



Evaluation of Citizen Schools' Expanded Learning Time Model: Executive Summary



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Executive Summary

Introduction and Background

Academic achievement in the nation's lowest performing schools is troubling. Despite improvements in students' overall academic achievement over the past few decades, proficiency gaps in reading and mathematics still persist across income, racial, and ethnic groups (National Center for Education Statistics, 2013). One promising strategy for reducing the achievement gaps is the use of a longer school day, often called Expanded Learning Time (ELT); evidence suggests that students' increased access—through ELT programming—to enrichment activities can have positive effects on their academic motivation and social-emotional skill development.

The number of schools across the country implementing ELT continues to grow; by 2013–14, the most recent school year for which data are available, over 2,000 schools were using ELT strategies (National Center for Time and Learning (NCTL)). Nearly half of these schools were charter schools, and the remaining schools include many low-performing regular district schools that adopted ELT strategies in response to federal requirements for the School Improvement Grant (SIG) program. A recent GAO report indicates that approximately 1,800 SIG-funded schools, and 69 schools funded under the 21st Century Community Learning Program are implementing some form of ELT strategies.¹ Current guidance under the SIG program defines increased learning time as “increasing the length of the school day, week, or year to significantly increase the total number of school hours” for instruction in core academic subjects and other subjects, enrichment activities, and teacher collaboration, planning, and professional development (U.S. Department of Education, 2012a, p. 23).

The definition of ELT may seem straightforward, yet its implementation varies considerably in practice. ELT can occur via additional days in the school year, more hours in a school day, or summer programming above and beyond the regular year or day. ELT participation is sometimes mandatory for designated students, grades, or schools, and is sometimes optional. ELT programming is offered by local schools/districts, community-based organizations or non-profit groups, and is delivered by teachers, tutors, community volunteers, or other adults. Further, schools implementing ELT may rely upon the same *structure* (i.e., all after-school or summer or longer day programming), yet may vary substantially in the content of ELT, how additional time is distributed across subjects or extracurricular activities, and in who provides instruction.

Regardless of structure or content, using additional time effectively requires attending to multiple factors or strategies that all affect program implementation. Both the Afterschool Alliance (2012) and NCTL (2012) have articulated some guiding principles as essential for high-quality ELT programming. These include strong school community partnerships; focused learning; family engagement; intentional programming; diverse, prepared staff; participation and access; safety, health, and wellness; and ongoing assessment and improvement.

¹ See <http://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-16-141>

Key Elements of Successful Expanded Learning Time Approaches

Key elements^a of expanded learning time initiatives include:

- Increase time in schools for students
- Provide academic support, individualized learning support, and enrichment activities to prepare students for college and career success
- Ensure opportunities for teacher collaboration and professional development to improve the quality of instruction
- Build strong school leadership and support of ELT
- Promote data-driven and evidence-based support to improve student performance
- Cultivate dedicated partnerships with external organizations
- Build a culture of high expectations and accountability

^a See After School Alliance (January 2012), *Principles of Effective Expanded Learning Programs: A Vision Built on the Afterschool Approach*. Washington, DC: Author. Retrieved from [http://www.afterschoolalliance.org/Principles%20of%20Expanded%20Learning%20Programs_Jan_2012\(2\).pdf](http://www.afterschoolalliance.org/Principles%20of%20Expanded%20Learning%20Programs_Jan_2012(2).pdf); see also Claire Kaplan & Roy Chan (2011), *Time Well Spent: Eight Powerful Practices of Successful Expanded-Time Schools*, National Center for Time and Learning. Retrieved from <http://timeandlearning.org/sites/default/files/resources/timewellspent.pdf>

Since 1995, Citizen Schools has developed and implemented its own ELT model. Citizen Schools partners with middle schools serving predominantly low income (90% nationally) racial or ethnic minority (94% nationally), and academically struggling students. The Citizen Schools model relies upon an additional shift of educators and community volunteers to engage middle school students in hands-on apprenticeships, while simultaneously providing individualized supports to ensure academic and future success. Initially, Citizen Schools offered optional out-of-school time (OST) programming to middle school students in Boston, MA; it expanded to other districts in 2002, and further expanded to serve entire grade levels in an ELT framework in 2006. By 2010, Citizen Schools had shifted its focus from opt-in OST to mandatory full-grade ELT programming, and it began its national ELT initiative in 2010. Over the past six years, Citizen Schools ELT programming has expanded to schools in seven states, including California, Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, and Texas.

Abt Associates has been working as an evaluation partner with Citizen Schools since 2010, to learn how schools are implementing and integrating the Citizen Schools ELT model, and whether participation in ELT affects students' shorter-term behavioral and aspirational outcomes as well as students' academic performance. The evaluation was designed to examine implementation and impact from the beginning of Citizen Schools' national ELT expansion in fall 2010. This final report summarizes what the evaluation has learned about ELT implementation and outcomes over five consecutive school years, from 2010–11 through 2014–15.

Background and Findings from Prior Research

The research foundation for identifying the most effective strategies for implementing ELT has not kept pace with the steady expansion of ELT across the country. While there have been numerous studies, relatively few have been both rigorous and multi-faceted enough to assess the diversity of targeted outcomes and the heterogeneity of implementation. On the surface, for example, a study of a summer learning program and a study of ELT may each examine the impact of additional time, yet a summer-based program intervention is quite distinct from an expansion of instructional time during the regular school day. While some research does suggest positive findings about OST or summer

programming, those findings may not be applicable to an integrated ELT program model (McCombs et al., 2011; Redd et al., 2012). Studies that assess whether students attending charter schools (in which longer school days are required) outperform peers in regular district schools have found positive impacts on academic outcomes (Angrist et al., 2010; Tuttle et al., 2013; Tuttle et al., 2015). One of the strongest studies is a large-scale random assignment investigation of the Knowledge is Power Program (KIPP), a multi-faceted school improvement effort with many simultaneously implemented strategies, including ELT; this study found convincing positive effects on academic outcomes, yet cannot disentangle the effects of a longer school day from other key program elements (the seven principles that govern KIPP schools focus on academics, learning, and leadership²).

Several recent meta-analyses have examined studies of different strategies for increasing learning time, prioritizing studies based on stronger research designs, and the findings are mixed. For example, some research suggests that expanded learning time improves non-academic student outcomes (e.g., students' attendance, study skills, behavior, social skills, and motivation to learn); however, the evidence is based primarily on non-experimental research, including studies that used simple pre- and post-program comparisons of ELT participants and other quasi-experimental designs to identify correlations between ELT participation and youth outcomes (Zief et al., 2006; Redd et al., 2012). Kidron and Lindsay (2014) synthesized 30 studies, some of which were experimental and some quasi-experimental, and found that OST programs (before- and after-school and weekend programs) had a small, positive, and statistically significant effect on students' academic motivation. Another meta-analysis of the effects of afterschool programs on socio-emotional skill development found some positive and statistically significant effects on socio-emotional skill development, behavior management, school bonding, and positive self-perceptions (Durlak et al., 2010), but because the interventions could occur within and outside the regular school day, the effects of ELT cannot be examined separately from other school improvement strategies.

Overall, the evidence suggests three key findings on the implementation of ELT. First, ELT models vary in focus, structure, and content across school environments (Rocha, 2007). Second, time alone is not sufficient to improve student performance; quality academic learning time matters. Third, schools with successful expanded learning time programs share common features, including bold, visionary leadership; strong community support and partners; ongoing assessment and improvement; engaged students; high attendance and participation; and a culture of high expectation.

Given the large variability in ELT types and elements, in mandatory or voluntary ELT participation, and the concomitant implementation of other school-wide improvement initiatives, it can be difficult to pinpoint the source of any positive effects on students, both academically and non-academically. Further, the observed impacts largely reflect the benefits of instructional time within programs or interventions that are quite distinct from the Citizen Schools ELT model. Describing specific elements of the Citizen Schools' ELT model can help situate findings about both the implementation and impact of Citizen Schools ELT, relative to other research about ELT. The report turns next to a discussion of the Citizen Schools ELT program.

² See www.kipp.org/our-approach for more detail about key KIPP approaches.

The Citizen Schools ELT Program Model

The Citizen Schools Expanded Learning Time model is defined by three separate components: Apprenticeships, Academic Support, and Explore, which are built into a lengthened school day. The Apprenticeships are the cornerstone of the Citizen Schools ELT program model; they connect students to adult volunteers who teach a skill or content area about which they are passionate. The adult volunteers, called Citizen Teachers, teach about such varied topics as robotics, mock trials, poetry, dance, and numerous other areas. Students learn about possible apprenticeship topics early each semester via an Apprenticeship Fair; they rank their top choices after hearing Citizen Teachers present short pitches. Citizen Schools staff then assign students to apprenticeships based on a combination of student preference and availability. Students take four apprenticeships each year, two each semester. Each apprenticeship consists of 10 90-minute sessions per semester that culminates in a showcase called the WOW! during which students “teach back” to friends, family, and community members what they learned.

Apprenticeships are complemented by two distinct types of academic support. Structured homework time is generally offered for an hour each program day; it includes one-on-one goal setting and tutoring, and is known as AIM, or “aspire, invest, and make the grade.” Academic League includes targeted academic support in either math or English/Language Arts (at each school’s discretion); it is offered twice a week for between 30 and 90 minutes.

The third program component, called Explore, provides additional enrichment activities through team-building exercises. The Explore block generally reflects each participating school’s priorities and circumstances, while establishing connections between students’ middle school experiences, knowledge/guidance about college and careers (earlier, this component was known as C3—College to Career Connections), and how students can develop a pathway to future goals. Citizen Schools ELT also includes an eighth grade-specific program element, the Eighth Grade Academy (8GA), a capstone program that supports students as they navigate from middle to high school.

The chief mechanism by which program components are delivered is through an embedded “second shift” of educators, funded by AmeriCorps, hired to support the schools’ extended day, either as Teaching Fellows (TFs) or Teaching Associates (TAs). Teaching Fellows generally work full-time and are expected to serve for two years. The requirements have become more explicit over time: TFs are required to have had prior experience working with children, have earned some college credit, and to be U.S. citizens. Teaching Associates, half-time Citizen Schools employees, generally provide Citizen Schools

Illustrative Weekly Schedule for Students

- **Monday:** 60 minutes of homework support, followed by 90-minute Academic League lesson on fractions
- **Tuesday:** 60 minutes of homework support, followed by 90-minute *Robotics* Apprenticeship taught by Citizen Teachers from Google
- **Wednesday:** 60 minutes of homework support, followed by 30 minutes of refresh/review on fractions, then 60 minutes of team-building exercises
- **Thursday:** 60 minutes of homework support, followed by 90-minute Mock Trials Apprenticeship taught by Citizen Teachers from local law firm
- **Friday:** No Citizen Schools programming typically offered

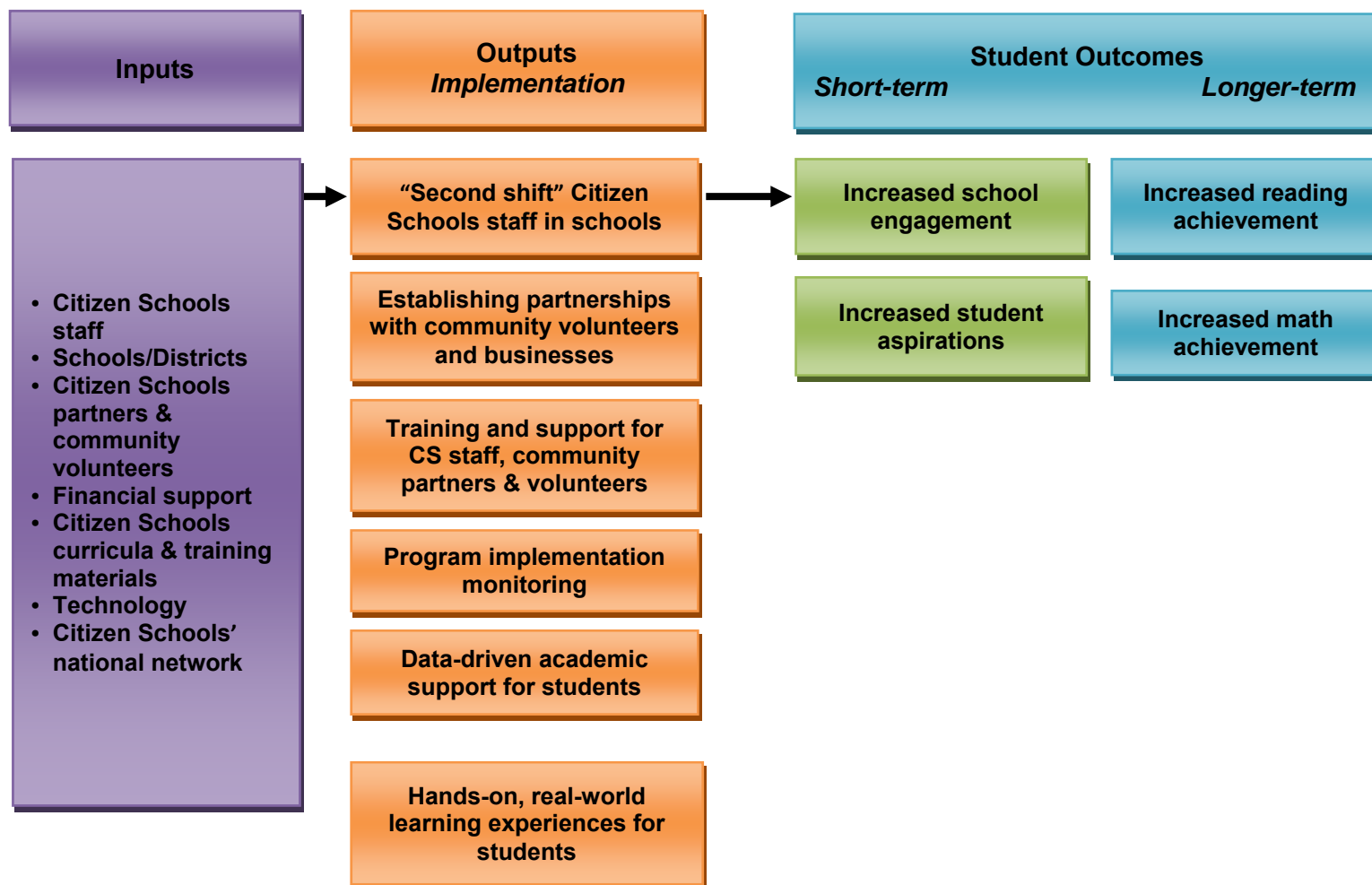
programming to students during the extended portion of the day, while TFs spend their mornings engaged in varied activities (e.g., providing support for the school, preparing for the afternoon programming). ELT programming generally begins around 3:00 PM, and concludes by 6:00 pm.

Although partner schools do not necessarily adhere to the same universal schedule network-wide, schools typically schedule activities across all three program components each week.

Through its systematic and loosely structured model, Citizen Schools provides consistency to students and their staff, and takes the burden of additional teaching away from first shift educators in their partner schools. Citizen Schools' ELT model also establishes clear expectations against which it can be evaluated. And, as noted above, the Citizen Schools ELT model is both similar to and different from other programs that include additional instructional time.

The evaluation of the Citizen Schools ELT Model incorporates the program elements described above into a logic model (Exhibit 1). The model illustrates the inputs, outputs, and expected outcomes, moving from left to right. The inputs represent the elements that, in combination, comprise the Citizen Schools ELT model, including the school/district, the Citizen Schools staff, partners and community volunteers, materials (e.g., curricula), supports, and technology. The outputs (e.g., activities/personnel represented in the model) include a second shift of ELT staff, establishing partnerships with community members and organizations, training, supporting, and monitoring Citizen Schools staff, and providing hands-on experiences for students. The underlying hypothesis is that if the model is implemented with fidelity, student engagement in school and student aspirations would increase (short-term outcomes), and correspondingly, student English/Language Arts (ELA) and math achievement, as measured by state standardized test scores, would then increase (longer-term outcomes).

Exhibit 1: Citizen Schools ELT Logic Model



Study Design and Research Questions

The Citizen Schools ELT Evaluation examined how Citizen Schools ELT programming is being implemented across sites nationally, and assesses whether there are impacts of Citizen Schools ELT participation on engagement, aspirational, and academic outcomes.

Key Study Design Features

- **Multi-site, multi-year study:** staggered cohorts of schools (2010-11 through 2014-15)
 - 35 schools in four cohorts have implemented Citizen Schools ELT for one or more years
 - The cumulative achievement results include up to 27 schools (Cohorts 1, 2, 3, and 4)
- **Implementation and outcome components**
 - Implementation focuses on Citizen Schools ELT programming
 - Non-academic outcome component focuses on student engagement and aspirational outcomes
 - Academic component uses quasi-experimental design to assess whether Citizen Schools has an impact on student achievement

This final report summary focuses on implementation and student outcomes from 2010-11 through the 2014-15 school years (achievement data are available only through the 2013-14 year). The implementation component of the study incorporates surveys, interviews, and site visits to assess how schools integrate Citizen Schools ELT into their school days, organizationally and instructionally. The data on implementation purposefully draw from multiple sources over different points in time to (1) ensure representation from the various stakeholders engaged in Citizen Schools ELT and (2) attempt to corroborate perspectives across stakeholder groups. Survey analyses assess the student engagement and aspirational outcomes from teacher, Citizen School staff, and student perspectives. Comparative analyses assess differences in these outcomes between Citizen Schools teachers and students and matched comparison individuals. The study also uses these data sources to assess the level of implementation more systematically in an implementation index.

The impact component of the study uses a comparative interrupted time series quasi-experimental (QED) research design; the design heeds the What Works Clearinghouse (WWC) guidance, and its sampling and analytic approaches are intended to meet WWC standards with reservations, which is the highest possible rating for a QED. The comparative interrupted time series is one of the strongest alternatives to a random control trial (RCT) to assess whether there are systematic differences in academic achievement for students in Citizen Schools ELT schools, compared to the same outcomes for their counterparts attending similar schools without Citizen Schools ELT. The study design relies upon carefully matching up to four local comparison schools to each Citizen Schools ELT campus, based on demographic and achievement profiles, to assess differences in academic achievement. Survey analyses are based on results from two of the four comparison schools for each Citizen Schools campus.³

The table below illustrates the study's data collection schedule.

³ If a Citizen Schools ELT campus exits the study, so too do its matched comparison school counterparts.

Exhibit 2. Data Collection Schedule

Data Collection Activity	Study Year School Year				
	1 2010–11	2 2011–12	3 2012–13	4 2013–14	5 2014–15
Site visit (CS ELT only)	✓	✓	✓		
Principal Telephone Interview (CS ELT)		✓	✓	✓	✓
Principal Telephone Interview (MC)		✓	✓	✓	
Campus Director Telephone Interview		✓	✓	✓	✓
Survey					
*Student (CS ELT & MC)		✓	✓		
**Teacher (CS ELT & MC)		✓	✓	✓	
CS staff (CS ELT only)		✓	✓	✓	
Extant (test score) data	✓	✓	✓	✓	

*Student surveys were not collected in years 4 and 5.

**Teacher surveys were administered in Citizen Schools ELT schools (not comparison schools) in year 4; no surveys were administered in year 5.

In 2014–15, interviews were conducted with a subset of Citizen Schools campus administrators and campus directors, focusing specifically on schools designated as high implementers in the 2013–14 school year.

The study's guiding research questions include one question about implementation, one about shorter-term non-academic outcomes, and one about longer-term academic outcomes:

- How successfully are schools implementing and integrating expanded learning opportunities into their school days?
- What are the differences between Citizen Schools ELT and MC schools on student engagement and aspirations?
- What are the differences between Citizen Schools ELT and MC schools on student achievement (e.g., on English/Language Arts (ELA) and math achievement test scores)?

Key Findings

The study has found consistent patterns in survey, interview, and achievement findings. Implementation of the Citizen Schools ELT model takes time to establish and operate adequately, yet it also continues to vary substantially across Citizen Schools ELT schools, even as participating schools have demonstrably implemented several core principles of Citizen Schools ELT. Findings about short-term non-academic outcomes indicate some positive findings as well as some negative perceptions.

The data on student achievement in ELA and math indicated no statistically significant impacts of Citizen Schools ELT, on average. Exploratory subgroup analyses suggest a significant positive impact of Citizen Schools ELT on math achievement in the first year of implementation and a marginally significant positive effect of Citizen Schools ELT on 7th grade math achievement. In the context of other research about the impact of ELT on student achievement outcomes, these findings are not surprising. Few studies have found consistent positive outcomes, and the most positive

findings to date, from the most recent KIPP study (Tuttle et al., 2015) reflect implementation of a highly structured program model that emphasizes academic achievement rather than the considerably more flexible Citizen Schools ELT model that emphasizes varied learning opportunities designed to increase student engagement and aspirations.

Below, we summarize key findings about implementation and the implementation index, about student non-academic outcomes, and about impacts on student achievement.

Key Findings about Implementation

Over the course of several years, common patterns in implementation have become more evident. Attention to planning, along with clear and early communication with both school and district partners about roles and responsibilities helped set the stage for smoother program launch and implementation. Once program operations began in earnest, schools faced a number of common challenges, including changes in district or school leadership, and therefore changes in priorities, as well as maintaining program consistency given high staff turnover among the Teaching Fellows.

Because Citizen Schools programming occurs primarily through its staff, recruitment, hiring, preparation and support of staff directly affect how the program operates and is perceived. Participating campuses experienced similar challenges over the study's duration, including training and experience, hiring practices, staff turnover, and staff diversity. Establishing strong working relationships early on was consistently described as essential, as was ensuring that staff had access to training that helped them understand local school needs. Citizen Schools Fellows' capacity to manage student behavior effectively and provide focused instruction was consistently reported as a challenge by Citizen School staff and campus administrators, and staff turnover was a challenge in about half the schools.

Integrating Citizen Schools staff into schools generally occurred through three mechanisms: 1) structured overlap and joint participation between the first and second shift staff; 2) alignment of content, pedagogy, and especially behavior management systems; and 3) establishing and maintaining relationships between stakeholder groups. Developing purposefully structured overlaps between first and second shifts generated benefits, goodwill, and enhanced integration efforts. In about half the schools, Citizen Schools staff had shared access to information about student performance, typically via schools' data systems or joint participation in meetings with first shift teachers. Integration also proceeded more smoothly when there were positive working relationships between Citizen Schools staff and first shift teachers.

Over the past several years, the Citizen Schools Program model has demonstrably changed in response to network schools' continued adaptations of core program elements and the national curricula. The Citizen Schools organization adjusted its approach to developing and using its national curricula to make it more responsive to schools' needs. Even as the national organization has become more flexible, network campuses continued to adapt core program elements to meet their own students' needs.

By the end of the 2014–15 school year, the Citizen Schools network included campuses in their second through fifth years of implementation. The network schools and the Citizen Schools organization have faced persistent questions about how to sustain school/district commitment and participation, particularly for schools relying upon time-limited federal funding. The two most

prevalent concerns include (1) financial sustainability, and (2) campus stability—and therefore programmatic sustainability—given frequent staff transitions.

Implementing the Seven Key Elements of the Citizen Schools ELT Model across the Network and Over Time

Over the course of the Citizen Schools ELT evaluation, it has become and remains evident that implementation varies substantially across participating campuses. The Citizen Schools organization is keenly interested in understanding how the Citizen Schools ELT schools vary in their implementation of the model. The study team, working collaboratively with Citizen Schools, developed a summary metric, called the implementation index, to capture individual campus and network-wide progress on implementation of core Citizen Schools ELT program elements—the seven “non-negotiable” processes and activities that together, represent what successful implementation of the program would require. The implementation index draws from surveys administered in schools’ second and subsequent years of implementation as well as annual interviews. The index incorporates information from multiple school-based respondents, including principals, classroom teachers, Citizen Schools CDs and Citizen Schools Teaching Fellows.

The multi-dimensional index includes the following key elements of the Citizen Schools program model:

- 1) Planning;
- 2) Leadership;
- 3) Data collection;
- 4) Training and professional development;
- 5) Family/community engagement;
- 6) Alignment/coordination between partner school and CS; and
- 7) Perceptions of program quality.

Each school’s implementation (in a given year) is characterized as limited, moderate, or full (corresponding to ratings of 1, 2, or 3), for each of the seven core program constructs listed above. School ratings could vary between 7 (representing limited implementation of each construct) and 21 (full implementation across all seven constructs). The index provides information about progress, consistency, and variability—whether for individual campuses, for cohorts of schools that began implementation at specific times, or for the entire network, both at a given point in *time* (e.g., as of the 2012–13 academic year) as well as at a given point in *implementation* duration (e.g., as of the second year of program implementation).

Overall index scores remain clustered in the moderate range, with average scores hovering around 17 (out of 21) across multiple cohorts and up to four implementation years. There are few patterns evident in schools’ levels of implementation over time. While schools with lower index scores tended to exit the network over time, continuing schools’ implementation levels do not change substantially from one year to the next. The specific constructs schools were most consistently able to implement fully *across* implementation years include planning, leadership, perceived quality, and data collection. For example, 16 schools (of 19 for which index scores are available) in their second year, 9 (of 11) in their third year, and 3 (of 3) in their fourth year scored a “3” for the planning construct. Fewer schools implemented either the family and community engagement or alignment of partner school and Citizen Schools constructs fully, again, *across* implementation years.

How Does Citizen Schools ELT Affect Student and Teacher Perceptions?

Survey findings help to describe teacher and student perceptions about the Citizen Schools ELT model, and provide some insight into whether and how the program is progressing toward the shorter-term outcomes depicted in the logic model. The results are consistent with implementation findings that some program elements are positively perceived (exposure to learning about colleges and careers), and that there are some ongoing puzzles and challenges (less positive perceptions of Citizen Schools staff).

Overall, significantly more students in Citizen Schools ELT campuses than the counterfactual reported positive behavioral engagement of peers, that the ELT program helped their self-esteem and pro-social behaviors, and that they participated in activities to help them learn about college and careers. At the same time, however, significantly more Citizen Schools students also reported concerns with Citizen Schools staff and the Citizen Schools ELT program than those comparison students who reported that they attended after-school programming.

Student and faculty staff perceptions differed on some dimensions. Specifically, significantly more Citizen Schools' ELT students indicated that they were positively engaged and had high aspirations, while more school teachers/Citizen Schools staff reported student engagement and student aspirations were a problem than occurred in schools without ELT.

How Does Citizen Schools ELT Affect Student Achievement?

Following the recommendations of the U.S. Department of Education's What Works Clearinghouse (WWC) standards for rigorous designs, the student achievement analyses were divided into confirmatory (central hypotheses to the evaluation) and exploratory analyses (hypotheses that are important yet are not central and may not be well powered).⁴ The data on student achievement in ELA and math indicated no statistically significant impacts of Citizen Schools ELT, on average. Exploratory subgroup analyses suggest a significant positive impact of Citizen Schools ELT on math achievement in the first year of implementation roughly equivalent to just over three months of math growth in a school year and a marginally significant positive effect of Citizen Schools ELT on 7th grade math achievement roughly equivalent to about three-and-a-half months of math growth in a school year. In the context of other research about the impact of ELT on student achievement outcomes, these findings are not surprising. Few studies have found consistent positive outcomes, and the most positive findings to date, from the most recent KIPP study (Tuttle et al., 2015) reflect implementation of a highly structured program model that emphasizes academic achievement rather than the considerably more flexible Citizen Schools ELT model that emphasizes varied learning opportunities designed to increase student engagement and aspirations.

Discussion

This final report provides a comprehensive overview of the Citizen Schools ELT model after five years of implementation. Over that time, the Citizen Schools ELT network has matured and expanded as new schools joined each year, and schools exited after one, two, three, or four years. The ELT program model has become more flexible as partner schools have refined and adapted the program

⁴ http://ies.ed.gov/ncee/wwc/pdf/reference_resources/wwc_procedures_v3_0_draft_standards_handbook.pdf

model to meet their needs. Over the past five years, the study has examined both implementation and outcomes in detail.

The implementation-focused findings presented in this report center on implementation variability. Overall, the ELT schools are clearly committed to implementing Citizen Schools' ELT programming with fidelity, and at the same time, Citizen Schools has continued to recognize the need for flexibility with its campus partners. As a result, there is considerable variation across individual campuses in how the model is incorporated into their respective school contexts; indeed, that variability seems to be essential for the model to be adaptable across such diverse contexts. The implementation findings also highlight some of the challenges associated with launching a multi-faceted model in dynamic settings, coupled with built-in staffing changes.

The outcome-focused findings described in this report are mixed. The study finds both positive effects on student engagement and aspirations and negative perceptions about students' Citizen Schools ELT experiences. The confirmatory findings indicate no overall significant impact on student performance, as measured by standardized achievement test scores in ELA and math; exploratory findings indicated a significant positive impact of Citizen Schools ELT on math achievement in the first year of implementation and suggest a marginally significant positive effect of Citizen Schools ELT on 7th grade math achievement. Statically significant impacts on student achievement have proven persistently elusive and it is unclear whether this is a function of variability in implementation, model variation across campuses, statistical power, the fit between the intervention and the outcome measures, or some combination of the above.

Prior research on other interventions that include expanded learning time has yielded mixed evidence; few studies found positive achievement impacts, most studies found no achievement impacts, and some found negative effects. Perhaps unsurprisingly, interventions designed to improve academic achievement, such as KIPP, or Higher Achievement, were more likely to affect academic outcomes than were more holistic interventions designed to broaden students' enrichment, socio-emotional, or other non-academic experiences. One of the distinctive features of the Citizen Schools ELT model is its emphasis on non-academic learning opportunities that are hypothesized to be necessary precursors to improved achievement. Perhaps student engagement and aspirational short-term outcomes are more appropriate outcomes on which to focus, given Citizen Schools' emphasis on team-building and exposing students to novel, hands-on, real-world experiences through apprenticeships.

Limitations

The study was designed to answer key questions about implementation and impact using the strongest possible approaches, yet the study's analytic approaches have some limitations. For example, data on implementation relied upon semi-structured interviews in which respondents could and did answer questions in varying detail, and, because campuses differed in the number (and availability) of stakeholders participating in interviews, the study was not necessarily able to interview staff members with comparable positions at each site. Additionally, interviews and surveys were completed after the ELT program had been introduced, and while student achievement data could be obtained retrospectively—dating back to before the program was implemented—data about school climate and short-term outcomes reflect experiences *after* schools had begun to implement Citizen Schools ELT, and may or may not reflect *changes* as a result of ELT.

Two other limitations are worth heeding: one, the study examines Citizen Schools' specific approach to ELT, and two, it uses a purposefully constructed sample of schools. The Citizen Schools ELT model is distinctive, and lessons derived from this study apply to this specific approach to ELT, and reflect the idiosyncrasies of the study sample. The study sample has experienced considerable fluctuation over its duration, and while some attrition may occur because either schools or the Citizen Schools organization recognize the "fit" (or lack thereof) for the ELT model, the fluidity of the sample raises a concern about external validity and the sample's representativeness. The study describes implementation progress and challenges for all 35 schools for at least one year of implementation—but the program is not currently designed as a one-year or even a two-year intervention. The cumulative results (both implementation and outcomes) are therefore based on a subset of schools and may not apply to all schools that had ever participated in the Citizen Schools network.

Finally, one other consideration is noteworthy. Performance on standardized achievement tests may not be the most sensitive measure of ELT's potential impact on student learning. Perhaps achievement outcomes are too distal a measure for Citizen Schools' ELT model, given its emphasis on such non-academic outcomes as student motivation, engagement, and aspiration, as well as on better understanding the high school application processes and what comes after secondary school (e.g., college and careers). Performance on core academic subject assessments is clearly important, but it may not be the right outcome for the ELT model.

Future Steps

At the conclusion of this five-year evaluation, the Citizen Schools ELT initiative continues to anticipate its school partners' needs, as new campuses join the network and some current school partners exit. The Citizen Schools' ELT model has undergone some fundamental changes as well, responding to school partners and secular shifts in both academic and non-academic priorities. Citizen Schools' programming will also likely adjust to changes in the education landscape resulting from the recently authorized Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), as the legislation simultaneously reduces federal reach into local education decisions and provides states and districts more control over teacher evaluation, standards, school turnarounds, and accountability. Given that Citizen Schools has focused chiefly on working with turnaround schools, the new legislation will undoubtedly influence not only how the organization engages new district and school partners, but also how it will adjust its programming and staffing. Hopefully the findings described in this report can provide useful information as the Citizen Schools organization plans for the future.

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