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Analysis of the NYC education budget and the capital plan in light of the coronavirus pandemic

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Social distancing and smaller classes will be needed to reopen schools safely next year

It was recently reported that 72 NYC Department of Education employees have died from Coronavirus, including 28 paraprofessionals and 28 teachers.¹ Evidence has also emerged that children can develop serious illnesses after being infected with the virus, and even those who are asymptomatic are often effective transmitters.²

Now that both the Mayor and the Governor have decided that our public schools will be closed through the end of June, it is time to start thinking about how they will be reopened next fall, to maximize the health and safety of students and staff, and strengthen the academic and emotional support that our students will need to make up for the myriad losses they have suffered this year.

As Mayor de Blasio has said, “Next school year will have to be the greatest academic school year New York City will ever have because everyone is going to be playing catch up.”³ And yet he has also proposed over \$800 million in reductions to the Department of Education, including staffing freezes and at least \$140 million taken directly out of school budgets, which would likely cause class sizes to grow even larger, the loss of school counselors and more. How could next year be the best year ever, given such drastic reductions? In fact, our schools will need increased investments to provide the enhanced feedback and engagement that students will so desperately need after months of isolation and inadequate remote learning.

Many countries, including Denmark,⁴ Germany⁵ and France,⁶ are gradually reopening their schools while implementing new protocols including frequent handwashing, temperature-taking and reducing class size, to obtain the recommended social distancing within classrooms and prevent the spread of the virus. Some are lowering class size by limiting the number of students into the school at any one time through split or staggered schedules. The American Federation of Teachers⁷ has recommended class size reduction be achieved in schools throughout our nation as well: *“one of the most important measures districts can take is to reduce class sizes...Class sizes of 12-15 students will, in most circumstances, make it possible to maintain physical distancing protocols.”*

Smaller classes have also been shown through research⁸ to boost learning and provide the social and emotional connections that many students will need from their teachers, given the loss in learning, isolation and stress caused by the pandemic this year. Shouldn't class size reduction happen here too, and if so, how?

Clearly, every available space would have to be used in our school buildings to accomplish the physical separation and smaller classes required. Split sessions would also be implemented in overcrowded schools, and more funding for additional staffing. At first glance, this would appear impossible, especially given the economic crisis the city is facing. Yet considerable savings could be obtained by cutting other, less critical areas of the education budget.

Potential savings that could be used to hire more teachers and counselors next year

As a letter signed by 34 City Council members pointed out, the city should reduce spending on “consultants, administration, cancelled or unnecessary testing, and contract [s]” rather than cut school budgets.⁹

Prominent among potential savings this year is a big chunk of the \$1.1 billion spent annually on school busing, given that these buses have not operated since mid-March. Parents and advocates began a campaign¹⁰ against wasteful spending on unused busing, and the NYC Comptroller sent a letter¹¹ to the Chancellor, pointing out that the city had no legal obligation to renew these contracts in the midst of a pandemic. Following this, the DOE postponed the vote¹² originally scheduled for the Panel for Education Policy on April 22 to approve \$400 million for extending busing contracts through March and April. Cancelling these contracts through the end of the year could save as much as \$700 million.¹³

Considerable savings could also be achieved this year in energy, facilities, and supplies, given the fact that school buildings will be closed three and a half months by the end of June, and will likely shut over the summer as well. About \$570 million was allocated for energy and leases this year – with more than \$175 million for energy and fuel costs alone. Surely, at least \$25 million could be saved in this category.

While DOE has proposed to freeze the hiring of teachers, counselors, and aides, they plan to increase spending on School Safety Agents who are hired by the police, spending a total of more than \$432 million. School Safety Agents already number over 5,500, more than the number of counselors, social workers and school psychologists combined.¹⁴ If the spending on these agents was merely frozen at last year's levels, that would save at least \$5.6 million right there.

There are also considerable cuts that could be made to the bureaucracy. 155 employees were added to the DOE's Central Administration in 2019, and 185 more to Borough Offices.¹⁵ Large raises were awarded to administrators, leading to a 50 percent increase in the number of bureaucrats who earned more than \$200,000 per year.¹⁶

See the below chart from the Independent Budget Office:

	Central Administration	School Support Organization	Total DOE Budget	Central Share	Regional Share
2014	\$ 330,978,696	\$ 158,122,157	\$ 20,049,813,783	1.7%	0.8%
2015	\$ 335,304,439	\$ 271,085,649	\$ 20,954,059,528	1.6%	1.3%
2016	\$ 351,120,558	\$ 282,448,026	\$ 22,373,518,700	1.6%	1.3%
2017	\$ 354,118,865	\$ 307,275,026	\$ 23,462,557,259	1.5%	1.3%
2018	\$ 377,923,903	\$ 340,887,733	\$ 25,082,914,474	1.5%	1.4%
2019	\$ 382,938,909	\$ 340,091,173	\$ 27,016,215,727	1.4%	1.3%
2020*	\$ 382,712,952	\$ 350,887,462	\$ 28,384,056,043	1.3%	1.2%
2021*	\$ 309,010,545	\$ 305,302,220	\$ 27,540,087,033	1.1%	1.1%

Sources: NYC Comptroller's Comprehensive Annual Financial Reports, NYC Executive Budget for FY2021 (April 2020)

*Amounts for 2020 and 2021 are projections based on the NYC Executive Budget for FY2021 (April 2020)

The category of School Support Organization, which includes Borough offices, has more than doubled in expenditures to \$351 million since de Blasio was elected. If spending on that level returned to what was spent in 2014, that alone could save another \$147 million.

This fall, DOE ordered many schools to administer computerized MAP assessments, which officials testified in the future all students would be required to take several times a year.¹⁷ According to Checkbook NYC, the cost of the contract with NWEA, the company that produces these assessments, is \$5.25 million with \$1.66 million spent to date.¹⁸ Yet a randomized experimental study showed that the use of MAP exams was not correlated with any gains in student achievement,¹⁹ and many educators²⁰ as well as researchers question their validity.²¹

With more than \$570 million in savings described above, we could prevent any cuts to school budgets and allocate at least \$100 million to hire staff to lower class size, as many parents, education experts and advocates urged,²² at standing room only City Council hearings held in February before the pandemic hit.²³

Moreover, about one third of elementary grade classes and 40 percent of middle school classes are inclusion classes, meaning that they include both general education students and students with disabilities and have two teachers per class. Strong consideration should be given to dividing these classes in half, while keeping their inclusive nature, which would allow for class sizes of 10 to 16 without any additional hiring.

NYC schools also have an average of 14 students per teacher, while average class sizes are nearly twice as large. Thousands of push-in specialists, as well as other personnel such as literacy coaches who generally spend little actual time working directly with students are already on staff. Many of these instructional personnel could be re-deployed and assigned to teach their own classes, at no added expense.

If split schedules are introduced, intensive tutoring should be provided to students when they are not attending school, either at their homes, or in community centers or other locales. This could be done by enlisting thousands of volunteers from well-established organizations such as Literacy Inc., as well as recent college graduates whose salaries could be subsidized through the AmeriCorps program.

Finding space for next year's classes and beyond

It will obviously be a huge challenge to find the space needed to resume classes next year, whether through overlapping or staggered schedules. School overcrowding has always been a problem in NYC

but especially now that the coronavirus pandemic has hit hard, as plans for reopening schools will depend upon reducing class size and social distancing, to keep children and school staff safe from the further spread of the virus. According to the latest data from the NYC Department of Education, over 524,000 NYC students were enrolled in schools that were at or above 100% utilization last year.²⁴

As mentioned above, tutoring sessions could be utilized in spaces outside of school, especially for older students. In addition, many PreK centers run by CBOs and by DOE are half-empty; others are underutilized, despite the rapid expansion of PreK over the last few years, because DOE overbuilt in the rush to expand PreK and also drew many students out of the local neighborhood PreK centers. But we must also analyze the capital plan considering the need for the long-term alleviation of overcrowding in our schools.

It is in this light that the NYC capital plan should be considered.

Questions remain of whether the seats funded in the current plan will fulfill the need for new capacity.

Given the current level of overcrowding and continued enrollment growth in many districts, it is difficult to understand how the **57,489** seats funded in the current FY 2020-2024 plan will meet the need to alleviate current and future overcrowding. Local Law 167, passed in 2018, required the DOE to make more transparent its data sources and methodology for projecting the need for new school seats, and yet the DOE has so far failed to comply with this law.²⁵ More on this below.

Also, the capital plan and the school utilization formula has never been aligned with the smaller classes that most experts believe should be achieved to provide an equitable and excellent education, and which will be especially crucial given the social distancing required next year to ensure the health and safety of students and staff.²⁶

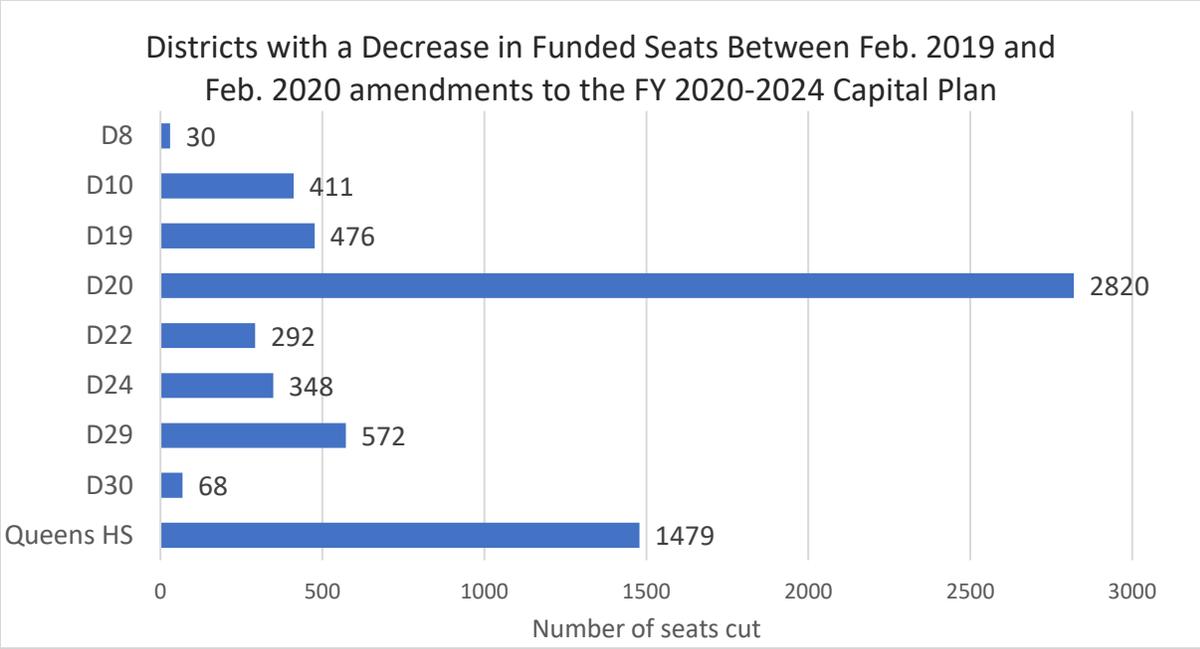
The latest amendment to the FY 2020-2024 Capital Plan cuts seats in many districts

Despite chronic overcrowding and large class sizes, the Department of Education's FY 2020-2024 Five-Year Capital Plan decreased funded seats for many districts in the amendments between February 2019 and February 2020.

There were 56,917 funded seats in the February 2019 version of the FY 2020-2024 Capital Plan,²⁷ and 57,489 funded seats in the February 2020 amendment.²⁸ While this at first glance appears to be an increase in funded seats for Districts 1-32 and high schools, further analysis reveals otherwise.

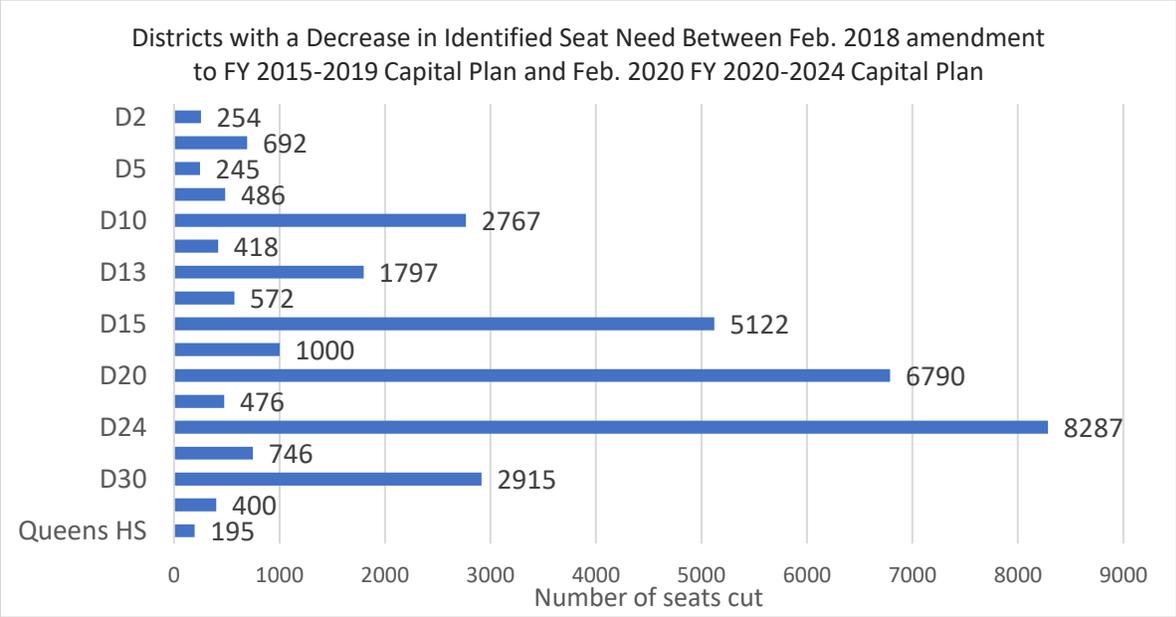
The February 2020 amendment to the FY 2020-2024 Capital Plan includes 2,344 additional seats for District 75 special education students, which were not previously included in the February 2019 version. Taking those seats out of the equation reveals a decrease in total funded seats from February 2019 to February 2020 from 56,917 to 55,145 seats for districts 1-32 and high school, a decrease of 1,772 seats.

The following districts had decreases in funded seats between February 2019 and February 2020 in the FY 2020-2024 Five-Year Capital Plan, showing especially sharp cuts in seats for District 20, the most overcrowded district in the city, and for Queens high schools, most of which are also extremely overcrowded. No explanation is offered for these cuts, which are unlikely to have so radically changed due to new enrollment projections or updated estimates of need.



Unbuilt seats from the previous FY 2015-2019 Capital Plan

There is an even larger difference in number of the identified needed seats between the previous Capital Plan and the new one. The February 2018 version of the FY 2015-2019 Capital Plan acknowledged that there was a need for 83,056 seats though only 44,628 were funded,²⁹ and according to the latest Feb. 2020 iteration of the current plan, only about 26,000 seats from that plan have been completed or are in progress.³⁰



The February 2020 amendment to the new FY 2020-2024 Capital Plan has 55,145 seats identified as needed for D1-32 and high schools, all of which are funded. With the 26,000 seats from the previous plan this makes a total of 81,145 seats, which is nearly 2,000 seats fewer than DOE identified as needed in Feb. 2018. Again, no explanation is provided for the decrease.

In December 18, 2018 testimony before the City Council, Lorraine Grillo, President of the School Construction Authority gave several different explanations for the large cuts in funded seats in several districts and most notably in District 20 and District 24 between the previous and the new five-year plans. At one point, she said the cuts were made because many schools had already been sited and built in these districts; at another point, she said it was because it was too difficult to find available sites in these districts.³¹

In D20, according to the latest available data, 32 out of 33 elementary schools are at or above 100% utilization; with 25,414 out of :26,056 students enrolled in these schools (97.5 percent). Six out of seven middle schools are at or above 100 percent utilization, with 8,568 out of 9,781 students in these schools (87.6 percent).

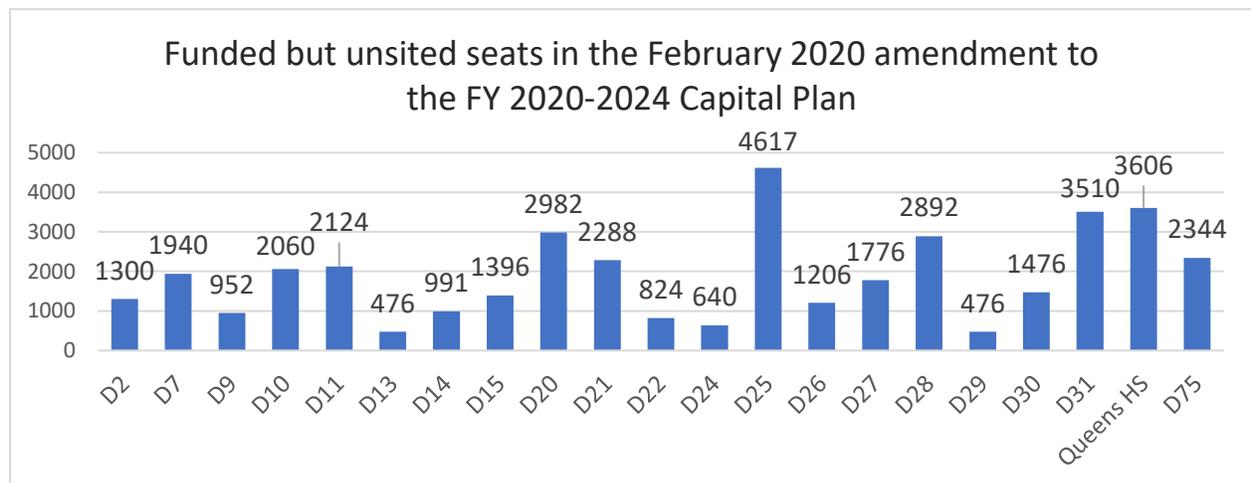
In D24, 25 out of 40 elementary schools are at or above 100 percent, with 23,490 out of 31,807 students enrolled in these schools (73.9 percent); 3 out of 8 middle schools are at or above 100 percent, with 5,610 out of 10,332 students enrolled in these schools (54.3 percent).

Without far more transparency from the DOE/SCA on how they estimate the need for new school seats, it remains impossible to ascertain what the actual rationale is for their adding seats in certain districts and subtracting seats in others.

Unsitd Seats in the current FY 2020-2024 Capital Plan

In the February 2020 amendment to the FY 2020-2024 Capital Plan, a total of 17,613 seats are reported as having been completed or in progress from the current plan, leaving 39,876 seats unsitd. Only two districts (8 and 12) have all funded seats completed or in progress.

The following twenty-one districts still have thousands of seats unsitd in the FY 2020-2024 Capital Plan as of February 2020:



This analysis of the Capital Plans brought up several unanswered questions:

- Why was there such a large drop in identified needed and funded seats between the February 2018, February 2019, and February 2020 Capital Plans?
- Why are there such large decreases in number of funded seats for Districts that have been historically overcrowded?
- What is the plan for the additional 39,876 seats in the FY 2020-2024 Capital Plan that still do not have sites?

DOE and SCA non-compliance with Local Laws 167 and 168

Two bills were passed in 2018 by the City Council, with the goal of helping to alleviate school overcrowding: Local Law 167,³² which required the DOE to make more transparent its data sources and methodology for projecting the need for new school seats, and Local Law 168,³³ that created a Task Force for School Siting to expedite the identification of locations where new schools could be built.

Both laws resulted from recommendations made by the City Council Working Group report “Planning to Learn,”³⁴ as well as problems we had previously identified in our reports, including “Space Crunch”³⁵ and “Seats Gained and Lost in NYC Schools: The Untold Story.”³⁶

We analyzed the DOE’s compliance with these two laws and found serious problems with both.

Local Law 167 required the DOE/SCA to post their seats needs projections by December 1, 2019 and annually thereafter, disaggregated by grade level and by sub-district. It also required them to make public whatever non-quantitative criteria went into their estimates, and any other data sources they used, and explain the methodology used in putting all this information together to complete their estimates of how much new school capacity would be needed. The law also mandated them to post the number of school seats lost every year, to lapsed leases, and the elimination of mini-schools and annexes, which according to our report, “Seats Gained and Lost in NYC Schools”, often totals many hundreds or thousands of seats lost each year.

Yet much of the data required by Local Law 167 is still not posted on the SCA webpage devoted to the Law, nearly six months after the legal deadline, and in fact, the DOE is providing no more data or information about the manner in which they project the need for additional seats than before the law was passed.³⁷

None of the information concerning lost seats is posted; nor is there any disaggregated data offered by grade span organized by district and sub-district, as the law requires. Nor is any non-quantitative criteria for decision-making listed offered, or the methodology by which the DOE puts together the various data sources they say they employ, including current school overcrowding, housing starts and enrollment projections, to come up with their final estimates.

The goals set by Local Law 168 have also not been met. The School Siting Task Force was by law supposed to consist of an interagency task force that would issue a report by July 31, 2019 “to review city-owned buildings, city-owned property and vacant land within the city to evaluate potential opportunities for new school construction or leasing for school use.”

Yet this Taskforce met only twice, once in February and once on July 29, 2019, when the SCA projected a long list of city-owned sites on a screen and said they had rejected most all of them, for unclear reasons. Sometime after that date, a two-page document that purported to be the Task Force report was obtained by Class Size Matters from the City Council via FOIL. According to the properties tab, it was authored by Cora Liu of the SCA. Two appointed members of the Task Force, Shino Tanikawa, a parent leader appointed by the DOE, and Kaitlyn O’Hagan, then City Council Legislative Financial Analyst, said that they had not had any input on the report or the Task Force deliberations.

The two-page report again identified only two locations out of tens of thousands of city-owned properties as potentially usable for schools, one on Avenue Y in D21 and the other at the former Flushing Airport in D25. Via FOIL, we also obtained the spreadsheet that had been projected at the final Taskforce meeting. Yet we found that the reasons cited for excluding potential sites were often incorrect and/or inconsistent. For example, many sites were rejected in 13 districts – D2, D7, D9, D10, D11, D13, D14, D15, D24, D26, D27, D30 and D31 — with the explanation that these districts either had “all seats sited”, or only “small number of seats to site”, or they had “no seats funded”, even though each of them have substantial seats funded but unsited in the new five-year capital plan.

Other potential sites were removed with the explanation that they were “100% under water” even though a closer analysis revealed a substantial portion of the property that was not underwater; others were removed because the “lot size [was] too small” even though the spreadsheet listed them at 20,000 sq. ft., which meets the size requirements of the SCA.

In addition, as admitted in the document, neither the Task Force nor the SCA had so far analyzed over 22,000 empty lots because they were privately owned. As far as we know the Task Force has not met again. A longer memo that details troubling and confusing inconsistencies in the process and reporting of the School Siting Taskforce is posted on the Class Size Matters website.³⁸

Conclusion: the overriding need to lower class size next year and in the future

Our public schools still have not fully recovered from the last economic recession in 2007-2008, when class sizes increased sharply. This fall, there were more than 325,000 students in classes of 30 or more. The number of children in grades 1st to 3rd in classes that large has risen by more than 3000 percent since 2007.³⁹ Class sizes in NYC schools remain on average 15-30 percent higher than the rest of the state.⁴⁰

As a result, student achievement in 4th grade reading and math in NYC has remained stagnant or declined over the last decade, as measured by the NAEPs, the most reliable national assessments.⁴¹ We simply cannot afford to allow students to lose any more ground.

Through creative thinking and targeted savings that could be used to pay for more teachers, counselors, and tutors, and redeploying other instructional personnel already on staff, smaller classes could be achieved next year and in the future, schools could provide the necessary social distancing, and students could receive the instructional and emotional support that they will need more than ever before.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ <https://www.nbcnewyork.com/news/local/15-nyc-children-sickened-with-rare-covid-related-illness-here-are-the-warning-signs/2404162/>
- ² <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/05/health/coronavirus-children-transmission-school.html>
- ³ <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/05/health/coronavirus-children-transmission-school.html>
- ⁴ <https://www.insider.com/how-china-denmark-japan-reopening-schools-2020-4#class-and-play-group-sizes-are-smaller-now-6>
- ⁵ <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/06/world/europe/germany-merkel-coronavirus-reopening.html>
- ⁶ <https://apnews.com/7ac01019c566034347c87a225444452f>
- ⁷ https://www.aft.org/sites/default/files/covid19_reopen-america-schools.pdf
- ⁸ <https://www.classsizematters.org/research-and-links/>
- ⁹ <https://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/education/ny-de-blasio-education-cuts-20200505-7p7bcefy4nfkbivmi6skzhpmoq-story.html>
- ¹⁰ <https://nycpublicschoolparents.blogspot.com/2020/04/parents-teachers-students-advocates-and.html>
- ¹¹ <https://www.classsizematters.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Stringer-letter-4.17.20.pdf>
- ¹² <https://nypost.com/2020/04/19/city-doe-postpones-vote-on-millions-in-vendor-contracts/>
- ¹³ <https://nypost.com/2020/04/18/nyc-set-to-pour-700m-down-the-drain-on-idle-school-buses/>
- ¹⁴ <https://brooklyneagle.com/articles/2019/06/05/pol-pushes-for-more-emotional-support-in-schools-says-thrivenyc-isnt-cutting-it/>
- ¹⁵ <https://council.nyc.gov/budget/wp-content/uploads/sites/54/2019/05/DOE-SCA.pdf>
- ¹⁶ <https://nypost.com/2019/08/17/salaries-gone-wild-carranza-cronies-pocket-pay-hikes-as-high-as-35/>
- ¹⁷ <https://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/education/ny-tests-city-schools-20190924-akkmjq4gybccxjtj5kemtynlpy-story.html>
- ¹⁸ https://www.checkbooknyc.com/contracts_landing/status/A/year/B/year/121/vendor/11204?expandBottomCont=true
- ¹⁹ <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED537982.pdf>
- ²⁰ <https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/educators-debate-validity-of-map-testing/>
- ²¹ <https://edpolicy.education.jhu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/IreadyandMAPmastheadFINAL.pdf>
- ²² <https://nycpublicschoolparents.blogspot.com/2020/02/council-hearings-on-class-size-so.html>
- ²³ <https://ny.chalkbeat.org/2020/2/28/21178673/calls-for-smaller-class-size-grow-louder-nyc-parents-students-and-educators-say-there-s-a-big-need-t> and <https://www.ny1.com/nyc/all-boroughs/news/2020/03/02/advocates--parents-and-educators-push-for-smaller-class-sizes>
- ²⁴ “Enrollment, Capacity, & Utilization Report 2018-2019 School Year.” New York City Department of Education. https://dnnhh5cc1.blob.core.windows.net/portals/0/Capital_Plan/Utilization_Reports/Blue%20Book%20202018-2019.pdf?sr=b&si=DNNFileManagerPolicy&sig=qljS5%2BZRM1H9ApMDhP8o933bmiyqFtGGcAt2yi8CIH4%3D
- ²⁵ Local Law No. 167 of 2018, Council Int. No. 729-A of 2018. <https://legistar.council.nyc.gov/View.ashx?M=F&ID=6714467&GUID=ED9C486B-ACA7-4D5B-8D56-F2EA0A950976>
- ²⁶ <https://www.wnyc.org/story/city-make-changes-how-it-accounts-space-schools/>
- ²⁷ “FY 2020-2024 Five-Year Capital Plan Proposed Amendment.” SCA, NYC DOE, & Mayor Bill de Blasio. February 2019. https://dnnhh5cc1.blob.core.windows.net/portals/0/Capital_Plan/Capital_plans/02012019_20_24_CapitalPlan.pdf?sr=b&si=DNNFileManagerPolicy&sig=aJpFmjNrFacdfbme5LzsQgHK4k5xelgRZtwQV%2BRsul4%3D
- ²⁸ “FY 2020-2024 Five-Year Capital Plan Proposed Amendment.” SCA, NYC DOE, & Mayor Bill de Blasio. February 2020. https://dnnhh5cc1.blob.core.windows.net/portals/0/Capital_Plan/Capital_plans/02202020_20_24_CapitalPlan.pdf?sr=b&si=DNNFileManagerPolicy&sig=I0uRPmk95aGbwzaOUCMH0Z71nBES%2F22YKSlzY1xJ4n0%3D
- ²⁹ “FY 2015-2019 Five-Year Capital Plan.” SCA, NYC DOE, & Mayor Bill de Blasio. February 2018. <https://www.classsizematters.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/February-2018-Capital-Plan.pdf>
- ³⁰ “FY 2020-2024 Five-Year Capital Plan Proposed Amendment.” (page 7) SCA, NYC, & Mayor Bill de Blasio. February 2020. https://dnnhh5cc1.blob.core.windows.net/portals/0/Capital_Plan/Capital_plans/02202020_20_24_CapitalPlan.pdf?sr=b&si=DNNFileManagerPolicy&sig=I0uRPmk95aGbwzaOUCMH0Z71nBES%2F22YKSlzY1xJ4n0%3D We do not know how many of these 26,000 seats are sited, but according to a Nov. 2019 spreadsheet posted on the SCA

website of school building projects funded by the FY 2015-2019 Capital Plan, 20,488 seats have opened or set to open between 2019 and 2022 “FY2015-19 Projects in Process.” School Construction Authority, Nov. 2019. https://dnnhh5cc1.blob.core.windows.net/portals/0/Capital_Plan/Local%20Law%20167%20Reports/FY15-19%20Projects%20in%20Process.xlsx?sr=b&si=DNNFileManagerPolicy&sig=8Acl58on50ioJaZ2TUFq6FVihnZuY6IT9L%2F%2FcSOPneE%3D

³¹ Leonie Haimson, “DOE and SCA going backwards not forwards in terms of rational school planning,” NYC Public School Parents, December 18, 2018; <https://nycpublicschoolparents.blogspot.com/2018/12/doe-and-sca-going-backwards-not.html>; transcript of hearings available here: <https://legistar.council.nyc.gov/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=3764311&GUID=F74E4036-3F9C-4C47-B4C4-D4DE383AFCD3&Options=&Search=>

³² Local Law No. 167 of 2018, Council Int. No. 729-A of 2018. <https://legistar.council.nyc.gov/View.ashx?M=F&ID=6714467&GUID=ED9C486B-ACA7-4D5B-8D56-F2EA0A950976>

³³ Local Law No. 168 of 2018, Council Int. No. 757-A of 2018. <https://legistar.council.nyc.gov/View.ashx?M=F&ID=6715118&GUID=2EE4A502-7E3B-44BF-9A06-EB8BC691F61B>

³⁴ New York City Council. “Planning to Learn.” 2018. <https://council.nyc.gov/land-use/wp-content/uploads/sites/53/2018/03/Planning-to-Learn-3.16.2018-high-resolution.pdf>

³⁵ Leonie Haimson. “Space Crunch: Failures in policy and planning leading to overcrowding in the city’s schools.” 2014. <https://www.classsizematters.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/SPACE-CRUNCH-Report-Final-OL.pdf>

³⁶ Class Size Matters. “Seats Gained and Lost in NYC Schools: The Untold Story.” 2017. <https://www.classsizematters.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Web-Seat-Loss-Report.pdf>

³⁷ <http://www.nycsca.org/community/capital-plan-reports-data#Local-Law-167-Reports-352>

³⁸ <https://www.classsizematters.org/local-law-167-168-information-and-memo-to-city-council/>

³⁹ <https://www.classsizematters.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Class-Size-FAQ-for-officials-2.24.20.pdf>

⁴⁰ NYSED for 2016-2017. <http://www.p12.nysed.gov/irs/pmf/>

⁴¹ <https://ny.chalkbeat.org/2019/10/30/21109120/nyc-scores-are-flat-on-national-reading-and-math-test>