

**Evaluation of the Kalamazoo Promise
Working Paper #1**

**The Kalamazoo Promise as
a Catalyst for Change in an
Urban School District:
A Theoretical Framework**

**Working
Paper**

1

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Executive Summary

As a community intervention, The Kalamazoo Promise scholarship is expected to affect change throughout the school district and the city. Designing a study of the degree and impact of such change is a challenging and interesting process, especially since there are no stated goals for the scholarship program, which was created by anonymous donors. Nevertheless, an evaluation of the scholarship's impacts upon the district and community is an important process that can help ensure that all students are ready and prepared to take advantage of the scholarship.

In the following report, we introduce a logic model that is built around the anticipated outcomes that we would expect to see if systemic change is occurring as a result of the Promise scholarship. Outcomes are divided into three sections that reflect time conditions: short-term, intermediate, and long-term. The formulation of what can be expected to emerge from the inception of the scholarship program is derived from the existing research on education theory and systemic change. The model also reflects our experience as former teachers in public schools and evaluators of a wide array of school reforms. The outcomes logic model is a tool that we will use to help us frame and structure the evaluation. The model is not static and it will continue to be revised and updated during the course of the evaluation.

It is important to note that the logic model is not a prescriptive model that suggests to educators and community actors what to do. Instead, it is assumed that the catalytic effect of the Promise will motivate and inspire various stakeholder groups to focus on a common goal. The pursuit of the common goal will bring about alignment of activities focused on the common goal. Solutions and remedies can be unique to each school and district,¹ since they will reflect the existing strengths and needs. The arrows in the model depict the inner workings and processes

within the schools. In evaluating the Promise as a catalyst for systemic change, we are interested to know what changes occur in the schools and whether or not diverse stakeholders agree or believe they share a common goal and are willing to align their practices with this goal. We do not intend to evaluate the merit or worth of specific changes within the schools, but instead will monitor progress across the system by tracking and analyzing the anticipated outcomes depicted in the logic model.

Short-term outcomes are those we expect to start seeing within the first year after the announcement of the Promise. An increase in support for students and families from the larger community of Kalamazoo is one short-term outcome we are monitoring. Research shows that quality community support can increase academic achievement, buffer the effects of environmental stresses, and curb tendencies toward delinquency, all of which are contributors to college preparation. Parent involvement, another short-term outcome, also affects academic achievement and long-term success, but the benefit of involvement varies by type and student grade level. School, community, and family are the overlapping spheres of a child's life; and we expect that the scholarship program will affect change in all three areas.

We also will track changes in student aspirations for academic success and teacher expectations for students as short-term outcomes. As early as middle school, students typically decide whether they will attend college. Such decisions are a result of the interplay of factors from family, community, and school, which orient students' aspirations and academic direction. Perhaps one of the most important factors in academic orientation is students' perceptions of teacher expectations. Even earlier than middle school, students can interpret teacher expectations for them and are subsequently affected in performance and attainment.

The final short-term outcomes we will measure deal with rapid actions taking place within the schools that will lead to the long-term outcome of access to college. For students to be ready for increased options for postsecondary schooling, they will need more rigorous academic preparation. We expect to see the school district adopt and implement

¹ The Kalamazoo Promise is implemented in only one district. However, the idea is being considered or implemented in many other districts across the nation. Because there are contextual differences and because the strengths and needs of each district vary, we believe that decisions about changes in the inner working of the schools will differ.

additional college prep courses and activities. But just offering the classes won't be enough; our model also reflects a congruent improvement in student attendance. One way the district can fund extra classes and teachers is through an increase in state resources resulting from the increase in student enrollments. Since Michigan schools are funded partially by the state on a per-pupil basis, an increase in student enrollment will garner a larger allotment of funding.

Intermediate outcomes anticipated in our logic model of the Kalamazoo Promise should start to be evident within the first two years of the scholarship's announcement. Changes during this time period are those that reflect alterations in behaviors and attitudes. For example, one intermediate measure of the Promise's success as an education reform model is an increase in the retention, promotion, and graduation rates. The district should experience fewer dropouts and instances of retaining students at grade level, which significantly affects later dropout status. Attitude changes for students, teachers, administrators, and school staff also should impact school climate and discipline rates, two other intermediate outcomes we track. School climate, including classroom relationships and student supports, have been shown to have an effect on academic achievement. Likewise, fewer disciplinary incidences for students have been linked to higher academic performance.

More direct contributions to academic improvements will be seen by gathering data on other intermediate outcomes. Once the schools have more college preparatory offerings available, we expect to see student enrollment increase for those specific courses. In both college prep courses and general coursework, we anticipate an increase in classroom performance, as measured by Grade Point Average (GPA). Research has extensively documented the need for both prep courses and a high GPA when seeking college admission. High school GPA is a commonly used indicator of a student's ability to succeed in college. Another important indicator that admission counselors frequently utilize is student performance on standardized tests. Some research has shown that this is not the best predictor of college success for all students and we agree, but it is one outcome among many that will be used to

show progress toward the long-term outcome of accessing postsecondary options. These increases in preparation and academic performance likely will result in changes in our final intermediate outcome: higher rates of applications to colleges and universities. Research shows that every one of the other outcomes in our model informs the decision to apply for college and underscores the importance of ensuring equitable preparation and support.

Speaking strictly to the effects on K-12 education, we believe the long-term outcome of the Kalamazoo Promise scholarship will be an increase in options and access to postsecondary colleges and universities. Increases in short-term and intermediate outcomes will assist in building social capital for all students, a prime feature for success in college and life beyond high school in general. Although we believe we have outlined the anticipated outcomes that will result from the Promise, we are aware that there also may be unanticipated outcomes, both positive and negative in nature. Following the theory of systemic change, we intentionally leave room for changes that are so situational and unique as not to appear in the larger body of research. We detail a few of those unanticipated outcomes that we have seen already in this report.

The Kalamazoo Promise has offered the potential to transform the district and the city of Kalamazoo. Many people are eager for nothing less. City leaders have predicted growth in economic sectors and a brighter general community spirit, in addition to the wealth of changes hoped for within the schools. We believe the success of the Kalamazoo Promise cannot be determined solely by the numbers of students from Kalamazoo entering college. Indeed it would take around a half dozen years before we would know if the Promise is effective in helping more students attend and succeed in college. Instead, our evaluation is looking for earlier signs that constructive change is occurring across linked short-term and intermediate outcomes that are closely connected to the anticipated long-term outcome. We believe that capturing and sharing evidence based on the framework of our logic model will serve a constructive role in helping to ensure that all students in Kalamazoo Public Schools will have increased options for postsecondary education.

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Evaluation of the Kalamazoo Promise: A Theoretical Framework

Background

This document describes the theoretical framework for the evaluation of the Kalamazoo Promise, a scholarship program funded by anonymous donors and announced in November 2005. Since its announcement, there has been substantial interest in the potential effects of the universal scholarship. Because of this interest and because other communities are replicating or planning to replicate the program, an evaluation that examines the impact of the scholarship program is critical. The purpose of the evaluation is to determine whether the Kalamazoo Promise—through its transformative effect on the education culture within the school district—improves the progress of students through their K-12 experience and better prepares them for entering a postsecondary education program.

Some imagine that at least 4 to 5 years will be required to measure the anticipated long-term outcomes (i.e., increased access and success in postsecondary education). Our evaluation, however, maps out and tracks the impact of the program which can be measured with specific short-term and intermediate outcomes that are linked to the long-term outcomes. Aside from anticipated outcomes, our evaluation will also consider unanticipated outcomes stemming from the inception of the scholarship.

The evaluation is both formative and summative in nature. Tracking and monitoring short-term and intermediate outcomes requires that we partner with the school district and other key stakeholders groups to collect data. Based on the data we collect throughout the duration of the evaluation, we are preparing user-friendly formative feedback that can be used by the district to monitor the progress, identify obstacles, and inform changes that need to occur. This is, essentially, the formative aspects of the evaluation.

The summative aspects refers to the strong base of evidence we expect to have at the end of the evaluation that will help us to determine if such a universal scholarship program regarding the short-term and intermediate outcomes as well as some early indications of progress is able to cause systemic change and improvement in a district that has been known to struggle with both education attainment and education achievement. The funding and support this evaluation received from the U.S. Department of Education is due to the interest of policy makers and a litany of communities across the nation that are replicating or planning to replicate the Promise scholarship program. The summative evidence from our evaluation will help to determine whether this is a reform model worthy of replication.

Description of the Kalamazoo Promise

The Kalamazoo Promise scholarship program was announced in November 2005 and provides four years of tuition and fees at any public college or university in Michigan for students who have attended Kalamazoo Public Schools. The Kalamazoo Promise is unique in its scope and basis. While most other scholarship programs are based on merit or need, the Kalamazoo Promise is based only on location. The program seeks to remove the financial barriers to enrolling in college for those students who have attended Kalamazoo schools and lived

within its boundaries for at least the four years of high school.

Since all students are eligible for the reimbursement of tuition and fees regardless of financial means, the program also seeks to transform the school district by focusing on ensuring that all students are prepared for a postsecondary education. With backing from the city's educators, politicians, and community leaders, the Kalamazoo Promise is positioned to create widespread educational and economic reform in Kalamazoo. The direct contribution

of the scholarship program lowers the cost of postsecondary education, thereby increasing incentives for high school graduation, college attendance, and college completion. Among its broader outcomes, it is anticipated that this program will lead to a more educated workforce, higher overall earnings for graduates, greater disposable income for local families, improvements in the local economy and housing market.

In addition to the impact the Kalamazoo Promise is expected to have on education, it is also viewed as an impetus for regional economic development. Economic experts hope that the scholarship will entice more middle class families, who would otherwise sacrifice income to save for college tuition, to stay in or move to the area. The housing slump seen in other parts of the Midwest has not had the same effect in Kalamazoo, due to the influx of new inhabitants. Local business, public relations, and real estate experts use the Promise as a tool to attract businesses to relocate and invest in Kalamazoo. As that happens, the potential increase in available jobs would also serve to attract new

residents to the area, but more importantly it would provide income for existing residents as well. Even surrounding areas that would not benefit directly from the scholarships are foreseeing economic growth in commerce and entertainment industries.

The Kalamazoo Promise has received accolades from local and state government officials. The plan has also received wide media attention, with newspapers from around the nation covering the scholarship program. Each news report introduces new testimonials from parents and students directly affected by the Promise. Individuals tell heart-warming stories of how college was a long-hoped-for goal that finances rendered unattainable; now, the Kalamazoo Promise has changed their lives' course. Many other cities have replicated the scholarship, or have undertaken feasibility studies, indicating the growth of a movement toward universal K-16 education. Educators, politicians, journalists, and families have all praised the initiative's focus on education and the new opportunities that have been given to Kalamazoo's students.

The Kalamazoo Promise as a Catalyst for Systemic Change

In this section, we describe the outcomes logic model (Figure 1) that provides the theoretical framework for the evaluation of the Kalamazoo Promise. Our description of the logic model explains its empirical underpinnings and links the program and its direct and indirect impacts to the anticipated outcome measures. The model also suggests the practical importance of the Kalamazoo Promise and its potential to not only provide scholarship dollars, but also to create change throughout the entire school system, and even the larger Kalamazoo community itself.

The logic model illustrates how systemic change can be promoted by the scholarship program. By systemic reform we are referring to efforts to reform schools, build synergy, and establish change by affecting multiple components or structures of the system at the same time. Systemic reforms involve the coordination of diverse stakeholder groups and the alignment of resources around a single outcome or set of outcomes. In this case the unifying goal is

improving the readiness of students for post-secondary options. While anonymous donors have generously provided scholarships for students that can gain acceptance to a community college or state university, it is the responsibility of educators, parents, and the broader community to ensure that students are ready for college. Students are activated and motivated by the scholarship program too.

Whereas some college-readiness interventions focus only on a single stakeholder group or a single activity in the school (e.g., professional development for teachers or the increase in the number of college prep classes), the significance and magnitude of the Promise can serve as an incentive to engage multiple stakeholder groups to focus and pursue a common goal. In this, way, the Kalamazoo Promise can result in a unified focus on improved academic performance and readiness for college for all KPS students.

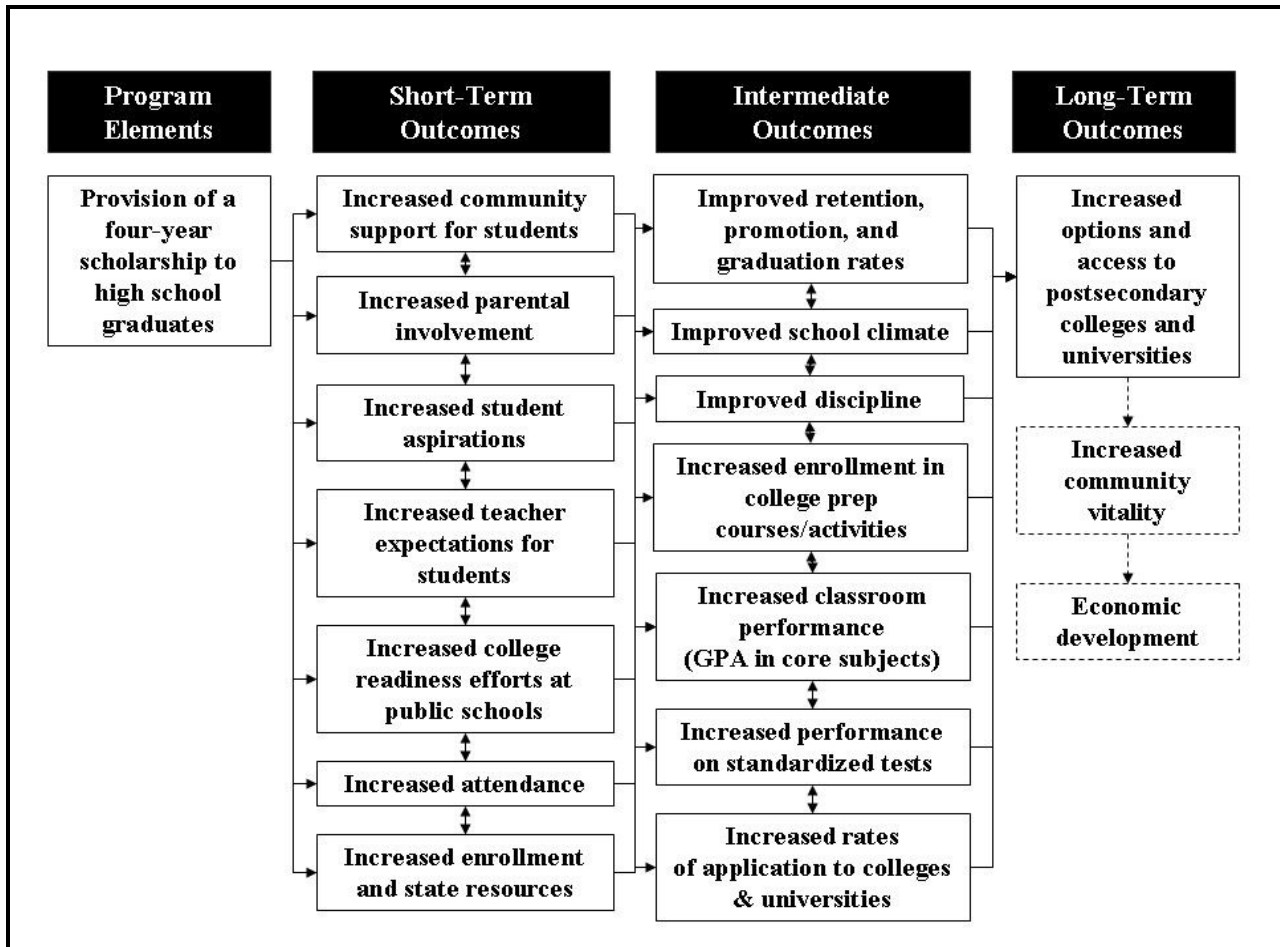


Figure 1. Logic Model for the Kalamazoo Promise Scholarship Program

Note: This is an outcomes logic model and does not prescribe processes or any particular theory of action.

This model is built around the anticipated outcomes that we would expect to see if systemic change is occurring. This is not a prescriptive model that suggests to educators what to do. Instead, it is assumed that the catalytic effect of the Promise will motivate and inspire various stakeholder groups to focus on a common goal. The pursuit of the common goal will bring about alignment of activities focused on this goal. Solutions and remedies can be unique to each school and district since they will reflect the existing strengths and needs. The arrows in the model depict the inner working and processes within the schools. In evaluating the Promise as a catalyst for systemic change, we are interested to know what changes occur in the schools and whether or not diverse stakeholders feel that they share a common goal and are willing to align their practices with this

goal. We do not intend to evaluate the effectiveness of specific changes within the schools, but instead will monitor progress across the system by tracking and analyzing the anticipated outcomes depicted in the logic model.

Program Elements: Scholarship Provision

The only program element defined in the logic model is the actual scholarship. Aside from its broader economic impacts, the scholarship has the potential to help revitalize the city's education system. As described earlier, this model assumes that the Promise can serve as a catalyst for systemic change and improvement in the district.

Scholarships will cover tuition and fees for up to four years at any public college or university in Michigan for students attending Kalamazoo Public

Schools since kindergarten. Students entering KPS in ninth grade benefit from a 65 percent tuition and fee scholarship, with an incremental scale for enrolling in each grade in between. Students in the 2006 graduating class were the first beneficiaries of the Kalamazoo Promise, which the anonymous donors claim will continue into the foreseeable future. When four classes of beneficiaries are enrolled in postsecondary education, the bill is expected to run as much as \$12 million a year. The advantage to families can be as much as \$36,000 per child, given that a full year of in-state tuition at the University of Michigan costs \$4,500 per semester. Following is the list of qualifications for students wishing to receive a scholarship from the Kalamazoo Promise:

- Must be a graduate from a Kalamazoo public high school.
- Must be admitted to and enrolled at a university or community college where he or she is (i)

making regular progress toward a degree, (ii) maintaining a 2.0 GPA at the postsecondary institution, and (iii) completing a minimum of 12 credit hours.

Students will be eligible for up to four years of funding, within a ten year time frame upon graduation from high school. Delays in use are allowed. The Kalamazoo Promise is unlike most other scholarship programs in that it is first dollar in. That is, students do not necessarily have to apply for other financial aid first before they can receive the Promise. However, district officials maintain that it is still very important for families to apply for financial aid. Even though some universities are offering special housing incentives, the majority of Michigan universities are not. Students that qualify for financial aid can use any additional resources they receive toward room and board costs, as well as books, further reducing the financial constraints of attending college.

Short-Term Outcomes

The short-term outcomes highlighted in the logic model are expected to occur as a relatively immediate result of the intervention. Typically, we expect to measure short-term outcomes from 0-12 months after the scholarship has started.

Increased Community Support for Students

Although not a requirement or stated expectation of the anonymous donors, many expected that the generous gift would inspire other community groups and organizations to respond in kind. The extensive national attention given to the Kalamazoo Promise after it was announced helped to highlight the uniqueness and importance of the program. As it turned out, within days of its announcement, community groups began announcing plans to start new programs or increase existing programs to support students and their families. Even though the program is still new, we anticipate extensive responses from community and faith-based organizations, local universities and colleges, and even private businesses. Examples of increased support to students and families as a result of the Kalamazoo Promise include the following examples:

- Local and regional universities have responded by pledging free housing or reduced costs for Promise students that meet their requirements.
- The Pathway to Promise, a group of school and college educators at Mount Zion Baptist Church, has begun providing support and information to KPS parents and family members regarding academic requirements and local resources that will prepare their children for The Kalamazoo Promise.

Community involvement in schools can lead to higher academic achievement and lower risk-taking behavior in students (Nettles, 1991). Epstein (1995) produced a widely held theory that children develop through the influence of the overlapping spheres of family, school, and community. Student well-being and success are a primary concern for each of the three spheres. Schools and families certainly cannot provide all the support students need in their pursuit of educational attainment. Community support for students and families is a key component for success. When community programs are focused on particular academic content, it has been shown to improve student disposition toward the subject, as

well as overall GPA, attendance, and persistence in school (Nettles, 1991). Schools that make efforts at community-school partnerships can also lead to higher student attendance rates (Sheldon, 2007).

Urban students face greater numbers of environmental stressors that act as obstacles to their overall success and support from the community is one of many protective factors that bolster student achievements. Among the many outcomes from community involvement, students gain access to social capital and networks that can strengthen achievement and long-term goal attainment (Bryan, 2005). Community groups can support student success through hosting after-school activities and programs. Currently, only 20 percent of the demand for after-school programs is met. But research shows that these programs keep children off the street during peak juvenile crime hours and otherwise work to counter the environmental factors that can influence academic failure (Munoz, 2002). Munoz found that as individual participation in after-school activities increased, the number of suspensions lowered and GPA increased.

Sheldon (2003) found that the extent to which schools were working toward community partnerships followed the rate of students' scoring at or above the passing mark on state achievement tests, even after controlling for student and school characteristics. Importantly, it was the schools' efforts to reconcile typical obstacles in partnerships with various parts of the community (i.e., language barriers and transportation) that predicted the level of student success. Therefore, the quality of the partnership had a stronger effect than the length of the implementation, suggesting an immediate payoff for community involvement.

Aside from practical obstacles to overcome, turf battles, burnout, and mistrust can also contribute to impeding the development of school-community partnerships, with disagreements rooted in the larger community itself (Sanders, 2001; Epstein, 1995). Specifically, Sanders' (2001) study found obstacles to be:

- Lack of leadership within the school to coordinate community involvement
- Lack of community groups to participate
- Mismatch of community group and school focus
- Funding shortages

It is anticipated that as a result of the Promise's implementation, community groups will increase their current level of support to Kalamazoo students and families. These new services are expected to create and promote a synergy with the efforts of the local school district. Following this working paper, we will release a separate working paper that examines the community response to the Kalamazoo Promise.

Increased Parent Involvement

While the Kalamazoo Promise does not call directly for parental involvement programs, it is thought that schools, community groups, and parents themselves will be motivated to organize and facilitate more parent involvement. Based on a review of 51 research studies and literature reviews of parental involvement in education, Henderson and Mapp (2002) found that families have a major influence on their children's achievement in school and through life. When schools, families, and community groups work together to support learning, children tend to do better in school, stay in school longer, and like school more.

A three-year study of 1,200 urban students in a New England district by Izzo and his colleagues (1999) found that parent involvement, both at home and at school, was related positively to student achievement. Parents' home activities were related to the widest range of gains on math and reading tests, compared with the other forms of parent involvement. In their study of NELS:88 data, Ho Sui-Chu and Willms (1996) found that involvement at home had the greatest effect on student achievement. Compared with volunteering and attending school activities, parents' talking about school with their children and helping them plan their education programs were more directly related to higher grades and test scores.

Miedel and Reynolds (1999) compared results for students based on the extent of parent involvement. Between first and eighth grades, students whose parents took part in a greater number of activities performed consistently better in school. They tended to earn higher scores on reading tests, spent less time in special education, and passed from one grade to the next. These findings held across all family backgrounds.

Epstein (1997) and her colleagues at the Center on Family, School and Community Partnerships at

Johns Hopkins University have developed a useful framework of six types of parent involvement. Using NELS:88 data and Epstein et al.'s framework, Catsambis (1998) studied 13,500 families whose children stayed in school through 12th grade. She measured the connection of the six types of involvement with high school student achievement. Enhancing learning at home, she found, had the strongest effect.

- Forms of parental involvement with *less* effect: Parenting practices, communications with school, attending school events, and contacts with other parents.
- Forms of involvement with *more* effect: Expressing high expectations, discussing going to college, and helping students prepare for college.

Not all forms of parental involvement are associated with student academic achievement. A number of studies found that some forms of parent involvement with the school, such as communications with school, volunteering, attending school events, and parent-parent connections, appeared to have little effect on student achievement, especially in high school. A few found that parent involvement with homework and parent-initiated contacts with school were negatively related to grades and test scores (Catsambis, 1998; Fan & Chen, 1999; Izzo, Weissberg, Kaspro & Fensrich, 1999; Shumrow & Miller, 2001). Henderson and Mapp (2002) found that, generally, programs and interventions that engage families in supporting their children's learning *at home* are linked to higher student achievement.

Jeynes (2007) also found that parental involvement had a significant impact on student achievement for urban (and nonurban) secondary students. His study echoed others when it revealed that certain types of involvement were more effective. Specifically, high expectations proved to be a better support of secondary students than participation at school activities. When socioeconomic status of parents was included as a factor, the effect on achievement was smaller, but still statistically significant. This held true across all racial groups.

The researchers at Westat and Policy Studies Associates (2001) found that teacher outreach to parents of low-performing students was related to

improved student achievement in both reading and math. Of the eight other practices studied, only professional development rated highly by teachers was as consistently linked to student gains in both subjects. In schools where teachers reported high levels of outreach to parents, test scores grew at a rate 40 percent higher than in schools where teachers reported low levels of outreach.

The Center for Education Policy (2007) recently studied the differences between private and public school student achievement and noted that public school parents typically have lower expectations about higher education (i.e., that their children are not likely to go to college beyond two years) than private school parents, for whom college attendance beyond two years is a given. This contributes to higher student achievement while still in high school. Also, private school parents are more likely to talk to their kids about homework and academic issues, and their children are more likely to talk about these issues with their private school peers, again contributing significantly to academic achievement. But when the researchers controlled for both cultural and economic capital in the students' family backgrounds, the private school advantage on academic achievement disappeared. They concluded that effects seen in private or independent schools are minimally attributed to the organization of the school and more a by-product of parental expectations, involvement, socioeconomic status, and academic discussions with children.

When students report feeling support from both home and school, they tend to do better in school. They say that they have more self-confidence and think school is more important. Data indicate that they also are less disruptive, earn higher grades, and are more likely to go to college (Gutman & Midgley, 2000; Sanders & Herting, 2000; Shumrow & Lomax, 2001; Trusty, 1999). From the school, parents learn how to engage their children in learning at home, get help if their children are struggling, and form a constructive relationship with teachers (Izzo et al., 1999; Miedel & Reynolds, 1999). At home, parents guide their children toward postsecondary education, make sure they read and do their homework, and stress the value of education. They also steer children away from risky behavior, help them maintain positive attitudes, and support them through problems at school (Catsambis, 1998; Fan & Chen, 1999; Shumrow & Lomax, 2001; Trusty, 1999).

Harnessing parental involvement is a key factor in supporting student postsecondary education attainment. Engaging parents in ways that are linked to improving achievement may contribute to the success of school reform, the overall effectiveness of the Kalamazoo Promise scholarship, and the development of the Kalamazoo community as a whole.

Increased Student Aspirations

Student aspirations fall into two categories: inspiration, to become engaged in present activities, and ambition, to reach goals set for the future (Plucker & Quaglia, 1998). Students' aspirations therefore guide whether they will graduate from high school, what they choose to learn in school, how they prepare for their future, and what they eventually do in their careers (Muller, 1997; Walberg, 1989). Researchers have found that students go through a three-stage process in deciding whether they will aspire toward postsecondary education, and, if so, where they will attend college. Aspiration toward college begins with a predisposition established in grades 7-9, followed by accumulating and assimilating information in searching for a short list of colleges, and ends with applying and enrolling in college (Alexander & Eckland, 1975; Cabrera & La Nasa, 2000; St. John, Paulsen, & Starkey, 1996).

However, no student sees the opportunity of going to college in its entirety (McDonough, 1997). Students' own expectations (Borus & Carpenter, 1984) and knowledge regarding college enrollment take on different shapes for different social classes and races as early as the tenth grade (Hearn, 1991; McDonough, 1997). These choices are influenced by family background, environmental and educational experiences, and policy-related factors, including postsecondary information, student aid, tuition costs, and financial aid (McCarron & Inkelas, 2006; Paulsen & St. John, 1997).

In Mau and Bikos' (2000) study of postsecondary students who had participated in the NELS data collection for four cycles, they found that parental expectations, high school academic program, and internal loci of control to be strong predictors of educational aspirations. McCarron and Inkelas (2006) found students' perceptions of the importance of good grades to be the best predictor of student aspirations, with parental involvement as a

secondary influential variable. Yet the educational attainment did not match the self-reported aspirations in their longitudinal study, implying a lack of preparedness. Interestingly, student aspirations are not affected by differences in levels of actual academic proficiency (Pitre, 2006; Mau & Bikos, 2000).

A variety of factors interact to create or enhance student aspirations. Some are school-related, some are due to the family, and others are psychological in nature. While important school policy implications can be surmised from the field of research, the wide range of variables suggests that the school alone cannot provide the entire foundation for student aspirations to take root and flourish.

Increased Teacher Expectations for Students

There is a long and well-established body of research that illustrates that teachers' expectations for their students are directly correlated to student performance, educational attainment, and even lifelong income. Teacher expectations affect student achievement at all grade levels, particularly in reading and math (Gill & Reynolds, 1999). As much as 14 percent of students' year-end achievement measures can be explained by differences in teacher expectations (Brattesani, Weinstein, & Marshall, 1984).

K-12 teachers are an important source of social capital for students. Croninger and Lee (2001) found that the probability of dropping out was reduced by (a) students' beliefs about how much their teachers supported their efforts to succeed in school and (b) teachers' reported amount of guidance to students about school or personal matters. Teachers' influences are immense, and teachers can be catalysts for ensuring that students develop and aspire to enroll in college (McIntosh & Greenlaw, 1999). As early as 4th grade, students can interpret the expectations of their teachers through body language and tone of voice, in addition to verbal expressions (Weinstein, Marshall, Sharp, & Botkin, 1987; Babad, 1995). By fifth grade, teacher expectations additionally affect student self-perception, meaning negative expectations compound academic achievement by contributing to negative self-efficacy and esteem (Kuklinski & Weinstein, 2001). Likewise, Rubies-Davis (2006) found that teacher expectation levels correlated with student self-perception and student achievement levels, which have the capacity to fluctuate year-to-year.

O'Dowd (1995) demonstrated how the interaction between teachers' expectations and sociocultural norms affects the school experience of students. In addition, although teacher expectations still vary along race and socioeconomic lines (Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007), research suggests high expectations are especially helpful for students who come from disadvantaged backgrounds or have academic difficulties (Croninger & Lee, 2001). We must caution ourselves, however, to the potentially harmful impact of too much praise on students of color. Harber (2003, 1998) demonstrated the existence of positive feedback bias, a situation in which whites are overly lenient in their assessments of Blacks' writing abilities. Positive feedback bias theory states that, due to underlying negative stereotypes about the capabilities of people of color, whites carry diminished expectations. Further, the theory posits that white people wish to preserve their sense of egalitarian philosophy and utilize positive feedback bias to protect the integrity of their philosophy when faced with giving negative comments to a person of color. This circumstance can be even more accentuated in the school setting, where the social realm and power dynamics of the teacher-student relationship might implore the feedback supplier (i.e., the teacher) to appear even more neutral, equality-minded, or "colorblind."

The lower expectations translate to the "teaching less" phenomenon in the classroom setting (Delpit, 1995, p.174) and premature and overly positive evaluative praise for students of color. The harm here, as both Harber (2003, 1998) and Delpit (1995) note, is the lack of academic rigor and challenge presented to students of color, particularly undermining their ability to succeed in postsecondary education. While this bias can appear in any school staff, or any person in general, teachers are those most closely positioned and most likely to have an impact on the students.

The evolution of research on teacher expectations has produced a nuanced set of findings. Ultimately, it is clear that teacher mindset toward students seriously affects student achievement and success. We expect to see gains in teacher expectations right after the announcement of the Kalamazoo Promise. It will be important to measure the sustainability of the initial increase as time goes on.

Increased College Readiness Efforts at Public Schools

Another anticipated short-term outcome resulting from the Kalamazoo Promise is an increased effort on the part of the public schools to adopt policies and programs to help prepare more students for college. Course selection and rigor are important points of interest for college admissions officers. Therefore, it is expected that the district will schedule and arrange more college preparatory classes. More opportunities for advanced level and college prep classes alone are not likely to ensure college readiness, especially since a large portion of the population of students are likely to be first generation college goers. But it is also anticipated that the district will provide guidance for students to ensure that they complete prerequisite courses as well as supports to ensure that a larger proportion of the students can be successful in more academically rigorous courses. Likewise, other college readiness activities, such as college tours, might be arranged to better prepare students and fall outside the traditional effort to make advanced placement courses available.

The most effective college preparation programs are long-term investments that have strong impact (Gandara & Maxwell-Jolly, 1999) through comprehensive approaches. The programs focus on "readiness" rather than "remediation" (Fenske, Genarios, Keller, & Moore, 1997) and offer student support services and information about college and financial aid as early as possible. Many federal and state programs require support services to begin no later than early middle school and continue through high school graduation, although issues associated with inequitable academic preparation are present as early as the fourth grade (Nettles & Perna, 1997).

Lerner and Brand (2006) found that programs that increased postsecondary enrollment and success were those that implemented appropriate academic rigor, instituted prerequisites for program participation, and worked with nearby colleges to provide students access to a college campus while still enrolled in high school. Lerner and Brand (2006) also found support services to be helpful for program success. The four most effective support strategies used for middle- and low-achieving students were (1) caring adult advisors, (2) academic assistance and tutoring, (3) college success classes to

ensure that participants are ready for college-level work, and (4) a safe environment and peer support network.

Over the years, the federal government also has developed programs intended to improve college readiness and access. Two noteworthy programs are Upward Bound (one of the TRIO projects) and Gaining Early Awareness and Readiness for Undergraduate Programs (GEAR UP). These programs are designed to increase the college enrollment rate of low-income middle and high school students whose parents did not attend college. These federal programs provide grants to institutions of higher education and other entities to provide intensive tutoring, counseling, and other support services to these targeted students.

The results on Upward Bound have been mixed. A recent national evaluation concluded that although the program increased the number of high school math credits earned, it did not affect other measures of high school academic preparation. The evaluation also found that the program increased the likelihood of attending four-year colleges and universities relative to other postsecondary institutions (Myers, Olsen, Seftor, Young, & Tuttle, 2004). GEAR UP is a relatively newer program and its effectiveness at increasing readiness for college has not yet been determined (Westat, 2003).

Aside from Upward Bound and GEAR UP programs, districts can choose or develop a number of other programs or services that are intended to improve college readiness. A review of 18 programs aimed at occupational articulation efforts found practices correlated with successful program implementation, including commitment and strong leadership from top administrators; faculty involvement in program planning and implementation; mutual benefit for secondary and postsecondary parties; written agreements including provisions for review, revision, and renewal; regular meetings with key participants; modest initial goals; clearly defined responsibilities; competency-based curricula and a focus on mutual goals (Long, Warmbrod, Faddis, & Lerner, 1986).

The Kalamazoo Promise will provide scholarships only to students that graduate from high school *and* gain acceptance to a university or college. Given these requirements and given that there is likely to be an increased demand from students for support services as larger proportions of

the students aspire to attend college, the local district is expected to adopt new policies and plans to help prepare more students for college. The district has benefited from both Upward Bound and GEAR UP programs and is likely to seek to expand the reach or extend some of the features of these programs to more students than those currently served, aside from supplying additional course offerings.

Increased Attendance

Attendance is one of the tangible and readily available indicators that is expected to change early in response to Kalamazoo Promise. For some students, it is also one of the easier areas to make quick change. The time when attendance can become problematic (i.e., early teens) coincides with a critical period when students should be making decisions that affect whether they will be ready for college. In combination with increases in other efforts, improved attendance rates will contribute to individual student achievement.

Although educators have long stressed the importance of student attendance, surprisingly little research has been conducted on the relationship between attendance and student performance on standardized tests. Some recent research has begun to investigate this relationship and has found a statistically significant relationship between school attendance and student achievement (Roby, 2004; Lamdin, 1996). Nichols (2003) found that attendance and absence rates as early as sixth grade can predict performance on 12th grade standardized tests. Researchers from UCLA have found not only a positive correlation between attendance and performance, but also disparities in the extent to which students of different races attend school regularly (Biegel, 2000). In the Student Mobility Project, researchers in Minnesota found attendance to be a strong predictor of performance. Specifically, researchers found that students with nearly perfect attendance made significant one-year gains, while students who attended only 85 percent of the time or less lost ground. These researchers also found that students with nearly perfect attendance outperformed by more than 20 points those who attended less than 80 percent of the time (Kids Mobility Project Report, 1998).

The link between attendance and achievement is so critical that many schools have initiated community and family partnership programs to

assist improvement endeavors. Epstein and Sheldon (2002) found that certain school programs at the elementary level were more effective in improving attendance than others. Namely, interventions that seek to include the whole family, such as workshops for parents and efforts to overcome communication barriers, supported student attendance; actions involving the court system were not. Sheldon's (2007) study supported earlier work in finding that schools engaged in outreach to families affected higher student attendance rates than those not making family partnerships.

While many school-community programs exist to bolster student attendance, we expect that the Kalamazoo Promise scholarship will serve as the main boost for current students. Increased student attendance at school is one of the earliest changes we believe the schools to experience.

Increased Enrollment and State Resources

Another one of the early and easily discernable outcomes of the Kalamazoo Promise is expected to be an increase in enrollments. Because the scholarship is prorated by the number of years in the district, there is an obvious incentive for families to enroll their child(ren) earlier rather than later. Whereas KPS' enrollment had been shrinking from year to year as the district lost students to charter schools, private schools, and due to out-migration of families, this pattern is expected to change with new

students enrolling in KPS from other local schools, nearby districts, and even from outside the area.

Given the state funding formula that is based on the number of students enrolled, increases in enrollment will result in more revenue for the district. While the district initially may be faced with imbalances in class size, more efficient use of human and physical resources will be achieved. A portion of the funding that follows each student is designated for general and administrative support. Therefore, increased enrollments and revenues should help finance supplemental supports and services. Prior to the announcement of the Kalamazoo Promise, the district needed to trim or cut supplemental services for students on an annual basis, since enrollments were decreasing each year. With the increased enrollment and revenues, the district likely will be able to strengthen and expand supplemental and nonessential services for students. More importantly, funding would be available for other anticipated increases, such as advanced placement class offerings and more staff.

Total district enrollment will also be affected by the retention of more students at the high school level, where the dropout rate has been relatively high. The district had been to losing funding when students dropped out, but the retention of more high school students will help reinforce enrollments and corresponding funding from the state.

Intermediate Outcomes

Intermediate outcomes are those that we expect to see 1-2 years after the start of the scholarship. These outcomes are more clearly linked to behavioral changes by diverse stakeholder groups, and they also represent more permanent institutional changes in district.

Improved Retention, Promotion and Graduation Rates

The short-term outcomes of increased attendance and enrollment will directly impact the intermediate outcome of improved retention, promotion, and graduation rates. Research on high school graduation rates and their correlates is

surprisingly convoluted (Strom & Boster, 2007). As one prominent educator writes, "the relative inattention devoted to graduation rates is at least partly explained by the confusing, inconsistent, and sometimes misleading way in which the rate of high school completion is measured" (Greene, 2001, p. 11). With the introduction of the No Child Left Behind Act, graduation rates have been generating more interest and, consequentially, are becoming the subject of an increasing amount of research. A recent study found that as many as one-third of students in the United States do not graduate on time (Hall, 2005). An earlier study published by the Urban Institute found that the overall graduation rate for the class of 2001 was 68 percent (Swanson, 2003).

Extensive research has been conducted on the variety of factors that can influence student drop-out at the individual level (e.g., Rumberger, 1983; Cairns, Cairns, & Neckerman, 1989). Strom and Boster (2007) note that parent-child interactions are proven to make the difference between low-achieving students who drop out and low-achieving students who stay in school. As families talk more about school, students are more likely to complete their high school degrees. Aside from home communications, students' perceptions of their teachers' expectations for them also contributed to inclinations to drop out or persist in school (Croninger & Lee, 2001).

Several predictors have been determined to give evidence of the likelihood of student graduation. Even as early as first grade, researchers have found that student characteristics, such as family income and student aggression, contribute to later graduation or drop out status (Ensminger & Slusarscick, 1992; Alexander, Entwisle, & Horsey, 1997). Swanson (2003) discovered that while more than 75 percent of white and Asian students received a high school diploma, less than half of historically disadvantaged groups did. Importantly, however, Rumberger (1995) found that when socioeconomic status is held constant, race does not predict drop out or graduation status. Another critical predictor of drop out status is whether a student has been held back a grade. Rumberger (1995) found that students who were held back a grade earlier in their school careers were significantly more likely to drop out once in high school.

The retention of high school students will help ensure that a higher mean attainment level is secured. In other words, the mean number of years that students attend formal schooling will increase. Initially, improving retention of high school students is likely to result in lower school performance scores on standardized tests. Similarly, with more students completing high school and applying for college, the proportion—although not necessarily the number—of students that access postsecondary education may possibly decrease, at least initially. Many of the students that were in high school at the time the Promise was announced were not intending to go to college and had not been taking the prerequisite courses that would help them succeed at college.

Improved School Climate

Short-term outcomes such as increased teacher expectations and increased student expectations, along with the others, will lend toward an improvement in the school climate. According to Brown, Anfara, & Roney (2004, p. 432), school climate is the “relatively stable property of the school environment that is experienced by participants, affects their behaviors, and is based on their collective perceptions of behavior in schools.” Broadly speaking, research suggests that as school climate improves, so does student academic achievement.

The body of research on school climate has linked school climate to a number of school characteristics. A healthy school climate is typical for schools that are high in social capital. In analyzing middle school reform efforts, Brown, Anfara, and Roney (2004) found that higher student achievement was correlated with teacher quality of life and job satisfaction, school and classroom climate, and student and school support and resources. Other researchers have also successfully linked healthy school climates to improved learning environments and increased student achievement (Bossert, 1988; Hoy, Hannum, & Tschannon-Moran, 1998; McPartland, Balfanzze, Jordon, & Legters, 1998).

Dunn and Harris (1998) found a relationship between school climate and student achievement, most notably in math where classroom tension was found to have a negative effect on student achievement. Another study found negative associations between student motivation and schools that were perceived as having a negative climate and restrictive relationships among faculty, administrators, and students (Gregoire & Algina, 2000). As Freiberg (1999) argued, because school climate can have a positive influence on the health of the learning environment, providing feedback on school climate should be an important component of school reforms.

Improved Discipline

The discipline outcome will be greatly affected by short-term outcomes. While increased student attendance and an influx of new students during increased enrollment might initially cause this

outcome to worsen, we expect that increased student aspirations will outweigh tendencies toward conflict. The existing research has long documented the link between improved discipline and better chances at academic success.

Regardless of demographic factors, schools with a higher rate of out-of-school suspension have lower percentages of students who pass standardized tests (Skiba & Rausch, 2004). Myers, Milne, Baker, and Ginsburg (1987) found that misbehavior has negative effects on changes on grades and achievement test scores, according to data from the High School and Beyond survey. More recent studies, such as Barton, Coley, & Wenglinsky (1998) have found a similar negative relationship between student delinquency and academic achievement using the National Education Longitudinal Survey data. The frequency of both serious and nonserious offenses is negatively related to academic achievement in all four academic areas studied, including mathematics, reading, science, and social science. At the individual level, a history of suspension is correlated with increased risk of school dropout (Ekstrom, Goertz, Pollack, & Rock, 1986). Conversely, studies have found a positive correlation between time spent on task and achievement (Berliner, 1990; Fredrick & Walberg, 1980).

Research has shown that discipline problems can be ameliorated through interventions. Regardless of schools' discipline rates, instituting an increased number of school-community partnership activities has been linked with low rates of disciplinary actions taken by school officials. Activities focusing on parenting and volunteering are most useful for projecting lower rates of discipline (Sheldon & Epstein, 2002). Additionally, Bowen (1999) found that increasing avenues of communication between families and school was correlated with both improved student behavior and academic skills.

While it is critical that students attend school to receive instruction and learn, it is also crucial that the learning environment be suitable for learning and that students feel safe. If the schools are plagued with disruptive students or if students and staff do not feel safe while attending school, the quality and effectiveness of the instruction will be undermined. As the diverse research studies we cite above indicate, student misbehavior has negative effects on academic achievement. An improvement in discipline will not only assist individual students in

preparing for postsecondary education, it will also influence other outcomes we mentioned previously, such as an improved school climate.

Increased Enrollment in College Preparatory Classes and Activities

As short-term outcomes increase, so will the enrollment in college readiness affairs in response to potential new district policies to better prepare students for college and increased expectations, support, and guidance from parents, community groups, and school staff. When we track the enrollments in college prep courses, we will also consider and track the course offerings and enrollments in AP classes and advanced level classes and other activities.

In analyzing the influences on college degree attainment, Adelman (1999) found that a high school curriculum of strong academic intensity and quality had the greatest impact on college degree completion. In many cases, enrollment in advanced placement courses aids a student's chances at gaining admission to a college because it boosts GPA, reflects the quality of the high school curriculum, and leads to taking AP exams that are worth college credit in some circumstances (Solorzano & Ornelas, 2004). Clearly, enrolling in more college preparatory classes will enhance the overall access to postsecondary institutions and use of the scholarship monies. Once in college, the decision to have enrolled in high school advanced placement courses yields higher grades in introductory science courses (Sadler & Tai, 2001). Horn and Kojaku (2001) found that students who enrolled in more rigorous courses in high school persisted longer in college and attained more bachelor's degrees. Yet, Solorzano and Ornelas (2004) noted that some students of color are still underrepresented in high school AP classes, even in instances where they make up the majority of the student body.

Rosenbaum (1998) told that under the "college for all" mind-set in many schools, students expect to attend college, but up to 40 percent do not see the relevance of high school achievement or take the necessary high school courses to help them achieve their ambitions. Largely, this is due to the lack of attention on the requirements that students must have to gain admission to postsecondary institutions. Students often have a mismatch in beliefs about

what success in college will require (Rosenbaum, 1998) and overestimate the impact of their high school preparation (Sadler & Tai, 2001). Thus, it is critical for teachers, counselors, and administrators to encourage students to take more challenging courses in high school, develop high-quality curriculum and teaching in high school, and ensure adequate support services for students.

Increased Classroom Performance as Measured by GPA in Core Subjects

Concomitant with changes in enrollment patterns, we expect to see improvement over time in students' mean grade point average (GPA) in core subjects. Mean GPA is a commonly used indicator for determining college admissions and predicting success in postsecondary institutions, across genders and races (Kirby, White, & Aruguete, 2007). Conversely, it is also a strong predictor of dropping out of high school (e.g., Barrington & Hendricks, 1989; Rumberger, 1983; Cairns, Cairns, & Neckerman, 1989) even as early as first grade, when academic orientation becomes established as a lifelong pattern (Ensminger & Slusarcick, 1992; Alexander, Entwisle, & Horsey, 1997).

As a measure of classroom performance, GPA is limited by the variations in content and the use of standards as well as the fluctuations in grading practices between teachers and schools. By itself, we cannot easily interpret the meaning or cause of fluctuations in GPA. However, this outcome will be interpreted alongside other short-term and intermediate outcomes that provide more objective and reliable measures of change in student performance. Given that we are expected to witness (i) education attainment (i.e., the mean number of years of education) improve, (ii) dropout rates diminish, and (iii) increased enrollment in more difficult college prep classes, it is likely that GPA initially may decrease or show minimal or no improvement at the high school level. Over the course of the next five years, however, it is expected that both education attainment and student performance (as measured by GPA and standardized tests) will improve.

Increased Performance on Standardized Tests

Increased performance on standardized tests is one of the most closely watched and discussed intermediate outcomes. While grade point average measures performance in the class, scores on standardized tests measure general knowledge. Criterion-referenced tests, such as the Michigan Education Assessment Program (MEAP), measure the extent to which students have mastered state standards which are established for each grade and subject. Pressure for improved performance on tests has increased in response to the federal No Child Left Behind Act, which delineates punitive or corrective action for schools that are deemed to be underperforming.

Besides providing information on the overall performance of students, schools, and districts, standardized tests—especially those administered in high school—serve as a measure of college readiness. Adelman (1999) notes that academic achievement itself remains one of the most important determinants for all students of whether and where students go to college. Some researchers, however, have found that performance on standardized tests does not necessarily predict college attainment and success among nonwhite students (Kirby, White, & Aruguete, 2007; Bryson, Smith, & Vineyard, 2002). Interestingly, some colleges are relying less on test scores to admit applicants (Robinson & Monks, 2005), and a large portion of community colleges and universities are willing to accept students with low test scores on a probationary basis. Still, standardized tests remain an important indicator for student achievement and progress. For these reasons, student achievement also is seen as one of the critical and tangible intermediate outcomes for the evaluation.

Although retaining more students who may otherwise have dropped out may initially decrease overall test results at the high school level, we expect that by 2008 high school test results should be improving and that by 2010, the acceptance rates for postsecondary education and success rates in postsecondary institutions will be improving. This trade-off between attainment and achievement is important to understand, especially

since Kalamazoo Public Schools has had a relatively high drop out rate in the past. The systemic changes that are envisioned to result from the Kalamazoo Promise expected to eventually raise both attainment and achievement.

Increased Rates of Application to Colleges and Universities

Readiness efforts and student aspiration increases are likely to result in increased rates of application to postsecondary education institutions. Indeed, research suggests that all of the other outcomes in our logic model influence the choice to apply to college, particularly as they result in strengthened social and financial capital (e.g., Plank & Jordan, 2001; Cabrera & La Nasa, 2000; McDonough, 1997; Freeman, 1997; McDonough, 1994; Hearn, 1991).

The perceived obstacles to college access provide a clue as to the efforts students need while still in high school to encourage applications to postsecondary institutions. In Freeman's (1997) research with African-American students, they reported money-related fears, such as not affording school and not earning enough money after school given the time demand, and psychological barriers. In the latter category, the students noted that for some, college was never presented as an option to them; others said they didn't see the benefits of higher education recognized in their community; the final and most prevalent explanation was that higher education was intimidating. Orfield et al. (1984) found that the distribution of college applications to students fall across geographic boundaries. School and social policy recommendations can be made to address each of these obstacles.

King's (1996) study of low-income college applicants noted the importance of providing rigorous high school coursework and access to information about college in students' decisions to apply for college. The low-income students who chose to take the SAT in order to apply to colleges reported seeing their guidance counselor two or three times during their last two years of high school. Even though these students generally had lower grades and SAT scores, they rose to the challenge of Advanced Placement courses when those classes were offered and when students were channeled into them. Plank and Jordan (2001) found that even high-achieving low-income students often did not pursue college because of a lack of support. Echoing King (1996), they found that with encouragement to take the SAT and appropriate college planning before the sophomore year of high school, low-income students were likely to apply for college. Freeman (1997) and Plank and Jordan (2001) additionally suggest that teachers and guidance counselors play a large role in channeling students toward applying for college in terms of providing them with information about college, access to recruiters and campus tours, and informational meetings with parents. In fact, the students in the Freeman (1997) study provided policy recommendations, many of which Kalamazoo is already undertaking, including removing financial barriers and supporting a college-bound mind-set. This increase in applications is important to track as an intermediate outcome. It is important to note, however, that the scholarships are awarded to students that actually gain admittance to a state university or college.

Long-Term Outcomes

Increased Options and Access to Postsecondary Colleges and Universities

The model we have constructed based on empirical evidence indicates that many factors contribute to access to—and success in—postsecondary institutions. Test scores, grades, taking part in a college preparatory program, and attending a school with many college-going peers are some of the student attributes most important for college

enrollment (Jackson, 1988). Personal, social, and financial benefits from attending postsecondary education are other factors related to whether a student will enroll in college (Alexander & Eckland, 1975; Hearn, 1991; Sewell, Hauser, & Alwin, 1976). But, most importantly, students' aspirations are sometimes the single strongest predictor of college attendance (Hearn, 1988).

Although each year new data will be available on the numbers and proportion of students that gain

access to postsecondary institutions, the true impact of the Kalamazoo Promise on access to higher education is expected to take at least 4 to 5 years. The reason for this is that research suggests that enrollment in college is largely connected with decisions that students make between grades 7 and 9 (Cabrerera & La Nasa, 2000). For this reason, it is unlikely that we will be able to determine the impact of the Kalamazoo Promise on access rates to higher education or—just as importantly—success in post-secondary education. Over time, we expect to see (i) more students applying for post-secondary education, (ii) more students succeeding and completing post-secondary programs, and (iii) increasing numbers of students applying to post-secondary institutions that have high standards for admission. All of these measures of long-term impact, are contingent on changes, improvements, and increasing supports providing in district schools.

Other Long-Term or Ultimate Outcomes

Our particular evaluation focuses on the envisioned changes and improvements in the public schools that will lead to increased access to postsecondary education. Other likely outcomes related to economic and community development have been described by the W.E. Upjohn Institute on Employment Research (Miller-Adams, 2006). While economic and community development are beyond the scope and focus of our evaluation, we

have included a few in the long-term outcomes that underline the broader impact the Promise is likely to have, especially in areas like housing and commerce.

Many have suggested that the Kalamazoo Promise will impact the quality of life in Kalamazoo and contribute to improved community vitality. The swell of philanthropy, volunteerism, and hope around the scholarship program are all factors that make any community a more resilient and better place to live. The general sense of community livelihood certainly increased the moment the scholarship was announced. Increased vitality can also make the community more capable of responding to problems in the community that have been difficult to address such as the relative upswing in youth violence. It is anticipated that the afterglow effect of the Promise will be sustainable and evolve into a long-term improvement and engagement of citizens.

Although the logic model illustrates linear effects that are unidirectional in nature, it is important to recognize how an improved community development will feed back into improved support for schools. Similarly, an improved local economy should help reduce poverty which undermines children's health and development. While it is outside the realm of our current evaluation, we include the other long-term outcomes in our logic model to acknowledge the impacts and effects of the Kalamazoo Promise extend beyond its potential to reform K-12 education.

Unanticipated Outcomes

One weakness in using theory-driven evaluation is that evaluators are so occupied with looking at the logic models or theory of change models that they forget to consider what might be happening outside the boxes illustrated in their models. For this reason, we have been careful to explore the possible unanticipated outcomes and have placed items in our data collection instruments that help us to address these. Many of these are unanticipated outcomes are hypothetical (based on what we might predict), some our theoretical (based on empirical research), and a few reflect the specific conditions and past experience from Kalamazoo. Below we list some of the possible unanticipated outcomes that the Kalamazoo Promise might have on the schools and community.

Frustration or disappointment on the part of students, educators, and the community due to the time required for measurable change in the intermediate and long-term outcomes. In other words, people may get let down if they don't see immediate results.

- Improved retention of students that might otherwise have dropped out may require reallocation of resources and may result in decreased aggregate measures of some of the intermediate outcomes (see our discussion of the attainment-achievement trade off in the earlier section on student achievement.
- Increased social tension among ethnic and socio-economic groups in the community due to

divergent expectations on how the Promise may work benefit respective groups within the community.

- Exhaustion on the part of educators or community organizations that set high expectations or that are overwhelmed by

managing new responsibilities or coordinating volunteers.

- Pressure on infrastructure, with some groups or organizations losing access to district facilities.

Closing Remarks

The logic model that was described and explained in this working paper provide a framework for the overall data collection required by the evaluation. Within each of the cells of the model, a number of measures and indicators have been identified. Data will be collected each year for the specific measures we intend to track. Generally speaking, the data collection will involve both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods and will be organized around five distinct activities: (1) surveys of middle and high school students, (2) surveys of middle and high school teachers and staff, (3) interviews with key informants in the district and the community, (4) review of public and district documentation, and (5) analysis of secondary sources of data obtained from the district and the state.

Evidence gathered and extracted from the data and information collected will help us to determine the following two broader questions:

1. Is the logic model a good fit for the systemic change in the local community (in other words, does the model represent reality)?

2. Is the model, and the relationships it depicts, working as anticipated?

More details about the methods of data collection can be obtained from the evaluation Web site <http://www.wmich.edu/evalctr/promise>. In the coming weeks and months, additional working papers will be released that cover a number of diverse topics and outcomes. Anticipated topics to be addressed will include (i) the community response, (ii) student achievement, and (iii) perceptions of students.

The Kalamazoo Promise has the potential to serve as a model for reforming urban or struggling school districts. Although many of our reports and findings will be tailored for formative feedback to the school district, which is a partner in this evaluation, we will also be sharing findings that will be of relevance to policymakers and to the many communities across the nation that are replicating—or planning to replicate—this scholarship program.

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