. Pulling It All Together: Research on Comprehensive Community Schools

This report defines comprehensive community school initiatives as those that seek to implement most or all of the four community school pillars: (1) integrated student supports, (2) expanded learning time and opportunities, (3) family and community engagement, and (4) collaborative leadership and practice. The complexity of this approach cannot be overstated: Pulling these pillars together into a coherent intervention requires coordination of many moving parts. These initiatives can be carried out at an individual school level or as a systemwide reform within a school district, city, or county. In the latter case, a subset of schools is often selected to participate because of specific concerns about low test scores and a high rate of students struggling with challenges, such as poverty and exposure to trauma. While the community schools approach can be applied in schools that do not operate under these adverse conditions, it is most often used as a "turnaround" strategy with a focus on improving students' outcomes.

What Does a Comprehensive Community School Look Like in Action?

The class assignment: Design an iPad video game. For the player to win, a cow must cross a two-lane highway, dodging constant traffic. If she makes it, the sound of clapping is heard; if she's hit by a car, the game says, "Aw."

"Let me show you my notebook where I wrote the algorithm. An algorithm is like a recipe," Leila, one of the students in the class, explained to the school official who described the scene to me.

You might assume these were gifted students at an elite school. Instead they were 7-year-olds, second graders in the Union Public Schools district in the eastern part of Tulsa, OK, where more than a third of the students are Latino, many of them English learners, and 70% receive free or reduced-price lunch. From kindergarten through high school, they get a state-of-the-art education in science, technology, engineering and mathematics.

The school district realized, as Cathy Burden, who retired in 2013 after 19 years as superintendent, put it, that "focusing entirely on academics wasn't enough, especially for poor kids." Beginning in 2004, Union started revamping its schools into what are generally known as community schools. These schools open early, so parents can drop off their kids on their way to work, and stay open late and during summers. They offer students the cornucopia of activities—art, music, science, sports, tutoring—that middle-class families routinely provide. They operate as neighborhood hubs, providing families with access to a health care clinic in the school or nearby; connecting parents to job-training opportunities; delivering clothing, food, furniture and bikes; and enabling teenage mothers to graduate by offering day care for their infants.

Two fifth graders guided me around one of these community schools, Christa McAuliffe Elementary, a sprawling brick building surrounded by acres of athletic fields. It was more than an hour after the school day ended, but the building buzzed, with choir practice, art classes, a soccer club, a student newspaper (the editors interviewed me), and a garden where students were growing corn and radishes. Tony, one of my young guides, performed in a folk dance troupe. The walls were festooned with family photos under a banner that said, "We Are All Family."

This environment reaps big dividends—attendance and test scores have soared in the community schools, while suspensions have plummeted. "None of this happened overnight," Ms. Burden recalled. "We were very intentional—we started with a prototype program, like community schools, tested it out and gradually expanded it. The model was organic—it grew because it was the right thing to do."

Source: Kirp, D. (2017, April 1). Who needs charters when you have public schools like these? *The New York Times.* https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/01/opinion/sunday/who-needs-charters-when-you-have-public-schools-like-these.html?_r=0.

This section explores the efficacy of comprehensive community school initiatives implemented across multiple school sites. Although the evidence base is still developing—both in terms of the number of peer-reviewed studies and the rigor of those studies—promising results emerge for short-term student outcomes, and there is some evidence of longer term positive outcomes. This chapter first identifies the academic, behavioral, and social-emotional outcomes that have been the focus of community school evaluations. It then tells of places that have implemented the community school pillars with a comprehensive approach, including a review of the evidence associated with each initiative. It also reviews the evidence about how implementation impacts outcomes for community schools. It concludes by discussing community schools' potential to address out-of-school barriers, reduce achievement gaps, and yield cost-benefit savings.

Community Schools Research Focuses on Multiple Student Outcomes

Community schools have historically focused on strengthening neighborhoods and civil society, as discussed in Chapter 1 of this report, and some initiatives maintain this emphasis today. However, these broad social outcomes are rarely examined in the contemporary evidence base. Instead, current research on community schools emphasizes three main outcome categories, or themes, which will guide the discussion of evidence presented in this chapter: (1) academics, (2) behavior, and (3) social-emotional learning. The bulk of this evidence is evaluation research, conducted to assess the implementation and impact of particular programs, often in a specific location, and to inform decision makers. As we note in what follows, many of these studies employ careful designs and rigorous methods. Therefore, we also categorize them using the ESSA evidence tiers.

Most evaluation research emphasizes academic outcomes, using statistical methods to analyze student achievement measures, such as test scores and grades. Dropout, graduation, and course completion rates (including credit attainment, grade promotion, and high school graduation) have also received attention in the literature.

Behavioral outcomes are another important measure of community school success, as they indicate whether these reforms are impacting the "whole child." Attendance is a frequently studied behavioral outcome, as defined by average daily attendance and chronic absenteeism. Student discipline and other behavioral outcomes, such as nutrition and teen pregnancy, are also addressed in the community schools literature. The evaluation research examining these outcomes primarily involves statistical analyses of administrative records and some self-reported survey data for longer term measures.

Social-emotional learning has received a great deal of attention in recent years and is a bedrock of the community schools approach. To target the whole child, community schools focus on improving mental health, strengthening relationships, and creating positive school climate in addition to raising academic achievement. However, the community schools literature considers these aims less frequently than it does academic and behavioral outcomes. Evaluations that do address this topic tend to

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focus on changes in student attitudes and dispositions, peer and teacher relationships, and overall school climate. Another social-emotional indicator is collective trust, or trust among students, parents, and teachers in a school. This indicator is only included in one evaluation, although it is closely tied to the concept that community school practices help to create the conditions found in any high-quality school. Much of the literature on social-emotional outcomes employs statistical analyses of self-reported survey data from students, parents, and teachers.

According to a results-based logic model developed by the Coalition for Community Schools, some of these outcomes are expected to manifest before others.[370] In particular, attendance is often viewed as a leading indicator of success for community school initiatives. Students need to be present before they can experience any other benefits from the community schools approach. The Coalition's results-based framework also identifies student involvement with learning as well as family and community engagement with the school as additional leading indicators of success. If students are present, engaged, and supported by their families and communities, then longer term impacts, such as improving test scores and reducing the achievement gap become possible. The Coalition's framework identifies student health, social-emotional competence, school climate, and community safety, in addition to academic success, as long-term indicators of success.

From the perspective of this framework, it is reasonable to assume that these long-term results would only look substantially different for students or institutions with sustained exposure to the community schools approach. When evaluating comprehensive community school initiatives, it is important to understand that attendance gains are expected to come first and that changes in longer term results require time and patience to manifest. Daniel, Welner, and Valladares confirm this perspective by finding that full implementation of complex change efforts can take 5 to 10 years, with schools generally achieving partial implementation in the first 3 to 4 years of these efforts.[371] School improvement is a process that begins with challenges to the status quo followed by the reshaping of roles, rules, and responsibilities. Therefore, evaluations of school reform success should use multiple and interim measures.

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Several prior reports on comprehensive community school evaluations have synthesized findings for these outcome areas. In a 2000 study, Dryfoos reviewed evaluations of 49 community school initiatives and found that 36 of the programs reported academic gains.[372] In addition, 11 programs reported reductions in suspension rates and other behavioral issues, while at least 12 programs reported increases in parental involvement. In a 2003 study, Blank, Melaville, and Shah found evidence of notable improvements in student learning, family engagement, school effectiveness (including strength of parent-teacher relationships, teacher satisfaction, and school environment), and community vitality (including effective use of school buildings, neighborhood pride, and safety) for 20 community school initiatives.[373] More recently, a 2016 report from Heers and colleagues drew upon 57 academic studies to empirically examine the link between major community school activities and their associated outcomes.[374] This portion of their analysis did not include direct evaluations of community school initiatives (as presented in this chapter) but, rather, examined

studies empirically linking the specified activity (such as cooperation between the school and external partner organizations) with the outcome of interest (such as academic achievement).[375] The authors found that both cooperation with external institutions and parental involvement are associated with improved academic achievement and reduced dropout and risky behavior rates. They also found that extracurricular activities are associated with reduced dropout and risky behavior rates (but not with improved academic performance).

These syntheses provide a helpful starting point to understand outcomes for comprehensive community school initiatives; the current report builds upon the existing evidence by reviewing a number of direct program evaluations that were released after the publication of the 2000 and 2003 studies. Since these studies were released, there has been an increasing investment in community school initiatives and thus growth in evaluation research, particularly for systems-level initiatives implemented at multiple sites. Furthermore, this report considers evaluation research findings that were not included in the 2016 study. The sections that follow provide evidence of academic, behavioral, and social-emotional outcomes associated with a variety of local community school initiatives.

Evaluation Research on Local Community School Initiatives

This section provides evidence from quasi-experimental (ESSA Tier 2) evaluation research on community school initiatives in different parts of the United States. In addition, it reviews several descriptive evaluations (ESSA Tier 4) that employ a rigorous, mixed-methods approach to assessing student outcomes. See the Research Compendium for a review of additional studies that are not described at length here. Although the number of sites and students included in each study varies, these are all examinations of systems-level initiatives that involve multiple community schools. While all of the outcome categories addressed in the previous section are considered in this review, not every study addresses all three categories.

Community schools in Tulsa

Some public schools in Tulsa, OK, offer a holistic community schools model representing the full range of pillars we identified earlier in this paper. Core components of the program at the time of the evaluation included

- cross-boundary leadership shared by school and community members (aligns with the collaborative leadership and practice pillar in this report);
- holistic programs, services, and opportunities attending to the academic, emotional, physical, cognitive, and social needs of the whole child (aligns with the integrated student supports pillar in this report);
- community and family engagement grounded in reciprocity and trust (aligns with the family and community engagement pillar in this report); and
- community-based learning in real-world contexts (aligns with the expanded learning time and opportunities pillar in this report).[376]

Evaluation research in Tulsa adds to our understanding of the impact of community schools on academic outcomes, finding that well-implemented community schools had significantly higher test scores after several years of implementation, compared to other schools in the area. It also shows that collective trust among students, teachers, and parents is a strong predictor of these achievement gains. Adams obtained these finding in 2010 by using a quasi-experimental approach (ESSA Tier 2) to compare outcomes for 18 Tulsa Area Community Schools Initiative (TACSI) schools to outcomes for 18 carefully selected non-community comparison schools.[377]

Specifically, by the 3rd and 4th years of the reform, students at fully implemented community schools were scoring approximately 30 points above the average score of 747 in mathematics and approximately 19 points above the average score of 731 in reading. These well-implemented schools stood out, in that across all schools there were no significant differences between 5th-grade standardized mathematics and reading test scores when controlling for prior test score performance. However, after accounting for the implementation status of community schools through a rating scale based on teacher survey data, a reading and mathematics achievement effect emerged with particularly strong results for mathematics.[378] Although the pre-reform data showed that students at fully implemented community schools scored slightly higher initially on mathematics and reading than students at other schools, the post-reform differences were significantly greater than the earlier ones.[379]

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The analysis of survey data from TACSI sites also found that collective trust among students, teachers, and parents was a strong school-level predictor of mathematics and reading achievement.[380] Student trust in teachers and faculty trust in students and parents were also significantly higher in schools more fully implementing the TACSI model. This evaluation underscores the importance of carefully implementing a comprehensive community schools approach and suggests that positive relationships facilitate productive teaching and learning, leading to increased student achievement.

Harlem Children's Zone in New York City

The Harlem Children's Zone (HCZ) provides a variety of social services to children and families living within a 97-block area of New York City and also operates several charter elementary and middle schools within the area. Although the HCZ schools are not usually called community schools, we include them in our analysis because they incorporate community school elements, including an extended school day and year (aligned with the ELT/O pillar); free medical, dental, and mental health services; and high-quality, nutritious meals (aligned with the integrated student supports pillar). In addition, families receive food baskets, meals, and bus fare (aligned with the family and community engagement pillar), and early education is available at the elementary school starting at age 3. The outside-school elements include more than 20 programs representing broad investments in community development within the Harlem area, such as parent education

programs, after-school programs available at public schools, a college success office, community health programs, foster care prevention services, and tax assistance. These programs are available to anyone living in or near the HCZ.

Research on the impact of attending a school that is part of the HCZ provides insight about academic and behavioral outcomes. In the short term, HCZ students had significantly higher test scores and lower absence rates than students attending other schools, and in the long term, former HCZ students were significantly more likely to succeed in high school, enroll in college, and avoid pregnancy and incarceration as teenagers. Dobbie and Fryer obtained these results in 2010 and 2013 using a quasi-experimental approach (ESSA Tier 2) that compared students who were offered admission to an HCZ school through a randomized lottery to those who did not receive a lottery offer and therefore attended another school.[381]

In the short term, Harlem Children's Zone students had significantly higher test scores and lower absence rates than students attending other schools, and in the long term, former HCZ students were significantly more likely to succeed in high school, enroll in college, and avoid pregnancy and incarceration as teenagers.

Specifically, in 2010 they found that HCZ elementary and middle school students scored significantly higher on mathematics and reading tests than students who attended schools that did not offer the within-school community school elements, and the HCZ students were absent for 2 to 4 fewer days in the first year of school.[382] However, there was no additional effect attributable to the outside-school services alone, and there was no significant difference in middle school matriculation rates for HCZ students compared to other students.[383]

A 2013 follow-up study found additional evidence of academic gains. Six years after a random admissions lottery, students offered admission to the HCZ middle school scored significantly higher on a nationally normed mathematics exam than their peers who were not offered admission, although reading scores did not differ significantly.[384] Lottery winners also passed more statewide subject exams for high school graduation, achieved higher scores on these exams, and were 14.1% more likely to enroll in college.[385] Some long-term behavioral outcomes were also improved. Female HCZ lottery winners were 12.1% less likely to become pregnant as teenagers, compared to applicants who were not admitted, and male lottery winners were 4.3% less likely to be incarcerated.[386] Self-reported outcomes for drug and alcohol use, criminal behavior, and mental/physical health did not differ significantly between the two groups (except that lottery winners were significantly more likely to report healthy eating habits). The authors point out that there is always a danger that participants will underreport risky behavior to avoid social judgment. Dobbie and Fryer found no additional effect attributable to the outside-school services alone. Overall, there is clear evidence that HCZ students who had access to comprehensive in-school supports thrived academically in both the short term and the long term. Neighborhood services alone did not seem to contribute added value.

Eisenhower community schools

Starting in 2000, the Eisenhower Foundation established the Full-Service Community Schools replication initiative among a cohort of schools in four states: Iowa, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Washington. The initiative is designed to apply best practices derived from successfully operating community schools to help participating schools make the change from a traditional model to a comprehensive services model. In this initiative, full-service community schools are schools with academic, enrichment, behavioral health, wellness, and social service components (aligned with the integrated student supports pillar), which stay open past the regular school day (aligned with the ELT/O pillar), and which include parents, families, and community members in their "target markets" for programs and services (aligned with the family and community engagement pillar).

Evaluation research for the Eisenhower initiative adds to our understanding of the impact of community schools on academic, behavioral, and social-emotional outcomes, with varied results found across eight school sites. Students participating in academically oriented community school programming significantly improved their grades, particularly for mathematics. Attendance and behavioral gains were significant in some instances and nonsignificant in others. Students also reported significantly increased positive responses to a variety of social-emotional survey measures.

LaFrance Associates obtained these results from a series of studies using experimental (ESSA Tier 1) and quasi-experimental (ESSA Tier 2) techniques.[387] Specifically, the researchers used logic models to identify expected outcomes for participating students and families. They then compared outcomes for students who participated in community school services with those who did not, accounting for demographic differences between the two groups of students through statistical controls.[388] At two school sites in Pennsylvania and Washington, students were randomly assigned to participate in after-school programs at their full-service community schools.

In terms of academic outcomes, Iowa, Maryland, and Washington middle school students who participated in academically oriented community school programming showed significantly greater improvements in their mathematics grades over the course of the school year than students who did not participate, with an average improvement of more than half a course grade. In Pennsylvania, students at one middle school who received tutoring and homework assistance achieved significantly greater improvements in their English language arts grades than students who did not, gaining the equivalent of a half-grade boost for every 10 additional days of participation. However, Pennsylvania students at another Eisenhower-funded middle school showed significantly less progress on their English language arts grades, relative to students who did not participate in full-service community school activities. The researchers note, however, that community school participants had higher English grades at the beginning of the school year, which may have contributed to their slower rate of growth over the course of the year.

In terms of behavioral outcomes, students at one Iowa middle school who participated in community school activities showed significantly greater improvements in attendance compared to nonparticipants, although the practical effect of 1.5 fewer days missed per year was small. In Washington, students who participated in community school services had significantly fewer disciplinary offenses than students who did not participate, although again, the practical effect of one fewer offense over the course of the year was small. Attendance and disciplinary outcomes were either nonsignificant or lacking data in the other three states.

In terms of social-emotional outcomes, Iowa middle school students who participated in community school services were more than three times as likely as non-participants to report an increase in the extent to which they respect other people's feelings, and were 13.5 times more likely to have increased their belief that an adult other than a parent/guardian expects them to follow the rules. In Pennsylvania, participating students were 4.8 times more likely to report new friendships, and 6.8 times more likely to report an improved sense of safety at school, compared to non-participants. In Washington, participating students were 5.3 times more likely to report an improved sense that they learn a lot at school, 7.5 times more likely to report an increase in homework completion, and 5.2 times more likely to report an increase in having friends who want them to stay out of trouble.[389] In Maryland, results for participating students were mostly nonsignificant, although students, parents, and teachers reported positive experiences stemming from their participation in community school programming.

Looking across the many academic and social-emotional outcomes measured in these evaluations, we find greater growth in both domains for students participating in Eisenhower-funded full-service community school programming. Comparisons of some outcomes included in the logic models yield nonsignificant differences at each school site, underscoring the complexity of implementing and evaluating a comprehensive community school approach. Participants did not demonstrate the same rate of improvement for behavioral outcomes, although in many cases incomplete data precluded a full comparison. In addition to the quantitative data presented here, the researchers collected qualitative data from focus groups, interviews, and observations, which showed that participating students, parents, and teachers valued the full-service community school programming and felt that it was positively impacting their schools.

Baltimore community schools

In 2012, Baltimore City Public Schools partnered with the Family League of Baltimore to open 26 community schools, in addition to the 11 community schools that the Family League was already operating independently. The initiative continued to expand in the following years, so that by 2015–16, a total of 51 community schools had been established as part of the Family League initiative. Each school provides after-school programming (aligned with the ELT/O pillar), and employs a full-time coordinator to facilitate communication between school leadership, families, and community-based organizations (aligned with the integrated student supports pillar). Additional services and supports are tailored to the needs of each school community (potentially aligned with the family and community engagement and collaborative leadership and practice pillars). Baltimore community schools serve a significantly higher proportion of students from low-income families and English learner students than other district schools.

Although measures of academic outcomes were not investigated in preliminary evaluations, research on these Baltimore schools provides insight about the positive impact of community schools on behavioral and social-emotional outcomes, finding significantly higher attendance rates for community schools operating for 5 or more years, compared to non-community schools in the district. At the same time, however, suspension rates and staff perceptions of school climate did not differ significantly for community schools. The Baltimore Education Research Consortium obtained these results from two quasi-experimental (ESSA Tier 2) evaluations, using statistical controls to account for demographic differences between community and non-community schools. [390]

An initial evaluation found that community schools operating for 5 or more years increased average daily attendance and reduced chronic absence rates significantly more than non-community schools.[391] While all schools experienced an overall decline in suspension rates, community schools did not differ significantly from comparison schools in disciplinary or attendance rates.[392] Staff perceptions of school climate at community schools did not differ significantly from non-community schools, although this may have been partially due to high rates of principal turnover that decreased school climate scores across the board.[393]

An initial evaluation found that Baltimore community schools operating for 5 or more years increased average daily attendance and reduced chronic absence rates significantly more than non-community schools.

Two years later, attendance rates were significantly higher for elementary and middle school students in community schools operating for at least 3 to 5 years, compared to those in non-community schools.[394] Transfers out of community schools were also 3.7% less common for older students, relative to those not attending community schools.[395] This may indicate that community schools are a place where students want to be. As with the earlier study, no significant differences emerged between community and non-community schools in measures of organizational health and school climate. Principal turnover continued to be a challenge. Parents of community school students more often reported that school staff connected them with community resources, compared to parents at other schools. They were also more likely to report that school staff cared about their children and that the school was working closely with them to help their children learn.

The Baltimore results underscore the importance of allowing sufficient time for community school programs to mature, showing that patience is key when evaluating these initiatives.

Chicago Public Schools Community Schools Initiative

The Chicago Public Schools Community Schools Initiative (CSI) started in 2003 and focuses on Chicago's highest need schools. It builds upon the framework established by the federal 21st Century Community Learning Centers after-school program, as well as local and national community school designs. Participating schools forge connections with lead partner agencies to stay open longer (aligned with the ELT/O pillar), offer resources, such as gyms and computer rooms for after-school and community use (aligned with the integrated student supports pillar), fully engage parents (aligned with the family and community engagement pillar), and deepen social and family support services. A combination of quantitative and qualitative evaluation data, while descriptive in nature, paints a rich picture of the overall status of the districtwide initiative, as well as the reality of implementation at individual schools.

Evaluation research in Chicago adds to our understanding of the impact of community schools on academic outcomes, as well as the school and community contexts that can influence the implementation of this multifaceted approach. CSI schools as a whole started out with lower test scores than the district average and narrowed this gap over 5 years. Whalen obtained these results using a mixed-methods approach, including analysis of administrative data, site visits, and interviews (ESSA Tier 4).[396] While the schools themselves were able to offer more enrichment

activities and better engage members of the school community in decision making, they still experienced the challenges of operating within low-income neighborhoods.

Whalen's 2007 evaluation found that after 3 years of CSI implementation, the number of CSI students meeting or exceeding Illinois state test standards in reading, mathematics, and science was comparable to district averages.[397] Because CSI schools started out with lower test scores, these gains suggest that they were able to close the achievement gap when compared to Chicago Public School (CPS) district averages. For example, Chicago schools overall gained 37.6% in mathematics performance from 2001 to 2006, while CSI schools gained 46.3%. Similar patterns were observed with reading scores. In addition, community schools with the most experience implementing 21st Century Community Learning Center programming had significantly better test score gains than newer schools.[398] The two groups of schools performed at similar levels for the first few years of the initiative, but the more experienced did considerably better in later years.

This study did not control for factors other than the CSI initiative that might have impacted school outcomes during the analysis period. Although CSI schools may have experienced other districtwide reforms during this time, it is reasonable to assume that systematic changes applying just to CSI schools were most likely related to community school programming. For example, during this period, CSI schools increased the total number of hours of school-related activity by roughly 50%, offered an average of 12 out-of-school-time enrichment activities per year, and established committees with an average of 10 members, including school staff, parents, students, business representatives, funders, and other community partners.

Case studies released the following year, in 2008, also found a variety of promising student outcomes at CSI schools.[399] Burnham/Anthony Mathematics and Science Academy made substantial progress from 2002 to 2007 in increasing the percentage of students meeting or exceeding state proficiency goals on academic tests. The school outperformed the CPS average in the final 2 years of the study. The percentage of Burnham/Anthony graduates on track to graduate high school as incoming 9th graders also steadily increased, exceeding 60% and outperforming the CPS average in 2 out of the 3 final years of the study. For Chavez Multicultural Academic Center, the number of students meeting Illinois grade-level standards improved by 96%. The school began to match or exceed CPS averages in the final 3 years of the study. In 2003–07, the attendance rate at Chavez was 3.74% higher than that of the district.

At Burroughs Elementary, where one third of students qualified for bilingual support, more than 70% met or exceeded state reading standards, and over 80% met or exceeded state mathematics standards, outperforming CPS averages. Notably, this study also investigated changes in neighborhood conditions. Crime statistics indicated that Burroughs' immediate neighborhood was consistently safer than those of any other school in Brighton Park. Teachers and parents reported that principal leadership has played a role in improving safety near the school. The principal frequently attended community events and visited students' homes, building a sense of trust with local residents. After gang-related violence occurred near the school one summer, the principal opened the cafeteria, provided food, and helped to facilitate a community meeting addressing the issue. No one would claim that the principal, or the Burroughs community as a whole, is solely responsible for lowering crime rates in the vicinity, but this example shows how a community school can function as a hub for bringing people together to address neighborhood issues.

Other schools in the study made less consistent progress, underscoring the uneven implementation that tends to characterize any large-scale school reform effort. Henson and Hertzl Elementary schools both exhibited test score improvements after several years of community school implementation, but overall student proficiency levels still lagged behind district averages by the end of the study. Because the CSI initiative is focused on Chicago's highest need schools, external circumstances can pose a challenge to implementation. For example, after meeting federally established test score improvement benchmarks in 2006, Henson experienced a setback the following year after it absorbed half the population from a neighboring school that closed. At Hertzl, most families experienced financial, housing, safety, and health-related stress on a daily basis. While Hertzl offered a variety of support services, the reality of life outside the walls of the school building still intruded. After many years of strong leadership from a veteran principal on the verge of retirement, the school community faced uncertainty about how to maintain positive momentum under new leadership. These challenges are common to many low-income, urban schools, where test scores are closely related to the demographics of the student body, and the presence (or absence) of strong principal leadership can make (or break) a school.

As a whole, the Chicago evaluation results suggest that a comprehensive community schools approach can help to turn around academic performance in low-performing schools, especially over multiple years of implementation. Yet even schools with strong leadership and student supports are subject to the instability and stresses brought about by poverty and violence, which can result in uneven progress.

Even schools with strong leadership and student supports are subject to the instability and stresses brought about by poverty and violence, which can result in uneven progress.

Hartford Community Schools

Hartford Community Schools (HCS) in Connecticut began in 2009 with a broad array of services for students and families, including after-school programming and school day enrichments (aligned with the ELT/O pillar), community partnerships (aligned with the integrated student supports pillar), and family engagement efforts (aligned with the family and community engagement pillar). Community school directors play a key leadership role, as does the lead agency at each school site (aligned with the collaborative leadership and practice pillar). Recent areas of focus include aligning after-school and daytime instruction, building a stronger academic element into after-school programming, and developing targeted supports for students struggling with academics, attendance, or behavior.

The Hartford evaluation research found positive academic results for community schools. Students participating in academically oriented after-school programming, and those receiving targeted supports due to academic or behavioral challenges, made gains in test scores. Results regarding attendance and disciplinary rates were mixed, with some schools reporting increases in these categories and other schools reporting decreases. School climate survey outcomes were also mixed, with students reporting more favorable perceptions in some instances and less favorable perceptions in others, compared to prior years. Researchers obtained these results from a series of program evaluation studies guided by a theory of change (ESSA Tier 4), which was developed

in partnership with HCS stakeholders and ActKnowledge.[400] The theory of change lays out a clearly articulated long-term goal, the conditions needed to achieve that goal, and data indicators associated with the conditions. The approach, while descriptive in nature, provides rich qualitative and quantitative data to track changes over time, and also contributes information on how the initiative has been implemented.

From 2009 to 2011, there was a slight increase in the number of students scoring proficient on mathematics tests (59% to 62%) and a more substantial increase in the number of students scoring proficient on reading tests (44% to 52%), while writing scores held steady.[401] Improvements were strongest for after-school program participants. A 2015 evaluation found mixed results.[402] Mathematics and reading test scores decreased for students in most community schools, with the exception of after-school program participants, who experienced a significant increase over the course of 3 years in comparison to nonparticipants.[403] The percentage of students who improved one or more levels in both reading and mathematics from 2014 to 2015 also increased, although this was not enough to offset the general test score declines that occurred. Students who received targeted English learner or special education supports also demonstrated substantial test score improvements. During this time, the average number of student absences also increased, while the number of suspensions decreased in some schools and increased in others.

A 2017 follow-up study found that after-school program participants made more substantial improvements on test scores than non-participants.[404] Amount of time spent in the after-school program appeared to play an important role, with a significantly higher increase in test scores for students who participated in the after-school program for 3 or 4 consecutive years, compared to those who participated for less than 2 years. Students receiving specially targeted English learner, special education, academically "at risk," and mental health services had substantial test score and attendance gains. For example, test score improvements for English learner students receiving targeted services improved by an average of 8.4 points for reading and 13.3 points for mathematics across four sites. Rates of chronic absenteeism fell in comparison to the prior year in the five schools with targeted efforts to improve attendance. Students targeted for behavioral interventions, however, showed increases in the rate of mandatory suspensions for disciplinary infractions at all sites except one, which provided mental health supports. School climate survey results were mixed, with some (but not all) sites reporting increases in students' favorable perceptions of peer climate and sense of safety, and other sites reporting decreases.

Students with the longest after-school participation derived the greatest academic benefits, a result that is well aligned with the emphasis on increasing the academic focus of the after-school program.

The Hartford evaluation research clearly shows that the amount of exposure students have to targeted services matters. Students with the longest after-school participation derived the greatest academic benefits, a result that is well aligned with the emphasis on increasing the academic focus of the after-school program. The mixed results for behavioral and social-emotional outcomes underscore the complexity of implementing a comprehensive community schools approach. Qualitative data collected from site visits, focus groups, and interviews highlights the importance of involving multisectoral partners at each level of the system to systematically address

implementation challenges, such as the seven-month vacancy in the position of HCS coordinator during the 2015–16 academic year. These data also showed that HCS practitioners are consistently drawing upon the theory of change to inform their planning efforts and identify best practices.

The Providence Full-Service Community School Initiative

The Providence Full-Service Community School Initiative is operated by the Dorcas Place Adult and Family Learning Center in Providence, RI, with support from the United States Department of Education Full-Service Community Schools Grant Award program. This initiative strives to improve the learning of k–6 students by forging relationships between community agencies and the district's lowest income and highest need elementary schools. Providence was one of the first 10 community school initiatives, funded by the federal government in 2008. Goals include improved child well-being (aligned with the integrated student supports pillar), parent involvement (aligned with the family and community engagement pillar), and school outcomes (aligned with the expanded learning time and opportunities pillar).

Evaluation research in Providence adds to our understanding of positive health and wellness outcomes associated with a comprehensive community schools approach, finding increases in healthy eating and exercise habits for both children and adults. These data were obtained by researchers at the Indiana University Center for Research on Learning and Technology, who conducted an external evaluation over the course of 5 years that included stakeholder interviews, student and parent questionnaires, and analysis of administrative data from participating schools (ESSA Tier 4).[405] This evaluation also sheds light on the successes and challenges of initiating and sustaining comprehensive community schools.

The initiative identified physical health as a target outcome, and provided relevant services, such as healthy eating or exercise classes and school-based produce markets. Researchers used survey data to track nutrition and exercise behaviors of students and parents at three schools over the course of 4 years. Adults reported that both they and their children exercised significantly more over time, both in school and at home. For example, according to parents, the percentage of children participating in daily physical activity at school increased from 16% to 36%, while the percentage of families exercising together increased from 9% to 24%. Parents also reported that the number of daily family dinners at home significantly increased from 30% to 41% during this period. The child version of the survey reached the same conclusions.

This evaluation broadens the conversation beyond traditional outcomes, such as attendance and achievement to show that community schools can help to address other whole-child outcomes. It also documents the lessons learned by key stakeholders at the conclusion of the 5-year federal grant period, including the need to build adequate buy-in from school leaders (a particular challenge given persistent principal turnover) and to make collaborative efforts responsive to school needs while maintaining accountability and systematic implementation across sites. The site director was identified as a key staff member at participating school sites, and as someone who needed a unique skill set to effectively manage relationships, mediate challenges, and serve as a true thought partner to the principal. Finally, the strength of evaluation efforts depended on clearly identifying key outcomes in the early stages of implementing the model and having systems in place for sharing and tracking data.

Cincinnati Public Schools Community Learning Centers

The nationally recognized Cincinnati Public Schools Community Learning Centers (CLC) initiative in Ohio was launched in 2001 to address the growing need for neighborhood-based support services for students, their families, and the general community. Each CLC neighborhood-based "hub" offers targeted support to students and families through a Resource Coordinator who establishes partnerships with community-based organizations. These services include tutoring, college access activities, mentoring, after-school programming, youth leadership initiatives, family engagement opportunities, and health and wellness services (aligned with the integrated student supports, expanded learning time and opportunities, and family and community engagement pillars).

Evaluation research on the impact of CLC provides insight about academic and behavioral outcomes, finding that students receiving CLC services had better attendance and showed significant improvements on state graduation tests. This evidence comes from an internal report compiled by Cincinnati Public Schools in 2012–13 that includes statistical analyses of administrative data for this systems-level initiative (ESSA Tier 4).[406] At the time of the evaluation, 34 school sites had resource coordinators, over 400 community partners were engaged in offering services, and nearly 18,000 students were served at CLC schools.

Participating high school students showed significant improvements on a state-administered standardized graduation test for reading (47% improvement in performance rank associated with tutoring and other intensive interventions) and mathematics (36% improvement in performance rank associated with tutoring). Students receiving CLC classroom enrichment services averaged 2.5 fewer tardies from 2011–12 to 2012–13, while students placed "at risk" who received targeted support benefited even more from classroom enrichment, with 3.33 fewer tardies during that period. Students receiving classroom enrichment services also received an average of 0.39 fewer disciplinary referrals over the course of 1 year. However, improvements on standardized reading and mathematics tests administered in grades 3 through 8 were largely nonsignificant.

This progress report documents the impressive scale at which the CLC initiative is operating, and shows some evidence of positive gains for participating students. To better understand program impact, it would be helpful to see how these student outcomes compare with outcomes from non-participating students or schools.

Summary of student and school outcomes

The local evaluation research described above shows evidence of positive academic, behavioral, and social-emotional gains for students receiving comprehensive community school services. This includes rigorous quasi-experimental evaluations (ESSA Tier 2), along with descriptive evidence (ESSA Tier 4) that elucidates the complex nature of implementing these systems-level initiatives (see the Research Compendium for a summary of additional descriptive evidence not reviewed in this section). The strength of the evidence base rests not on any one evaluation in particular, but on the similarity of effects observed in different contexts.

Local evaluation research shows evidence of positive academic, behavioral, and social-emotional gains for students receiving comprehensive community school services.

For academic outcomes, the bulk of community schools research shows that participating students achieve higher test scores and grades, particularly for mathematics. This finding of greater gains in mathematics is common in education research, since literacy development is more dependent on experiences outside of school, while mathematics instruction takes place mostly in school.[407] Although the evidence does not prove that community school programming caused these gains, a substantial number of academic studies and program evaluations find small but consistent improvements. The evidence base is limited with regard to other academic outcomes, although it does show that the targeting of programs and services (such as intentionally aligning after-school programming with the instructional day, or matching particular students with services that address their needs) is most effective.

Behavioral outcomes have also received substantial attention, with mostly positive or nonsignificant attendance results. Implementation clearly makes a difference, with more positive results for community schools that have operated longer. Although attendance has been identified as a leading indicator for evaluating the success of comprehensive community school initiatives, it is still important to provide time for implementation efforts to mature before judging this outcome. Fewer evaluations address student disciplinary outcomes, with mixed results. This makes it difficult to draw any solid conclusions about the potential impact of community school programming on problematic behavior. Evidence regarding behavioral health outcomes is limited, although the evaluations that address this topic raise an interesting possibility that community schools help cultivate healthy student behaviors in the short term and the long term.

Although the evidence suggests that students at community schools are more engaged with their education and view school positively, it is not possible to conclude that this approach directly impacts student attitudes, given the uncertain nature of self-reported survey data and the relatively small amount of research on this topic. Only a handful of evaluations address the topic of school climate, perhaps because it is difficult to study. Some results from the existing evidence are positive, while others are nonsignificant.

In sum, the evidence examining the full-service community schools approach of implementing multiple pillars includes several rigorous quasi-experimental evaluations, along with descriptive supporting evidence. The studies all point in the same direction: When effectively implemented, the community school pillars work together to produce positive outcomes for young people. These studies also suggest that this is not easy to do, and good implementation requires strong school and district leadership. The evaluation research presented here is newer and more limited in size than evidence supporting the community school pillars (for example, there are no meta-analyses on the topic). Some of the descriptive evaluations (ESSA Tier 4) are lacking methodological strength, in that they do not have a comparison group and do not employ rigorous statistical tests. However, the overall effects show a promising consistency, particularly for well-implemented programs that have had sufficient time to mature.

When effectively implemented, the community school pillars work together to produce positive outcomes for young people. This is not easy to do, and good implementation requires strong school and district leadership.

Effectively Implementing Comprehensive Community Schools

Implementation research has demonstrated the importance of systemic supports, structures, and processes in yielding positive results for program participants.[408] This certainly holds true for community school programs. The better implemented and more comprehensive the community school program, the more likely it is to yield positive results for students and families. This conclusion has emerged repeatedly in our review of the research. The current section discusses these implementation effects in more detail and presents evidence from studies that are of interest primarily due to their implementation-related findings.

One reason that effective implementation matters is that community school supports mutually reinforce each other, and offering fully integrated supports is a complicated endeavor.[409] For example, Bryk and colleagues point out the importance of relational trust in any improvement initiative, drawing upon research that does not specifically focus on (but is highly relevant to) community schools:

> Improvement initiatives must be grounded in continuing efforts to build trusting relationships across the school community. Quite simply, the technical activities of school improvement rest on a social base. Effecting constructive change in teaching and learning makes demands on the social resources of a school community. In the absence of these resources, individual reform initiatives are less likely to be engaged deeply, build on one another over time and culminate in significant improvements in a school's capacity to educate all its children. So, building relational trust remains a central concern for leadership as well.[410]

Because community school initiatives are constantly evolving in response to the changing context of the surroundings in which they operate, effective implementation requires an ability to adapt systemic structures and supports accordingly. For example, a case study of the Elev8 community schools initiative (led by the Atlantic Philanthropies) that focused on implementation issues found two types of systemic adaptation: (1) foundation level adjustments (to increase impact and address challenges), and (2) lead agency adjustments (to improve mission alignment, address specific school needs, align Elev8 with the culture of its participants, make Elev8 more sustainable, and expand Elev8's impact).[411]

Because community school initiatives are constantly evolving in response to the changing context of the surroundings in which they operate, effective implementation requires an ability to adapt systemic structures and supports accordingly.

Indeed, Elev8 research underscores the importance of implementation for improving student outcomes. Atlantic Philanthropies established the Elev8 full-service community school model in 2008. It centers around four key areas of activity: (1) extending learning opportunities for students beyond the classroom and traditional school year; (2) providing high-quality school-based health services to children and their families; (3) encouraging parents to be actively involved in their children's education; and (4) offering family supports and resources designed to promote economic

stability, good health, and continuing education. This work has taken place in middle schools across the country, spanning rural and urban settings in Baltimore, Chicago, and Oakland, as well as Native American pueblo settings in New Mexico. Community-based partner organizations with deep local roots served as regional leads to develop and implement full-service community school models in up to five schools per partner. While Elev8 community schools offer services in response to local needs, all schools employ a team of out-of-school-time staff, family advocates, medical professionals, and a site director. Research for Action and McClanahan Associates have served as external evaluators for the initiative.

One study, notable for its implementation findings, explored the relationship between attending an Elev8 school and academic outcomes.[412] It showed significantly higher odds of positive academic outcomes in some years of Elev8's implementation. This same study also showed that students who attended Elev8 schools for longer periods of time experienced more positive academic outcomes than those who attended for fewer years. In another Elev8 study, 8th-grade students who attended more days of extended learning time programming participated in a wider range of high school planning activities and were more likely to plan to apply for a competitive college preparatory high school.[413]

Similarly, at several community schools included in the Eisenhower Foundation research discussed in the previous section, students who spent a lot of time in community school programming were more likely than infrequent participants to report increases in attachment to school and interest in nonacademic subjects.[414]

Other research, including the studies of Baltimore and Chicago schools discussed in the previous section, reveals more positive outcomes for community schools that have been implementing their activities longer, or are doing a better a job implementing their activities, compared to newer or less experienced community schools. For example, in San Mateo, CA, nearly all students participating in youth leadership programs and/or counseling at "maturing" community schools planned to graduate from high school and earn a college degree.[415] In English language arts, the percentage of students scoring at proficient or above rose at all four of the maturing community schools. In the 2005–06 school year, 18–25% of students were at proficient or above. One year later, 26–38% of students at these four maturing community schools were at proficient or above. Student participation in extended day activities, student and/or parent participation in mental health services, and parent participation in school programs and activities were all significantly associated with greater rates of student improvement on English language arts and mathematics standardized test scores, compared to students who did not participate.

Research reveals more positive outcomes for community schools that have been implementing their activities longer, or are doing a better job implementing their activities, compared to newer or less experienced community schools.

Overall, these implementation results drawn from schools across the country speak to the importance of longer experience in the practice of community schooling, as well as greater access to services for students.

Additionally, new research on New York City Community Schools (NYC-CS) helps to shed light on the early stages of implementing a large-scale community schools initiative. NYC-CS launched in 2014 as a districtwide reform in New York City, designed to help schools organize resources and share leadership so that academics, health and wellness, youth development, and family engagement are fully integrated into daily operations. Core structures include partnerships between schools and community-based organizations and real-time use of data. Core services include attendance improvement strategies, expanded learning time, supports for health and wellness, and family engagement efforts. The NYC-CS theory of change identifies four key capacities related to implementation: (1) continuous improvement through ongoing data collection and analysis to assess needs and guide decisions; (2) coordination across programs and agencies to ensure equitable delivery of the right service to the right students at the right time; (3) connectedness among adults and students that fosters a sense of community among all stakeholders and encourages resilient academic and personal behaviors by students; and (4) collaboration that strengthens school and community-based organization partnerships and supports families' voices in student learning.

The RAND Corporation is documenting this effort as it evolves, and a recently released study examines 118 NYC-CS community schools in the 2016–17 academic year, after 2 years of implementation.[417] Of the 118 schools, 94 are also designated as Renewal Schools due to low test score performance. These schools receive additional supports with an academic focus, including an extra hour of instructional time each day and coaching for teachers and administrators. Because the NYC-CS initiative is in its early stages, the first phase of research focuses on understanding schools' experiences with the implementation of NYC-CS, while the second phase of research (slated for release in 2019) will include an impact study with a quasi-experimental analysis of student- and school-level outcomes after 3 years of program implementation. In this first study, an analysis of administrative data, surveys, and interviews shows substantial programmatic changes in alignment with the core structures and services. For example, over 90% of schools reported offering after-school programming since NYC-CS began, an increase from 59% in the year before the initiative started. In addition, 81% of schools indicated that families were more present as a result of NYC-CS engagement efforts.

In terms of the theory of change, the RAND team generated composite implementation index scores, which showed that schools were more developed in implementing activities related to coordination and connectedness, as compared to continuous improvement and collaboration. However, across all four core capacities, the largest share of schools indicated that they were in the maturing stage, suggesting schools are progressing toward implementing the full community school model. Trusting relationships and strong leadership were statistically significant predictors of a school's ability to coordinate services, promote awareness of the programming available in the school, and, to a lesser degree, collaborate with various partners to implement program components.

A common challenge that schools reported facing was figuring out how to balance many competing priorities that all required an investment of time and effort. In addition, a number of schools experienced a steep learning curve as they implemented new data systems associated with the initiative. It is also apparent that some NYC-CS structures or services take longer to implement than others. For example, almost all schools planned to implement programs or services in all three mental health tiers in SY 2015–16. However, only about half achieved this goal.

Overall, the RAND evaluation shows impressive progress in the first 2 years of NYC-CS implementation. The 2019 impact evaluation will provide important information on whether the programmatic changes that are occurring in alignment with the theory of change will result in improved outcomes for students and schools. This evaluation makes a substantial contribution to the community schools literature by providing detailed documentation of the implementation phase of a large-scale initiative. Over time, the evaluation efforts will likely produce much-needed insight into the relationship between implementation and student and school impacts.

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Research for Action (RFA) is conducting another ongoing implementation evaluation of Philadelphia's community schools initiative.[418] Launched in 2016, this initiative places a full-time coordinator at nine public school sites to identify the most pressing needs of students, families, and community members, and to coordinate service providers and city agencies to meet those needs. The Mayor's Office of Education works closely with the school district of Philadelphia in coordinating this effort. In order to closely track implementation over time, RFA identified three levels of metrics: (1) elements (broad categories of work to be completed during the initial phase of the initiative), (2) benchmarks (used to track progress on each element), and (3) indicators (used to gauge whether benchmarks are achieved).

Drawing on publicly available city and school-level documents, information provided in writing by staff in the Mayor's Office of Education, and needs assessment questionnaires and interviews completed by community school coordinators, RFA found that the Mayor's Office of Education is largely "on track" with establishing best practices for a citywide coordinating entity in the first year of a community schools initiative. For example, the Mayor's Office developed a Community School Committee, gathered public input from the community, shared leadership with other city agencies and community groups (with the exception of establishing a citywide advisory team of stakeholders), developed selection criteria and application review processes for the first cohort of community schools, provided school and community data collection support, and provided soda tax funding to sustain the community school initiative. RFA judged the process of developing short- and long-term outcomes, measures, and data collection processes to monitor the progress and impact of the initiative to be "emerging."

Site-level progress was largely "on track" and "emerging." Areas of strength include developing community school committees that are representative of the school and community, collecting data on needs and school/community resources, determining a shared goal and vision, and establishing new service partnerships. Areas for growth include ensuring that community school committee meetings are ongoing and transparent, developing community school plans that outline activities and strategies, and identifying outcomes and measures to monitor progress.

This RFA evaluation demonstrates the complexity of implementing community schools at both the initiative and site level. The careful and ongoing attention to implementation quality can guide future efforts to improve and expand Philadelphia's community schools initiative. As with the

RAND evaluation in New York City, the next stage of evaluation efforts should address student- and school-level outcomes, which will help to shed light on how implementation impacts the benefits derived from comprehensive community school reforms.

Addressing Out-of-School Barriers and Reducing Opportunity and Achievement Gaps

The community school approach is often used as a turnaround strategy in struggling schools that primarily serve students from low-income families and students of color. These populations are likely to face out-of-school barriers, such as neighborhood violence and poverty, that contribute to both the opportunity gap—the extent to which students have or do not have access to the resources they need to succeed—and the achievement gap—the extent to which students perform to the level of more advantaged peers on test scores, grades, and other observable school outcomes.[419]

The community school approach is often used as a turnaround strategy in struggling schools that primarily serve students from low-income families and students of color. These populations are likely to face out-of-school barriers, such as neighborhood violence and poverty, that contribute to opportunity and achievement gaps.

Much of the evaluation research documents the extent to which students access community school services, such as on-campus health centers, mental health care, or extended learning time programs, in addition to tracking student and school outcomes. This evidence suggests that community schools can help mitigate out-of-school barriers and reduce opportunity gaps.

For example, in Sandy, UT, four Title I elementary schools have participated in the Canyon School District's Community Schools Initiative. A 3-year evaluation study using statistical analysis of pre-post tests, interviews, and focus groups (ESSA Tier 4) tracked student participation in newly available preschool, after-school, and mental health programs, along with changes in parent/family volunteer hours and increases in grant-funded community partnerships.[420] During this time, marked improvements were noted in teacher and staff perceptions of the schools, especially in relation to increased supports available for their students, and reduced stressors among students and teachers. Parent and caregiver perceptions of school and community supports also improved. The elementary schools experienced a 39% drop in absenteeism, and saw an average 22.5% decrease in office disciplinary referrals over 2 years. These numbers, while impressive, should be considered in context with smaller attendance and disciplinary gains seen in community school initiatives operating at scale. The drop in office referrals was largely driven by narrowing of the special education gap. Stakeholders noted that this reform effort was initially championed by the Utah State Office of Education Special Education Department, and that students receiving special education services were a focus of attention throughout implementation of the initiative.

Community schools may help to close racial and economic achievement gaps, since these programs are typically serving students from low-income families and students of color. In addition, some community school evaluations specifically assess the extent to which this strategy reduces

achievement gaps. City Connects narrowed the achievement gap between English learner and English proficient immigrant students by 75% in mathematics and 50% in reading.[421] The impact of receiving a Massachusetts Wraparound Zone grant on academic achievement was greatest for students with limited English proficiency.[422] Students attending a Harlem Children's Zone charter school gained approximately 0.2 standard deviations in both mathematics and English language arts per year, relative to a control group. This rate of progress, if sustained, would be enough to close racial achievement gaps between African American and White students by 3rd grade.[423] The Tulsa Area Community Schools Initiative reduced the gap for students from low-income families.[424] In Tulsa, collective trust was a potential mediator of achievement gains, as achievement of students from low-income families was significantly higher in schools with entrenched cultures of collective trust.

Schools serving low-income areas can help foster increased social capital when individuals in the school and those in the community have formed genuine partnerships and a shared sense of responsibility.

As noted in our discussion in the previous chapter on collaborative leadership and practice, social capital, or "the features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and social trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit," might also play an important role in the effectiveness of community schools, including their ability to close achievement gaps.[425] Social capital can be defined as the resources created through relationships between people. Although social capital doesn't directly alleviate poverty, when people form strong relationships with others, they are more able to get resources they need and can leverage more resources for their community.[426] Schools serving low-income areas can help foster increased social capital when individuals in the school and those in the community have formed genuine partnerships and a shared sense of responsibility.[427]

The extensive research conducted by Sebring and colleagues in Chicago shows that social capital—which the authors measured through religious participation, levels of collective efficacy, and connections to outside neighborhoods—is related to the strength of the essential supports in a school.[428] These results suggest that "positive school community conditions facilitate the development of the supports,"[429] but that in neighborhoods with low levels of social capital, the essential supports in school must be highly robust in order to result in improvements for students.

When community schools are able to build and deepen relationships between community members, as well as between people from the school and from the surrounding neighborhood, they can increase social capital by bringing in additional supports and resources. Mark Warren's 2005 case study of three different community schools found that across different models, community schools can build social capital among educators, families, and community members through programs that involve families and community members and facilitate personal relationship building. This increases school capacity by strengthening the support parents give to students, bringing more resources into classrooms and school programs, improving teaching by making teachers more aware of community strengths and issues, and coordinating action by teachers, parents, and community activists for holistic child development.[430]

Cost-Benefit Findings

A cost-benefit analysis of an educational initiative is a research technique wherein the costs associated with a particular intervention are tallied up and compared with the economic value of the benefits accrued from the intervention. This allows for a net benefit calculation that is often expressed in terms of the value derived from every dollar spent on the intervention.

In the case of community schools, this technique requires researchers to identify relevant costs, such as the direct cost of a community school coordinator or the in-kind value of donated materials. Some evaluations tally up all identifiable costs, including the value of services provided by community partner organizations, even if the partner costs are not paid by the school and the services would have been provided in a different setting if delivered outside of the community school partnership. Other evaluations choose to include as costs only those services that would not have been provided without the community school intervention. These approaches are both valid, but the model accounting for all identifiable costs yields a more conservative (and therefore lower) cost-benefit saving than the model that accounts just for costs unique to the community school initiative.

Benefits are considered in the short and long term. Short-term benefits may include a fairly direct calculation, such as the value derived from increased state funding when student attendance is improved through a reduced suspension rate. In the long term, calculations may become more abstract. For example, researchers may calculate the economic value of graduating a better prepared workforce, as defined by GPA increases among high school students.

Though research on the economic returns from community schools is limited, the existing research suggests an excellent return in social value on investments into schools providing wraparound services and other community school supports, ranging from $3 (excluding economic benefits) to $15 in savings for every dollar invested. Estimating the effect of community school interventions on future income, and assessing the economic value of preventing crime, smoking, participating in the job market, and other adult behaviors, is a complex business, and the numbers here should be considered general estimates rather than exact values.

Research on the economic returns from community schools suggests an excellent return in social value on investments into schools providing wraparound services and other community school supports, ranging from $3 (excluding economic benefits) to $15 in savings for every dollar invested.

CIS conducted a 5-year study of their high school affiliates, finding that every $1 invested created $11.60 in economic benefits.[431] Benefits were calculated based on higher earnings for students who graduate and taxpayer savings created by this increased academic achievement. Costs included direct CIS investments in staffing, infrastructure, local operations, and the opportunity cost of students remaining in school rather than joining the labor market. The cost of supports provided to students by community-based partners was not included, which helps to explain the high return on investment for every dollar invested. The study estimates that students collectively served by the programs will have expected increases in their family incomes by $63 million annually, and that social savings due to reductions in smoking, alcoholism, crime, welfare, and unemployment costs will total $154.5 million.

An analysis of Children's Aid Society comprehensive programs in two elementary schools that provide expanded learning opportunities, health and mental health services, parent education and engagement, and other family support services found a return on investment of $10.30 at one school and $14.80 at the other school.[432] The benefit, or social value, was calculated based on the additional revenues generated and costs avoided from improved student outcomes in areas, such as preparation to enter school, academic success (not repeating grades, school attendance), mental and physical well-being, and positive relationships with adults in the school and broader community. Costs included direct program costs, such as staffing and materials, administrative overhead and operational costs (including the actual cost of operating the schools as recorded by the New York City Department of Education), and in-kind costs, such as the value of free space, donated food, and volunteer hours. After accounting for the benefits that would likely have accrued even if Children's Aid Society programs were not available to students, the researchers found justification to claim that 73% of the benefit at one school and 67% of the benefit at the other school was associated directly with the community school intervention.

Similarly, a study of the City Connects program in Boston included two elementary schools that had long been providing a range of community-based services to students and families with support from a school site coordinator. It found a return on investment of $3 for every $1 invested using the preferred estimation method, with an upper bound estimate of $11.80 in benefit for every $1 invested.[433] Benefits were calculated by estimating the social value of positive educational outcomes for students, including educational attainment, dropout rates, and test score performance for grades 6–8. In all versions of the model, economic benefits, such as labor productivity spillovers, the deadweight loss of distortionary taxes, and other consequences (such as intra-family effects) that cannot be monetized were excluded, potentially resulting in an underestimation of the actual benefits of City Connects. Costs included direct costs, such as coordinator and teacher staff time, materials, and facilities, as well as indirect program costs, such as parent volunteer time and support from the City Connects central office. The cost of supports provided to students by community-based partners were included in the more conservative estimate preferred by the authors, and excluded in the less conservative estimate. Bowden and colleagues found that with City Connects, the schools themselves were responsible for only about 10% of core program costs. The total cost of City Connects for grades k–5 was found to be $4,570 per student, with social benefits accrued equivalent to $8,280 per student.

Finally, an analysis of the Atlantic Philanthropies-supported Elev8 full-service community school program in Oakland, which provides extended learning time, family supports, and health care to students and families through a coordinated services model, found a return on investment of $2.27 in leveraged partnerships for every $1 invested, and $4.39 in economic benefits (including the value of preventing long-term hardship and avoiding reliance on publicly funded social support systems).[434] Together, this yielded a total value of $9.96 in long-term societal impacts for every $1 invested. The benefits of leveraged partnerships were calculated using the value of services and goods contributed by Elev8 partners, under the assumption that without the coordinating infrastructure provided by Elev8, many of these dollars would be unavailable or far less effective in reaching students and families. Economic benefits were calculated using research-based lifetime projections of social benefits accrued from short-term improvements in health care access, high school transition, peer and adult relationships, and risk of criminal involvement, and long-term improvements in income, incarceration and high school graduation rates, and health issues. Atlantic Philanthropies and community partner costs included extended learning, academic support, health care, family engagement services, project coordination, facility costs, and organizational supports. The Atlantic Philanthropies' annual direct school site investment of approximately $2.6 million enabled the sites to attract additional resources and services valued at over $3.2 million, resulting in an estimated $25.7 million in long-term societal savings over the projected lifetimes of the students and families served. (See Table 4 for a summary of each of these analyses.)

An analysis of the Elev8 full-service community school program in Oakland, which provides extended learning time, family supports, and health care to students and families through a coordinated services model, found a total value of $9.96 in long-term societal impacts for every $1 invested.

Although further research would strengthen the understanding of how community school investments function, this review suggests that addressing barriers to learning faced by students from low-income families and communities yields long-term economic benefits for society as a whole. When schools provide wraparound services, enriching and challenging curriculum taught by highly qualified and culturally sensitive teachers, and meaningful mechanisms for parents to engage and participate at all levels of the school, students do better and society benefits.

Table 4
Summary of Cost-Benefit Studies for Community School Initiatives

	Communities in Schools	Children's Aid Society	City Connects	Elev8 Oakland
Program Features	The nationwide Communities in Schools model is implemented throughout the school year by a site team led by a CIS coordinator. The site coordinator works closely with school administrators, staff, and teachers to: (1) conduct an annual needs assessment; (2) develop a comprehensive operations plan to address the identified and prioritized needs; (3) deliver evidence-based services (including whole-school services and intensive, targeted, case-managed services); (4) regularly monitor and adjust plans; and (5) evaluate effectiveness in achieving school and student goals.	Children's Aid Society established its first community school more than 25 years ago and currently operates 22 community schools throughout New York City. It works with each school's leadership and staff to offer academic enrichment programs, health services, parent engagement strategies, and much more to give students the best opportunities to succeed. Five critical elements must be present to ensure success: (1) a strong instructional program; (2) solid professional capacity; (3) close parent-community school ties; (4) a student-centered learning climate; and (5) leadership that drives change.	City Connects partners with a wide variety of community-based service agencies to provide prevention and enrichment, early intervention, intensive intervention, and other tailored supports for students and families at school, at home, or in the community. School site coordinators are the link between schools and community agencies. City Connects is currently implemented in 17 public elementary and k–8 schools and one public high school.	Elev8 Oakland is a community school model funded by the Atlantic Philanthropies to support students and families. The Oakland-based nonprofit Safe Passages operates the program, which folds extended learning, summer school, family supports and services, and health care into an integrated school-based system of supportive services.
Study Sites	113 CIS-affiliated high schools in 2009–10	Two Children's Aid Society community schools, P.S. 5/Ellen Lurie Elementary School (pre-k through 5th grade) and Salomé Ureña de Henriquez Campus (grades 6–12)	Two large public elementary schools in Boston in the 2013–14 school year, both of which were long-term implementers of the City Connects program	Five Oakland middle school campuses

Table 4 (continued)
Summary of Cost-Benefit Studies for Community School Initiatives

	Communities In Schools	Children's Aid Society	City Connects	Elev8 Oakland
Cost Estimates	Direct CIS investments in staffing, infrastructure, and local operations, and the opportunity cost of students remaining in school rather than joining the labor market. The cost of supports provided to students by community-based partners was NOT included.	Program costs for items, such as staffing, materials, and supplies; overhead and administrative costs for payroll and benefits; program oversight, policy development, and school operations; and in-kind/donated costs, such as the value of free space, donated food, and volunteer staff.	School site coordinators; the time devoted to the program by teachers, principals, guidance counselors, and other school staff; materials and facilities utilized in implementing the program; parental time; training time contributed by City Connects central program staff; and community partner costs.	Direct and community partner costs include the following services: extended day learning, academic mentoring and tutoring, school-based health care, mental health/clinical case management, family engagement and support, and project coordination. Additional costs include start-up monies to construct school-based health centers, refurbish buildings, and establish protocols and organizational structures.
Benefit Estimates	Benefits were calculated based on higher earnings for students who graduate and taxpayer savings created by increased academic achievement.	Benefits include academic success (not repeating grades, school attendance), mental and physical well-being, preparation to enter school, positive community relationships, and adult relationships with students.	Benefits include educational attainment, reduced dropout rates, and improved performance on mathematics and English language arts test scores for grades 6–8.	Benefits include health care access, high school transition, peer and adult relationships, and risk of involvement in crime in the short term. In the long term, benefits include income, incarceration rate, high school graduation, and teen pregnancy and health issues.
Benefit-Cost Ratio	$11.60 in benefit to each $1 invested	P.S. 5/Ellen Lurie Elementary School: $10.30 in benefit to each $1 invested Salomé Ureña de Henriquez Campus: $14.80 in benefit to each $1 invested	$3 in benefit to each $1 invested, with an upper bound of $11.80 in benefit to each $1 invested The more conservative model includes the cost of supports provided to students by community-based partners, and both models exclude economic benefits.	$9.96 in benefit to each $1 invested Includes the value of leveraged partnerships and economic benefits.

8. Findings and Lessons for Policy and Implementation

The previous chapters analyzed research to understand whether and how community schools lead to improvement in student and school outcomes and contribute to meeting the educational needs of low-achieving students in high-poverty schools. In this chapter, we summarize the results of our analyses in 12 key findings. We conclude that ample evidence is available to inform and guide policymakers, educators, and advocates interested in advancing community schools, and sufficient research exists that meets the ESSA standard for evidence-based interventions. We also conclude that the positive outcomes of community schools are most likely to occur when policies, programs, and structures are implemented to address local needs, are sustained over time, and include all four pillars. Accordingly, we offer a set of research-based lessons to guide policy development and implementation of community schools toward their positive impact.

Ample evidence is available to inform and guide policymakers, educators, and advocates interested in advancing community schools, and sufficient research exists that meets the ESSA standard for evidence-based interventions.

Findings

We conclude that well-implemented community schools lead to improvement in student and school outcomes and contribute to meeting the educational needs of low-achieving students in high-poverty schools. Strong research reinforces the efficacy of integrated student supports, expanded learning time and opportunities, and family and community engagement as intervention strategies. Promising evidence supports the positive impact of the type of collaborative leadership and practice found in community schools, although little of this research has been done in community schools. The research base examining the full-service community schools model that includes most or all of the four pillars is newer, more limited in size, and consists primarily of evaluation studies of particular sites. But here, too, the evidence from well-designed studies is promising. In sum, ample evidence is available to inform and guide policymakers, educators, and advocates interested in advancing community schools, and sufficient research exists to meet the ESSA standard for an evidence-based intervention. Specifically, our analyses produced 12 findings.

Finding 1. The evidence base on community schools and their pillars justifies the use of this approach as a school improvement strategy that helps children succeed academically and prepare for full and productive lives.

There is strong research, using a wide variety of methodologies, that supports the positive impact of the community school pillars on students' academic, behavioral, and social-emotional outcomes. High-quality studies examining full-service community schools that include all four pillars show promising results on short-term student outcomes, and some evidence of longer term positive outcomes. However, this research base is more limited than evidence supporting the pillars—both in terms of the number of independent studies and the rigor of the methodologies used in some

studies. Taken together, the research on each pillar and the comprehensive evaluations support the use of community schools for continuous improvement efforts.

Finding 2. Sufficient evidence exists to qualify the community schools approach as meeting ESSA's criteria for evidence-based interventions.

Sufficient evidence exists to support the inclusion of community schools in state and local ESSA plans for comprehensive and targeted interventions in high-poverty schools supported with federal funds, as well as to qualify community schools for specially designated federal grants. ESSA requires that, to be considered evidence-based, a program or intervention must have at least one well-designed study that fits into its four-tier definition of evidence :(1) strong, (2) moderate, (3) promising, or (4) demonstrating a rationale. ESSA provides states with the flexibility to use any level of evidence in developing school improvement plans. However, recipients of the Title I set-aside for school improvement must use evidence-based interventions that meet only the top three tiers of evidence. The research on community schools and their four pillars meets this evidentiary threshold.

Sufficient evidence exists to support the inclusion of community schools in state and local ESSA plans for comprehensive and targeted interventions in high-poverty schools supported with federal funds, as well as to qualify community schools for specially designated federal grants.

Finding 3. The evidence base provides a strong warrant for using community schools to meet the needs of low-achieving students in high-poverty schools and to help close opportunity and achievement gaps for students from low-income families, students of color, English learners, and students with disabilities.

The positive results from research on community schools and their component parts suggest that the community schools approach may also help to close well-documented racial and economic achievement gaps, in that these programs typically serve students from low-income families, students of color, and other populations that underperform compared to wealthy White students. There is also some direct, albeit limited, evidence that comprehensive community schools, and in particular community schools offering expanded learning time and opportunities, have stronger positive effects on students of color from low-income families than on more advantaged White students. This is not surprising, given that these students typically have fewer learning opportunities, resources, and supports both in and out of school.

Finding 4. Four key pillars of community schools—integrated student supports, expanded learning time and opportunities, family and community engagement, and collaborative leadership and practice—promote conditions and practices found in high-quality schools and address out-of-school barriers to learning.

We found a high level of alignment between the four pillars that emerged from our review of the evidence about community schools and findings of more general research identifying the features of high-quality schools. These features include extra academic and emotional support, a positive school climate and trusting relationships, meaningful learning opportunities, sufficient money and

resources, strong family and community ties, a collaborative learning environment for teachers, and assessment used as a tool for improvement. We found that the community school pillars can help educators to establish these high-quality learning conditions. For example, a community school coordinator can help to forge partnerships with community-based organizations, thereby making integrated student supports available at a school site and providing extra academic and emotional support for students who need it. Because the community schools strategy enables educators and community partners to instantiate the conditions and practices found in effective, high-quality schools, it is not surprising that community schools have positive effects on student outcomes. Notably, our understanding of this alignment is advanced, in part, by high-quality mixed-methods and qualitative research that extends beyond the narrower definition of research in ESSA.

Finding 5. The types of integrated student supports provided by community schools, including counseling, medical care, dental services, and transportation assistance, are associated with positive student outcomes. Young people receiving such supports often show significant improvements in attendance, behavior, social functioning, and academic achievement.

Integrated student supports, or wraparound services, link schools to a range of academic, health, and social programs. This pillar has received substantial research attention, including several large-scale randomized control trials accompanied by rigorous quasi-experimental evaluations in schools, as well as in community-based and juvenile justice settings. Quasi-experimental research shows mostly positive student and school outcomes associated with the provision of integrated student supports, particularly in the short term. However, a handful of randomized control trials examining integrated students supports have not shown the positive impact seen in the evidence base as a whole. Some of these randomized control trials only provided a partial test of the program under review or tested an intervention that was compromised by poor implementation. The evidence also shows that careful implementation improves student outcomes, particularly regarding fidelity to a well-defined program model.

Finding 6. The types of expanded learning time and opportunities provided by community schools include longer school days and academically rich and engaging after-school, weekend, and summer programs. When thoughtfully designed, these interventions are associated with positive academic and nonacademic outcomes, including improvements in student attendance, behavior, and academic achievement. Notably, the best designed studies show the strongest positive effects.

Expanded learning time and opportunities (ELT/O) take place before and after the typical school day and during the summer to augment traditional learning opportunities during the school day and year. An extensive body of evidence examines the relationship between expanded learning time and student outcomes, including rigorous research reviews, randomized control trials, and well-designed quasi-experimental evaluations. Although some mixed findings emerge, the evidence is overwhelmingly positive, particularly for expanded learning time programs that use the extra hours to provide students with carefully structured learning and enrichment opportunities. Well-implemented ELT/O have a positive impact on both academic and nonacademic outcomes. Programs with positive academic impacts tend to have greater academic engagement and more pupil-teacher interaction. However, programs that combine academic and social dimensions may be the most effective on a broader range of outcomes. Moreover, the effects tend to be greatest for those placed most at risk—i.e., students of color, students from low-income families, and those who are struggling

academically. The intensity of exposure and length of time during which students participate in programs also matter.

Finding 7. The type of meaningful family and community engagement characteristic of community schools is associated with positive student outcomes, such as reduced absenteeism, improved academic outcomes, and student reports of more positive school climates. Additionally, family and community engagement can improve school conditions for learning, such as increased trust among students, parents, and staff, which, in turn, have positive effects on student outcomes.

Family engagement strategies fall along a spectrum in which families and community members exercise varying degrees of power within schools, ranging from parental support for learning to actively participating in school activities to assuming a powerful role in shaping change at the school and district level. Activities along this spectrum include helping with student learning at home, frequent communication between home and school, volunteering, and community organizing for school and district reform. Research over many decades, including rigorous literature reviews, examines the role that family and community engagement plays in student success. Strong family and community engagement is associated with reduced absenteeism, improved academic outcomes, longer term academic success, and student reports of more positive school climates. School staff who are able to develop successful engagement efforts have the ability to build trusting, respectful, and culturally competent relationships with family and community members. Community schools are well positioned to engage families and communities meaningfully because the other three pillars provide significant opportunities for participation. When integrated student supports, expanded learning opportunities, and collaborative practices are strong, they can make schools more welcoming for families and community members, and bring students into the surrounding community for educational purposes.

Community schools are well positioned to engage families and communities meaningfully because the other three pillars (integrated student supports, expanded learning opportunities, and collaborative leadership) provide significant opportunities for participation.

Finding 8. The type of collaborative leadership and practice used in community schools can create the conditions necessary to improve student learning and well-being, as well as improve relationships within and beyond the school walls. Collaborative relationships among teachers, family members, students, and community members also increase the commitment from and trust between stakeholders. The development of social capital and teacher-peer learning appear to be the factors that explain the link between collaboration and better student achievement.

Collaborative leadership entails parents, students, teachers, and principals with different areas of expertise working together, sharing decisions and responsibilities to reach a common vision or outcome. Although research specific to community schools is sparser for this topic compared to some of the other pillars, there is a substantial body of evidence showing the association between collaborative leadership and professional learning opportunities, teacher satisfaction, and positive

student outcomes in schools. Schools that effectively implement collaborative leadership practices or shared decision-making processes can create the conditions necessary to improve student learning and well-being, as well as improve relationships. This is particularly important in a comprehensive community schools approach, which requires substantial collaboration between school staff, community partners, students, and parents, adding to the implementation challenges. Collaborative relationships among teachers, family members, students, and community members can increase the commitment and trust among stakeholders—social capital—which can, in turn, support the implementation of effective integrated student supports, expanded learning time, and meaningful family and community engagement and positively impact student achievement.

> There is a substantial body of evidence showing the association between collaborative leadership and professional learning opportunities, teacher satisfaction, and positive student outcomes in schools.

Finding 9. The impact of comprehensive community school interventions is positive, with programs in many different locations showing improvements in a variety of student outcomes, including attendance, academic achievement, high school graduation rates, and reduced racial and economic achievement gaps.

Comprehensive community schools implement all or most of the four pillars we identified as core to the approach. These initiatives vary in focus and design depending on local context, underscoring that this is a strategy or approach to school improvement rather than a consistent program model. Despite this variation, results from quasi-experimental studies and program evaluation research show promising evidence of positive short-term and longer term student outcomes, including attendance gains and improved academic achievement (particularly for mathematics). Targeting of programs and services (such as intentionally aligning after-school programming with the instructional day) is particularly effective. Implementation matters, and it can take several years to see positive results. The consistency of these findings across different contexts and approaches warrants considerable confidence. However, compared to the evidence base about the four pillars, the research base on comprehensive community schools is newer (particularly for studies examining multiple sites), is more limited in size, and the impacts across the full range of outcomes examined are inconsistent. Additionally, the difficulty of conducting experimental research on complex, long-term, naturally occurring, schoolwide interventions means that the existing evidence cannot prove that community schools programming actually caused these gains. Consequently, it is important to consider the strength of the evidence presented for each of the core pillars of typical community school approaches, as well as the comprehensive evaluations themselves.

Table 5 summarizes the findings of the place-based evaluation studies that were discussed in the summary of community schools research for each pillar, as well as those in the section reviewing comprehensive place-based evaluations.

Table 5
Summary of Comprehensive Results

Outcome Category	Finding
Academic Outcomes	
Student Achievement	Of 37 studies addressing this topic, 29 found positive effects. Overall, the community schools strategy is associated with improved academic performance, especially for mathematics, and for programs identified as having been well implemented. There is also some evidence that this strategy helped close the achievement gap for students from low-income families, students of color, and English learners.
Course Completion and Dropout/Graduation Rates	Of 12 studies addressing this topic, seven found positive effects. These studies showed that the community schools strategy is associated with reduced dropout and increased high school graduation rates.
Behavioral Outcomes	
Attendance	Of 29 studies addressing this topic, 21 found positive effects. Together they show a generally positive association between the community schools strategy and improved attendance, particularly for longer running and well-implemented community school programs. Participation in extended learning time programs, as well as engagement with school, appear to be positive mediating factors for attendance.
Discipline	The 20 studies addressing this topic focused on office referral and suspension rates. Of these, nine studies found that the community schools strategy is associated with reduced disciplinary incidents and suspensions, while others showed no effect. More positive results were evident for well-implemented community school programs.
Behavioral Health	Of three studies addressing this topic, two found evidence of improvements in nutrition/exercise habits (self-reported), incarceration rates, and teen pregnancy rates for community school participants, but there was little evidence in support of mental health improvements.
Social-Emotional Outcomes	
Student Attitudes	Of 14 studies addressing this topic, results were positive in 12, with evidence of improvements in students' self-reported sense of safety and attitudes toward and engagement with school for community school participants. However, many studies found significant differences in some but not all attitude measures, so more information about this outcome category is needed.
Peer and Adult Relationships	Of nine studies addressing this topic, eight showed a positive association between community school participation and student relationships with peers and adults at their schools, particularly for well-implemented programs and those offering students more access to services.
School Climate	The 10 studies addressing this topic examined school climate surveys administered to students, staff, and parents. Of these, eight studies yielded positive results, particularly in regard to student, teacher, and parent perceptions of the level of support available at the school. Furthermore, relational trust may be a mediating factor for academic achievement.

Finding 10. Effective implementation and sufficient exposure to services increase the success of the community schools approach. Research on integrated student supports, expanded learning time, and comprehensive community school initiatives shows that longer operating and better implemented programs yield more positive results for students and schools.

Many evaluations and studies indicated positive results for schools that were implementing the different program elements most fully, and for longer periods of time. As with any schoolwide reform, it takes a while to see real benefits.[435] Students who participated in a broader range of programs or who received a higher dosage of services (e.g., more hours of programming) also showed better outcomes.

Finding 11. Existing cost-benefit research suggests an excellent return of up to $15 in social value and economic benefits for every dollar invested in school-based wraparound services.

Addressing barriers to learning faced by students from low-income families and communities yields long-term fiscal benefits for society as a whole. When schools provide wraparound services, enriching and challenging curricula taught by highly qualified and culturally sensitive teachers, and meaningful mechanisms for parents to engage and participate at all levels of the school, students do better and we all benefit.

Finding 12. The evidence base on comprehensive community schools can be strengthened by well-designed evaluations that pay close attention to the nature of the services and their implementation.

Because the community schools approach is frequently adopted as a turnaround strategy in underperforming schools, the current evidence on this approach as a whole-school intervention consists largely of program evaluations that assess student- and school-level progress. Studies that use rigorous quantitative methods contribute to a stronger causal understanding of community schools' effectiveness. Well-designed qualitative research yields greater understanding of the conditions under which community schools work well. Additionally, important and useful knowledge can come from well-designed and well-documented program evaluations, especially if they are guided by a strong theory of change about community schools and use a mixed-methods analytic approach.

Research-Based Lessons for Policy Development and Implementation

Community school strategies hold considerable relevance to education reform and promise for creating good schools for all students, especially children living in poverty. This is very positive news in the face of growing achievement and opportunity gaps, and, particularly, at a moment when the nation faces a decentralization of decision making about the use of federal dollars. State and local policymakers can leverage community schools as an evidence-based strategy for improving school and student outcomes, and specify them as part of ESSA Title I set-aside school improvement plans, as

> The positive outcomes of community schools are most likely to occur when policies, programs, and structures are implemented to address local needs, are sustained over time, and include all four pillars.

well as in proposals for grants under Title IV. If a state or district lacks the resources to implement community schools at scale, it can productively begin in neighborhoods where community schools are most needed and, therefore, students are most likely to benefit.

However, the evidence also shows that high-quality implementation is the key to achieving positive outcomes. Based on our analysis of this evidence, we identify the following 10 research-based lessons for guiding policy development and implementation:

Lesson 1. Integrated student supports, expanded learning time and opportunities, family and community engagement, and collaborative leadership and practice all matter; moreover, they appear to reinforce each other. Taking a comprehensive approach that brings all of these factors together requires changes to existing structures, practices, and partnerships at school sites.

Lesson 2. In cases where a strong program model exists, such as for many of the interventions addressing integrated student supports, implementation fidelity matters. Evidence suggests that results are much stronger when programs with clearly defined elements and structures are implemented consistently across different sites.

Lesson 3. For expanded learning time and opportunities, student access to services and the way time is used make a difference. Students who participate for longer hours or a more extended period receive the most benefit, as do those attending programs that offer activities that are engaging, are well aligned with the instructional day (i.e., not just homework help, but content to enrich classroom learning), and that address whole-child interests and needs (i.e., not just academics).

Lesson 4. Students can benefit when schools offer a spectrum of engagement opportunities for families, ranging from providing information on how to support student learning at home and volunteer at school, to welcoming parents involved with grassroots community organizations seeking to influence school and district changes. Doing so can help to establish trusting relationships that build upon community-based competencies and support culturally relevant learning opportunities.

Lesson 5. Collaboration and shared decision making matter. Community schools are stronger when they develop a variety of structures and practices (e.g., leadership and planning committees; professional learning communities) that bring educators, partner organizations, parents, and students together to make key decisions about how to develop and govern a community school and to engage around its continuous improvement. Also beneficial is involving these stakeholders from the beginning in the community school needs assessment, design, planning, and implementation processes. Sufficient planning time that fosters trust among school staff, service providers, parents, and community members enhances effective collaboration.

Students can benefit when schools offer a spectrum of engagement opportunities for families, ranging from providing information on how to support student learning at home and volunteer at school, to welcoming parents involved with grassroots community organizations seeking to influence school and district changes.

Lesson 6. Strong implementation requires attention to all pillars of the community schools model and to the full integration of those components into the core life of the school (as opposed to viewing community school services as add-on features). In particular, community schools would benefit from maintaining a strong academic improvement focus to support students' educational outcomes. Students would also benefit from attending community schools that offer more intense or sustained services, and that have been allowed sufficient time to mature in terms of program implementation. Implementation strategies would benefit from using data in an ongoing process of continuous program evaluation and improvement, while allowing sufficient time for the strategy to fully mature.

Lesson 7. Educators and policymakers embarking on a community schools approach can benefit from beginning with a framework that keeps their focus on the overarching goals of creating school conditions and practices characteristic of high-performing schools, as well as ameliorating out-of-school barriers to teaching and learning. This will help ensure that the adoption and implementation of various community school elements will improve outcomes in neighborhoods facing poverty and isolation.

Educators and policymakers embarking on a community schools approach would benefit from beginning with a framework that keeps their focus on the overarching goals of creating school conditions and practices characteristic of high-performing schools, as well as ameliorating out-of-school barriers to teaching and learning.

Lesson 8. Successful community schools do not all look alike. Therefore, effective plans for comprehensive place-based initiatives leverage the four pillars in ways that target local assets and needs. These plans also recognize that programming may need to modified over time in response to changes in the school and community.

Lesson 9. Strong community school evaluation studies provide information about progress toward hoped-for outcomes, the quality of implementation, and students' exposure to services and opportunities. Quantitative evaluations would benefit from including carefully designed comparison groups and statistical controls, and evaluation reports would benefit from including detailed descriptions of their methodology and the designs of the programs. Policymakers and educators could also benefit from evaluation studies that supplement findings about the impact of community schools on student outcomes with findings about their impact on neighborhoods.

Lesson 10. The field would benefit from additional academic research, using rigorous quantitative and qualitative methods to study both comprehensive community schools and the four pillars. This research could focus on the impact of community schools on student outcomes, on school outcomes, and on community outcomes. Additional research could seek to guide implementation and refinement in such schools, particularly in the low-income, racially isolated communities where they are disproportionately located.

Conclusion

Although we call for additional research and stronger evaluation, evidence in the current empirical literature shows what is working now. The research on the four pillars of community schools and the evaluations of comprehensive interventions, for example, shine a light on how these strategies can improve educational practices and conditions and support student academic success and social, emotional, and physical health.

As states, districts, and schools consider improvement strategies, they can be confident that the best available evidence demonstrates that the various community school approaches offer a promising foundation for progress.

Appendix: Assessing the Evidence Base

The findings presented in this report are based on a systematic review of existing literature. By reading a wide range of descriptive accounts of community schools, the research team identified four pillars as common features of this diverse approach to school improvement:

1. Integrated student supports
2. Expanded learning time and opportunities
3. Family and community engagement
4. Collaborative leadership and practice

The team also reviewed empirical studies and research syntheses of programs implementing each of the four pillars individually, as well as research and evaluations of comprehensive community school programs that include most or all of the community school pillars. This process involved an examination of the impact of these interventions on a range of student academic, behavioral, and social-emotional outcomes in the short and long term.

Literature Search Procedures

The review process began with a broad literature search to identify relevant published studies, evaluations, and research syntheses, using the resources listed in Table A1. This was supplemented by conversations with community school experts to learn about additional evaluation efforts that were not identified through the initial search.

Table A1
Literature Resources

Type of Resource	Name of Resource
Electronic Databases	EBSCO
	JSTOR
	ProQuest
	Google/Google Scholar
Organizational Websites	Coalition for Community Schools
	National Center for Community Schools
	Individual program websites
Academic Journals	American Economic Journal: Applied Economics
	American Educational Research Journal
	American Journal of Community Psychology
	Child Development
	Children & Youth Services Review
	Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review
	Crime and Delinquency
	Education and Urban Society
	Educational Administration Quarterly
	Harvard Educational Review
	Journal of Child and Family Studies
	Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk (JESPAR)
	Journal of Educational Administration
	Journal of Educational Change
	Journal of Educational Research
	Journal of Human Resources
	Journal of Political Economy
	Marriage & Family Review
	Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development
	National Association of Secondary School Principals Bulletin
	National Forum of Multicultural Issues Journal
	Research on Social Work Practice
	Review of Educational Research
	Review of Research in Education
	School Effectiveness and School Improvement
	School Leadership and Management
	Teachers College Record
	Teaching and Teacher Education
	The Elementary School Journal
	Urban Education

Key search terms included combinations and variations of the phrases listed in Table A2. There were two phases in the literature search. During the first phase, the research team discussed search terms and literature resources, and then conducted a broad sweep of the evidence base to identify an initial set of community school studies. After reading and discussing this initial set of studies, the researchers identified the four community school pillars, which served as a framework for the more extensive second phase of the literature search. During this second phase, each researcher assumed primary responsibility for a different portion of the evidence base, as outlined in Table A2, yielding additional evidence for consideration.

Table A2
Key Search Terms

Pillar 1. Integrated student supports	School-linked services, school-based services, extended schools, integrated student supports, wraparound services
Pillar 2. Expanded learning time and opportunities	Expanded learning time, extended learning time, summer programs, after-school programs, out-of-school programs, longer school years, longer school days
Pillar 3. Family and community engagement	Parent engagement, parent support, parent involvement, family engagement programs, family support, family involvement, student engagement, community engagement, community organizing
Pillar 4. Collaborative leadership and practice	Community participation, shared leadership, collaborative leadership, distributed leadership, collective trust, professional learning communities
Comprehensive community schools	Community schools, comprehensive community schools, full-service community schools, school-community partnerships

This search yielded academic research, community school program evaluations, and research syntheses on all four pillars and on comprehensive community school programs that include most or all of the four pillars. The comprehensive community schools evidence base consists largely of program evaluations posted on organizational websites. Typically, an external evaluator conducts these, although a community school initiative will occasionally release an internal program evaluation. Researchers have also investigated community schools in academic studies published in peer-reviewed journals. In addition, university or independent researchers have conducted program evaluations in response to a grant requirement or program improvement initiative.

Program evaluations are quite varied in the extent to which they employ a rigorous methodology. Some evaluations capture and report outcomes for students in the community school program with simple descriptive statistics, such as the percentage of students who achieve a proficient score on state-mandated standardized tests. Other evaluations employ a research-based logic model, or theory of change, to test whether community school activities affect student outcomes in expected ways. These approaches are helpful for tracking program improvement over time. Evaluations may also employ quasi-experimental or randomized techniques, which help to assess student or school progress in relation to a non-community school comparison group. Finally, evaluations conducted internally and those conducted by external organizations also vary in

methodological rigor and extent of peer review. External evaluations may be considered more objective in nature, although a carefully constructed and thoroughly reviewed internal evaluation can also provide trustworthy evidence.

Inclusion Criteria

All studies that met a set of preliminary criteria were reviewed by at least one of the authors. These are the criteria:

- The studies examined programs that included one or more of the community school pillars we identified: (1) integrated student supports, (2) expanded learning time and opportunities, (3) family and community engagement, and (4) collaborative leadership and practice. Because our definition of a community school relies upon these four pillars, this review considers evidence of the impact associated with each of these pillars individually, as well as together.

- The majority of studies were released within the past 15 years. This decision on the research period took into account two major community school research reviews that came out around the beginning of that period (one in 2000, and the other in 2003).[436] This report is intended to build upon these prior reviews by considering more recent evidence. There are two exceptions to this rule. The first is a small number of original evaluations that qualify as seminal studies because they are referenced frequently in more recent community schools research, and/or because they address a shortcoming in the existing evidence base. For example, this review includes two randomized evaluations of Comer's School Development Program published in 1999 and 2000, because there are very few randomized evaluations in the evidence base, and these particular studies have often been cited in subsequent research.[437] The second exception is a small number of rigorously constructed research syntheses relevant to each of the individual community school pillars, which were included to provide a historical perspective to the evidence considered for each pillar. For each study older than 15 years, there is a note in the Research Compendium explaining why it was included.

- The studies either explained the research methods they used and reported statistical output when relevant, or the authors supplied this information upon request. This was particularly important in the case of program evaluations, which were sometimes written for a practitioner audience and therefore left out methodological details.

The inclusion criteria intentionally captured studies using a broad range of research methods, including randomized control trials, quasi-experimental studies, well-designed case studies with no comparison group, and published research syntheses with clearly outlined methodologies for the selection and analysis of studies. This report includes a variety of program evaluations, some of which are peer-reviewed and published in academic journals and some of which are not. However, those not peer reviewed were included only if they were well designed, carefully executed, and reported with sufficient detail. Further evidence comes from research syntheses published in peer-reviewed academic journals or released by research organizations that employ peer review. In addition to studies employing quantitative methods, we also included rigorous qualitative case studies and those using a mixed-methods approach. These studies shed light on questions of implementation and the nature of student outcomes using data from interviews, focus groups, site visits, surveys, and analysis of administrative records.

Considering multiple research approaches adds depth and breadth to our understanding of the effectiveness of potential interventions. This selection approach yielded 143 studies that met the criteria for inclusion (see Table A3 for an overview of the studies we reviewed and the Research Compendium for a full summary of the studies we reviewed).

Review Procedure

We began our review by grouping together studies according to their primary focus and screening them using the inclusion criteria. Research on community school reforms that emphasize integrated student services, for example, was grouped with other studies of integrated student supports and separated from research on community school reforms that focus on extended learning time. These distinctions can be somewhat artificial, given that any specific community schools reform is likely to contain multiple areas of focus. However, most initiatives identify areas of focus to emphasize in their programming.

Table A3
Overview of Student and School Outcome Studies Reviewed

Category	Number of Studies
Comprehensive community school evaluations	24, including 3 research syntheses
Pillar 1: Integrated student supports	27, including 6 research syntheses
Pillar 2: Expanded learning time and opportunities	24, including 14 research syntheses
Pillar 3: Family and community engagement	29, including 13 research syntheses
Pillar 4: Collaborative leadership and practice	35, including 13 research syntheses
Cost-benefit analyses	4 studies
TOTAL	143, including 49 research syntheses

Studies in each group were summarized (see the Research Compendium). We then coded all original community school research studies with student and school outcome data (excluding syntheses and meta-analyses) by outcome category using an inductive process. The categories that emerged were:

- Academic Outcomes
  - Achievement (including test scores and grades)
  - Progress (including dropout rates, retention rates, graduation rates, college enrollment rates, course credit attainment rates, and course failure rates)
- Behavioral Outcomes
  - Attendance (including absenteeism, chronic absenteeism, attendance, and school mobility rates)
  - Discipline (including disciplinary referrals, suspensions, and behavioral offenses)
  - Healthy behavior (including teen pregnancy rates, juvenile incarceration rates, self-reported risky behaviors like substance use or criminal acts, nutrition and exercise habits, and aspects of mental and physical health)

- Social-Emotional Outcomes
  - Student attitudes (including sense of safety, self-esteem, attitudes toward school, belief in the value of education, self-efficacy, orientation toward learning, and engagement with school)
  - Relationships (including peer relationships, student-adult relationships, and parent relationships with teachers/schools)
  - School climate (broad measures of organizational health, educational climate, and collective trust)

The two most frequently studied outcomes are student achievement and attendance rates. Researchers have examined other outcomes ranging from changes in student attitudes and relationships to graduation and teen pregnancy rates.

As a final step, key findings were summarized across relevant studies, based upon themes or patterns that emerged from the convergence of evidence across multiple studies. This analysis took into account the methodology used in each study. The research team also classified the methodologies that each of the studies employed according to the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) statutory definition of an "evidence-based intervention"[438] and resolved any uncertainty regarding how to classify a study through discussion. ESSA defines state and local education agency, and school activities, strategies, or interventions as evidence-based if they "demonstrate a statistically significant effect on improving student outcomes or other relevant outcomes" through "at least one well-designed and well-implemented" study, or demonstrate a research-based rationale and include ongoing evaluation efforts (see Table A4). This classification process allowed the research team to determine whether community schools meet the definition of an evidence-based ESSA intervention.

Table A4
ESSA's Definition of "Evidence-Based Interventions"

<table>
<tr><th>Tier 1</th><th>Tier 2</th><th>Tier 3</th><th>Tier 4</th></tr>
<tr><th>Strong Evidence</th><th>Moderate Evidence</th><th>Promising Evidence</th><th>Emerging Evidence</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">At least one well-designed and well-implemented study demonstrates a statistically significant effect on improving student outcomes using a(n)</td><td rowspan="2">Demonstrates a rationale that the intervention is likely to improve student outcomes, based on high-quality research

Includes ongoing evaluation efforts</td></tr>
<tr><td>Experimental methodology</td><td>Quasi-experimental methodology</td><td>Correlational methodology with statistical controls for selection bias</td></tr>
</table>

ESSA requires that Title I, Part A interventions for low-performing schools, as well as competitive grant programs, employ evidence-based strategies that fall into Tiers 1–3.[439] It is up to states and local education agencies to develop a plan for how to spend the Title I, Part A set-aside in support of low-performing schools, which includes selecting among a variety of strategies that meet the definition for an evidence-based intervention. Other formula grant programs, such as Title II teacher supports and Title IV, Part A student supports, encourage (but do not require) the evidence-based standard. See the Research Compendium for the ESSA classification of each study we reviewed.

While the ESSA evidence tiers rank experimental and quasi-experimental evidence above other research methodologies, it is important to keep in mind that there are benefits and drawbacks to each approach. Experimental studies, where some students are randomly assigned to receive services and others are randomly assigned to a comparison group, are intended to allow for a solid inference that any differences which emerge between the two groups are caused by the program itself. However, the community schools approach is, by definition, a whole-school intervention strategy that does not lend itself to random assignment. For this reason, there are very few randomized control trials in the community schools evidence base, and those that exist often provide a partial test of the model (for example, randomly assigning some students to receive extra services within a school).

Endnotes

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97. In addition, 10 of the 19 studies found mixed effects for the impact of wraparound on distal outcomes, or found that there was no difference between the wraparound and comparison groups.

98. Suter and Bruns found similarly promising, but mixed, results in a 2008 review of 36 outcome studies examining wraparound initiatives in mental health, education, child welfare, juvenile justice, and interagency initiatives, including 23 pretest-posttest single group studies, six quasi-experimental studies, four randomized control trials, and three single case studies. Three of the four randomized control trials reported primarily positive significant results, with one reporting largely nonsignificant results. Three out of six quasi-experimental studies reported at least one significant positive result, while the other three reported nonsignificant results. Suter, J. C. & Bruns, E. J. (2008). A narrative review of wraparound outcomes studies. In E. J. Bruns and J. S. Walker (Eds.), *The resource guide to wraparound.* Portland, OR: National Wraparound Initiative Research and Training Center for Family Support and Children's Mental Health.

99. Suter, J. C., & Bruns, E. J. (2009). Effectiveness of the wraparound process for children with emotional and behavioral disorders: A meta-analysis. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review, 12*(4), 336–351.

100. While not all studies in our review included effect size statistics, they are included in our discussion of when they were provided.

101. Lipsey, M. W. (1995). What do we learn from 400 research studies on the effectiveness of treatment with juvenile delinquents? In J. McGuire (Ed.), *What works: Reducing reoffending, guidelines from research and practice* (pp. 63–78). Chichester, UK: Wiley; Lipsey, M. W, Wilson, D. B. & Cothern, L. (2000). *Effective intervention for serious juvenile offenders.* Washington, DC: Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention; Murphy, R. A. (2002). Mental health, juvenile justice, and law enforcement responses to youth psychopathology. In D. T. Marsh & M. A. Fristad (Eds.), *Handbook of serious emotional disturbance in children and adolescents* (pp. 351–374). New York, NY: John Wiley.

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103. Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice. (n.d.). Wraparound program. http://www.cjcj.org/Direct-services/Wraparound-Program.html (accessed 9/10/17).

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105. The authors employed a logistic regression analysis model, which predicts the outcome of a dependent binary (yes/no) variable, using one or more independent variables.

106. Pullmann, M. D., Kerbs, J. Koroloff, N., Veach-White, E., Gaylor R., & Sieler, D. (2006). Juvenile offenders with mental health needs: Reducing recidivism using wraparound. *Crime & Delinquency, 52*(3), 375–397. The authors used a Cox regression time-to-event analysis to predict the probability of reoffending, which is a method for investigating the effect of several variables upon the time a specified event takes to happen.

107. Kamradt, B. (2000). Wraparound Milwaukee: Aiding youth with mental health needs. *Juvenile Justice, 7*(1), 14–23; Kamradt, B. & Meyers, M. J. (1999). Curving violence in juvenile offenders with serious emotional and mental health needs: The effective utilization of wraparound approaches in an American urban setting. *International Journal of Adolescent Medicine and Health, 11*(3–4), 381–399; Anderson, J. A., Wright, E. R., Kooreman, H. E., Mohr, W. K. & Russell, L. A. (2003). The Dawn Project: A model for responding to the needs of children with emotional and behavioral challenges and their families. *Community Mental Health Journal, 39*(1), 63–74.

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109. Intent-to-treat is an approach to analyzing randomized control trials in which all randomized participants are analyzed in their randomized group. See, Gravel, J., Opatrny, L., & and Shapiro, S. (2007). The intention-to-treat approach in randomized controlled trials: Are authors saying what they do and doing what they say? *Clinical Trials, 4*(4), 350–356.

110. Three out of four quasi-experimental studies and zero out of two randomized control trials found at least one significant positive effect for measures of student progress, such as credit completion, grade retention, dropout, and promoting power.

111. Three out of three quasi-experimental studies and one out of four randomized control trials found at least one significant positive effect for measures of attendancs, such as chronic absenteeism and overall attendance rates.

112. Three out of four quasi-experimental studies found at least one significant positive effect for mathematics report card scores. Four out of six quasi-experimental studies and one out of four randomized control trials found at least one significant positive effect for mathematics test scores.

113. Three out of four quasi-experimental studies found at least one significant positive effect for English language arts report card scores. Four out of six quasi-experimental studies and zero out of three randomized control trials found at least one significant positive effect for English language arts test scores.

114. Two out of two quasi-experimental studies and zero out of four randomized control trials had at least one significant positive effect for this measure.

115. Cardinali, D. (2014, February 24). The experts have spoken: Integrated student supports improve educational outcomes. *The Huffington Post.* http://www.huffingtonpost.com/dan-cardinali/the-experts-have-spoken-i_b_4842549.html

116. One out of one quasi-experimental study and zero out of four randomized control trials found a significant positive effect for this measure.

117. Two out of four quasi-experimental studies and zero out of four randomized control trials found a significant positive effect for this measure.

118. Walsh, M. E., Madaus, G. F., Raczek, A. E., Dearing, E., Foley, C., An, C., Lee-St. John, T. J., & Beaton, A. (2014). A new model for student support in high-poverty urban elementary schools: Effects on elementary and middle school academic outcomes. *American Educational Research Journal, 51*(4), 704–737.

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120. City Connects. (n.d.). City Connects progress reports. http://www.bc.edu/bc-web/schools/lsoe/sites/cityconnects/results/reports.html (accessed 9/30/17); City Connects. (n.d.). Publications about City Connects. http://www.bc.edu/bc-web/schools/lsoe/sites/cityconnects/results/publications.html (accessed 9/30/17).

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122. Walsh, M. E., Madaus, G. F., Raczek, A. E., Dearing, E., Foley, C., An, C., Lee-St. John, T. J., & Beaton, A. (2014). A new model for student support in high-poverty urban elementary schools: Effects on elementary and middle school academic outcomes. *American Educational Research Journal, 51*(4), 704–737.

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128. Comer School Development Program. (n.d.). About us. https://medicine.yale.edu/childstudy/comer/about/index.aspx (accessed 3/8/17).

129. Lunenburg, F. C. (2011). The Comer School Development Program: Improving education for low-income students. *National Forum of Multicultural Issues Journal, 8*(1), 1–14.

130. Lunenburg, F. C. (2011). The Comer School Development Program: Improving education for low-income students. *National Forum of Multicultural Issues Journal, 8*(1), 1–14.

131. Noblit, G. W., Malloy, W., & Malloy, C. E. (2001). *The Kids Get Smarter: Case Studies of Successful Comer Schools.* Creskill, NJ: Hampton Press.; Lunenburg, F. C. (2011). The Comer School Development Program: Improving education for low-income students. *National Forum of Multicultural Issues Journal, 8*(1), 1–14.

132. Cook, D. T., Habib, F., Phillips, M., Settersten, R. A., Shagle, S. C., & Degirmencioglu, S. M. (1999). Comer's School Development Program in Prince George's County, Maryland: A theory-based evaluation. *American Educational Research Journal, 36*(3), 543–597.

133. The index consists of ten items that assess the effectiveness of or agreement with the following: 1) The School Planning and Management Team, 2) The Social Service Team, 3) The Parent Teacher Association, 4) The school improvement plan, 5) Communication between teams, 6) The use of child development knowledge throughout the school, 7) Whether decisions are made by consensus, 8) The commitment level of team members to improving the school, 9) The degree to which all members of the school community were included in decisions, and 10) The extent to which various cultural and racial groups receive particular attention.

134. The analysis depends on individual level results, and yet within the 4-year sample no student participated for more than 2 years because the middle schools in the study included 7th and 8th grades only, and follow-up data were not available for students after they entered high school.

135. Cook, T. D., Murphy, R. F., & Hunt, H. D. (2000). Comer's Schools Development Program in Chicago: A theory-based evaluation. *American Education Research Journal, 37*(2), 535–597.Our team classified this evaluation as an experimental study according the ESSA evidence guidelines, because participating schools were randomly assigned to implement the intervention. In the Child Trends research synthesis, this study was classified as a "quasi-experimental design" rather than a "randomized control trial."

136. Cook, T. D., Murphy, R. F., & Hunt, H. D. (2000). Comer's Schools Development Program in Chicago: A theory-based evaluation. *American Education Research Journal, 37*(2), 535–597. Several non-Comer schools also received high scores on the implementation index, casting doubt on the extent to which participation in the Comer model was directly responsible for these scores.

137. Communities in Schools. (n.d.). Our model. https://www.communitiesinschools.org/our-model/ (Accessed 9/30/17).

138. ICF International. (2008). *Communities In Schools national evaluation volume 1: School level report.* Arlington, VA: Communities in Schools. Attendance was measured as the ratio of students attending school to annual student membership. Attendance at CiS elementary schools improved by 0.3% over 3 years, CIS middle schools improved by 0.3% over 3 years , and CIS high schools improved by 0.7%. This evaluation employed propensity score matching to create the comparison group.

139. ICF International. (2008). *Communities In Schools national evaluation volume 1: School level report.* Arlington, VA: Communities in Schools. On-time graduation rates were measured using the Cumulative Promotion Index to capture the proportion of a cohort that graduates with a high school diploma within 4 years. Overall, CiS schools showed a 0.2% increase in on-time graduation after 3 years of implementing the program, compared to 1.6% decrease for non-CIS schools. This difference is not statistically significant.

140. The evaluators calculated promoting power rates—the number of 12th graders enrolled in a high school compared to the number of 9th graders enrolled there 3 years earlier—as a proxy for dropout rates. In the overall sample, CiS schools increased their promoting power rates by 2.4% over 3 years, while non-CiS schools improved by 0.7% during the same time period. This difference is not statistically significant.

141. Schools partially implementing the CIS model also outperformed comparison schools, with a 2.7% increase in on-time graduation over 3 years, compared to a 0.2% increase in non-CIS schools. However, this difference is not statistically significant.

142. Promoting power increased by 2.8% over 3 years for high implementers, compared to a 0.8% for non-CIS schools. Schools partially implementing the CIS model underperformed the non-CIS comparison schools by 4.3%, with a decrease in promoting power over 3 years. This difference was not statistically significant.

143. ICF International. (2010). *Communities In Schools national evaluation: Five-year summary report.* Arlington, VA: Communities In Schools.

144. ICF International. (2010). *Communities In Schools national evaluation: Five-year summary report.* Arlington, VA: Communities In Schools.

145. ICF International. (2010). *Communities In Schools national evaluation: Five-year summary report.* Arlington, VA: Communities In Schools. Effect size of 0.25.

146. ICF International. (2008). *Communities in Schools national evaluation volume 1: School level report.* Arlington, VA: Communities in Schools.

147. Somers, M., & Haider, Z. (2017). *Using integrated student supports to keep kids in school: A quasi-experimental evaluation of Communities in Schools.* New York, NY: MDRC. This evaluation employed a quasi-experimental comparative interrupted time series approach to estimate the effect of the whole-school model.

148. ICF International. (2010). *Communities in Schools national evaluation volume 4: Randomized controlled trial study Jacksonville, Florida.* Arlington, VA: Communities in Schools; ICF International. (2010). *Communities in Schools national evaluation volume 5: Randomized controlled trial study Austin, Texas.* Arlington, VA: Communities in Schools; ICF International. (2010). *Communities in Schools national evaluation volume 6: Randomized controlled trial study Wichita, Kansas.* Arlington, VA: Communities in Schools.

149. Attendance rates for case managed students averaged 94.2% at baseline, 89.3% after 1 year, and 88.6% after 2 years. Attendance rates for non-case managed students averaged 94.78% at baseline, 93.3% after 1 year, and 86.4% after 2 years. The net change of 0.08% between groups in the second year of implementation substantively important (effect size of 0.72).

150. Parise, L. M., Corrin, W., Granito, K., Haider, Z., Somers, M., & Cerna, O. (2017). *Two years of case management: Final findings from the Communities in Schools random assignment evaluation.* New York, NY: MDRC.

151. Diplomas Now. (n.d.). One-pager on Diplomas Now. http://diplomasnow.org/about/ (accessed 11/12/17).

152. Corrin, W., Sepanik, S., Rosen, R., & Shane, A. (2016). *Addressing early warning indicators: Interim impact findings from the Investing in Innovation (i3) evaluation of Diplomas* Now. New York, New York: MDRC.

153. Corrin, W., Sepanik, S., Rosen, R., & Shane, A. (2016). Students without early warning indicators maintain better than 85% attendance, have less than 3 days suspended or expelled, and receive passing grades in both English language arts and mathematics. Diplomas Now did not have a significant impact on the percentage of students meeting a more stringent threshold suggestive of a stable educational trajectory: better than 90% attendance, no suspensions or expulsions, and passing all four core subject areas of English language arts, mathematics, social studies, and science. Furthermore, Diplomas Now did not produce a significant impact on the percentage of students above either the stability or early warning thresholds for any of the separate attendance, behavior, or academic outcome measures.

154. Peterson, J., & Koester, N. (2013). *Kent School Services Network: Comparison of KSSN and non-KSSN schools.* Grand Rapids, MI: Kent School Services Network; and Community Research Institute at Johnson Center at Grand Valley State University. (2013). The evaluation employs statistical testing to detail the general comparisons between KSSN and non-KSSN schools, but does not control for potential demographic differences between the two groups of schools.

155. Johnson Center at Grand Valley State University. (2013). *The link between school environment and attendance: Kent School Services Network.* Grand Rapids, MI: Kent School Services Network. A subsequent evaluation corroborated the significant increase in satisfactory attendance rates for KSSN schools, although satisfactory attendance rates in the 2013–14 and 2014–15 academic years do not appear to show additional growth. See Johnson Center at Grand Valley State University. (2014). *An assessment of the*

community school strategy and the impacts on attendance and school environment. Grand Rapids, MI: Kent School Services Network.

156. Bunger, A. C. (2010). Defining service coordination: A social work perspective. *Journal of Social Services Review, 36*(5), 385–401.

157. Adelman, H. S. & Taylor, L. (1997). Addressing barriers to learning: Beyond school-linked services and full-service schools. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 6*(3), 408–421.

158. University of California, Los Angeles School Mental Health Project. (2000). Addressing barriers to learning: New ways to think … Better ways to link. *Mental Health in Schools Training and Technical Assistance Center Newsletter, 5*(1), 1–7.

159. Jennifer McMurrer, *NCLB Year 5: Choices, Changes, and Challenges: Curriculum and Instruction in the NCLB Era*, Center for Education Policy, 2007. http://www.cep-dc.org/displayDocument.cfm?DocumentID=312

160. Putnam, R. D. (2016). *Our kids: The American Dream in Crisis*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster; Pamela R. Bennett, Amy C. Lutz, and Lakshmi Jayaram (2012). Beyond the schoolyard: The role of parenting logics, financial resources, and social institutions in the social class gap in structured activity participation. *Sociology of Education 85*(2) 131–157, 2012.

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162. Davis, J. (2014). *California After-school Network: State of the State of Expanded Learning in California 2013–14.* Davis, CA: California After-school Network.

163. Faberman, D., Davis, J., Goldberg, D., & Rowland, J. (2015). *Learning time in America: Trends to reform the American school calendar system.* Boston, MA: National Center on Time and Learning.

164. After-school Alliance. (2012). *Principles of effective expanded learning programs: A vision built on the after-school approach.* Washington, DC: Author.

165. National Summer Learning Association. (n.d.). http://www.summerlearning.org/ (accessed 9/26/17).

166. See, e.g., definitions offered by The After School Division, California Department of Education, working definition July 2014; After-school Alliance. (2012). *Principles of effective expanded learning programs: A vision built on the after-school approach.* Washington, DC: After-school Alliance; Redd, Z., Boccanfuso, C., Walker, K., Princiotta, D., Knewstub, D., and Moore, K. (2012). *Expanding time for learning both inside and outside the classroom: A review of the evidence base.* Bethesda, MD: Child Trends.

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168. Jacobson, R., Jamal, S. S., Jacobson, L., Blank, M. J. (2013). *The growing convergence of community schools and expanded learning opportunities.* Washington, DC: Coalition for Community Schools.

169. National Center for Community Schools. (2013). *Building Community Schools: A Guide for Action.* New York, NY: National Center for Community Schools.

170. Redd, Z., Boccanfuso, C., Walker, K., Princiotta, D., Knewstub, D., and Moore, K. (2012). *Expanding time for learning both inside and outside the classroom: A review of the evidence base.* Bethesda, MD: Child Trends.

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172. Jacobson, R., Jamal, S. S., Jacobson, L., Blank, M. J. (2013). *The growing convergence of community schools and expanded learning opportunities.* Washington, DC: Coalition for Community Schools.

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J. A. (2006). Engaging young people: Learning in informal contexts. *Review of Research in Education, 30*(Special Issue on Rethinking Learning: What Counts as Learning and What Learning Counts), 239–278; National Research Council. (2012). *Education for life and work: Developing transferable knowledge and skills in the 21st century.* Committee on Defining Deeper Learning and 21st Century Skills, J. W. Pellegrino & M. L. Hilton, (Eds.). Board on Testing and Assessment and Board on Science Education, Division of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press.

175. National Research Council. (2003). *Engaging schools: Fostering high school students' motivation to learn.* Washington, DC: National Academies Press.

176. Farbman, D. A. (2015). *The case for improving and expanding time in school: A review of key research and practice.* Boston, MA: National Center for Time and Learning; Peterson, T. K. (Ed.). (2013). *Expanding minds and opportunities: Leveraging the power of after-school and summer learning for student success.* http://www.expandinglearning.org/expandingminds (accessed 9/27/17). A groundbreaking compendium of studies assembled by the Mott Foundation in 2013 includes reports and commentaries by more than 100 thought leaders including community leaders, elected officials, educators, researchers, advocates and other prominent authors.

177. Patall, E. A., Cooper, H., & Allen, A. B. (2010). Extending the school day or school year: A systematic review of research (1985–2009). *Review of Educational Research, 80*(3), 401–436.

178. Patall, E. A., Cooper, H., & Allen, A. B. (2010). Extending the school day or school year: A systematic review of research (1985–2009). *Review of Educational Research, 80*(3), 430.

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190. Biag, M., & Castrechini, S. (2016). Coordinated strategies to help the whole child: Examining the contributions of full-service community schools. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk, 21*(3), 157–173.

191. Durham, R. E., & Connolly, F. (2016). *Baltimore Community Schools: Promise & Progress*. Baltimore, MD: Baltimore Education Research Consortium.

192. Students participating in the typical number of days of extended learning time programming (72.8) had a higher adjusted attendance rate (93.6%) than non-participants (92.9%) during the rest of the school year (p<.0001). This evaluation employed hierarchical linear modeling with demographic controls. Chicago Public Schools Office of Extended Learning Opportunities. (2009). *Evaluation Brief: The 2007–2008 Chicago Public Schools' Community Schools Initiative: The impact of out-of-school-time participation on students*. Chicago, IL: Chicago Public Schools Office of Extended Learning Opportunities.

193. Researchers adjusted this analysis for days of suspension prior to the start of the extended learning time intervention, and only included students who had participated in the typical number of days of programming (72.8) or more. The result is statistically significant at the .01 level, but the effect size is not substantive (d=.04). The evaluation employed hierarchical linear modeling with demographic controls. Chicago Public Schools Office of Extended Learning Opportunities. (2009). *Evaluation Brief: The 2007–2008 Chicago Public Schools' Community Schools Initiative: The impact of out-of-school-time participation on students*. Chicago, IL: Chicago Public Schools Office of Extended Learning Opportunities.

194. For reading, the average CSI participant gained 0.9 scale points more (14.1) on the Illinois Standards Achievement Test (ISAT) than nonparticipants (13.2) (d = .06, p<.0001). For mathematics, the average CSI participant gained .8 scale points more (12.5) on the ISAT than non-participants (11.7) (d = .05, p<.0001). This evaluation employed demographic controls for hierarchical linear modeling analysis,

195. Furrer, C. J., Magnuson, L., & Suggs, J. W. (2012). Getting them there, keeping them there: Benefits of an extended school day program for high school students. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk, 17*(3), 149–164.

196. Students participating in the SUN after-school program (n=432) earned an average of 6.5 credits during the 2008—09 school year, compared to an average of 5.3 credits for the comparison group (n=471). The authors employed propensity score matching and included demographic and prior test score controls.

197. Students in the study needed a total of 24 credits to graduate high school, so they are expected to earn 6 credits per year.

198. Attendance for SUN participants (n=419) averaged 89.8% in 2008—09, compared to 85.6% for nonparticipants (n=482), a statistically significant difference of 4.2%.

199. Krenichyn, K., Clark, H., & Benitez, L. (2008). *Children's Aid Society 21st Century Community Learning Centers after-school programs at six middle schools: Final report of a 3-year evaluation, 2004–2007*. New York, NY: ActKnowledge. Available online at http://www.childrensaidsociety.org/files/upload-docs/Community%20Schools%20-%20After%20School%20Programs.pdf

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201. LaFrance Associates. (2005), *Comprehensive evaluation of the full-service community schools model in Maryland: General Smallwood Middle School.* San Francisco, CA: Milton S. Eisenhower Foundation.

202. Roth, J. L., Malone, L. M., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2010). Does the amount of participation in after-school programs relate to developmental outcomes? A review of the literature. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 45*(3–4), 310–324.

203. Extended learning time participants reported increases relative to nonparticipants in both teacher support (d=.09, p<.001) and teacher expectations (d=.05, p<.001).

204. Castrechini, S. (2011). *Examining student outcomes across programs in Redwood City Community Schools*. Stanford, CA: John Gardner Center for Schools and their Communities. This finding is statistically significant, although students who participated in community school programs in 2009—10, the 4th year of the program evaluation, had higher baseline school attendance than non-participants, suggesting that there may be underlying factors influencing both community school participation and attendance that are not accounted for in this analysis.

205. Krenichyn, K., Clark, H., & Benitez, L. (2008). *Children's Aid Society 21st Century Community Learning Centers after-school programs at six middle schools.* New York, NY: Children's Aid Society.

206. After-school students averaged 168 days of attendance in 2012–13, while non-after-school students averaged 147 days of attendance (p<.001). While this evaluation does include statistical analyses, it lacks appropriate demographic controls to account for observable differences between students and schools. Rasic, M., Collins, E., & Clark, H. (2014). *Results of the first three years of full service community schools in Paterson.* New York, NY: ActKnowledge.

207. After-school students at one school averaged 167 days of attendance in 2012–13 compared to 155 for non-after-school students (p<.01). At the other school, after-school students averaged 163 days of attendance in 2012–13 compared to 146 days for non-after-school students (p<.01).

208. The evaluation employed statistical analyses with demographic controls.

209. Redd, Z., Boccanfuso, C., Walker, K., Princiotta, D., Knewstub, D., and Moore, K. (2012). *Expanding time for learning both inside and outside the classroom: A review of the evidence base.* Bethesda, MD: Child Trends.

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211. Lauer, P. A., Akiba, M., Wilkerson, S. B., Apthorp, H. S., Snow, D., & Martin-Glenn, M. L. (2006). Out-of-school-time programs: A meta-analysis of effects for at-risk students. *Review of Educational Research, 76*(2), 275–313.

212. DiGiacomo, D., Prudhomme, J. J., Jones, H. R., Welner, K. G., & Kirshner, B. (2016). Why theory matters: An examination of contemporary learning time reforms. *Educational Policy Analysis Archives, 24*(44). http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.24.2334 (accessed 9/7/17).

213. Sociologist Joyce Epstein has helped define the field of family and community engagement by developing a commonly used framework that defines six types of parent involvement, including parenting, communicating, volunteering, learning at home, decision making (participating in governance), and collaborating with the community (coordination the provision of community services). For purposes of our analysis of community schools, Epstein's final two categories—decision making and coordinating with community providers—are incorporated into community schools pillars 4 (collaboration) and 1 (integrated community support) and discussed in other sections of this paper. Epstein, J. (2001). *School, Family, and Community Partnerships: Preparing Educators and Improving Schools.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

214. Warren, M. R., Hong, S., Rubin, C. H., & Uy, P. S. (2009). Beyond the bake sale: A community-based relational approach to parent engagement in schools. *Teachers College Record, 111*(9), 2209–2254.

215. Lopez, M. E. (2003). *Transforming schools through community organizing: A research review.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard Family Research Project, Harvard Graduate School of Education; Mediratta, K., & Fruchter, N. (2003). *From governance to accountability: Building relationships that make schools work.* New York, NY: New York University Institute for Education and Social Policy; Warren, M. R., Hong, S., Rubin, C., & Uy, P. (2009). Beyond the bake sale: A community-based relational approach to parent engagement in schools. *The Teachers College Record, 111*(9), 2209–2254.

216. Jeynes, W. H. (2012). A meta-analysis of the efficacy of different types of parental involvement programs for urban students. *Urban Education, 47*(4), 706–742.

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225. Much of this research was triggered by the Coleman report in 1966 of the federally funded study examining the sources of education inequality. Coleman, J. S., Campbell, E. Q., Hobson, C. J., McPartland, J., Mood, A. M., Weinfeld, F. D., & York, R. L. (1966). *Equality of educational opportunity.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

226. Henderson, A. T., & Mapp, K. L. (2002). *A new wave of evidence: The impact of school, family, and community connections on student achievement*. Austin, TX: National Center for Family and Community Connections with Schools.

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228. Dryfoos, J.G. ((2000). *Evaluation of community schools: Findings to date*. Hastings-on-Hudson, NY: Carnegie Corporation.

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240. Westat and Policy Studies Associates (2001) *The Longitudinal Evaluation of School Change and Performance in Title I Schools, Volume I: Executive Summary.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, Office of the Deputy Secretary, Planning and Evaluation Service http://www.ed.gov/offices/OUS/PES/esed/lescp_highlights.html or read the summary in Henderson, A. T., & Mapp, K. L. (2002). *A new wave of evidence: The impact of school, family, and community connections on student achievement.* Austin, TX: National Center for Family and Community Connections with Schools. 195.

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271. n=5,003. For extended learning time participation, y=0.4, p<.001, d=.10. For family engagement, y=0.37, p<.001, d=.09. This peer-reviewed case study employed multilevel longitudinal growth modeling, but did not have a traditional comparison group. Therefore, it meets the level of methodological rigor established by ESSA Tier 4. Biag, M., & Castrechini, S. (2016). Coordinated strategies to help the whole child: Examining the contributions of full-service community schools. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk, 21*(3),157–173.

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378. The author previously developed and validated a Community School Development Scale that classifies schools as *Inquiring, Emerging, Developing, and Sustaining* based on aggregated teacher survey data. By the time of publication, six of 18 TACSI schools had reached Mentoring and Sustaining levels, representing approximately one fourth of students in the sample.

379. Students at fully implemented community schools scored 8.2 points above the sample average of 745 for mathematics, and 6 points above the sample average of 730 for reading.

380. Student trust in teachers significantly predicted school achievement, as did faculty trust in students and parents. The author compared pre-intervention student and school demographics and controlled for student- and school-level poverty and prior test score performance using hierarchical linear modeling regression analyses.

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382. Dobbie, W., & Fryer, R.G. (2011). Are high-quality schools enough to increase achievement among the poor? Evidence from the Harlem Children's Zone. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics, 3*(3), 158–87. By 8th grade, middle school students gained more than four fifths of a standard deviation in mathematics and one quarter to one third of a standard deviation in language arts. By 3rd grade, elementary school students gained approximately four fifths to one and a half a standard deviation in both mathematics and language arts. Days absent in first 180 days of school averaged 2.851 for 6th grade, 2.310 for 7th grade, and 3.905 for 8th grade.

383. The authors separated the effects of school versus neighborhood services by comparing charter students living inside the geographic zone, who had access to both school and neighborhood services, to the students' neighbors and siblings who did not attend the school, but lived within the zone and had access to neighborhood services. They also compared the achievement of charter students living inside the zone who had access to both school and neighborhood services, to their peers living outside the zone who had access to school services, but did not have access to neighborhood services.

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385. HCZ lottery winners passed 1.115 more New York State Regent exams, a 31% increase over the mean of 3.571 exams. On the three core exams that over 70% of lottery winners and losers took—Living Environment, Global History, and Integrated Algebra—lottery winners scored .027 of a standard deviation higher than lottery losers. Six years after the random admissions lottery, students who attended the school upon admission were 24.2% more likely to enroll in college.

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392. Olson, L. (2014). *A first look at community schools in Baltimore*. Baltimore, MD: Baltimore Education Research Consortium. The average suspension rate decreased from 11.6 to 9.5 for community schools, while the rate for non-community schools decreased from 14.0 to 8.4. For the average number of students suspended multiple times in 1 year, the rate for community schools decreased from 2.5 to 1.8, while the rate for non-community schools decreased from 2.9 to 1.6.

393. If a school had a new leader in 2013—14, they were significantly less likely to show positive change in all school climate domains except for staff relationships. Almost half (40.5%) of community schools experienced a leadership change during this period.

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397. Whalen, S. (2007). *Three years into Chicago's Community Schools Initiative (CSI): Progress, challenges, and lessons learned.* Chicago, IL: University of Illinois at Chicago College of Education. The report draws upon a wide range of data sources, including individual student participation records, detailed surveys of school programs and partnerships, analyses of school improvement plans, school-level summary statistics (e.g., overall standardized test performance), and interviews with program planners, managers, and participants. The author employs correlational analyses to examine patterns in school-level performance, but does not control for factors other than the CSI initiative that might have impacted school outcomes during this time period.

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