STRATEGIC REPRESENTATION OF SCHOOL MANAGEMENT IN TERMS OF DEBORAH STONE

A research paper submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for

DU 5420 Politics in Education (Spring 2011)

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Chapter 1

Introduction

For a while educational reform and school management has been a prominent issue for the New York City school system. The idea of establishing a school system that meets and addresses the declining test scores has been at the forefront of every reform. While there have been many political agendas behind these reforms the idea of creating a system that offers every child a fair and equal education has never been easy, not only New York City but various other cities, communities, and states. The idea of creating one type of educational system which can increase test scores while educating children is the main issue. One might ask whether or not a portfolios management system must exist in specific communities, or they continue to keep adjusting the original standard bureaucratic system.

Purpose of Study

This report looked at several different educational models and analyzed their political perspective in order to offer an explanation surrounding the different solutions each offered their community and schools. Moreover, after creating the matrices using Stone's model of goals, problems, and solutions, the research enabled the researchers to understand what educational model is most effective in New York City the portfolio management system or the standard bureaucratic system.

Creating educational reform that addresses failing schools and test scores seems very basic in theory. Behind every reform, however, are individuals who seek to benefit from these changes. There are many who categorize reforms "as a political solution planned by the best and

the brightest, the policy roll-out was intentionally planned to garner public support" (Bulkley p.96). Unfortunately, personal political gain hinders the process and looses focus on what is most important and the reasons surrounding such reform.

Every school system has a different idea of what will work for their community and students dependent on the individuals leading the reform. In Whatever It Takes Paul Tough examines an organization created by Geoffrey Canada that addresses many of the issues that surrounded the failing neighborhood schools of Harlem. Canada believed that a system must be put in place which "transforms every aspect of the environment that children were growing up; to change the way families raised them and the way their schools taught them as well as the character of the neighborhood that surrounded them," (Tough p.19). Canada's idea of a structure that ran like a "conveyor belt", created a system that not only raised test scores and aided the community and the families that lived in Harlem as well. This system for Harlem was essential in that it left no one out. While Canada's' idea worked significantly well and had great support both economically and politically, one wonders if it would work in another troubled area that lacked money and support.

In Kent County, and in El Paso, Texas Clarence Stone clearly depicts a school system that has found the "proper mix and amount of resources" to raise the standards of the schools. The idea that reform is a shared understanding, mobilizing cross-sector allies, and backing the process with sufficient resources, has assisted Kent in establishing a system, which unites everyone with a common goal and a shared vision. Unlike many other reform types, Kent did not attempt to reinvent the wheel, or even pass blame on anyone, rather it searches to find a common understanding and build on that. This reform however would never have worked if it did not have the economic and political support which made it so successful.

After an effort to reform a centralized system with mayoral control, the city drifted towards a portfolio management approach. In its early failed effort, the NYC administration believed that reform was simply a question "of combining a clear path, the right people, and steely resolve to see things through." (Bulkley p.94) A major component of this type of reform was that control was now centralized. A revamping of the community districts was also implemented, giving further control to the mayor. This was one important factor of friction in the policy-making process." (Bulkley p.113) Unlike El Paso, New York City revamped most of the Board of Education. The Mayors political agenda became very evident. As the mayor continued to push forward, "the exercise of politics has become even more apparent. (Bulkley p.125) Because of the size of New York City, the diversity represented in the five boroughs, and more importantly because the previous attempts at reform had failed it became apparent that a portfolio management school system would be necessary. The City of New York is responsible for 1,043,886 students in five boroughs. This does not include private, and charter schools. This equals the total enrollment of Chicago and Texas El Paso public schools respectively. As of 2001, New York State has adapted the No Child Left Behind accountability statute. Because of this measure of accountability, New York City has experimented and initiated various models to address the declining test scores. These initiatives include a portfolio management approach. Under Mayor Bloomberg's administration, the Department of Education is now under the direct supervision of the Mayor's office. Under this reorganization, the Education system in New York City has seen the restructuring of schools, the change of the graduation criteria and the accusations of scores being "dumbed down" to create the illusion of progress. Stone would describe the latter as a problem in the "polis", more specifically numbers. In a city as large as

New York, manipulating numbers and information to serve the political agenda is quite simple and goes unnoticed by the common community resident.

Currently New York City is still undergoing many changes under the existing regime. During this time test scores have continued to decline, as has the efficacy of the current employees of the Board of Education. While the political gains have been great the educational strides have been minimal. Creating a program that lacks the support of the vital players such as the teachers and the communities at large will definitely not flourish. Nevertheless, every previous reform that has failed must be discarded and everyone must work together to achieve any sort of educational gains. No one educational system will ever be the ideal system.

Research Question

In order to generate a configuration in which to perform this research, the following question will be used to help lead to a clarification for educational reform.

Q. What educational model is most effective in New York City the portfolio management system or the standard bureaucratic system.

Definition of Terms

Goals-
- Equity can be seen as who gets what, when and how.
- Efficiency is a ratio of input vs. output resulting in the best benefit for the least cost. Efficient choices are seen as those that produce the greatest benefit for the least cost.
- Security
- Liberty

Problems-
- Symbols are used to define an argument.
- Numbers are often used to define problems, to measure them.

- Causes define who or what is to blame.
- Interests, groups that have an interest and are affected by the problem.
- Decisions are the sequence of steps and course of action taken.

Solutions- Deborah Stone speaks of solutions in terms of,
- Inducements
- Rules
- Facts
- Rights
- Powers

Civic Capacity- Clarence Stone defines civic capacity as a concerted effort to address a major community problem.

Chapter 2
Review of Literature

The key to understanding Deborah Stone's <u>Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision Making</u> is accepting and understanding the aims, premises, and definitions given the in "Introduction" and "Part One, The Market and the polis." At the same time, one needs to note the facetious and playful tone she occasionally employs. Deborah Stone offers a way of understanding the analysis of politics and policy that makes sense of inconsistencies that are abound in communities and schools grappling with issues important to the interests of individual political actors and to members of the "polis" a term she uses for the political community (Stone, 1997, p. 10). Stone argues that a rational approach to political actors and to members of the "polis" misses the point of politics; to engage opposing points of view that are paradoxical and often cannot be explained logically. She asserts that a rational approach to politics, which she calls "the rationality project," is an "impossible dream" (p. 7). From Stone's point of view, any attempt to view politics rationally is crazy and illogical. A rational approach to politics sets up categories of logic. These categories, used to make sense of things in the political world, can easily be opposed. This is due to their ambiguous and confusing nature, creating paradoxes rather than solutions.

"The Rationality Project" seems to have the answer to understanding messy politics by asserting a better, more sensible way to judge what is valuable and important in the community or "polis". "The Rationality Project" establishes a bias of logic that Stone deconstructs. Political thought defies logic since essentially political though is fraught with abstract notions with multiple meanings. This bias toward rational political thought is exposed

by Stone's argument that "analysis is itself a creature of politics; it is strategically crafted argument, designed to create ambiguities and paradoxes and to resolve them <u>in a particular direction</u>" (Stone p. 7). Political actors present an analysis and argument that seems rational but actually is a strategic representation of a point of view designed to win the case. The rationalist approach is itself a strategic representation crafted in their interest.

Stone's political theory presents a rationale for making sense of politics in the real world, where human actions are governed more by passion than by logic. The lines that separate policy analysis, policy making, and policy solutions are unclear, since there is no definite distinction. Attempts to make one policy area distinct from the other is an attempt to strategically represent a position that often ignores underlying assumptions about values such as equity, efficiency, security and liberty. Stone makes a strong case for the contradictory nature of human values and behavior, as well as the importance of ongoing political argument. According to Stone, arguing for values that underlie policy making is a worthy and complex social process. The following diagram is a visual representation of the two aims of Deborah Stone's Policy Paradox.

Educational institutions are plagued with issues of continuous change. Deborah Stone's book, <u>Policy Paradox: The Art of Political Decision Making,</u> describes how decisions are driven by many factors. Stone discusses two models, the "market" and the ""polis"". The market is a model of individuals competing for self-interests ruled by material exchanges. The ""polis"" is a community model where public interest competes with multiple self-interests, allowing groups

and organizations to establish loyalties and foster alliances. Stone postulates that the ""polis""

model can be used to accurately describe how decisions are made in politics (Stone, 1997).

Stone separates these decisions into three separate components: Goals, Problems, and

Solutions. There are many issues which need to be addressed within these three sections.

Goals

There are four goals that Debra Stone discusses, below is an explanation on each.

Equity

Equity is a goal of the community that seeks fairness. When seeking equity one asks: Who gets

what, when, and how? However, one's perceptions about fairness come from how one views

distribution. "Polis" members would agree that the ideal rational model would call for equity by

simply sharing any and all burdens equally. But as Stone illustrates, cutting "fair" shares of a

cake gets complicated and depends upon multiple referents of the notion of what is being

"shared." Take, for example, the concept of taxes used to support schools. Community

members will question who will receive the distribution, how much will be distributed, and

what process will be used to cause the distribution. Different groups will answer these

questions differently.

Efficiency

According to Debra Stone, the goal of efficiency means getting the most out of a given input or

achieving an objective for the lowest cost. Efficiency helps individuals and communities acquire

things of value. Measuring efficiency is impossible and thus is subjected to varying

interpretations according to one's point of view. Communities must remember that any exchange between two groups may have a potential effect and cost on a third group.

The market relies on voluntary exchanges based on self-interest and perceived gain. The legal obligation associated with school taxes represents a community policy decision in the commons that supporting schools is in the best interest of all.

Security

Stone also names security as a goal of the community; security is often presented as a fundamental political claim that is based on the concept of need. It is agreed that society should meet the needs of individuals and families in dire need. There are , however, varying points of view about what constitutes genuine need. Attempts to objectify definable needs are met with complications in the "polis". Various considerations must be examined: "What kind of thing is needed? Who needs it? What does it provide? And what does it represent?" (Stone p.90). Answers to these questions will vary according to individual perceptions. "Humans require community, solidarity, a sense of belonging; dignity, respect, self-esteem, and honor; friendship and love. We need not only to have and receive, but to give and to help", (Stone, p.95). Viewed in this way, providing for schools becomes more complicated than distributing taxes to support a school's budget.

Liberty

Liberty is an important notion. "Freedom is no less ambiguous and complex than other goals and values that motivate politics" (Stone, p.110). Freedom is commonly seen as the right to do what one wants as long as one doesn't cause harm to others. The question of liberty asks when

the government should intervene, and when is it okay to expand the rights of one group at the expense of another group. The question then becomes how to equalize resources amongst groups and compel cooperation within the "polis".

The concept of liberty is often viewed as freedom to use and dispose of one's resources as one desires. This is subjected to restriction when taxes are raised. Members of the "polis" may or may not wish to pay school taxes but are forced to by legal obligation. Arguments, however, can be made for either side of the tax debate. Liberty can be perceived from a positive or negative point of view depending upon which political claim or interest group one belongs to. Stone argues that the "polis" is a community with a public interest for the greater good. Restricting liberties of individuals are justified by an obligation to the community. Compelling communities to cooperate in solving shared problems expands human freedom, thus expanding liberty.

Problems: symbols, numbers, causes, interests, decisions

Problems in the "polis" are seen in light of goals and values of the community. Defining a problem is structured to present an individual or a particular group's point of view. Since members of the "polis" have competing goals and values, they seek to define problems to win arguments against those who have competing view points. Stone explores five areas of problems confronting anyone in the "polis": symbols, numbers, causes, interests, and decisions. Each is discussed below.

Symbols:

In the "polis", symbols are used to create a narrative to define a perceived problem. Numbers and stories are symbolic representations that are a part of the "polis" and have been created to stand for something else. A symbol obtains its meaning by how it is used and who creates it. People interpret and respond to symbols according to their own interests and backgrounds. Symbols, including numbers, tell stories to promote values and generate support for certain positions.

Numbers

Numbers have the illusion of accuracy, since it is the belief that if the problem can be understood arithmetically, then it can be solved. The difficulty with defining a policy problem with numbers lies in that numbers can conceal hidden stories. In the "polis", number stories are viewed as projections. Numbers suggest that items, or people, counted together have common features and should be treated as one group. According to Stone, the important issue is not in the counting, but in the "counting as;" That is, in establishing the boundaries of the concepts/categories into which items will be counted. Once the boundaries are set, and set for political advantage, what gets counted into the boxes is mostly direct.

Causes

Causal stories define problems because "polis" members distinguish between actions and consequences. The cause of a problem may be spoken about as the result of an action that has certain costs or certain benefits. Policy problem stories are discussed in terms of the intended

consequence of specific actions. Consequences can be spoken about as intended or unintended, since all actions create consequences of some sort . Causes in the political community become a way to talk about shifting responsibility from or toward policy makers. "Political actors create causal stories to describe harms, and difficulties, to attribute them to actions of other individuals, and organizations, and thereby to invoke government power to stop the harm" (Stone p. 208).

Interests:

Having an interest and taking interest are the two stands "polis" members can take in the discussion of interests. Political actors represent an interest in the "polis" by organizing an effort to bring about change. It is in this way that interests are tied to issues. Organizing around an issue to bring about change will only occur if the group's benefits or losses are stronger than those of the opposing group regarding the same issue.

Decisions

Political goals are often reached by making decisions. There are many perceptions as to how decisions are to be made and many ways to make decisions. Decision-making is often based on emotion, habit, social custom, or impulse. Decision-makers assert the authority of reason and logical thinking as the impetus behind responsible decision making. Decision-making in the "polis" is subjected to sharing and negotiating. Thus, rational decision-making in the "polis" becomes yet another way of defining problems and establishing boundaries. Rational decision-makers use their view of a decision as a way to control perception and persuade others. In the

"polis", decision-makers set vague goals. This allows them to appeal to different constituencies. "If goals are forever changing as different people read meanings into them, they cannot serve as a stable reference point for evaluating alternative actions (Stone p. 245).

Finding Solutions: Inducements, Rules, Facts, Rights, Powers

Solutions are ongoing strategies that try to organize people around purposes. The goal behind any policy solution is to use strategy to get people to support the policy action. Stone presents four generic strategies, the concern of which includes "forms of authority government explicitly uses to change behavior and policy" (Stone p. 259). These forms of authority are: inducements, rules, facts, rights, and powers. Each is discussed below.

Inducements:

Incentives and deterrence are flip sides of the same coin. They are motivators to change behavior in people. Positive Inducements are incentives or rewards and negative Inducements are sanctions or penalties. There are three parts involved in inducements. The first is the inducement giver, the second is the receiver/target, and the third is the actual inducement. The Donkey and carrot illustrate how inducements work. People want to reach their goals in the easiest way. Inducements alter people's progress toward their goals. In order for inducements to be successful, the person affected must care about the cost and the rewards and be willing to adjust behavior. Inducements that occur far into the future are less effective than those that are immediate. Positive inducements can create alliances and a spirit of good will, where as negative inducements can divide two parties and can build resentment.

Rules:

Rules are defined as commands to act or not act in a particular situation. Rules determine permissions by deeming acceptability only for certain people in certain situations. Different rules are applied to different people, and are backed up by sanctions. Rules are a strategy to influence and control human behavior.

Facts:

Facts are often presented to support a particular viewpoint about rules. Facts are persuasive arguments constructed to appeal to a person's mind. One can view facts as clean, logical, and reasonable. Facts such as numbers are used as an authority that tells a story to persuade people. The basic assumption that rests on using facts is that given information people can make up their own minds and will act in accordance with the facts.

Rights and Powers

1.   A right is a claim backed by the power of the state

2.   Rights derive from the power of the government

3.   People can have rights only to those things they claim and for which the state backs them up

Normative rights

1.   A right is whatever people in a given society ought to be able to do, have or expect from fellow citizens and the government

2.   Rights derive from some source other than power, such as morality, religion, rationality, or natural law.

3.   People can have rights to things they don't actively claim, and for which the state would not back them up.

Procedural rights – defines a process by which decisions are made

Substantial rights – Defines specific actions or entitlements people may claim

Negative – A right to be free of restraint; says no one can prevent you from doing something.

Positive – An entitlement to have or receive something specifies obligations of someone to provide whatever the entitlement is.

Source of rights:

Legislatures – Statutes passed be a legislative body at any level

Constitutions – constitutions of the United States or any of its states.

Administrative agencies – Rules and regulations promulgated under agency authority

Courts – Past decisions and precedents of judges at any level of the court system

Mechanisms of rights

Formal statement - given in one of the four sources above

Grievance process – adjudication, between two or more parties to a conflict by a neutral third party.

Tort law protects groups of people who suffered a common injury or malpractice. The law of accidents relies on the idea of what people think is reasonable compensation for one's loss and what community think should be the standard.

In the end rights are not tools or instruments, operating mechanically and consistently. Like all policy instruments, they are dependent on and subject to larger politics. Perhaps their most distinctive feature, as policy instruments, is that they provide occasions for dramatic rituals that redefine or reaffirm society's internal rules and it's categories of membership.

Power

Constitutional engineering – this is a theory based on the idea that different types of collective decision-making processes yield different kinds of outcomes. Restructuring is a bid to reallocate power. Someone not winning will want to shift policy to an arena where they might prevail. New decision making structure by design of its mechanism, will produce decisions in the public interest as well as enabling a subordinate interest to become dominate.

A larger community offers a greater selection of possible representatives and a greater chance of finding more competent ones. It is harder for demagogues to persuade a large number of people than a smaller. Decisions will be based on reason rather than emotion. The larger the community the less likely there will be a unified majority on any issue. Policy is less likely to be dominated by a faction or special interest. It is harder for small elite to capture a larger government.

Changing the size of decision making units small vs. large

Small communities have face to face knowledge and people are more likely to have empathy for fellow citizens. Decisions will be based on better intimate knowledge of community.

Small communities can use flexible and informal solutions and use loyalty and empathy to smooth over conflict; they are more conducive to rational deliberation

It is easier to form a unified majority in a small community, so government action is possible, there is a smaller risk of deadlock.

Small communities provide greater opportunities for participation in governance.

A larger community offers a greater selection of possible representatives and a greater chance of finding more competent ones.

It is harder for demagogues to persuade a large number of people than a smaller. Decisions will be based on reason rather than emotion.

The larger the community the less likely there will be a unified majority on any issue. Policy is less likely to be dominated by a faction or special interest.

It is harder for small elite to capture a larger government.

Chapter 3

Viewing Tough's <u>Whatever it Takes</u> through Stone's Lenses, <u>it is clear that she would</u> It is only clear that this is your strategic representation of her work argue that Canada's original Model represents equity. By creating a lottery for the Harlem Children's Zone, Canada's goal was for all students from the community to have an equal opportunity to apply to his school. The use of the Business model was an example of efficiency. Canada knew his target group, and he realized that in order to get support, and financially as well as communal, he had to produce bottom line results. Relating to Stone's Symbols, Canada viewed the competing paradigms between himself and Grey as a problem. His Principal was not supporting his education view and philosophy. The goal of Grey's progressive Model was to educate the child as a whole and to not let "bottom lines" interfere with education. Canada incorporated a "results oriented" approach which would ensure that he would raise scores. Ultimately Canada removed the problem by removing Grey. Stone's framework allowed us to understand the politics of Grey's removal.

The conveyor belt was a symbol as well. It supported the philosophy that the earlier the intervention, the more there would be to develop on, thus creating a positive learning cycle. Every child which is entered into the school could not be left to the equity of a chance lottery. Canada's vision included the Baby College, which allowed Parents to "Go to School" to become more effective parents. Canada viewed New York as an uneven playing field that required more interventions than the traditional Department of Education was providing. Under Stone's solutions, Canada's inducements were the promise that all of his children will succeed, and they will be provided with the best resources to compete with students in New York City and around

the country. Canada's model is necessary because of the unequal playing field that exists in New York City. It allows students to have the opportunity to obtain an education that will allow them to compete in today's society. The problem with this model is that it has not solved the problem of addressing a larger number of students that represent the ""polis"". Using Stone's model allows us to see the importance of Canada's model, but it also allows us to see that it is not the only solution.

The themes in Bulkley are a change central office, performance accountability, school closure, school differentiation. "A portfolio district is built for continuous improvement through expansion and imitation of the highest-performing schools, closure and replacement of the lowest-performing and constant search for new ideas." (Hill 2009). By using a thematic analysis with Stone as a frame work, there are similarities in Bulkley and Tough. Bulkley's model of Portfolio Management seeks to design interventions for different school models based on the need, while Canada's model has one plan for all children with the same need. Stone's framework allows us to look at Bulkley's model from an objective standpoint, because it is universal in that it is applicable to any school system.

Clarence Stone argues for Civic capacity. He believes that the education system is in need of reform, and the way to go about doing this is to involve all stakeholders and follow models of other "big city schools" He is seeking input from everyone involved to revise the system. This differs from Canada's approach in that he is coming in with his own vision and his solution.

It is evident that the Deborah Stone model allows one to look at all of these reformations from an analytical standpoint that breaks down the pros, the cons, the road blocks, the rewards and the outcomes. It allows ~~us~~ to dissect the literature and choose the main theme.   Using this analysis it is evident that there were general themes in all of these models, such as the need for change, higher accountability and effective leadership. Through Stone's interpretation, it is clear that ~~we~~ can ascertain the effectiveness of any of these programs in terms of its goals, problems and solutions.

Chapter 4

Policy Paradox

Whatever it Takes, by Paul Tough a book about the Harlem Children's Zone founded by Geoffrey Canada, Between Public and Private: Politics, Governance and the New Portfolio Models for Urban School Reform by Katrina E. Bulkley, Jeffrey R. Henig and Henry M. Levin which looks at urban school reform, and finally "*Building Civic Capacity: The Politics of Reforming Urban Schools" (Studies in Government and Public Policy)* by Clarence N. Stone. These books were used to analyze the patterns, themes and discrepancies of building civic capacity.

Whatever it Takes – Paul Tough

Whatever it Takes covers the project's first five years, and thoroughly documents the nature of poverty in black America. This is supposed to give readers a sense of what Harlem Children Zone (HCZ) founder Geoffrey Canada was up against. When looking at the political novel from Deborah Stone's political theorist point of view, ~~you~~ can see the story unfold.

Equity	Symbols	Inducements
Create visionary leadership Lottery for entrance into HCZ	(Competing Paradigms) Grey's impression had been that she and Canada were working from two competing paradigms – hers a progressive model concerned with educating the whole child and avoiding burnout in both students and teachers, his a results-oriented model in which every available resource was devoted to improving test scores quickly Terri Grey 165.3 (Conveyor Belt) If you intervene in a child's life early later interventions will have more to build upon, which means that they will pay off more as well. 18.2 (Bad Apple) – 155.1 "The two Victors" – 257.1	(The Promise) A perennial battle in the politics of education had flared up hotter than ever, and students like the ones in sixth grade at Promise Academy were at its center. 128.4 "The sole purpose for for everybody being here – teachers, instructional assistants, everybody - is to prepare you to go to college" Pinder 178.1
Efficiency	**Numbers**	**Rules**
The business model was exactly the right approach for Promise Academy, and for his entire organization. The overall goal of the HCZ might be liberal and idealistic but the best way to achieve that goal was to act not like a bighearted altruist but like a ruthless capitalist, devoted to the bottom line. Drunkenmiller 135.2 First, he wanted to make the students so familiar with the style and structure of the third grade test that taking it became second nature to them. Second was to give the school's administrators and teachers	(Low Test Scores) – Their scores on the citywide tests in fifth grade, the year before, were on par with the dismal results from the rest of Harlem – only 27% had scored on or above grade level in English, and 14% in Math. 132.2 The scores set out in stark relief the task that the school's teachers and administrators had ahead of them. 133.2	

more precise data about which students were having difficulty with the test McKesey 219.3		
Security	**Causes**	**Facts**
(Conveyor Belts) Now it was direct and purposeful, with the same group of children progressing through four clear stops along the way, from Baby College to Three-year-old Journey to Harlem Gems to Promise Academy. -196.2		
Liberty	**Interest**	**Rights**
Canada starts charter school to create own vision 6.1		(Conveyor Belts) Now it was direct and purposeful, with the same group of children progressing through four clear stops along the way, from Baby College to Three-year-old Journey to Harlem Gems to Promise Academy. -196.2
	Decisions	*Powers*
	(Graduation) – When it came down to it, he was making a tradeoff: he was reducing the students' individual chances of success in order to improve the odds for the school as a whole. -255.2	(Leadership Change/Pindar as Sheriff) "You have to walk in the door with a take-no-prisoners, I'm in charge, move-over-a-new-sheriff's in-town, let-me-at-them attitude," - "You almost need to be someone who looks in the face of reality and laughs and simply says, "That's not for me. I don't believe there's a way of getting this done" Pindar 171.1

Whatever it Takes by Paul Tough as seen through Deborah Stone's *Policy Paradox*

Between Public and Private (BPP) examines an innovative approach to school district management that has been adopted by a number of urban districts in recent years. This approach utilizes a portfolio management model, in which a central office oversees a portfolio of schools offering diverse organizational and curricular themes. It includes traditional public schools, private organizations, and charter schools. BPP examines crucial issues related to portfolio management, gauges both the promise and potential pitfalls of the model, considers important contexts for assessing these ambitious efforts to reform district management, and offers in-depth cases of four urban districts Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans that have pioneered this new model. This chart explains Katrina E. Bulkley's story of the Philadelphia school system, but explained through Deborah Stone's *Policy and Paradox*. Bulkley characterizes PMM as a governance reflection of the following trends: markets of educational service providers and alternative school operators, common standards with a measurement system based on performance, and the threat of closing schools as the essence of consequential accountability.

Equity	Symbols	Inducements
	Regular district managed schools slated for a complex, layered set of interventions that are designed, in some cases by the district itself - 128.3 Low-performing schools slated for a complex, layered set of interventions (district or outside people) - 128.3 Alternative schools – serve students removed from their schools for disciplinary or under credited students) -128.3 Low performing (renaissance schools) – 145. High performing (vanguard schools) – 145.2	(Arlene Ackerman) – Valles leaves – 2007 she takes over Imagine 2014 – building a system of great schools instead of a great school system (autonomy) – 145.2 Re-thought the degree to which the providers had real autonomy in the management of their schools and to innovate – 147.1.2 Create bonuses based on performance (merit pay), site selection for teachers, extended school year for low performance schools, and also extended school day– 150.2
Efficiency	Numbers	Rules
DPM (Diverse Provider Model) – set in motion –Brought greater national attention to Philly – Vallas & Nevel embraced NCLB and the pursuit of AYP – Goals for school – became dividends for the "business of school" – 135.2 Deemed that going forward providers needed to show a track record of success – 147.1.1 Planned to impose stronger contracts and systems of accountability – 47.1.5	Valles considered "all public schools" (including charter schools) in the district to be district schools, regardless of management model – accountability (2007) looking at data whether it's a 700 based school, charter or public nothing has gotten better - all of them still are murky – 139/140 (Table5.1) – rise in partnership schools, and rise in charter schools (renaissance and vanguard – new names of old schools) – 155.4	
Security	Causes	Facts
	Acknowledged the previous absence of	Charter school legislation – State takeover

	community engagement in selecting schools and providers, matching them, and monitoring their efficacy – 147.1.3	– kin to mayoral control (same lever) Edision "lead provider" however, they become less of a player – quasi monopoly – 130.3 The pieces of the model came together resulted in a district that functionally had multiple delivery models and has now decided to move towards weaving them together in a system – 162.3
Liberty	*Interest*	*Rights*
SRC School Reform Commission – "State Body" – Now groups like Edison can start vying for control – 132.3 Outside or inside - promoting reform through outside providers and enhanced autonomy, consistent with a portfolio model, and seeking educational improvement though the increasingly centralized managed instruction system – 153	Market based solutions along with a strong centralization is a paradoxes of these strategies is a central theme of the Philadelphia story – 128.1 Why is it happening? Lack of civic engagement Lack of transparency Disallows parents to make informed decisions about where to send their children 156/157	
	Decisions	*Powers*
		Thin management – Approach to outside management – retained authority over and responsibility for facilities management, school safety, food services and the overall school calendar, and the code of conduct for teachers and students.

Between Public and Private: Politics, Governance and the New Portfolio Models for Urban School Reform by Katrina E. Bulkley as seen through Deborah Stone's *Policy Paradox – The Philadelphia Story*

Equity	Symbols	Inducements
	Children First – Implementation, beginning of Leadership Academy – 97.1 Creation of parent coordinator – 96/97 Replace large, failing high schools with a campus of new small schools within the same building / facility of the larger high school – 100.1 Private support as a form of venture capital, helping it to launch initiative quickly without the normal political and bureaucratic checkpoints. (Leadership Academy) – Competitive multi-bidder procurement process – to become the Dept of Ed primary provider of principal training, moving about 10 Million per year of its op budget onto the public balance -115	Stop 10 districts – everyone will go into own district. School will choose their own school support organization. With this more autonomy will create more accountability - Hires James Liebman to oversee the beginning the annual quality review process
Efficiency	**Numbers**	**Rules**
Decentralize and centralize at the same time – 97.1 Divide city into 10 regions – 97.1 Emphasizing the quality of school authorizing and accountability. Detailed charter approval and renewal criteria were implemented, close fiscal oversight prevented the scandals that had emerged in other states – 101.2	Children First – Implement – 97.1 Exemptions to Children First "not broke don't fix it" – 200 schools were not affected…desire not to fix what was already working – 102.2	Exemptions to Children First "not broke don't fix it" – 200 schools were not affected…desire not to fix what was already working – 102.2 Intra-system safe havens – New Century High Schools Initiative, the city charter school sector, the freedom granted to high-functioning schools – 102.3 Strategy for Policy Sustainability (How do you sustain it). It comes from working with outside groups (HCZ) and school organizations from within - 121
Security	**Causes**	**Facts**

Liberty	Interest	Rights
	Despite Klein's goal to prepare "strong, effective, dynamic leaders," the newly centralized systems of authority and decision making were at odds with the notion of empowered school leaders – 99.3	
	Despite seeming inconsistency 2003 mayor and the chancellor announced a major initiative to open up 50 new charter schools - 101.3 School closing – Yet unlike a financial portfolio, where transactions can occur with relative ease, school closings are complicated. Closing decisions should be based on solid evidence, a rarity in the complex and contentious world of student achievement metrics - 110 Nearly one third of the companies and non profits that are members of the (Learn NY)…received no-bid contracts from the Dept of Ed since Bloomberg took control - 124	The formal structure of mayoral control was one important factor in eliminating points of friction in the policy-making process. Mayoral control had replaced the central school board with a thirteen member Panel for Educational Policy (PEP)….vote with me or be fired! – They were fired and those who would vote with him were hired - 113
	Decisions	Powers

	Manage the Portfolio – shift from a centrally run system to a portfolio of fifteen hundred autonomous schools, accountable to the chancellor and mayor through the city's data management systems and supported by public and private service providers competing for customers, is a major institutional change - 108 Hire Chancellor who was antitrust litigator Hire Jack Welch (Leadership Academy) – Out Business Consultant – provide expertise (not $$) to train leaders - 115	

Between Public and Private: Politics, Governance and the New Portfolio Models for Urban School Reform by Jonathan Gyurko & Jeffery Henig as seen through Deborah Stone's *Policy Paradox – The New York City Story*

Clarence Stone argues that urban education is in urgent need of reform, and that, although there have been plenty of innovative and even promising attempts to improve conditions, most have been doomed. The reason for this, they agree, lies in the failure of our major cities to develop their "civic capacity"--the ability to build and maintain a broad social and political coalition across all sectors of the urban community in pursuit of a common goal. Drawing upon an ambitious eleven-city study funded by the National Science Foundation, the Stone et al. synthesize and make sense of the enormous amount of data from Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Denver, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C. Not only is this a vivid report from the front lines of big city schooling, but this work challenges us to rethink our approach to the crisis in our schools. Stone vigorously contends that it is essential for all (or most) important actors in an urban community to join together in their shared vision of what is wrong in the schools and how to fix it, and to pursue that vision strongly and systematically over a long period of time. This is only possible; however, if those same actors develop the ability and willingness to set aside narrow aims and opportunistic behavior, in favor of pursuing the collective good. Written for a wide spectrum of potential readers-including educators, social scientists, policymakers, and every citizen who cares about his or her child's education--this book restores coalition politics to the center of educational reform, and reminds us to look well beyond pedagogy and management theory for solutions to problems that are immune to the usual remedies. Drawing on select cases, such as the El Paso school system, Clarence Stone demonstrates that effective civic coalitions can be built. The struggle for reform can be won.

Equity	Symbols	Inducements
Organic problem solving has to do with relationships (who is included and on what terms) Shared definition or understanding of a problem as an agenda for action – Cross sector mobilization of a coalition	Pillars of institutional power School system City or county government	Formed Collaborative (autonomous unit) – acted as a hub for resources, information, etc. Regular board meetings –about priorities .
Efficiency	**Numbers**	**Rules**
Larkin connection to major local-government officials, Navarro three school superintendents executive director of the regional service center Texas Education agency president of community collage Proper mix and amount of resources Executed through an appropriate and detailed plan		
Security	**Causes**	**Facts**
Success in grant link to wider community	Navarro brought to the group the collaborative experience from her previous positions.	Question the future – large district – low wage society – 85% Hispanic – not many jobs – border town Collaborative lead to systematic reform Principals provide link to parents Collaborative provided professional development turnkey development
Liberty	**Interest**	**Rights**

	Must have a bottom up approach otherwise incomplete capacity Need teacher, parents and others who shape peer-group climate among students	
	Decisions	*Powers*
	Identify crisis frame into a specific problem	All major stakeholders had "civic capital" they were well respected in the community and were able to rally the troops to buy into the vision. Chamber of commerce, sister Marybeth Larkin (EPISCO), connected to the community (El Paso International Sponsoring Organization), Dr. Diana Natalico, Dr. Susan Navarro. Navarro clear vision and experience set the goal and coincided with the State mandate of SBT. Leaders had civic standing (credibility) Collaborative operated from the beginning with ample backing because of professionalism and expertise

Building Civic Capacity: The Politics of Reforming Urban Schools (Studies in Government and Public Policy) by Clarence N. Stone as seen through Deborah Stone's Policy Paradox – The El Paso Story

In conclusion a conflict exists between the market and the "polis". When the best possible education is provided for all children, such as the federal governments attempt with the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) policy, political interest is shifted toward the public (or "polis"). In contrast, the conflict is created by individuals or special interest groups (parents and bargaining units) who seek to benefit their members (the market). As a result, an inconsistency is revealed, when school leaders strive to improve education for all students and are often prevented by the personal self interests of the individuals in the community (the market). In order to be successful, school leaders must be aware of the politics of situations and understand the perspectives of the different constituents. Effective school leaders are cognizant of the political arena in which they function. There are many things in school districts that are politically influential, but successful school leader must seek various solutions to the problems that may arise, while focusing on the main objective - the students.

Chapter 5

In an effort to create an educational system that meets the needs of children, many communities have failed where others have succeeded. Understanding the rationale and the purpose behind each reform allows us to see the motivational force behind each movement. Deborah Stone's framework allows us to recognize the political agenda surrounding the four reforms we have investigated. While each shared similar reasons surrounding school reform, the driving force behind them differed, as well as the outcome of each. Student success has always been the priority for everyone involved with educational transformation. The desired goal, to have every child reach and exceed their desired potential has created a movement to change the problem areas immediately.

While many individuals who have spearheaded such change have involved additional players as well, there have been some that have chosen to do it on their own. Geoffrey Canada created a system that encompassed everyone involved, directly and indirectly with the change that occurred in his Harlem school system. He created a program that rallied around children, parents, community leaders, as well as private support. Understanding the need for support allowed Canada to create a program as well as an educational system that met many of the needs required for academic achievement. His belief in that "we've got to do more," (Tough p.20) drove him to create a model that many have attempted to duplicate. Canada did not care about the outcomes of individual programs, "what mattered was the overall impact he was able to have on the children he was trying to serve." (Tough p.3) His conveyor belt model would create outcomes which delivered proven results. In addition, it offered to every student he served an equitable education and equal piece of the cake that every child in NYC deserved to receive. (Tough p.212) Canada could not have done this alone, which he realized later on in his mission.

He did, however, realize that we should all think of what is plaguing our school system, as "our problem" even if it is just getting students to attend class (Tough p.136) Though his entire plan did not address the needs of every child in NYC, it did work for the children of Harlem. Moreover, Canada did face many bumps in the road which forced him to re-adjust many of his desired goals because of financial and political concerns that came up along the way.

Another promising reform was that of El Paso, Texas. The idea of civic capacity served as their driving force to success. Assuring that everyone would be involved played a major role with the acceptance and success. El Paso was very fortunate to have the program "embraced" by all of the players involved. It is truly important that everyone agrees and stands behind the changes one hundred percent. Any type of disagreement, or "the erosion over time of important connections among people or between organizations" (Stone p.13) would force the initiative to lose force. Unlike NYC, El Paso is very different in the ethnicity, size and make-up of the population served. Would such a system work for our public schools? Probably not.

After examining *Between Public and Private* one can understand how both of these reforms would only survive in specific areas. The New York City Public School system is very different than any other school system in the United States. Understanding the uniqueness of each community is a challenge in itself. While both of the above reforms were very successful, unfortunately similar results would not have occurred if these programs were set forth for the entire NYC school population. Moreover, the continued changes that are occurring in our school have only made reform much more difficult. Canada's' concentration on Harlem only was key to his success. His program only focused on the children from his desired community and even radius/location. He chose every child and monitored the progress through the conveyor belt. It is much easier working with thousands than with millions of children.

New York City requires much more than a simple solution. Careful planning similar to El Paso is very important, as is Democracy. Allowing the mayor to control every aspect of change will only lead to continued failure for our schools. Communities not Regions should be responsible with addressing their own individual needs. A student in Bayside will ever have the same needs as a student in East New York, Brooklyn. Differentiated school systems are needed to address the needs of our children. One school can never meet the needs of every child. Unfortunately creating a multitude of schools, without any direction or purpose, will only shift students and their deficiencies to different areas of NYC. We should consider taking bits and pies of reforms that have worked and attempt to create systems that have purpose and meaning. Unifying our resources and building together rather than apart is the only solution for us. We must seek to work together as a team, instead of dividing our resources and creating animosity between politicians, teachers, administration, parents and students. We have lost focus of what we are working towards, and who we are doing it for; our children.

Work Cited

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