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Modernizing Nevada's Education Structures: Opportunities for the 78th Session of the Nevada Legislature

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Nevada's educational outcomes – both K-12 and higher education – are woeful. The consequences of this for the state's present and future are myriad and alarming. Poor educational outcomes mean that the state receives little return on investment from current educational spending. High dropout rates and sub-par academic achievement fail to instill the foundational skills necessary to put Nevada students on a path for future success. The dearth of Nevadans holding advanced degrees or certificates hinders economic development.

Indeed, the depths of the state's educational deficits were exposed during the Greater Recession. The convergence of a poorly educated population, an undiversified economy, and an even narrower tax base caused Nevada to fall farther and faster than any other state. Even today as the economy continues to rebound nationally, Nevada lags behind its competitors. The shortage of homegrown human capital also necessitates that Nevada firms import high skilled workers through programs such as the H-1B visa or aggressively use tax abatements to lure business investment to the state.

In his "State of the State" speech prior to the 78th Session of the Nevada Legislature, Governor Sandoval not only acknowledged this reality, but also laid out a policy vision seeking to reform and expand the state's commitment to education in hopes of alleviating the booms and busts that have plagued Nevada since its

Table 1: Proposed Educational Funding Increases for 2016-17 Biennium (in millions of dollars)

Social Services	
Autism Treatment Assistance	$32.8
Breakfast After the Bell	$2
Social Workers in Schools	$36.2
Subtotal	$71
Pre-K through 12th Grade	
Early Childhood Education	$10.4
English Language Learners	$50.0
Full Day Kindergarten	$84.9
Gifted and Talented Education	$10.0
Literacy	$27.1
Special Education	$30.0
Turn Around Schools	$9.9
Victory Schools	$49.9
Subtotal	$272.2
Career and Teacher Preparation and Infrastructure	
Career and Technical Education	$8.0
Charter School Harbor Master	$20.0
College and Career Readiness	$8.0
Jobs for America's Graduates	$4.6
Professional Development	$7.6
Technology Grants	$48.4
Subtotal	$96.6
Total	$439.75

Data from "2015–2017 Executive Budget Summary of Significant Budget Items," prepared by the Office of the Governor, January 15, 2015.

founding. As the Governor recognized, Nevada's population has exploded in the last three decades and is now one of the most demographically diverse and urbanized states in the country. Moreover, like many states Nevada has significant economic inequality as one in four children live in poverty, while the incomes of the state's top earners continue to grow.

All the while, the state continues to rely on policies and governance

Table 2: Comparison of Current and Adequacy Costs for K–12 Education in Nevada, 2012-2013

Expenditures	Total	Per Pupil
Current	$3,303,731,046	$7,809
Adequacy	$4,933,525,606	$11,661
Difference	$1,629,794,560	$3,852

Data from Augenblick, Palaich, and Associates, "Professional Judgment Study Report," commissioned by The Lincy Institute, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, January 2015.

structures to deliver education that are decades old. Further complicating the potential for meaningful educational reform is the state's tax structure, which is unable to produce the revenue necessary to fund existing programs let alone support any new educational programming. As the governor noted in his address, projected general fund revenue for the coming biennium is nearly the same as what it was a decade ago even though the state's population has increased by over 300,000 since then.

The governor's proposed budget begins to address this mismatch between the state's demography, its educational needs, and current educational policies. Table 1 summarizes its key educational initiatives. Funding for most of these proposals would come from revenue enhancements to the state general revenue fund. In some instances, these state dollars leverage funding from the federal government. This is a welcome development given the limited federal funding in areas such as education that Nevada typically receives.

By historical standards, these investments are significant and if implemented effectively, should elevate education performance. Yet, as substantial as these increases may seem, they fall well short of what is needed to ensure that Nevada's students have access to an adequate education. Recently, The Lincy Institute commissioned Augenblick, Palaich, and Associates (APA) to conduct a K–12 adequacy funding study detailing the costs and adjustments needed for Nevada's K-12 to meet existing state standards.[1] The table below summarizes the findings from APA's "Professional Judgment Study Report."[2]

Although few disagree that increased educational investments are needed to lift the state from its present station, the reality is that Nevada is unlikely to fund K–12 education at the level suggested by the "Professional Judgment Study Report" any time

soon, if ever. Thus, commensurate with reforming and selectively enhancing educational funding policymakers should also examine reforms to the governance and organization of Nevada's K–12 educational structures.

To help inform this debate, we focus on two areas in which meaningful structural changes would occur should Governor Sandoval's policy innovations be accepted and implemented: consolidating or deconsolidating the state's county-based school districts and changing the selection method of school board members.[3] In theory, these policies should lead to better student outcomes. Below, we highlight how these policies have faired in practice in regions and states where they have been implemented. Before doing so, we highlight why a close examination of these education policies in Nevada are long overdue.

Nevada Then and Now

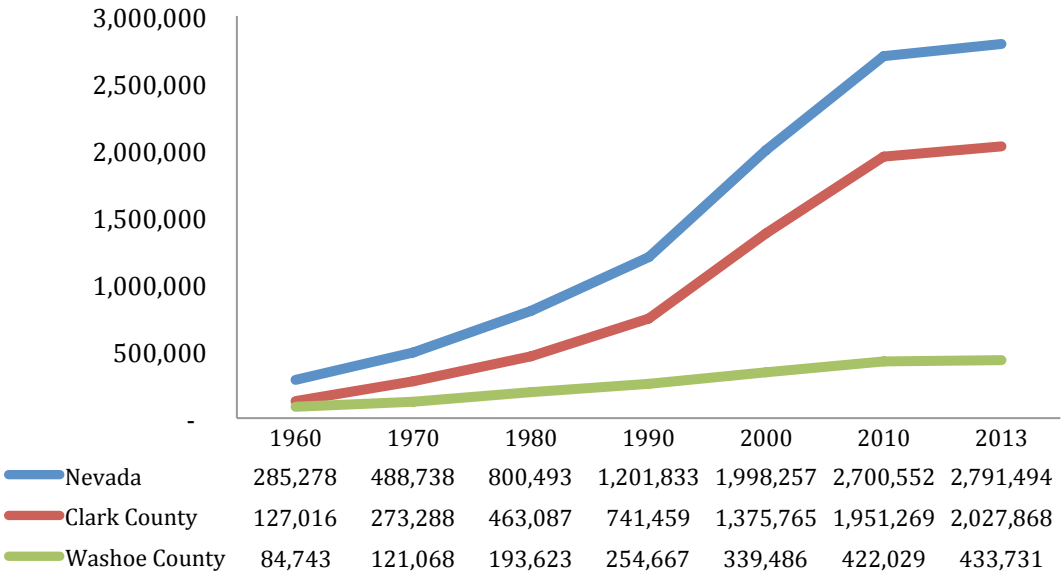
In 1960 Nevada's population was homogenous and small. Whites constituted 91 percent of all Nevadans who in total numbered fewer than 300,000. Even then, Clark County, with 45 percent of the population, was the state's population center followed by Washoe County (see Figures 1 and 2). Fast forwarding to 2014, Nevada's total population has surpassed 2.8 million and nearly three-fourths of all Nevadans reside in Clark County. Moreover, close to half of all residents are classified by the U.S. Census as minority with Hispanics accounting for the largest minority group (28 percent of the population) in the state.

These demographic shifts are particularly acute for Nevada's school age population. During the 2012–2013 school year, over 70 percent of students in Clark County were from minority groups and in Washoe County the school age population was majority-minority. Combined, these counties are home to over 84 percent of Nevada K–12 students.[4] Undoubtedly, changing demographics have challenged the state's educational institutions. By 2010, Nevada was home to the highest density of children (31 percent) who did not speak English as their first language (Horsford & Sampson, 2013).

The failure of the state to adjust educational funding and programming to serve an urbanized and minority population certainly affects Nevada's low educational outcomes. Indeed, addressing this mismatch is the motivation for many of the initiatives contained in the governor's budget. We believe that these same considerations also provide an

opportunity to rethink and re-conceptualize K–12 educational organizations and governance to maximize the strengths of an urban and highly diverse population.

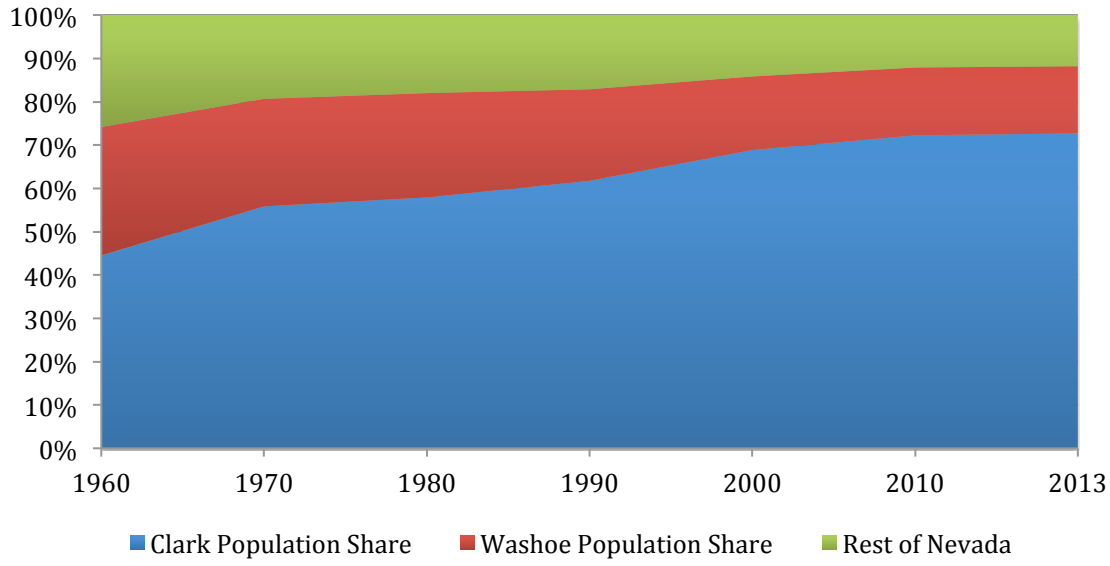
Figure 1: Population Growth in Nevada, 1960–2013



	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2013
Nevada	285,278	488,738	800,493	1,201,833	1,998,257	2,700,552	2,791,494
Clark County	127,016	273,288	463,087	741,459	1,375,765	1,951,269	2,027,868
Washoe County	84,743	121,068	193,623	254,667	339,486	422,029	433,731

Data from U.S. Census Bureau.

Figure 2: Population Distribution in Nevada, 1960–2013



Data from U.S. Census Bureau.

Many states, including Nevada, have diversified their economies by devolving governance structures to empower localized decision making by people and interests who have a grounded understanding of the needs and strengths of their communities (Katz & Bradley, 2014). In the same way, in his "State of the State" address Governor Sandoval promoted policies that would not only begin to modernize K–12 educational funding, but would also allow local governments and their residents increased decision making about how their schools are organized and overseen.

When you consider that the structure of Nevada's school system has not been meaningfully updated since the mid 1950s and the "Nevada Plan for School Finance" has remained largely untouched since its inception in the 1960s, it is little wonder that the state struggles to deliver education effectively to its current population.

Updating the state's funding structure is, without a doubt, a key component to modernizing and improving K–12 educational outcomes. Consistent with this priority, there have been numerous interim legislative committees and independent reports that provide ample evidence for the need to revise Nevada's school finance framework, as well as various blueprints to achieve this end (i.e., "Task Force on K-12 Education Funding," 2015). In comparison, little attention has been devoted to examining structural and organizational reforms. In what follows we review the empirical research assessing the impact of school and district size and the selection methods of school boards on outcomes.

The Impact of District and School Size on Economies of Scale and Outcomes

Nevada has 17 county-based school districts governed by a locally elected board of trustees. The only other state with fewer (15) school boards is Delaware with a population one-third of Nevada's (the Appendix reports these data for all states). Even Utah, with a similar population to Nevada, has 40 school districts (Education Commission of the States, 2014).

During a 1956 Special Session of the Nevada Legislature, 208 legally active local school districts were eliminated and consolidated into 17 county-based districts. Considering the population size of the time, this policy change made fiscal sense. In fact, the move to consolidate – in particular rural districts and boards – was a common practice in an effort to achieve

economies of scale for public education funding in response to increased urbanization. In 1950 Nevada ranked 48th in state population and none of its regions were ranked in the top 148 largest metros. By the 2010 census Nevada ranked 35th in population and the Las Vegas metro area, by 2014, was the 31st largest metro in the country.

Nationally, consolidation had taken hold in many states and by 1970 over 200,000 school districts had been consolidated to approximately 20,000. The growth of urban school districts, coupled with an explosive urban population growth and a decrease in public investment in public education, prompted many policymakers and researchers to question whether economies of scale were achieved through consolidation and whether school district size had an impact on student outcomes.

In the case of Nevada, the two drivers for consolidation were access to quality education at all grades, particularly in the rural counties, and economies of scale. Prior to the passage of AB1 (1956), Clark County had 19 school districts serving approximately 11,000 students. Each was governed by its own board of trustees and ranged from the large Las Vegas Union and Las Vegas High School districts to smaller districts such as Eldorado, Garnet, and Searchlight with a single teacher ("Nevada Education Data Book," 2015). There is limited information as to how Nevada school districts functioned prior to the 1956 consolidation other than legislative reports and archives. The most logical reasons for consolidation would have been improved quality of education and the belief that greater economies of scale could be achieved.

As the population grew in Nevada, in particular in the southern part of the state, the school district boundaries were left untouched. Today, Clark County serves over 300,000 students and is the fifth largest school district in the country. At first glance, there appears to be a misalignment between region and district size: it is no surprise that New York and Los Angeles top the list with both their metropolitan population and school district size, but the Las Vegas metropolitan area ranks 31st in population size and fifth in school district size. The question then becomes, what are the advantages and disadvantages of this regional size (mis)alignment?

To be sure, Nevada policymakers have a history of grappling with this question and as recent as 1995, the legislature passed a resolution requesting an analysis of the county-

based school district model and whether reorganization was warranted. The resolution resulted in an independent study by Management Analysis and Planning Associates (MAP). The consultants produced a set of alternative procedures for changing school configurations that the legislature could choose. A key recommendation was the creation of alternative boundary configurations for Clark County, which at the time served 166,788 students. Further, they suggested an incremental approach, initiated by local policymakers and citizens, in which one or two additional districts could be created to improve educational quality and outcomes (Guthrie, et al, 1996).

Since the 1996 MAP report, the student population in Clark County has doubled and a robust body of empirical studies on district size, economies of scale and student outcomes have been produced. In what follows, we provide a review of these studies and suggest that the recommendation to reconfigure the Clark County district still maintains relevancy and consolidation of other school districts should be examined carefully and with detailed analysis as to the potential cost savings and student outcomes. Our review here is primarily focused on studies that examine district size as it relates to economies of scale and student outcomes. In these studies, the unit of analysis is large districts compared to small districts and their outcomes; the literature on deconsolidation of large urban school districts is limited mainly because deconsolidation varies from state to state and is contextually driven to achieve different goals depending on the state statute.

In our review focused on district size and economies of scale, we find little to no evidence that economies of scales are reached as a result of consolidation, or in large school districts. In fact, we find that some regions were at diseconomies of scale. For instance, Robertson (2007) examined economies of scale in large school districts and found no empirical evidence that "bigger is cheaper."

Robertson references an earlier study by Fox (1981) who found that economies of scale are achieved when school districts range from 1,000 to 30,000 students; more recent analysis by Andres, Duncombe and Yinger (2002) found that cost minimizing district size can range from as little as 2,000 to 4,000 students. In fact, Robertson (2007) asserts that diseconomies of scale exist in large school districts and are “thought to result from stronger teacher unions, leveled up wages, inefficiencies of attributed to agency cost, and

increased transportation costs for children as well as supplies" (p. 622).

To be sure, Fischel (2009) suggests that studies on "district scale economies is not clear about the point at which scale economies cease" since most of the evidence of economies of scale come from "the consolidation of very small rural districts" (p. 195). State-specific studies, for instance Georgia, have not found dramatic cost saving (Boex & Martinez-Vasquez 1998 quoted in Fischel). Such findings point to the disadvantages of large school districts, particularly those in urban settings.

It is common knowledge in Nevada that a significant barrier to attracting new industries and businesses is the state's low aggregate education outcomes and productivity. Many point to "hidden gems" within large school districts such as magnet, career and vocational, and dual enrollment programs. Yet, there is no escaping the national rankings and reports that consistently place the state near or at the bottom of many education metrics.

A useful framework to examine the "competitiveness" of Nevada's schools districts is found in Fischel's (2009) analysis of the 70 largest metropolitan areas (500,000 or more) in the country. His analysis suggests that Clark County is the least competitive urban school district in the nation. While other urban metropolitan areas have large school districts – for instance, New York, Los Angeles, and Phoenix – there are at least four school districts within the same urbanized areas to offer residents options of school districts and thus, district competitiveness.[5] Fischel (2009) goes on to suggest that, "smaller school districts in the modern world are preferred by homebuyers to large districts. Voters in both the past and the present are less concerned about scale economies than about governance, which, as modern evidence confirms, was more responsive to voters in small districts" (p. 169).

Not finding any meaningful evidence that large consolidated school districts yield economies of scale, we turn our attention to district size and student outcomes.

In our review that examined school district size and student outcomes there are few, if any, advantages of large school districts. In a California study of school districts, Driscoll, Halcoussis, and Svorny (2003) found evidence consistent with their "hypothesis that district size hinders educational achievement. Students in larger school districts have lower scores on standardized tests" (p. 194). Even after controlling for population

density the findings hold true and were statistically significant. Instead the authors found diseconomies of scale resulting from the inability of large districts to adapt to specific local needs.

In another study of Texas districts, Jones, Toma, and Zimmer (2008) wanted to know whether large schools, classes and districts had an effect on school attendance, an important and necessary component in student achievement and completion. They found that "[c]lass size, the size of high schools, and the size of school districts are inversely related to the rate at which enrolled students attend school" (p. 147). To be sure, researchers recognize that urban large school districts often serve high poverty populations.

In a study by Fowler and Walberg (1991), they examined New Jersey school districts serving between 462 and 54,800 students and they found district socioeconomic status is the most important statistical determinant of student outcomes and that larger school districts, serving high poverty students, are associated with lower academic performance. In light of this finding, policymakers in Washington wanted to understand the role of poverty in different sized districts.

Abbott, Joireman, and Stroh (2002) replicated a Georgia study (Bickel & Howley, 2000) and they found that, a large district size is detrimental to achievement in 4th and 7th grade outcomes for Washington students. They went on to conclude that "the negative relationship between school poverty and achievement is stronger in larger districts" and "small schools appear to have greatest equity effects" meaning that "when school poverty is high, children perform better in small districts, and the effect of school level poverty on achievement is smallest when both the district and school are small" (p. ii).

This finding was consistent with an earlier study (Bickel & Howley, 2000) in which the authors found that communities with high rates of poverty, small schools in small districts increase student achievement when compared to large districts with high poverty. Overall, "smaller districts and smaller schools demonstrate greater achievement equity" (p. 7).

Finally, a 2014 report examined the anticipated consequences of district consolidation in Texas. The authors found that as the size of districts increases past 3,200 students, costs are expected to rise, not fall; any consolidation is expected to lead to a loss of school efficiency; and there are

no expected cost savings from the targeted consolidation rather, due to a loss of competition in those education markets, expenditures are expected to rise (Taylor, Gronberg, Jansen, & Karakaplan, 2014).

The one advantage to large school districts, according to a U.S. Department of Education report, is that larger districts (25,000 students or more) are better able to facilitate education reform efforts because of specialized areas of expertise. The report goes on to note "poverty [25% or more] appears to diminish significantly the advantages of large district size" (Hannaway & Kimball, 1998, p. 18).

While our review of studies is not exhaustive, this research suggests that large district size is more likely to have a negative affect on student outcomes.[6]

Selection Method of School Boards

The shift for greater accountability, increased standards, and teacher quality – to name a few – has raised concerns and questions about who should control schools and how educational decisions should be made (Bauman, 1996). The recent unlawful removal of a Nevada district superintendent by the Washoe School District trustees have led many, including Governor Sandoval, to question the ability of elected boards to uphold the public trust.[7]

Nationally, 32 states elect all their school boards and 17 states have a mix of exclusively elected or exclusively appointed school boards (see the Appendix). Only one state, California, as well as the District of Columbia, have school boards we classify as hybrid in which some of the members are appointed and the other are elected within the same board. Of the 17 states that have some exclusive appointment of school boards, 11 have or had mayoral governance and were in medium to large urban cities. In some instances, mayors have unilateral appointment power, while in some contexts this authority is shared with other local or state officials.

The shift to mayoral governance of school boards has stemmed primarily as a way to address chronic underperforming schools by kick starting significant education reforms. Research assessing the impact of mayoral governance through appointed school boards on student outcomes is limited.

In a recent study issued by the Center for American Progress, Wong and Shen (2013) offer evidence suggesting that mayoral governance is linked to

improved school and student performance. Of the 11 districts included in their study that were governed by some degree of mayoral leadership, five made substantial improvement in narrowing the student achievement gap within their state. In New York City mayoral control yielded significant positive effects on 4th and 8th grade student achievement and in Boston and Chicago, achievement improvement was strong during the initial period of mayoral governance. More generally, they report that mayoral-led districts engaged in strategic allocation of resources and these structures were positively associated, more spending on instruction and K-12 student support and reduced student-teacher ratios.

More generally, governance structures of this type recognize the reality of what the delivery of education in urban contexts entails. Many of today's students are confronted with a myriad social well-being and health issues that clearly affect educational attainment. In response, schools are asked to provide many non-academic services including the service of multiple daily meals, instilling ethical behavior, and battling a host of social and behavioral pathologies such as drunk driving, obesity, and tobacco use. The reality of this point can be seen in many of the spending enhancements contained in Governor Sandoval's budget (see Table 1) that extend beyond curriculum and academic programming.

Such expectations of schools require a seamless cross-agency coordination of social services which are better suited for mayors and governors (Epstein, 2004, although see Bulkley 2013). Still, there is little, if any, empirical evidence that can confidently assert that appointed boards produce improved outcomes.

Conclusion

The focus of this brief has been on two structural changes as strategies to improve education outcomes: district consolidation/deconsolidation and the method for selecting school boards. There is little research addressing the effectiveness of appointed boards and that which does is descriptive and based upon a few cases. Nonetheless, the fact that some states and localities have moved away from traditional models of elected school boards suggests a willingness to reconsider even the most elemental features of educational governance in hopes of improving outcomes and accountability.

With respect to the research examining the impact of school and district size, the literature is more robust and overwhelming suggests

that "bigger is not better." In fact, several studies find that large districts lead to diseconomies of scale and are detrimental to student performance, particularly when these districts serve high poverty student populations. So why don't more states deconsolidate large school districts? Predictably, researchers point to large bureaucratic organizations often amassing significant political, financial and influential power as barriers to deconsolidation (Fischel, 2009). Certainly, we recognize that institutional change, particularly in the public sphere where the bias for the status quo is strong, is not easy.

We also recognize that much of the research considered here focuses on urban contexts and that Nevada's rural counties have issues that are distinct from the state's urban localities. Thus, any policy changes implemented in Nevada must be flexible enough to allow for the emergence of varying structures that can effectively deliver education to the state's differing student populations. Other complications are Nevada's weak local government, which presently have no role in the delivery and governance of education, the large number of Nevadans living in unincorporated areas, and the uncertainty that changes to long-standing structures inevitably engender.

Eventually, though, institutions must adapt if they are to remain viable. To this end, Nevada recently changed the manner by which members of the state board of education are selected from an exclusively elected board to a hybrid elected/appointed board with the governor selecting the appointed members, as well as the state superintendent of schools. As noted above, the governance and administration of the state's economic development efforts were also changed. In both instances, the incompatibility of existing structures with the state's current needs led policymakers to change the way Nevada does its business.

The present moment offers a similar opportunity to reconsider the structure of K-12 education. For the first time in at least a decade, Nevada policymakers are poised to begin making the types of investments needed to provide adequate education. Implicit to this push is acceptance that the state's present efforts are failing and more of the same is no longer an option. However, without seriously considering Nevada's current educational structures, the prospects of changing the state's present trajectory are likely to fall short.

Appendix

Table A.1: State Comparison of Number of School Boards and School Board Selection Methods

State	Number of School Boards	Type of School Board*	2014 Population
Alabama	128	Mixed	4,849,377
Alaska	34	Elected	736,732
Arizona	227	Elected	6,731,484
Arkansas	310	Elected	2,966,369
California	985	Elected and Hybrid	38,802,500
Colorado	178	Elected	5,355,866
Connecticut	169	Elected	3,596,677
Delaware	15	Elected	935,614
Florida	67	Elected	19,893,297
Georgia	181	Elected	10,097,343
Hawaii	0	n/a	1,419,561
Idaho	114	Elected	1,634,464
Illinois	892	Mixed	12,880,580
Indiana	290	Mixed	6,596,855
Iowa	371	Elected	3,107,126
Kansas	302	Mixed	2,904,021
Kentucky	176	Elected	4,413,457
Louisiana	68	Elected	4,649,676
Maine	286	Elected	1,330,089
Maryland	24	Mixed	5,976,407
Massachusetts	315	Mixed	6,745,408
Michigan	553	Mixed	9,909,877
Minnesota	343	Elected	5,457,173
Mississippi	152	Mixed	2,994,079
Missouri	524	Elected	6,063,589

Montana	454	Elected	1,023,579
Nebraska	500	Elected	1,881,503
Nevada	17	Elected	2,839,099
New Hampshire	176	Elected	1,326,813
New Jersey	551	Mixed	8,938,175
New Mexico	89	Elected	2,085,572
New York	705	Mixed	19,746,227
North Carolina	117	Mixed	9,943,964
North Dakota	220	Elected	739,482
Ohio	612	Mixed	11,594,163
Oklahoma	543	Elected	3,878,051
Oregon	199	Elected	3,970,239
Pennsylvania	501	Mixed	12,787,209
Rhode Island	33	Mixed	1,055,173
South Carolina	85	Mixed	4,832,482
South Dakota	172	Elected	853,175
Tennessee	136	Elected	6,549,352
Texas	1043	Mixed	26,956,958
Utah	40	Elected	2,942,902
Vermont	281	Elected	626,562
Virginia	134	Mixed	8,326,289
Washington	296	Elected	7,061,530
West Virginia	55	Elected	1,850,326
Wisconsin	426	Elected	5,757,564
Wyoming	48	Elected	584,153

*States designated as “elected” contain school boards where all members of each board are elected by popular vote. States designated as “mixed” contain *some* school boards where all members are elected, and *some* school boards where all members are appointed. States designated as “hybrid "contain at least *one* school board where some members are elected, and other members are appointed to create a single board.
Data from The Education Commission of the States, "50 State Analysis of School Boards", 2014 and U.S. Census Bureau, "Annual Estimates of the Resident Population for the United States”, 2014.

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End Notes

[1] In 2006 the Nevada State Legislature commissioned a comprehensive adequacy study by APA. In 2015, the updated report calculated the aggregate costs associated with educating English Language Learners (ELL) and at-risk and special education students based upon data for the 2013–2013 school year. The report also recommended resources such as smaller class sizes, professional development, student support, preschool, and technology enhancements to ensure that all students receive an adequate education. In total, the report found a gap of $1.6 billion between existing operating expenditures and the funding needed to ensure adequacy (https://www.unlv.edu/sites/default/files/page_files/27/Lincy-ProfessionalJudgmentStudyReportAPA.pdf).

[2] Although there is some overlap between the proposed programming contained in the Executive Budget that is summarized in Table 1 and the adequacy funding suggested by the "Professional Judgment Study Report" summarized in Table 2, there are a number of differences. As a consequence, the data in the two tables are not directly comparable.

[3] In this brief we do not discuss the merits or limitations of specific legislative bills designed to consolidate/deconsolidate school districts, rather offer evidence on the outcomes of different sized school districts. We leave the detailed analysis of proposed legislative bills to policymakers.

[4] Data from the "2015 Nevada Education Data Book" prepared by the Fiscal Analysis Division of the Legislative Council Bureau (http://www.nvasb.org/assets/2015_educationdatabook.pdf), accessed March 13, 2015.

[5] Underlying, Fischel's (2009) analysis is the Tiebout sorting model (1956); perhaps the most influential choice model used to examine how market based solutions affect competition and local expenditures. The model's central assumption as applied by Fischel is that people select their homes in part by the quality of public schools and drawing on the work of Blair and Stanley (1995) and Zanzig, (1997), a minimum of four competing school districts is required for meaningful choice to emerge.

[6] For a complete state policy database see Education Commission of the States, School Consolidation/Deconsolidation: http://b5.caspio.com/dp.asp?AppKey=b7f93000695b3d0d5abb4b68bd14andid=a0y70000000CbsFAAS.

[7] To be sure, the idea and practice of local elected school boards are often described as a cornerstone of our participatory democracy. Yet the reality is that, nationally, fewer and fewer voters turn out to elect school boards; in some regions, less than 10% of eligible voters participate in the selection of these boards (Epstein, 2004).

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