

Collective Impact and the New Generation of Cross-Sector Collaborations for Education

A Nationwide Scan



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All errors and omissions are, of course, the full responsibility of the authors.

Executive Summary

This report describes developments in the new generation of cross-sector collaborations for education and presents findings from a scan of such initiatives across the United States. We describe the broad ecology of cross-sector collaborations for educational improvement and examine various rationales for the current interest in collaboration. We explore the prominent new model of collaboration known as “collective impact,” review the history of cross-sector collaborations for education, and revisit some reasons for cautious optimism about the changing context for collaboration. Then, using information from public websites, we describe characteristics of the national array of current collaborations. We report an additional analysis, based on multiple data sources, of factors that seem to position some cities to develop cross-sector collaborations while others are less likely to do so. To conclude, we revisit some trends and considerations that are worth watching, acknowledging that new efforts are often layered on the foundation of previous collaborations but also take place in an altered context with new possibilities and challenges.

Attention to local cross-sector collaboration has surged in recent years, with much of that attention attributable to the singular impact of John Kania and Mark Kramer’s article “Collective Impact,” published in fall 2011 in the *Stanford Social Innovation Review*. Kania and Kramer described a model for collaborative efforts to address public needs that was distilled from their work over previous years with several initiatives coordinating education and other services for children (the Strive Partnership in Cincinnati and the Road Map Project in Seattle), several natural resources projects, and a citywide health drive. Despite the intense interest in collective impact, there has been little effort to understand how the contemporary collective impact movement relates to the historical tradition of collaborative efforts to address urban problems, and almost no systematic analysis of its form, extent, and distribution.

Our national scan of cross-sector collaborations yields information on 182 collaborations that, as of January 2015, met our inclusion criteria of being place-based, multi-sector, collaborative leadership efforts focused on educational outcomes. Identifying these collaborations was a challenge; we made special efforts to include initiatives affiliated with national networks and those located in or working with the 100 largest cities and school districts across the country. Most of the information on the collaborations comes from their publicly available websites.

Our findings include a number of trends worth considering about the origins, governance, and emphases of the existing array of local cross-sector collaborations for education:

- ▶ A substantial number of the cross-sector collaborations for education predate the contemporary collective impact movement and are still operational, offering encouragement that the general idea of collaboration is indeed viable. Nearly 60% of the 182 initiatives in the scan were launched before 2011 and nearly 20% before

2000. Of the collaborations begun after the publication of the Kania and Kramer article in *SSIR* in 2011, nearly two-thirds employed the term “collective impact.” Of the collaborations established prior to 2011, more than one in four now use the term somewhere on their websites.

- ▶ Collaborations are found in many of the nation’s largest cities and throughout all regions of the nation. The distribution of cross-sector collaborations for education across U.S. Census-defined regions is roughly proportional to the distribution of population across those regions. However, there are concentrations of initiatives in certain areas within regions, such as Florida and the states that border the Great Lakes.
- ▶ Cross-sector collaborations vary in the geographic scale of their target areas and in whether their efforts are situated primarily within school-specific governance arenas—like school districts—or general-purpose governments, like counties and municipalities. Most collaborations (55%) identified their target jurisdiction at the county or regional/multi-county level. Fourteen percent appeared to focus on a sub-city level such as a single school or neighborhood. Only about one in ten identified their target primarily as the school district itself.
- ▶ The number of local collaborations that are initiated with the support of a national network, or that seek out such support at some point in their development, appears to be growing. Slightly fewer than half of the collaborations have some national network affiliation. StriveTogether is the largest network.
- ▶ Over half of the 182 collaborations in the nationwide scan operate in places with at least one other cross-sector education collaboration, and 12% are in places with four or more.
- ▶ Collaborations vary in the breadth and depth of their membership and in their governance and operational structures. Most commonly represented on high-level leadership boards or committees are business leaders, with 91% of collaborations in the scan having at least one business leader on their board. School district representatives are included on 91% of the boards. Higher education (87%) and social service agencies (79%) are the next most common organizations represented. Only 12% of collaborations have a member of a teachers union on their governing board.
- ▶ Many initiatives have mounted efforts to collect and track shared measurements of need, services, and outcomes. Seventy-two (40%) of the initiatives have a portion of their website dedicated to data, statistics, or outcomes. The most common indicators on initiatives’ websites are student performance on standardized tests (43%) and high school graduation rates (35%). Just 25% of websites track data over time; 17% present data disaggregated by race/ethnicity or socioeconomic status, and only 14% include data on comparison groups of students.
- ▶ Many collaborations take a “cradle to career” orientation, and a significant portion of initiatives track indicators that precede or follow the K-12 years: 24% track kindergarten readiness and 8% track pre-K enrollment; 20% track post-secondary enrollment and 18% track college completion. Other indicators of student experiences and well-being are more sparsely presented: 13% of the initiatives track parent

engagement and 8% present data on safety; only 5% track some kind of indicator for social and emotional development.

We used census data about the 100 largest cities in the country to explore the differences among cities with and without cross-sector collaborations for education. Of the 100 largest cities in the United States, 58 had at least one collaborative initiative identified by the scan.

- ▶ Compared with other large cities that lack them, cities with collaborations often have higher levels of poverty, greater income disparities between blacks and whites as well as between Hispanics and whites, and more economic inequality overall.
- ▶ Cities with collaborations tend to have larger total populations and larger proportions of black residents. They seem to have a more settled and stable demography and longer experience with racial and ethnic diversity.
- ▶ Cities without collaborations have been growing at a far greater pace than their counterparts with collaborations, posting a 67% versus a 23% increase in total population from 1990 to 2010. Furthermore, the black population has, on average, nearly tripled in cities without collaborations. In cities with collaborations, recent racial change has occurred more slowly, with just under a 30% increase in the black population over the same time period.
- ▶ Cities with at least one local cross-sector collaboration have greater relative fiscal capacity than those without. The 58 cities have higher locally generated revenues per capita as well as higher total revenues per capita (including state and federal dollars).
- ▶ On the other hand, cities with collaborations have been slowly losing fiscal ground to their counterparts without collaborations. The revenues—both total and local—of cities without collaborations have been increasing at a faster rate than cities with collaborations. Also, whereas the percentage of revenues from federal sources has, on average, remained flat from 2000 to 2010 for cities with collaborations, cities without collaborations have seen a relative increase in federal dollars over the same time period.
- ▶ Both the relative decline in local revenue and federal revenue are suggestive of a somewhat similar pattern of relative deprivation, with slowing revenue and slowing federal support rather than absolute low levels of either, possibly triggering local mobilization for collaboration.

Overall, the results of our nationwide scan provide a clearer picture of the characteristics of cross-sector collaborations for education. While many trends require further exploration, the information presented in this report will help inform future examinations of the extent and means through which collective impact and other contemporary cross-sector collaborations achieve their mission.

Introduction

The education landscape in the United States is dotted with collaboration. Partnerships can be found in cities, counties, and rural areas as foundations, government offices, non-profit social service agencies, community organizations, and private companies have come together to work with early childhood providers, school systems, and postsecondary institutions to improve outcomes for children and youth. Many of these collaborations are relatively recent in origin, though some are stable and long-standing. Many have adopted the term “collective impact” to describe the work they do and the aspirations they hold.

These initiatives reflect a pattern of newfound investment in local, place-based strategies to support young people and their families. Their goals are both small and large, specific and diffuse: to increase rates of childhood immunization and improve readiness for school, to improve third-grade reading proficiency, to keep students on track for high school graduation, to ensure college access and retention, and to advance employment opportunities and economic development across the regions they serve.

Although they are based locally, these collaborative efforts are not isolated. Often, two or more collaborations serve the same community. Many initiatives across the country are linked together via national support networks through which they can communicate and share ideas and resources. Some are connected through federal, state, or philanthropic funding streams.

This report describes developments in the new generation of cross-sector collaborations for education and presents findings from a scan of initiatives across the United States. It is the first overview of its kind. To begin, we describe the broad ecology of cross-sector collaborations for educational improvement and examine various rationales for the current interest in collaboration. We then discuss the prominent new model of collaboration known as “collective impact,” briefly review the history of cross-sector collaborations for education, and present some reasons for cautious optimism about the changing context for collaboration.

Then, using information gleaned from public websites, we describe characteristics of the current national array of collaborations. We report an additional analysis, based on multiple data sources, of factors that seem to position some cities to develop cross-sector collaborations while others are less likely to do so. To conclude, we revisit some trends and considerations that are worth watching, acknowledging that new efforts are often layered on the foundation of previous collaborations but also take place in an altered context with new possibilities and challenges.

The Broad Ecology of Contemporary Cross-Sector Collaborations for Education

Contemporary cross-sector educational improvement initiatives comprise a broad, diverse, and dynamic ecology. Describing this ecology is challenging because reforms are both distinctive and overlapping in terms of their defining characteristics. Educational improvement initiatives can be considered cross-sector collaborations if they

- ▶ involve more than one of the three levels of educational institutions (early childhood; K-12; higher education);
- ▶ expand beyond the education system to include multiple agencies within local or regional government; or
- ▶ extend beyond formal government to include representation of the local civic sector, such as nonprofit service providers, philanthropic foundations, the business community, or community organizations.

Further, in true cross-sector collaborations, no single actor or agency monopolizes the power to set goals, shape agendas, and determine key policies and practices.

Local cross-sector collaborations for education can be initiated by many different entities and take many forms. Partnerships that can be found across the country include but are not limited to the following approaches:

- ▶ District-led initiatives to improve instruction and enhance school communities by developing partnerships with local universities, businesses, and/or community-based organizations;
- ▶ Community-school efforts that provide additional supports for students by building relationships among parents, communities, and schools and by offering a wide range of services within schools to develop the whole child;
- ▶ Interagency task forces and service provider collaborations that work to align the educational, social welfare, and/or health services provided by government agencies or community-based programs to achieve greater coverage, efficiency, and impact for children and youth;
- ▶ Comprehensive neighborhood or citywide efforts, funded through private philanthropy and/or public sources such as the federally sponsored Promise Neighborhoods grants, to promote partnerships for improved educational services and outcomes along with community development; and
- ▶ Incentive programs meant to increase access to college, often in the form of college scholarships, and other initiatives to support students through the transition to higher education.

While these approaches and others related to them can exist as cross-sector collaborations, oftentimes they do not. For example, district-led initiatives can be—and often are—predominantly contained within the purview of a local school board and/or office of the superintendent. Such district-led efforts sometimes enlist support from other agencies or from the private sector, but in clearly subsidiary or supportive roles without

equal partnership status in defining goals and selecting strategies. Community schools do typically entail cross-sector collaboration but can be primarily operated by a community-based organization in arrangements negotiated by individual principals and made with specific schools. Similarly, service-provider collaborations might involve multiple nonprofit organizations along with one or more funders, but may not include representatives of formal government or the business community. And college incentive initiatives, in which families are promised college support if their children meet certain standards such as maintaining attendance and grades, can be initiated and implemented by a foundation, private donations, and local institutions of higher education without necessarily involving the K-12 sector, social service organizations, or local government.

Moreover, collaborations can develop and change over time. An initiative that initially involved only social-service agencies and community-based organizations might at some point draw in the local school district as a major partner and thereby meet the definition of cross-sector collaboration. Devolution is possible too: an effort initially involving a range of organizations and agencies might see its partners slowly disengage from the collaboration or one partner—for example, the school system—increasingly dominate. Like many other arrays of social services, the ecology of cross-sector collaboration for education is in continual flux.

The Continuing Promise of Cross-Sector Collaboration

Cross-sector partnerships on behalf of students, schools, and communities have a long and rich history that we have discussed elsewhere (see Henig, J. R., Riehl, C. J., Rebell, M. A., and Wolff, J. R. (2015). *Putting Collective Impact in Context: A Review of the Literature on Cross-Sector Collaboration to Improve Education*. New York, NY: Teachers College, Columbia University, Department of Education Policy and Social Analysis) and will briefly review in a later section of this report. While not necessarily new, collaborative efforts increasingly seem necessary to address the complex challenges facing students, schools, and communities today. For many persistent problems in education and community well-being, root causes and needs are multifaceted and straightforward solutions do not exist. Flexible innovation and adaptation may be required, resource streams must be actively cultivated, and considerations of equity and effectiveness call for wide participation from many different kinds of stakeholders. Under these conditions, it seems unrealistic to expect solutions to emerge from any single agency, organization, or social sector.

Improving education has been high on the U.S. agenda for more than three decades, yet few are satisfied with the rate of progress, particularly when it comes to meeting the educational needs of children in poverty and children of color. In this arena, cross-sector collaboration appeals to many individuals and organizations because it has the promise to address key challenges of scope, focus, coordination, and sustainability and to leverage better outcomes by bridging three sets of sectoral divides (see Figure 1).

The first sectoral divide that cross-sector collaboration may be able to bridge involves the distinctions among early childhood education, K-12 schooling, and higher education. These levels of schooling have evolved quite separately, with differing involvement

of government, nonprofit, and for-profit providers; different types and degrees of regulation; differing location of decision-making responsibility within federal, state, and local governments; different underlying theories about what matters; and different constellations of constituents and protective interest groups. Part of the enthusiasm for cross-sector collaboration may be the prospect that it can bring greater muscle to cradle-to-career visions by providing mechanisms for helping these educational institutions work together and align more closely.

A second sectoral divide is the one separating the various agencies of government that directly or indirectly bear upon the well-being and life chances of children and youth. In the United States, most public school systems have been kept distinct from general-purpose government and agencies that deal with family supports, foster care, medicine and public health, juvenile justice, and recreation. Collaborations that foster formal and informal working relationships across these arms of government may generate positive reinforcement and reduce duplication and waste.¹

Finally, a third sectoral divide that collaboration seems poised to address is that between government and civil society. As theory and research about social capital have suggested, government and its programs work best when those in the private arenas of life have traditions and habits of shared trust and collaboration, so that groups work together and augment public policies rather than fragmenting into disparate and internally competitive efforts and individualistic pursuits.² And, as theory and research on civic capacity have suggested, local government is more able to get things done—and sustain initiatives despite leadership turnover—when the impulse to reform is lodged in a broader array of public and private actors rather than simply emanating from a single governmental official or agency.³ This includes private businesses, local foundations, advocacy organizations, and many others who comprise civil society. Cross-sector collaborations for education may be able to engender the kind of public-private trust and cooperation that yield not only better educational outcomes but also increase the chances that other efforts will be successful.

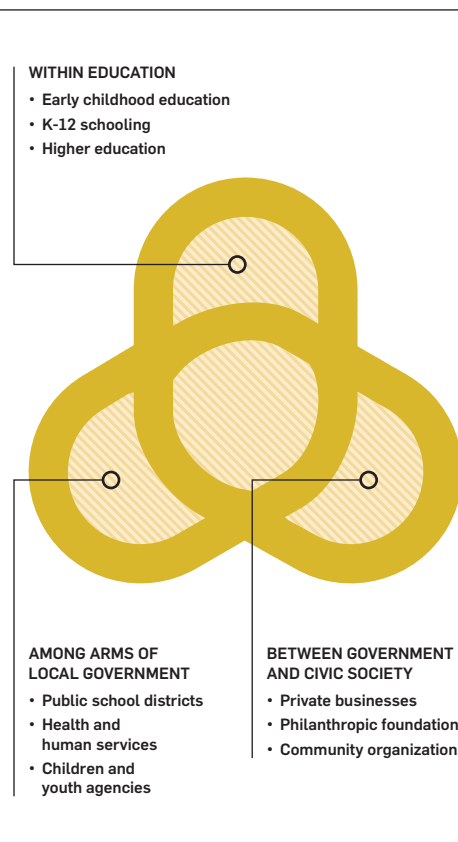


Figure 1.

The Promise of Collaboration to Bridge Sectoral Divides

Cross-sector collaboration may leverage better outcomes by bridging three sets of sectoral divides: within education, among arms of government, and between government and civil society.

1 Berliner, 2006; Rebell, 2012; Rothstein, 2004

2 Putnam, 1993, 2000

3 Stone, 1998; Stone, Henig, Jones, & Pierannunzi, 2001

“Collective Impact”: A New Label and an Influential Model

It is possible that, in the domain of collaboration, the early decades of the 21st century will become known as the era of “collective impact” because of the singular impact of one publication. In the fall of 2011, John Kania and Mark Kramer, two principals from FSG Social Impact Advisors, an international nonprofit firm providing consulting and research services focused on philanthropy and corporate social responsibility, published an article in the *Stanford Social Innovation Review* with the simple and straightforward title, “Collective Impact.”⁴ In five pages, Kania and Kramer described a model for collaborative efforts to address public needs that was distilled from FSG’s work over previous years with several initiatives coordinating education and other services for children (the Strive Partnership in Cincinnati and the Road Map Project in Seattle), several natural resources projects, and a citywide health drive.

The FSG group has explained that its work on cross-sector collaboration was spurred by the response to their earlier report, *Breakthroughs in Shared Measurement and Social Impact*.⁵ This initial work on measurement systems led FSG to focus more broadly on characteristics of collaborations that had strong outcomes and broad effects. The group deliberately chose the term “collective impact” to describe the approach, in part because it pointed toward results, and in part because they thought it might evoke a “gut-check” response for people who, knowing the challenges of working across organizations and interests, would not typically connect “collective” with “impact.”⁶

Kania and Kramer characterized collective impact as “the commitment of a group of important actors from different sectors to a common agenda for solving a specific social problem.” Their brief article lit a fire. The term “collective impact” quickly entered the public lexicon.⁷ A recent simple Google search yielded 416,000 hits for it, compared with 22,700 for “comprehensive community initiatives” and 110,000 for “cross-sector collaboration.” In the ProQuest database of publications, no resources published before 2011 had the term in the document title, while 96 had done so by late 2015 (though none yet in the primary academic journals related to education). The original article remains one of the most frequently downloaded articles from the *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, which reported in November 2015 that it had had 435,210 page views and 22,336 downloads.⁸ The journal followed up with a number of additional articles by FSG associates and other authors over the next few years.

The philanthropic community took notice. At least six articles published in *The Foundation Review* within a year of the Kania and Kramer article made reference to collective

4 Kania & Kramer, 2011

5 Kramer, Parkhurst, & Vaidyanathan, 2009

6 J. Kania, personal communication, July 11, 2014

7 FSG was not, however, the first to coin the term. In 2000, in Huntington, West Virginia, a small firm was founded with the mission of providing consulting, media, and technology services to communities and organizations. Its associates had had extensive prior experience in community empowerment and cross-sector collaboration initiatives, many sponsored by state education and social services departments in Pennsylvania and West Virginia. Recognizing that its primary strategy had evolved to helping clients work more collaboratively to “make a greater collective impact,” the firm rebranded itself as Collective Impact, LLC, in 2004. One key stakeholder was skeptical of the proposed name change, suggesting that it sounded “too much like a car crash.” As described by the founder, Bruce Decker, the firm obtained service mark protection in 2012, retroactive to 2004, in order to maintain its brand identity (B. Decker, personal communication, November 10, 2015). This small local firm, whose presence was swamped by (and lost much web-search visibility to) the FSG article and a national movement whose general principles they share, is an instructive example of how cross-sector collaborations have been bubbling up for several decades.

8 J. Morgan, personal communication, November 30, 2015

■ ■ ■ FSG's Model of Collective Impact

▶ FIVE KEY ELEMENTS

Common agenda: All members of the coalition need a shared understanding of the problem and an agreed-upon approach to solving it.

Shared measurement systems: For alignment and accountability purposes, all actors need to agree on common measures of success.

Mutually reinforcing activities: Participant activities need to be coordinated to avoid overlap and gaps.

Continuous communication: In order to build trust, establish common objectives, and build and maintain motivation, participants need to be in consistent contact with one another.

Backbone support organization: A separate organization is required to provide the administrative, logistical, and coordinating support necessary to create and sustain a successful partnership.

▶ THREE PRECONDITIONS

Influential champion: One or more persons capable of bringing together executive-level leaders across sectors.

Willing funder(s): Supporters able to provide adequate financial resources for a minimum of two or three years.

Perception of crisis: Widespread sense that the problem has reached a point at which a new approach is necessary.

▶ THREE PHASES

Initiate action: Identify key players and existing work in the policy area, collect baseline data, and form the initial governance structure.

Organize for impact: Create the backbone organization, establish common goals and shared measures, and align the participating organizations around those goals and measures.

Sustain action and impact: Collect data systematically, prioritize specific action areas, correct course continually.

impact.⁹ The Annie E. Casey Foundation produced its own guide to collective impact based on initiatives it had funded.¹⁰ Other foundations began to encourage and support collective impact, although it is impossible to track the full extent to which philanthropic dollars and other sources of funding have been directed to such initiatives because much of the funding is raised and dispersed locally. An exception to this is the “accelerator fund” established by the StriveTogether network, which raises money centrally and awards grants to local initiatives through a competitive process.

As another consequence of all of this attention, in 2013 FSG and the Aspen Institute Forum for Community Solutions (with some additional partners) founded the Collective Impact Forum, an online resource for information and networking. The Forum’s public launch was

⁹ These include Brown (2012), Daun-Barnett and Lamm (2012), Daun-Barnett, Wangelin, and Lamm (2012), Dean-Coffey, Farkouh, and Reisch (2012), Easterling (2012), and Mulder, Napp, Carlson, Ingrassia, Bridgewater, and Hernandez (2012).

¹⁰ Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2014

in March 2014. Within six months, it had attracted over 7,000 members who registered on the website¹¹ and, by the end of September 2015, it had nearly 13,000 members. While about three-quarters of the Forum's members are from the United States, FSG reports that the website has also been visited by individuals from 109 countries, with sizable clusters from Canada (10% of members), Australia (4%), and New Zealand (2%).

An outcome of the 2011 *SSIR* article that was even more remarkable than the immediate popularity of the collective impact term, the size of the interested audience, and the flow of dollars to it has been the attention paid to the specifics of the presented approach. The article was not exclusively about education, and the idea of collective impact began to catch on in many policy domains, but it had an important effect on education, supplying the field—including its philanthropic partners—with both a moniker and a framework for thinking about collaboration for improvement. This was no doubt helped by the fact that the Strive Partnership in Cincinnati, a chief example on which the original model was based, is in the education sector, so the model was fairly easily exportable to other education ventures.

In their initial article, Kania and Kramer noted that successful examples of collective impact were rare, evidence of effectiveness was limited, and it was not necessarily an appropriate approach for all types of social problems. Nonetheless, they presented five conditions as essential to collaboration. They particularly emphasized the need for a “backbone” organization—an external management operation to support the effort, and for a shared measurement system for tracking success.

Not long thereafter, in a second *SSIR* article, FSG authors refined the model by proposing three important preconditions.¹² In addition, they modified their advice about backbone structures and attempted to clarify and temper expectations for the rapidity of progress by sequencing three typical phases for collective impact projects. The authors explained that collective impact is a lengthy process requiring years of coalition building to establish the relationships necessary to coordinate and act effectively. The language of this second article, like the first, was heavily prescriptive, but was now interwoven with more pragmatic and open-ended notes. For example, the authors described the necessity of a strategic framework for action but observed that “it should not be an elaborate plan or a rigid theory of change.” They concluded, “As much as we have tried to describe clear steps to implement collective impact, it remains a messy and fragile process.”¹³

The speed with which collective impact was declared by some to be a proven and successful method generated a degree of skepticism. Not everyone has viewed the model as a definitive solution. For example, some analysts question the singular focus on a shared agenda and common metrics, calling for an approach that can incorporate divergent

¹¹ Gose, 2014

¹² Hanleybrown, Kania, & Kramer, 2012

¹³ A year later, in a third article in *SSIR*, Kania and Kramer (2013) further dialed back on prescription, acknowledging that cross-sector collaboration was complicated and difficult work. Some problems seem intractable; “even as practitioners work toward the five conditions of collective impact we described earlier, many participants are becoming frustrated in their efforts to move the needle on their chosen issues.” These must be addressed through “emergent initiatives,” because proven solutions have not been developed for them, actions around them tend to have unpredictable consequences, and significant uncertainty exists as conditions shift over time. More recently, FSG has added an articulation of the “equity” imperative in collective impact (Kania & Kramer, 2015).

priorities (and resources) held across federal, state, and local governments.¹⁴ Additionally, a report prepared for the Aspen Institute suggests that collective impact will realize its potential only when supported by a civic infrastructure that supports broad democratic participation.¹⁵

Although the model is still frequently presented as a set of essential ingredients, and many initiatives at least purport to be following it, it seems highly likely that some have borrowed the term and its cachet without implementing the full model. This sometimes happens with social innovations and educational reforms. Policymakers and other influentials tout new approaches, others sign on enthusiastically, but often there are few changes to business as usual.¹⁶ It remains to be seen whether this is happening with collective impact. If people and initiatives appropriate the term without actually adopting the model, this may suggest that “collective impact” has become what linguists call a floating signifier, a term that works not by carrying a precise meaning but by absorbing or drawing into itself the meanings that others attach to it.

By the same token, despite the fact that the term “collective impact” may have a flexible meaning and provide an umbrella for a wide range of specific activities, it neither applies nor appeals to all current cross-sector collaborations for education. Many have their own histories and ways of working and have declined to use the term. Examples include Communities in Schools, Promise Neighborhoods, the Alignment Nashville initiative in Tennessee, and the Say Yes to Education efforts in multiple cities.

Despite caveats like these, interest in collective impact seems not yet to have peaked, and its audience and supporters continue to expand. While individual projects within the current array of cross-sector collaborations for education may or may not adopt the label or conform to the normative model for collective impact, many are comfortable settling within easy reach of the idea and the aspirations it conveys.

Because changing labels sometimes can masquerade continuities over time, it can be challenging to distinguish what is genuinely new from incremental adaptations of what has come before. One of the challenges posed by the collective impact movement is determining whether the current momentum reflects genuine innovation and new promise, or just superficial change.

A Brief Review of a Complex History

Collective impact and other current initiatives are best understood as iterations of broader and older traditions of local cross-sector collaboration. Not all put education at center stage, but they did share the goal of improving outcomes for children and their families. Some forms have been around for over a hundred years, harkening back to the turn-of-the-20th-century settlement houses, such as Jane Addams’s iconic Hull House,

Despite the fact that the term “collective impact” may have a flexible meaning and provide an umbrella for a wide range of specific activities, it neither applies nor appeals to all current cross-sector collaborations for education.

¹⁴ Daun-Barnett et al., 2012

¹⁵ Blair & Kopell, 2015

¹⁶ Berman & McLaughlin, 1978; Farkas, 1992; Hess, 1998

that provided immigrant communities with classes, clubs, recreation, music, arts, and social services. Other earlier iterations include community- and school-based private efforts at the beginning of the 20th century; the growing government efforts to create a system of supports for poor children and families that began during the Progressive Era and ballooned with the New Deal initiatives and the War on Poverty programs; subsequent efforts to confront the challenge of coordinating these new programs and funds; and the more recent bubble of interest in cross-sector collaboration that arose in the 1990s and first years of this century.¹⁷

The history of local cross-sector collaboration reveals multiple bursts of energy and enthusiasm but also an ultimately ephemeral nature that often leaves a residue of disappointment and enervation. For example, in the 1960s, federal place-based programs like the Community Action Program, Model Cities, and Empowerment Zones focused on improvement in geographically defined areas, usually cities or neighborhoods. They were distinguished from “people-based” programs—such as housing or school-choice initiatives—that aim to help individuals or families better their circumstances by facilitating their mobility and exit from bad situations in pursuit of better neighborhoods, schools, or other opportunities.

Like many current initiatives, these place-based efforts shared the attempt to find a workable and effective balance between the competing pressures that emerge when funding, laws, and regulations involve federal, state, and local government; when initiatives require partnerships among government, nonprofit, and for-profit actors; and when local elites and local citizens do not always share the same priorities. Federal funds were deemed necessary to make up for local fiscal limits and to incentivize local elected officials to address the needs of low-income and minority (at the time, mostly black) neighborhoods that lacked political muscle to demand these effectively on their own, but dependence on outside money left such initiatives vulnerable to shifting national politics and priorities. Although each of these efforts met with charges of representing the intrusion of “big government,” each was premised on the involvement of private partners, whether for-profit developers and local business elites, as with urban renewal and Empowerment Zones, or nonprofit community-based and social-service organizations, as with the Community Action Program and Model Cities.

These efforts generated significant enthusiasm at their inception, and they established records of genuine accomplishment in particular places. However, they succumbed to various centrifugal forces, wherein tentative and contingent commitments to collaboration were pulled apart by competing organizational interests, and to entropy, wherein forward movement dissipated in the face of shifting national politics, changing funder priorities, and limited local capacity to sustain focus across competing agendas.¹⁸

During the 1980s and 1990s, as the national government eased back on some of its efforts, local actors sometimes stepped up their own involvement. In some cities, elite-based governance coalitions, including both formal government and private interests—urban regimes that had enjoyed some success in carrying out downtown development—

¹⁷ We review these precursors of the contemporary movement in greater detail in a working paper released in October 2015 (Henig et al., 2015).

¹⁸ Frieden & Kaplan, 1977; Greenstone & Peterson, 1973; Haar, 1975; Henig et al., 2015; Moynihan, 1969; Rich & Stoker, 2014

attempted to translate their attention to local school reform, but again with mixed and typically ephemeral success. Clarence Stone singled out the El Paso Collaborative for Academic Excellence as an early 1990s illustration of unusually high civic capacity around school reform, notable because all sectors of the community were represented, including grassroots organizations as well as such major institutions as “the three school districts, the state, the city, the county, two chambers of commerce, the university, and the community college.”¹⁹ Often, though, promising efforts faltered due to challenges presented by shifting local demographics, including the debilitating effects of suburbanization and mistrust and competition for power among rising and waning racial and ethnic groups.²⁰

During the 1990s and early 2000s, a variety of new large-scale, place-based cross-sector initiatives with more of a community-level focus were also proliferating. Often referred to as “comprehensive community initiatives” or CCIs, they were organized around principles of comprehensive community change, organizational collaboration, and citizen participation, and sought no less than “fundamental transformation of poor neighborhoods and the people who lived there.”²¹ Intentionally different in approach from the traditional coordinated-services strategies of prior decades that had focused on strengthening interagency efficiencies and case-management approaches, CCIs were defined as trying to effect changes in systems through “sustainable processes, organizations, and relationships.”²² In 1997, Lisbeth Schorr wrote that these new and more sophisticated efforts reflected a “new synthesis” of prior efforts and the idea that “multiple related problems of poor neighborhoods need multiple and interrelated solutions.”²³

Yet the Aspen Roundtable’s study of nearly 50 CCIs from 1990-2010 identified a range of problems limiting their impact.²⁴ While individual efforts are credited with specific concrete accomplishments, such as the Comprehensive Community Revitalization Program’s community-based planning and successful development investment in the recovery of the South Bronx,²⁵ and Community Building in Partnership’s transformation of the Sandtown-Winchester neighborhood in Baltimore,²⁶ CCIs generally have not been considered fully successful in effecting the widespread change they intended. They were not able to muster the level of programmatic effort necessary to drive major improvements in their targeted communities within the time frame they were allotted—usually seven to ten years.²⁷ Many of the original funders of CCIs no longer invest in this type of effort.²⁸

History makes it clear, then, that recognizing the need for cross-sector collaboration and having the ambition to persevere, are not, in and of themselves, predictive of long-term success. But the contemporary context has changed in ways that might matter.

19 Stone, 2001, p. 606

20 Ansell, Reckhow, & Kelly, 2009; Clarke, Hero, Sidney, Fraga, & Erickson, 2006; Henig, Hula, Orr, & Pedescleaux, 1999; Shippis, 2003; Stone, 1998; Stone et al., 2001; Swanstrom, Winter, Sherraden, & Lake, 2013

21 Kubisch, 1996

22 Chaskin, 2000

23 Schorr, 1997, p. 319

24 Kubisch, Auspos, Brown, & Dewar, 2010

25 Miller & Burns, 2006

26 Brown, Butler, & Hamilton, 2001

27 Jolin, Schmitz, & Seldon, 2012; Kubisch et al., 2010

28 Kubisch, 2010

■ ■ ■ Has Enough Changed to Make a Difference?

▶ INCREASED MOTIVATION?

Increased economic segregation

Perceived failures of top-down,
school-alone reform

Declining federal aid and constrained
school district budgets

▶ INCREASED CAPACITY?

"Mature" cities; digested battles;
new pragmatism

New data sources and analytic capacity

Networks as a learning resource

Changes in the Contemporary Context for Cross-Sector Collaboration

That past efforts to mobilize strong and sustainable cross-sector collaborations have proven ephemeral need not mean that contemporary manifestations are doomed to the same fate. Changes in the broad economic, political, and policy environments may have increased the sense of urgency, generating a new and stronger motivation for local actors to work together. And lessons learned, new technologies, and new resources may have strengthened the capacity of local actors to get the job done.

As some social and economic forces continue to corrode their environment, the motivation for local areas to take proactive steps may have increased. Recent research has underscored the ways in which concentrated poverty and economic segregation impinge on the life chances of young people.²⁹ At the same time, the objective scope of the problem has been increasing. For example, a statistical analysis of the nation's metropolitan areas showed that the percentage of low-income families living in census tracts mainly comprising other low-income households increased from 23% to 28% between 1980 and 2010.³⁰

Potentially adding to the motivation to try local cross-sector collaboration is a growing sense that the top-down, school-centered initiatives that have characterized the school reform era defined by the federal No Child Left Behind law have disappointed even many of their advocates. Scores on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), often touted as the "nation's report card," had been creeping up since 1990, especially in math, but at what many considered to be a snail's pace and with little progress being made on racial and economic achievement gaps. That pattern, along with stagnating SAT scores and the nation's middle-of-the-pack performance in international test-score comparisons, had already led some critics to declare the failure of market-driven reforms like test-based accountability and charter schools pursued by both the Bush and Obama administrations.³¹

²⁹ Chetty & Hendren, 2015; Chetty, Hendren, & Katz, 2015

³⁰ Fry & Taylor, 2012

³¹ See, for example, Weiss & Long, 2013

This line of criticism received added momentum as a combination of test-weary parents and proponents of state and local control began to encourage parental “opt-out” from standardized examinations. That the 2015 NAEP showed slippage—with math scores for both fourth-graders and eighth-graders dropping for the first since 1990—further contributed to the broad sense that something needs to change, and some of these concerns are reflected in the 2015 reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act known as the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA).³² While the critics of federal education policy are a coalition of strange bedfellows who do not agree on the specifics of what should be done, they do tend to converge on two lessons that cross-sector collaboration appears to address. The first lesson is that local buy-in and engagement may be necessary if reform efforts are going to conform to local needs and values. The second lesson is that it may be necessary to move beyond the polarized national battle pitting those who argue that improving education achievement and equity requires tackling societal problems associated with inequality of wealth, concentrated poverty, and racial prejudice against those who contend that calling attention to systemic inequities lets teachers and schools off the hook.³³

Another likely motivating factor is renewed school district budget constraints. Until the 2008 recession, state funding for public education had been on the upswing, spurred in part by a string of successful adequacy litigations throughout the country.³⁴ The recession had a devastating impact on school districts, and state funding has not rebounded as it had after past recessions, much less in amounts sufficient to compensate for historical inadequacies.³⁵ The general antipathy to raising taxes at the federal or the state level means that increases in state funding for education are likely to be much more limited in the future. Further, some states have also constrained localities’ ability to raise local education funds through property tax caps and other devices. Cross-sector collaborations are appealing as an efficient and potentially effective way to provide the additional educational resources and comprehensive services that many students need.

More or less simultaneously, partisan gridlock, anti-tax fervor, and a general skepticism toward aggressive policy initiatives from Washington may have left locals with little choice but to take matters into their own hands. Federal funding for education has never come close to state and local funding—most years amounting to fewer than one dollar out of every ten spent on public elementary and secondary schools—but it nonetheless has been a critical factor in urban school district budgets. It has held up well, even as support for some other domestic policy initiatives has faltered, especially due to the infusion of stimulus funds in the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009. But federal funding for an array of other programs that are important to sustaining healthy

Cross-sector collaborations are appealing as an efficient and potentially effective way to provide the additional educational resources and comprehensive services that many students need.

32 For the most recent NAEP scores, see www.nationsreportcard.gov. For an example of critics’ interpretations, see Strauss, 2015.

33 <http://www.centerforpubliceducation.org/Main-Menu/Organizing-a-school/High-performing-high-poverty-schools-At-a-glance-/High-performing-high-poverty-schools-Research-review.html>

34 Kirabo, Johnson, & Persico, 2015; Rebell, 2009

35 Baker, 2014; Leachman & Mai, 2014

communities and families has been in a serious slide, leaving local general-purpose governments (municipalities and counties) hurting even when school districts have been somewhat protected.

Federal outlays to state and local governments have increased almost every year from 1994, but the rate of increase has slowed: over the ten years from 1994 to 2004, total federal transfers to state and local governments increased 94% compared with 42% from 2004 to 2014.³⁶ More striking than this slowdown, though, have been the deep hits in federal funding for the specific areas of job training, community development, and social services. Stoker and Rich found that between 1994 and 2014, a period they refer to as the “age of austerity,” federal “outlays for the Social Services Block Grant declined by 56 percent; training and employment programs were reduced by 46 percent; career, technical, and adult education declined by 12 percent; and funding for substance abuse and mental health services declined by 13 percent. In addition, outlays for family support payments, primarily TANF [Temporary Assistance for Needy Families], declined by 16 percent.”³⁷

While the national economy has been steadily recovering, this does not mean that prospects are good for a renewed federal investment in local education. Structural factors have created a Congress that is deeply polarized and characterized more by gridlock than constructive initiatives.³⁸ During earlier decades of robust federal programs, some communities may have been lulled into a passive posture, but reflecting on tight fiscal constraints and political gridlock at the national level, cities may step up simply because they have no other option. As Bruce Katz, director of the Brookings Institution’s Metropolitan Policy Program, phrases it: “Whatever the cause of Washington dysfunction, the message to places like Baltimore and Ferguson that face some of the toughest, structural challenges in the nation is clear: You are on your own. The cavalry is not coming.”³⁹

Other more positive factors may have the potential to marry resurgent interest in local cross-sector collaboration with new capacity to carry out pragmatic and effective education reform. Although historical efforts may have faltered, there are some reasons to think that local capacity to tackle tough issues may be on the rise. After decades of wrenching demographic change and resulting racial and ethnic battles over local power, many large cities have entered a more stable time in terms of population and have more experience negotiating across boundaries of race and ethnicity. In addition, the collective impact movement’s heavy emphasis on data and outcomes coincides with a broad improvement in the quality of data that states and districts have on hand to track the progress of individual students, as well as analytical capabilities for linking such data to other sources of information on family and neighborhood circumstances.⁴⁰ The network structure being adopted by several organizations pursuing the collective impact model promotes cross-local sharing of lessons about what works and what does not, creating

³⁶ Calculated from Stoker & Rich, 2015, Table 1.

³⁷ Stoker & Rich, 2015, p. 15

³⁸ Binder, 2003; Mann & Ornstein, 2008

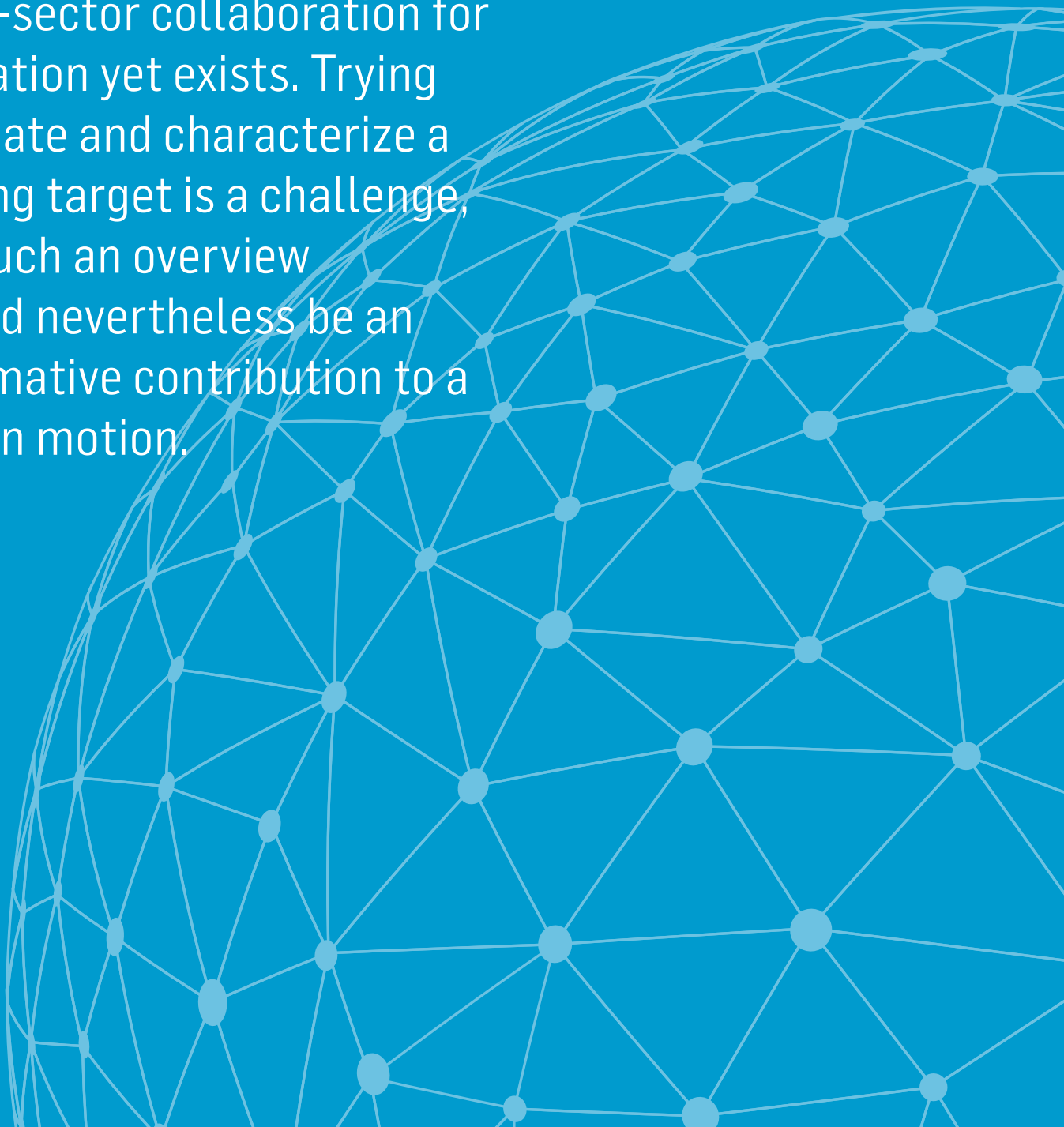
³⁹ Cohen, 2015

⁴⁰ Fantuzzo & Culthane, 2015; McLaughlin & London, 2013; Pettit, 2013

the potential for speedier and better learning than in earlier eras when localities often worked in isolation and were forced to figure things out from scratch.

Whether these motivational and capacity changes are in fact sufficient to set the stage for more effective and sustainable reform is, of course, an empirical question yet to be answered. Although long-term success or failure will not be evident for quite some time, this report offers some data and analysis that may help clarify where things stand and suggest interesting avenues for further research. While it is important to reflect upon the historical precedents in order to grasp the difficulty of the challenges that will confront contemporary efforts, there *is* something happening that is new and different in some respects and that has potential to do good things if nurtured and sustained.

Given the complicated history and variety of collaborative approaches to education reform, and the evolving nature of such initiatives, it is not surprising that no comprehensive overview of cross-sector collaboration for education yet exists. Trying to locate and characterize a moving target is a challenge, but such an overview should nevertheless be an informative contribution to a field in motion.



A Nationwide Scan of Cross-Sector Collaborations for Education

Given the complicated history of place-based initiatives in and around education, the variety of collaborative approaches to education reform, the introduction of a new model for collaboration known as collective impact, and the evolving nature of such initiatives, it is perhaps not surprising that no comprehensive overview of cross-sector collaboration for education yet exists. Trying to locate and characterize a moving target is a daunting challenge, but such an overview should nevertheless be an informative contribution to a field in motion. That is what is attempted in the following pages. This nationwide scan is based on a systematic effort to identify instances of cross-sector collaborations for education and then to gather and analyze information the collaborations have made publicly available through their websites. The scan presents a snapshot in time of cross-sector collaborations for education across the United States.

Scan Methodology

The scan was developed from a research design that entailed the following:

- ▶ A working definition of “cross-sector collaboration for education” that would clarify what would and would not be included in the scan.
- ▶ A progressive strategy for locating collaborations, first by searching broadly for collaborations using keywords such as “collective impact,” and identifying initiatives affiliated with major networks of collaborations, then by searching systematically the 100 largest cities and 100 largest school districts in the country, again using a keyword search strategy.
- ▶ A method for obtaining information about each collaboration by downloading its web pages and related materials at a fixed point of time (January 2015) and converting them into searchable PDF files.
- ▶ A strategy for coding the website information to capture a predefined set of descriptive characteristics and record them in a database.
- ▶ The use of sorting strategies and numerical analyses to identify patterns in the descriptors across the set of collaborations.

(See Appendix 1 for a full description of the scan methodology.)

Cross-sector collaborations for education were identified that met specific criteria. They were place-based, with evidence of being organized and led at the city, school district, and/or county level. They included the participation at top leadership levels of at least two sectors: the education sector (including early childhood education providers, K-12 systems, and higher education institutions), the general-purpose government sector (such as a mayor’s office or a municipal department of health and human services), and the civic sector (including the local business community, nonprofit service agencies, and local foundations). They focused on educational outcomes and had school system officials playing an important role, albeit not always in a formal leadership position. The search process

■ ■ ■ Scan Strategy

▶ INCLUSION CRITERIA

Place-based, with city/district/county-level involvement

Multi-sector (schools, government, business, nonprofit)

Collaborative leadership

Focused on educational outcomes

▶ SEARCH

Initiatives affiliated with national networks

100 largest cities + 100 largest school districts

▶ DATA SOURCES

Downloaded websites, saved as text-searchable PDFs

Annual reports, newsletters, other reports

Each site's data coded to describe and compare the information presented

▶ RESULTS

Information on 182 collaborations

yielded 182 collaborations with functioning websites, and these constitute the set for the scan (see Appendix 2 for the full list of collaborations).

Using descriptive information from collaborations' websites has many advantages, and some disadvantages. Besides being fairly easily available and downloadable, websites are typically meant to provide meaningful and important information to a broad public audience. Furthermore, because we downloaded copies of each collaboration's website, our materials form a single snapshot in time. It is possible to replicate this process in the future in order to study change. On the other hand, carefully constructed websites might present misleading versions of reality, for example, if organizations systematically exaggerate their impact or obfuscate their failures. Moreover, some collaborations have access to more talent and fiscal resources than others do for creating sophisticated and informative websites. This may affect not only the look of their websites, but the content presented on them as well. Finally, as discussed below, initiatives that ended before January 2015 are not captured.

Scan Findings

Using this methodology, the scan yielded a wealth of information about the origins, governance, and emphases of the existing array of local cross-sector collaborations. Among

■ ■ ■ Benefits and Limitations of Using Website Information

► BENEFITS

Websites are public statements, constructed to be meaningful and informative

Information is a snapshot as of January 2015. Future "snapshots" could show change over time.

Website text can be further analyzed with qualitative methods

Public information provides higher coverage and reliability than surveys

► LIMITATIONS

Websites may present misleading versions of reality

Public information may reflect programmatic differences or just variations in website sophistication

Scan does not capture initiatives that ended before January 2015

other things, it shows that the phenomenon has earlier roots than frequently acknowledged, that it is widespread, that it is often targeted on the county and regional level and not simply on central cities, that it is varied in the number and types of groups involved in formal governance, and that the degree and sophistication of attention to outcomes measures are variable. These patterns are discussed in more detail in the sections that follow.

Start Dates for Collaborations

The current generation of cross-sector collaborations got a boost in 2011 with the publication of the Kania and Kramer article in the *Stanford Social Innovation Review*. But, while the term "collective impact" has a well-defined date of origin,⁴¹ many local collaborations around education were begun much earlier.⁴²

Figure 2 shows the distribution of collaborations according to their start dates. Nearly 60% were launched before 2011, and nearly 20% before 2000. Twelve began before 1990.⁴³

One intriguing aspect of the historical development of local collaborations is how some contemporary examples have adapted over time in response to changing ideas, changing politics, and changing federal programs. For example, the earliest collaboration that emerged from the scan is Communities In Schools Atlanta. Atlanta was among the first affiliates established in the 1970s as part of a national network of Communities in

41 Although the formal publication date is 2011, the article was available online earlier, and there are recorded comments about it from as early as November 2010.

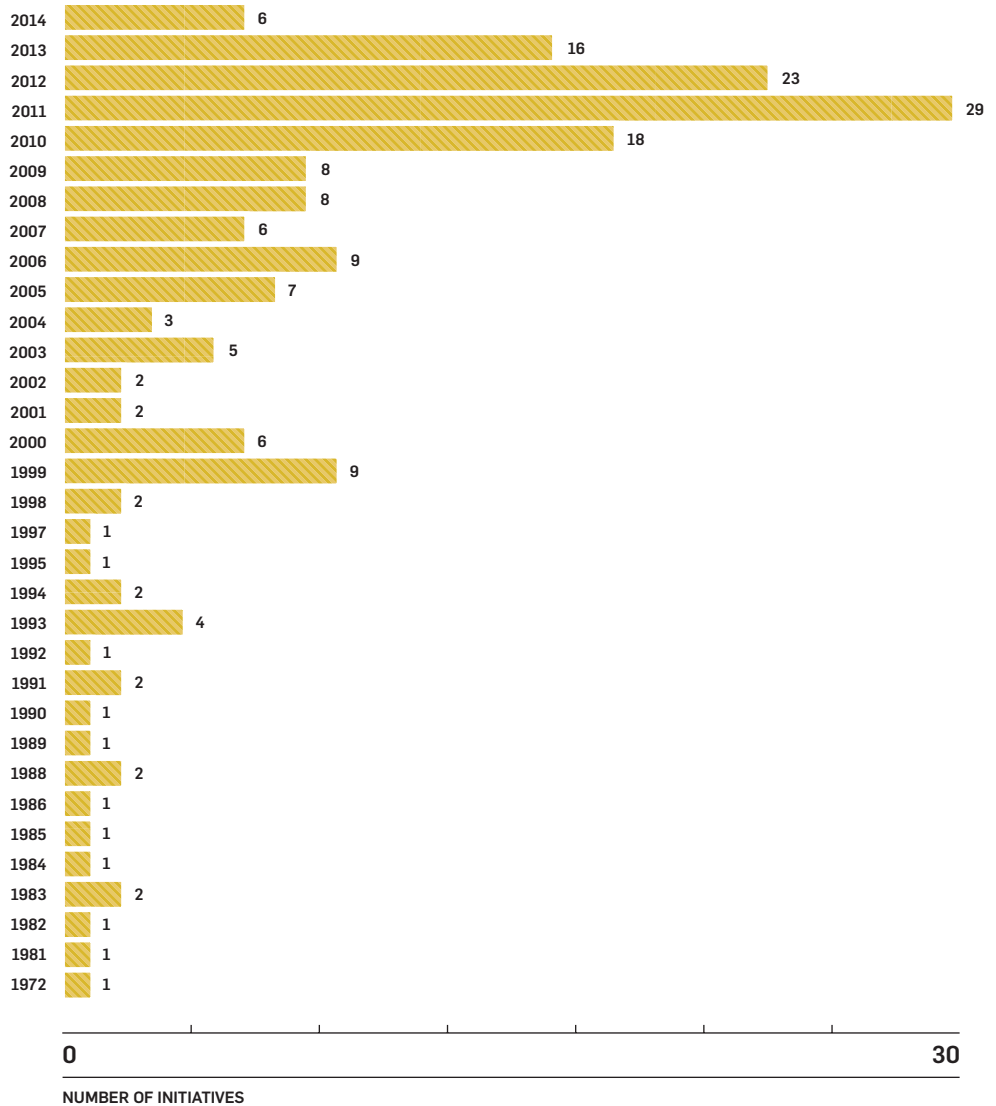
42 Collaborations' websites were carefully reviewed for information about launch dates. Most provided clear information, typically in the "About Us" or "History" page. If a date wasn't available, we went outside the website to look for other information on the web, for example, newspaper articles about the organization, and in some instances we also made phone calls when other efforts did not succeed. When collaborations grew out of previously existing organizations, we coded their start date as the year they adopted their current name. We were able to track down the date of origin for all but one of the 182 cases in the scan.

43 This does not mean that only 12 collaborations were established between 1972 and 1990; the scan did not capture all collaborations begun in any given time period. Since information was only gathered on collaborations that had active websites in early 2015, it is possible and even likely that many others began and ended before that year.

Figure 2.

Number of Initiatives by Date of Origin

Many cross-sector collaborations for education substantially predate the contemporary collective impact movement. Nearly 60% of the 182 initiatives in the scan were launched before 2011, and nearly 20% before 2000. Twelve began before 1990.



Schools (CIS) initiatives. CIS originated in New York City in the 1960s as “street academies” to help youth who had dropped out of school complete their education and attend college. Later, CIS shifted its focus to work within the formal school system and leverage public and private partnerships to develop a set of integrated support services for youth before they dropped out of school. Jimmy Carter had supported the Atlanta prototype while governor, and as president he helped secure funding to expand the efforts in Atlanta, Indianapolis, and New York City. The original strategy of CIS was to help urban families and youth navigate and access the public and private services they needed in one central location. Now, CIS Atlanta reports that in addition to providing school site coordinators who fulfill this role, the program has expanded its partnerships to address school failure and dropouts comprehensively. CIS Atlanta has forged partnerships with

Emory University, Atlanta Public Schools, and the Zeist Foundation to bring volunteers and other resources to schools as part of a “Graduation Generation” initiative.⁴⁴

Another early case is the LA Promise Neighborhood, which traces its origin to the Youth Policy Institute (YPI), a nonprofit organization founded in 1983. YPI initially focused on national planning and community development consulting, but in 1995 shifted to economic revitalization. By the late 1990s, YPI had developed a deliberate strategy of blending multiple funding streams to create place-based initiatives providing an array of education, training, and technology services in partnership with families and other public and private organizations. For example, from 1995 to 2000, YPI partnered with 13 Hope VI programs across the country, an initiative of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development that targeted public housing projects for revitalization. It also partnered with multiple Los Angeles Unified School District and charter schools to operate after-school and supplemental educational tutoring services using innovative models such as AmeriCorps tutors. In 2003 and 2005, the group opened two charter middle schools. In 2010, YPI applied for and won one of 21 U.S. Department of Education Promise Neighborhood planning grants. As the lead agency for the Los Angeles Promise Neighborhood, YPI is collaborating with more than 60 public and private partners to transform the Pacoima and Hollywood communities by implementing a continuum of cradle-to-college-and-career services.⁴⁵

Use of the Term “Collective Impact”

As described above, “collective impact” was chosen by FSG consultants and researchers as the label for a specific model of collaboration, but it has also taken on more diffuse and generic meanings. Clearly, collaborations seeking to implement the original model described by Kania and Kramer in 2011 are likely to use this nomenclature. Others who are less attached to the precise model may still want to participate in what often seems like a broad social movement, in part, perhaps, to gain access to the financial resources, reputation, publicity, and informational networks that swirl around the collective impact universe. Indeed, some initiatives that started under a different model of collaboration might re-brand themselves as collective impact to join the movement and reap its benefits.

One indicator of how closely a collaboration aligns with collective impact is simply whether the term is used on the initiative’s website. Figure 3 shows the results of this analysis. Reading from the right, of the collaborations that were begun after the publication of the

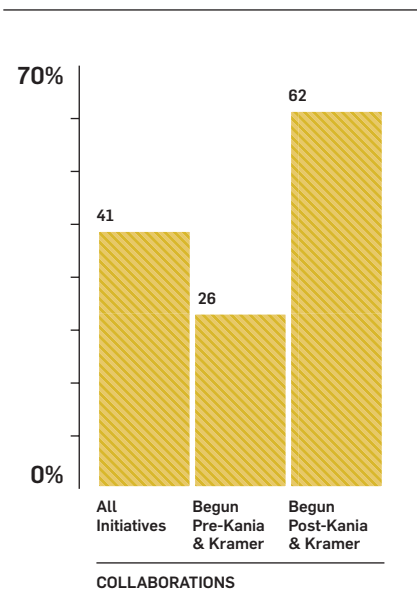


Figure 3.

Use of Term “Collective Impact” by Collaborations

Use of the collective impact terminology is more common among newer initiatives, but one in four older collaborations for education has adopted it as well.

44 http://www.esc14.net/docs/43-cis_history.pdf

45 http://www.ypiusa.org/los_angeles_promise_neighborhood

Kania and Kramer article in *SSIR* in 2011, nearly two-thirds employed the term, reflecting the strong normative attraction of the label and the ideas behind it.

Of the collaborations that were established prior to 2011, more than one in four now use the collective impact terminology on their websites. Whether this reflects a rebranding effort or simply an acknowledgment of a new development in collaboration, it underscores the attractive pull of the term. Overall, about 41% of all collaborations use “collective impact” somewhere on their websites. Without the impetus of a large concentrated funding initiative, and without any governmental regulations pushing them in the collective impact direction, a significant proportion of cross-sector collaborations acknowledge and possibly align with what the term connotes. This seems a remarkable, perhaps unprecedented, diffusion of an idea that is just barely four years old. Nonetheless, a third of the newer collaborations and a significant majority of the older ones do not make use of the term. While prominent, collective impact is not ubiquitous.

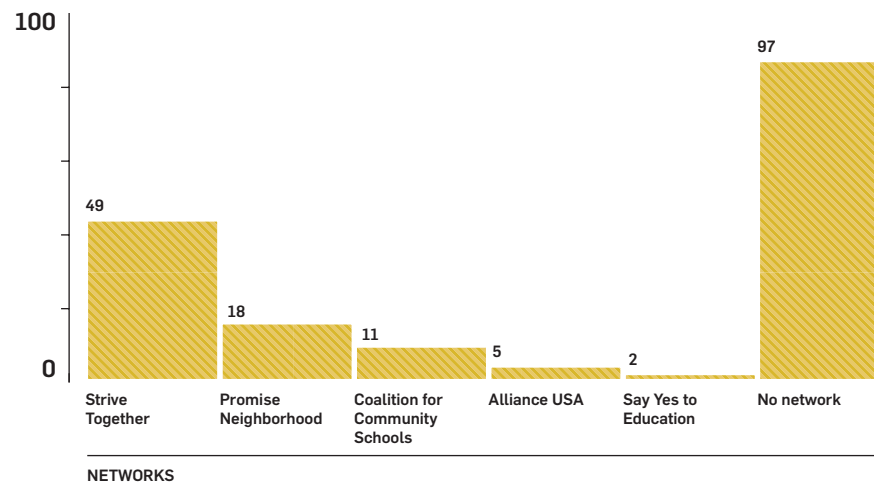
National Network Affiliations

One distinguishing characteristic of the contemporary generation of cross-sector collaboration, including collective impact, is the presence of networks that have the potential to facilitate cross-program learning, shared resources, and, perhaps, national visibility and political clout. Figure 4 illustrates the number of local collaborations that, as of January 2015, were affiliated with the most prominent networks, according to those networks' websites. Slightly fewer than half of the collaborations overall have some national network association.

Figure 4.

National Network Affiliation

Almost half of the 182 collaborations for education are affiliated with larger networks, potentially facilitating shared learning.



StriveTogether is the largest and likely most well-known network, and it sits squarely in the collective impact space. The original, local Strive Partnership has served the Cincinnati and Northern Kentucky area since 2006; it attracted national attention when FSG highlighted it as a prime example of collective impact, citing its heavy focus on data and ability to influence student academic outcomes. The national StriveTogether

Cradle to Career Network was established in 2011. Not long after its formation, the network included 95 local affiliates, including both new and preexisting initiatives that had chosen to follow the Strive model. This number was pared back to 49 in June 2014 when the central organization tightened criteria for affiliation, which eliminated about half of its network members. For example, Providence Children and Youth Cabinet (PCYC) was cut because, according to sources at both PCYC and Strive, its leadership was too strictly limited to general-purpose government representatives and not responsive enough to the local context.⁴⁶ In January 2015, the time point for the scan, one in four of the collaborations in the scan set was affiliated with StriveTogether, and these counted for over half of all the collaborations in the set that were affiliated with some national network. This underestimates the current scope of the network, which by May 2015 had again expanded to include over 60 community partnerships in 31 states and Washington, DC.⁴⁷

The second largest network, Promise Neighborhoods, includes collaborations that received planning and implementation grants from the U.S. Department of Education in 2010, 2011, or 2012. Comprising about 10% of all collaborations in the scan, Promise Neighborhoods-affiliated groups include the Youth Policy Institute, which started in 1983 in Los Angeles, and Zone 126, which opened in 2011 in New York City.

The longstanding Coalition for Community Schools is the umbrella network for about 6% of the 182 collaborations in the scan sample, such as the Children's Aid Society community schools in New York City and the Children's Services Council of Palm Beach County, which began in 1986. The Coalition for Community Schools network also includes Closing the Gap, which was started in 2003 in Buffalo, NY, but now exists in a more limited form.

Say Yes to Education has a national office and several local initiatives, including Say Yes Syracuse, begun in 2008, Say Yes Buffalo, started in 2011, and a recently announced third site in Guilford County, North Carolina. Similarly, Alignment USA is an outgrowth of Alignment Nashville, which started in 2005 and has since helped to launch four other collaborations such as Alignment Jackson (Mississippi) and Alignment 96792 (Hawaii). Although Alignment USA and Say Yes currently represent a small fraction of collaborations, the recent expansion of both suggests that networks may at some point find themselves competing with one another as potential local initiatives consider the possibilities of different affiliations.

An analysis of the networks themselves is warranted but beyond the scope of the scan. In the meantime, the fact that so many place-based collaborations have a national affiliation suggests some potential advantages, and perhaps a few drawbacks, for contemporary initiatives compared with the cross-sector partnerships of earlier eras. For example, there may be opportunities for the helpful spreading of lessons learned from one locale to another, but a downside might be having to adopt a network-specified blueprint that doesn't fully accommodate to local exigencies. Economies of scale might be available to

⁴⁶ J. Edmonson, personal communication, May 30, 2014

⁴⁷ Also, as of January 2015, six of the 55 Cradle to Career Network members listed on Strive's website were not included in our set because they did not meet our criteria. This could have been, for example, because they may not have explicitly stated on their website that the initiative included the school district.

network-affiliated initiatives for things like website design services, but this might come at the expense of a strong localized identity. And while networked collaborations might seem to enjoy greater prominence and legitimacy, it is too soon to tell whether funding arrangements can sustain the national operations.

Geographic Regions and Target Areas Served

If cross-sector collaborations have potential to help reshape American education, one concern might be whether they are likely to be established where they are most needed, and in equitable distributions. Figure 5 offers a visual display of how collaborations are distributed across the map of the U.S., and later in this report we probe additional explanations for why some cities have collaborations and others do not. Figure 6 shows the distribution of collaborations across the four major geographic regions as characterized by the U.S. Census. It presents these results along with two points of comparison: the proportion of the total U.S. population in each region and the proportion of the nation's largest cities within each region. Collaborations are found throughout all regions of the nation, and their distribution is roughly equivalent to the distribution of population across the U.S. Census-defined regions. The Northeast is slightly underrepresented with 13% of collaborations but 18% of the population. The percentage of collaborations in the Midwest, South, and West, on the other hand, aligns closely with these regions' share of the population.

Nonetheless, as can be seen in the map in Figure 5, there are concentrations of collaborations in certain areas within regions, such as Florida and the states that border the Great Lakes. Later sections of this paper discuss clustering of local initiatives and analyze the kinds of cities most likely to have cross-sector collaborations.

Collaborations typically described on their websites the population areas and administrative jurisdictions they serve. Figure 7 shows the distribution of units to which cross-sector collaborations appeared to target their efforts.⁴⁸ These orientations may matter for a variety of reasons. Collaborations that encompass larger areas may be able to draw from a wider range of resources and exercise coordination on a grander scale. This reasoning partially explains long-standing calls for shifting more responsibility to metropolitan entities that cross city and county borders, to coordinate transportation, manage growth, ensure fair distribution of housing, facilitate school integration, and the like.⁴⁹ But metropolitan areas for the most part do not have formal governance structures in place, and historical efforts to create them have faced political resistance. Efforts to encourage more informal regional cooperation have worked at times but have also proven difficult to sustain, especially when the issues to be dealt with require some redistribution of resources across local jurisdictional lines or touch hot-button issues like racial segregation in housing or schools.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ For many collaborations, coding the target unit was a straightforward decision; for example, some include the words "metropolitan" or specify a particular county in their name. But in other cases we had to draw inferences based on terms groups used most in characterizing their work and scope of interest. This was especially tricky in some cases where school districts share boundaries with cities or counties. Although many collaborations may do work at multiple levels, the unit codes are mutually exclusive categories. If a group mentioned work at multiple levels, we coded it at the geographically highest level, and if it mentioned work with the school district but also a general-purpose body like the city or county we coded it as targeted at the general-purpose unit.

⁴⁹ Orfield, 2002; Squires, 2002

⁵⁰ Henig, 2002; Lyons & Scheb, 1998; Weir, Wolman, & Swanstrom, 2005

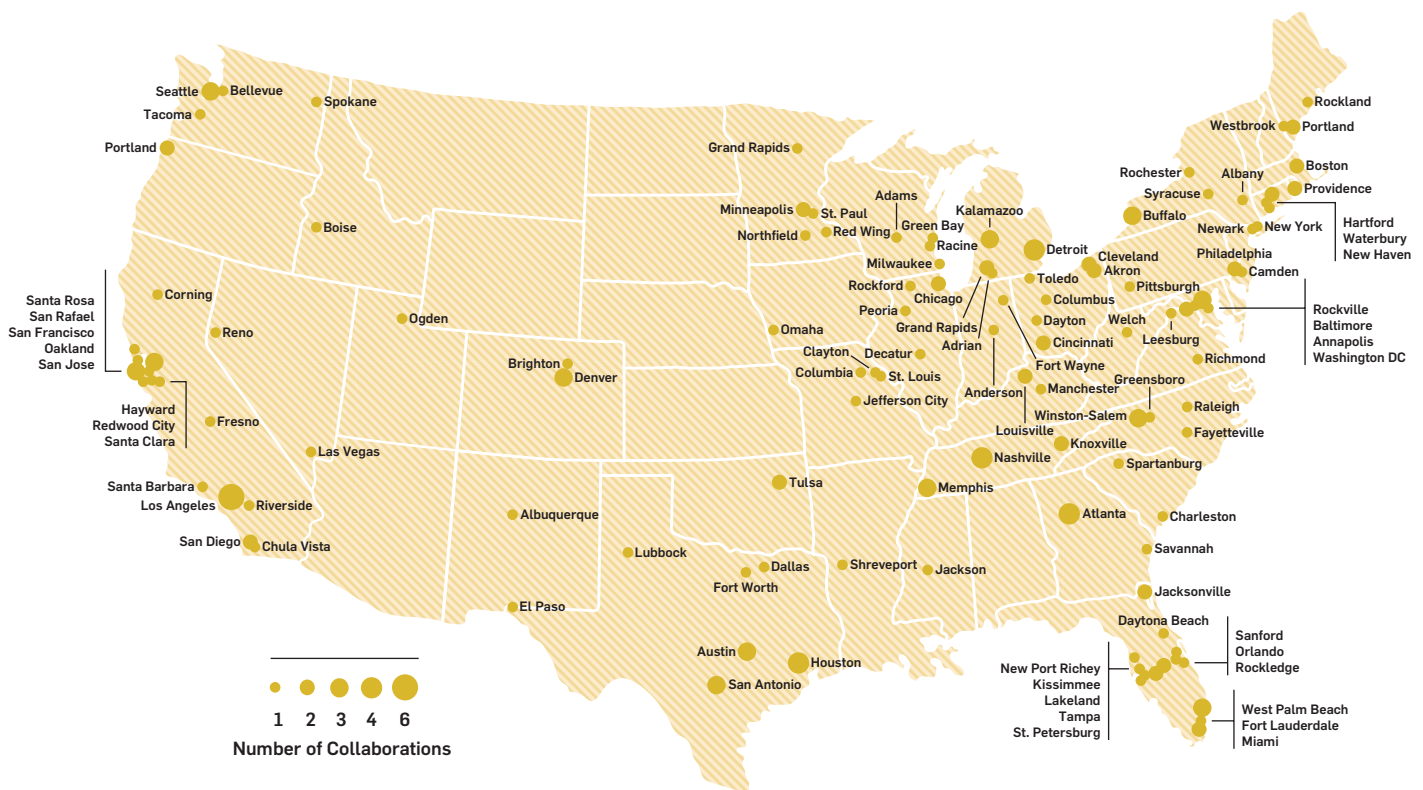


Figure 5. Locations and Concentration of Cross-Sector Collaborations for Education

On the other hand, collaborating can sometimes be easier to initiate on a more limited scale with smaller populations because more homogenous constituents and more frequent face-to-face relations can, under the right circumstances, facilitate communication and trust.⁵¹

In addition to geographic scale, it may also matter whether collaborative efforts are situated primarily within school-specific governance arenas—like school districts—or general-purpose governments, like counties and municipalities. For example, framing a school district as the target unit may be reasonable in terms of scale, and at the same time it could increase the likelihood of focusing efforts on educational matters that are especially salient to the district and especially consequential for student achievement. Efforts framed around general-purpose governance units, on the other hand, may be more agile in generating interagency coordination than district-centered ones, because officials in those counties and cities typically oversee, and can coordinate, budgets and personnel across a wider range of agencies and services.⁵² But they may also be more susceptible to conflicts arising from the heterogeneity of income, race, and school quality they encompass.

As shown in Figure 7, most collaborations (54%) identified their target jurisdiction at the county or regional/multi-county level. Fourteen percent appeared to focus on a

51 Epstein, 2001; Shirley, 1997; Warren, 2005
52 Henig, 2013

Figure 6.

Regional Distribution of Cross-Sector Collaborations for Education Versus US Population and 100 Largest Cities

Initiatives exist in all U.S. Census regions, and their distribution is roughly proportional to the distribution of population across those regions.

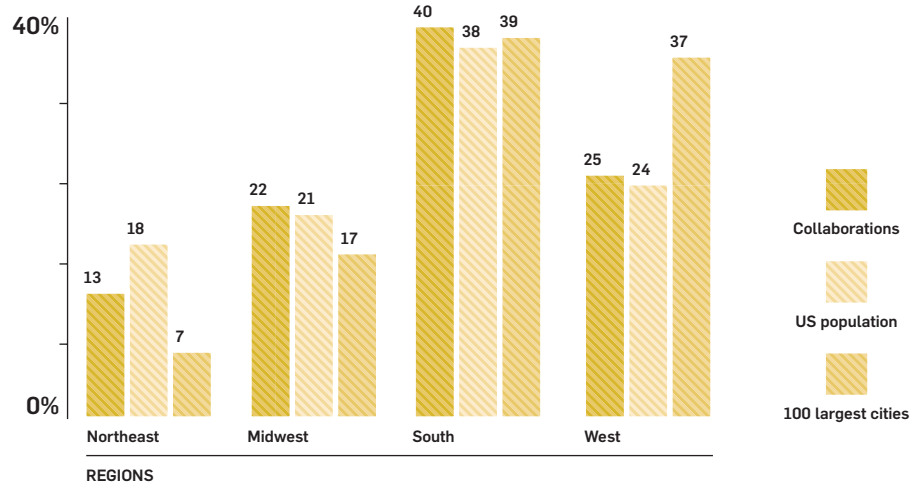
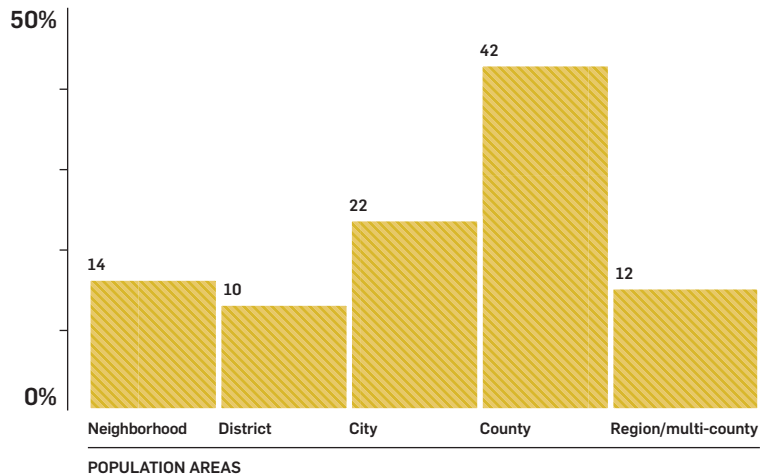


Figure 7.

Distribution of Collaborations by Target Population Areas

Most collaborations for education identify a target area larger than a city, potentially providing access to a wider range of resources and facilitating coordination on a grander scale.



sub-city level such as a school or neighborhood.⁵³ Only about one in ten identified their target primarily as the school district itself. In some of these cases, we expect that the initiatives largely emanated from and may be dominated by the local district. Based on preliminary indications, for example, it appears this may be the case with the Oakland Community Schools. In other cases, the language on the website places a primary emphasis on the district, even when other types of organization appear to play important roles. This is the case, for instance, for the Say Yes initiatives in both Syracuse and Buffalo. The district is not a dominating actor in either place, but the websites nonetheless give it primacy of place, characterizing their diverse activities as providing “holistic, year-round support to Syracuse City/Buffalo Public School District students throughout their K-12 years and beyond.”

⁵³ Note that these were included in the set only if there was evidence of leadership at the city, district, or county level.

Clustering of Local Initiatives

One of the rationales for establishing cross-sector collaborations is to reduce the fragmentation, duplication, and intergroup competition for resources that some observers believe is contributing to internally inconsistent and potentially wasteful efforts. If the notion is to bring a uniform and coherent structure and vision to the task of resolving educational problems by putting in place a single overarching framework, there may be cause for concern in a number of locales. As shown in Figure 8, over half of the 182 collaborations in the national scan operate in places with at least one other cross-sector education collaboration, and 12% are in places with four or more. For example, within Atlanta, there is Project Grad Atlanta, Atlanta Partners for Education, and Communities in Schools At-

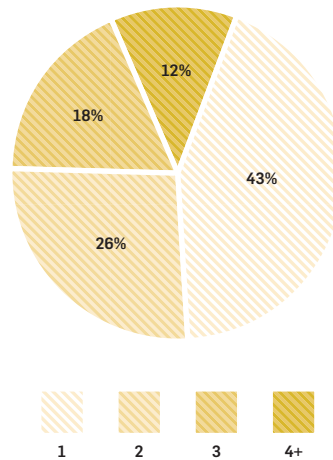


Figure 8.

Concentrations of Cross-Sector Collaborations for Education

Over half of the 182 collaborations operate in places with at least one other cross-sector education collaboration, and 12% are in places with four or more.

lanta, with the Cobb Community Collaborative Education Council also operating within the greater metropolitan region. In Detroit, there is Detroit College Promise, Excellent Schools Detroit, Detroit Clark Park/Osborn Promise Neighborhoods, and the Coalition for the Future of Detroit's Schoolchildren. In Los Angeles, there is Los Angeles Education Partnership, Partnership for Los Angeles, Los Angeles Promise Neighborhood (Youth Policy Institute), Los Angeles Fund for Public Education, Los Angeles Opportunity Youth Collaborative, and the L.A. Compact.

The presence of more than one collaboration in an area does not necessarily mean that they are stepping on one another's toes. Groups may informally or even formally "divide the pie" of specific geographic areas or functions or collaborate in ways that complement rather than compete. Or they could represent a layering of newer initiatives over older ones, preserving some established relationships and special efforts while introducing others. On the other hand, however, multiple initiatives centered on education are likely to be competing for support from the same local foundations, and for the attentions of the same individuals and organizations.

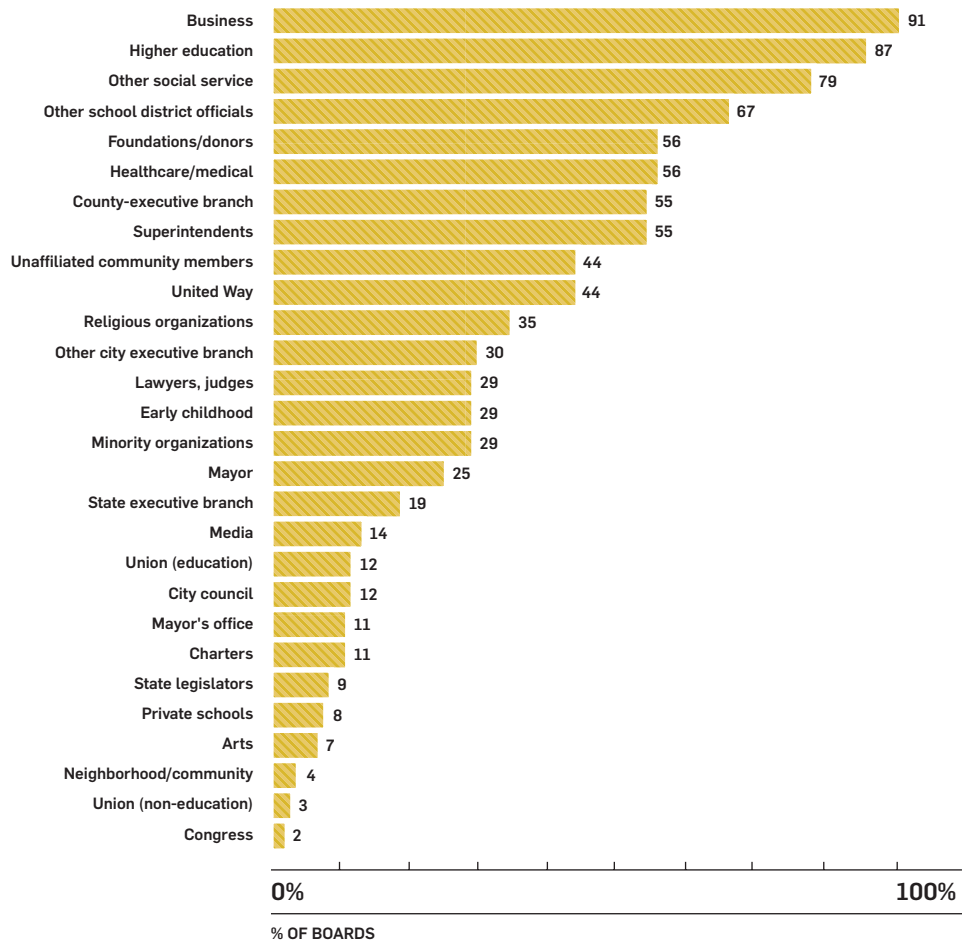
Composition of Governing Board

Collaborations vary in the breadth and depth of their membership and in their governance and operational structures. For example, while some initiatives may cast a very wide net and seek to inform and involve a large number of stakeholders, others may find that this approach leads to only superficial investment in the effort by different parties and thus may limit participation more strategically. A collaboration may enlist the help of dozens or even hundreds of local organizations and actors for operational matters but limit executive decision making to a much smaller number of key sectoral representatives. In some cases, decision making may be limited to relatively elite ac-

Figure 9.

Representation on Top Governing Boards

Business, higher education, and social services are most likely to be represented on formal governing boards of cross-sector collaborations for education. School superintendents sit on over half with other district officials on two-thirds. If those categories are combined, school district representatives are included on 91% of the boards.



tors who head major organizations, while in other collaborations leadership may more broadly include community organizations and groups representing racial and ethnic minorities. Unions may or may not be involved. As with other dimensions of collaboration, there can be trade-offs around breadth and depth. Wider and deeper collaborations potentially face greater risk of internal division and more difficulty achieving sufficient consensus to act, but narrower and shallower ones potentially exclude important perspectives, risking backlash from excluded groups, and threatening sustainability over the long run.

Not all collaborations identify a top-level governing board or list the members of such a board on their websites; this information was available for only 128 of the 182 collaborations in the scan.⁵⁴ Figure 9 shows the frequency with which at least one representative of various groups and public offices was included in the collaborations' highest decision-making board.

⁵⁴ Coding for top governance boards was complicated because some collaborations have multiple governance bodies, and descriptive labels—such as “executive committee”—are not used consistently across different initiatives. We developed a strategy for identifying those committees that appeared to be the top governing boards and then used the identifiers on the website (sometimes supplemented by additional searches) to categorize their members in terms of the sectors they represented.

Most commonly represented are business leaders. Ninety-one percent of the collaborations in the scan have at least one business leader on their board. On average, 23% of board members are representatives of business.

Over half of governing boards (55%) include a superintendent of schools, and two-thirds have another representative of the district (from the superintendents' office or school board). If those categories are combined, school district representatives are included on 91% of the boards. Higher education (87%) and social service agencies (79%) are the next most common organizations represented. There is a member of a county-level executive-branch office on 55% of boards and a mayor on 25% (54% have either the mayor or a member of the mayor's office). Just under 35% have a representative of an organization with a religious affiliation. Among sectors whose representation is much more variable are minority group organizations (29%), charter schools (11%), private schools (8%), and neighborhood or community organizations (4%). In light of controversies over the role of teachers unions and the argument by some that education reforms falter when they become disconnected from the voice of educators, a potentially important finding is that only 12% of collaborations have a member of the teachers union on their governing board.⁵⁵

Clearly some collaborations reach farther than others in seeking representation in their governance structures, and it remains to be seen whether these compositional variations mean that collaborations behave differently, prioritize differently, or are perceived differently in their environments. Of course, collaborative leadership may take place quite separately from the formal governance structures. Organizations or actors who are not formally included may exert much influence in practice, while some who are included may find themselves marginalized or ignored. But formal governance bodies present a particular face to the community, and it may matter whether that face is genuinely inclusive or more narrow and elite.

The Use of Data

Information in the broad sense—often referred to more specifically as “shared measures” or simply “data”—is an essential component of the collective impact model⁵⁶ and is a prominent feature on the websites of many cross-sector collaborations around the country. Seventy-two (40%) of the initiatives in our set have a portion of their website dedicated to data, statistics, or outcomes. In such initiatives, where progress toward goals is sought, measurements can be instrumental in at least three ways. First, they can help focus attention in needed directions by pointing to problems that must be solved or opportunities that should not be missed. Second, they can help ensure quality improvement if they provide actionable information about preconditions or key steps in a theory of action leading to a desired outcome. Third, measures can be used for accountability and control, providing a different form of quality assurance by offering indicators of outputs, outcomes, or impact that trigger consequences, motivations, and sometimes resources for improving subsequent performance cycles.

⁵⁵ Goldstein, 2014; Moe, 2011

⁵⁶ The importance—even the necessity—of data has been discussed frequently in the contemporary publications about collective impact (e.g., Cooper & Shumate, 2015; Farley & Polin, 2012; Grossman, Lombard, & Fisher, 2014; Hanleybrown et al., 2012). After having studied the Strive Partnership in Cincinnati and a few other initiatives, FSG's Kania and Kramer were convinced that effective collective impact required agreed upon outcomes and shared measurements. These became two cornerstones of their new model in 2011.

Figure 10.

Types of Indicators Tracked on Websites of Cross-Sector Collaborations for Education

The most common indicators are standardized test performance and high school graduations rates. Many initiatives also tracked "cradle to career" indicators such as pre-K enrollment and post-secondary enrollment.

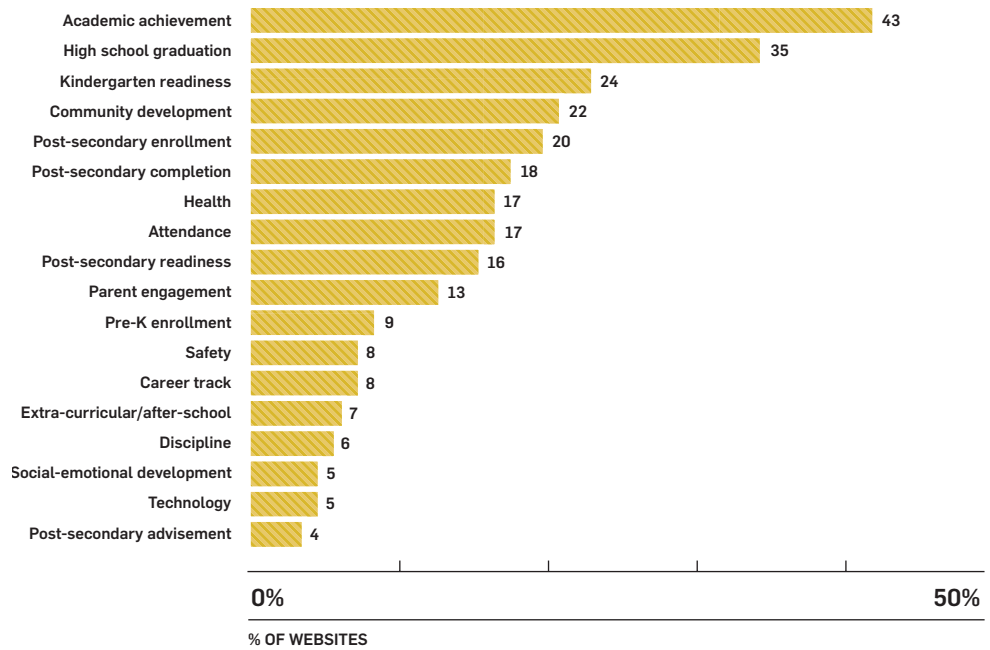


Figure 10 shows the frequency of various kinds of measures that are tracked by the initiatives in the national scan.⁵⁷ Some are indicators of intermediary progress toward a later, and often broader, goal. Others reflect specific program goals and outcomes themselves.

The most common indicators on initiatives' websites are student performance on standardized tests (43%) and high school graduation rates (35%). These may be identified by initiatives as important markers along pathways to academic success and college attainment, but it is also likely they are prevalent because they are easily available from state and/or local data platforms. Furthermore, they can be aggregated to a city or regional level where separate public, private, and charter school sectors are involved or where separate school districts are included in a county or regional collaboration. School attendance is another data point that can be fairly easily obtained and compared across multiple units.

Many collaborations take a "cradle to career" orientation, so it is not surprising to see that a significant portion of initiatives track indicators of early childhood care and learning (24% track kindergarten readiness and 9% track pre-K enrollment) as well as post-secondary enrollment (20%) and completion (18%).

Other indicators of student experiences and well-being are more sparsely presented by the collaborations. For example, only 5% of the initiatives track some kind of indicator for social and emotional development, an indicator that has been recognized as crucial for 21st-century learning and attainment.⁵⁸ A small minority of initiatives record whether

⁵⁷ We handled missing information differently for data/indicators than for other information we collected about the 182 cross-sector collaborations we studied. When websites did not have evidence of data tracking on their website, we coded that as '0' rather than missing information. That means that we are accurately capturing the presentation of data on collaborations' websites, but, since some may be using data without featuring it on their websites, we are likely under-representing the extent of actual data usage among these initiatives.

⁵⁸ See, e.g., Durlak, Weissberg, Dymnicki, Taylor, & Schellinger, 2011

students are getting college advisement and help completing financial aid applications (4%), often a serious barrier to college access. Indicators such as levels of parent engagement (13%), technology in schools (5%), safety (8%), or discipline (6%) may be informative about the quality of the learning environment for students, but are also hard to obtain and/or compare across diverse settings. Ironically, these less common indicators might actually be the kinds of outcomes parents and teachers care most about, apart from their children's performance.

The StriveTogether network promotes the collective impact model and places considerable emphasis on the use of data for agenda setting and continuous improvement. As Figure 11 indicates, the average number of indicators tracked by initiatives in the StriveTogether network is 4.5, more than twice the average number tracked in non-Strive initiatives.

Since Kania and Kramer stressed data use heavily in their initial article in 2011 (as have many subsequent articles and resources), it could be that collaborations started after that date were designed for intensive data use. However, splitting the scan set into subgroups by date of origin, it appears that collaborations established before 2011 tend to track slightly more indicators than the newer initiatives do. This could suggest that the current emphasis on data is not persuasive for many collaborations (especially those not in the Strive network); however, it also could be a reflection that it takes time for partners to agree on appropriate indicators and then locate reliable sources of data for them.

If collaborations are gathering, analyzing, and reporting data as part of continuous improvement or performance management efforts, one might expect them to do so in ways that facilitate thoughtful reflection, for example, by tracking progress on key performance targets over time or developing process indicators to monitor whether a theory of action was playing out as expected. Such uses of information might be reflected by the ways in which data are presented on initiative websites. In the scan, nearly half of the initiatives had a separate website section dedicated to indicators. Sometimes these sections were labeled "data dashboards," and they included not only outcome data but also general characteristics of the local community, its population, and the schools.

As indicated above, a fourth of the collaborations found a way to show data patterns over time, and 17% were able to provide indicators disaggregated by racial/ethnic group and/or social class status. It may be that these numbers will grow as the initiatives mature and develop more avenues and common norms for information sharing. Finally, a small proportion of collaborations included data on comparison groups of students (such as overall state rates or data from neighboring or similar target locations or populations), nodding at least slightly in the direction of providing an estimate of what would happen in the absence of the initiative.

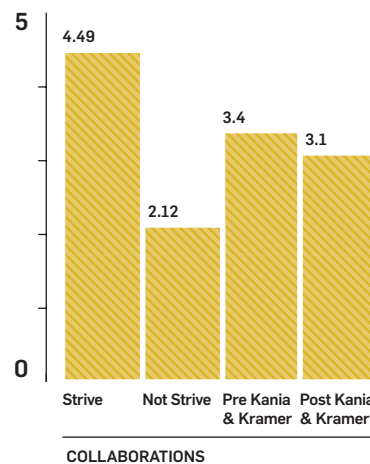


Figure 11.

Average Number of Indicators Tracked

Initiatives in the StriveTogether network on average track more than twice the number of indicators of non-Strive initiatives. Collaborations begun before 2011 track slightly more indicators than those started later.

■ ■ ■ How the Initiatives Present Data

- ▶ 40% have a website section dedicated to data, statistics, and/or outcomes
- ▶ 25% track data over time
- ▶ 17% disaggregate indicators by race/ethnicity and/or socioeconomic status
- ▶ 14% provide a comparison group

Despite the emphasis on measured outcomes, the sophistication of website presentation and analysis is limited.

Overall, despite the heavy emphasis on data in the collective impact literature, and the potential availability of new kinds of data for incorporation into multi-indicator systems, at the moment it appears that the data indicators in use by cross-sector collaborations are fairly conventional and limited in scope, and they do not often reflect a theory of action for the process steps needed to produce particular outcomes such as “kindergarten readiness” or “8th grade reading proficiency.” In addition, data reports do not reflect the extensive contributions of multiple organizations and agents working together. As yet there seems to be little effort to develop indicators showing emergent, aggregate collaboration- or network-level results. Instead, some indicators simply point to the separate work of member agencies on various task forces. The use of data indicators is relatively new in collaborative approaches. There is much room for experimentation and development.

Comparing Cities With and Without Cross-Sector Collaborations for Education

A crucial question underlying cross-sector collaborations is why they tend to be established in some places and not others. Are they emerging in settings with more economic resources or in those with greater need? Are they found in contexts that are more racially and ethnically homogenous or in those with greater diversity? What about the pace of demographic change: are collaborations more common in places with more stable demographic dynamics or in those places undergoing some degree of transition or upheaval? Are there other characteristics or capacities that either foster or constrain the development of cross-sector collaborations in specific places?

These questions were explored through an analysis of the 100 largest cities in the country, using data from the U.S. Census Bureau. Of these cities, 58 had at least one collaborative initiative identified in the national scan, and 42 did not. While there is considerable variation within both of these subsets, there are also some notable patterns that distinguish them. Bar graphs in this section are based on statistical analysis presented more fully in Appendix 3.

First, cities with collaborations tend to have populations with greater economic need (see Figure 12). On average, they have higher unemployment rates, a larger proportion of families living below the poverty line, a higher rate of childhood poverty, a lower median household income, greater income disparities between blacks and whites as well as between Hispanics and whites, and more economic inequality overall.

The pattern is somewhat different when comparing the fiscal capacity of local governments in terms of their ability to raise local revenues as distinct from the economic resources of their residents. Cities with at least one local cross-sector collaboration have greater relative fiscal capacity than those without. These 58 cities, in 2010, had higher locally generated revenues per capita (\$2,754 vs. \$1,950) as well as higher total revenues per capita including state and federal dollars (\$3,574 vs. \$2,427).

Why might some cities have stronger fiscal capacity despite also having populations with high economic need? One likely explanation is that these are cities with higher property wealth—a major source of local revenue—that can be attributable to commercial and manufacturing bases. In addition, they have higher scores on the Gini index, a measure of income inequality, suggesting that many of these cities combine pockets of poverty and pockets of affluence. Some may be undergoing gentrification, with wealthier residents generating additional revenue via sales and income taxes, depending on local tax policies.

On the other hand, cities with collaborations have been slowly losing fiscal ground to their counterparts without collaborations (see Figure 13). The revenues—both total and local—of cities without collaborations have been increasing at a faster rate than cities with collaborations. Also, whereas the percentage of revenues from federal sources has, on average, remained flat from 2000 to 2010 for cities with collaborations, cities without collaborations have seen a relative increase in federal dollars over the same time period.

Using cross-sectional census data from 2013, the question of racial/ethnic homogeneity versus diversity appears relatively straightforward (see Table 2 in Appendix 3). Cities with collaborations tend to have larger populations overall and larger proportions of black residents. There are no significant differences in the relative proportions of Hispanic or Asian populations in cities with collaborations compared with those without.

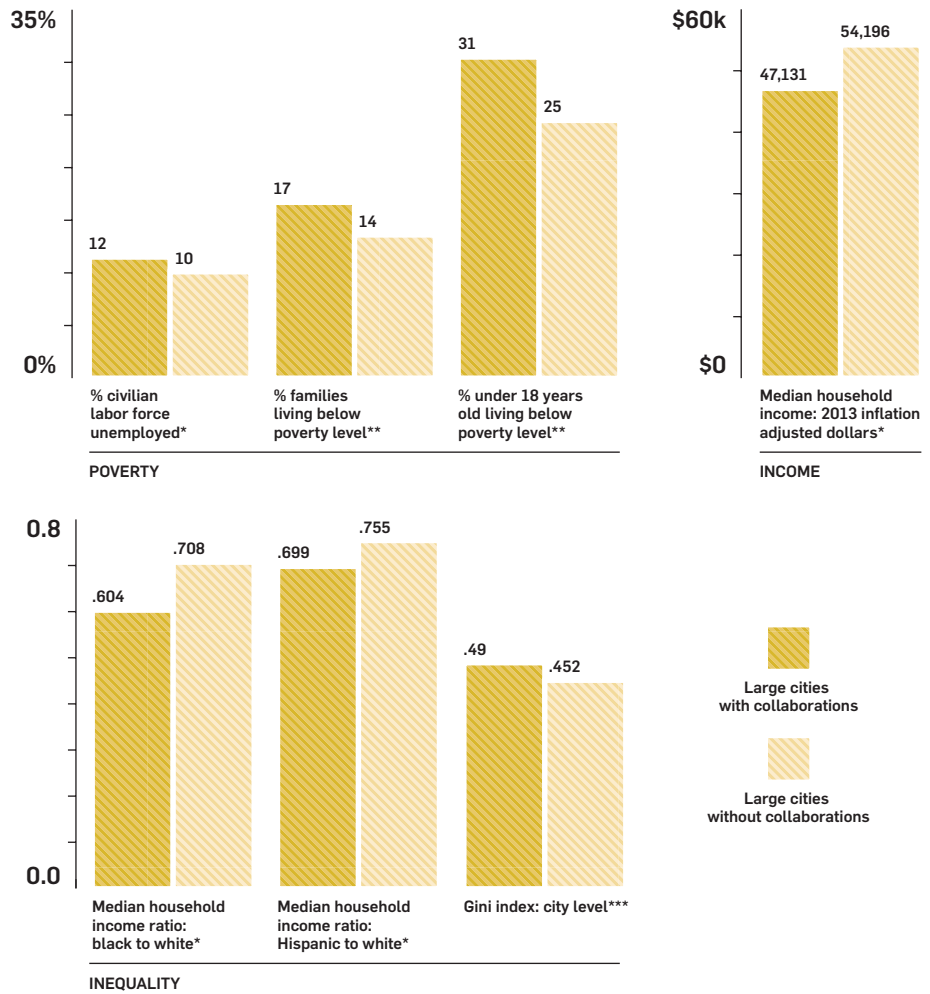
As was the case with fiscal capacity, a more complicated pattern emerges when considering racial and ethnic change over time (Figure 14; also see Table 3 in Appendix 3). Cities without collaborations have been growing at a far greater pace than their counterparts with collaborations, posting a 67% versus a 23% increase in total population from 1990 to 2010. Furthermore, the black population has, on average, nearly tripled in cities without collaborations. In cities with collaborations, recent racial change has occurred more slowly, with just under a 30% increase in the black population over the same time period.

It is important to note that these data are purely descriptive; they do not provide enough information for a causal explanation of why cross-sector education collaborations occur in some settings and not in others. They do, however, help suggest hypotheses that can guide future research. Given these patterns, it seems that the intersection of economic need and fiscal capacity creates a set of conditions that may be particularly suited to the establishment of cross-sector initiatives. For example, relative deprivation may be a

Figure 12.

Comparison of Poverty, Income, and Inequality in Large Cities With and Without Cross-Sector Collaborations for Education

Cities with at least one cross-sector collaboration for education have higher unemployment rates, more families living in poverty, greater childhood poverty, lower household incomes, greater racial income disparities, and more economic inequality overall.



Asterisks indicate group differences that are statistically significant at the .05 (*), .01 (**), or .001 (***) levels.

more common trigger for political mobilization than absolute deprivation. Some social research has shown that populations that have had steady improvement in economic conditions are more likely to experience unrest when conditions level off, while populations accustomed to low levels of prosperity seem to accept those as givens and remain acquiescent.⁵⁹ Both the relative decline in local revenue and federal revenue are suggestive of a somewhat similar pattern of relative deprivation, with slowing revenue and slowing federal support—rather than absolute low levels of either—associated with local mobilization for collaboration.

Also intriguingly suggestive is the finding that cities without collaborations tend to be in the midst of rapid demographic change. Past research on civic capacity and education reform has highlighted the ways in which population shifts complicate the process of

59 Davies, 1962; Gurr, 1970

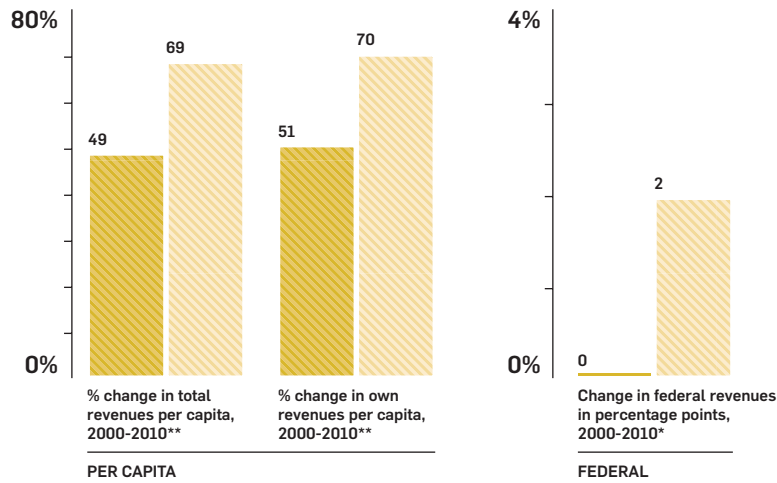


Figure 13.

Revenue Change in Large Cities With and Without Cross-Sector Collaborations for Education

Although cities with at least one local cross-sector collaboration have more revenue per capita than those without, they have been losing ground in terms of local revenue growth. Their federal funding has been flat while that in large cities without collaborations has been growing.

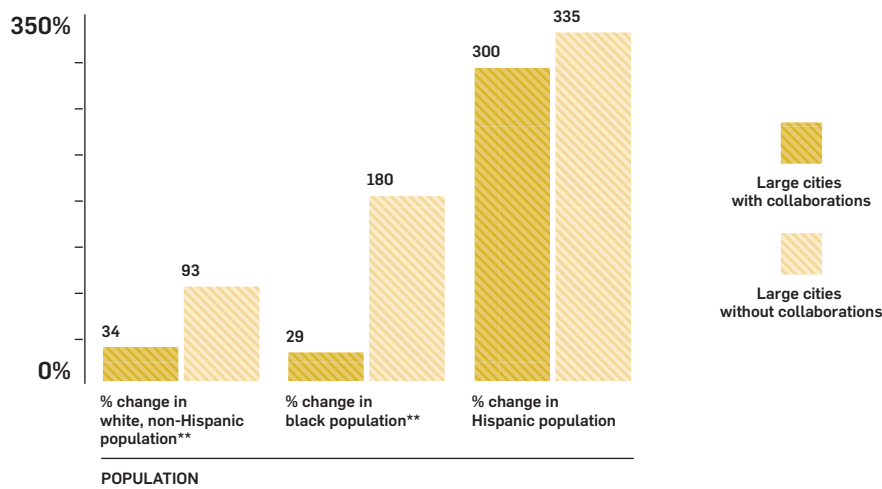


Figure 14.

Demographic Change in Large Cities With and Without Cross-Sector Collaborations for Education

Cities without collaborations tend to be in the midst of rapid demographic change. Those with collaborations in place also went through periods of speedy and unsettling demographic change, but many of them did so in the 1960s and 1970s and since then have settled into more stable patterns.

Asterisks indicate group differences that are statistically significant at the .05 (*), .01 (**) or .001 (***) levels.

building and sustaining reform coalitions.⁶⁰ Racial and ethnic shifts fuel competition for power and influence, and wariness and mistrust, can undermine efforts at collaboration even when leaders and groups recognize a shared interest in improving public schools.

The cities with collaborations in place also went through periods of speedy and unsettling demographic change, but many of them did so in the 1960s and 1970s and since then have settled into more stable patterns. Although racial and ethnic contestation is still a factor of life in these locales, it is also the case that they have had more time to process past shifts, and local political and community leaders have had more opportunities to work pragmatically and cooperatively across such divides.

It may be that the delicate coalition building necessary for cross-sector education collaboration may face fewer obstacles in settings with more established racial politics and

60 Clarke et al., 2006; Henig et al., 1999; Orr, 2000; Portz, Stein, & Jones, 1999; Stone et al., 2001

longer-standing relationships between different interests and groups. If race and ethnicity are part of the story, it seems possible that the history and timing of change may be more relevant than current attributes, with places that underwent demographic change earlier—and have had a longer time to process the change—somewhat more likely to have cross-sector collaborations than places undergoing those changes more recently.



Taking Stock

Whenever a reform idea gathers momentum, it is tempting to try to take a quick measure of whether it is working and worth emulating. The media want to know if it is worth writing about. Funders want to know whether they should invest in it. Local leaders want to know if it is a model they should borrow. Citizens want to know if it is something they should demand that their leaders explore. This reaction is understandable, especially in an area like education where the stakes are high and popular yearning for improvement is so palpable.

But there are good reasons to temper a rush to judgment. New ideas, in their early stages, are often provisionally offered in either an unformulated or over-formulated version, and early adopters may need time to work out the kinks. Too-early assessments risk labeling as failing an initiative that is simply immature. Early reports are also susceptible to inflated enthusiasm. Initial judgments are often overly influenced by one or two high-profile examples that come to attention precisely because they are unusual and whose reported successes later prove difficult to replicate. Pioneering efforts led by innovative risk-takers sometimes lose steam when their founders move on to their next challenge or when funders shift their giving to the next appealing idea.⁶¹

It is not too soon, though, to make some preliminary observations about the current generation of cross-sector collaborations for education. Overall, this portrait of 182 collaborations around the country shows many intriguing patterns that, although suggestive rather than definitive, are worth watching closely.

For example, it appears that a substantial number of cross-sector collaborations begun during earlier waves of reform are still operating. These holdovers offer encouragement that the general idea of collaboration is indeed viable, and they also suggest that perhaps more attention should be paid to how older efforts shift and adjust to new conditions, as well as to how newer efforts learn from older ones.

Another intriguing pattern is that, while much attention has been placed on the model of collective impact since the 2011 article in *SSIR* by Kania and Kramer, and while the model has influenced many new and some older initiatives, it does not dominate the

⁶¹ On leadership burnout, see http://ssir.org/articles/entry/combating_burnout_in_nonprofit_leaders. On shifting philanthropic priorities see http://ssir.org/articles/entry/when_funders_move_on

full set of cross-sector collaborations in the scan. As described in this report, “collective impact” may evolve into a generic descriptor for the current era of cross-sector collaboration, but it is also, at least for the time being, a fairly specific prescriptive model. Thus, it will be important to continue to track how the model is adopted, adapted, and disseminated.

The nationwide scan yielded several patterns regarding the location and target population for cross-sector collaborations. Collaborations are found in many of the nation’s largest cities and throughout all regions of the nation. This suggests that no particular type of location has a monopoly on collaboration, and neither has any general location turned its back on the option. With such a dispersed range of efforts, there ought to be many opportunities to learn how cross-sector collaboration can be initiated in very different contexts.

On the other hand, there do seem to be some patterns across the 100 largest cities in terms of where collaboration does or does not gain a foothold. Compared with other large cities that lack them, cities with collaborations often combine higher levels of poverty, pockets of great affluence, greater local fiscal capacity, and a relative decline in federal support. Places with collaborations seem to have a more settled and stable demography and longer experience with racial and ethnic diversity. Again, this suggests that there is much to learn in terms of the conditions that are fertile for collaboration.

It appears that many collaborations operate on a county or regional basis. This suggests that these collaborations may represent a potential vehicle for coordinating efforts between central cities and their surrounding communities, an arrangement that has had salutary results for other public services and may well help to address some intractable problems in the politics of education demographics, financing, and achievement.

There are still many opportunities for developing new cross-sector collaborations for education. However, the number of cities with two or more collaborations may indicate that local decision makers should be alert to the benefits and drawbacks of overlap and excessive concentration of collaboration. Too much of a good thing may dilute all efforts and result in unproductive competition and lack of coordination.

The number of local collaborations that are initiated with the support of a national network, or that seek out such support at some point in their development, appears to be growing. These national networks are potentially important as facilitators for resource efficiencies and for learning across diverse and dispersed sites. They may also attract additional funding that can be shared locally, and may be able to serve as platforms for giving localized efforts a more unified voice in state and national policy. One trend to watch with these national networks will be what the local collaborations get and give up in seeking a broader affiliation.

Based on the publicly available information provided through websites, it appears that there indeed is genuine cross-sector representation on the senior leadership bodies of these collaborations. However, the lower representation of local minority groups, community organizations, and teachers unions suggests that it is important to understand how deliberate the collaborations are in selecting governance team members, whether

these governance teams serve mostly symbolic or instrumental purposes, and what the implications are for realizing the full benefits of collaborative efforts.

Finally, the rhetoric is unrelenting about the importance of using data for multiple purposes at different stages of collaboration. Many initiatives seem to have taken this advice seriously and have mounted ambitious efforts to collect and track shared measurements of need, services, and outcomes. Nonetheless, this extensive use of data is a new dimension of most cross-sector collaborations, and much is not yet known about how best to collect, use, and report data.

Conclusion

This overview of cross-sector collaborations for education, the first of its kind, concludes with more questions than answers and many provocative trends to continue to explore. The research project from which this scan emanates will eventually report on a set of three in-depth case studies of cross-sector collaboration and a larger set of mini-cases. This multi-focal effort, juxtaposing close exploration of some collaborations with evidence about many others gleaned from other kinds of evidence, may help to answer core questions about whether and how collective impact and other contemporary cross-sector collaborations can fulfill their promise and justify the considerable investments of time, resources, and hope that have been made in them. ❖

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APPENDIX 1. DETAILS OF METHODOLOGY

The nationwide scan presented in this report is a snapshot of cross-sector educational collaborations in 2015 based on publicly available, online materials. The landscape of these collaborations is dynamic and fluid, the result of the creation and dissolution of initiatives and the absence of rigid definitions of collective impact. In order to place some boundaries on our object of study—so that we may confidently describe the kinds of initiatives that are and are not in our scan—we adopted a broad but clear set of criteria for inclusion. We then conducted an extensive search of cross-sector educational collaborations and downloaded searchable copies of the websites and accompanying online content of the collaborations that met our specifications.

Because many cross-sector educational collaborations predate the emergence of collective impact as an organizing framework and tend to assume a wide array of institutional forms, we decided to cast a larger net in order to capture more than just those initiatives that self-identify as collective impact. To be included in our scan, collaborations needed to be place-based, with evidence of leadership at the city, school district, and/or county level. We did not include state-level initiatives (with the exception of Hawaii, which has a single, statewide school district), but we did include neighborhood-level ones, provided that they also had evidence of city, district, and/or county leadership. Collaborations needed to be multi-sector, with the presence of two or more sectors at the top governing level (e.g., the school district, general-purpose government, the business community, nonprofits). Lastly, because cross-sector collaboration is not unique to the field of education, we restricted our set to those initiatives that included school district officials or school board members at the leadership level or initiatives that emphasized the school district as a primary partner. We also restricted our set to those collaborations whose self-descriptions included an emphasis on educational outcomes.

In order to identify collaborations that met these criteria, we initiated a two-phase search, beginning informally in 2014 (driven by conversations, interviews, and reading) and completed in 2015 with a more systematic approach. Over the course of three weeks in January of 2015, we conducted a web search of the 100 largest cities and 100 largest school districts in conjunction with a series of keywords (e.g., collective impact, collaboration, coalition, multi-sector, partnership). We then visited each site listed on the first five pages of results from each query that had the potential to meet our criteria. This process identified a total of 182 cross-sector educational collaborations with functioning websites. Next, we downloaded the websites and substantive sub-pages including annual reports and other primary documents as text-searchable PDF files. In the following months, we coded each site's data for the presence of a broad set of information (origins, partnerships, types of indicators tracked, etc.). To the extent possible, we adopted a low-inference coding design meant to increase coding reliability. For less clear-cut concepts, two researchers coded a subset of websites separately and then conducted a norming exercise in order to standardize the process.

The advantages of using an archive of websites for our study are considerable. First, websites are public statements, carefully constructed to be meaningful and informative. They represent one of the best sources of information on the ways in which initiatives want to be seen by the public. Furthermore, because we downloaded copies of each collaboration's website, our materials form a single snapshot in time. It is possible to replicate this process in the future in order to study change. Websites are also responsive to text searches, providing a trove of information that can be analyzed with qualitative methods. Lastly, the use of websites allows for greater coverage and reliability than surveys, which can suffer from low response rates.

On the other hand, there are also disadvantages to website data. The same careful and considered deliberation that can make web sites meaningful and informative might lead to misleading versions of reality, for example if organizations systematically exaggerate their impact or obfuscate their failures. Moreover, all websites are not created equal, and some differences we find may be a function of website sophistication rather than real programmatic distinctions. It is also important to note that smaller initiatives that do not have a website and ones that ended prior to January 2015, which no longer have a web presence, are absent from our analyses. In short, website data can be illustrative and methodologically useful; yet it is crucial to remember that the findings from the scan refer to the public face of the collaborations in question—which may diverge in important ways from the collaborations themselves. While identifying these distinctions may be beyond the scope of the scan, the final phase of our research—intensive case studies of collaborations in three cities and follow-up less intensive case studies in five other cities—can pursue these questions in greater detail.

APPENDIX 2. ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CROSS-SECTOR COLLABORATIONS FOR EDUCATION (JANUARY 2015)

SITE NAME	CITY	COUNTY	STATE
90% by 2020	Anchorage	Municipality of Anchorage	Alaska
Achieve Brown County	Green Bay	Brown County	Wisconsin
Adams County Promise Neighborhood	Adams	Adams County	Wisconsin
Adams County Youth Initiative	Brighton	Adams County	Colorado
Albany Promise	Albany	Albany County	New York
Alignment 96792	Honolulu	Honolulu County	Hawaii
Alignment Jackson	Jackson	Hinds County	Mississippi
Alignment Nashville	Nashville	Davidson County	Tennessee
Alignment Rockford	Rockford	Winnebago County	Illinois
All Hands Raised	Portland	Multnomah County	Oregon
All Kids Alliance	Houston	Harris County	Texas
Alliance for Education	Seattle	King County	Washington
Anne Arundel County Partnership for Children, Youth and Families	Annapolis	Anne Arundel County	Maryland
Aspire Toledo	Toledo	Lucas County	Ohio
Atlanta Partners for Education	Atlanta	Fulton County	Georgia
Austin Opportunity Youth Collaborative	Austin	Travis County	Texas
Baltimore Attendance Collaborative	Baltimore	Baltimore City	Maryland
Berea College - Improving Rural Appalachian Schools	Manchester	Clay County	Kentucky
Big Goal Collaborative	Fort Wayne	Allen County	Indiana
Boost!	New Haven	New Haven County	Connecticut
Boston Circle of Promise	Boston	Suffolk County	Massachusetts
Boston Opportunity Agenda	Boston	Suffolk County	Massachusetts
Bridge to Success San Francisco	San Francisco	San Francisco County	California
Bridge to Success Waterbury	Waterbury	New Haven County	Connecticut
Bridging Richmond	Richmond	Richmond City	Virginia
Buffalo Promise Neighborhood	Buffalo	Erie County	New York
Camden Cooper Lanning Promise Neighborhood	Camden	Camden County	New Jersey
Chatham-Savannah Youth Futures Authority	Savannah	Chatham County	Georgia
Children's Services Council of Palm Beach County	West Palm Beach	Palm Beach County	Florida
Chula Vista Promise Neighborhood (South Bay Community Services)	Chula Vista	San Diego County	California
Cincinnati Community Learning Centers	Cincinnati	Hamilton County	Ohio
City Heights Educational Collaborative	San Diego	San Diego County	California
City Heights Partnership for Children	San Diego	San Diego County	California
Cleveland Central Promise Neighborhood	Cleveland	Cuyahoga County	Ohio
Cleveland Transformation Alliance	Cleveland	Cuyahoga County	Ohio
Closing the Gap in Student Performance	Buffalo	Erie County	New York
Coalition for the Future of Detroit's Schoolchildren	Detroit	Wayne County	Michigan
Cobb Community Collaborative Education Council	Atlanta	Fulton County	Georgia
Collaboration for Children	Houston	Harris County	Texas
Collective for Youth	Omaha	Douglas County	Nebraska
Columbia Cradle to Career Network	Columbia	Boone County	Missouri
Commit! Partnership	Dallas	Dallas County	Texas
Communities in Schools Atlanta	Atlanta	Fulton County	Georgia
Completion Counts (College 31)	Riverside	Riverside County	California
Cradle to Career Sonoma County	Santa Rosa	Sonoma County	California
Crosby Scholars	Winston-Salem	Forsyth County	North Carolina
Denver After School Alliance	Denver	Denver County	Colorado
Denver Opportunity Youth Investment Initiative	Denver	Denver County	Colorado
Denver Quality After School Connection	Denver	Denver County	Colorado
Detroit Clark Park/Osborn Promise Neighborhoods	Detroit	Wayne County	Michigan
Detroit College Promise	Detroit	Wayne County	Michigan
Diplomas Latino Student Success Initiative	San Antonio	Bexar County	Texas
E3 Alliance	Austin	Travis County	Texas
Early Learning Coalition of Brevard County	Rockledge	Brevard County	Florida
Early Learning Coalition of Broward County	Fort Lauderdale	Broward County	Florida
Early Learning Coalition of Duval County	Jacksonville	Duval County	Florida
Early Learning Coalition of Flagler & Volusia	Daytona Beach	Volusia County	Florida
Early Learning Coalition of Hillsborough County	Tampa	Hillsborough County	Florida
Early Learning Coalition of Miami-Dade/Monroe	Miami	Miami-Dade County	Florida
Early Learning Coalition of Orange County	Orlando	Orange County	Florida
Early Learning Coalition of Osceola	Kissimmee	Osceola County	Florida
Early Learning Coalition of Palm Beach County	West Palm Beach	Palm Beach County	Florida
Early Learning Coalition of Pasco Hernando	New Port Richey	Pasco County	Florida
Early Learning Coalition of Pinellas County	St. Petersburg	Pinellas County	Florida
Early Learning Coalition of Polk County	Lakeland	Polk County	Florida
Early Learning Coalition of Seminole County	Sanford, FL	Seminole County	Florida
Early Matters	Houston	Harris County	Texas

SITE NAME	CITY	COUNTY	STATE
East Lubbock Promise Neighborhood (Texas Tech University College of Education)	Lubbock	Lubbock County	Texas
Eastside Pathways	Bellevue	King County	Washington
Education Alliance of Washoe County	Reno	Washoe County	Nevada
Education Coalition of Macon County	Decatur	Macon County	Illinois
Education Foundation Osceola County	Kissimmee	Osceola County	Florida
El Paso Collaborative for Academic Excellence	El Paso	El Paso County	Texas
Elev8 Baltimore	Baltimore	Baltimore City	Maryland
Elev8 Chicago	Chicago	Cook County	Illinois
Elev8 Oakland	Oakland	Alameda County	California
Everett Freeman Initiative	Corning	Tehama County	California
Every Hand Joined	Red Wing	Goodhue County	Minnesota
Excel Beyond the Bell	Rockville	Montgomery County	Maryland
Excelerate Success	Spokane	Spokane County	Washington
Excellent Schools Detroit	Detroit	Wayne County	Michigan
Five Promises for Two Generations (DC Promise Neighborhood Initiative Inc.)	Washington	District of Columbia	District of Columbia
Forsyth Promise	Winston-Salem	Forsyth County	North Carolina
Fort Worth SPARC	Fort Worth	Tarrant County	Texas
Fresno Area Strive	Fresno	Fresno County	California
Gateways East Bay STEM Network	San Francisco	San Francisco County	California
Generation Next	Minneapolis	Hennepin County	Minnesota
Graduate! Tacoma	Tacoma	Pierce County	Washington
Great Schools Partnership	Knoxville	Knox County	Tennessee
Guilford Education Alliance	Greensboro	Guilford County	North Carolina
Hartford Community Schools	Hartford	Hartford County	Connecticut
Hartford Opportunity Youth Collaborative	Hartford	Hartford County	Connecticut
Hawaii P-20 Partnerships for Education	Honolulu	Honolulu County	Hawaii
Hayward Promise Neighborhood (California State University, East Bay Foundation)	Hayward	Alameda County	California
Higher Expectations	Racine	Racine County	Wisconsin
Impact Tulsa	Tulsa	Tulsa County	Oklahoma
Itasca Area Initiative for Student Success	Grand Rapids	Itasca County	Minnesota
Kalamazoo Promise	Kalamazoo	Kalamazoo County	Michigan
Kconnect	Grand Rapids	Kent County	Michigan
Kent School Services Network	Grand Rapids	Kent County	Michigan
L.A. Compact	Los Angeles	Los Angeles County	California
Las Vegas Healthy Communities Coalition	Las Vegas	Clark County	Nevada
Learn 4 Life: Columbus	Columbus	Franklin County	Ohio
Learn to Earn: Dayton	Dayton	Montgomery County	Ohio
Learning Network of Greater Kalamazoo	Kalamazoo	Kalamazoo County	Michigan
Learning to Finish	Jacksonville	Duval County	Florida
Lenawee Cradle to Career	Adrian	Lenawee County	Michigan
Literacy Coalition of Palm Beach County	West Palm Beach	Palm Beach County	Florida
Los Angeles Education Partnership	Los Angeles	Los Angeles County	California
Los Angeles Fund for Public Education	Los Angeles	Los Angeles County	California
Los Angeles Opportunity Youth Collaborative	Los Angeles	Los Angeles County	California
Los Angeles Promise Neighborhood (Youth Policy Institute)	Los Angeles	Los Angeles County	California
Loudoun School Business Partnership	Leesburg	Loudoun County	Virginia
Louisville Education & Employment Partnership	Louisville	Jefferson County	Kentucky
Madison County Education Coalition	Anderson	Madison County	Indiana
Many Flags Promise Neighborhood	Rockland	Knox County	Maine
Marin Promise	San Rafael	Marin County	California
Memphis Fast Forward: PeopleFirst!	Memphis	Shelby County	Tennessee
Milwaukee Succeeds	Milwaukee	Milwaukee County	Wisconsin
Mission Promise Neighborhood (Mission Economic Development)	San Francisco	San Francisco County	California
Mission: Graduate NM	Albuquerque	Bernalillo County	New Mexico
MFACT	Jefferson City	Cole County	Missouri
Nashville After Zone Alliance	Nashville	Davidson County	Tennessee
Nashville Promise Neighborhood	Nashville	Davidson County	Tennessee
Newark Trust for Education	Newark	Essex County	New Jersey
North Harris County Education Alliance	Houston	Harris County	Texas
Northern Kentucky Education Council	Louisville	Jefferson County	Kentucky
Northfield Promise	Northfield	Dakota County	Minnesota
Northside Achievement Zone	Minneapolis	Hennepin County	Minnesota
Oakland Community Schools	Oakland	Alameda County	California
Oakland Literacy Coalition	Oakland	Alameda County	California
Ogden United for Promise Neighborhoods	Ogden	Weber County	Utah
P16Plus Council of Greater Bexar County	San Antonio	Bexar County	Texas

SITE NAME	CITY	COUNTY	STATE
Partnership for Children of Cumberland County	Fayetteville	Cumberland County	North Carolina
Partnership for Los Angeles Schools	Los Angeles	Los Angeles County	California
Pencil Foundation	Nashville	Davidson County	Tennessee
Peoria Full Service Community Schools	Peoria	Peoria County	Illinois
Philadelphia Math + Science Coalition	Philadelphia	Philadelphia County	Pennsylvania
Pittsburgh Promise	Pittsburgh	Allegheny County	Pennsylvania
Polk Vision	Lakeland	Polk County	Florida
Portland ConnectED	Portland	Cumberland County	Maine
Project Grad Akron	Akron	Summit County	Ohio
Project Grad Atlanta	Atlanta	Fulton County	Georgia
Project Grad Kenai Peninsula	Anchorage	Municipality of Anchorage	Alaska
Project Grad Knoxville	Knoxville	Knox County	Tennessee
Project U-Turn	Philadelphia	Philadelphia County	Pennsylvania
Promise Heights	Baltimore	Baltimore City	Maryland
Providence Children & Youth Cabinet	Providence	Providence County	Rhode Island
Providence Plan	Providence	Providence County	Rhode Island
Raise DC	Washington	District of Columbia	District of Columbia
Ready by 21 Austin	Austin	Travis County	Texas
Ready by 21 St. Louis	St. Louis	St. Louis City	Missouri
Ready Schools Miami	Miami	Miami-Dade County	Florida
Reconnecting McDowell	Welch	McDowell County	West Virginia
Redwood City Community Schools	Redwood City	San Mateo County	California
Road Map Project	Seattle	King County	Washington
Roc the Future	Rochester	Monroe County	New York
San Antonio Eastside Promise Neighborhood (United Way of San Antonio & Bexar County)	San Antonio	Bexar County	Texas
Santa Clara County Opportunity Youth Partnership	Santa Clara	Santa Clara County	California
Say Yes Buffalo	Buffalo	Erie County	New York
Say Yes Syracuse	Syracuse	Onondaga County	New York
School Linked Services	San Jose	Santa Clara County	California
Seattle University Youth Initiative	Seattle	King County	Washington
Seeding Success	Memphis	Shelby County	Tennessee
Smart Start Forsyth County	Winston-Salem	Forsyth County	North Carolina
Southern Maine Youth Transition Network	Portland	Cumberland County	Maine
Spartanburg Academic Movement	Spartanburg	Spartanburg County	South Carolina
St. Paul Promise Neighborhood	St. Paul	Ramsey County	Minnesota
Step Forward	Shreveport	Caddo Parish	Louisiana
Strive Mid-South	Memphis	Shelby County	Tennessee
Strive Partnership	Cincinnati	Hamilton County	Ohio
Summit Education Initiative	Akron	Summit County	Ohio
SUN Service System	Portland	Multnomah County	Oregon
Thrive Chicago	Chicago	Cook County	Illinois
THRIVE Santa Barbara County	Santa Barbara	Santa Barbara County	California
Treasure Valley Education Partnership	Boise	Ada County	Idaho
Tri-County Cradle-to-Career Collaborative	Charleston	Charlestown County	South Carolina
Tulsa Area Community Schools Initiative	Tulsa	Tulsa County	Oklahoma
Vision 24:1	Clayton	St. Louis County	Missouri
Wake Education Partnership	Raleigh	Wake County	North Carolina
Westbrook Children's Project	Westbrook	Cumberland County	Maine
Zone 126	New York	Queens County	New York

City and county names are included to clarify the general location of the collaboration. Where there are multiple cities or counties involved, we list the largest (based on population). In some cases, the city or county may not be a formal member of the collaboration.

APPENDIX 3. DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS COMPARING 100 LARGEST CITIES WITH AND WITHOUT COLLABORATIONS

Table 1.

Economic Capacity
Versus Need

	Large cities (n = 100)	Large cities with collaborations (n = 58)	Large cities without collaborations (n = 42)	Difference between large cities with and without collaborations
% of civilian labor force unemployed, 2013	10.9 (3.4)	11.5 (3.7)	10.1 (2.9)	1.4*
% families living below poverty level, 2013	15.4 (5.8)	16.7 (5.7)	13.6 (5.6)	3.0**
% under 18 years old living below poverty level, 2013	28.0 (9.7)	30.5 (9.4)	24.5 (9.1)	6.1**
Median household income, 2013	50,098 (13,362)	47,131 (11,547)	54,196 (14,701)	-7,065**
Median household income ratio: black to white, 2013	0.648 (0.191)	0.604 (0.160)	0.708 (0.215)	-0.104**
Median household income ratio: Hispanic to white, 2013	0.723 (0.115)	0.699 (0.119)	0.755 (0.103)	-0.056*
Gini index: city level, 2013	0.474 (0.040)	0.490 (0.035)	0.452 (0.036)	0.038***
Total revenues per capita, 2010	3,092 (2,380)	3,574 (2,835)	2,427 (1,316)	1,146**
Local revenues per capita, 2010	2,416 (1,659)	2,754 (1,960)	1,950 (961)	804**
% change in total revenues per capita, 2000-2010	57.2 (35.3)	48.9 (30.0)	68.8 (39.1)	-20.0**
% change in local revenues per capita, 2000-2010	59.0 (36.5)	50.7 (31.4)	70.4 (40.2)	-19.8**
% federal revenues, 2000	4.5 (3.6)	4.9 (4.1)	4.1 (2.7)	0.7
% federal revenues, 2010	5.3 (4.8)	4.9 (5.1)	5.8 (4.4)	-0.9
Change in federal revenue in percentage points, 2000-2010	0.7 (3.3)	0.0 (2.8)	1.6 (3.7)	-1.6*

Table 2.

Racial/Ethnic
Homogeneity
Versus Diversity
(2013)

Total population	607,003 (931,302)	784,961 (1,180,166)	361,250 (226,445)	423,711**
% white, non-Hispanic	44.2 (18.5)	43.5 (17.1)	45.1 (20.5)	-1.6
% black	20.4 (17.5)	24.4 (18.5)	14.9 (14.4)	9.5**
% Hispanic	24.6 (21.0)	21.9 (18.7)	28.4 (23.5)	-6.5
% Asian	7.8 (9.5)	7.1 (9.1)	8.7 (10.0)	-1.6

Table 3.

Racial/Ethnic
Change over Time
(1990-2010)

Change in total population	93,931 (142,516)	94,061 (170,400)	93,751 (93,145)	310
% change in total population	41.2 (79.4)	22.7 (33.4)	66.8 (11.4)	-44.0*
% change in white, non-Hispanic population	58.6 (101.7)	33.5 (89.4)	93.2 (108.4)	-59.7**
% change in black population	92.1 (245.9)	28.8 (55.5)	179.6 (358.2)	-150.7**
% change in Hispanic population	314.3 (426.8)	299.5 (452.7)	334.6 (392.7)	-35.1
Change in proportion white, non-Hispanic (in percentage points)	-15.0 (8.6)	-12.7 (7.2)	-18.3 (9.5)	5.5**
Change in proportion black (in percentage points)	0.8 (4.9)	0.3 (5.3)	1.5 (4.1)	-1.2
Change in proportion Hispanic (in percentage points)	9.4 (6.5)	8.3 (5.3)	10.8 (7.6)	-2.5
Change in proportion black plus Hispanic (in percentage points)	10.2 (7.9)	8.6 (7.0)	12.3 (8.6)	-3.7*

Standard deviations shown in parentheses *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

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