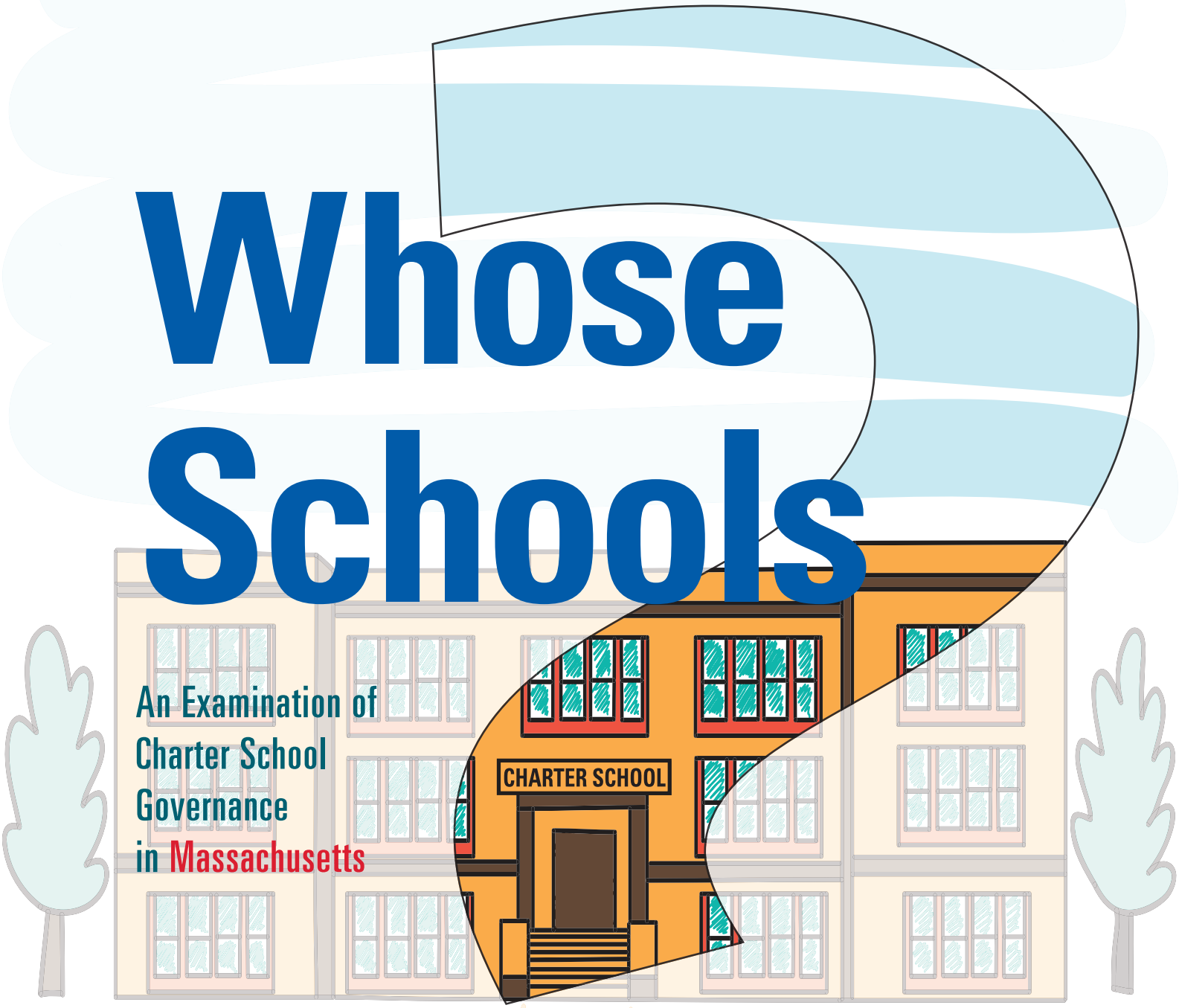
Whose Schools

An Examination of Charter School Governance in Massachusetts



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About the Annenberg Institute for School Reform at Brown University

The Annenberg Institute for School Reform (AISR) is a national policy-research and reform-support organization affiliated with Brown University that focuses on improving conditions and outcomes for all students in urban public schools, especially those attended by traditionally underserved children. AISR's vision is the transformation of traditional school systems into "smart education systems" that develop and integrate high-quality learning opportunities in all areas of students' lives – at school, at home, and in the community. AISR conducts research; works with a variety of partners committed to educational improvement to build capacity in school districts and communities; and shares its work through print and online publications.

Rather than providing a specific reform design or model to be implemented, AISR's approach is to offer an array of tools and strategies to help districts and communities strengthen their local capacity to provide and sustain high-quality education for all students aligned with a set of values and design principles that promote equity and excellence.

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Contents

A time-honored feature of the American public education system is its tradition of local governance. The vast majority of public schools in the United States – over 95 percent – are governed by locally elected boards of education.[1]

The emergence of publicly funded but independently operated charter schools over the past twenty-five years has created an alternative model to local control – that of the independent governing board or, as they are called in Massachusetts, boards of trustees. The impact and implications of independent governance have rarely been at the forefront of policy discussions around the thriving charter industry. But two recent court decisions bring this issue to the fore: In September, the Washington State Supreme Court ruled that charter schools are unconstitutional because they are not locally controlled and therefore do not meet the state's definition of "common schools."[2] Similarly, the Supreme Court of Georgia ruled that the establishment of a state-run school district, created by the legislature as a way to intervene in low-performing schools, requires a constitutional amendment in order to be enacted. The court noted that the Georgia State Constitution limits control of public education "to that level of government closest and most responsive to the taxpayers and parents of the children being educated."[3] Voters in Georgia will decide in November whether to amend the Constitution to allow for state control of public schools.

Charter schools emerged as a reform strategy in the early 1990s. Initially envisioned as small-scale, local, experimental schools, the reality has changed dramatically. Early charters – many of which still exist and thrive – were often founded by community residents or educators, and truly offer innovative educational settings. But chartering has become an industry, with over 6,500 schools nationwide, 35–40 percent of them operated by corporate education management organizations that impose signature models of educational delivery across several, or even several hundred, schools.[4]

The rise of chartering as an industry, as compared to a small-scale experiment, has raised questions for policymakers, advocates, and educators. How many such schools should be allowed? How will they be held publicly accountable? What is their impact on and responsibility towards the state's collective commitment to public education?

AISR's Governance Standards for Charter Schools

In September 2014, the Annenberg Institute for School Reform at Brown University (AISR) released the report *Public Accountability for Charter Schools: Standards and Recommendations for Effective Oversight.*[5] AISR's standards and recommendations emerged out of extensive conversations with parents, students, and educators over a two-year period, a close study of state charter laws, and a review of best practices developed by the National Association of Charter School Authorizers (NACSA). The publication provides a framework for improving cooperation, equity, quality, and transparency across the charter sector.[6]

One of the seven accountability standards recommended in the report focuses on representative and transparent governance. Unlike traditional public schools, charter schools are licensed as independent nonprofit corporations and governed by appointed boards of trustees. In many ways, these boards serve the equivalent functions of the Commonwealth's local school committees. They establish the mission and vision of the school, hire the school director and/or principal, set school policy, and determine what courses are offered and what services provided. They guide staffing decisions and sign contracts for external management and services where appropriate. They oversee compliance with state and federal civil rights laws. They determine how the school's budget will be spent and are legally responsible for the fiscal health of the school.

Unlike most local school committees, charter governing boards are appointed, rather than elected.[7] Unlike local school committees, there are no residency requirements for service on a charter school board of trustees. And unlike local school committees, charter board members may be frequently called upon to raise additional funds for the school's program, marketing, and/or facilities.

At the heart of chartering, however, is the understanding that these governing boards serve first and foremost to carry out a very public purpose: contributing to the state's commitment to provide a high quality education to all Massachusetts children.

AISR's charter standards maintain that governing boards should operate as active public bodies, accountable to and representative of the communities in which the schools operate. Governing boards should operate as active public bodies, accountable to and representative of the communities in which the schools operate. Many charter schools and operators already adhere to those standards. But too many cases of fraud, waste, and abuse have been documented across the country, especially in states with weak charter oversight. For example, U.S. Senator Sherrod Brown of Ohio called on the U.S. Department of Education to increase oversight over the use of a $71 million grant that would allow the state to expand charter schools, due to a history of fraud and mismanagement by Ohio's charter schools. Brown noted that: "Since 2001, state auditors have uncovered more than $27 million in improperly spent funds at charter schools in Ohio. These schools misspend public money at almost four times the rate of other types of public sector agencies." In response, the USDOE is requiring the Ohio Department of Education to hire an approved, independent monitor to oversee the state's use of the funds, among other measures to improve transparency and accountability.[8]

As the charter industry seeks to continue its rapid expansion across the country, state laws and charter standards must make sure they are exercising adequate oversight. AISR's charter standards and recommendations are designed to help ensure that public schools serve the needs of local children and communities and help guard against unethical or illegal use of taxpayer dollars. For example, state policymakers should:

- require that at least 50 percent of the members of each charter school governing board be representatives from among parents at the school (elected by parents) and, in the case of high schools, students (elected by students);
- require that non-parent/student members of the governing board reside in the school district in which the school(s) operates;
- instruct each charter school to list board members with affiliations on the school's website;
- require governing boards of charter schools to hold all meetings in the district in which the school or schools operate, and at times that are convenient to parents; and
- require all meeting to be open to the public and publicized in advance according to the rules for the traditional public school governing body, and require minutes from board meetings to be available online.

As the Massachusetts General Court and the public at large debate the advisability of lifting current caps on charter expansion in the Commonwealth, an examination of the state's current charter context might inform the conversation. For that reason, AISR opted to look at the representativeness and transparency of charter governance across the state: Are parents and students adequately represented on boards of trustees, and do the trustees reside in the community in which the school operates? Are board members and meeting dates listed on charter school websites, allowing parents and community residents to access that information? These are the questions we set out to examine.

Overview of the Massachusetts Charter Landscape

There are two types of charter schools in Massachusetts: Commonwealth charters and Horace Mann charters. While all Massachusetts charter schools are authorized (and licensed) through a contract with the state Board of Elementary and Secondary Education (BESE), Horace Mann charters must also be approved by the local school committee of the district in which they will operate. Commonwealth charter applications are subject to a public hearing by the local school committee, but opposition to the proposed charter is not, in and of itself, grounds for denial of the application. Unlike at Commonwealth charters, teachers at Horace Mann charters are covered by the district's collective bargaining agreement and are represented by their union local accordingly.

There are only eleven Horace Mann charters operating in the state this school year. The vast majority of charters – seventy-one – are Commonwealth charters, approved by

BESE. Charter boards of trustees in Massachusetts, unlike in many other states, are considered public bodies, and are required to adhere to the state's open meeting and conflict of interest laws. Meetings of the boards must be publicized in advance, and minutes must be made available if requested. All trustees must file financial disclosure forms with the state ethics commission.

While the majority of charter schools in the state hold individual charters, there are a number of charter management organizations in Massachusetts that operate multiple schools. Many of these – including Brooke Charter Schools, City on a Hill Charter Schools, Community Day, KIPP, Phoenix Academy, Pioneer Charter Schools of Science, and UP Academy schools – operate several schools under the governance of a single board of trustees.

Several charter schools are operated by charter management organizations headquartered outside Massachusetts. For example, KIPP charter schools are part of a network of 183 schools in twenty states, with offices in San Francisco, New York, Chicago, and Washington, D.C. Uncommon Schools, headquartered in New York City, operates three schools in Boston along with forty others in New York State and New Jersey.

Three schools in the state (Holyoke Community Charter School, Lowell Collegiate Charter School, and SABIS® International Charter School in Springfield) are managed by the for-profit, Minnesota-based SABIS® Educational Systems corporation, which runs both private and charter schools across the U.S. and internationally. Three other Massachusetts charter schools – Pioneer Charter School of Science, with campuses in Everett and Saugus, and the Hampden Charter School of Science in Chicopee – are part of a network of over 130 schools across the country that are run by followers of the Turkish imam Fethullah Gulen. Gulen schools in Los Angeles, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and elsewhere are currently under investigation by the FBI for alleged kick-back schemes that have steered public dollars to the Gulenist movement, as well as possible visa violations related to the schools' teacher corps, most of whom are Turkish nationals.[9]

Massachusetts charter schools run the gamut from small, mission-oriented schools that were founded and are led by parents and educators, to large, multi-campus schools operated by outside for-profit corporations. In our examination of the state's charter school governance landscape, we were able to identify members of the boards of trustees at all of the state's charter schools. In total, we documented 789 board members in the state's eighty-two charter schools. Governing boards ranged widely in size, from the state minimum of five members to twenty-one members. (See Appendix A for a description of our methodology.)

Findings: Whose Schools?

FINDING #1

A significant majority of Massachusetts charter schools provide online access to the names of their trustees and dates of board meetings. Smaller percentages of schools provide trustee affiliation information and online access to board minutes.

Charter transparency requirements vary considerably from state to state. Some states require board meeting dates and minutes to be accessible via the school website (Arkansas offers an example).[10] Other states further require the posting of trustee names and detailed school financial information (see Michigan requirements).[11] In Massachusetts, charter schools are required to comply with the

FIGURE 1
Percentage of charter schools with governance information available on school website

Number of schools	82
Number of Board Members	789
Board member name provided	95%
Board member affiliation provided	70%
Board meeting dates listed	77%
Board meeting minutes available	48%

state's open meetings law.[12] The state's Charter School Administrative and Governance Guide suggests:

> Charter schools should consider posting the minutes of each meeting on their web sites and/or on a school bulletin board to inform parents, students, and staff of current issues and recent decisions.[13]

Our examination showed that 95 percent of schools provide trustee names on their school websites, and 77 percent include board meeting dates (see Figure 1). Seventy percent of schools also listed board member affiliation, and 48 percent provided board meeting minutes.[14]

FINDING #2

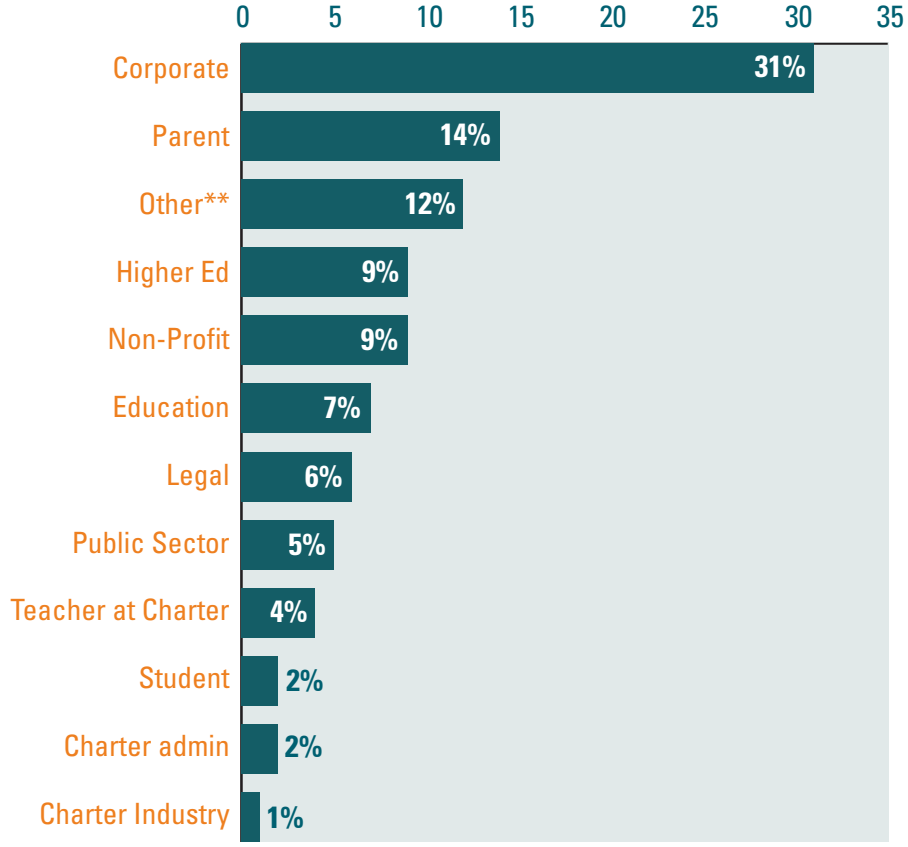
Approximately one-third of charter school trustees are affiliated with large private sector companies such as financial services.

Where board member affiliation was not included on charter school websites, we expanded our examination to additional sources of information about the professional affiliations of school trustees. Through these additional sources, we were able to determine professional affiliation for 91 percent (715 out of 789) of all trustees. (See Appendix B for our affiliation categories and codes.)

The dominant voices – 31 percent – on charter school governing boards in Massachusetts are from large private sector companies. Professionals from the financial sector alone – executives at banks, investment companies, or hedge funds, for example – represent 12 percent of all trustees.

In some schools, the board of trustees is striking for its lack of educational expertise. For example, the board of Boston Preparatory Charter Public School in Hyde Park serves a student body that is 93 percent African American and Latino, and 40 percent low income. Its twelve-member board of trustees includes eight professionals in the corporate or financial services sectors. One other is an attorney, one works at a local nonprofit, and one serves as the director of leadership giving at a private university. The lone trustee with any stated background in education policy or practice is an assistant superintendent of elementary education at Newton Public Schools.

FIGURE 2
Massachusetts charter school governing board affiliation by sector*



*Affiliation was confirmed for 715 (91%) of the total 789 governing board members identified in our review.

**Includes foundation, self-employed, small business, private practice, retired, medical, etc.

FINDING #3

Parents and students have a low presence on Massachusetts charter school governing boards.

As outlined in *Public Accountability for Charter Schools: Standards and Policy Recommendations for Effective Oversight*, AISR believes that "Parent and student representation helps ensure input and oversight from those directly involved with the school on a day-to-day basis and helps guard against unethical or illegal behavior" (p. 5). We recommend a percentage of parents and students of at least 50 percent to provide sufficient voice in school governance and oversight to those most affected by school decisions. We recognize that some board members may indeed have children in the school, whether or not they are a designated parent representative. We found, however, that most schools seemed intentional about indicating when board members were also parents at the school. For the purposes of our examination, where the school's website *identified* the trustee as a parent, they were coded as parents, regardless of their professional affiliation. Where no mention was made of the trustee having a student at the school, we assumed that they did not.

Parents of students in charter schools comprise a surprisingly low proportion (14 percent) of charter trustees statewide. Many of these parent representatives are clustered on just a few charter boards. The ninety-seven identified parents represented on charter boards actually sit on the boards of just thirty-three (out of eighty-two) schools. 60 percent of the charter schools in Massachusetts have no parent representation on their boards of trustees.

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Even rarer is the inclusion of students on charter governing boards. Statewide, only five charter high schools include any student representatives on the board of trustees. At Pioneer Valley Performing Arts Charter Public School, the twenty-one-member board of trustees includes eight students, while the Paolo Freire Social Justice Charter School in Holyoke has four students on its nineteen-member board. Together, these two school have twelve of the fifteen total student trustees across the state.

FINDING #4

Significant parent representation on charter school governing boards is largely confined to schools that serve predominantly White students.

We identified eight schools whose governing boards meet the 50 percent parent/student composition recommended by the AISR charter governance standard. Together, these eight schools account for more than half (51 percent) of all parent trustees across the state. Most of the eight were among the first schools chartered in Massachusetts, and each has an explicit educational or cultural mission – demonstrating the early vision of chartering as featuring experimental educational strategies and community ownership. None is part of a charter management network. For example:

- Marblehead Community Charter Public School (MCCPS) was the first Commonwealth charter school in the state, opening in 1995. According to the school's website, the school was created by parents and residents of Marblehead as a learning community where students are deeply engaged on a daily basis with the surrounding community through an experiential learning model. MCCPS currently serves grades 4–8, with about 230 students, 92 percent of them White. The MCCPS board of trustees is composed of eight members, including six parents, one educator, and one additional community-based member who is also a former parent at the school.

- Francis W. Parker Charter Essential School in Devens opened in 1995, founded by former Harvard educator Ted Sizer, the founder of the Coalition of Essential Schools (and the founder and first director of AISR). Parker was organized around a progressive philosophy of education – teachers are seen as coaches and there are no grades given. Today, Parker serves 390 students in grades 7–12, with a student body that is 92 percent White. The school's fifteen board members include eight parents and two teachers.
- Foxborough Regional Charter School, founded in 1998, today serves 1,255 students in grades K–12. The school's curriculum stresses community service, critical thinking, and problem solving. Just over 50 percent of the student body is White. Foxborough's seven-member board includes four parents.
- The Pioneer Valley Performing Arts Charter Public School in South Hadley opened its doors in 1996 as an arts-based school. Today, the school serves 400 students in grades 7–12, and 70 percent of the student body is White. The school's twenty-one trustees include six parents, eight student representatives, and two staff. No other charter school in the state has as many students on the board.

An exception to the finding that charter school governing boards with adequate parent representation are found at predominantly White schools is the *Lawrence Family Development Charter School* (LFDCS), which was founded in 1995 by a coalition of Latino parents and community leaders who wanted a school that would specifically meet the cultural and language needs of their community. The school currently serves 680 students – 99 percent of them Latino – in grades 1–8. The school's twelve-member board of trustees includes six parents.

These schools reflect the original vision of chartering, which was to allow groups of educators or parents to create small, experimental schools that are locally controlled and serve an identified need in the community.

However, of the thirty-three charters that include any parents at all on the school's governance body, most—twenty-two—serve predominantly white students. Of the remaining eleven schools that serve majorities of Black and Brown students, only two schools – the aforementioned Lawrence Family Development Charter School and Holyoke's Paolo Freire Social Justice Charter School – have more than one or two parents on the board.

Why is the demographic make-up of the schools significant when looking at parent representation on governing boards? In Massachusetts, 64 percent of public school students are White, and 36 percent are students of color. In the state's charter schools, the reverse is true: only 32 percent of students are White, while 68 percent are students of color. Fifty-three out of the Commonwealth's eighty-two charter schools have majority-minority populations. And thirty-five charter schools – 43 percent of the total – are intensely segregated, with 90 percent or more students of color.[15] As in other states, the charter school market is largely concentrated in communities of color.[16]

■ The concentration of charter schools in low-income, predominantly African American and Latino districts contributes to an increasing sense of disenfranchisement in these communities. ■

One repeatedly raised concern in the sometimes heated debate about the role of public charter schools in America is that their concentration in low-income, predominantly African American and Latino districts contributes to a sense of disenfranchisement as increasing numbers of schools are privatized in these communities.[17] The lack of parent voice in governance lends credence to those concerns.

FINDING #5

Further investigation is needed as data becomes more publicly available to determine what percentage of trustees are residents of the district in which their charter school operates.

While many online biographies of charter trustees proudly included their town or city of residence, most did not. Unlike local school committees, there is no state-mandated residency requirement for charter governing board members. Between school websites and other online and local sources, we were able to find documentation of residency for 34 percent of the total trustees across the state. Of those, only 42 percent live in the school district in which the school operates.

While it is inappropriate to draw conclusions from such a small sample size, even this information may overstate the number of governing board members that live in the same community in which their school operates. For example, "coming from the community" poses a challenge in Boston. Our data does not disaggregate by neighborhood, which allows trustees living in wealthier neighborhoods like Back Bay or Beacon Hill to count as "residents" for schools in some of the city's lowest-income neighborhoods. In addition, because the majority of our residency information is based on self reporting by the schools and trustees in school website bios, the percentage of in-district board members may even be somewhat inflated, since schools seem to tout their board members' residency primarily when it is local.

We encourage further analysis or policy-making on this issue. However, the responsibility to address local residency on charter governing boards does not rest only with the Board of Elementary and Secondary Education; individual charter schools can take their own steps toward local governance. The Barnstable Community Horace Mann Charter Public School, for example, includes in its bylaws the provision that "a majority of Trustees shall be residents of the Town of Barnstable."

LOCAL CONTROL?

City on a Hill is a non-profit charter management organization that operates three high schools. Two are in Boston's Roxbury neighborhood, and the third is in New Bedford, almost sixty miles to the south. All three schools are governed by a single, fourteen-member board of trustees that includes no identified parent or student representatives.

Five of the trustees work at (or are retired from) investment companies. Three others are corporate leaders. Three work for companies that contract nationally to provide services to K–12 schools, and three work for non-profit organizations.

One City on a Hill trustee lives in New Bedford and three live in Boston (though not in Roxbury but in Jamaica Plain, Chestnut Hill, and the South End), but others hail from Brookline, Cambridge, Southborough, Cohasset, and Hingham.

Conclusions

Charter schools in Massachusetts are publicly funded schools operated by private nonprofit entities and governed by an appointed board of trustees. Our research has shown that in the aggregate, nearly one-third of the trustees of the state's charter schools are professionally associated with the corporate world, including significant involvement of financial services professionals. Only a small percentage of trustees are parents or students at the school. And our examination suggests that many – if not a majority – of trustees may live outside the communities served by their schools.

Massachusetts is arguably the home of public education in the United States. Boston Latin School, founded in 1635, was the first and is the oldest existing public school in the United States.[18] Massachusetts was the first state to make education compulsory (1642) and provided the foundation for local school governance.[19] The first state board of education was established in 1887, with Horace Mann – Massachusetts legislator and the "father of American public education" – serving as the board's first secretary.[20] The rich history and tradition of public education as a component of the democratic promise in Massachusetts are unparalleled.

This year, publicly elected officials, the courts, and perhaps voters themselves will have the opportunity to deliberate on crucial questions regarding the future of public education in the Commonwealth through the debate over whether to raise the ceiling on the number of charter schools permitted to operate in the state. One element of that conversation should be consideration of the question, "Whose schools?" Who governs the state's charters, and who do they represent?

Our research shows a troubling lack of parent representation in the governance of charter schools in Massachusetts: only 16 percent of those charged with governing the 82 charter schools across the state are identified as parents or students in those schools. Those schools that *do* offer parents and/or students a strong role in school governance are disproportionately White. At schools with majority-minority student populations – which make up the majority of the state's charter schools – parent voice on the schools' governing boards is rare, and often minimal.

The AISR *Public Accountability for Charter Schools: Standards and Recommendations for Effective Oversight* report makes the case that the public is more strongly served by charter schools that remain truly accountable to the taxpayers, parents, students, and educators closest to them and most directly impacted by them. With so few school parents, students, or educators represented on their governing boards, can the Commonwealth's charter schools be considered locally controlled? Whose schools?

Appendix A: Methodology

Working from the state's list of eighty-two charter schools operating in 2015-2016,[21] our initial round of data collection consisted of publicly available information from individual charter school websites. We collected trustee names, professional affiliation, and place of residence when available. We also noted whether the board's meeting dates were listed and whether minutes from past meetings were available online.[22] Schools with no board member names or affiliation available on their websites were contacted by phone or email to acquire the missing information. To supplement the information provided by the schools themselves, we attempted to verify missing information utilizing online public profiles, publications, and online address directories.

We identified a total of 789 trustees, and found professional affiliation for 715 of those. After examining the data, codes were generated and assigned to trustees based on professional affiliation (see Appendix B).

Once we had documented the trustee names and professional affiliations in each school, we turned to the question of residency. Many charter schools included a trustee's hometown as part of their biographical information. For those whose place of residence was not listed, we were able to crosscheck additional online sources to find what we believe to be accurate information about trustee's places of residence in 34 percent of trustees identified across the state.

Because some trustees serve on governing boards responsible for multiple schools, our analysis of residency considered these members separately for each school they serve. For example, Phoenix Charter Academy has two schools in different locations, so it is possible for a trustee to be a resident of one school's district, but not the other. Our analysis counted each school separately.

We obtained lists of charter schools and demographic information about each school through the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education website (http://www.doe.mass.edu/charter/).

Limitation:

While we made considerable efforts to crosscheck and confirm, we recognize that our determination of trustee home addresses is both susceptible to error and incomplete. For that reason, and out of respect for board member privacy, we made a decision not to use any names in our discussion of residency, and not to publish our dataset on this issue. Our overall observations, however, are included in this report.

Appendix B: Affiliation Categories and Codes

CODE	SECTOR	DESCRIPTION AND EXAMPLES
CA	Charter Administration	A member of the administration of the charter school (for example, the school's principal or executive director)
CI	Charter Industry	Employed by charter advocacy or support organizations; founders or trustees of other charter schools
CO **CO/FS** **CO/ED**	Corporate	Employed in a corporation, bank, investment company or hedge fund, consulting, marketing, insurance, or other large private sector company. This category was subdivided into CO/FS (professionals in the financial sector) and CO/ED (professionals in for-profit corporations, such as Pearson Education, that sell products or services to K–12 education institutions).
ED	Education	Traditional K–12 teachers (not at the school) or school administrators
HED	Higher Education	University faculty, community college instructor, adjunct instructor, graduate or post-doctoral student
LE	Legal	Practicing attorney at a law firm or in private practice
NP **NP/ED**	Non-Profit	Employed by a nonprofit social service or advocacy organization. We subdivided this category for nonprofit corporations, such as Teach for America or TNTP, which are part of the broader education reform movement or primarily work in the education sector.
PA	Parent	Parent of a student enrolled in the charter school (includes grandparents, or parents of recent alum).
PS	Public Sector	Local, state, or federal worker
ST	Student	Current student in the charter school
TC	Teacher	Current educator in the charter school
OT	Other	Other (foundation, self-employed, small business, private practice, retired, medical, etc.)

Endnotes

[1] Frederick M. Hess, "Looking for Leadership: Assessing the Case for Mayoral Control in Urban School Systems," *American Journal of Education* 114, no. 3 (May 2008): 219–245. Available at http://www.frederickhess.org/5127/looking-for-leadership.

[2] Associated Press, "Washington Charter School Law Ruled Unconstitutional by State's High Court," *Wall Street Journal* (September 5, 2015), http://www.wsj.com/articles/washington-charter-school-law-ruled-unconstitutional-by-states-high-court-1441464823. Update: On April 1, 2016, after the first edition of this report was released, the Washington state legislature revised its charter law to allow charter schools to continue to operate, but changed their funding source and imposed more regulations. A new lawsuit is now challenging the constitutionality of the law. See http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/parentsandthepublic/2016/08/washington_states_charter_school_law_faces_another_lawsuit.html.

[3] Supreme Court of Georgia, *Gwinnett County School District et al. v. Cox et al.* (May 16, 2011), http://caselaw.findlaw.com/ga-supreme-court/1570510.html.

[4] Bruce D. Baker and Gary Miron, *The Business of Charter Schooling: Understanding the Policies that Charter Operators Use for Financial Benefit* (Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center, University of Colorado, December 2015), http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/charter-revenue.

[5] See http://annenberginstitute.org/publications/public-accountability-charter-schools-standards-and-policy-recommendations-effective-ov.

[6] See AISR's report *Public Accountability for Charter Schools: Standards and Policy Recommendations for Effective Oversight*, p. 3, for a more detailed explanation of how the standards were developed. For the NACSA standards for charter school authorizers that were studied for the report, see http://www.qualitycharters.org/for-authorizers/principles-and-standards/. The standards developed by AISR are substantially consistent with Core Principle #3, Protect Student & Public Interests.

[7] An exception to this is in Boston, where the Local School Committee is appointed by the Mayor. The Mayor makes his/her appointments based on nominations from a "citizens committee" made up of parents, teachers and others. Members of the Local School Committee are residents of Boston. See http://www.bostonpublicschools.org/domain/162.

[8] "Ohio labeled 'high risk' but finally gets charter school grant," Jim Siegel, The *Columbus Dispatch*, September 15, 2016, http://www.dispatch.com/content/stories/local/2016/09/14/federal-charter-grant.html, and "Protecting from charter school fraud," U.S. Sen. Sherrod Brown, *Sidney Daily News*, September 22, 2016, http://sidneydailynews.com/opinion/columns/45142/protecting-from-charter-school-fraud.

[9] Scott Beauchamp, "120 American Charter Schools and One Secretive Turkish Cleric," *The Atlantic* (August 12, 2014), http://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2014/08/120-american-charter-schools-and-one-secretive-turkish-cleric/375923/. See also: "Charter schools vulnerable to controversial Turkish movement," Joseph M. Humire, *The Hill*, March 10, 2016, http://thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/education/272424-charter-schools-vulnerable-to-controversial-turkish-movement; and "Charter firm suspected of cheating federal grant program," Dan Mihalopoulos and Jon Seidel, *Chicago Sun-Times*, 12/16/2015, http://chicago.suntimes.com/ news/the-watchdogs-charter-firm-suspected-of-cheating-federal-grant-program/.

[10] *Arkansas State Code Annotated.* section 6-11-129 as amended by House Bill 1180 (2009), http://arkedu.state.ar.us/commemos/attachments/Act1180.pdf.

[11] Mark S. Eitrem, Memorandum to Public School Academy Boards regarding Transparency Requirements (February 29, 2012), State of Michigan Department of Education (Lansing), http://www.michigan.gov/documents/mde/MEMO_to_PSAs_regarding_Transperancy_Requirements_379215_7.pdf.

[12] Education Laws and Regulations; 603 CMR 1.00, http://www.doe.mass.edu/lawsregs/603cmr1.html?section=all.

[13] Massachusetts Department of Education, *Charter School Administrative and Governance Guide* (November 2007), http://archives.lib.state.ma.us/handle/2452/128054.

[14] Update: Information on websites is highly dynamic, with developers constantly updating content. These figures have been updated based on what was on school websites as of August 2016. They vary slightly from the figures in the edition of this report that was released in March 2016, but the small differences do not change the substance of Finding #1.

[15] The Civil Rights Project at UCLA (formerly at Harvard) defines "intensely segregated" as a school where more than 90 percent of the students are minorities. (See https://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/why-segregation-matters-poverty-and-educational-inequality/orfield-why-segregation-matters-2005.pdf.) This definition has become commonly accepted in the field of education equity. In Boston,

where 74 percent of students are African American or Hispanic, we found twelve charter schools (out of twenty) where over 90 percent of students were African American or Hispanic, thus meeting the CRP's definition of "intensely segregated."

[16] National Alliance for Public Charter Schools, "Students by Race and Ethnicity," The Public Charter Schools Dashboard, http://dashboard.publiccharters.org/dashboard/students/page/race/year/2014.

[17] See, for example, Alliance to Reclaim Our Schools, "Out of Control: The Systematic Disenfranchisement of African American and Latino Communities through School Takeovers" (August 2015), http://www.reclaimourschools.org/updates/out-of-control.

[18] John E. Rexine, "The 350th Anniversary of the Boston Latin School," *Classical Journal* 82, no. 3 (1987), 236–241.

[19] Michael S. Katz, *A History of Compulsory Education Laws* (Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1976).

[20] Jacqueline P. Danzberger, "Governing the Nation's Schools: The Case for Restructuring Local School Boards," *Phi Delta Kappan* 75, no. 5 (1994), 67–73.

[21] See "Charter School Fact Sheet, Directory, and Application History," Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (2015), http://www.doe.mass.edu/charter/about.html.

[22] A full list of Massachusetts charter school websites with a review of the information provided on each site is available at http://annenberginstitute.org/publications/whose-schools. For any technical questions related to the study or the data, please contact the author at dingerson400@gmail.com.

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