

Privatization or Public Investment in Education?

By Frank Adamson

About This Brief

This brief presents key findings and policy recommendations from *Global Education Reform: How Privatization and Public Investment Influence Education Outcomes*. Learn more at <https://edpolicy.stanford.edu/GlobalEdReform>

This research was made possible by the Open Society Foundations.

Policymakers worldwide are trying to figure how best to organize, govern, and support their education systems. They must manage multiple goals, such as workforce development, nurturing knowledgeable citizens, and ensuring educational opportunity. Some countries approach these issues with a public investment in teacher professionalization and a focus on equity of student outcomes, while others use a market-based, privatization approach to education.

The findings in this brief compare pairs of countries using these two different approaches. The data suggest that the education sector is better served by a public investment approach that supports each and every child than by a market-based, competition approach that creates winners...and losers. While competition might work in sports leagues, countries should not create education systems in which children lose in the classroom. This report explains how and why some children can lose in a privatized system and makes recommendations to ensure that all children receive equitable, high-quality educational opportunities.

Are Low Performance and Achievement Gaps Inevitable?

In December 2001, Finland surprised the education world with some of the highest scores out of over forty countries on the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) test. Other countries, such as the United States, did not fare as well, scoring below the average of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries on that iteration's primary focus of reading literacy. The difference in the PISA results prompted policymakers and educators worldwide to ask "How did the Finns do it?" and "How do countries like the U.S. need to change?"

In the ensuing years, some key details emerged. First, the Finns did not set out to become high achievers and have very little testing in their education system, so the PISA results surprised them as well. Second, Finland shifted their education system in the 1970s towards a focus on equity and teacher professionalization. Finally, Finland's PISA success has continued as the country consistently scored among the top nations on PISA on reading, math, and science literacy since 2000.

Conversely, the U.S. had a lower average score than Finland by more than 50 points out of 800 (or 1/2 of a standard deviation) and a greater disparity than Finland between the 5th and 95th percentiles of more than 25 points (1/4 of a standard deviation). The PISA findings confirmed the already well-known phenomena of the "achievement gap" in the U.S. However, the solution to this issue was not a deliberate, explicit focus on equity as the Finns had done; instead, No Child Left Behind mandated testing and sanctions or reconstitution for schools that did not make adequate yearly progress.

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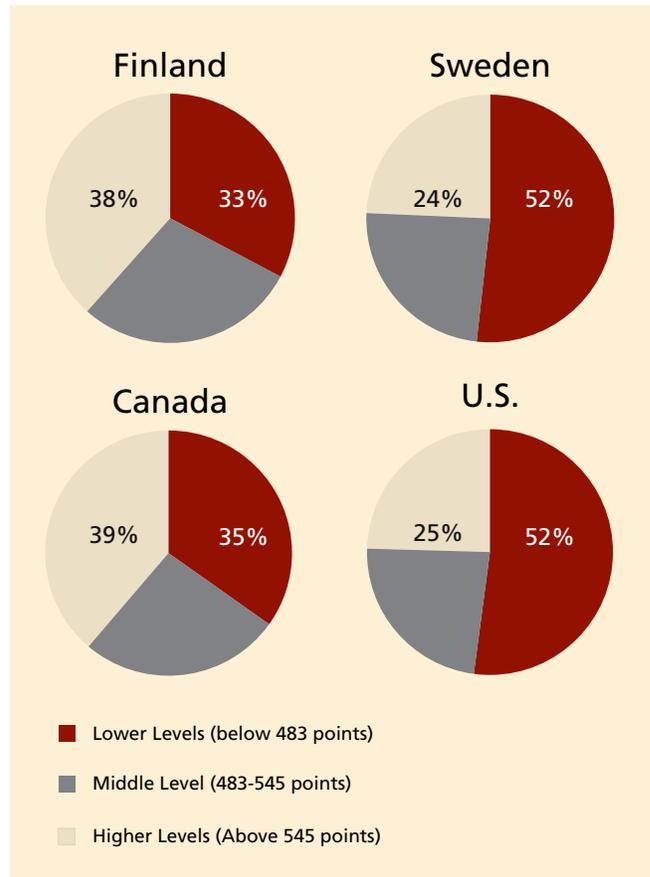
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Concurrently in the U.S., the notion that market-based approaches would increase competition between schools and provide choice for parents became popular, especially in urban areas with a history of disinvestment, low performance, and large achievement gaps. Over a decade later, U.S. education has not advanced to Finland’s level—the achievement gap between Caucasians and African Americans (and, to a lesser extent, Latinos) persists, market-based approaches have shown inconsistent results while excluding some students, and the debate around charter schools continues.

While the international comparisons reveal marked distinctions in both approach and outcomes, U.S. audiences often critique Finland as a small, homogenous country with different challenges than the U.S. In reality, Finland is the size of the median U.S. state (states enact the majority of education policy, especially under the new federal ESSA act), while also having schools teaching up to 12 languages. However, to make a more “apples to apples” comparison, this study examined results from three geographically and culturally proximate pairs of countries to determine whether public investment or privatized education approaches coincide with better performance. Findings from Finland and Sweden, Canada and the U.S., and Cuba and Chile reveal that the public investment approach substantially outperforms privatization in each case. While these comparisons do not provide causal evidence, they reveal compelling policy considerations about which systems are likely to provide more high-quality education opportunity to students.

Figure 1 shows the differences in proficiency levels between two pairs of countries that participated in the latest PISA (2012): Finland and Sweden, and Canada and the U.S.¹ The figures show that Finland and Canada, the two countries using public investment approaches, have a consistent distribution of students

Figure 1. PISA 2012 Math Performance, by Country and Levels of Proficiency



Source. OECD, PISA 2012 Results in Focus.

across proficiency levels, with less than one-third of students at the lower proficiency levels. Meanwhile, over half of the students in the U.S. and Sweden performed at the lower proficiency levels on PISA. Figure 1 shows that a much greater proportion of students in the countries using education privatization strategies lack the average skills needed for entry into today’s labor market (the targeted measurement goal of PISA).

Different Policy Approaches: Privatization and Public Investment

Finland differs from other countries, such as the U.S. and Sweden, in its underlying rationales for governing and organizing education. Finland has

taken a public investment approach based on equity, as has Ontario in Canada and Cuba in Latin America. Conversely, Sweden, the U.S., and Chile have, to varying degrees, privatized their education systems. What do these terms mean, both in theory and “on the ground” in practice?

Key Features of Education Privatization

Privatization in education occurs when countries shift towards a “subsidiary state” model that primarily outsources social sector management to private firms. The government only provides services when no suitable private alternative exists. Because public education serves all children, complete privatization of education is difficult to achieve. Nevertheless, mechanisms such as vouchers, charters, and markets allow for private firms to compete in the education market, under the argument that increased competition will provide consumers (students and families) with a greater choice, thus increasing quality. However, in practice, public education contains different constraints than business markets, most notably the obligation of providing every child with a high-quality education. Therefore, as the results in this brief show, privatizing education has accompanied lower and/or more disparate student performance, likely because markets operate with different principles than the requirements of public sectors.

Key Features of Public Investment in Education

Public investment approaches to education incorporate different sets of rationales and mechanisms, including the principle that the public plays an essential role at all levels of the system. Democratic decision-making ensures a public voice in the cases of Finland and especially Ontario, from voters to teacher unions and parents involved in policy-making. The goals of equity, universal access, and high-quality teach-

ing guide the system, achieved through high levels of teacher preparation and a focus on whole-child curriculum, instead of high-stakes accountability systems that incentivize “teaching to the test.” As a result, public investment in a professional teacher labor force and high-quality infrastructure often accompanies some of the highest international education outcomes.

Comparisons from Three Regions: Latin America, Europe, and North America

Chile and Cuba

Chile’s Shift from Public Investment to Privatization and Vouchers

In 1971, Chile’s president Salvador Allende pronounced a year of democratization of education. Substantial investments accompanied a compulsory education law and the percentage of public primary and secondary schools reached an historic high of 80% by 1974. During the 1960–1972 period, teachers’ salaries experienced their greatest historical increase in real terms.² In 1973, however, the global story of privatization began with General Augusto Pinochet taking power in a coup over President Allende. After taking power, Pinochet followed the advice of U.S. economist Milton Friedman and rapidly privatized previously public sectors, including education.

In 1981, Pinochet formally instituted an education voucher program that gave public funding to families while allowing them to pay for private schools. This “marketplace” created a segregated school system that included private schools, voucher schools, and public schools. From the 1980s–2010s, the proportion of public schools dropped from 72% to 46% while the number of voucher schools (publically funded, but privately managed) increased from 18% to 49%. The remaining 5% of non-voucher (and

more expensive) private schools *only* enrolled students from the highest socioeconomic quintile.

Conversely, Chile's public schools mainly consisted of low-income students, primarily from the two lowest socioeconomic quintiles. Only a few low-income students could afford to attend voucher schools (many of which charge additional fees on top of the voucher), while $\frac{3}{4}$ of the middle to upper class students attended voucher schools. While this market-based segregation should, in theory, produce better results in voucher schools, recent data show that—controlling for socioeconomic status—both the lowest-income and upper-middle class students did better in public schools, on average, than similar students in voucher schools.

Education privatization also adversely affected the teacher labor force under Pinochet, with teacher salaries dropping by 70 percent and the teachers' union dissolved. Since 1973, Chile systematically degraded many aspects of the teaching profession—including salaries, work conditions, and pre-service training—changing it from a respected profession to a job with low social standing. As a result, even the wealthiest and highest performing students in Chile score far below international norms on assessments like PISA—and below the performance of most students in tiny, economically disadvantaged Cuba (discussed below). Despite recent investments to equalize opportunities, Chile's PISA scores showed a decline for nearly all socio-economic groups between 2009 and 2012.³

The low quality education situation became a political flashpoint of student-generated revolts, including a massive set of marches and boycotts in 2011 that gathered over 500,000 people from all sectors. The protests centered on the effects of three decades of Pinochet's privatization policies, when public schools have declined substantially in quality while families pay for private schools to gain only marginally better quality. The protestors generated a change in the national government with new

policies eliminating profit, co-pays, and student selection by schools, although the voucher scheme still exists and the future quality of education in Chile remains uncertain.

Cuba's Teacher Investment

Across Latin America, Cuba has a lower GDP per capita than Chile, yet boasted the highest scores, by far, on the international 2006 Second Regional Comparative and Explanatory Study (SERCE) test of Latin American countries (Figure 2, next page). In fact, while Cuba does not participate in PISA or the Trends in International Math and Science Study (TIMSS) for political reasons, statistical estimates reveal the likelihood of Cuba's score as equivalent to the OECD mean and higher than the U.S. scores, despite a tenfold difference in GDP per capita between Cuba and the US in 2006.⁴ How does Cuba do so much in education with so few resources?

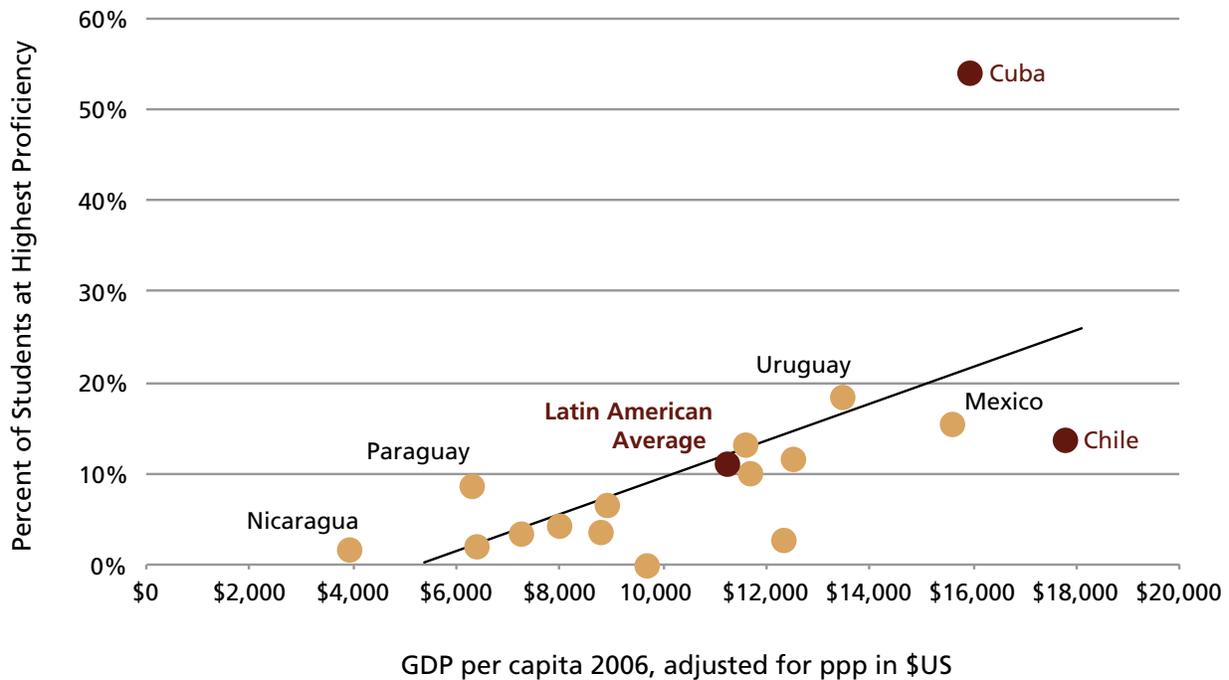
Cuba has a similar autocratic, state-centric approach as Chile had under Pinochet. It is important to note that this study focuses on education and educational outcomes for children, not on other governmental policies or quality of life issues. Cuba's education system works in favor of students and teachers by ensuring sufficient investment and a cohesive and supportive educational environment. Cuba articulates clear academic objectives, trains and supports professional teachers, and creates safe and healthy learning environments for students. High levels of teacher capacity, coordinated with high-quality curriculum and extensive supervisory support, ensure that almost all students in Cuba have similar "opportunities to learn," creating a high level of systemic educational equity.

Sweden and Finland

Sweden Replaces Democratic Focus with an Education Marketplace

Since 2000, Sweden has experienced a very different trajectory of education performance than

Figure 2. Percent of Students at Highest Proficiency Level on 2006 SERCE in Math, by Latin American Country and GDP per capita (US\$ ppp)



Sources. UNESCO SERCE, 2007; World Bank, International Comparison Program Database.

Finland. Despite sharing similar demographics and culture, Sweden’s PISA scores have plummeted 25 points or more (.25 of a standard deviation) between 2000 and 2012, going from above the average for OECD countries to below the average. This decline has gone virtually unnoticed—especially when compared to Finland’s education celebrity status, with many still viewing Sweden as a model social democracy. In the early 1990s, however, Sweden fundamentally changed its educational approach to a market-based system, with declining results for the ensuing generation of students.

In the post-World War II era, Sweden made a set of policy decisions based on concepts like public ownership, centralism, and equality for its social sectors. The Swedish commission best summarized this approach by stating, “The prime role of schooling is to educate democratic humans.”⁵

However, a recession in the 1990s led to a restructuring of the education sector. Private schools, previously low in number and considered as sites of innovation that *influence* on the public sector, became viewed as *replacements* for public schools. Since then, Sweden has moved towards a nationwide, market-based education system in which public and private schools compete with each other for students.

In 2006, a private school company founder captured the U-turn from Sweden’s democratic focus to a market-based education system by stating, “To run a school and to sell refrigerators are one and the same. It’s about having your ear to the market and to understand where the needs are for our customers, the pupils.”⁶ While this shift has coincided with the decline in student performance on international tests, student grades have actually increased,

signaling pressure on teachers to provide higher marks in order to retain students and thus distorting a key measurement indicator. Furthermore, Swedish teachers reported the lowest level of job satisfaction of the Teaching and Learning International Study (TALIS) 2013, findings confirmed by both TIMSS and the Progress in International Reading Study (PIRLS) in 2011. The Swedish generation undergoing the shift to marketization has seen student performance decline, teacher professionalization and satisfaction decrease, and education inequality increase.

Finland’s Equity-Based Educational Success

Discussed above, Finland has consistently posted top rankings on international assessments since 2000. Finnish educators attribute a modest dip in 2012 (although their scores remained) as potentially resulting from distractions caused by their popular international status. As a result, the country has refocused on the principles of equity, creativity, and the “joy of learning” that produced their high-quality system in the first place.⁷ Furthermore, Finland maintained its position as the top European performer in 2012 (well above the OECD mean), demonstrating the value of the public investment approach in developing and supporting high-quality teachers.

Table 1. Organizing Principles for the Global Educational Reform Movement and the Finnish Model of Educational Change⁸

Global Education Reform Movement	The Finnish Model
Competition between schools	Collaboration among schools
Standardized learning	Personalized learning
Focus on literacy and numeracy	Focus on whole-child development
Test-based accountability	Trust-based responsibility
School choice	Equity of outcomes

Table 1 shows a comparison between the strategies of the Finnish system and those of what Finnish author Pasi Sahlberg calls the Global Education Reform Movement, used to varying degrees in Sweden, the U.S., and Chile.

Table 1 shows that, on many different approaches within its education system, Finland shows distinct differences from the market-oriented countries, emphasizing teaching and learning instead of competition and assessment. From collaboration to trust based responsibility and equity of outcomes, Finland reaps rewards of high test scores by providing positive, high-quality education experiences for its children.

The United States and Canada

U.S. Trends towards Privatization

In North America, both Canada and the United States have decentralized systems with responsibility residing at the state level (in the United States) and the provincial level (in Canada), with states and provinces using a variety of approaches to education. At those levels, however, some key examples serve as demonstrations of public investment and privatization approaches. Privatization as an ideology began with Milton Friedman and was first substantively introduced into the U.S. policy system by Ronald Reagan in the 1980s. The privatization of education then continued in the 1990s with a voucher program in Milwaukee and expanded via charter schools and “portfolio districts” in the 2000s under Bush’s No Child Left Behind law (NCLB) and Obama’s Race to the Top initiative.

After Hurricane Katrina, New Orleans became an almost completely charter district resulting, as in Chile, in increased stratification across types of students and schools.⁹ Other states, however, such as Massachusetts, employed a more public investment approach to standards-based reform.

Until recently, Massachusetts has had the least engagement with market-based reforms, yet its public investment approach to education has consistently been accompanied by strong gains in achievement test scores. Currently, the U.S. sits at a crossroads between these two approaches of privatization and public investment in education.

The push for privatization in the U.S. comes from many sources—the business community, testing and technology companies, some philanthropic organizations, economists, and austerity policies—and has some key features:

1. Support for public funding of private choices through vouchers and charter schools (often choosing which students to keep);
2. Test-based accountability for evaluating schools against each other and to decide which ones to allow to remain serving children and which to close; and,
3. The creation of an unregulated marketplace for teachers in lieu of professional expectations (which allows both standards and salaries to decline, especially in low-wealth communities).

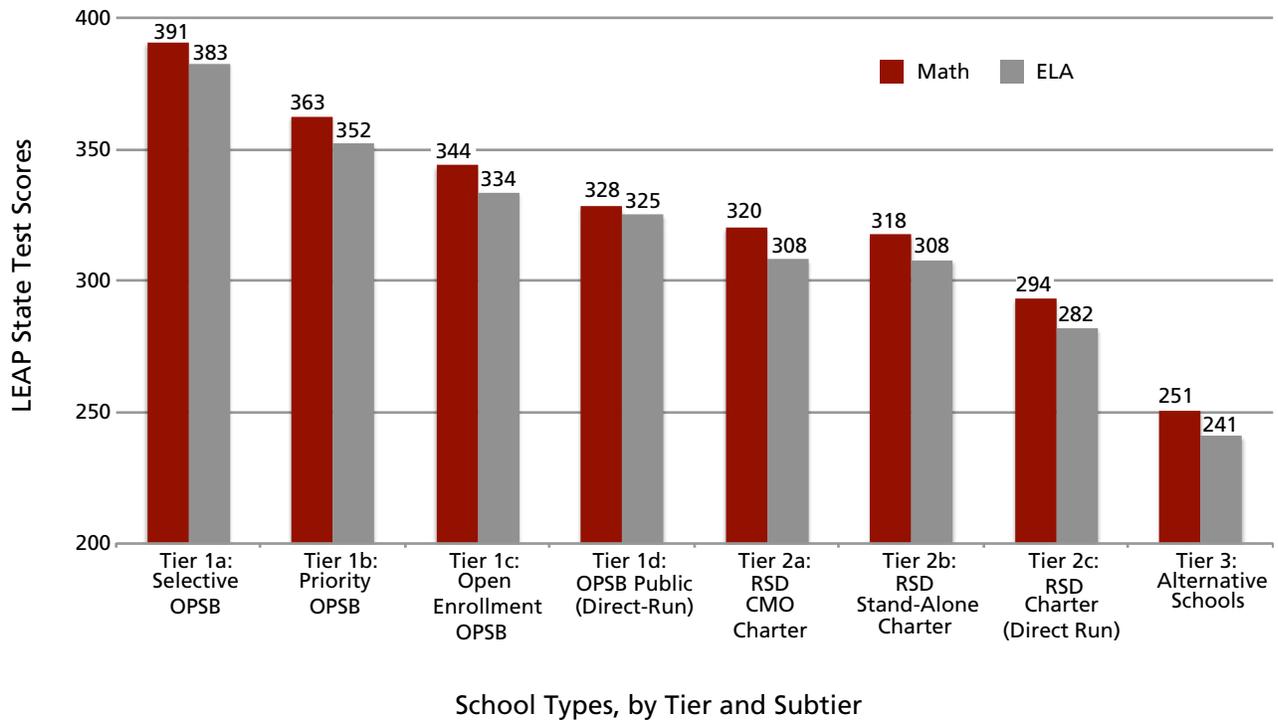
Issues relating to the separation of church and state have limited voucher policies (which allow enrollment in private religious schools) from subsuming the system as they did in Chile. Instead, charter schools, charter management systems, portfolio districts, and online educational providers have become the primary means for privatizing education in the United States. Charters, as originally conceived, were individual “mom and pop” sites of pedagogical experimentation—an approach advocated for by teacher unions. Over time, however, charter schools morphed into clusters of schools with private management but public funding, often overseen by charter management organizations (CMOs) with private boards and little public input.¹⁰ In 2001, NCLB increased funding for charters while also installing a high-stakes ac-

countability system of rewards and sanctions linked to test scores. Schools failing to show adequate yearly progress required a restructuring process, which then created a path for privatization with many schools reconstituted as charter schools. Charter schools are also subject to this process, but often receive waivers for their first three years, allowing them to “rebrand” and remain outside of accountability process if they do not meet adequate yearly progress benchmarks.¹¹

This approach is most apparent in the Recovery School District (RSD) of Louisiana, which began prior to Hurricane Katrina.¹² In the midst of the hurricane tragedy, the state legislature convened an emergency session, using arbitrary cut scores (that were changed repeatedly with no apparent empirical justification) to reconstitute New Orleans public schools as a state-run portfolio of charter schools under the RSD. Concurrently, the RSD fired over 7,000 tenured teachers and allowed charters to appoint primarily non-resident, less expensive, emergency credentialed teachers. In doing so, they gutted a large portion of the professional middle class of many neighborhoods in the city. As with Chile, the result has been increased stratification of schools and segregation of students by ethnicity, socioeconomic status, special education designation, behavioral attributes, and neighborhood. Figure 3 shows the decline of test scores by the stratified tiers of schools in the charter system, with the overwhelming majority of white students attending the top tier schools. Finally, admissions requirements, a variety of exclusion methods, and state educational policy choices conspire so that schools in New Orleans choose students more often than students choose schools.¹³

Proponents of the privatization approach tout New Orleans as a grand experiment in education for other states and countries to follow.¹⁴ In the scientific world, and more importantly in the lives of children in communities, experiments have a foundation of successful pilots, comparison groups, informed consent, and

Figure 3. State Test Score Averages for New Orleans Schools, by School Tiers, 2011–12



Notes. OPSB refers to the Orleans Parish School Board, while RSD refers to the Recovery School District. OPSB and RSD have jurisdiction over different schools with New Orleans.

opt-out options. The New Orleans “experiment” on its children included none of these. Instead, children in New Orleans are prisoners of a decision to eliminate the public from their public school system. Furthermore, the state of Louisiana has withheld publicly collected data about students and their outcomes from most researchers and the public.¹⁵ Nevertheless, efforts to expand education privatization in the U.S. argue for expanding the New Orleans experiment to other cities such as Detroit, Newark, and Chicago, where those efforts are being met with protests from the families and students excluded from the decision-making processes and harmed by the approach.¹⁶

Canada’s Democratic Return from Vouchers to Public Investment

Like the U.S., Canada has a diverse education

system, with responsibility for public education occurring at the provincial level. One province, Ontario, serves a diverse population and provides an important, nearby reference point for the U.S. In the late 1990s, Ontario elected a Conservative Party Prime Minister, Mike Harris, who deregulated education and instituted a voucher-style privatization of education program. This program cut over \$1B from the education sector, leading to sharp reductions in many social support programs while the government criticized schools and teachers as overpaid and underworked. The government even proposed a tax credit, or voucher, for tuition at private schools, attempting to expand market choice and increase competition between schools.¹⁷ The plan did not work; only 54 percent of elementary school students met the provincial standard in grades 3 and 6 literacy

and mathematics, and only about two-thirds of high school students were graduating in 5 years.

Public and educator dissatisfaction with Harris' privatization approach reached a crescendo in 2003 and Dalton McGuinty won the ministerial election largely on an education platform. Since 2003, Canada has turned away from the voucher-based privatization scheme and implemented a public investment reform approach based on the following principles:

1. Focus on a small number of ambitious goals (raise the bar in literacy, numeracy, and high school graduation; close the achievement gap; and increase public confidence in education);
2. Pursue a high-trust, 'peace and stability' partnership with the school districts and the unions;
3. Invest in capacity-building at all levels with a focus on instructional practices linked to results;
4. Foster learning from implementation laterally (across schools and districts) and vertically (between schools and districts); and
5. Build the capacity of the Ministry to work in partnership with the sector.

The plan worked, with Ontario seeing increased achievement scores and graduation rates and the original achievement and equity goals now extended to include higher-order skills and well-being. Most remarkably, Ontario has created an education system in which the government, teacher unions, and parent groups all sit at the same table and make collaborative decisions about what practices will most effectively help all students.

The Ontario example provides critical lessons about the trajectories of both privatization and public investment approaches to education. Privatization advocates argue that

markets encourage performance and improve efficiency in ways that governments cannot. The Ontario lesson is that privatization's austerity approach failed while decreasing public satisfaction. In the words of Michael Fullan and Santiago Rincon-Gallardo, the Ontario example reveals:

A theory of action that causally connects the provision of and investment in public education with improved quality and equity of educational opportunities and outcomes for students. The power of this theory of action lies in its being built from a deliberate and successful attempt to improve an entire educational system. At the core of this theory of action is a firm belief that education, with its central role in promoting and improving moral, social, economic, and societal wellbeing, should be the direct responsibility of the state. (page 170)¹⁸

Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

This brief addresses two approaches to organizing, governing, and supporting education systems. One approach, a high-quality public investment system similar to those in Finland, Cuba, and Ontario, uses equity-based processes and focuses on teacher professionalization and is often accompanied by high educational outcomes. A second approach, a market-based system of education privatization found in Sweden, Chile, 1990s Ontario, and some U.S. cities, is often accompanied by low and unequal student performance, de-professionalization of teachers, and public dissatisfaction. The evidence of the comparison within Ontario and the between-country comparisons in this study demonstrate that investments in education as a public good yield higher and more equitable outcomes than other approaches, including the marketization, deregulation, and privatization of education.

The findings of this study strongly support enactment of a public investment approach to address issues of inequality and low performance in their public education system rather than applying market-based approaches imperfectly to a public sector. The findings from the study also suggest consideration of particular policy recommendations:

Policy Recommendations

Investments in Equity

Education policies should actively invest in equitable delivery of educational services and supports. Longer-term investments in education equity can yield higher performance in outcomes. These investments include services designed to address current gaps in resources, achievement, and opportunity faced by different subgroups. For example, the basic premise of Finnish education is that all children should have equal prospects for educational success in school. Because children's family background and associated factors strongly influence learning, the equity of outcomes approach requires Finland to fund schools according to their real needs to cope with these inequalities.¹⁹

Investments in the Well-Being of Children

Education policies should focus on ensuring the well-being of children, including the provision of a whole-child based curriculum in schools and wrap-around services to address differences in health care and other issues that students might bring to school. This systemic approach takes into account the multiple factors, both in and outside of schools, that countries must address in order for students to be "ready to learn." For example, Ontario included well-being as one of four core goals, focusing on the supporting conditions for students through policies and programs related to safe schools, full-day kindergarten, equity and inclusivity, and mental health.²⁰

Investments in Community Engagement

Education policies should support governance processes that actively, democratically, and transparently include multiple stakeholders (parents, teachers, students, etc.) in decisions that

affect their lives. Ontario focuses on stakeholder ability "to talk the walk," a phrase referencing the high level of coherence in the system. Fullan and Quinn describe this system as "good practice and a shared understanding of the priorities and reform strategies across all levels of the system, from district leaders and unions to teachers, principals and parents" (p. 175).²¹

Investments in Professional Capacity

Investment decisions in education should focus on increasing the professionalization of teaching without creating exclusive barriers to entry that reinforce current demographic differences between the teacher labor force and students. As in Finland, Ontario, and Cuba, rigorous, high-quality preparation should be required for entry and continuous opportunities provided for school-embedded learning throughout teaching careers from induction to retirement. For example, Martin Carnoy describes Cuban teachers that "know the subject matter well, teach a demanding curriculum, know how to deliver it effectively, and get to teach in peaceful classrooms to children" (p. 52).²²

Investments in Assessments of and for Learning

Policies should encourage the use of classroom assessments of performance, with real-time feedback for students and teachers, instead of relying solely on summative testing within a high-stakes accountability context. This involves both the nature of the assessments used and the consequences/uses of the assessments. Finland, for instance, has invested heavily in its teacher labor force and has very high performance scores, without the limited and limiting reliance on high-stakes testing currently in place in the U.S. and elsewhere.

When developed and implemented with the agreement of multiple education stakeholders, including policy-makers, educators, and community members, these policy recommendations form a foundation for countries to move towards highly equitable—and highly successful—education systems.

Endnotes

1. In this brief, we focus on the distribution of students by proficiency levels to provide a more nuanced view of the performance of education systems. However, the same differences exist between the mean PISA 2012 scores for each country discussed.
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9. Adamson, F., Cook-Harvey, C. & Darling-Hammond, L. (2015). *Whose Choice? The Processes and Effects of Charter School Selection in New Orleans*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Center for Opportunity Policy in Education; Buras, K. L. (2014). *Charter schools, race, and urban space: Where the market meets grassroots resistance*. New York, NY: Routledge.
10. See the Knowledge is Power Program (KIPP) and Rocketship Inc. as examples of multistate charter management organizations operating multiple schools.
11. Adamson, F., Cook-Harvey, C. & Darling-Hammond, L. (2015). *Whose Choice? The Processes and Effects of Charter School Selection in New Orleans*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Center for Opportunity Policy in Education.
12. See also Detroit, Newark, Philadelphia, and other urban districts across the U.S.
13. Adamson, F., Cook-Harvey, C. & Darling-Hammond, L. (2015). *Whose Choice? The Processes and Effects of Charter School Selection in New Orleans*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Center for Opportunity Policy in Education.
14. See, for example, Osborne, D. (2012). *Born on the Bayou: a new model for American education*. Third Way. Retrieved from http://content.thirdway.org/publications/579/Third_Way_

- Report_-_Born_on_the_Bayou-A_New_Model_for_American_Education.pdf; Smith, N. (2012). *The Louisiana Recovery School District: Lessons for the Buckeye State*. Washington, DC: Thomas B. Fordham Institute; Hill, P. et al (2009). *Portfolio School Districts for Big Cities: An Interim Report*. Seattle, WA: Center on Reinventing Public Education.
15. The Louisiana Department of Education denied five years of repeated requests for data by education. After a successful lawsuit, it still did not provide adequate data to researchers in New Orleans and at Stanford for a complete analysis of student outcomes by race, class, disability, and language status.
 16. In Chicago, 12 parents and community members staged a 34-day hunger strike to keep Dyett High School open, public, and responsive to the educational requests of the community for an arts-based high school.
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*Special thanks to Jon Snyder, Ralph Rogers, Lauren Koch, and Sonya Keller
for their assistance with this brief.*



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