DEYOLO KECLECTION A Broader View of Urban Parks

THE URBAN INSTITUTE

THE WALLACE FOUNDATION

Understanding Park Usership

Chris Walker

Parks managers share an ultimate objective: to ensure that their parks serve their communities the best way possible. Conducting surveys of park users can help managers respond better to community needs, resolve conflicts among groups of park users, and manage park assets more effectively—all keys to maximizing the community benefits of parks. But while usership surveys are relatively commonplace in other areas of public management, they have not been widely implemented in parks.¹ Central Park in New York City is one of a very few parks with a history of regularly surveying users to assess the effectiveness of ongoing improvement efforts.2

managers operate their parks more effectively and target parks improvements more strategically.

Usership surveys can help

The Value of Park Usership Surveys

Recently, as part of the Wallace Foundation's Urban Parks Initiative, the Urban Institute designed and conducted usership surveys in four urban parks. Our experience illustrates that usership surveying is a potentially valuable tool for parks managers and suggests ways that different types of surveys could be helpful. This brief provides an introduction to user surveys, including examples of their practical and strategic uses and the challenges involved in implementing them successfully.

Surveying park users can help managers perform their jobs. Most parks managers already take advantage of public meetings and formal hearings to obtain input from the community, but collecting information systematically from and about park users can do more. We are not talking here about data purely for research, or to support formal outside evaluation. We are talking about data to help managers take effective action—in designing investment, programming, and outreach strategies, and in monitoring their results.

Data on who uses a park can be compared with data on the wider community surrounding the park, to see whether some groups are being missed. Suppose, for example, that the manager of a neighborhood park has noticed a gradual drop-off in usage. On more and more sunny afternoons, the baseball diamond is vacant, and only one or two mothers are watching their toddlers play in the tot lot. The manager decides to conduct a systematic count of people entering the park over a two-week period, recording gender, ethnicity, and approximate age. Comparing the results to recent census data reveals that the surrounding neighborhood is increasingly composed of single people and childless couples, few of whom are visiting the park's primarily youth-oriented facilities. The usership survey thus provides strong evidence of a misalignment of parks facilities with the changing demographics of the neighboring community.

Data on how people use a park can identify which facilities are being over-, under-, or misused, facilitating decisions about park investment strategies. To illustrate, now that the manager of our neighborhood park knows that usership is low, he posts observers at various locations around the park to record what

visitors are doing. This survey confirms that the baseball diamonds are rarely used, but also that some young people are hanging out and possibly using drugs around the tot lots, making them less welcoming to parents of small children.

Data on why community members do not use a park can guide direct outreach efforts and identify areas and types of services that need to be improved or changed. To gain a better understanding of evolving community needs, our park manager commissions a series of focus groups with neighborhood residents. The focus groups with teens and their parents suggest that an organized after-school recreation program would attract more kids to the park and encourage them to take advantage of its facilities, while discussions with childless residents indicate that they would use the park if it offered a running or walking path and a space where dogs could play.

Finally, data on what park features visitors value can help resolve conflicts among groups. Suppose that over several years, our neighborhood park manager succeeds in substantially expanding usage by organizing a youth sports program, and installing a circumferential running path. Now one vocal group of neighborhood residents is advocating that the tot lots be replaced by a perennial garden, while another is calling for major improvements to the equipment in these tot lots. The manager conducts interviews with a representative sample of park visitors and finds that very few think the tot lots are worth conserving, while many would enjoy a garden area where they could stroll or sit. He uses these survey results to defend a renovation plan at the next public meeting.

Choosing the Right Survey Approach

There are many different ways to survey park users effectively, but each requires time and money, planning, and at least a little research know-how. Five major kinds of usership surveys are discussed here: counting, observation, closed-ended survey questions, open-ended interview questions, and focus groups. The kind of information a manager needs should guide the choice of survey approach.

Counting

In this approach, trained observers watch parkgoers and record characteristics such as gender, age, and race/ethnicity.3 This is a simple way to determine how many people are visiting the park as a whole or a particular facility, as well as their age and gender. For example, counting might tell a park manager that very few people are visiting a newly opened sculpture garden, and that most are elderly women. As a result, the manager might decide to put banners and directional signs near the tot lots where parents bring young children. To be sure that counting produces reliable results, it must be conducted systematically—at predetermined locations and at different times of day and days of the weekand information must be methodically recorded as it is gathered.

Observation

Like counting, this approach uses trained observers to watch park visitors. But observation differs from counting in that its goal is to record parkgoers' activities. It can answer questions about how particular facilities are being used, including inappropriate uses. For example, observation might reveal that families are picnicking in a shady area of a park, and that more trash cans are needed there. Or it might show that elderly people are strolling through a park's herb garden and need more benches to rest on. Observation, like counting, must be conducted systematically to produce reliable, representative findings. In particular, observers need to be carefully trained about how to classify and record different activities. In addition, it is important to anticipate that park visitors may be offended when they see people taking notes about their activities, or that some

users may change their behavior in response to being observed.

Closed-Ended Questions

Sometimes a park manager needs more information about the characteristics, activities, and preferences of park users—information that can best be obtained by asking visitors directly. A manager might, for example, want to find out whether visitors are aware of a new facility that has just opened in the park, or whether they think it is more important to renovate the soccer fields or upgrade the playground equipment. The simplest approach is for trained interviewers to ask a series of closed-ended questions. These are either yes/no questions (do you know about the new perennial garden?) or questions with a specific set of possible answers (have you visited the garden more than once in the last month, once, or not at all?). Questions are listed on a preprinted survey form, and can be asked in person, over the telephone, or in a mail-back questionnaire.4 Closed-ended questions simplify analysis because respondents can only choose from a predefined set of possible answers, making their responses easy to summarize and compare. Soliciting answers to questions from park visitors is, of course, more intrusive than simply counting or observing them. But it can also yield a more complete user profile, especially if respondents are carefully selected to be representative of a larger group of people, such as all park visitors or all households in the surrounding neighborhood.

Open-Ended Questions

In some situations, a park manager might want to learn more about the opinions and preferences of visitors than can be gleaned from a series of closed-ended questions. Interviewers can be trained to ask open-ended questions that allow respondents to voice—and the researcher to record—in-depth thoughts about the park. For example, an open-ended survey question might ask users of a park's picnic area why they chose to come here rather than

other nearby locations, what they like most and least about the area, or what improvements they would like to see over the next year. Or an open-ended question can be used in conjunction with closed-ended questions. For example, if a closed-ended question asks visitors how safe they feel on a park's bike path (completely safe, fairly safe, not safe), an open-ended follow-up question might ask those who say "not safe" to explain why. Interviewers write down (or tape record) exactly what people say in response to these questions, leaving it to later analysis to categorize and generalize across respondents. Open-ended questions of this kind can yield fascinating—and sometimes unexpected information about how visitors perceive park features and what improvements they would like to see. However, they are time-consuming to administer and analyze, so most survey professionals prefer to keep open-ended guestions to a minimum.

Focus Groups

Focus groups are very different from more structured survey methods. They are most useful for exploring attitudes and opinions in depth for groups of park users. For example, it might make sense to convene a focus group of elderly women who live near a neighborhood park, to explore how safe they feel using the park and what it would take to make them feel more comfortable about visiting at different times of day. Typically, a focus group includes eight to 12 participants who represent a particular type of park user, such as dog walkers, teenage boys, or elderly visitors. A trained facilitator introduces a sequence of issues for discussion by the group, encouraging everyone to talk and to respond to one another's points. The whole session is recorded, and the tape or transcript is analyzed to discern important issues, challenges, or points of consensus. Often it can be useful to convene a focus group before designing a closed-ended survey, to identify key issues of concern to different groups of users and gain insight on how to structure good survey questions. But focus groups can also be effective *after* a survey is conducted, to follow up on key findings and explore their implications in greater detail.

Other Information Sources

Data from user surveys are the focus of this brief. However, many important questions require combining usership survey data with other types of information. The U.S. Census and related population studies, for example, can provide important information on the changing number, age, gender, or ethnic and racial composition of people in the communities surrounding a park—to help establish trends over time or goals for visitor use. Analysis of broader changes in the city or metropolitan region as a whole can help parks managers understand the changing demands on an entire park system. Government records—including permits issued, accident and crime incidents reported, participants counted at park programs, trash volumes collected, and many other routinely collected park records—can also be analyzed for trends in user behavior. Tabulating and reporting systems can add up such individual records and analyze them over time, providing trend data that are invaluable in making arguments about productivity and accountability. Finally, ratings by trained observers can record the physical conditions of major park areas, such as the grounds, restrooms, and structures. If recorded periodically with reliable scales, these ratings can track changes in the condition and quality of key facilities. Thus, usership surveys should be viewed as one of many tools for gathering reliable information to guide park management decisions.

Examples from the Field

In the late 1990s, the Urban Institute designed and conducted usership surveys in four urban parks that were part of The Wallace Foundation's Urban Parks Initiative: Central Park in New York City, Garfield Park in

Chicago, Golden Gate Park in San Francisco, and Prospect Park in Brooklyn, New York. These surveys were intended to help inform assessments of parks improvement strategies funded by the initiative. However, this experience had the added benefit of illustrating the broader potential of surveying as a tool for parks managers for day-to-day decisionmaking and problem solving. The four field examples presented below suggest ways that different types of surveys could help address challenges faced by parks managers, and illustrate key issues of survey design and interpretation.

Central Park—Encouraging People to Enjoy More of a Park's Assets

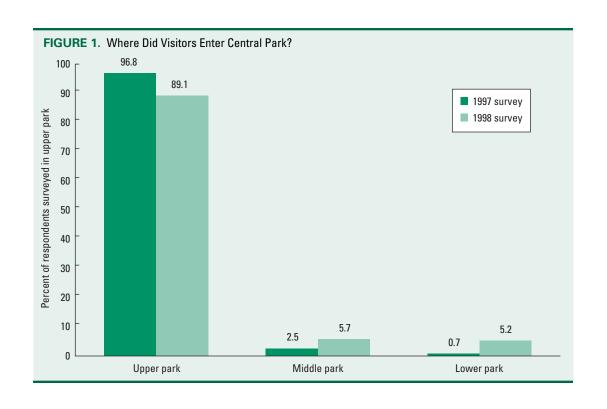
Central Park runs through Manhattan, from 59th Street at the south end of the park to 110th Street at the north end. At the time of the Urban Parks Initiative, the upper portion of the park (north of 96th street) had long been considered a dangerous area; people also believed (with justification) that it was poorly maintained and there was very little to do there. The Central Park Conservancy secured Wallace's support to continue its efforts to transform the upper park into a vital cultural resource for residents of northern Manhattan, as well as the city as a whole.

The Conservancy planned to increase usership of the upper park through a combination of new programming and aggressive outreach. Specifically, new educational and stewardship programs were launched at the Dana Discovery Center, which offers recreational activities and equipment at the northern end of the park. And the Harlem Meer Performance Festival Series brought jazz, reggae, and Latin music concerts to the upper park. In conjunction with these new programs, outreach was conducted in the middle regions of the park. Visitors to Belvedere Castle in the middle park, for example, began receiving materials developed by the Conservancy (in English and Spanish) that promoted Central Park as one park for all New Yorkers and featured activities taking place at the Dana Discovery Center as well as Belvedere Castle.

To assess the effectiveness of these efforts. managers needed to find out whether more people were circulating from the middle regions of the park to the upper park and how their opinions about different areas of the park were changing. Urban Institute staff designed a survey—including a combination of closedand open-ended questions—to determine whether circulation patterns and perceptions of the park changed between 1997 and 1998. Interviewers were stationed at the Dana Discovery Center (upper park) and the Belvedere Castle (middle park) at different times of day on both weekdays and weekends in different seasons of the year, to ensure that they encountered a representative mix of visitors. They were instructed to approach and interview the first person (or group) that passed them. Once they completed the first interview, they immediately approached the next person (or group), and so on. In this way, between 550 and 600 visitors were interviewed in each of two rounds of surveying in Central Park. Respondents were asked where

they entered the park and places they stopped.

Analysis of the survey data indicates that circulation may have increased slightly (figure 1). The share of visitors to the upper park who entered in the lower park increased from less than 1 percent to over 5 percent, and the share of upper park visitors entering in the middle park rose from under 3 percent to almost 6 percent. Correspondingly, the share of upper park visitors who entered at the upper park dropped. Although these changes are relatively small, they are statistically significant and consistently point to an increase in the share of park visitors moving from one part of the park to another. 5 However, the data show no increase in a stricter measure of circulation—the percentage of people entering the park at one point who made stops at another point in the park. Stopping reflects an explicit decision to stay and enjoy a particular spot, not simply to traverse an area on the way to somewhere else. On this measure, overall park circulation remained unchanged between 1997 and 1998, and visitors entering at the middle or lower park were no more likely to stop at the



Dana Discovery Center in the upper park. So did circulation increase or not? There is no single right answer, but the patterns revealed when both circulation measures are considered together suggest that change is occurring slowly. There was some increase in circulation among regions, but the movement was too gradual to show up in any statistically significant movement by the stricter measure—given the size of the sample and the length of the observation period.

This pitfall is common when surveys are used to track gradual change over time. If a park manager wants to use these measures to monitor trends in circulation, it would make sense to survey larger samples of visitors or wait longer between survey rounds, to allow time for measurable changes to occur. In addition, other types of measures could be effectively combined with data on circulation patterns to inform a manager's strategies for attracting visitors from one part of the park to another. For example, in-depth interviews with visitors who are not going to the upper park might identify specific improvements needed to attract them. Similarly, focus groups could provide a good tool for exploring alternative strategies to further expand circulation and assess how different categories of visitors would respond to different strategies.

Garfield Park—Attracting More Visitors from the Immediate Community

The Garfield Park Conservatory is located on the edge of Garfield Park on Chicago's west side, and was once a significant regional, even national, attraction for its prominent collection of plants and architectural distinction. But the park and surrounding neighborhood have deteriorated in recent years. As a result, Conservatory usership declined to a handful of patrons on an ordinary day, with attendance spiking only during seasonal flower shows. In addition, neighborhood residents tended to shun the Conservatory, viewing it as "not for us," but for a more affluent usership.

The Garfield Park Conservatory Alliance was formed in 1992, in partnership with the Chicago Parks District, to restore the facility and its collection. Support from The Wallace Foundation financed major renovations to the Conservatory, including a complete redesign of the entrance as well as the development of new programs on gardening and horticulture designed to make the park more welcoming and attract more frequent visits by people living both inside and outside the immediate neighborhood.

Park managers needed to know whether overall usership of the Conservatory and its programs had increased as a result of the improvements, and whether there were more, and more frequent, visitors to the Conservatory from the surrounding neighborhood. To answer these questions, the Urban Institute examined multiple sources of data, including automated counts of Conservatory visitors, program and attendance data, and closed-ended surveys to record the characteristics and perception of visitors to the Conservatory. To conduct the surveys, interviewers were stationed inside the main entrance to the Conservatory. They randomly selected people to interview as they entered through the turnstile. Between 85 and 100 visitors were interviewed during selected weekends in each of the two rounds. The interviewers recorded each respondent's age, race, and gender, and asked whether the respondent lived in the surrounding neighborhood.

A key challenge for the design of this survey was to select a sample of visitors that would be representative of "typical" days and times, so the findings would not be biased by high-usership events or times. Park managers already knew that they could attract large numbers of visitors for seasonal flower shows and other special events. Interviews, therefore, were scheduled to take place on a Thursday and Saturday during the same week in each of three seasons—spring, summer, and fall—in 1997 and 1998. The local survey director selected the week to conduct interviews within ranges of months and weather

conditions specified by the Urban Institute, with the added condition that no special events should be taking place during the time of the interviews.

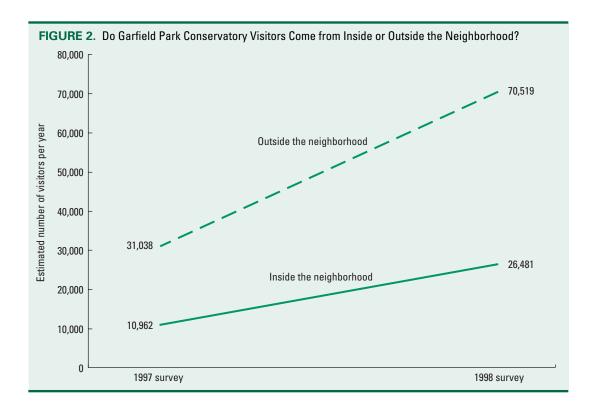
Results indicate that substantial progress was made between 1997 and 1998 in attracting new visitors to the Conservatory, including visitors who live in the surrounding neighborhood (figure 2). Specifically, the estimated number of casual visitors (people who do not come because of any special event) rose from 42,000 in calendar year 1997 to 97,000 in calendar year 1998. The share of visitors coming from inside the neighborhood held steady at roughly one in four, suggesting that usership from both inside and outside the neighborhood rose guite dramatically.

These survey findings provide strong evidence that the Conservatory's strategy is paying off. To learn more about how to continue and expand this strategy, it might make sense to send a mail-back survey to a random sample of residential addresses in the neighborhood, asking whether household members use the park, and if not, why not. This survey would enable managers to learn more about an important target population—residents of

the surrounding neighborhood who are not currently visiting the park—and to gauge the potential effectiveness of different programs that might make the park more attractive to these residents.

Golden Gate Park—Discouraging Inappropriate Uses

Golden Gate Park was reclaimed in the 1870s from the sand dunes east of downtown San Francisco. Although the eastern end of the park features several major cultural facilities, the western end is largely open space. It has long been viewed as unsafe and uninviting, due to its overgrown vegetation, illicit sexual and drug activity (particular along an area known as the Inner Trail), and homeless encampments. The Friends of Golden Gate Park secured Wallace Foundation support to increase usership of the western end of the park through capital improvements and new program initiatives. These include renovating a beach chalet as a brewpub (a restaurant and bar featuring local micro-brews) and visitors' center, creating a new entrance to encourage heavier use of the Inner Trail and thereby discourage illicit activities, and developing new



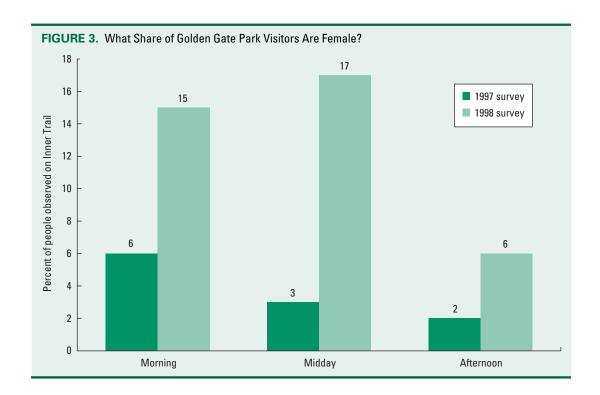
educational and outreach programs that draw visitors to the western end of the park.

To determine the effect of these initiatives, park managers needed to find out whether usership was increasing in the western part of the park and whether illicit activities were decreasing. The Urban Institute developed procedures to count the people using the Inner Trail over 15-minute time spans, tally the race and gender of these park users, and systematically record their behaviors during the observation period.

Results indicate that usership on the Inner Trail increased and that the ratio of female to male visitors also went up—a sign that the location is perceived as safer (figure 3). Because women are generally more sensitive to safety concerns than men, increases in the share of female users is generally a good indicator that perceptions of safety are improving. For each season, day in the week, and time of day the percent of female users observed on the Inner Trail rose between 1997 and 1998. The fact that the vast majority of users are still men suggests that the space still does not function very well, but the growing share

of women indicates that the situation is improving.

In addition, the frequency of inappropriate behavior decreased. In fact, very few instances of inappropriate behavior were recorded. This result was surprising, given the area's reputation and the fact that a casual stroll often elicited sexual solicitations, even after the park's improvement initiatives had been implemented. One probable explanation is that our observers were not only strolling about but also taking notes, thus discouraging people from engaging in inappropriate behavior that might otherwise have taken place. Despite this problem, the data still indicate that inappropriate behavior along the Inner Trail had reduced, because significantly fewer instances of inappropriate behavior were observed from one year to the next. If managers want a more complete picture of inappropriate behavior along the Inner Trail, they might consider systematically recording all complaints they receive from visitors or arrest data from the local police precinct. These administrative data sources have limitations as well, but if they are systematically recorded and monitored over time, they can



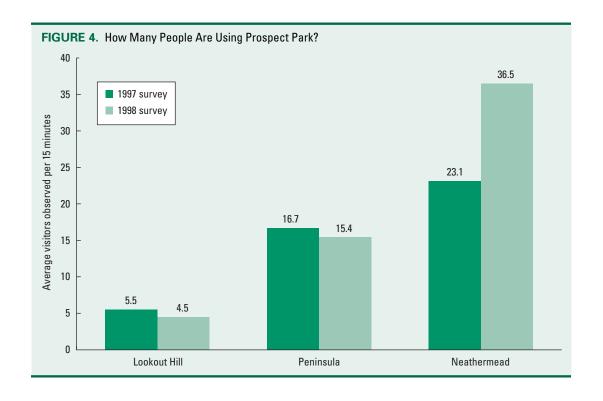
provide additional insight into patterns and trends in inappropriate behaviors.

Prospect Park—Shifting the Volume of Usership from One Area to Another

Prospect Park in Brooklyn is lined with old trees that have been under stress from substantial increases in park use, including such activities as barbequing and volleyball. The Prospect Park Alliance, in partnership with the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation, secured Wallace Foundation support to restore aspects of the historic landscape and support capital investments with educational and volunteer programs to build awareness among community residents of the park's fragility. The Alliance also hoped to reduce inappropriate park use and increase park circulation—particularly in underused areas—as a way of relieving pressure on more heavily used places and encouraging race and class integration of the park's spaces.

To assess whether this goal was being met, park managers needed to know whether usership was increasing at three key sites: the Nethermead (an open space in the park's center suitable for multiple uses), the Peninsula (a space in the park's southern portion), and Lookout Hill (a wooded area overlooking the Peninsula). Therefore, observers were stationed at these places to systematically count all the visitors they could observe in a 15-minute period at different times of day, days of the week, and seasons of the year. The results show a small increase in the average number of visitors at Nethermead but virtually no change at Lookout Hill or the Peninsula (figure 4).

Is usership really increasing at Nethermead? It turns out that the simple averages shown below mask considerable variation due to time of day, day of the week, and other factors. Not surprisingly, the number of visitors is consistently higher in the spring and summer than in the fall, on weekends than on weekdays, and on warm sunny days. A statistical technique known as multiple regression—which can estimate how much each of several independent factors contributes to variation in an outcome—was used to control for these variations and isolate real differences from one year to the next. The multiple regression analysis indicates that 15 percent more peo-



ple used the Nethermead per observation period in 1997 than 1998, controlling for the effects of season, day of the week, time of day, and temperature. Multiple regression also makes it easier to measure the independent effect of each variable. For example, a weekend observation will detect 44 percent more users than a weekday, other things being equal, and a midday observation will detect 20 percent more users than a morning, other things being equal. These findings not only confirm that usership at Nethermead is really rising, but can also provide useful insights about time periods when usership could best be boosted. For example, managers in Prospect Park might consider special events to attract visitors in the fall, or programs targeted to elderly people or mothers of small children who might visit during the morning hours.

Conclusion

Usership surveys are a tremendous potential source of information that can help managers operate their parks more effectively and target parks improvement strategies more strategically. The Urban Institute's experience in designing and implementing different kinds of user surveys in four urban parks as part of The Wallace Foundation's Urban Parks Initiative illustrates the kinds of information these surveys can provide and the practical and strategic insights they can offer. Many parks managers are adept at using public meetings and formal hearings to get input from the community, but collecting information systematically from and about park users can do more—providing solid facts about who visits a park, how they are using park spaces and facilities, why some areas are underused, and what people value most in a park.

Although the survey methods discussed here are not especially complex, they still pose some design and analysis challenges. Our field experience highlights several common challenges involved in user surveys, including the difficulty of discerning slow or gradual

changes with survey rounds that are too close together, samples of respondents that are not fully representative of the group you want to understand, the risk of changing people's behavior by observing or recording it, and the need for multivariate statistical techniques to disentangle complex patterns of change. To anticipate and address these challenges, parks managers can either consult or partner with research professionals who have survey experience. But the parks managers themselves should take the lead in planning the right kind of surveys and the appropriate occasions for their use so the investment produces information they can use to strengthen and improve their programs and facilities. A manager with New York City's Partnership for Parks, which has almost a decade of experience with user surveys, offers this advice: "I would tell any park group that is about to go into a program of information gathering like ours that it is a great idea. But keep it simple, especially at first."6

Notes

- One reason may be that many parks managers routinely collect and assess visitor counts, and may not yet have recognized the potential value of collecting additional information about and from park users.
- The Central Park Conservancy and its partner, the New York Department of Parks and Recreation, collected user information beginning in 1972, so that managers would have solid data about how their efforts were working to expand public use. Following an initial survey in 1972, major surveys of park visitors were conducted in 1982, 1989, and 1995.
- 3. Regular park staff, volunteers, or temporary hires (including young people) can serve as observers as long as they are effectively trained and consistently supervised. No special skills or expertise are required, but observers need to understand the goals of the data collection effort and be familiar with the forms they are filling out and the locations they are observing. A good training program does not need to take a long time, but it should include opportunities for trainees to practice filling out the survey forms.

- 4. Different modes for administering a survey offer different costs and benefits. In general, it is most costly to conduct surveys in person and least costly to distribute forms for people to mail back. However, response rates are typically highest when people are interviewed in person and lowest when they have to fill out a form themselves and mail it back. Low response rates raise concerns about whether the people who answered the survey are really representative of the population of interest.
- 5. Statistical significance is a test developed by statisticians to protect against interpreting as a real effect an observed change that was in fact due merely to chance. The standard of significance used here (the .05 level) says that there are no

- more than 5 chances in 100 that the observed difference is due to chance. The .05 level is the most commonly used level in analyses of this kind
- Michelle Caulfield, New York's Partnership for Parks.

About the Author

Chris Walker is a senior research associate in the Metropolitan Housing and Communities Policy Center at the Urban Institute. His current research focuses on community building and development.

The Wallace Foundation's Urban Parks Initiative

The Wallace Foundation's **Urban Parks Initiative** was designed to improve the quantity and quality of urban parks for public use, particularly in low-income neighborhoods, and to broaden urban leaders' understanding of the importance of parks to the health and vitality of cities.

From 1990 through the initiative's conclusion in 2003, Wallace supported 19 public/private partnerships in 17 cities for creating new parks in underserved neighborhoods, reforesting urban areas, restoring landscape, and bringing new activities to both neighborhood and metropolitan parks. Wallace's initiative helped secure 350 acres of new parkland and 50 miles of greenway trails, restored 300 acres of existing parkland, and leveraged more than \$150 million in public/private commitments. The Foundation also supported national and regional forums to share lessons on park development and their contribution to community revitalization.

The Wallace Foundation commissioned the Urban Institute to evaluate the effectiveness of funded activities in parks in 11 cities. The Institute collected information on how parks improvement efforts may have induced changes in the numbers or types of people who used the parks. Researchers also examined the partnerships parks agencies formed with nonprofit organizations to undertake these improvements, as well as the ways in which they engaged citizens in their efforts.

Parks Publications

This brief is one of three short studies focused on a new and broader view of the roles parks can play in urban communities: "The Public Value of Urban Parks" and "Understanding Park Usership," by Chris Walker; and "Urban Parks as Partners in Youth Development," by Margery Austin Turner.

Other publications stemming from the Urban Institute's evaluation of the Wallace Urban Parks Initiative include *Partnerships for Parks: Lessons from the Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Urban Parks Program,* by Chris Walker; *Public Use of Urban Parks: A Methods Manual for Park Managers and Community Leaders,* by William Kornblum, Chris Hayes, and Ryan Allen; and *Communities for Parks: A Framework for Building Engagement,* by Chris Walker, Maria-Rosario Jackson, and Robin Redford.

All these publications can be obtained from the Urban Institute's online bookstore, http://www.uipress.org, or by calling 202-261-5687.



Nonprofit Org. U.S. Postage PAID Permit No. 8098 Ridgely, MD

The Urban Institute 2100 M Street NW Washington, DC 20037 Phone: 202-833-7200 Fax: 202-467-5775 E-mail: pubs@ui.urban.org

The Wallace Foundation Two Park Avenue, 23rd Floor New York, NY 10016 Phone: 212-251-9700 Fax: 212-679-6990

E-mail: info@wallacefoundation.org

Copyright © 2004

The views expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of the Urban Institute, its board, its sponsors, or other authors in the series. Permission is granted for reproduction of this document, with attribution to the Urban Institute.

The Urban Institute

The Urban Institute is a nonprofit, nonpartisan policy research and educational organization established in Washington, D.C., in 1968. Its staff investigates the social, economic, and governance problems confronting the nation and evaluates the public and private means to alleviate them. The Institute disseminates its research findings through publications, its web site, the media, seminars, and forums.

Through work that ranges from broad conceptual studies to administrative and technical assistance, Institute researchers contribute to the stock of knowledge available to guide decisionmaking in the public interest.

The Wallace Foundation

The Wallace Foundation is an independent, national private foundation established by DeWitt and Lila Acheson Wallace, the founders of The Reader's Digest Association. Its mission is to enable institutions to expand learning and enrichment opportunities for all people. It does this by supporting and sharing effective ideas and practices.

To achieve this mission, The Wallace Foundation has three objectives:

- —Strengthen education leadership to improve student achievement
- —Improve after-school learning opportunities
- -Expand participation in arts and culture

For more information and research, please visit http://www.wallacefoundation.org.





Supporting ideas.

Sharing solutions.

Expanding opportunities.™