

Not to Merge

Making sense of school mergers

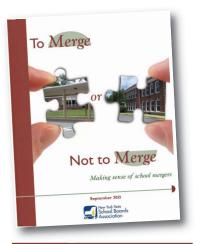
September 2013

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I. Introduction

The tiny Barker Central School District on the banks of Lake Ontario and the nearby Lyndonville Central School District are comparable in size and demographics. Both are rural, lakeshore communities, and both are facing declining enrollments.

So when talks of a possible merger surfaced in each community, the superintendents and school boards decided to move forward with a feasibility study. The overarching question: Would a merger increase revenues, decrease expenditures and increase programmatic opportunities?

Representatives from each school board jointly selected a study consultant. Each district created its own community advisory council. After obtaining feedback from the community, Lyndonville's school board voted unanimously in favor of bringing the merger to a public vote. Lyndonville believed the merger was necessary to maintain top-notch educational opportunities because of both districts' shrinking student bodies.¹

But Barker's school board decided not to bring the merger before the public for a vote. Among their concerns: uncertainty over the \$20 million in state incentive aid due to the state's poor financial condition, increased transportation costs, a perception that the merger would not offer enhanced learning opportunities, and a loss of community identity.²

Despite scenarios like this, high-level policymakers in Albany continue to mention mergers as a viable alternative for financially-strapped school districts across New York.

Given that most merger attempts fail, are they really a panacea for school district financial woes? Should school districts seriously consider mergers as a way to deal with declining enrollment and finances? Under what conditions would a merger make sense? This report will explore the pros and cons of school district mergers, along with some of the factors that determine whether a merger vote is likely to succeed.

Are mergers really a panacea for school district financial woes?



II. Making Sense of the Pros and Cons

Besides pressure from policymakers, why would school districts consider a merger? The obvious answer is to achieve cost savings, increase academic offerings, and provide greater access to extracurricular activities. Yet there are some potential drawbacks, such as a loss of community identity, longer bus rides, and a long, cumbersome process. Here is a look at some of the pros and cons in more detail.

Pros

Cost savings

One of the arguments most often cited for school district mergers is that they reduce costs and therefore save taxpayers money. Rather than having two of everything – superintendents, business officials, transportation departments, etc. – merged districts, in theory, will achieve economies of scale by cutting duplication and pooling resources.

Economies of scale exist when the cost of education per pupil goes down as the number of pupils goes up. Because mergers create larger school districts, they result in lower per pupil costs when economies of scale exist. ³

A number of recent studies have shown, however, that mergers do not always result in cost savings. An analysis by researchers at Illinois State University on largescale school consolidations found that economies of scale are greatest when small districts merge. As districts get larger, the study found, the economies plateau and expenses rise with greater district complexity. In other words, there is a "point of diminishing returns."⁴

A study of rural New York State districts by Syracuse professors William Duncombe and John Yinger also found that the smallest districts have the most to gain from mergers. The study found that when student performance is held constant, consolidation will be likely to lower costs of two 300-pupil districts by slightly more than 20 percent; lower costs of two 900-pupil districts by about 8 percent; and have little impact on costs of two 1,500-pupil districts. ⁵ Their study compared 12 pairs of districts that merged between 1985 and 1997.

Similarly, a 2009 University of Buffalo Regional Institute

policy brief found that only districts with small enrollments are likely to accrue substantial cost savings from district mergers. The analysis indicates that for districts with more than 2,000 students, efficiency gains are often much smaller and sometimes nullified by the costs of merging.⁶

The Institute did pre- and post-merger cost studies of 98 school districts in western New York and found that those with enrollments of fewer than 1,000 were the best candidates for mergers. The study said 36 of the region's 98 districts fit that description, accounting for 10 percent of the region's enrollment and 11 percent of total spending. Based on published models, the Institute estimates that merging these 36 districts with neighboring districts would save about \$133 million per year, or 20 percent of their current combined \$665 million budgets.

Additional state aid

Newly-merged school districts are eligible to receive additional state aid, called reorganization incentive aid. The additional funding amounts to a 40 percent increase in state aid (based on 2006-07 formula operating aid for each of the predecessor districts) for each of the first five years that a merged district is in operation. Beginning with the sixth year, the incentive aid decreases by 4 percentage points per year and ends after 14 years.⁷

The newly-merged Ilion-Mohawk district, now called Central Valley, will receive about \$42 million in additional state aid over 14 years as a result of the merger. The incentive aid will help stabilize Ilion's tax rate, according to Dan LaLonde, a board member in Ilion at the time of the merger and an elected board member of the merged district.⁸

Eventually, however, reorganization incentive aid from the state runs out. "The board and school officials must

be intelligent about how they spend the additional \$42 million in state aid that comes with the merger," said former Mohawk board member Jim Fleming, who was on the board at the time of the merger. "There still needs to be an effort to find ways to save money and be more efficient, because the incentive aid will run out eventually. Spending needs to be targeted and thoughtful."⁹

"I think it's wise to avoid any grandiose plans that may not be viable once incentive aid dries up," said Marie Edwards, a board member in the Westfield Central School District, whose merger attempt with the Ripley Central School District was voted down in 2009.¹⁰

Robert Guiffreda, the retired district superintendent for Erie 2-Chautauqua-Cattaraugus BOCES, suggests apportioning one-third of the windfall to tax relief, onethird to enhanced programming, and one-third for capital building. In the event it has become advisable for the merged district to put up a new building in an optimum middle territory, a larger share needs to be devoted to building.¹¹

Greater academic opportunities

Advocates of mergers cite the potential for schools to offer richer and more varied educational programs and social benefits for students, overcoming problems inherent in smaller districts such as teacher shortages and heavy tax burdens.

Merged districts generally are able to offer a wider variety of educational programs and courses than they would have been able to offer by themselves. Losses in state aid and the local property tax cap have forced some districts to eliminate teaching and support staff positions, affecting their ability to provide elective courses and, in some cases, core courses as well.

"Our district had suffered large cuts to its elective courses, including the popular music program, which enjoyed strong community support," said Jim Fleming, a board member in the Mohawk school district at the time of its merger with llion. "The district's music teaching positions had been reduced from full-time to half-time, affecting the quality of the program." ¹²

In order to give students a sound education to make them competitive for college and careers, a merger was the only alternative, according to Fleming. Meanwhile, the recent merger between Oppenheim-Ephratah and St. Johnsville will allow that newly-created district to offer classes such as business math, accounting, personal finance, computer technology instruction, collegelevel classes such as Advanced Placement, and art.

Expanded extracurriculars

When school budgets are tight, some of the first programs to go are sports and other extracurricular activities. But these "extras" motivate many students to stay in school and perform well in the classroom.

The pooled resources of two merged districts can help maintain sports and extracurricular activities that might otherwise be lost without the merger. For example, in small districts with dwindling enrollments there often are not enough students to field sports teams. Mergers help districts maintain those teams by increasing the number of students that are interested in playing. Such was the case in Mohawk. "On the horizon was going to be cuts to sports programs," said Fleming. "The district had already cut JV sports and would have needed to cut varsity programs as well."¹³

Merged sports team may be a double-edged sword, though. Mergers may represent the best opportunity to keep sports teams alive, but it also may mean that students who would otherwise get a lot of playing time would be relegated to second string. Another consideration: a merged district that is considerably larger than the two individual districts that comprise the merger may find itself placed in a higher division classification with more formidable competition.



Cons

Loss of community identity

Perhaps the top issue when it comes to school district mergers is the loss of local identity, which is ingrained in the community and has developed over a period of many years – even from generation to generation.

When school districts merge, individual team nicknames disappear. Mascots become obsolete. Sports rivals become teammates. "For somebody like me who grew up in llion, and has played sports here and has come back and taught here, there's going to be emotion. You can't help not have emotion if you grew up in a community, if you love your community," said Robert McCann, the former athletic director at llion.¹⁴

Loss of local identity was one of the main reasons for the defeat of the proposed merger between Scio and Wellsville central school districts. "I graduated from Scio," said Sandy Field, a parent in Wellsville. "My husband graduated from Scio. My three children graduated from Scio. My grandchildren go to Scio and I'd like them to graduate from Scio. It would be a shame to lose our school."¹⁵

For many communities – particularly small rural ones – the schools are the community hub. The loss of that community hub was a factor in the defeat by voters of a merger between Ripley and Westfield Central School Districts. "I believe the people in Ripley feared the closing of the school building with an annexation," said Karen Krause, the Ripley superintendent. "The school building is the hub of the community, and there is little else left in Ripley."¹⁶

Higher salaries

When two districts merge, salaries are often "leveled up," meaning the pay scale of the higher paying district is adopted for the newly formed district. Thus, pay becomes higher in a community that is accustomed to paying lower salaries.

"Contract leveling up is a problem," said Marie Edwards, a board member from the Westfield Central School District. "In our case, Westfield's support staff had a better contract and Ripley teachers had a better contract. Administrative savings from the merger would have been \$300,000, but to level up the contracts would have been more than the savings. So, there were no savings to attract the taxpayers that didn't benefit from improving the educational program aspect of it."¹⁷

A cumbersome process

Merging two or more school districts is a multi-step process. Reorganization requires multiple local votes in each of the participating communities. Getting all participating communities to vote multiple times as required by law — in favor of consolidation is a challenge.

Longer bus rides

Since presumably a merger would create a district that covers a larger geographic area, some students would face longer bus rides as a result. That is one of

the reasons the proposed merger between Barker and Lyndonville did not go before the public for a vote. The Barker school board decided not to put the issue before district voters because residents in forums expressed concerns about longer bus rides. "The perception that students would be subjected to hour-long bus rides to and from school discouraged residents, especially parents, from endorsing the merger," said Roger Klatt, the district's superintendent. ¹⁸

Taxes may rise

School mergers often result in taxpayers in one or more towns paying higher property taxes than they were before the merger. This was a factor in the 2011 defeat of a merger between Wells and Lake Pleasant Central School Districts. In the first year under a merger, taxes on a house valued at \$100,000 in Lake Pleasant would have gone up by \$60, according to merger documents.¹⁹

"Obviously in Lake Pleasant, it was very difficult to get around the fact that their taxes were going to go up and Wells were going to do down," said John Zeis, interim superintendent at Wells at the time of the vote. "I think the vote indicates that was a real problem to overcome."²⁰



To Merge or not to Merge?

Pros

- Save money through economies of scale
- Improve the quality, availability, and number of educational choices
- Receive additional state aid
- Maintain or expand extracurricular/ sporting programs
- Gain specialized teachers and staff
- Gain better instructional materials and equipment
- Achieve greater cultural diversity
- Reduce teacher turnover due to higher pay and benefits
- Reduce taxes for some residents

Cons

- Lose community identity or divide community sentiment
- Embark upon a long and cumbersome process
- Increase the size of schools or classes
- Raise transportation costs and create longer bus rides for some
- Level up salaries
- Increase taxes for some residents
- Leave vacant school buildings
- Incur one-time costs: signage, uniforms, stationary, website
- Only districts with small enrollments are likely to achieve cost savings

III. Creating a Successful Merger

How do school district leaders know when a merger might make sense? Below are some factors that might determine whether the community might support a merger.

Winners and losers

Will one district gain less than the other? When two or more districts merge, there is often a disparity in property taxes between or among them. Taxpayers in one community may end up paying higher tax rates than they were before, and taxpayers in another community may end up paying lower tax rates. If there is a large enough disparity, voters in the district that end up paying higher taxes may reject the merger. Such an outcome occurred in Lake Pleasant when that district attempted to merge with the Wells school district, as noted earlier.

Beyond tax rates, perceptions about winners and losers extend to academic or extracurricular activities as well. If a majority of the community does not believe that its district will gain enhanced academic or extracurricular activities as a result of a proposed merger, the proposal may be headed for failure. In the proposed Barker-Lyndonville merger, for example, the community advisory committee in Barker did not believe their district had enough to gain from the merger. There was a perception that the merger would not offer Barker anything that it didn't already have, such as music and art courses. Plus, Lyndonville did not have a football team while Barker did. Finally, Barker's advisory committee did not believe there was enough to gain from taking on the additional costs of transportation and debt with minimal cost savings and programmatic opportunities.²¹

Better educational outcomes

Will the merger lead to better educational outcomes? As mentioned earlier, districts that merge generally are able to offer a wider variety of educational programs and courses than they would have been able to by themselves. Losses in state aid and the inability to raise revenues at the local level have meant teachers and support staff had to be let go in some districts, affecting districts' ability to provide elective courses and, in some cases, core courses as well. In addition, the availability of state reorganization incentive aid may help districts maintain or even add classes they otherwise would not have been able to had they not merged. If a merger provides educational opportunties that otherwise might have been lost, a merger has a greater chance of passing.

"If we don't vote yes, then we're probably going to have cuts and things that would be lost for the children, you know, like music, art, sports," said April Fratangelo, whose children attended school in the Herkimer district at the time of that district's failed merger attempt with Mohawk, llion and Frankfort-Schuyler.²²

Credibility

Has the board and administration built credibility with voters? Building credibility with the public is an important role for school board members. If something happens to call into question that credibility, it can have a negative effect on a proposed merger.

In the case of the proposed Westfield and Ripley school district merger, at the time of the merger discussion, Westfield had just received a state audit that claimed the district had more than the legal limit in its fund balance account.

"This started a chain of events that led to people's mistrust of the board of education at that time and also helped to erode the people's understanding that we needed to merge," said Marie Edwards, a board member in Westfield at the time. "Didn't the state just say we had too much money; now you're saying we need to merge to be able to save programming? We just couldn't sell it."²³

Residents who believe they are misinformed about any aspect of a merger can call into question any and all aspects of the merger. Therefore, building trust and credibility begins with selecting the right consultant.

"The merger consultant is key," said Brocton Superintendent John Hertlein, who worked in the Bolivar school district when it merged with Richburg to create the Bolivar-Richburg school district. "The consultant needs to connect with residents of the community. In Bolivar-Richburg, the first attempt fell apart because the consultants did not connect with community residents. They looked and seemed like 'Wall Street-types' and talked only about dollars and cents and numbers. The second consultant was from the University of Buffalo and was better able to connect and develop relationships with the community."²⁴

Buy-in from unions

Does a proposed merger have buy-in from unions? "The teaching faculties definitely need to be on board with the merger," said Brocton Superintendent John Hertlein. "There are 2.5 votes per kid in their classrooms."²⁵

Employee unions will offer an obstacle to a merger if they perceive the action as being detrimental to their membership, said Robert Guiffreda, the retired district superintendent for Erie 2-Chautauqua-Cattaraugus BOCES.²⁶ He said that in the merged district, individual contracts have to be honored, but it is not necessary that contracts be "leveled up" immediately. In other words, a teacher with less experience can be making more in salary than a teacher of the same subject with more experience. Unions may find this onerous, but the new school district is under no obligation to equalize the salaries.

"If the union president is seeing nighttime and the board is seeing daylight, your validity is going down the drain. Those permutations will spread to the parents and aunts and uncles and friends of these employees," Guiffreda said.²⁷

Buy-in from students

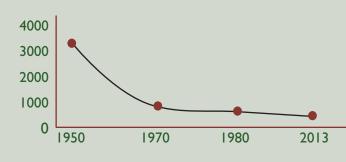
Similarily, does a proposed merger have buy-in from students? Amidst all the talk of reorganization aid and economies of scale, school officials should not forget their most important goal: to make sure their students have a rich, quality academic experience in a safe environment in which they can thrive. Districts ignore this imperative at their own peril.

"If you don't hear the voices of the children, you're going to have trouble," said Guiffreda. "What the kids are worried about is different from the fiscal control and budgets we as adults

are worried about."28



The Ever-Shrinking Number of School Districts in New York State



Source: NY State Education Department and NYSSBA

IV. Case Studies of Successful Merger Attempts

Case Study 1: Oppenheim-Ephratah-St. Johnsville

The merger between St. Johnsville and Oppenheim – Ephratah (O-E) had a long, circuitous route before becoming reality.

The process began in 2010 with consultant work, advisory committees and public discussions. Both districts were similar in size, demographics, and socioeconomic status. Neither district had a strong tax base, due mostly to little or no commercial property. Both districts had already merged fall and spring sports.

The Fort Plain Central School District inquired about a three-way feasibility study, but a consultant study found that the O-E/St. Johnsville merger was the better fit. The study also found that just by merging the staffs in both high schools, St. Johnsville students would have access to 26 new classes and students in O-E would have access to 23 new classes.

"O-E had to reduce a lot of offerings in past budget cycles and was offering no major electives such as computer classes, businesses classes, Advanced Placement," said O-E board member Joanne Capek-Young.²⁹

Declining enrollment was another factor in the merger talks."In 2010 at the start of merger talks, O-E's enrollment was 370 students. By the time the merger was approved in December 2012, enrollment was down to 300 students," said Capek-Young. The first, nonbinding vote passed easily in St. Johnsville and by 65 votes in O-E. The second, binding vote again passed easily in St. Johnsville but failed by 58 votes in O-E, primarily for two reasons. First, there was a large disparity in teacher salaries between the districts. For O-E to level up to St. Johnsville would have cost \$400,000.Virtually all of the incentive aid received from the state would have gone to leveling up salaries.

Second, there was misinformation about the merger. Residents feared their property taxes would triple because they believed that is what had happened in an earlier merger between nearby Cherry Valley and Springfield. In actuality, property taxes in the merged Cherry Valley-Springfield district went down \$5 per \$1,000. Incentive aid would have actually stabilized taxes in O-E, according to Capek-Young.

Since the proposed merger was approved in St. Johnsville but not in Oppenheim-Ephratah, O-E had to wait 12 months before residents could petition the State Education Department for a revote. O-E residents passed the merger the second time by 17 votes. (St. Johnsville residents did not need to vote again since they approved it the first time.)

Capek-Young said the key to a successful merger is that boards need to make sure they are very open and forthcoming with information. She said on the initial try, some community residents felt they weren't getting all the information. "You need to have a plan to effectively disseminate the information to everybody," she said.

Steps in the merger process: a quick tutorial

Merging two or more school districts is a multi-step process. Here is a brief overview of the steps that need to be taken:

- A feasibility study is conducted on behalf of the districts that want to merge, typically by a BOCES or outside consultant.
- 2) A community advisory committee, made up of community members in each district involved in the merger, is formed to review the study and make recommendations.
- Once the feasibility study has been completed and the districts decide to go ahead with the merger, the
- State Education Department (SED) receives a draft of the study for review. If SED approves the study, the districts begin public information and discussion activities to inform community residents of the proposed merger.
- 4) An advisory referendum, or "straw vote," is then held. If voters in all communities involved in the merger approve, the results are sent to the state education commissioner, who authorizes a final

vote, known as a statutory, or binding, referendum.

5) A statutory referendum is held. If voters in all communities involved in the merger approve, the merger becomes official and the new district officially begins operation. If one or more communities reject the referendum, the proposed merger ends. The districts must then wait at least one year and one day before they may try again to merge.

Case Study 2: Ilion-Mohawk

The Ilion and Mohawk school districts, now known as Central Valley, got the green light to merge in February 2013, but the process began in 2008 when the two districts considered sharing services. A year-long discussion led to the decision to do an organizational study of a merger, which was done with the aid of a State Education Department feasibility study grant.

The two districts were then approached by the Herkimer and Frankfort-Schuyler school districts to make it a four-way merger. The four districts were alike in many respects, including socioeconomic status, geography, enrollment, values, etc. A citizens advisory council of 64 people – 16 from each district – was convened. The merger was passed overwhelmingly in a straw vote in Mohawk and Ilion and by a small margin in Herkimer, but was defeated in Frankfort-Schuyler.

"From the outset, F-S was more interested in investigating the sharing of services than exploring a merger," said Jim Fleming, a board member in Mohawk at the time.³⁰

Ilion, Mohawk and Herkimer carried on with plans for a three-way merger. Public forums were held from May through August of 2012. In a September straw vote, the merger was approved by voters in all three districts. However, it was defeated a month later in a binding referendum when voters in Mohawk and Ilion approved the merger, but voters in Herkimer defeated it.

"In the intervening month between the straw vote and binding vote, an anti-merger faction in Herkimer became more vocal and made public claims about the merger that ran counter to the actual merger study data, leading to a groundswell of doubt in that district," said Fleming.

Mohawk and Ilion proceeded with a two-way merger (as originally planned), which was approved by voters in

February 2013.

"Mohawk is a small, poor, rural district that has been in a financial stranglehold as a result of decreases in state aid and the property tax cap," said Fleming. "In order to give kids a sound education to make them competitive for college and careers, a merger was the only alternative." He said the district had suffered larger cuts to its elective courses, including its popular music program. The district had already cut JV sports and would have needed to cut varsity programs as well.

The merger allows Mohawk to offer a lot of electives, clubs and sports programs that the district had lost due to finances and demography, according to Fleming. Mohawk students can now take business courses as well as expanded English and social studies classes, such as a specialized social studies class that focuses solely on World War II. In addition, llion has both a geology and drama club that Mohawk students will now have the opportunity to join. In sports, golf and bowling – which had been cut – will now be offered again, and lacrosse will eventually be available for the first time.

"The biggest challenge the district had faced was not preparing students sufficiently to succeed post-high school," he said. "The district had an insufficiency of elective courses that would address what students wanted to do beyond high school. A number of recent Mohawk graduates said they often spent their entire first year of college catching up with kids from downstate schools."

The merger is not without its drawbacks. "There will be bumps along the road initially, and both school officials and the public need to recognize that," said Fleming. "This is a brand new entity. It won't be smooth sailing right from the start."

Pre-merger study could save time, money

Although not a required part of the merger process, merger consultant William Silky recommends districts first do a pre-merger analysis before considering a full-blown merger study. In a pre-merger study, a consultant examines issues of feasibility and desirability and makes a report to the respective school boards.

"We did this for four districts in Seneca County that narrowed the feasible options for consideration of full-blown studies from eight to three," said Silky. "Full merger studies get communities engaged and in some cases generate hard feelings. If there is little chance of a merger occurring, why initiate it?" ³¹

Pre-merger studies investigate the same factors, such as projected enrollments and teacher salary scales, as required in full-blown merger studies, but are less time intensive and less costly (\$12,000 vs. \$45,000).³²

Silky said a pre-merger study should have been done for Glens Falls City and Glens Falls Common District prior to taking on a full merger study. The merger was ultimately voted down in Glens Falls Common because taxes there would have risen as a result of the merger.

V. Conclusion

There are many plausible reasons for school districts to merge. But pressure from policymakers should not be the driving force. Instead, school leaders must make merger decisions based on clear and direct benefits to students and taxpayers.

Ongoing talk about financial insolvency in school districts has generated more discussion of mergers as a means to achieve cost savings. Research suggests that to realize optimal cost savings from a merger, enrollment in each of the merging districts should be in the range of 1,000 students. In other situations, sharing services among school districts in functional areas such as purchasing, payroll, and other business-related areas might generate so-called economies of scale and result in savings.

Merging districts should also realize that the infusion of state reorganization aid will eventually go away, so the potential cost savings or property tax reductions associated with a merger should not be based solely on increased revenue from the state.

Beyond cost savings, school board members must consider the academic implications of a proposed merger. School districts that have made large cuts to elective (or core) classes, reduced important programs from fulltime to half-time, or are in danger of graduating students who are not college- and career-ready may be inclined to consider a merger if it would allow them to provide increased educational opportunities – or at least maintain existing opportunities that would otherwise be lost. The same is true if the merger provides other student- and community-centered benefits such as opportunities to participate in sports and extracurricular activities.

Finally, school leaders must look beyond any balance sheet and academic implications of a merger and deal with the potential for a high level of emotional or sentimental attachment to a district in the community. Regardless of the benefits, school leaders must recognize that they may need to overcome the community's fear of losing its identity, especially in smaller communities where the school district is a major source of identity.

Leaders must ask themselves if they – and their communities – have the stamina to see the entire multistep, multi-vote merger process through, and to deal with the wide-scale change that results from changing transportation routes, attendance patterns, class schedules, etc.

While there is no one clear path to a merger, in the end, decisions about mergers and consolidations should be made locally. It is the students, parents, taxpayers and employees in the school district who are most affected. Their voices should be heard above those more distant voices in Albany.

Notes ·

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- ⁶ "School Limits: Probing the Boundaries of Public Education," University of Buffalo Regional Institute Policy Brief, June 2009.
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- ⁹ Jim Fleming, fomer Mohawk Central School District school board member, interview by Paul Heiser, February 2013.
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- ²⁶⁻²⁸ Howard W. Appell, "How not to consolidate your school district," Livinston County News, October 4, 2010.
- ²⁹ Joanne Capek-Young, former Oppenheim-Ephratah Central School District school board member, interview by Paul Heiser, February 2013.
- ³⁰ Jim Fleming, fomer Mohawk Central School District school board member, interview by Paul Heiser, February 2013.
- ³¹ William D. Silky, Director of the Educational Leadership Program, LeMoyne College, interview by Paul Heiser, July 2013.
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