CROSS CITY CAMPAIGN FOR URBAN SCHOOL REFORM

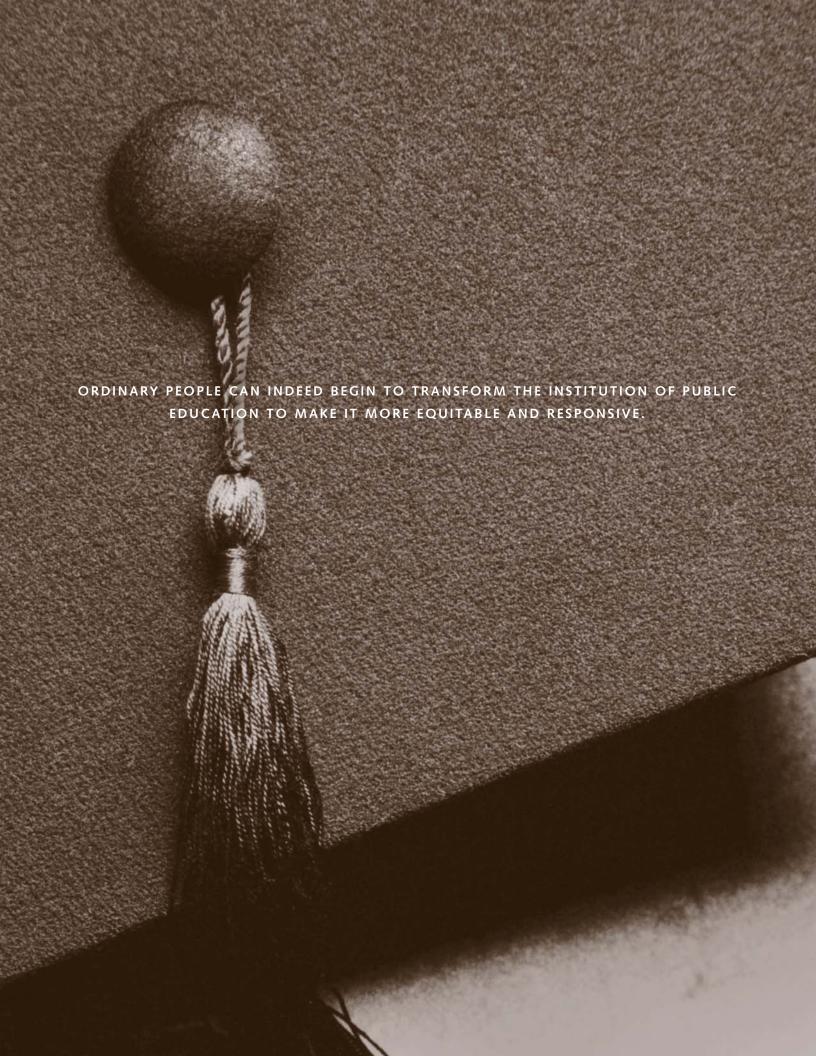
PREPARED BY RESEARCH FOR ACTION

Case Study: OCO

OAKLAND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Strong Neighborhoods Strong Schools

The Indicators Project on Education Organizing



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Prepared by

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with

CROSS CITY CAMPAIGN FOR URBAN SCHOOL REFORM

Chris Brown

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks to the Executive Director, organizers, and leaders of Oakland Community Organizations for their participation in this study and their contribution to our understanding of community organizing for school reform.

We also acknowledge the generous support of the following foundations:

BELLSOUTH FOUNDATION

ANNIE E. CASEY FOUNDATION

EDNA MCCONNELL CLARK FOUNDATION

FORD FOUNDATION

EDWARD W. HAZEN FOUNDATION

CHARLES STEWART MOTT FOUNDATION

NEEDMOR FUND

WILLIAM PENN FOUNDATION

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The Indicators Project on Education Organizing

Oakland Community Organizations is one of five case studies in *The Indicators Project*, an action-research project to document the contribution that community organizing makes to school reform, disseminate the findings, and forward the work these groups are doing. The project grows out of the work of the Cross City Campaign for Urban School Reform's Schools and Community program. The Cross City Campaign believes that while there is widespread agreement among educators and the public on the importance of "parent involvement" and "parents as first teachers," there is far less understanding of the role that strong, well-informed, powerful organizations of parent and community leaders can play in school reform. The Cross City Campaign invited Research for Action, a non-profit educational research organization with a history of studying community-school relations, to be its partner in examining the contribution such organizations can make in bringing about quality educational experiences and equity for urban students and in strengthening low-income urban neighborhoods.

See report: Successful Community Organizing for School Reform for a full discussion of the Education Organizing Indicators Framework and how accomplishments in the indicator areas work together to bring about change in schools and communities.



The aim of the research was to develop an Education Organizing Indicators Framework that documents observable outcomes in schools and student learning. We developed the Framework by looking at the activities of organizing groups across multiple sites and categorizing their work within eight key indicator areas. The eight indicator areas are: leadership development, community power, social capital, public accountability, equity, school/community connections, positive school climate, and high quality instruction and curriculum. (See Appendix A for definitions of the indicator areas). We also developed a Theory of Change that shows how work in each of the indicator areas contributes to building community capacity and improving schools—ultimately increasing student learning. (See page 6 for a model of the Theory of Change.)

A major purpose of this report and the project's other case studies is to show the accomplishments of community organizing for school reform by using the Education Organizing Indicators Framework. We illustrate the utility of the Framework for documenting the contribution of community organizing groups to school reform by looking at selected organizing "stories" in some depth. In each report, we use four of the indicator areas to interpret the organizing stories, showing evidence that the group is making a difference. The report also shows the complexity and challenge of community organizing for school reform. It illustrates the range of strategies that groups use, how local context affects organizing and outcomes, as well as how organizing spurs and shapes local education reform.

CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZING GROUPS

Community organizing groups working for school reform share the following characteristics:

- They work to change public schools to make them more equitable and effective for all students.
- They build a large base of members who take collective action to further their agenda.
- They build relationships and collective responsibility by identifying shared concerns among neighborhood residents and creating alliances and coalitions that cross neighborhood and institutional boundaries.
- They develop leadership among community residents to carry out agendas that the membership determines through a democratic governance structure.
- They use the strategies of adult education, civic participation, public action, and negotiation to build power for residents of low- to moderate-income communities that result in action to address their concerns.

RESEARCH APPROACH

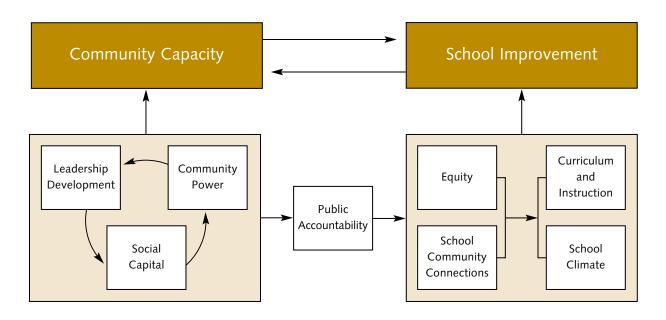
In order to develop an indicators framework the research design included four levels of investigation:

- Research for Action (RFA) and the Cross City Campaign (CCC) conducted a broad search and created a database of 140 community organizing groups working on school reform nationwide.
- RFA and CCC collaborated to select 19 groups for lengthy telephone interviews. Analysis of those interviews yielded a preliminary indicators framework.
- RFA and CCC, with the help of a national advisory group (see appendix B) selected five groups for case studies.
- RFA research teams and CCC staff conducted two site-visits of three days each in spring and fall of 2000 to each of the five sites. Interviews were conducted with a wide array of public school stakeholders, including parents, teachers, administrators, elected officials, and education reform groups. The researchers also observed community and school events relevant to local organizing.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT IS TO SHOW THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZING.

Theory of Change: Relationship of Community Capacity Building and School Improvement



The theory of change model shows the pathway of influence between building community capacity and school improvement. Work in three indicator areas—leadership development, community power, and social capital—increases civic participation and leverages power through partnerships and relationships within and across communities, as well as with school district, civic, and elected officials. Public accountability is the hinge that connects community capacity with school improvement. Increased community participation and strong relationships together broaden accountability for improving public education for children of low- to moderate-income families. Public accountability creates the political will to forward equity and school/community connection, thereby improving school climate, curriculum, and instruction making them more responsive to communities, laying the basis for improved student learning and achievement. Stronger schools, in turn, contribute to strengthening community capacity.

Introduction to Oakland Community Organizations

The Oakland Community Organizations (OCO) is committed to the improvement of the long-term prospects of families and youth living in the Oakland flatlands neighborhoods, which are low- to moderate-income, traditionally African-American communities where numerous immigrant groups have settled in recent years. The concern of OCO members with the quality of flatlands schools has led it to focus on reforming public education. OCO brings to its school reform efforts a prominent history of organizing residents and building political alliances to win improved conditions for flatlands neighborhoods.

OCO's members are vocal in their concerns about overcrowding in flatlands schools and children's low reading scores. To address these concerns, OCO has advocated for several reform initiatives, including school-to-career programs, reduced class size, afterschool homework clubs, charter schools, and small schools. Over the past five years, OCO members have researched different approaches to improving schools, including making site visits to successful schools that serve neighborhoods in New York and Chicago with demographics similar to the flatlands. In light of this research, OCO's organizing became increasingly focused on small schools as a key strategy for reforming Oakland public schools. It has not, however, abandoned some of its other strategies, such as charters. The OCO executive director explained that the group's overarching goal is to increase the choices for families living in flatlands neighborhoods, who currently have access only to overcrowded, lowperforming schools.

In the spring of 1999, OCO and the Bay Area Coalition for Equitable Schools (BayCES, a well-established school reform group that has traditionally focused on teachers) formalized a partnership to build a long-term school reform campaign. The goal of this campaign was to end overcrowding and multi-tracking, and work for small autonomous schools (schools with site-based management/local decision-making). The partnership has led to an Oakland Unified School District (OUSD) policy supporting the creation of new small schools, with a priority for their establishment in neighborhoods with overcrowded

MULTI-TRACKING

Multi-tracking is one way that the Oakland Unified School District has been dealing with overcrowding. With multi-tracking, there is a year-round school calendar, and some children and teachers "rove," that is, change classrooms every month to three months. In conformity with California laws about language learning, multi-tracking sorts students by language group.

schools. OCO and BayCES are now working in partnership with the OUSD to implement the policy. OCO's organizing work with parents, community members, and teachers was critical to bringing about the policy and is now central to its implementation.

OCO is active in all the eight indicator areas used in this project.¹ In this report, we relate OCO's accomplishments in detail in four of the areas.² The four areas are:

- COMMUNITY POWER
- EQUITY
- SOCIAL CAPITAL
- LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

NOTES

- 1. For a chart representing OCO's work in all eight indicator areas, see Appendix C. This chart is not comprehensive, but does illustrate the kinds of strategies OCO has used in each area and cites examples of its achievements.
- 2. The data supporting the accomplishments of OCO were gathered during site visits in spring and fall 2000. The report is not comprehensive of all OCO has accomplished, but is intended to illustrate what documentation and measurement of its accomplishments might look like.

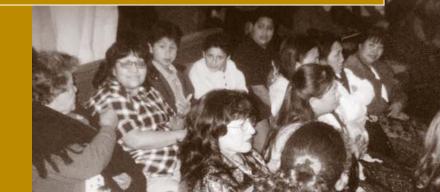
The Oakland Community Organizations

The Oakland Community Organizations (OCO) has been active in Oakland for nearly thirty years, and has been affiliated since its inception with the Pacific Institute for Community Organizing (PICO), a nationwide network of similar groups. In the beginning, OCO's membership was built through recruitment of individuals from low-income neighborhoods. However, a dozen years ago, OCO shifted from a neighborhood organizing approach to a "faith-based, institutional organizing model," an approach in which congregations are the members of OCO and individuals participate through their membership in one of the member congregations. Each congregation has a "local organizing committee" made up of OCO volunteer leaders.

As of fall 2000, OCO had 35 member congregations representing over 30,000 families from East, West and North Oakland. For the most part, these congregations are located in the Oakland flatlands, which are low- to moderate-income neighborhoods. The majority of the population in these neighborhoods is Latino and African-American; some Asian groups, such as Filipinos and Vietnamese, as well as a small number of Caucasians, are also represented. The shift to faith-based organizing was significant in diversifying OCO's base racially, ethnically, and economically.

OCO staff in spring 2000 included an executive director, three full-time professional organizers, one professional organizer shared with the Bay Area Coalition of Equitable Schools (BayCES), and support staff. The staff is racially and ethnically diverse: the executive director is white; the organizers include two Latinos and one African-American; and the organizer shared with BayCES is white. A Board of Directors representing member congregations governs OCO. Two parent/community leaders, an African-American man and a Latina, are co-chairs of the Board.

The organization works on multiple issues, including affordable housing, crime prevention and safety, drug abuse prevention, and education. The organizing focus is on developing neighborhood leadership and civic participation for the purpose of leveraging resources for Oakland flatlands neighborhoods. Its education organizing began in the early 1990s, first in neighborhood schools, but has expanded to district, city and state levels.



The Flatlands and Its Schools

"When we walked into the offices of OCO, located in an eerily vacant mall in the middle of the flatlands, the wall map representing the social geography of Oakland immediately drew our attention. The map dramatically pointed out with red pins the concentration of overcrowded schools in low-income flatlands neighborhoods. Six hundred to 1,400 students were typically enrolled in these schools. This contrasted with schools of 250-350 in "the hills," where economically better-off residents live. Student achievement in reading, math, and language arts also dramatically differed. With only a couple of exceptions, fifth graders in hill schools scored above the 60th percentile while flatlands fifth graders tended to score in the 30th percentile and below." RESEARCHER'S

FIELDNOTES, SPRING 2000

OCO's base is in the flatlands area of Oakland, historically an African-American community that more recently has become diversified with the arrival of Latino and Asian groups. The neighborhoods' commercial areas reflect a rich mix of ethnicities—Chicano, Mexican, Vietnamese, Filipino, and Cambodian, among others. The majority of flatlands residents are low- to moderate-income. Approximately 50 percent of residents are renters and 50 percent homeowners.

The most common solutions to overcrowding in flatlands schools are the use of temporary classrooms constructed in school playgrounds and year-round multi-tracking. Many of the teachers and parents we interviewed commented on the negative aspects of multi-tracking. For example, many believed that the separation of language groups as a result of differing school calendars undercut the natural mixing of ethnic and racial groups that can occur in school. Despite the fact that many Oakland residents believe that the diversity of the area is a community asset, the organization of the school day and year often separated groups and discouraged cross-cultural exchange.

Teachers who "rove" also believed that multi-tracking reduced their sense of efficacy, because they were constantly changing rooms and couldn't create a learning environment reflective of their philosophy and approach. Parents also believed that changing rooms every few months "wasted" valuable time that could be spent on academics.

The Campaign for Small Autonomous Schools

"Our work begins with the pain of our members." OCO ORGANIZER, FALL 2000

"We know there is overcrowding. We know our kids are not reading. We know our kids are falling through the cracks." OCO PARENT

LEADER, FALL 2000

In spring 2000, the campaign for small schools was a reform idea taking shape. BayCES had drafted a proposal for a Small Schools Policy, and OCO and BayCES were joined in a partnership to bring clout to the idea. OCO was setting up meetings with elected political and district officials. The work of a shared OCO/BayCES organizer was beginning to bear fruit; there was now a base of vocal Oakland teachers interested in developing small schools and using the principles of small schools to improve their current schools. Teacher support for the small school campaign was helping to erode union resistance. The School Board had appointed a new superintendent who supported the idea of small schools, despite Mayor Jerry Brown's preference for charter schools. In addition, new state money had become available for school construction and Oakland voters had passed a local bond issue freeing funds for the purchase of land and construction of new schools. OCO organizing ensured that the bond issue mandated a priority for new construction in flatlands neighborhoods.

With the arrival of the new superintendent in February 2000, the pace of change began to gather momentum. Although the transition in superintendents initially caused a delay, in May 2000 the School Board, with the new superintendent's support, passed a Small Schools Policy. The Policy included key elements of diverse approaches to reform; the new

small schools would be *autonomous*, *accountable* for student achievement, and governed by the OUSD *school site decision-making policy*.

In addition, the School Board passed a 24 percent increase in teacher salaries, to be implemented between June 2000 and 2001, in order to attract and retain credentialed teachers in Oakland. The new superintendent started an in-depth examination of principal leadership, which many agreed was weak, and began to make changes in assignment of principals.

As the creation of new small, autonomous schools became more central to the OUSD's plans, the superintendent created an Office for School Reform and hired new staff. In fall 2000, the OUSD's School Reform Office issued a Request for Proposals (RFP) to teachers, inviting them to submit designs for small schools. Both the Small Schools Policy and the RFP prominently acknowledged the contribution OCO and BayCES had made to making new small schools a reality. The RFP stated that OCO, BayCES, and the OUSD were working in an official partnership.

OCO's organizing for small schools took place at multiple levels, including political, district and school. Their work, described below, was and continues to be critical to keeping implementation of the policy focused on providing equitable education opportunities for children in the flatlands and ensuring that parents are authentically involved in the reform effort.

Among public school stakeholders, there are different perspectives on OCO as a school reform player. Supporters see OCO as serious about improving the quality of education in the flatlands, while their critics often believe that OCO has jumped from one reform initiative to another without adequate follow-through. When OCO accepted funding from a politically conservative foundation for its charter schools, some thought the organization was acting opportunistically and perhaps even dangerously. Still, critics and supporters agree that OCO is a powerful actor in the school reform arena. Over its decades of organizing, OCO has created a strong base of support in the flatlands and has gained recognition among Oakland political players as a significant force because of its ability to turn out members and hold political leaders accountable.

Indicators and Measures

OCO is active in every indicator area. This report discusses OCO's organizing for small schools in relation to four of the eight indicator areas: community power, equity, social capital, and leadership development. We selected these areas because they were particularly salient in both the interviews we conducted and the events we observed during site visits. Archival documentation, including reports and newspaper clippings, supports these as areas of OCO accomplishment.

After two unsuccessful attempts to initiate a small school within Jefferson Elementary School, OCO reassessed its approach and focused on working for policy changes that would enable the development of new small schools. At the time of our visits, a Small Schools Policy was in place and OCO's organizing at the school level was in an early stage. Their efforts focused on supporting design teams for new small schools (and in the case of high schools, small learning communities—the equivalent of small schools at the high school level).

The report begins with an examination of OCO's success in building community power. OCO's work on school reform grows out of and is interconnected with its overall work to improve the flatlands neighborhoods. Over time, OCO's organizing successes have earned it a reputation as a powerful organization because it is able to build relations with political power players, sustain its efforts over time, and win concrete improvements for the community. This report looks at the ways in which OCO is continuing to build its power in order to be effective in the arena of school reform.

Second, the report examines OCO's accomplishments in the area of equity. Our observations and interviews indicated that OCO members look carefully at the differences in the conditions and distribution of resources between flatlands schools and nearby schools serving middle-class and well-to-do families. OCO aims to reduce differences that disadvantage children from low- to moderate-income families. In the area of equity we look at OCO's success in bringing new resources to flatlands schools and reducing overcrowding.

Third, the report considers OCO's success in building social capital. The OCO organizing model is a



relational one. Its goal is to build networks of people who can act collectively around shared concerns. OCO builds social capital by creating opportunities for people who might not otherwise come together to unite around their shared interests, which builds trust and reciprocity among these groups. OCO members also build relationships across differently positioned stakeholders in public education. Its relationships with district and city officials broaden accountability for public education.

Lastly, the report examines the area of leadership development. One of the primary tasks of community organizing is to develop leaders, both in the community and in schools. By having strong leaders from the community, an organization can ensure that it stays focused on the concerns of low- to moderate-income families. In the area of leadership development, we discuss the leadership opportunities created by OCO's education organizing and the ways in which these opportunities contribute to improving flatlands schools.

First Indicator Area: Community Power

OCO's partnership with BayCES, its role in implementing small schools, which gives it a "seat at the table," and its large turnout at school-related public actions are all evidence of the community power that OCO is building to effect school reform. OCO's

capacity to demonstrate community power ensures that the voices and values of OCO members are integral to school reform in Oakland.

The OCO/BayCES Partnership

"The morning of the announcement of the Gates Foundation Award of \$15.7 million for implementation of small schools and high school small learning communities, the Gates representative started his speech with the question, "Why start here [in Oakland] giving money for small schools?" Answering his own question, he stated, "Because of great leadership in the school, city, the non-profits, and the community. The necessary groundwork has been laid." OCO and BayCES were mentioned several times as part of that leadership and representatives from both groups spoke at the event. The central role of the BayCES/OCO partnership in bringing the Gates money to Oakland could not be missed." RESEARCHER'S

FIELDNOTES, FALL 2000

The OCO/BayCES partnership is central to catalyzing and sustaining the effort to make new small autonomous schools a central aspect of Oakland school reform. OCO brings to the effort an organized community and relationships with elected leaders, as well as an organizing practice that stresses the building of relationships around shared interests. BayCES brings its insider knowledge of the school district and its history of capacity building among educators. The ability to form strong partnerships demonstrates OCO's power, because it means that other groups recognize the strengths of OCO and want to work with it and because partnerships are a means to leveraging the scale of impact and extending the expertise of any single group.

Through our documentation, several measures of the strength and impact of the OCO/BayCES partnership emerged.

- The partnership is building significant support for small schools. OCO has led the effort to meet with every political leader, every School Board member, and the mayor about small schools. An organizer hired jointly by the two groups met one-on-one with 400 teachers, creating a base of teacher support for small schools that has helped to reverse overt union opposition. BayCES has used its familiarity with those inside the system to win their confidence. Although not all Oakland public school stakeholders favored small schools as a reform strategy, the Gates Foundation's award for small schools was recognition of the growing momentum around this strategy for school improvement.
- The OCO/BayCES partnership is successfully building a collaborative relationship with the OUSD. OCO and BayCES consider themselves in partnership with the Office for School Reform in the implementation of new small schools and high school small learning communities. Both BayCES and OCO are acknowledged in OUSD documents as instrumental to the establishment of the Small Schools Policy and a continuing resource to teachers and parents in the development of new small schools.
- BayCES has established a new branch of work, the Community Partnership Academy, with responsibility for working with organizations like OCO. This reflects the value BayCES now places on collaborating with a well-organized community.

• OCO and BayCES have shown a commitment to engage with each other over time, despite the tensions inherent in partnership relations, and are having a mutual influence on one another. The result of this important and difficult organizational work is that school reform and community/parent engagement are becoming more integrated. OCO organizers say that they are now drawing on the BayCES practice of utilizing data-driven inquiry in order to help their members examine schools and make decisions about areas for change. BayCES sees that its exposure to community organizing practice is bringing about a transformation in its approach to "coaching" individual teachers and groups of teachers. Whereas BayCES once avoided disagreement and sought consensus, they have learned to see the value in encouraging the expression of multiple viewpoints. This has encouraged more widespread participation among teachers. BayCES is beginning to bring elements of community organizing practice into their work, as they look for opportunities to bring teachers and others together around shared interests for the purpose of acting together to bring about change. OCO's influence on BayCES is particularly significant, because BayCES is part of a national network of school reformers and can have a wide impact on the thinking about parent and community roles in school reform. As one BayCES staff member explained,

"You know...we talk about community connection. But it has been relatively narrowly defined. And we, I think, have expanded considerably our thinking about what it means to connect with the community...how to make those connections to get what you want in terms of moving reform forward....To actually be in it and see the power of it, it's quite extraordinary. And I would argue that most of our colleagues around the country don't get it."

OCO's "Insider/Outsider" Role in Implementing Small Schools

Community groups are traditionally positioned as "outsiders" to schools and school reform. However, as a result of OCO's partnerships with BayCES and

the OUSD and its work with the union, OCO's role has extended beyond the traditional outsider role of mobilizing political will and holding politicians and educators accountable for results. Now that the Small Schools Policy is in place, OCO serves both as an "insider" and as an "outsider" in the review of small school design proposals and in the implementation of new small schools. For example, OCO is deeply involved in organizing teachers in overcrowded schools into small school design teams and also in challenging those teachers to listen to and include parents in planning for small schools. Interviews with parents and observations of design team meetings indicate that OCO staff members are also critical supports to parent leaders as they learn to work with school professionals in developing designs for new small schools.

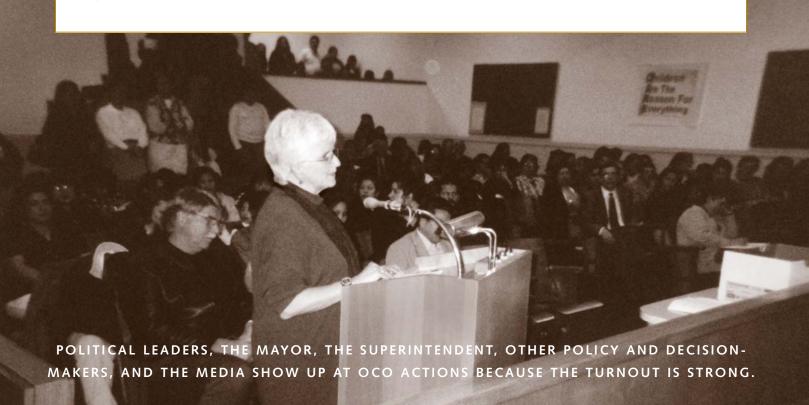
Turnout

There is wide agreement that OCO's ability to turn out its members represents community power.

Numerous interviewees commented that political leaders, the mayor, the superintendent, other policy and decision-makers, and the media show up at OCO actions because the turnout is strong. Political and other leaders are more likely to pay attention to communities when strong turnout shows that the residents are politically aware and active. Arguably, the ability

to turn out members was one reason BayCES wanted to partner with OCO and was a major way in which OCO earned a seat "at the table." As one organizer explained to a group of parent leaders, "Our ability to turn out high numbers is the way we counterbalance the power of those who hold positions of authority."

As an example, in fall 2000, OCO held a local action demanding that the city and district keep their promise to put two new small schools on the land where Montgomery Ward had been located and not relinquish part of the land to developers for commercial use. (For the story of Montgomery Ward, see pp. 14. The turnout at this event was over 1,000 and the media covered it as a citywide event because, as one organizer explained, "They did not believe that a neighborhood event could have such high numbers." Both the superintendent and the mayor attended, another reason the media interpreted it as a citywide rather than neighborhood action. One of the accomplishments of that action was that the mayor and superintendent, who were at odds over small schools because of the mayor's preference for charter schools, agreed to meet and talk. The ability of OCO to push for a relationship between the mayor and superintendent is critical because each is critical to the development of new small schools.



Saving the Montgomery Ward site as a place for two new small schools. "We were able to take on the big fight and win."

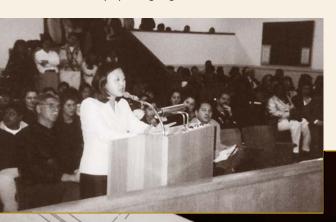
In 1986, Montgomery Ward, which for over a half a century had been providing short-term and career employment to many Oakland residents, abandoned its mail order store and warehouse in Oakland. Several years earlier, Mobil Oil had bought out the company, which marked the beginning of the dismantlement of the company and the deterioration of the building. By 1993, leaders in an OCO local organizing committee at St. Elizabeth's parish were hearing concerns about the condition of the building from community residents in their one-on-one meetings. According to a St. Elizabeth's leader, the Wards building was covered with graffiti, the windows were broken, and "it was just real trashy....People who lived close to the building would hear shots at night, would see lights in there....When we finally went in with a building inspector they even had a police escort with us because they knew there was bad stuff going on in there. There was graffiti inside and out, and when they saw the graffiti inside they recognized it and knew certain gangs were there, including the Crips. It was very scary."

It took eight years, from 1993–2001, for OCO to build enough community support to override objections to tearing down the building. The one-on-one meetings that OCO/St. Elizabeth leaders conducted with neighborhood residents were key to constantly renewing the ranks and building the base of support. The one-on-ones also revealed residents' concern about overcrowding in the local schools. The weaving together of these two neighborhood concerns helped to sustain the prolonged fight that was necessary to demolish Wards. According to one leader, this prolonged struggle taught an important lesson.

"You can beat them if you work long enough and have the right partnerships. When we came back to our local organizing committee meetings and reported what people's preferences were, it turned out that the schools were among the top...[which] gave us added ammunition for making sure we got a piece of land, because the schools have been terribly overcrowded and it had been gradually building up all this time because of city policies for more housing because housing brings in tax money, but at the same time the city has not been looking at space for needed schools and recreation and the other infrastructure that goes with housing. At one of our annual meetings, in May 1997, we publicly talked for the first time to city representatives and the school district and got their support for three badly needed schools in Oakland, including one at the Montgomery Ward site. So it was out there publicly that this is what we were working toward....Our [elected] representatives work for both the city and the school district and that was an important piece of our partnership, making sure the school district, and the city and the community were on the same page constantly and trying to keep that number one priority for so long. That was not an easy thing. The city didn't always want to put the money into it. It was millions of dollars that the city did not want to put into this property. And they will have to do it over the long term too, because with the large playground area that is planned, we will have to keep the partnership going so the City Rec. Department and the school district take responsibility for the property we are developing now."

The conflict between corporate interests and local interests also became apparent to OCO/St. Elizabeth leaders through their research on the causes to the Wards problem. Their research showed that while the corporate officers of Wards were neglecting the building in Oakland and telling OCO members that they lacked the resources to tear down the building, the company was buying up chain stores throughout the Northeast. "We knew money wasn't the problem. Although the building was for sale, it was as though they were deliberately letting it run down." The leaders learned that developers were trying to ensure commercial development at the Wards site. Every time the leaders thought they were close to having the building demolished, they would meet new obstacles, often lawsuits launched by developers. "It was such hard work for eight long years. And we knew there was outside money paying for all these lawsuits...So, we knew there was some kind of big money out there that had different interests than our own. And it was basically the developer interests that were out there.... This was a big demonstration of the money power that is out there." To the surprise of many, a splinter group of preservationists who claimed Wards was a historic building made common cause with the developers in opposing its destruction, despite its complete deterioration.

Over time, the use of the Wards site grew from a neighborhood issue to a citywide OCO issue. Fifteen hundred petitions supporting demolition of the building were sent to Wards headquarters in Chicago. Over 2,000 postcards were sent to the preservationists who opposed demolition. Leaders attended meeting after meeting with officials at city, school district, and state levels in order to make their concerns known and to find out where each of them stood and how they would help. Leaders regularly pulled together small and large groups of people to sit in courtrooms and monitor the proceedings of lawsuits, to accompany the city inspector into the building, and to take photos of the site to monitor the demolition. "Every step along the way, we had to lobby each voting body, member by member, to find out where they stood on a particular Wards related issue before them, work to secure their support for our position, and secure their vote that would ultimately bring down the building and make way for the new schools.... We kept pulling together hundreds and thousands of people and we had to stay on top of all the details.



In February 2001, developers made a last ditch legal effort to obtain a "stay" of demolition until all other alternatives were explored. But the community, city and school district were speaking with one voice, and the court said "no." The wrecking ball finally brought the building down, and temporary classrooms have been put in its place while plans move ahead for new small schools.

Second Indicator Area: Equity

OCO believes that all its work is directed toward obtaining equity for low- to- moderate-income families; in the case of school reform, that means ensuring that children who attend flatlands schools have as good a chance at academic success as their peers attending hill schools. Two areas of OCO achievement provide good measures of OCO's success in making schools more equitable: their campaign to make reducing overcrowding and ending multi-tracking high priorities in the District; and their efforts to obtain incentives to attract and keep qualified teachers in flatlands schools.

Reducing Overcrowding and Ending Multi-tracking

OCO's campaign to reduce overcrowding and end multi-tracking reflects its commitment to help low-income neighborhoods fight for their fair share of resources. An interview with a newly elected school board member poignantly stated the issue, "I see [ending] overcrowding as where we should begin reform. It [overcrowding] tells a lot about which children are valued."

OCO has kept the issues of overcrowding and multitracking prominent by pushing the district to make a priority of ending these conditions and by linking these goals to the small schools campaign and OCO charter schools. Some of the measures of OCO's success include:

- reduced overcrowding in flatlands schools. The opening of the Woodland small school (an outcome of joint work by ACORN and OCO) in fall 2000 took pressure off other nearby schools.
- an end to multi-tracking in most Oakland schools. OCO parents pushed for an end to multi-tracking, which the district subsequently terminated in seven of eight schools. In a focus group with several teachers and a parent at one elementary school, teachers commented that the change was having a positive impact on student learning. Teachers across a grade level are now able to plan together because they and their students are all in school at the same time. The teachers are looking for opportunities to mix children from different language groups, which they believe will strengthen both the school program and the neighborhood as children learn to interact

- with each other and appreciate each other's cultural heritage. Teachers are devoting more effort to decorating classrooms and improving hallway bulletin boards as they develop a sense of ownership of their space and responsibility for it.
- funding for small schools in the flatlands. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation awarded BayCES \$15.7 million over 5 years for implementation of small schools (\$10.7 million for Oakland) and the Federal Government has granted the OUSD \$1.45 million for implementation of small learning communities at the high school level. Because of OCO's success in promoting new small schools as a strategy to relieve overcrowding and end multi-tracking, flatlands neighborhoods are prioritized for receiving this funding. In addition, when the OUSD wanted a school bond passed to match dollars coming from the state for new school construction, OCO mobilized to ensure that the bond would mandate a high priority for land purchases and construction of new small schools in flatlands neighborhoods.

Incentives to Attract and Keep Qualified Teachers in Flatlands Schools

Many schools in low-income neighborhoods, including flatlands schools, have a pattern of high teacher turnover and disproportionate numbers of substitutes and/or non-credentialed teachers. In summer 2000, in recognition of the relationship between low salaries and high teacher turnover, the Oakland School Board approved a significant salary increase for teachers.

The small schools campaign may well serve as another incentive for teachers to stay in flatlands schools. The process of developing small schools offers professional development opportunities for teachers through their participation in the small schools incubator workshops and on design teams. The major role teachers have in envisioning new small schools reflects respect for their ideas and experience.

The first small school, the Woodland School, was established as a superintendent's pilot in fall 2000. During the first round of preparation for new small schools in winter and spring 2001, there were ten design teams with approximately fifty teachers participating in either the incubator or design team workshops. Out of this process, five new small

schools were approved for start up in fall 2001. Although it is currently too early to know about rates of teacher turnover in these schools, retention of teachers over time will be one important measure of the impact of small schools in the flatlands. Presumably, providing opportunities for teachers to engage in birthing new schools and reforming existing schools will help attract and retain experienced teachers. Since the flatlands are prioritized for new small schools, this should help raise the quality of teaching staff in this area.

Third Indicator Area: Social Capital

A fundamental premise of community organizing is that organizational and political strength comes through building "social capital"—strong networks of people who can act together around shared concerns. OCO, similar to other groups that follow a faith-based institutional model of community organizing, draws on the existing relationships of trust and reciprocity among congregation members. Through one-on-one and small group meetings, this trust is strengthened as members talk together about their concerns. Leaders and organizers report on their one-on-ones at monthly meetings of their congregation-based local organizing committees and it is here that they identify concerns shared by neighborhood residents. One OCO leader explained the process and effect of relationship building this way.

"The one-on-one interview process is an integral part of OCO organizing. That is where issues surface—people will talk more about what concerns them in one-on-one interviews than in larger meetings. This one-on-one process is also the beginning of the relationship-building that brings about the solidarity of the group. OCO leaders build up the strength of the organization by bringing new folks into the working body. And larger meetings are pulled together through drawing on these relationships to work together on the common issues."

In addition to strengthening relations among group members, OCO creates opportunities for building "bridging" social capital (relationships across diverse groups). For example, parents, teachers, and school board members traveled together to visit small schools in New York and Chicago. This created a shared set of experiences and visions of the possibilities of small schools. Building bridging social capital is an important measure of success in community organizing because it can unify diverse neighborhoods and institutions, helping them to speak with one voice around shared concerns. Some examples of the ways that OCO has contributed to the building of bridging social capital include:

A FUNDAMENTAL PREMISE OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZING IS THAT ORGANIZATIONAL AND POLICTICAL STRENGTH COMES THROUGH BUILDING SOCIAL CAPTITAL.

• home visits by teachers after PICO training sessions. In summer 2000, teachers who volunteered to teach at Woodland attended PICO training on making home visits. During the 2000-01 school year, all Woodland teachers conducted home visits. In interviews, several reported that the training and the subsequent home visits they made have turned around their relationships with the parents of their students. One teacher commented,

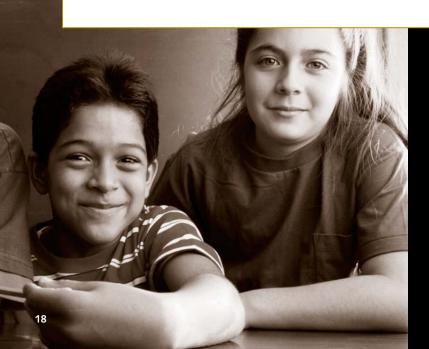
"My first year of teaching was at a large elementary school. I felt the parents rushed me that year. My second year teaching was a rough year. I felt I had little connection to the parents. When I came here, I went to [PICO parent| training in Sacramento. I returned and started home visits right way. It has made a big difference. I did not realize the roles parents could take in the classroom. I am making a different kind of connection with the parents. I tell them about my program and that the campus is open. I ask them to tell me stories about their child and about their aspirations for their child. The parents were stunned. This is usually just not done. But now they feel part of the process."

• joint parent/teacher participation on small school design teams. The Request for Proposals for small school designs requires that both teachers and

parents participate on the design team. OCO has insisted that parent participation be required in order to ensure that new small schools attend to parents' goals and expectations for their children. Each team represents the possibility for unprecedented levels of parent/teacher exchange about their visions for a caring and academically challenging school. One of the criteria for approval of a new small school design is the level of parent participation in the design process and plans for parent involvement in implementation of the design. This collaboration between parents and teachers, and the extent to which parents believe their ideas are respected and influential, are measures of OCO's success in making the boundaries between families and schools more porous and flexible.

• evaluation of public actions. As an RFA researcher described one evaluation session,

"A group of twenty-five parents and half a dozen others—organizers, a pastor, a principal, several teachers and observers like myself—gathered in a school classroom for an evaluation of a recent OCO public action. The parents were African-American, Latino, Filipino, and Vietnamese. Simultaneous translation in three languages—English, Vietnamese, and Spanish—was ongoing throughout the meeting, and at one point parents from the three language groups broke down to meet and talk among themselves. When the organizer



opened the meeting, she pointed out that the neighborhood group, Roosevelt Village Center (RVC), which is a partner group to OCO, was able to organize similarly to OCO for the public event, helping to make it a success. She stated, "RVC seems like a group like our well organized churches. We have youth groups, choirs and adult study groups, and our leaders can go to all of them and bring them out for our actions. Similarly, RVC leaders were able to go to the participants in their enrichment, counseling, and tutoring programs and bring them out for the event."

RESEARCHER'S FIELDNOTES, FALL 2000

The OCO public action evaluation brought together groups of people who normally do not have many opportunities for interaction, due to language barriers and membership in different cultural, neighborhood, and religious organizations. Through the evaluation process, OCO organizers assisted people from the different groups in developing a shared understanding of the purpose of and process for the public action: evaluation was a site for building relationships across cultural groups, for generating a sense of shared self-interest, and for furthering the capacity of the groups to act collectively around a common cause.

• regular meetings with public officials. OCO leaders regularly meet with elected and district officials to discuss their concerns and to find out where officials stand on issues that affect them. The relationships they develop in the course of one campaign, for example around neighborhood crime, often carry over to other efforts, such as support for small schools. One leader told us that she had met so often with one of her elected representatives that he had given her a cell phone number that she could use to reach him anytime. Opportunities for school board members and district officials to go with OCO members and teachers to visit small schools in other cities have been, as mentioned above, a key strategy to deepen relationships among parents, teachers, and district officials around school issues. The trips provided opportunities for public debate and the formation of a shared vision that facilitates action.

Fourth Indicator Area: Leadership Development

The power of community organizing groups is created through the development of leaders who keep the groups focused and moving forward on issues that have the highest priority for the community. As one OCO organizer explained, "Our power comes from our leaders. Our power is based upon us staying true to the values of our leaders." Echoing this sentiment, a parent leader reflected, "Our power comes from staying true to our values, not from things like being asked to sit on the Mayor's Commission [for Public Education]." Without strong neighborhood leaders, community organizing groups would lose their authority and power. OCO's success in leadership development can be seen in the opportunities it provides its leaders for learning the skills of organizing and taking on new public roles.

Learning New Skills and Building Individual Capacity

Leaders are community members who learn the skills of organizing through the coaching of organizers and participation in local organizing committees and OCO campaigns. In interviews, leaders often say that the process of becoming leaders has reduced their sense of isolation and vulnerability. They also experience an enhanced confidence through being part of a group that can analyze situations and make strategic decisions to take actions that will result in concrete gains.

The story of one parent leader is typical. She related that she had been an active member of the Parent Teachers Association (PTA) and the school site council before becoming active in OCO. She found, however, that despite her participation in these school-based groups, she was isolated and could not get much done. For example, when she tried to question a school budget decision, the principal and her administrative staff reacted by bringing together an opposing group of parents who "blasted" her. She said,

"I didn't have power and I didn't know how to organize...I was pretty much at the school site by myself....Only after I attended a meeting at my church where I was invited by an OCO parent leader did I see what I had never seen before. There were about twelve parents in the room and they were talking honestly about problems at the school. And they were valid problems. And the parents were discussing school issues in an organized way, with the OCO leader and organizer leading the meeting...I realized that this was something very different because it was not run by the school administration. That people weren't afraid here to speak out."

This parent leader said that several meetings later she was approached to co-chair the next meeting. She said this was hard because it was new to her. When she was a PTA and school council member, the administration had always run meetings. In working with OCO she learned how to lead meetings, because the organizer sat down with her beforehand and went over the agenda and everything that would happen. After several experiences of co-chairing, she said she became "more comfortable." She then began going with other leaders and organizers to speak with district officials and elected leaders, whom she got to know "real well...The organizer helps us learn how to build these relationships."

The parents in this group eventually created a mission statement and decided on three priorities for their work at the local school: academic performance, safety, and cleanliness. The organizer helped the parents develop strategies for dealing with the issues, e.g., demanding standards for academic performance, meeting with the local police about safety, and organizing quarterly beautification days. The parents then

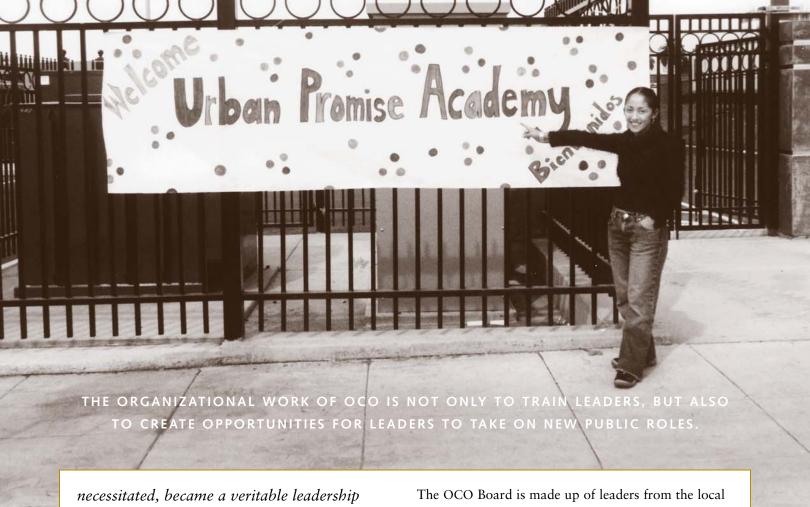


made a presentation to the principal and vice principal. Again, the parent leader reported that this was a new experience, but that even the principal was "real impressed because we were so organized" and because they offered strategies for dealing with their concerns.

Despite the strategies, they found that they made little progress on their issues. The organizing process of holding research meetings helped them to understand some of the obstacles to bringing about change. For example, in meeting with the custodians they learned that it was difficult to keep the bathrooms clean because they were overused. In meeting with teachers, they learned the difficulties of communicating shared standards across a faculty of seventy teachers when there was little opportunity for interaction. From these experiences, they came to see that the larger issue was overcrowding. The organizer gave them a book about small schools, and through discussion of the book and subsequent visits to small schools, they came to see that smaller schools could provide better learning environments.

Similar experiences of "organizing as learning" are echoed by another community leader. This leader describes how the Montgomery Ward campaign (to have the Ward's building demolished and the site dedicated to new small schools) provided multiple opportunities for learning organizing skills.

"Every step along the way, we had to lobby each voting body, member by member, to find out where they stood on a particular Wardsrelated issue before them, work to secure their support for our position, and secure their vote that would ultimately bring down the building and make way for the new schools. This meant lots of testimony and calling on the active support of the entire OCO federation, our leaders and supporters citywide, in a show of our solidarity and determination to see that land would be cleared and more classrooms built in its place. All these research meetings and actions and the work and training they



necessitated, became a veritable leadership "classroom" for new and emerging leaders as well as for experienced leaders."

In addition to learning through experience and the ongoing support and coaching of organizers, OCO leaders have opportunities to gain skills through PICO leadership training (a week-long intensive program) and through the reflection and evaluation sessions that follow public actions.

Taking on New Public Roles

The organizational work of OCO is not only to train leaders, but also to create opportunities for leaders to take on new public roles in schools, in OCO campaigns, and in organizational governance. OCO leaders experience new roles at the local school level and in relation to teachers through their participation on design teams for new small schools. OCO helps to prepare parent leaders for this work through special incubator workshops and organizers' ongoing support. Members can also hone the skills of public conversation through taking on leadership roles at evaluation and reflection sessions. One OCO leader was invited to serve on the Mayor's Commission for Education.

The OCO Board is made up of leaders from the local organizing committees and is co-chaired by OCO parent/community leaders. Board co-chairs often take their skill in holding public conversation to new levels when they represent the organization at public events, such as when the co-chairs spoke at the Gates Award ceremony. Here, and at other public meetings, parent leaders tell their stories and represent the shared interests and concerns of OCO members.

OCO events have been covered by cable TV, the press, and other media, and leaders are often called upon to speak publicly as a result of this coverage. The struggle to demolish Montgomery Ward brought leaders face-to-face with corporate leaders, with city managers, and with elected leaders. Of such public roles, one leader commented,

"Armed with all the facts, willing to do the work and to testify on our own behalf, and strengthened with the knowledge that none of us stands alone, through our organized efforts we know we can win many victories."

Future Directions

As this report illustrates, OCO has many accomplishments resulting from its school reform organizing. OCO organizers and leaders agree, however, that each achievement has led to new challenges. Challenges for the future fall into two broad interrelated categories: building organizational capacity and furthering school reform by building relationships with educators. In the area of organizational capacity, OCO faces challenges in staffing, volunteers, funding, and working through the inevitable tensions of partnerships. In the arena of its relationships with educators and to school reform, the challenges include: managing an insider/outsider status; keeping parents central to the school change process; creating a formal connection between OCO and new small schools; engaging principals; and extending OCO organizing to the high school level. The report concludes with a brief discussion of these challenges.

Organizational Capacity: Staffing, Volunteers, Partnerships, and Funding

As the momentum for new small schools mounts, OCO's work grows in complexity. Its organizing takes place on many fronts: in complex partnerships with BayCES and the Oakland Unified School District; in supporting parents and teachers working on the design of new small schools; in providing support to the planning for the first small learning communities in high schools; in supporting the implementation of the first cohort of small schools; and in locating and fighting for land for new small schools. In addition, OCO has a commitment to its charter schools; many of the first charters are elementary schools, and OCO parents whose children have gone through elementary charters want to find ways of extending charter schools to the upper grades.

Working in all these contexts and at all these levels simultaneously demands additional staffing as well as a solid group of volunteer leaders, whose skills and knowledge need to be constantly growing to handle work in new arenas. It also requires new strategies for working with partners, in order to clarify responsibilities as the work diversifies. One OCO leader summed up the challenge of managing success in saying

that, because of its accomplishments, OCO is now "stretched" and needs to build the capacity to "operate across a lot of levels of change."

In order to provide training to leaders at the scale it needs, OCO requested that its national network, PICO, provide a modified leadership institute close to Oakland, so more of its leaders could attend. OCO is also aiming to build its staff of organizers; one parent leader took a leave of absence from her job to join the staff as an organizer for six months. OCO and BayCES continue to work on their partnership relationship, and each is assessing the new demands that arise from the constantly evolving situation. For example, OCO is now looking toward a formal agreement with existing schools and new small schools so that organizing will be part of the process of change in schools. BayCES is considering how to expand its staffing in order to extend its work to the high school level. Although OCO has accomplished a great deal with a relatively small staff and modest budget, its funding base now needs to grow sufficiently to support additional experienced organizers and to develop leaders who can carry on the expansion and deepening of its efforts.

Furthering School Reform by Building Relationships with Educators

Managing the Tension of the "Insider/ Outsider" Relationship

OCO's power as a community organization—
its ability to catalyze change and sustain pressure over
time—has earned it an "insider" role in shaping the
design and implementation of small schools. This is
a new role for OCO, which, in the past, has been an
"outsider" with the distinct function of putting pressure on the system. Now the challenge for OCO is
to manage a balance between building a relationship
with the district to implement reform and maintaining
its independence. OCO needs this independence in
order to be able to hold its "partner" accountable for
providing teachers and principals with the support
they need to be successful and ultimately for ensuring
that children in flatlands schools attain a high level
of academic achievement.

One of OCO's lead organizers stated that the key to OCO's success in balancing its insider/outsider status is to "stay sensitive to the local....Each [of the partners] is being driven by the place from which we operate....Our work is driven by the parents we organize. We are coming from the needs of our parents, that is what drives our perspective. And it gives us a sense of urgency." Nonetheless, school systems have proved powerful in pulling people into their agendas and OCO will need to work to maintain its role as a "critical friend." Even though OCO, BayCES, and the district have many areas in which they can complement one another as the work around small schools moves forward, the ability to work through the tensions and conflicts that come from differing vantage points will remain a challenge.

Keeping Parents Central to the Change Process

In the first years of the OCO/BayCES partnership, OCO members were organizing to get a Small Schools Policy passed. Everyone that we interviewed agrees that it is critical for OCO to continue organizing at the political level—that without OCO's involvement the fight for land for new small schools, for instance, will not be won. OCO's work has expanded, however, to include planning and implementation of new small schools. As the campaign has moved closer to the school level, the participation of parents becomes

a greater challenge. Education professionals are not used to parents assuming substantial roles in setting education goals and designing schools, and most parents are not experienced at participating with teachers and administrators in a planning process. Involvement of parents and teachers in the design and implementation of small schools is new for both, and everyone involved—parent leaders, organizers, teachers, and principals—has much to learn about what it will take to work together successfully.

OCO has helped to assure that parent perspectives are incorporated in the designs of small schools through the requirement in the RFP that parents participate in the design process. Nonetheless, it takes strong leaders and skillful organizers to make sure that participation is authentic. Parents need support and encouragement to speak out in a group of professionals. On the other hand, teachers often want to just give parents information—not participate in a process with them. One organizer stated that she found that the teacher/parent relationship started to shift when she told the teachers "when you are struggling, you have to let the parents struggle with you, be shoulder to shoulder with you." Finding ways to open up relationships that are traditionally narrow and limited will be a challenge as more and more teachers and parents go into the design process and as new small schools open.



Keeping Teachers and New Small Schools Connected to OCO

OCO has organized teachers to support policy changes leading to new small schools, but so far there is not a clear institutional connection between OCO and teachers or small schools once the work is at the school level. OCO has a partnership with the OUSD at the District level, and is now proposing a formal agreement between new small schools and OCO that would build a connection at the local level and legitimize OCO organizing at school sites. The current relationship between new small schools and OCO is in a trial phase. At Woodland School, for example, OCO has continued working with teachers, helping teachers develop their capacity for connecting with parents through PICO training in home visits. OCO will need to work through how to stay in relationship with new small schools once they are launched in order to build the leadership among parents, teachers, and principals needed to carry the work forward.

Engaging Principals

In order to gain support for a Small Schools Policy, OCO and its partner BayCES have worked intensively with teachers, but not with principals. OCO believed, in general, school leadership was weak at the principal level. When the new superintendent arrived and adopted small schools as a strategy for reform, he also observed a lack of principal leadership throughout the system and moved to make changes. At the end of his first year, he replaced a third of the principals in the system. As small schools and high school small learning communities have gained momentum, however, a few principals have shown an interest in working with these new structures. OCO is taking steps to help these principals build the capacity for change at their schools. For example, at Castlemont High School, OCO has brought in a visiting high school principal from Chicago as a resource. This principal, who has had notable success in improving her school in Chicago by turning it from a large urban school into small schools, is working with parents as well as Castlemont's teachers and administration. A few elementary school principals have begun to attend OCO public events and the follow-up reflection and evaluation sessions. Principals play an

essential part in improving schools, and OCO will need to find strategies for developing principal leadership if small schools are to become vibrant and are to endure.

High Schools

When the Gates Foundation awarded money to Oakland in fall 2000, 60 percent was for work at the high school level. In spring 2001, the Federal Government provided another \$1.45 million for the implementation of small learning communities in high schools. This funding directed attention toward the high schools. OCO began systematic organizing at Castlemont High School and in the local community surrounding Castlemont. At the high school, OCO is supporting a team of teachers and administrators in a process of planning for school restructuring. In the community, OCO is working intensely with two congregations and several community groups to help them envision new roles they can play in supporting high school students' learning.

This is new work for OCO; its previous efforts had been focused at the elementary school level. In the country as a whole, urban comprehensive high schools such as Castlemont have been the most resistant to change. Student dropout rates range from 40 to 60 percent, and teachers and administrators are often very demoralized. The challenge of altering these very large and bureaucratic institutions is great, but it is a challenge that school reform cannot afford to avoid. For community organizing groups to have an impact at this level, they will need to adapt their approach to the distinctive parameters of high schools. This will involve: developing a base of knowledge about high schools; finding organizing strategies appropriate to high schools and the families of high school students; and considering a role for students in reform, perhaps through a youth organizing component.



Appendix A

Definitions of the Indicator Areas

Leadership Development builds the knowledge and skills of parents and community members (and sometimes teachers, principals, and students) to create agendas for school improvement. Leadership development is personally empowering, as parents and community members take on public roles. Leaders heighten their civic participation and sharpen their skills in leading meetings, interviewing public officials, representing the community at public events and with the media, and negotiating with those in power.

Community Power means that residents of low-income neighborhoods gain influence to win the resources and policy changes needed to improve their schools and neighborhoods. Community power emerges when groups act strategically and collectively. Powerful community groups build a large base of constituents, form partnerships for legitimacy and expertise, and have the clout to draw the attention of political leaders and the media to their agenda.

Social Capital refers to networks of mutual obligation and trust, both interpersonal and inter-group, that can be activated to leverage resources to address community concerns. Some groups call this "relational" power, while others describe this process as one of building "political capital." Beginning with relationships among neighborhood residents and within local institutions, community organizing groups bring together people who might not otherwise associate with each other, either because of cultural and language barriers (e.g. Latinos, African-Americans, and Asian-Americans) or because of their different roles and positions, such as teachers, school board members, and parents. Creating settings for these "bridging relationships" in which issues are publicly discussed is the key to moving a change agenda forward.

Public Accountability entails a broad acknowledgement of and commitment to solving the problems of public education. It is built on the assumption that public education is a collective responsibility. Community organizing groups work to create public settings for differently positioned school stakeholders—educators, parents, community members, elected and other public officials, the private and non-profit sectors, and students themselves—to identify problems and develop solutions for improving schools

in low- to moderate-income communities. Through this public process, community organizing groups hold officials accountable to respond to the needs of low- to moderate-income communities.

Equity guarantees that all children, regardless of socio-economic status, race, or ethnicity, have the resources and opportunities they need to become strong learners, to achieve in school, and to succeed in the work world. Often, providing equitable opportunities requires more than equalizing the distribution of resources. Community organizing groups push for resource allocation that takes into account poverty and neglect, so that schools in low-income areas receive priority. In addition, groups work to increase the access of students from these schools to strong academic programs.

School/Community Connection requires that schools become institutions that work with parents and the community to educate children. Such institutional change requires that professionals value the skills and knowledge of community members. In this model, parents and local residents serve as resources for schools and schools extend their missions to become community centers offering the educational, social service, and recreational programs local residents need and desire.

High Quality Instruction and Curriculum indicate classroom practices that provide challenging learning opportunities that also reflect the values and goals of parents and the community. Community organizing groups work to create high expectations for all children and to provide professional development for teachers to explore new ideas, which may include drawing on the local community's culture and involving parents as active partners in their children's education.

Positive School Climate is a basic requirement for teaching and learning. It is one in which teachers feel they know their students and families well, and in which there is mutual respect and pride in the school. Community organizing groups often begin their organizing for school improvement by addressing safety in and around the school and the need for improved facilities. Reducing school and class size is another way in which community organizing groups seek to create positive school climates.





Leadership Development

STRATEGIES RESULTS

Identify and train parents and community members to take on leadership roles

- Continually seek new leaders through one-on-ones and local organizing committees
- Create opportunities for leadership in schools and small school reform efforts (e.g, spokespersons at public forums on small schools reform; representatives on Mayor's Education Commission; positions on small school design teams)
- Create opportunities within OCO for organizational leadership (e.g., participation on board; participation in local organizing committees)
- Create capacity-building opportunities (e.g., PICO training; site visits and conferences; evaluation and reflection after public actions)

- Ability to recruit new members and sustain levels of participation
- Increased numbers of parents in leadership roles in schools and school reform efforts
- Parents and community members prominent in governance of OCO
- Parents feel knowledgeable about school reform and their role in making change

Develop parents (and community members, teachers, principals, and students) as politically engaged citizens

- Research to learn about city, state, and corporate structures, the legal system, and other aspects of the power structure
- Public accountability sessions with elected leaders and evaluation of power dynamics afterwards
- Voter campaigns (e.g., ability to defeat and/or win bond issue)
- Interviews and relationship-building with elected officials and school board representatives
- Creating opportunities for parents and community members to draw political attention to under-resourced, low-performing schools by:
 - · Speaking at school board meetings
 - Gaining meetings with politicians
 - Holding public actions and accountability sessions with superintendent and school board members

- Politicians are responsive to the issues and exert their influence
- Parents and community members demonstrate knowledge about how power operates and can act strategically
- Parents recognize the power of the relationships they have with elected and appointed OUSD Board and leadership
- Parents are prominent in "public conversations" about school reform

STRATEGIES reflect actual work of the group.

RESULTS include actual outcomes that we identified and outcomes that the group expect.

DATA SOURCES point to ways to document both actual and expected results.

Promote individual, family, and community power

- Develop leadership skills through research actions, reflection and evaluation, public actions, participation in local organizing committees
- Increase knowledge about school reform through conference participation, school visits, PICO training, joint reading and discussion
- Provide opportunities for leadership within OCO (e.g., participation on Board, organizational spokesperson, doing one-on-ones with community members and other parents)
- Perception by parents and community members of personal growth, confidence, and ability to make a change
- Parents and community members demonstrate knowledge and skill in organizing
- Parents and community members demonstrate knowledge about school reform

- Stories of leadership
- Interviews with politicians and other decision-makers
- Attendance records of local organizing committee meetings and public events
- Observation of public meetings and OCO organizational meetings (e.g., board meetings, reflection and evaluation sessions)
- Interviews/surveys with parents and community members about: taking on organizational and education leadership roles; personal growth; increased knowledge

STRATEGIES

Create a mass base within communities that results in deep membership commitment and large turnout

- Identify shared interests of community members via:
 - · One-on-ones and house meetings with community members
- · Local organizing committee meetings which report on one-on-ones and prioritize community issues
- Reports from local organizing committees to OCO Board and the setting of organizational agenda
- Work with other congregations and groups in the community that expand racial/ethnic/linguistic diversity of the community network (e.g., Roosevelt Village Center; community and church groups near Castlemont H.S.)

• Ability to sustain a campaign over time

RESULTS

- Strong membership turnout at public actions
- · Coalitions that cross racial, ethnic, linguistic and religious lines
- Parents and community members perceive their interests are central to OCO's planning and prioritizing
- Media recognizes ability of OCO to produce large turnout and its legitimacy in representing the flatlands neighborhoods

Form partnerships for legitimacy and expertise

- Co-create OCO/BAYCES/OUSD Partnership. (OCO brings parent perspective; BAYCES brings school reform perspective; School District commits to implementation)
- Co-organize with ACORN for Woodland School. (ACORN works with community; OCO works with teachers.)
- Collaborate with Museum of Children's Art in establishing after- school arts program
- Groups seek out OCO as a partner who can bring in a strong parent and community base
- Development of campaigns, programs and policies that involve multiple constituencies—parents, teachers, non-profits and reflect a community perspective
- Media and larger community acknowledge OCO's contribution to forming partnerships
- OCO, with partners, is able to influence policy and schools

Create a strong organizational identity

- Develop stories of leadership and successes
- Practice reflection and evaluation
- Develop shared vision and language
- Draw media attention to its work
- Sustain focus on flatlands schools

- Parents and organizers share a language and stock of stories that illustrate the work of OCO
- Parents and community members demonstrate an appreciation for and identification with OCO
- Parents and community members see their concerns guiding OCO work

Draw political attention to organization's agenda

- Hold political and district leaders accountable (e.g., Montgomery Ward campaign, small schools campaign)
- Interviews with political candidates about issues
- One-on-ones with political leaders and Board of **Education** members
- Use voter turnout to influence policy, e.g. bond issue
- Have turnout that draws media attention and brings out elected and other officials

- Political leaders respond to calls from OCO parent leaders
- Political leaders, the superintendent, and other OUSD officials and board members attend OCO public actions
- Political leaders acknowledge OCO as a political power player
- Media coverage recognizes OCO as a political power player
- OCO is able to influence policy

- · Community organizing group documents
- Attendance records of public events
- Media coverage: press, radio, TV
- · Observations of meetings and events

- Interviews with: politicians; journalists; school, community and political leaders
- Stories told about OCO
- Partnership agreements between groups
- Interviews/surveys with parents and community members
- · Interviews with partner groups

Social Capital **STRATEGIES** RESULTS **Build networks** • Develop visible, vocal, knowledgeable parent and • Turnout composed of multiple constituencies community groups • Leadership shared among different racial/ethnic/ • Bring multi-racial/ethnic/linguistic groups together to build linguistic groups relationships and act collectively • Visibility of pastors and church leaders in school • Bring diverse faith communities together reform activities · Congregations make facilities available for public meetings, • Strengthen connections between congregations and schools such as accountability sessions • Develop support for local education reform initiatives through broader PICO networks Build relationships of mutual trust and reciprocity • Strengthen the relationships between parents and teachers • Increase in perception of trust between professional educators and parents and community • Home visits by teachers • Increase in number of instances of joint professional • Joint professional development development • Regular parent/teacher interaction around academic •Creation of jointly- authored new school design plans issues and planning for new small schools, new small learning communities, charters, and innovative instruction • Parents and community members informed about school issues and curriculum • Teachers informed about community issues and areas of concern Increase participation in civic life • Develop relationships with OUSD and political leaders • Political and OUSD leaders aware of concerns of OCO parents and feel accountable to them • Interview candidates • OCO is perceived as having the relationships that make • One-on-ones with elected officials them a leading organization in school reform Accountability sessions • OCO is perceived as having relationships in the community • Utilize voter turnout to influence policy (e.g., bond issue) that can influence voter turnout and policy • Petitions • Media represents OCO as having political relationships and influence • Turnouts for accountability sessions • Represent OCO on city-wide groups (e.g., the Mayors **Education Commission**) Promote personal growth • Develop leadership skills through research actions, Opportunities for leadership exist within OCO reflection and evaluation, public actions, participation in (e.g., participation on board, organization spokesperson, local organizing committees doing one-on-ones with community members and other parents) • Increase knowledge about school reform through conference participation, school visits, PICO training, joint reading, • Increase in parents' and community members' sense and discussion of efficacy • Visibility of members as leaders in public events, and on neighborhood and city commissions

- Interviews and surveys about: parents' sense of efficacy; trust developing between parents and school staff
- Observations of organizational and public events
- Stories that record school, parents, and community working together
- Media and newsletter accounts
- Interviews and surveys of teachers about their perceptions of their relationships with parents
- Voter turnout record
- Interviews/surveys with OUSD and political leadership

STRATEGIES RESULTS

Create a public conversation about public education and student achievement

- Foster a vision for school reform among diverse stakeholders
- Parents, teachers, and school board members take trips to New York and Chicago to see small schools
- With BayCES, sponsor Incubator workshops for small school design teams
- · Support small school design teams
- Conduct one-on-ones with public officials, community members, teachers
- Make inequities a public issue through meetings with public officials, accountability sessions, and getting media coverage
- Increase in dialogue among teachers, parents, community members, administrators, and elected officials about school reform, including the learning climate and expectations for student achievement
- Increase in awareness of disparities between hill and flatland schools

2 Monitor programs and policies

- Serve on citizen review boards and community oversight committees
- Push for parent participation in school-level decisions (e.g., curriculum committees, meetings to reconfigure scheduling after end of multi-tracking, site-based decision-making bodies)
- Hold school staff to high levels of professionalism and commitment to flatlands schools and community
- Encourage school staff's involvement with the community (e.g., home visits) and participation in community organizing efforts (e.g., attendance at public actions and community meetings)
- Increase in number of institutionalized roles for parents in review and decision-making bodies in district (e.g., representation of community organizing group members on oversight committees, such as the small schools design review teams)
- Increase in roles for parents in the school (e.g., as committee members, on site-based management bodies)
- Parents feel more knowledgeable about schools and school system and have increased confidence that their ideas are respected and influential
- Teachers and administrators perceive parents as partners in decision-making about children's education

3 Participate in the political arena

- Hold accountability sessions with superintendent, mayor, and other officials
- Question school board and electoral candidates
- Show public support for school reform initiatives through:
 - Canvassing
- Petitioning
- Voting

- Participation of vocal groups of community members in public accountability sessions
- Actions taken to respond to community members' concerns and ideas
- Public officials and candidates aware of issues and concerns of parents in flatlands schools
- Increase in voting around issues important to school reform (e.g., school bond issue)

4 Create joint ownership/relational culture

- Bring together diverse stakeholders to envision and implement new small schools
- OCO partners with BayCES and OUSD in development of small schools policy and in approving small school designs
- Design teams are composed of teachers and parents
- Teachers conduct home visits
- Small school designs include site-based management structures

- Engagement of teachers and principals in small schools reform is sustained over time
- Improved attendance by students and staff
- Parent and community satisfaction with teachers and principals
- Teachers knowledgeable about local community
- Interviews and/or surveys with parents, community members, school personnel
 - Minutes and attendance records of meetings
 - Design team plans

• Observations of meetings

- Teacher and student attendance records
- Small schools policy

- School/district policies
- Membership records of review boards and oversight committees

Equity

STRATEGIES RESULTS

Increase funding and resources to under-resourced schools

- Raise money and win allocation to flatlands schools for:
 - · Land purchases for new small schools
 - After-school programs (e.g., homework clubs, academic learning centers)
 - Safety measures (e.g., cleanup of moldy classrooms, safe play equipment, clean bathrooms)
 - Professional development of staff for new small schools and small learning communities (high schools)
- Increase in money going to schools (e.g., \$300 million school bond dollars earmarked for flatland neighborhoods; Gates Foundation grant of \$15.7 million over 5 years; federal grant of \$1.45 million for implementation of small learning communities in high schools)
- Increased professional development opportunities for teachers
- Acquisition of land for new small schools

Maximize access of low-income children to educational opportunities

- End multi-tracking and "roving"
- Create district-wide support for small schools campaign
- Bring together parents and teachers to envision possibilities for new small schools by: reading The Power of Their Ideas; visiting small schools; attending conferences; participating on design teams
- Meet with key public officials
- Co-author small schools policy
- Create charter schools

- Reduction in number of schools that have multi-tracking and roving
 - · Increase in instructional time
- Increase in teacher sense of ownership and efficacy
- Adoption of small schools policy as a major reform strategy
- New small schools are planned and opened
- Number of design teams responding to small schools RFP
- Number of new small schools approved by Board of Education
- Woodland small school
- Number of charter schools

Match teaching and learning conditions with those in the best schools

- Push the district to end multi-tracking, "roving," and overcrowding
- Support teachers' contract demands for smaller class sizes
- Reduce numbers of uncertified teachers and substitutes by providing incentives and supports
 - Support salary increase for teachers
 - Engage teachers in design teams for new small schools

- Reduced class size
- Reduced overcrowding
- Increased number of credentialed teachers in flatlands schools
- Increase in teacher pay
- Improvement in teacher retention rates
- Increase in teacher commitment to schools

- School/district policies and budgets (e.g., small schools, classroom assignments, teaching assignments)
- Grant budgets
- Number of new schools

- Number and nature of schools' improvements and/or safety measures
- Interviews and/or surveys of students, parents, administrators and teachers
- Number and nature of partnerships
- School district data on classroom size
- Survey of distribution of credentialed teachers
- Site visits

School/Community Connections

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	STRATEGIES	RESULTS				
1	Create multi-use school buildings					
	 Promote Village Center concept, i.e., community school with services such as health centers Increase use of school during non-school hours Develop after-school programs Utilize schools for evening meetings of parents and community groups 	 Increase in the use of the school buildings for parent and community meetings, during the day and/or after school hours Increase in the variety and number of community-oriented programs in schools New perception that schools are open to community and parents 				
2	Position the community as a resource					
	 Campaigns to support school reform are community-led (e.g., promotion of new small schools; acquiring land for new small schools) 	 Teachers, board members, OUSD, funders, and politicians believe that school reform will not move forward without community organizing Media acknowledges the contribution of parents and community to school reform 				
3	Create multiple roles for parents in schools					
Ť	Require parent participation on small schools design teams	• Increase in parent presence in classrooms and schools				
	 Encourage and train teachers for home visits, which result in increased parent presence in classrooms and schools, as at Woodland Develop Village Center concept which brings community 	 School professionals more frequently acknowledge contributions of parents Parents feel welcome and respected in the schools 				
4	adults into the school to provide family services Create joint ownership of schools and school decision-making					
	 Develop joint processes for planning new small schools and small learning communities Principals, teachers, and parents investigate small schools and envision implementation together (e.g., go on Chicago site visit, San Antonio action, Woodland Retreat) Schools and communities work together to develop new small schools (e.g., incubator process and design teams) Joint workshops for small learning communities 	 Requirement that plans for new small schools include both teachers and parents in decision-making roles Parents and teachers share language and vision for new small schools and small learning communities Parents and teachers see themselves as having co-ownership of new small schools and small learning communities 				
	 DATA SOURCES Observations of design teams, new small schools, joint professional development for small learning communities Small school proposals Observations of activities held in schools 	 Interviews/surveys with parents, community members, and school staff about: perceptions of the relationship between schools and community; vision for small schools and small learning communities Media accounts of community involvement in school reform Interviews with the OUSD, teachers, board members, and politicians about connection of community to school reform 				

High Quality Instruction and Curriculum

STRATEGIES RESULTS

Identify learning needs, carry out research, and implement new teaching initiatives and structures

- Take parents and teachers to visit schools utilizing innovative approaches (e.g., heterogeneous grouping, ungraded classes)
- Investigate academic benefits of small schools by taking parents, teachers, administrators, and others to visit small schools
- Form partnership with BayCES, which has expertise in teacher professional development and small schools
- Make a public issue of the difference in math and reading test scores between flatlands and hill schools
- Parents, teachers, politicians, and the OUSD all talk about the necessity to close the achievement gap between flatlands and hill schools
- Parents feel knowledgeable about and can explain a range of different teaching approaches
- New approaches to teaching and new school structures are implemented

2 Enhance staff professionalism

- Promote teacher leadership in school reform through participation on school design teams
 - Hire an organizer (with BayCES) to work with teachers and facilitate their participation in school reform
 - Partner with BayCES in order to have coaches for teachers
 - Provide opportunities for teachers to learn about small schools (e.g., site visits, conferences)
 - Support teachers in their roles on new small school design teams
 - Sponsor other collegial relations (e.g., incubator workshops for small schools, forums with educational reformers, opportunities for teachers to observe each other)
- Facilitate teachers' awareness about the power of community organizing to transform schools
 - Send teachers to PICO training
 - Involve parents and community members with teachers through small school design teams and small learning community planning groups
 - Identify issues on which parent and teacher organizing can leverage change (e.g., end of multi-tracking, teacher contract negotiations, bond issues, small schools)
 - Hold community accountability sessions as part of the planning process for new small schools and small learning communities
- Emphasize need for district commitment to teacher retention, induction, recruitment
 - · Attract and retain teachers in new small schools
 - Set expectation that flatlands schools will have teachers who are certified, attend school regularly, promote orderly environments, and develop trusting and caring relationships with students and their families

- Teachers perceive themselves as respected professionals and leaders in school reform
- Teachers perceive themselves as learners about school reform
- Teachers feel supported in making change in their classrooms
- Teachers do not feel isolated and see themselves as part of a collegial community working for school change
- Increase in collaboration among teachers
- Implementation of new teaching strategies
- Teachers acknowledge and value the role of community organizing in school reform
- Teachers implement new kinds of outreach to parents
- Teachers see parents standing "shoulder to shoulder" with them in the change process
- Teachers perceive themselves accountable to parents for plans for school change and for children's school experience
- Improved teacher attendance
- Stability of professional staff (low turnover)
- Fewer discipline problems
- Increase in teacher satisfaction

High Quality Instruction and Curriculum CONTINUED

STRATEGIES RESULTS Make parents and community partners in children's education • Require design teams to be composed of parents • Parents feel knowledgeable about school reform and teachers • Parents take leadership roles in school change efforts • Hold incubator workshops for parents as preparation for • Parents perceive themselves as standing with teachers, participation on design teams and not as being isolated or outsiders • Create opportunities for parents to learn about small • New small schools and small learning communities have schools and school reform (e.g., site visits to other schools, roles for parents as decision-makers conference participation, expert speakers) Parents feel respected • Require small school designs to be explicit about parent and • Parents and community hold the OUSD accountable for community roles and participation children's school experience • Hold community accountability actions as part of the planning process for small learning communities and small schools Hold high expectations • Require every new small school to show academic • Improvement in test scores and alternative assessments improvement within three years • Students read on grade level • Monitor academic progress of charter schools • Curriculum • Design team proposals **DATA SOURCES** • Records of teacher attendance, staff turnover, number • Surveys of students', parents', and teachers' perceptions of: of certified teachers curriculum relevance and rigor; improvement in reading; · School/district policies and programs strong teacher-student connections Standardized tests • Interviews with teachers

Positive School Climate

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	STRATEGIES	RESULTS						
1 Improve facilities								
	Campaigns to improve environments for teaching and learning (e.g., removal of mold in classrooms; cleanups	 Increase in parent, community, teacher, and student pride in neighborhood schools 						
	of bathrooms and other school areas; new playground equipment; beautification days)	 Parent and community participation in cleanup efforts (e.g., quarterly beautification days organized by parents of Jefferson School) 						
2	Improve safety in and around the schools							
	 Agitate for orderly environments in school areas, including playgrounds and classrooms Work to reduce overcrowding and the use of temporary classrooms constructed in outdoor play area 	 Perception of staff, students, and parents that schools are clean and orderly 						
		Reduction in number of discipline problems						
		 Reduction in number of playground fights and resulting detentions, suspensions, etc. 						
3	Create respectful school environment							
	 Campaign for "village" schools that acknowledge varied cultures of families in Oakland schools through: signage in schools in multiple languages; parent and community presence in schools; displays of student work Provide teacher training for home visits Parent and community advocate/liaison in school (Woodland) 	 Increase in visibility of multiple cultures in and around a school 						
		 Increase in teacher knowledge about and respect for local community 						
		 Increase in parent perception that schools welcome them and value their presence 						
		Greater parent presence in the school						
		 Increase in use of school building for community services (e.g., health clinics) 						
4	Build intimate settings for teacher/student relations							
Ť	 Campaigns to establish small schools and charter schools in order to reduce overcrowding and create intimate school settings Campaigns to end multi-tracking and "roving" Support union in its demand for reduced class size 	 Establishment of a policy and process for creating new small schools 						
		New small schools and charter schools						
		Decrease in number of overcrowded schools						
		• Increase teachers' investment in classroom space						
	DATA SOURCES							
	• Site visits/observations of schools and school area							
	Interviews and surveys: perceptions of increased safety measures; teacher sense of efficacy; feelings of being wel- comed and respected; pride in school and neighborhood; teachers' knowledge of local community	District facilities master plan						
		• Sign-in records of cleanup days, parent visits to schools						
		School district budget and policies						
	Design plans of new schools	School/district discipline records						

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Eva Gold, Ph.D., Principal, Research for Action, has served over the last decade as primary investigator of numerous local and national studies examining the dynamics among parents, community, and schools. Recently, she coauthored a major report, *Clients, Consumers or Collaborators? Parents and Their Roles in School Reform During Children Achieving, 1995–2000*, that is part of the overall evaluation of Philadelphia's systemic reform effort. She is a Guest Lecturer in the Urban Studies Program at the University of Pennsylvania, where she teaches a course in Community Activism and School Reform. She was the recipient of the Ralph C. Preston Dissertation Award from the Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania in *2000* for her study of the work a community organizing group did with parents at a neighborhood high school. This study extends her work of the last ten years in following the development of community organizing for school reform.

Elaine Simon, Ph.D., a Senior Research Associate at Research for Action, is an anthropologist who has conducted ethnographic research and evaluation in the fields of education, employment and training, and community development. She is Co-Director of Urban Studies in the School of Arts and Sciences and adjunct Associate Professor of Education in the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania. Her perspective on education is informed by her background in urban studies and community development. She followed the early 1990s Chicago education reform that devolved power to communities and parents and later the ambitious systemic school reform effort in Philadelphia. Her current research on community organizing for school reform builds on that knowledge and benefits from her broad perspective on urban life and urban school reform.

Chris Brown is the Director of the Schools and Community Program at the Cross City Campaign for Urban School Reform. The Schools and Community Program works with parent and community organizations to increase meaningful parent and community involvement in school reform. He is responsible for providing training and technical assistance to organizations, overseeing research and publication projects, and coordinating cross-site visits. Before coming to Cross City Campaign, he served as Community Development Specialist at Chicago's United Way/Crusade of Mercy. Previously, he spent seven years as director of the ACORN Housing Corporation of Illinois, a non-profit group providing home ownership opportunities for low and moderate-income families in Chicago's Englewood community. In addition to his professional work with schools and communities, he also serves as a parent volunteer on the Local School Council of Boone School, the Chicago elementary school his two children attend.

Cross City Campaign for Urban School Reform

is a national network of school reform leaders from nine cities: Baltimore, Chicago, Denver, Houston, Los Angeles, New York, Oakland, Philadelphia, and Seattle. The Cross City Campaign is made up of parents, community members, teachers, principals, central office administrators, researchers, union officials and funders working together for the systemic transformation of urban public schools, in order to improve quality and equity so that all urban youth are well-prepared for post-secondary education, work, and citizenship.

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Pages 8, 11, 13, 15, 17, 21.

Research for Action (RFA) is a Philadelphia-based non-profit organization engaged in education research and reform. Founded in 1992, RFA works with educators, students, parents, and community members to improve educational opportunities and outcomes for all students. RFA's work falls along a continuum of highly participatory research and evaluation to more traditional policy studies.

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