Unpacking the Accountability Theory of Action

Principals' Perceptions of ESSA Accountability System Information Advancing Evidence.

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About This Research Brief

This research brief is the second in a <u>series of briefs</u> within the broader *Study of the Impact of CSI Designation in Multiple Measure ESSA Accountability Systems*. In the first brief, we provided an overview of the study and described the theory of action guiding school accountability. In this brief, we highlight key findings related to the information that these systems provide to districts and schools (see Exhibit 1).

Study Overview

School accountability systems are designed to focus attention on student performance and motivate improvement by establishing performance targets, publicly communicating information on student performance and school quality, and applying designations based on their performance. In addition, these systems aim to build capacity by offering external support, assistance, and additional resources to schools identified as needing support.^{1,2,3,4}

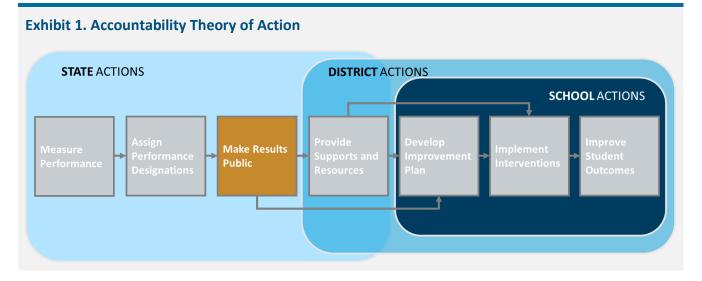
Our study aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of whether school accountability systems function as intended under

Key Findings

- Most principals reported that being identified as low performing or facing the possibility of such designation instilled a sense of urgency to take action.
- Most principals in two states perceived the method for determining accountability designations as clear; perceptions in a third were mixed.
- Principal perceptions around the clarity and meaningfulness of state accountability information were closely linked to its perceived usefulness for school decision making.

the most recent federal law, the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), and to assess whether student outcomes in schools identified for Comprehensive Support and Improvement (CSI)—representing the lowest performing 5% of Title I schools⁵ and all public high schools with graduation rates below 67%— improve. To achieve these goals, we partnered with three states—California, Florida, and Ohio—and performed several activities, including analyzing administrative data provided by the states,

administering and analyzing a principal survey, and conducting and analyzing interviews with district administrators in each state. More information about the study's design and methods is available in Brief 1. In addition, we provide more details about the principal survey and results for each survey item in a separate compendium.



The analysis for this brief focuses on the perceptions of school and district leaders regarding the information provided through accountability systems based on the principal surveys and district administrator interviews conducted during the 2021–22 school year. In contrast to the previous federal education law, No Child Left Behind, which relied heavily on math and English language arts proficiency rates, ESSA mandates states to establish a performance measurement system encompassing at least five performance indicators. At the same time, ESSA gives states substantial latitude in determining the specific performance measures as well as how to combine those measures into an overall performance score.⁶

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Study Findings

Most principals, in schools designated as CSI and non-CSI, reported that being identified as low performing or facing the possibility of such designation instilled a sense of urgency to take action. State accountability systems operate under the assumption that a low-performance designation, or the potential threat of one, will motivate change by prompting shifts in the decisions and strategies implemented by schools and districts.

Overall, 75% of principals stated that a low-performance designation had motivated their school to actively work toward improving performance.⁷ Moreover, most CSI school principals perceived a CSI designation as a catalyst for change and an opportunity to prioritize specific student groups. In total, 69% of surveyed CSI principals reported that their school had undergone changes because of their CSI status. Interviewed district administrators emphasized how actions required of CSI schools, specifically the needs assessment and improvement planning processes, played a key role in driving such changes. For example, one administrator described how CSI designations prompted certain alternative schools within the district to identify needs related to their scheduling and attendance procedures, which the district then supported school leaders in addressing. Similarly, another administrator observed that the CSI improvement process may have accelerated positive school-level changes, explaining,

I've seen some of our schools do some really great things.... They may have done some of those things without this process, but I know that this process kind of helped push that along maybe a little bit faster than it would've.

In contrast, an administrator cautioned that principals who narrowly associate the school-level changes they make as a result of their CSI designation with that accountability status could wind up abandoning those changes when their school exits CSI. The administrator shared,

I've had [school] leaders that . . . blame all year on we have to do this because we're in this [CSI] category. What happens is, when we get out of the category, then people say, "Well, now we don't have to do this."

In addition to spurring change, 79% of CSI principals indicated that the designation led them to pay closer attention to specific student groups, such as those with disabilities, English learners,

economically disadvantaged students, and students experiencing homelessness.⁸ These findings suggest that CSI designations may be directing principals' attention toward the performance of individual student groups, even though CSI status is based on overall school performance across all students. (In contrast to CSI, ESSA's Targeted Support and Improvement designation centers on the performance of particular student groups.)

Most principals in California and Florida perceived the method for determining accountability designations to be clear; however, perceptions in Ohio were mixed.⁹

Accountability indicators and measures, along with the resulting accountability designations, serve the purpose of providing schools with signals about their current performance levels and areas for improvement. However, for these signals to be effective, they must first and foremost be understandable.

In Florida, 83% of school principals reported that the method for determining accountability designations was clear (see Exhibit 2). Like many states, Florida uses an index-based system that combines multiple measures into an overall index score to assess school performance. Florida has maintained such a system for nearly two decades, and this extensive use may account for why principals tend to have positive perceptions of its clarity; long-term exposure to the system may contribute to better understanding.

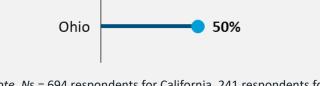
In addition, Florida employs a straightforward threshold for identifying CSI schools: If a school receives a "D" or "F" school grade based on its index score, it is designated as CSI. Interviewed district administrators praised the simplicity of this approach, with one administrator expressing, "[The criteria are] very clear.... It's triggered by that D or F. How you exit is you don't have a D or F. You get a C or above."

However, some district administrators noted that the methodology for calculating the index scores underlying the state's CSI criteria was complex, particularly for high schools. One district administrator explained that they work with school principals to help them understand the components of the index, while also minimizing its complexities to allow them to focus on their school-level responsibilities. Consequently,

if you were probably to come ask leaders about what counts, what doesn't count in the formula, they probably would not be able to tell you as specifically. They would tell you which groups of kids I'm watching and why, but maybe not because they count for X amount, so to speak.

In California, 71% of principals expressed positive views about the clarity of accountability designations (see Exhibit 2). California is one of a small number of states to employ a dashboard system that reports results for each indicator separately rather than combining them in an overall rating, such as Florida's letter grades. For each indicator, there are five possible ratings distinguished by different colors, with red being the lowest performance rating and blue, the highest performance rating. The color rating for each indicator is determined

Exhibit 2. Percentage of Principals Who Reported That the Method for Determining Accountability Designations Is Clear, by State Florida 83% California 71%



Note. *Ns* = 694 respondents for California, 241 respondents for Florida, and 196 respondents for Ohio.

on the basis of two measures: the level of performance and the year-to-year change in performance on the indicator. A school's CSI status is determined on the basis of the combination of color ratings across all performance indicators with several rating combinations resulting in a CSI designation.¹⁰

Interviewed district administrators reported that California's color rating scheme was helpful in providing a high-level snapshot of school performance. As one district administrator explained,

It's the colors that help. [School staff] understand that you don't want to be red or orange. You want to move towards the blue and green. So that helps in terms of explaining it to teachers, to parents, even for us to explain it to administrators.

Even so, district administrators indicated that California's matrix of multiple performance measures and intricate business rules for determining schools' color ratings/CSI status can be difficult for principals to fully understand and communicate. One administrator commented, "It's just got a lot of

pieces to it, and you've really got to kind of delve into it. And so, I guess it's more challenging to communicate the complexity of it in a more straightforward manner." Another district administrator noted that principals struggled to learn the CSI identification criteria when they first went into effect, relating,

"It's the colors that help. [School staff] understand that you don't want to be red or orange. You want to move towards the blue and green. So that helps in terms of explaining it to teachers, to parents, even for us to explain it to administrators."

-California district administrator

[Initially,] it was very confusing for a lot of people. And even with the technical guide out and they're going, "Okay, so let's just look at the colors." So they were like, "This makes no sense." I was like, "It'll start to make sense."

In contrast to California and Florida, only half of principals in Ohio perceived the method for determining accountability designations to be clear (see Exhibit 2). Like Florida, Ohio also employs an index-based system, but with an arguably more complicated methodology.¹¹ In particular, several of the individual measures in Ohio's accountability system represent the aggregation of many submeasures. The *Indicators Met* measure, for instance, consists of up to 26 different submeasures describing different facets of performance, including 23 that assess the percentage of students who are proficient or higher across different grades and subjects, and three others that assess chronic absenteeism improvement, end-of-course improvement, and gifted students' performance, respectively. District administrator interviews support principal survey results, with many administrators describing the index formula as "not well understood." One district administrator reported, "I don't think it's very easy to understand, even for people who have been in the education world for years." Several district administrators explained how Ohio's complex criteria require considerable time and effort to understand, which is challenging for school leaders who typically have limited time and effort to spare. For example, one administrator commented,

I think as principals and school leaders, they have a lot on their plate. And so to understand the ins and outs of those nuances, I think they generally understand it's based on performance on the state report card, but I'm not sure how detailed they really understand that formula.

It should be noted, however, that Ohio's accountability system underwent substantial changes in 2022, which may affect future perceptions of the system's clarity. In particular, the new system removed certain measures and simplified the calculation of some indicators.¹²

Principal perceptions around the clarity and meaningfulness of state accountability information are closely linked to its perceived usefulness in helping school decision making.

Ultimately, for accountability information to help spur change, it is important that accountability systems provide meaningful information about actionable areas in which schools need to improve and

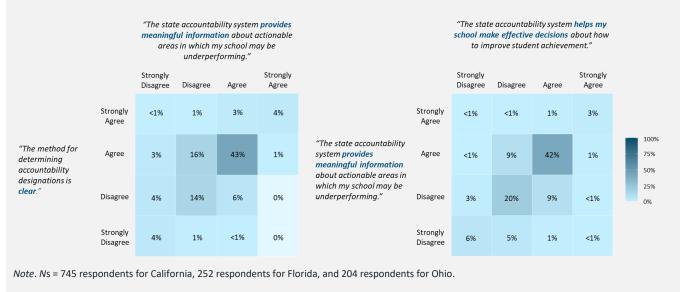
in which areas schools are already performing satisfactorily and help schools make effective decisions about how to improve student achievement.

"I don't think it's very easy to understand, even for people who have been in the education world for years."

—Ohio district administrator

Across all three states, moderate positive relationships were observed between the perceived clarity and meaningfulness of state accountability information (see left panel of Exhibit 3). This finding suggests a connection between clear communication and the perceived value and relevance of information. As the clarity of information increases, principals are more likely to perceive the state accountability system as providing meaningful information regarding areas in which their school may need improvement. It should be noted, however, that these observations are correlational, and causation should not be inferred from these relationships.

Exhibit 3. Relationship Between Principal Perceptions of State Accountability Information Regarding Clarity, Meaningfulness, and Usefulness



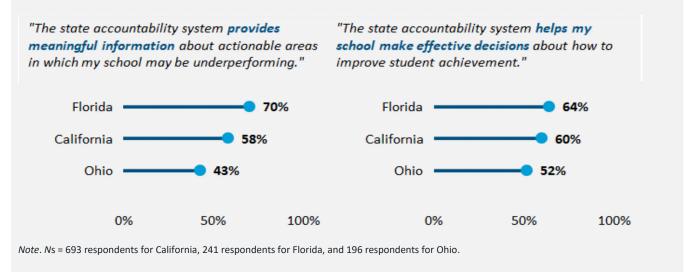
In turn, principals' views of the meaningfulness of state accountability information are positively associated with its perceived usefulness in school decision making (see right panel of Exhibit 3), suggesting that when principals see the information as meaningful, they are more likely to use it to inform decisions around school improvement. However, roughly one in five principals (20%) disagreed that the state accountability system provided meaningful information and helped the school make effective decisions, highlighting the need for improvement in ensuring that accountability information meets the needs of all principals.

Looking at the specific states, we see that Florida principals held particularly positive views of the state's accountability information, with the majority of principals reporting it to be meaningful and beneficial for decision making. Similarly, in California, slight majorities perceived the accountability system's information as meaningful and helpful for making improvement decisions. In contrast, Ohio's principals held less favorable perspectives (see Exhibit 4).¹³

Insights from district administrator interviews complement the principal survey results on the usefulness of state accountability information. A district administrator from Florida extolled recent improvements to the state's provision of accountability-related data, describing how districts receive a data file with their raw student data to help guide improvement planning. The administrator explained,

The school improvement plan platform from the state actually provides you all the data that the state actually expects you to take into consideration for your needs assessment. That's actually pretty neat. It wasn't like that many years ago, but they have really improved and stepped up their game.

Exhibit 4. Percentage of Comprehensive Support and Improvement (CSI) School Principals Who Agree With Statements Regarding the Effects of a CSI Designation



Interviewed district administrators in California tended to express more nuanced views on the usefulness of information. Although district administrators often indicated that California's accountability dashboard provides useful surface-level information on what color rating a school received for a particular measure, they also cited a need for more actionable information on the reasons behind the color rating. For example, an administrator noted that the dashboard might flag that a school is having issues with attendance, but a deeper dive into the school's data is necessary to uncover the school's specific attendance-related needs (e.g., whether there are inequities for particular student groups). Moreover, an administrator from another district in California indicated that the state's color ratings were of limited utility for goal setting and monitoring progress, explaining,

I think when schools were writing their school plans in the beginning, they were writing it against these dashboard colors. So, the school wants to move from a red to an orange, and we've really tried to wean them off of that.... Their measurable goal should be connected, not with the color, but connected with what they're doing to get better.

District administrators from Ohio underscored how the complexity and lack of clarity around the state's accountability criteria can make it challenging for leaders to understand what schools must do to avoid or exit CSI status. One district administrator stated,

It's like playing a game of baseball and you don't know the rules. You're using the rules from soccer to play baseball, and you're hoping that you're going to win, and you never do because you don't know the rules.

An administrator from another Ohio district noted how the information that the accountability system generates around school performance (e.g., academic growth, graduation rate, chronic absenteeism) is simply flagging challenges that the district is already aware of. She explained, "We already know those

are issues. If you saw a number, it doesn't take a rocket scientist. It doesn't give us a lot of different new information."

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The analysis of school and district leaders' perspectives on the information provided through ESSA accountability systems suggests that these systems effectively instill a sense of urgency to improve. However, there are other aspects of accountability system information, particularly in terms of clarity and usefulness, in which these systems may not be fully meeting their intended objectives. As state policymakers continue to refine their accountability systems, this brief raises some considerations to enhance the effectiveness of ESSA accountability information.

- Balancing clarity and complexity. Considering the critical role of clarity and understandability in the accountability theory of action, states should prioritize efforts to enhance these aspects in their accountability systems. This involves providing clear explanations regarding why schools are identified and the areas of performance most contributing to identification to ensure that principals have a comprehensive understanding of the designations. At the same time, states should be cautious not to lean too heavily toward simplicity. A system that is clear, yet overly simplistic, may provide only a superficial overview, lacking the necessary details for analysis and decision making. Striking the right balance between clarity and complexity, although challenging, is crucial to ensuring that the information is both accessible and meaningful to school and district leaders.
- Recognizing the limits of state accountability systems. Although state accountability systems play
 a crucial role in providing a broad overview of school performance, it is important to acknowledge that
 they cannot, by design, furnish all the specific information needed at the district and school levels.
 Indeed, a robust needs assessment requires insights that can be generated only at the local level, as
 context-specific challenges and solutions may vary widely among schools and districts.
- Translating a sense of urgency into lasting improvement. Low-performance designations or the threat of identification can indeed spark change and create a sense of urgency, as discussed earlier in this brief. However, it is important to recognize that urgency alone does not guarantee effective decision making and sustainable improvement. The key challenge lies in discerning between productive urgency and unguided haste. Urgency, without a clear direction or a well-designed plan for addressing underlying issues, can lead to hurried actions that lack a long-term commitment to change. To harness urgency as a catalyst for lasting improvement requires a clear roadmap, thoughtful planning, and a steadfast commitment to change.

Appendix A. Overview of Accountability in California, Florida, and Ohio

California

To evaluate school performance, California assigns schools ratings on seven possible indicators: (a) math performance, (b) English language arts (ELA) performance, (c) suspension rate, (d) chronic absenteeism (elementary and middle schools only), (e) graduation rate (high schools only), (f) college and career readiness (high schools only), and (g) English language proficiency progress. Because certain indicators apply to specific school levels, few schools in California would be held accountable for all indicators: Typical elementary and middle schools could receive ratings on a maximum of five indicators, whereas high schools could be rated on six indicators. Moreover, a school would not be held accountable for a given indicator if the data for the indicator were available for fewer than 30 students in either the current or prior year.

For each indicator, there are five possible ratings distinguished by different colors, with red indicating lowest performing and blue indicating highest performing. The color rating for each indicator is determined on the basis of two measures: the *level* of performance and the year-to-year *change* in performance on the indicator. Schools performing lower for both level and change would receive a lower color rating for the indicator.

A school's Comprehensive Support and Improvement (CSI) status is determined on the basis of the combination of color ratings across all performance indicators. Rating combinations that result in CSI designation are red ratings for all indicators, red ratings for all but one indicator, red or orange ratings for all indicators, and five or more indicators where the majority have red ratings. In addition to being identified on the basis of performance, high schools can be identified as CSI if the 2-year average of their combined 4- and 5-year graduation rate is below 68%.

Florida

Florida is one of many states to use an index-based system to evaluate school performance by aggregating many different measures into a single overall score. Florida's index scores are calculated by combining four indicators that vary by school level. All school levels have three indicators in common: (a) academic achievement, (b) school quality and student success, and (c) English language proficiency progress. Elementary and middle schools are also graded on academic progress, whereas high school calculations add 4-year graduation rates. These indicators are each calculated from an aggregation of a larger set of more fine-grained measures, or components, that vary by school level and are graded on a scale from 0 to 80, 100, or 120 points, depending on component and school level. Because certain indicator and component combinations apply to certain school levels, very few schools would be graded on all components. Moreover, a school would not be held accountable for a given indicator if the data for the indicator were available for fewer than 10 students.

The rules for identification as a CSI school in Florida are as follows: (a) attain an index score of less than 40, (b) attain an F or D on Florida's state accountability system (also scoring less than 40), or (c) attain a graduation rate of less than 67%.

Ohio

Like many states, Ohio uses an index-based system, which combines multiple measures in a single index or score to describe the overall performance of a school. Prior to 2022 (at which point, the state introduced several changes to how measures and ratings are calculated), the Ohio accountability system included 11 accountability measures, which were aggregated into six components further combined into an overall index of school performance. These six aggregate components include (a) achievement in ELA, math, science, and social studies; (b) progress for all students in the school, gifted students, students with disabilities, and low-performing students; (c) gap closing in ELA, math, and graduation rates and, for English learners only, progress in achieving English language proficiency; (d) K-3 literacy; (e) graduation; and (f) Prepared for Success, which includes multiple measures of college and career readiness. Because several components were specific to a given level of schooling, almost no schools would be held accountable for all components. Moreover, a school would not be held accountable for a given indicator if the data for the indicator were available for fewer than 15 students.

Schools in the bottom 5% on the basis of the overall index were designated as CSI.

Appendix B. Additional Exhibits

Exhibit B1. Percentage of School Principals Who Agree or Disagree That a Low-Performance Designation or Threat of Identification Creates a Sense of Urgency to Take Action, by State and Comprehensive Support and Improvement (CSI) Status

	California			Florida			Ohio		
Response	Total	CSI	Non-CSI	Total	CSI	Non-CSI	Total	CSI	Non-CSI
Strongly disagree	5%	4%	6%	6%	3%	10%	6%	13%	1%
Disagree	24%	22%	25%	13%	18%	8%	14%	10%	17%
Agree	58%	59%	58%	51%	49%	52%	68%	64%	71%
Strongly agree	13%	15%	11%	30%	30%	30%	12%	14%	10%

A low-performance designation (or threat of a low-performance designation) creates a sense of urgency for my school to take action

Note. Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding. *Ns* = 693 respondents for California, 241 respondents for Florida, and 196 respondents for Ohio.

Exhibit B2. Percentage of Comprehensive Support and Improvement (CSI) School Principals Who Agree or Disagree With Statements Regarding the Effects of a CSI Designation, by State

	•	not changed muc f its CSI status	h as a result	My school's CSI status has led us to focus more attention on student subgroups				
Response	California	Florida	Ohio	California	Florida	Ohio		
Strongly disagree	12%	4%	10%	1%	4%	3%		
Disagree	58%	54%	60%	17%	25%	21%		
Agree	27%	31%	26%	63%	60%	66%		
Strongly agree	3%	10%	3%	18%	10%	10%		

Note. Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding. *Ns* = 401 respondents for California, 48 respondents for Florida, and 58 respondents for Ohio.

Exhibit B3. Percentage of School Principals Who Agree or Disagree That the Method for Determining Accountability Designations Is Clear, by State and Comprehensive Support and Improvement (CSI) Status

	The method for determining accountability designations is clear								
	California			Florida			Ohio		
Response	Total	CSI	Non-CSI	Total	CSI	Non-CSI	Total	CSI	Non-CSI
Strongly disagree	3%	4%	3%	5%	1%	9%	6%	7%	4%
Disagree	26%	27%	25%	12%	9%	15%	44%	50%	39%
Agree	66%	66%	64%	66%	75%	56%	47%	42%	52%
Strongly agree	5%	3%	8%	17%	14%	20%	3%	2%	4%

Note. Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding. *Ns* = 694 respondents for California, 241 respondents for Florida, and 196 respondents for Ohio.

Exhibit B4. Percentage of School Principals Who Agree or Disagree That the State Accountability System Provides Meaningful Information About Actionable Areas, by State and Comprehensive Support and Improvement (CSI) Status

Response	in which my school may be underperforming								
	California			Florida			Ohio		
	Total	CSI	Non-CSI	Total	CSI	Non-CSI	Total	CSI	Non-CSI
Strongly disagree	10%	11%	8%	13%	12%	13%	16%	25%	8%
Disagree	32%	28%	37%	17%	16%	19%	41%	37%	45%
Agree	55%	57%	52%	63%	69%	57%	42%	37%	46%
Strongly agree	3%	3%	3%	7%	4%	11%	1%	2%	1%

The state accountability system provides meaningful information about actionable areas in which my school may be underperforming

Note. Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding. *Ns* = 694 respondents for California, 241 respondents for Florida, and 196 respondents for Ohio.

Exhibit B5. Percentage of School Principals Who Agree or Disagree That the State Accountability System Helps in Making Effective Decisions About How to Improve Student Achievement, by State and Comprehensive Support and Improvement (CSI) Status

The state accountability system helps my school make effective decisions about how to improve student achievement

Response	improve student achievement									
	California			Florida			Ohio			
	Total	CSI	Non-CSI	Total	CSI	Non-CSI	Total	CSI	Non-CSI	
Strongly disagree	7%	6%	7%	9%	8%	10%	13%	23%	5%	
Disagree	33%	34%	32%	27%	19%	34%	35%	31%	39%	
Agree	58%	57%	58%	58%	68%	49%	49%	41%	56%	
Strongly agree	2%	3%	2%	6%	5%	7%	2%	4%	1%	

Note. Percentages may not sum to 100 because of rounding. *Ns* = 693 respondents for California, 241 respondents for Florida, and 196 respondents for Ohio.

End Notes

¹ Fuhrman, S. H., & Elmore, R. F. (Eds.). (2004). Redesigning accountability systems for education. Teachers College Press.

² Hanushek, E. A., & Raymond, M. E. (2001). Does school accountability lead to improved student performance? *Journal of Policy Analysis* and *Management*, *20*(2), 297–327.

³ Le Floch, K. C., Martinez, F., O'Day, J., Stecher, B., Taylor, J., & Cook, A. (2007). *State and local implementation of the No Child Left Behind Act, Volume III—Accountability under NCLB: Interim report*. U.S. Department of Education, Policy and Program Studies Service.

⁴ O'Day, J. A. (2002). Complexity, accountability, and school improvement. Harvard Education Review, 72(3), 293–329.

⁵ States have the option to include non-Title I schools in identifying CSI schools on the basis of low performance.

⁶ Although ESSA affords states considerable latitude in defining performance measures and their integration into an overall performance score, it stipulates that academic indicators must carry greater weight than nonacademic indicators.

⁷ Results were largely consistent by CSI status and state (see Exhibit B1).

⁸ Results were similar across states (see Exhibit B2).

⁹ For results by state and CSI status, see Exhibit B3.

¹⁰ Rating combinations that result in a CSI designation include red ratings for all indicators, red ratings for all but one indicator, red or orange ratings for all indicators, and ratings for five or more indicators where the majority are red. In addition, high schools can be identified as CSI if their 2-year average combined 4- and 5-year graduation rate is below 68%.

¹¹ Reviews of Ohio's school accountability system have pointed to the complex nature of the state's performance measure and number of measures included in reports as weaknesses of the system. See Churchill, A. (2017). Back to the basics: A plan to simplify and balance Ohio's school report cards. Thomas B. Fordham Institute. <u>https://fordhaminstitute.org/sites/default/files/publication/pdfs/FORDHAM-2350-Analysis Ohio-School-Report-Cards WEB-final-12-7-17.pdf</u> and Bellwether Education Partners. (2017). An Independent Review of ESSA State Plans: Ohio. <u>https://bellwether.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Bellwether_ESSA_PlanReview_OH_Final.pdf</u>

¹² For more information on how the new system compares with the prior one, see Ohio's accountability system crosswalk.

¹³ For results by state and CSI status, see Exhibits B4 and B5.

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