

New Urbanism and Educational Infrastructure Reform: Community School Redevelopment

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Abstract: *The New Urbanism is one of the most influential planning movements since the late 20th century. The planning ideas and successful projects of New Urbanism are leading us to pursue the better living conditions. Under the influence of globalization, as the world's fastest growing countries, the urban construction of India inevitably affected by the impact of new ideas. Meanwhile, during the process of construction emerged some urban problems. In the growing process of urbanization and suburbanization, the planning of Indian residential areas still remain the mode of function division and sprawl development. Therefore, the application of advanced new ideas to improve the planning of Indian residential area is well worth researching. This paper starts with issues about Indian contemporary residential community planning, and then confirms the research question. After that, this paper introduces the related concepts to define the objects of research. Through the theoretical study, extract the New Urbanism community design concepts. And then, analysis the design concepts, study three practical cases of New Urbanism residential community and two cases of Indian residential community, combining with the site observation, summarize the possibilities and opportunity of residential community planning in India. Meanwhile, proposed the planning ideas, which is on the basis of the research before, and design a proposal in Beijing to implement the research question. Finally, evaluate the proposal and clarify the research result, points out the problems that need further investigation.*

Keywords: residential community, New Urbanism, application

1. Introduction

New Urbanism is a planning and development approach based on the principles of how cities and towns had been built for the last several centuries: walk able blocks and streets, housing and shopping in close proximity, and accessible public spaces. In other words: New Urbanism focuses on human-scaled urban design. The principles, articulated in the Charter of the New Urbanism, were developed to offer alternatives to the sprawling, single-use, low-density patterns typical of post-WWII development, which have been shown to inflict negative economic, health, and environmental impacts on communities. These design and development principles can be applied to new development, urban infill and revitalization, and preservation. They can be applied to all scales of development in the full range of places including rural Main Streets, booming suburban areas, urban neighborhoods, dense city centers, and even entire regions.

Community

The term community has two distinct meanings:

- 1) A group of interacting people, living in some proximity (i.e., in space, time, or relationship). Community usually refers to a social unit larger than a household that shares common values and has social cohesion. The term can also refer to the national community or international community,
- 2) In biology, a community is a group of interacting living organisms sharing a populated environment. A community is a group or society, helping each other

School

A school is an educational institution designed to provide learning spaces and learning environments for the teaching of students (or "pupils") under the direction of teachers. Most countries have systems of formal education, which is sometimes compulsory. In these systems, students progress

through a series of schools. The names for these schools vary by country (discussed in the *Regional* section below) but generally include primary school for young children and secondary school for teenagers who have completed primary education. An institution where higher education is taught, is commonly called a university college or university.

Reform

Reform (Latin: *reformatio*) means the improvement or amendment of what is wrong, corrupt, unsatisfactory, etc. The use of the word in this way emerges in the late 18th century and is believed to originate from Christopher Wyvill's Association movement which identified -Parliamentary Reform as its primary aim. Reform is generally regarded as antithetical to revolution.

Developing countries may carry out a wide range of reforms to improve their living standards, often with support from international financial institutions and aid agencies. This can include reforms to macroeconomic policy, the civil service, and public financial management.

Hence, urbanization is increasing day by day in India with full support of opportunities and style of living. But, urbanization is growing faster and faster that became barriers for balance, equitable and inclusive development. Although, people come to know about each other's culture and they exchange their ideas, breaking the barriers which earlier used to exist between them. In reality, social structure is getting dispersed for example- Family structure which is transform from joint to nuclear.

Principles on which we work on reform

- **New Urbanists want to see those human-scale neighborhoods return.** We create tools to reform zoning and street design and develop underutilized building types—like shopfront houses and courtyard units—that contribute to diverse neighborhoods. We

advocate for villages, towns, and cities consisting of neighborhoods designed around a five-minute walk from center to edge. These ideas are fundamental to New Urbanist thinking.

- **New Urbanists make place making and public space a high priority:** New Urbanist streets are designed for people—rather than just cars— and accommodate multimodal transportation including walking, bicycling, transit use, and driving. We believe in providing plazas, squares, sidewalks, cafes, and porches to host daily interaction and public life.
- **New Urbanism is pragmatic:** Great design is not useful if it can't be built. New Urbanists work with and include production builders, small developers, traffic engineers, appraisers and financial institutions, public officials, citizens and others with influence over the built environment to come up with implementable solutions.
- **New Urbanism is focused on design, which is critical to the function of communities:** The size and shape of a plaza will help determine whether it is consistently alive with people or windswept and vacant. The organization of buildings in a neighborhood will help establish its character. Combining appropriate design elements makes places that are greater than the sum of their parts.
- **New Urbanism is holistic:** All scales, from the metropolitan region to the single building, are related. A building that is connected to a transit stop will help the region function better, and well-organized region benefits the buildings within it. Streets that rely only on engineering tend to move automobiles and little else; all disciplines related to the built environment must work together to create great places.

2. Literature Review

Case Study -1

A. The Rajkumari Ratnavati School

- The school is designed by the New York-based architect **Diana Kellogg**
- The Rajkumari Ratnavati School will provide education and training to girls below the poverty line residing in the **Jaisalmer District, Rajasthan**. Running a state-based curriculum

The facilities

- Classrooms
- library
- Computer centre
- Bus facility to transport students from neighboring villages.

As the school is teaching girls till 10th class. They would be learning traditional skills unique to the region

The school will provide a midday-meal program to ensure proper nutrition for the students as well as lessen families' financial burden. Not only LEARNING but EARNING is also generated to the people as after school time local artisans teach embroidery and other skills to the mothers and the other women to earn through the skill. This will help them to get wages for the family development. Though meal

would be provided by school so that they get less burden on to financially. These lessons will preserve and enhance traditional techniques while establishing economic independence for the women, their families, and their communities.

School is made entirely out of local **hand-carved Jaisalmer sandstone by local craftsmen:** It was vital to Kellogg to include the community in a building made for the community. Using local material to create infrastructure helped reduce carbon emissions, and Kellogg chose to build a solar panel canopy on the roof as a cooling system where temperatures peak close to 120 degrees. Both the canopy and jalis keep the heat out and the elliptical shape of the structure also helps bring aspects of sustainability creating a cooling panel of airflow.

The gyaan center will empower and educate women, helping them establish economic independence for themselves, their families, and their communities. since the Gyaan center is designed by a woman for women, Kellogg looked at feminine symbols across cultures when starting the design process specifically symbols of strength, landing on a structure of three ovals to represent the power of femininity and infinity, as well as replicate the planes of the sand-dunes in the region of Jaisalmer.

The Gyaan center will equip young women with the tools to further their education and independence as well as raise awareness surrounding the issues faced by women in India on a global scale. The Rajkumari Ratnavati girl's school will serve more than 400 girls, from kindergarten to class 10, from below the poverty line residing in the mystic Thar desert region of Jaisalmer in Rajasthan, India -- where female literacy barely touches 32%. The school will be the first in a complex of three buildings known as the Gyaan center, which will also consist of the medha - a performance and art exhibition space with a library and museum, and the women's cooperative where local artisans will teach mothers and other women weaving and embroidery techniques from the region.

B. Role of Community in School, India

School community center is a joint initiative that distinguishes the totality of relationships that link the school, family and community. It differs in its focus on the academic development of children and youth, civic engagement and contribution, family support, social services with focus on safety and health and community services. School community center aims at developing school quality and training of children and young people as citizens willing and able to contribute to their communities. Schools as community centers is a collaboration between stakeholders in the community, parents and the school, focusing on:

- Supporting the development of children and youth,
- Improve their achievements,
- Supporting families
- Community development
- Women employment

C. Educational Functions of Community

1) **Increasing attendance in school:**

Community helps in increasing attendance and enrollment of the students in school by motivating its members.

2) **Providing physical facilities:**

It helps in providing physical facilities like buildings, teaching aids, teachers and other elements for better education for the community school.

3) **Financing education:**

It provides financial assistance or donations for educational purpose. It seeks helps from different generous individuals for extending their support for educational development of the community.

4) **Maintaining good atmosphere in school:**

Community takes the responsibility of school and helps in maintaining discipline, and decorum in institution. It also helps in forming timetable of the schools taking the needs of the community.

5) **Providing media of informal education:**

Community extends support for all-round development of its members in the school through its informal agencies like museums, art galleries, libraries, music drama centers, recreation centers, religious and secular institution, etc. Therefore, community helps the school in different ways for the educational development of its members. The learned and qualified students render their service for the development of the community. So both community and school are closely related and interconnected for a greater mission of the society i.e., creation of a learning society.

What Makes Any School an Urban School?

Many Americans believe that urban schools are failing to educate the students they serve. Even among people who think that schools are doing a good job overall are those who believe that in certain schools, conditions are abysmal. Their perception, fed by numerous reports and observations, is that urban students achieve less in school, attain less education, and encounter less success in the labor market later in life.

Researchers and educators often link this perceived performance of urban youth to home and school environments that do not foster educational and economic success. Moreover, urban educators report the growing challenges of educating urban youth who are increasingly presenting problems such as poverty, limited English proficiency, family instability, and poor health. Finally, testimony and reports on the condition of urban schools feed the perception that urban students flounder in decaying, violent environments with poor resources, teachers, and curricula, and with limited opportunities.

This report addresses these widespread beliefs about the performance of urban students, and their family and school environments. Using data from several national surveys, it

compares urban students and schools with their suburban and rural counterparts on a broad range of factors, including student population and background characteristics, afterschool activities, school experiences, and student outcomes.

A specific focus of this report is how poverty relates to the characteristics of the students and schools studied. Since, on average, urban public schools are more likely to serve low income students, it is possible that any differences between urban and nonurban schools and students are due to this higher concentration of low income students. In this study, the methodology used to explore differences between urban, suburban, and rural students and schools incorporates a control for the concentration of poverty in the school. Thus, this study allows comparisons to be made between urban and other schools and students, after factoring out one major characteristic of urban schools that is often related to differences between schools--the higher concentration of low income students.

In addition, this report focuses on those urban schools that serve the highest concentrations of low income students, in light of national concern over these schools. Previous research has suggested that students from schools with high concentrations of low income students and students from urban schools would be expected to have less successful educational outcomes, less supportive home environments, and less positive school experiences than students from other schools. In fact, this study finds large differences between urban and non-urban schools and between high poverty and low poverty schools on most of the indicators of student background, school experiences, and student outcomes studied.

Students attending schools with both an urban location and a high poverty concentration were expected, therefore, to have particularly unfavorable circumstances. This report documents how urban high poverty schools and their students compare with their counterparts in other locations across many areas of concern, according to national surveys. Furthermore, the analysis specifically examines whether these schools and students compare less favorably than predicted, when considering together the effects of poverty concentration and an urban location. If the differences between urban high poverty schools and others are no greater than predicted, it indicates that the circumstances in these schools are related in predicted ways to the effects of poverty concentration and an urban location added together. However, if the differences are greater than predicted, it indicates that the effects of poverty concentration and location interact, and that the level for that particular measure exceeds the level that was predicted from these two effects alone. When this occurs, urban high poverty schools and their students are said to compare particularly unfavorably (or favorably, as the case may be) to other schools on that measure.

| Potisitve | Neurtal | Negative |
|---|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cosmopolitan Schools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Worldly sophistication; fashionable (social/cultural perspective) • Metropolitan Schools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Large city and center of population and culture (cultural perspective) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City Schools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Center of population, finance, commerce (geographic perspective) • Community Schools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ A group of people forming a smaller social unit within a larger one, and sharing common experiences • Neighborhood Schools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ People living near one another • Urban Schools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ A city with at least 50,000 people (U.S. Census) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inner City Schools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Sections of a large city especially when crowded or blighted • Ghetto Schools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Section of a city in which many members of some minority group live or to which they are restricted as by economic pressure or social discrimination. • Slum Schools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Heavily populated area of a city characterized by poverty, poor, dilapidated or dirty |

| Possibilities | Characteristics | Challenges |
|---|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wider range of acceptable thinking and acting • More progressive ideas • Global awareness • Higher concentration of universities • Context has served as scaffolding for: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◦ Multicultural education ◦ Culturally relevant teaching ◦ Teaching for social justice ◦ Education for people with disabilities ◦ Several civil rights initiatives | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The school has a student population above 5,000, • The school has more than 60% students of color, • The school is more than 65% economically disadvantaged , • The school has more than 11% of English Language Learners, • The school has more than 15% students with disabilities, • The school has graduation rates of less than 65%, • The school has been designated as "Focus or Priority" by NYSED. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High administrative mobility • Less access to science and math resources • Inadequate funding • Factionalized infighting • High teacher shortages • High level of student health problems • Old school buildings |

3. Concept to be used for reform of Community School

Community center and school as known as Anganwadis are preschool centres that were originally established across India. Anganwadi workers and centers are not a boon for those rural women who leave their infants for some time in these centers to earn their livelihood.

Anganwadi centers and workers have a major contribution behind the development in the health facilities of women and infants in rural areas of India. With the constant efforts and social service of Anganwadi workers, development of schemes related to education and health has been possible in the country

- The Government is committed to repositioning the Anganwadi Centre (AWC) as a "vibrant ECD centre" to become the first village outpost for health, nutrition and

early learning.

The Anganwadi worker (AWW) is the community based voluntary frontline worker of the ICDS programme. Government of India launched the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) scheme, which was introduced on experimental basis on 2nd October 1975. ICDS today represents one of the world's largest programmes for early childhood development. ICDS Scheme is the most comprehensive scheme of the Government of India for early childhood care and development. Anganwadi is the focal point for delivery of ICDS services to children and mothers. The Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD) has issued guidelines stating that AWCs should be child friendly with all relevant infrastructures

At Anganwadi center (AWC) are delivered by an Anganwadi worker (AWW), who is a part-time honorary

worker. She is a woman of same locality, chosen by the people, having educational qualification of middle school or matric or even primary level in some areas. She is assisted by a helper who is from their own community.

Objectives

- To serve the objectives of pre-school, nutrition centre, semi-formal public health unit, community centre located in the heart of settlements. To support generation of human and social capital at the micro level.
- To create durable assets in rural areas and improve the infrastructure at village level. To provide creche facility to MGNREGA workers

By doing this, their employment also remains and their children get better care of their health and education. Health and education schemes launched at the rural level in the country can be fully effective only if the Anganwadi workers are not given their information. In every Anganwadi center in the country, Anganwadi workers are required from time to time and the government appoints Anganwadi workers to fulfill it. Simply put, without adequate food, children do not reach their growth potential and India has one of the highest levels of child-stunting in the world. Each centre provides one nutritious meal a day, health checks and a preschool education to children less than six years old. Keeping this in mind, the Rural Urban Council of Skills and Vocational Studies has started the Anganwadi Workers Diploma Course, after which the candidate can apply for and get the job of Anganwadi Worker.

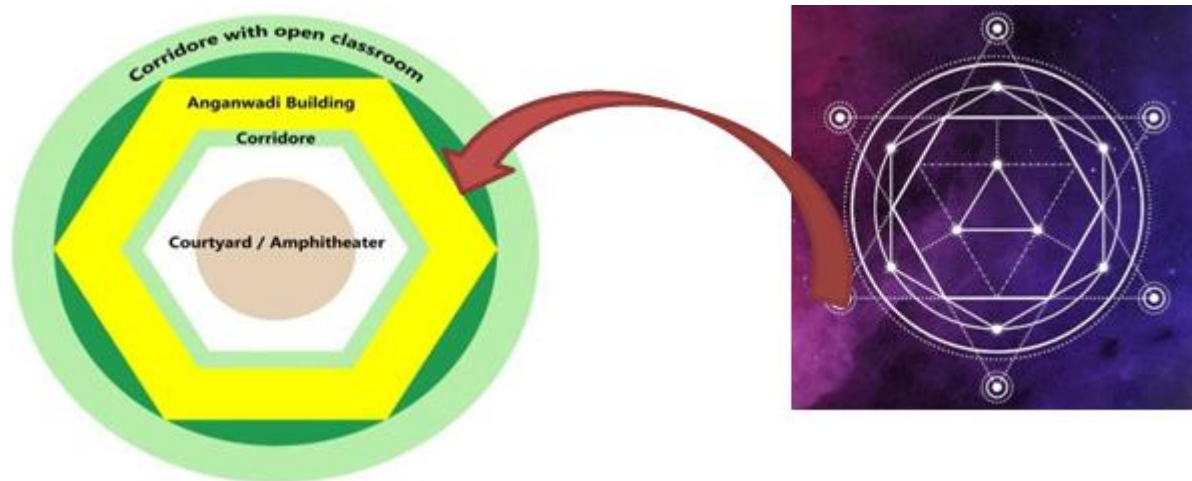
The following are the objectives of this convergence:

- To ensure that every AWC in these 2,534 Blocks are provided a pucca building under MGNREGA.
- To serve the objectives of pre-school, nutrition centre, semi-formal public health unit, community centre located in the heart of settlements.
- To support generation of human and social capital at the micro level.
- To create durable assets in rural areas and improve the infrastructure at village level.
- To provide creche facility to MGNREGA workers.

Concept which we used for design and reforming of community school inspiration from a basic form of hindu yantra

Design Development

- Some classroom & Workshops are surrounded with green courts that can be used as outdoor classrooms as well.
- The Center Courtyard / Amphitheater act as a learning space, use as occasions and also be a part of circulation space.
- As a part of Amenities, it is dynamic in terms of use such as for morning prayer, eating space, outdoor classes and etc.
- Classroom and workshop spaces are placed around the courtyard that open a semi-covered space made with Bamboo. Inspired with traditional housing. Courtyard caters the activity of classes/ workshops around them helps in keeping environment comfortable



4. Building Concept

Contemporary Vernacular architecture

While contemporary architecture is of the 21st century, using advanced materials and spread across a global scale, the vernacular is a style that has been existing since the beginning of time, makes use of local materials, and varies from region to region.

Vernacular architecture

The simplest form of addressing human needs, is seemingly forgotten in modern architecture. However, due to recent rises in energy costs, the trend has sensibly swung the other way. Architects are embracing regionalism and cultural

building traditions, given that these structures have proven to be energy efficient and altogether sustainable. In this time of rapid technological advancement and urbanization, there is still much to be learned from the traditional knowledge of vernacular construction. These low-tech methods of creating housing which is perfectly adapted to its locale are brilliant, for the reason that these are the principles which are more often ignored by prevailing architects.

More on vernacular architecture after the break.

Vernacular architecture originated when mankind was forced to make use of the natural resources around him, and provide himself shelter and comfort which is responsive to

the climate, a shield from the elements. It is a pure reaction to an individual person's or society's building needs, and has allowed man, even before the architect, to construct shelter according to his circumstance. Such simple traditions have long been regarded as backward, and have been replaced by half-digested, largely inappropriate architectural values.

The humanistic desire to be culturally connected to ones surroundings is reflected in a harmonious architecture, a typology which can be identified with a specific region. This sociologic facet of architecture is present in a material, a color scheme, an architectural genre, a spatial language or form that carries through the urban framework. The way human settlements are structured in modernity has been vastly unsystematic; current architecture exists on a singular basis, unfocused on the connectivity of a community as a whole.

If anything is to be taken from vernacular architecture, it provides a vital connection between humans and the environment. It re-establishes us in our particular part of the world and forces us to think in terms of pure survival – architecture before the architect. These structures present a climate-responsive approach to dwelling and are natural and resource conscious solutions to a regional housing need. The benefits of vernacular architecture have been realized throughout the large part of history, diminished during the modern era, and are now making a return among green architecture and architects. In order to progress in the future of architecture and sustainable building, we must first gain knowledge of the past and employ these strategies as a well-balanced, methodical whole to achieve optimum energy efficiency.

Design Concept

- 1) Use of eco-friendly designs and materials-
- 2) The buildings taken up under this project shall be model buildings using eco-friendly materials that conform to the following
- 3) The appropriate technologies for the AWC buildings shall, be in accordance with the local building traditions, while keeping in view the durability
- 4) The use of cement, sand and steel in construction shall be substantially reduced through:
 - Use of local material, local practices for stub foundations or arch foundations or under reamed piles, with suitable design and specifications to address the needs of the relevant seismic zone.
 - Avoiding cement plastering to the extent possible on both sides of the wall.

- Filler slabs using tiles or local material to reduce the concrete.
 - Ferro cement or suitable materials locally available.
 - Replace windows with honeycomb structures wherever local climate permits.
 - Local material like stone etc. for door and window frame and the minimise the use of wood
 - Local material for flooring like local stone and bricks etc.
 - Use of appropriate mud-based technology
- 5) Suitable building materials shall be selected for each building (indicative list below) and produced at the site of construction (using MGNREGA workers) such that the labour component in the building shall be maximised

5. Detail Drawings and Description about the Site

Site Detail and More

Address: MR 10 Rd, Kashipuri, Hera Nagar, Shyam Nagar Annex A, Bulandshahr, Indore, Madhya Pradesh 452010

Topography

Indore is located in the western region of Madhya Pradesh, on the southern edge of the Malawi plateau. It lies on the bank of Saraswati and Khan Rivulets, which are tributaries of the Shipra River and has an average **elevation** of 553.00 meter above mean sea level.

Soil

The district is covered by medium black soils. These soils are 0.46 to 0.9 meters thick and are rich in **lime** and **lime** nodules. The sub-soil and the partially disintegrated rock below allows easy **drainage** and hence these medium black soils can be freely irrigated

Location

Indore is the most populous and the largest city in the Indian state of Madhya Pradesh. It serves as the headquarters of both Indore District and Indore Division. at an average altitude of 553 meters (1,814 ft.) above sea level it has the highest elevation among major cities of Central India. The city is 190 km (120 mi) west of the state capital of Bhopal. Indore had a census-estimated 2011 population of 1,994,397 (municipal corporation) and 2,170,295. The city is distributed over a land area of just 530 square kilometers (200 sq. mi), making Indore the most densely populated major city in the central province. It comes under





Research Survey

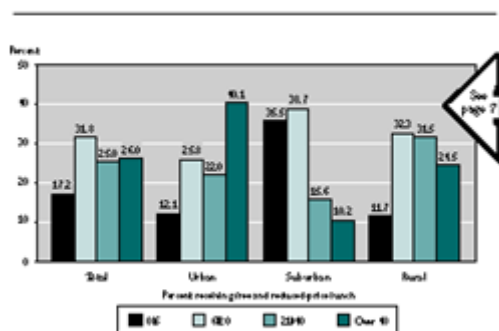
Student Characteristics

This study describes students who attended public schools primarily in the 1980s and examines their outcomes through 1990. Although the number of students in urban schools remained stable at about 11 million between 1980 and 1990, the proportion of those students who were living in poverty or who had difficulty speaking English increased over the decade. The proportion of students in urban schools who belonged to an Hispanic or "other" minority group (which includes Asians and Pacific Islanders) increased over the decade, while the proportion who were white declined and the proportion who were black stayed about the same. The increasing proportion of children with non-English backgrounds in urban locations has led to a greater proportion of children with difficulty speaking English in those locations.



Urban children were more than twice as likely to be living in poverty than those in suburban locations (30 percent compared with 13 percent in 1990), while 22 percent of rural children were poor in 1990 (figure A). Likewise, urban students were more likely than suburban or rural students to receive free or reduced price lunch (38 percent compared with 16 and 28 percent, respectively). It follows then, that urban students were more likely to be attending schools with high concentrations of low income students. Forty percent of urban students attended these high poverty schools (defined as schools with more than 40 percent of students receiving free or reduced price lunch), whereas 10 percent of suburban students and 25 percent of rural students did so (figure B). Previous research suggests that a high concentration of low income students in a school is related to less desirable student performance.

Figure B
Percentage distribution of students, by school poverty concentration within urbanicity categories: 1987-88



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Schools and Staffing Survey, 1987-88.

Aside from the greater likelihood of being poor and having difficulty speaking English, urban students were more likely than suburban students to be exposed to risks that research has associated with less desirable outcomes. Urban students were more likely to be exposed to safety and health risks that place their health and well-being in jeopardy, and were less likely to have access to regular medical care. They were also more likely to engage in risktaking behavior, such as teenage pregnancy, that can make desirable outcomes more difficult to reach.

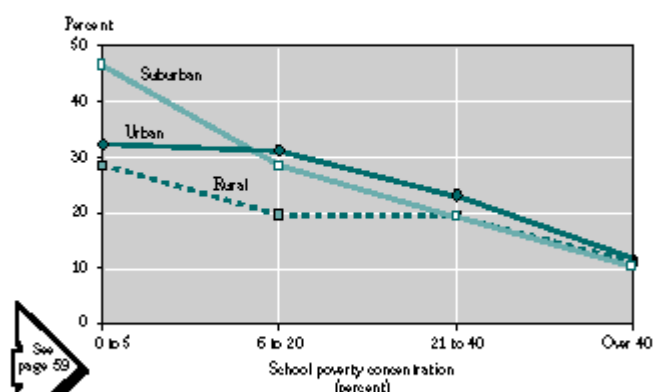
Student Background Characteristics and Afterschool Activities

Urban students were equally or more likely than other students to have families with certain characteristics that have been found to support desirable education outcomes, including high parental educational attainment, high expectations for their children's education, and frequent communication about school. However, there were some important exceptions. They were less likely to have the family structure, economic security, and stability that are most associated with desirable educational outcomes.

This section and those that follow use the analysis methodology described above to compare urban students with students in other locations while accounting for differences in school poverty concentration, and to compare students in urban high poverty schools with those in other high poverty schools. When compared to their suburban and rural counterparts, students in urban and urban high poverty schools were

- at least as likely to have a parent who completed college (figure C);
- at least as likely to have parents with high expectations for their education; and
- as likely to have parents who talked with them about school.

Figure C
Percentage of 8th-grade students with a parent in the household who had completed 4 years of college, by urbanicity and school poverty concentration: 1988

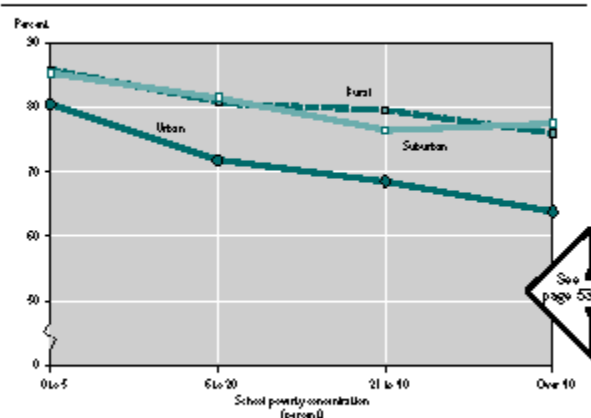


SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988, Base Year Survey.

However, they were

- Less likely to live in two-parent families (figure D);
- More likely to have changed schools frequently; and
- Less likely than some but not all other groups to have at least one parent in a two-parent family working.

Figure D
Percentage of 8th-grade students living in a two-parent family, by urbanicity and school poverty concentration: 1988



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988, Base Year Survey.

When examining their afterschool activities, students in urban schools, overall, were just as likely to be offered school sports activities and to work after school as students in schools elsewhere, but were less likely to participate in school-sponsored sports activities, even after accounting for poverty concentration. The afterschool experiences of students in urban high poverty schools were similar to those of students in high poverty schools in other locations.

In all the student background and afterschool characteristics studied, students in urban high poverty schools compared in predicted ways to those in other schools. The differences between these students and students in other schools were related to the effects of poverty concentration and an urban

location added together.

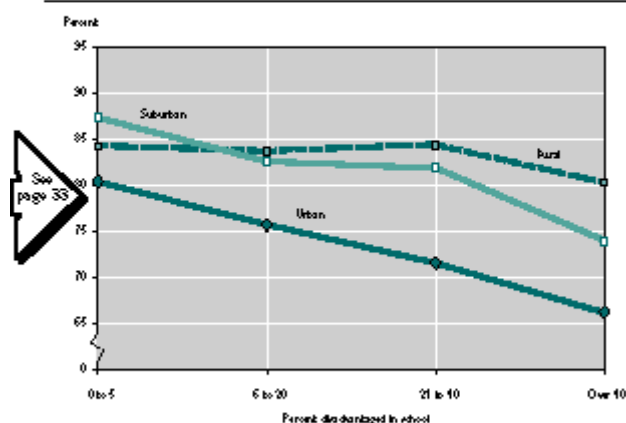
Student Outcomes

Many of the student background characteristics and school experiences of urban students outlined above would suggest that students in urban and particularly urban high poverty schools had greater challenges to overcome than did suburban or rural students in achieving academically, attaining education, and encountering success in the labor market. This study finds important differences in the achievement, attainment, and economic outcomes of urban students compared with those in other locations. These differences were more pronounced at younger ages and many diminish with age. However, for a minority of students who attended urban schools, the likelihood of long-term poverty and unemployment was much greater than for those who attended school in other locations.

When urban students were compared with suburban and rural students, while accounting for the higher concentration of poverty in urban schools, and when students in urban high poverty schools were compared with those in other high poverty schools:

- 8th graders in urban and urban high poverty schools scored lower on achievement tests, but their 10th-grade counterparts scored about the same as those in other locations.
- Students in urban and urban high poverty schools were less likely to complete high school on time (figure I), but they completed post secondary degrees at the same rate as others.

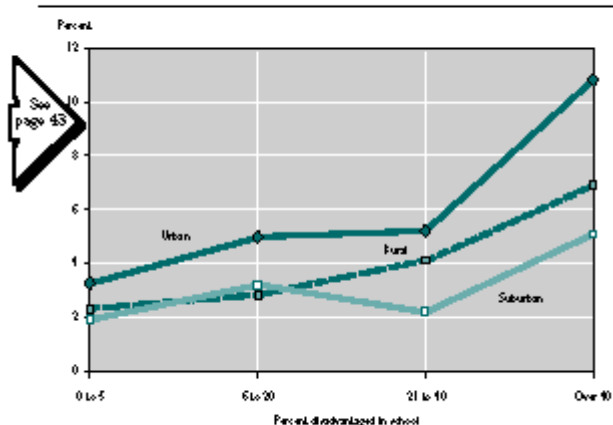
Figure I
Percentage graduating on time among the sophomore class of 1980, by urbanicity and percent disadvantaged in school



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, High School and Beyond Study, Third Follow-up Survey, 1986.

- young adults who had attended urban schools had lower rates of participation in full-time work or school 4 years after most of them would have left high school, but had similar participation rates 7 to 15 years after high school; those from urban high poverty schools had levels of activity that were similar to those from other high poverty schools.
- Young adults who had attended urban and urban high poverty schools had much higher poverty and unemployment rates later in life than those who had attended other schools (figures J and K).

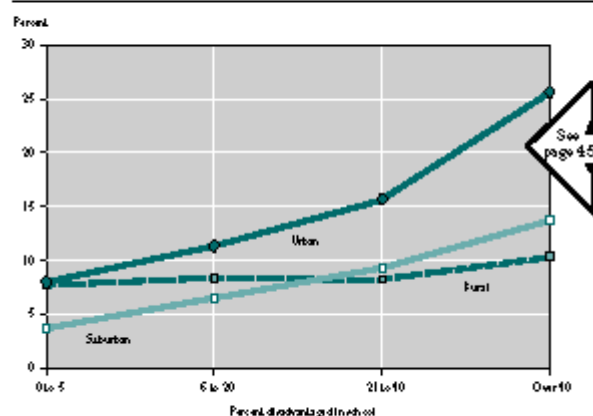
Figure K
Percentage of young adults unemployed, by high school urbanicity and percent disadvantaged in high school: 1990



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor, National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, 1990.

Although students in urban high poverty schools compared less favorably than students in high poverty schools located elsewhere on many measures, it is important to keep their absolute levels of performance in mind. Despite the challenges that students from urban high poverty schools face, the great majority of these students graduated from high school on time (66 percent), and during their young adult years, were more likely than not to be employed or to

Figure J
Percentage of young adults living in poverty, by high school urbanicity and percent disadvantaged in high school: 1990



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Labor, National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, 1990.

be in school full time (73 percent), and were living above the poverty line (74 percent).

The levels of the outcomes measured for students from urban high poverty schools would have been predicted from the effects of poverty concentration and an urban location added together. Given the large overall variation on these measures by urbanicity and poverty concentration, the

outcomes for these students were not unusual.

6. Conclusion

Looking across all of the measures of student background, school experiences, and student outcomes studied, some general findings emerge: Urban students and schools compared less favorably to their nonurban counterparts on many measures even after accounting for the higher concentration of low income students in urban schools.

Urban high poverty schools and their students performed similarly or more favorably than other high poverty schools and students on half of the measures studied. On these measures, large differences were found by school poverty concentration, so that high poverty concentration seemed to present equally challenging circumstances in all locations.

On the other half of the measures studied, urban high poverty schools and their students compared unfavorably to other high poverty schools. These measures tended to show consistent differences by location across the levels of poverty concentration.

When considering the large overall variations by location and poverty concentration, urban high poverty schools and their students, with few exceptions, were no different than the effects of location and poverty concentration added together would have predicted.

Previous research has suggested that students from schools with high concentrations of low income students, and students from urban schools would have less supportive family backgrounds, less favorable school experiences, and less successful educational outcomes than students from other schools. This study provides evidence that students in urban schools are more likely than those in other locations to have characteristics such as poverty, difficulty speaking English, and numerous health and safety risks that present greater challenges to them and their educators. This study also provides evidence that important differences do exist between the student background characteristics, school experiences, and outcomes of urban and other students, and that these differences represent more than that which can be attributed to differences in the school concentration of low income students. When these differences remain after accounting for poverty concentration, it is possible that the above- cited differences between urban and non-urban student characteristics, or other differences between urban, suburban, and rural locations come into play.

However, in every domain of students' lives studied student background characteristics, school experiences, and student outcomes--there were instances where urban students and schools were similar to their non-urban counterparts after accounting for poverty concentration, suggesting that some of the often-cited bleak perceptions of urban schools and students may be overstated. Given the greater challenges that urban students and schools face, the fact that they were similar to their non-urban counterparts on these measures suggests that they may not only be meeting the challenges, but performing above expectations in these areas.

Moreover, this report provides evidence that challenges the

perception that urban schools with the highest poverty concentrations are always much worse off than other schools. The report documents large variations in schools and students in all of the important areas considered when assessing school performance-student background, school experiences, and student outcomes. Within this overall variation, differences between urban high poverty schools and other high poverty schools did not usually exceed differences between urban and other schools at other levels of poverty concentration. On half of the measures, urban high poverty schools did compare unfavorably to high poverty schools in other locations; however, in an equal number of cases, urban high poverty schools were similar or even compared favorably.

The findings from this study suggest certain areas where the differences between the student background, school experiences, and outcomes of students in urban and other schools-particularly in urban high poverty schools compared with other high poverty schools--are most pronounced. These areas could benefit from further research:

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