



Changing School Start Times

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1) Executive Summary

Key Observations

Delay start times to improve teenage students' health and behavior.

Research on adolescent sleep suggests later school start times correlate with improved mental and physical health, academic achievement, and student behavior, especially among high school students. All profiled districts begin high school no earlier than 8:30am as recommended by research published by the American Academy of Pediatrics.¹

To improve district transportation, change start times and implement tiered bus systems. **District B** and **District C** changed school start times to implement a tiered bus system (i.e., transporting students to and from schools in shifts based on their school level). These systems allow districts to operate efficiently (e.g., reduce costs, reduce bus ride times) despite limited resources (e.g., limited funding, bus driver shortage, bus shortage).

To mitigate pushback to changes in school start times, involve stakeholders (e.g., parents, teachers, community members) in decision-making and implementation processes. Contacts at **District B** and **District C** emphasize the importance of stakeholder involvement to implement new start times. Administrators at both districts held meetings with various stakeholder groups (e.g., parents, teachers, community officials, childcare providers) to discuss changes in start times. Contacts report that these meetings allow administrators to explain the rationale for the change, respond to potential concerns related to the change, and receive feedback about the change to incorporate into the implementation processes.

Operate childcare programs at schools to reduce the impact of new school start times on parents. All profiled districts maintain before or after-school childcare programs. Contacts at **District B** note that affordable and convenient after-school care within elementary schools reduces parent pushback to new start times. Additionally, contacts at **District C** state that before-school childcare for middle and high school students provides working parents schedule flexibility.

Collect student data and qualitative stakeholder feedback to determine the effectiveness of new start times. All profiled districts track student metrics (e.g., assessment scores, attendance, behavioral incidents) to assess whether new start time help them achieve strategic goals. Contacts at **District C** emphasize that this data provides administrators with evidence to address concerns or pushback from stakeholders.

1) Adolescent Sleep Working Group, Committee on Adolescence, and Council on School Health, "School Start Times for Adolescents," *Pediatrics* 134, no. 3 (September 1, 2014): 642-49, <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2014-1697>.

2) Motivations to Change Start Times

Impetus

Change School Start Times to Support Students and Improve District Transportation

All districts profiled for this report changed school start times to improve student health and academics. Two profiled districts also changed start times to improve the efficiency of transportation systems.

Motivations to Change School Start Times at Profiled Districts



- District A
- District D

- District B
- District C

Student Health and Academics

American Students Suffer from Lack of Sleep

Research published by the American Academy of Pediatrics suggests that insufficient sleep is the most common health risk among children.² The research notes that lack of sleep is most common among high-school students due to a shift in their sleep-wake cycle. During adolescence, the body releases sleep hormones later in the night. This later release inhibits students' ability to begin sleep early enough to receive the recommended 8.5 to 9.5 hours of sleep and arrive at school on time.³

Specifically, the research finds that 28 percent of students report falling asleep during school at least once per week, which impacts students' academic performance.⁴ Lack of sleep also affects self-regulation, attention, memory, behavior control, and executive function—all skills students require to perform well in school and succeed in life.⁵ Additionally, research shows a strong association between lack of sleep and anxiety and mood disorders among students, as well as an increase in risk for other health problems later in life (e.g., type 2 diabetes, cardiovascular disease).⁶

2) Adolescent Sleep Working Group, Committee on Adolescence, and Council on School Health, "School Start Times for Adolescents," *Pediatrics* 134, no. 3 (September 1, 2014): 642–49, <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2014-1697>.

3) *Ibid.*

4) *Ibid.*

5) *Ibid.*

6) *Ibid.*

Delay School Start Times to Improve Student Health, Safety, and Academic Achievement

For additional information on research that supports later school start times, please see the **Appendix**.

To increase student sleep, research suggests schools delay start times.⁷ The average high school in America starts at 8:03 am, while research published by the American Academy of Pediatrics suggests schools start no earlier than 8:30 am.⁸ Delaying school start times by as little as 30 minutes correlates with improvements in student mood and behavior, increases in attendance, increases in graduation rates, improved academic performance, and fewer motor vehicle crashes.⁹ Research attributes these improvements primarily to later start times, which allow students to sleep more. One study of a change in school start time asks students to report how much sleep they receive. The study finds that the number of students who receive eight hours of sleep increased from 16.4 percent to 54.7 percent (i.e., a 234 percent increase)¹⁰ after a 30-minute delay in school start time.

Increase the Number of Students Sleeping Eight Hours



234% increase in the number of high school students sleeping at least eight hours after a 30-minute delay in start time.

Contacts at all profiled districts state that the health and academic benefits of more sleep for students influenced their decision to delay school start times. All profiled districts currently begin high school at 8:30 am or later in accordance with the recommendation published by the American Academy of Pediatrics.

District Transportation Systems

Shortages of Bus Drivers, Buses, and Funding Pressure District Transportation Offices

Districts across the country experience problems with transportation due to scarcity of bus drivers, buses and funding. Research suggests that bus driver shortages affect most districts. A 2016 survey of school district transportation personnel finds that 90 percent of respondents report some degree of bus driver shortage at their district; a different 2016 survey finds that 70 percent of participating district transportation employees believe the shortage is worsening.¹¹

Fewer bus drivers results in longer bus routes, which increase travel times and tardiness.¹² Funding cuts compound this problem because they inhibit districts' capacity to hire bus drivers and purchase and maintain buses. While funding for districts varies by state and locality, 2015 census data shows that 29 states allocate less money per student in 2015 than in 2008. Further, in 19 states local government funding for education decreased during the same period.¹³

7) Adolescent Sleep Working Group, Committee on Adolescence, and Council on School Health, "School Start Times for Adolescents," *Pediatrics* 134, no. 3 (September 1, 2014): 642-49, <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2014-1697>.

8) *Ibid.*

9) Anne G. Wheaton, Daniel P. Chapman, and Janet B. Croft, "School Start Times, Sleep, Behavioral, Health, and Academic Outcomes: A Review of the Literature," *The Journal of School Health* 86, no. 5 (May 2016): 363-81, <https://doi.org/10.1111/josh.12388>.

10) Judith A. Owens, Katherine Belon, and Patricia Moss, "Impact of Delaying School Start Time on Adolescent Sleep, Mood, and Behavior," *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine* 164, no. 7 (July, 2010): 608-14, <https://doi.org/10.1001/archpediatrics.2010.96>.

11) Thomas McMahon, "90% of Districts Still Face Driver Shortage," *School Bus Fleet*, November 2016; National Association for Pupil Transportation, "Driver Shortage Survey," Fall 2016, <https://www.napt.org/content.asp?contentid=253>.

12) Ron Barnett, "School Bus Driver Shortage Compounds Tardiness Problem," *The Greenville News*, accessed February 14, 2019, <https://www.greenvilleonline.com/story/news/education/2014/04/14/school-bus-driver-shortage-compounds-tardiness-problem/7723265/>.

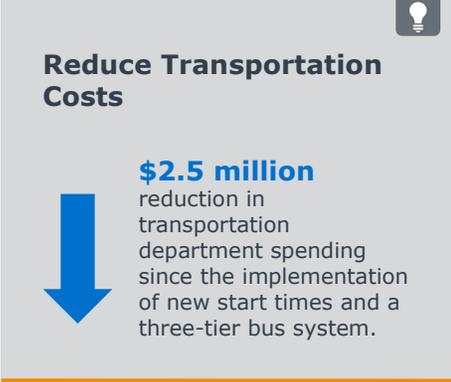
13) Michael Leachman, Kathleen Masterson, and Eric Figueroa, "A Punishing Decade for School Funding," *Center on Budget and Policy Priorities*, November 19, 2017, <https://www.cbpp.org/research/state-budget-and-tax/a-punishing-decade-for-school-funding>.

Change School Start Times and Implement a Tiered Bus System to Reduce Costs or Shorten Student Travel Time

District B and **District C** changed school start times to alleviate transportation problems. Both districts staggered start times to add additional tiers to the bus system. District B transitioned from a two-tier system to a three-tier system to reduce costs, and District C transitioned from a one-tier system to a two-tier system to shorten ride times for students.

Reduce Transportation Costs

State budget cuts reduced the transportation budget of **District B** by 2.5 million dollars. To accommodate this reduced budget, the transportation director recommended a transition to a three-tier bus system. Three-tier bus systems require fewer bus drivers and fewer buses, and therefore fewer maintenance technicians. Administrators at District B tracked transportation expenditures following the implementation of the system and found that the district achieved its goal of 2.5 million dollars in savings.



Reduce Transportation Costs

\$2.5 million reduction in transportation department spending since the implementation of new start times and a three-tier bus system.

Reduce Ride Times

District C staggered start times and transitioned to a two-tiered bus system to shorten bus ride times for students. In 2016, South Carolina passed a law that requires districts to obtain permission for students to ride the bus for longer than 90 minutes one way. Of the three areas District C serves, two are rural and sparsely populated. Consequently, over 150 students rode the bus for more than 90 minutes one way. To reduce time spent in transit, the district transitioned to a two-tier bus system, with elementary school students transported to school before the middle school and high school students. The two-tier system allows the district to create more bus routes (which shortens ride times) without requiring more bus drivers or buses. Contacts report that the system reduced the average student ride time by ten minutes. They add that no students currently ride the bus for more than 90 minutes.

Contacts at **District C** note that fuel costs increased 13 percent as a result of the transition to a two-tier bus system.

Start Times at Profiled Districts

District A

Changed Start Times: **2016/2017**
Two-Tier Bus System

High Schools

8:45 am

Middle Schools

8:45 am

Elementary Schools

7:45 am

District B

Changed Start Times: **2015/2016**
Three-Tier Bus System

High Schools

9:05 am

Middle Schools

7:20 am

Elementary Schools

8:20 am

District C

Changed Start Times: **2017/2018**
Three-Tier Bus System

High Schools

8:45 am

Middle Schools

8:30 am

Elementary Schools

8:00 am

District D

Changed Start Times: **2018/2019**
Two-Tier Bus System

High Schools

8:30 am

Middle Schools

8:30 am

Elementary Schools

7:50 am

3) Implementation Processes

Pilot Programs

Operate Pilot Programs across School Levels to Evaluate the Effects of a Change in Start Times

District A piloted a later start time at one high school before they changed start times at additional schools. The principal of the high school brought a proposal to delay high school start times to district administrators. While contacts report that district administrators found the research on the benefits of later start times compelling, they expressed concerns about the effects of a change in start times on transportation and athletics. To evaluate the potential effects of a change in start times, the high school undertook a year-long pilot program. This pilot program revealed that a change in start times did not create difficulties with transportation or negatively affect the athletics programs, so administrators proceeded with a district-wide implementation of new start times. Contacts state that the pilot program helped achieve board approval for the change in start times across the district.

Contacts note that limiting the pilot program to only one high school resulted in some additional costs. Because the pilot program occurred at only one high school, the district needed to purchase nine additional buses to transport the high school students without altering elementary or middle school start times. Additionally, while the pilot program addressed potential difficulties at the high school level, it did not identify the concerns of elementary school students and their parents. Contacts report an unanticipated volume of complaints from elementary school parents since the implementation of the new start times. To avoid additional costs and anticipate concerns, districts could implement a pilot program at each school level (i.e., elementary school, middle school, and high school) to evaluate the potential impact of the change in start times on all schools.

Communication

Involve All Stakeholders Early in the Decision Process to Mitigate Pushback

Contacts at **District B** and **District C** emphasize that early involvement and communication with stakeholders regarding a change in start times contributed to the successful implementation of new start times. Contacts note that districts' willingness to involve parents, community members, and staff in the planning and decision-making process reduced pushback during the implementation of new start times. Contacts note that while some pushback is inevitable, they recommend districts involve and communicate with stakeholders during the process to determine changes to start times to minimize complaints.

Example Methods to Involve Stakeholders in Decisions to Change Start Times



Town Hall Meetings

The superintendent and other senior district administrators hold meetings in high schools to communicate about the decision-making process and obtain feedback from parents.



Open-Comment Board Meetings

The school board includes time on their agenda for parents and community members to comment on proposed time changes.



Advisory Councils

Senior administrators meet with student, parent, and athletics advisory councils to obtain input on proposed time changes.



Community Events

The superintendent, board members, and senior district administrators attend community events, such as Rotary Club meetings, to obtain input.



School Improvement Councils

Principals meet with their school's improvement councils to obtain teacher and staff feedback.



Targeted Group Meetings

The superintendent or senior district administrators host meetings with groups of community stakeholders (e.g., childcare provider, local businesses that employ high school students) to obtain feedback.



Lack of Stakeholder Involvement Increases Pushback

Contacts at **District A** note that district administrators did not seek input from parents or community members before they decided to change school start times. Contacts report that the lack of parent and community participation in the decision-making process created resentment among stakeholders. Unlike at other profiled districts, the parent pushback to the change in start times at District A increased in the years following implementation. Contacts attribute some of this pushback to the lack of stakeholder involvement in the decision-making process.

Communicate Changes in Start Times Through Multiple Channels to Ensure Stakeholder Awareness

After profiled districts developed a plan to implement changes in start times, they communicated the change to stakeholders through multiple channels. Contacts at all profiled districts note that communication mitigates potential confusion or disorganization during the implementation process. Communications included information on the rationale for the change in start times, the new school hours, the new bus routes, and potential impacts on afterschool programs and activities.

Communication Channels at Profiled Districts



Enlist Local, Qualified Experts to Engage Stakeholders to Increase Understanding of the Change in Start Times

Contacts at **District B** and **District D** suggest administrators ask community members such as health professionals, police officers, and local officials to help the district communicate the rationale for the change in start times. Contacts at District D note that health professionals, such as child psychologists, help district officials explain the health and behavioral benefits of a later school start time to parents and community members. Contacts explain that parents find child psychologists more credible sources of information on student health than district administrators.

Similarly, other community members, such as police officers and transportation officials, bring credibility to discussions of road safety and transportation improvements. Contacts at District D report that the involvement of these trusted community members helped them convey to stakeholders the reasons for the change in start times and mitigate parent concerns.

Connect with Local Officials and Organizations to Develop Effective Transportation Plans for New Start Times

Contacts at **District B** and **District C** recommend directors of transportation ask local officials (e.g., police chiefs, department of transportation administrators) to help the district develop transportation plans for new start times. Contacts at District C note that collaboration with county officials allowed district staff to access accurate data and tools. Similarly, district administrators at District B and District C worked with transportation officials in local government to design safe, effective bus routes.

Administrators at District B also worked with their local police office to identify and publicize safe routes for children to walk to school. District staff asked the local police force to increase their presence around the district to address concerns and potential safety problems during the first week of the new start times. Contacts at the district note that this partnership ensured students' safety and assuaged parents' concerns about young children walking to school early in the morning when it is dark.

Offer Activity Buses and CDL Reimbursement to Address Complaints About After-school Transportation

Contacts at **District A**, **District B**, and **District C** report that changes to school start times and tiered bus schedules affect transportation of athletic teams to events after school. Contacts note that teams occasionally need transportation to games before buses finish dropping off other high school students due to late high school dismissal times. This results in complaints from athletic coaches whose teams arrive late to away games because they must wait for an available bus.

To mitigate these complaints, District C designates activity buses for after-school activities. They also provide funding for district personnel to obtain the Commercial Drivers License (CDL) required to drive the activity buses. Contacts at District C note that while they still receive complaints about after-school transportation, they believe the CDL program assuages the problem.

Contacts at profiled district do not report additional impacts to athletic programs due to time changes. Contacts suggest districts ensure adequate lighting for practice fields to allow students to practice in the evenings.

Reimbursement for CDL at District C



The district provides 17 activity buses. Any staff transporting students to after-school activities can use the buses. However, federal law requires a CDL to operate a bus. While anyone may obtain a CDL, the process is lengthy and expensive.



To incentivize after-school program directors (e.g., athletic coach, band director) to obtain a CDL, the district reimburses them for the CDL class. The funding for this program comes from the district's summer professional development institute.



To ensure personnel complete the remaining steps (e.g., written test, driving exam) to obtain a CDL, the district reimburses employees once they obtain the license.

Tiered Bus Systems Shorten Elementary School Field Trips

Contacts at **District A**, **District B**, and **District C** report that implementing new school start times and a tiered bus system delays or shortens elementary school field trips. Because of the tiered bus system, these profiled districts cannot provide enough buses or bus drivers to transport elementary school students on field trips before the buses transport middle and high school students to school at the beginning of the school day. This delay reduces the overall time available for field trips, because the students must return to school for dismissal. Contacts recommend districts prepare for potential complaints from elementary school principals when they consider changes to school start times.

Childcare

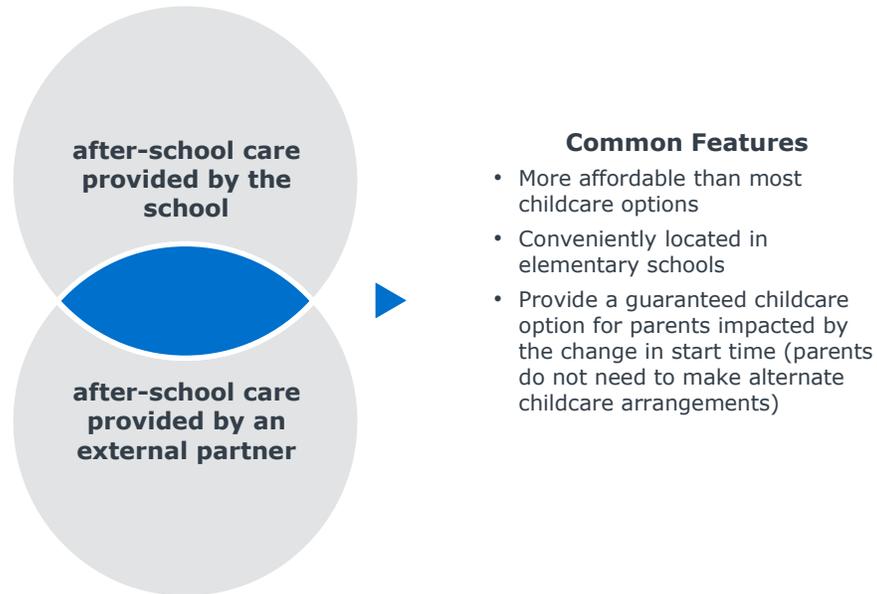
Provide After-School Childcare Programs to Reduce Expenses Due to the Time Change

All profiled districts provide after-school childcare to elementary school students to mitigate the effect of a change in start times on childcare arrangements. To maintain a tiered bus schedule, many districts that delay start times (including all profiled districts) move the elementary school start time earlier than the high school start time. As a result, the youngest students leave school earlier than any older siblings and before the end of many parents' workdays.

This increases the need for childcare among parents at profiled districts. When **District B** changed school start times, they partnered with the local YMCA to operate after-school childcare centers in elementary schools. These centers provide an affordable childcare option for working parents because they charge on a sliding scale (e.g., parents pay according to their level of income). Contacts state that most elementary schools in the district currently host YMCA childcare centers. The district buses students at the schools that do not operate after-school childcare programs to a nearby school that does.

District A, District C, and District D operate in-house after-school childcare programs at elementary schools. Schools manage the after-school programs and set the cost for the service.

After-School Childcare Programs for Elementary School Students at Profiled Districts



Accommodate Early Drop-Offs to Support Working Parents

In addition to after-school childcare for elementary school students, **District C** and **District D** also provide parents before-school childcare for middle and high school students, who start school later than previously. Parents with early working hours or long commutes who drive their children to school benefit from the ability to drop them off before the school day begins.

Students in these before-school programs do not experience the same sleep-related benefits of later start times as their peers. However, contacts report that these programs serve small numbers of students. Further, they note that before-school childcare options alleviated concerns from parents and allowed them to implement a later start time for all students.

Contacts at District C note that while many parents relied on before-school childcare immediately after the change in start times, the number of students that arrive early has decreased since implementation. Contacts suggest that as parents adjusted to the start times, they made alternate childcare arrangements or altered their work hours to fit the new schedule. Contacts state that the district plans to continue to provide before-school childcare to assist the parents who continue to use the service but suggest that it is most useful during the transition to later start times.

Before-School Childcare at District C



4) Feedback and Assessment

Addressing Feedback

Consider Monitoring Social Media to Respond to Community Feedback and Address Parents' Concerns

Communications staff at **District D** monitor and respond to comments about the change in start times on social media. Contacts report that social media allows communications staff to respond easily to individual concerns publicly. Further, contacts note that other parents or community members often join discussions. This allows the district to reply to multiple questions at once and provides an opportunity for stakeholders to support the district's response with research and personal anecdotes. When district staff respond to complaints about the change in start time on their social media accounts, they typically provide an explanation of the district's rationale and link to research that supports later start times for older students. Contacts explain that occasionally other parents or community members provide a complainant with helpful information or direct them to resources before a district administrator can respond.

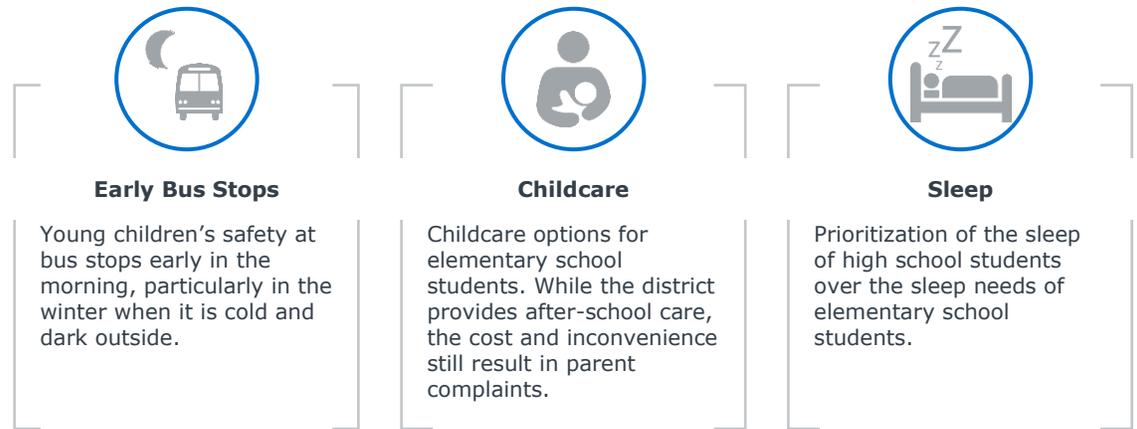
Contacts acknowledge that many parents write complaints the district cannot address easily. Nonetheless, they report that responses to complaints demonstrate to parents the district hears their concerns, which mitigates resentment and pushback. Additionally, district staff monitor social media to identify and address actionable or serious concerns and misconceptions about the change in start times.

Complaints from Elementary School Parents Cause One District to Reevaluate the Change in Start Times

Contacts at three of the four profiled districts note that stakeholders appear pleased with the change in start times. However, contacts at **District A** state that due to increased dissatisfaction from elementary school parents, district administrators are reconsidering the later start time for high school students. Contacts state that the volume of concerns from elementary school parents increased significantly since they implemented new start times.

In spring 2019, the district began a formal re-evaluation of the change in start times in response to the escalation of complaints from elementary school parents. Contacts note that the district is not currently reversing changes in start times. However, contacts add that senior administrators are assessing the possibility of moving the elementary school start time closer to the middle and high school start times or allowing some elementary and high schools to return to their previous hours.

Concerns from Elementary School Parents at *District A*



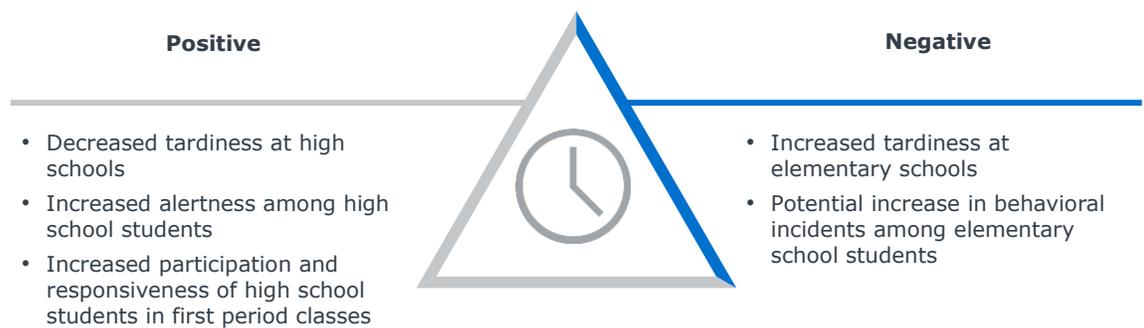
Assessment Methods

Monitor Student Achievement, Attendance, and Behavioral Data to Assess the Change in Start Times

District A, **District B**, and **District D** track student achievement, attendance, tardiness, and behavioral data to assess how the change in start times affects students. While no profiled district finds that the change improves academic achievement, data collected at District A, District B, and District D display some potential effects in other areas. Overall, these districts' preliminary findings suggest the change in start times positively affects high school students but may negatively impact elementary school students' attendance and behavior.

Effects of Change in Start Times on Students

Contacts at **District B** suggest that increased tardiness among elementary school students results from parents waiting to drop off elementary school students until immediately before school starts so they can drop off middle school or high school students in the same trip.

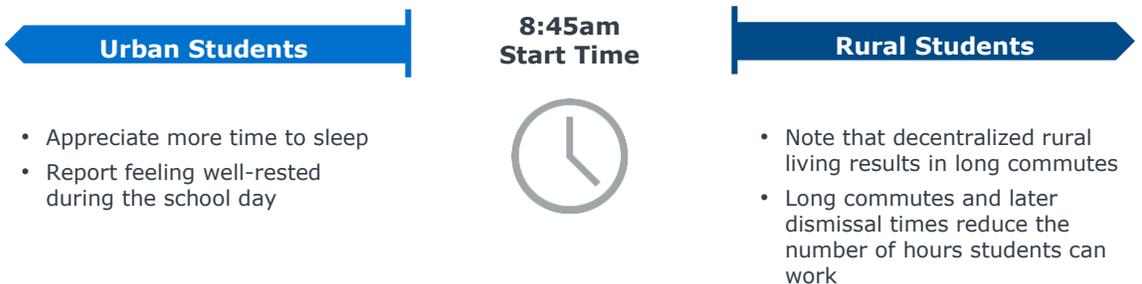


Collect Qualitative Feedback on the Change in Start Times from Stakeholder Groups

Contacts at all profiled districts note that they continue to receive and respond to feedback from stakeholders since they implemented the time change. Administrators at **District C** conduct surveys of students, teachers, and parents to obtain feedback on the continued effects of the change in start times. Contacts note that survey responses reflect the positive impact of the change in start times on bus ride times, and that students report feeling more awake and focused at school. At **District B**, technology staff maintain an electronic communication portal on the district website to collect and respond to feedback.

At **District A**, administrators met with representatives of the student body at each high school to discuss the effects of the time change. They discovered that student views on the time change varied by location. Contacts note that these meetings with students alerted district administrators to regional differences in the effects of the time change on students. While contacts add that administrators have not developed a solution to this concern, they continue to include it in their evaluation of the change in start times.

Student Opinions on the Delayed High School Start Time at *District A*



5) Research Methodology

Project Challenge

Leadership at a member district approached the Forum with the following questions:

- At what times do elementary, middle, and high schools start at contact districts?
- What prompted administrators at contact districts to consider changing school start times?
- What factors did leaders at contact district consider when determining these start times?
- How did leaders at contact districts solicit feedback from stakeholders during the process to determine new start times?
- How did contact districts petition the school board to change school start times?
- How did contact districts communicate changes in start times to the district community?
- How did contact districts address negative feedback from stakeholders on proposed changes to start times?
- What costs and cost-savings do contact districts attribute to changes in start times?
- How did changes in start times at contact districts affect student transportation to and from schools?
- What are the impacts of changes to start times on student achievement and/or behavior at contact districts? Specifically, do students at contact districts experience improvements in social-emotional skills, stress levels, or mental health as a result of time changes?
- How do later start times impact after-school activities and programs at contact districts?
- How have stakeholders at contact districts responded to new start times since implementation? How, if at all, do contact districts address negative feedback from stakeholders after implementing changes to start times?

Project Sources

The Forum consulted the following sources for this report:

- EAB's internal and online research libraries (eab.com)
- National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) (<http://nces.ed.gov/>)
- Adolescent Sleep Working Group, Committee on Adolescence, and Council on School Health. "School Start Times for Adolescents." *Pediatrics* 134, no. 3 (September 1, 2014): 642–49. <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2014-1697>.
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- McKeever, Pamela Malaspina, and Linda Clark. "Delayed High School Start Times Later than 8:30am and Impact on Graduation Rates and Attendance Rates." *Sleep Health* 3, no. 2 (April 1, 2017): 119–25. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sleh.2017.01.002>.

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Research Parameters

The Forum interviewed district-level senior administrators at school districts that recently delayed start times and serve between 10,000 and 30,000 students.

A Guide to Districts Profiled in this Brief

District	Location	Approximate Number of Students
District A	South	22,000
District B	Midwest	30,000
District C	South	10,500
District D	Mountain West	17,000

Appendix

Research on School Start Times

Impact of Delaying School Start Time on Adolescent Sleep, Mood, and Behavior

This study examines the impact of a 30-minute delay in school start time on students at an independent high school in Rhode Island. After the school delays start times by 30 minutes, the percentage of students who report that they receive at least eight hours of sleep increases from 16.4 percent to 54.7 percent. Additionally, students report reduced levels of daytime sleepiness, fatigue, and depressed moods.

School Start Times, Sleep, Behavioral, Health, and Academic Outcomes

This 2017 study reviews 38 reports that examine the association between school start times, sleep, and other outcomes among adolescent students. This review of literature finds that less than one-third of students receive eight or more hours of sleep per night. The review also finds that most studies show a significant increase in sleep duration among adolescents when schools delay start times by approximately one-half hour. Further, it reports that later start times generally corresponded with higher attendance, less tardiness, less falling asleep in class, better grades, and fewer motor vehicle crashes among students.

School Start Times for Adolescents

This 2014 study published by the American Academy of Pediatrics urges schools to adjust start times to increase sleep among students. The report finds that sleep-deprived students experience impairments in mood, affect regulation, attention, memory, behavior control, executive function, and quality of life (**page 643**). The report suggests that students who begin school at 8:00 am rather than 8:30 am typically experience shorter sleep duration, increased sleepiness, difficulty concentrating, behavior problems, and absenteeism (**page 644**).

Delayed High School Start Times Later than 8:30 am and Impact on Graduation Rates and Attendance Rates

This 2017 study of 30,000 high school students finds that start times later than 8:30 am improve attendance rates and graduation rates at 29 profiled schools across seven states.