# **Equitable Access**

Case studies on reducing racial isolation through socioeconomic integration





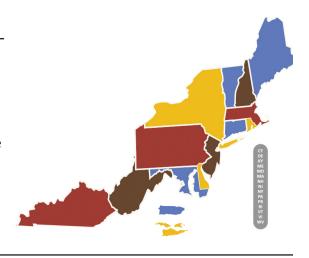
Center *for*Education Equity

#### **About MAEC**

MAEC is an education non-profit dedicated to increasing access to a high-quality education for racially, culturally, linguistically, and economically diverse learners. We work to promote excellence and equity in education to achieve social justice.

#### **About CEE**

MAEC established the Center for Education Equity (CEE) to address problems in public schools caused by segregation and inequities. As the Region I equity assistance center, CEE works to improve and sustain the systemic capacity of public education to increase outcomes for students regardless of race, gender, religion, and national origin. CEE is funded by the US Department of Education under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.



#### **Authorship**

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#### Disclaimer

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A 2016 study by Owens, Reardon, and Jencks found a 40% increase in income segregation among students in public education from 1991 to 2012. Their research also found significant achievement gaps between Black and Latinx students and their White peers and between students from low-income and more affluent households. School-level poverty is an indicator of the quality of schooling a student will receive. A report by the Government Accountability Office stated that in 2013–14, more than one in six students in the United States attended segregated schools where most of their schoolmates were also living in poverty and were Black or Latinx.

Schools with the majority of their student populations consisting of students living in high poverty and those where the majority are students of color tend to face similar challenges. Douglas Harris explains in his 2006 report that only 1.1% of high-poverty schools consistently were high-performing compared to 24.2% of low-poverty schools. Students in high-poverty schools are more likely to be taught by early career teachers, have less access to academic supports and critical classes for college readiness, fewer college counselors, and experience less rigor and expectation for student growth. High-poverty schools also have high teacher turnover rates. Many students living in poverty also face community-level challenges such as high rates of violence, food scarcity, and increased environmental pollution that affect their academic experience.

After the 1954 and 1964 Brown decisions, schools made tremendous strides to desegregate. But, as schools were integrating, communities were resegregating. Multiple waves of White flight from more integrated urban areas helped kick off a resegregation of public schools. More recent gentrification in large urban centers has left communities more segregated than ever. High numbers of Latinx and Black residents live in high poverty, exacerbated by sharp increases in urban home costs. New White and higher-income urban residents send their children to private schools and the "best" of the public schools (typically magnet and charter schools).

In addition to these factors, the 2007 Supreme Court decision in Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No.1 added to the complexities of integration for school systems. The court determined that schools should achieve racial integration, but their integration policies should not depend on student race or ethnicity. Since this ruling, and without mandated desegregation orders, districts have struggled to define and adopt integration policies that do not rely on race or ethnicity but effectively integrate schools.

In 2011, the Obama Administration offered guidance "[that] addresses the degree of flexibility that school districts have to take proactive steps, in a manner consistent with principles articulated in Supreme Court opinions" (U.S. Departments of Justice & Education, 2011). The guidance gave examples of both race-neutral and generalized race-based strategies. In 2018, the U.S. Departments of Justice and Education rescinded the 2011 guidance prioritizing race-neutral student assignment policies.

# Integration options for school districts

The 2007 Supreme Court decision offered guidance about how school districts can "reduce racial isolation" without using students' race as the sole consideration for school integration. The Supreme Court permits that a student's race can only be one of many factors considered to reduce racial isolation. As a result, school districts have adopted, blended, and even adapted strategies to account for shifts in local demographics. The following sections describe two common strategies.

#### Rezoning/Re-districting

Traditional attendance zone boundaries indicate that students attend the schools closest to their neighborhoods. Some districts' rezoning practices recreate neighborhood segregation, especially when demographics shift due to gentrification, reinforcing existing school segregation. Since the 2007 Supreme Court decision, school districts have found it more difficult to identify factors to define and move school board zone boundaries that create school integration.

Under these circumstances, school districts have identified several student and neighborhood-level socioeconomic indicators to map attendance zone boundaries to promote diversity, such as resident education levels, homeownership rates, household income levels, etc.

#### **Equitable or Controlled Choice**

The most commonly used strategy, choice programs, are designed to give parents more school options. Districts have implemented a range of choice options beyond the limiting traditional neighborhood schools.

**Charter Schools:** Charter schools allow parents to select from a set of independently operated schools that offer a theme-based curricular focus. The independent authority of charter schools can be appealing to parents looking for options that will meet their child's specific needs. Charters often use a lottery system to address the high number of applications for limited availability. These lottery processes can be designed to address school integration priorities.

**Magnet Schools:** Magnets began in the late 1960s as a school desegregation strategy in which student eligibility is not dependent on one's address. Magnets are typically theme-based, offering students opportunities to immerse themselves in subject areas and related content. Many magnet schools manage their application process with highly selective criteria considering student grades, parent advocacy, parent engagement, student behavior, etc. Districts using this strategy should review their admission process with equitable access criteria.

**Student Transfers:** Transfer policies offer parents the option to request that their children move into and out of specific schools. Districts can permit across-district or within-district transfers. Transfer requests are determined by a set of considerations that support district-wide, regional, and school-level integration plans. Considerations include socioeconomic status, English proficiency, special education enrollment, gifted and talented status, and race and ethnicity.

# About the profiles

This brief provides four examples of district socioeconomic integration efforts. Although the 2007 Supreme Court decision has inspired some recent district efforts, others have long histories of pursuing school desegregation. The districts seek to increase equitable access to quality education for all students. The four examples present different strategies and varying levels of success. All of them continue to revisit their plans annually.

The authors compiled these profiles using publicly available data and, in some instances, interviews with district leaders. Each district is at a different point in its socioeconomic integration journey. These districts were selected because they initiated or redesigned their socioeconomic integration efforts to address equitable access to educational opportunities. They determined the appropriate socioeconomic integration strategies for their local contexts by collecting and analyzing a range of school, district, and community-level data; engaged with families in the design, planning, and implementation of their plans; and monitored their progress on their original goals over time.

#### The profiles include the following districts:

- Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools (North Carolina)
- District 15 (New York City)
- San Antonio Independent School District (Texas)
- Jefferson County Public Schools (Kentucky)

This collection of profiles offers some important considerations and best practices:

#### **Prepare**

- Take time to understand your context (especially over time) and establish a compelling vision.
- Engage families and the broader community by communicating clearly, broadly, and often.

#### Plan

- Analyze segregation using a range of data to inform the planning and designing process.
- Design an action plan to promote integration.

#### **Implement**

- Commit to a theory of action and revisit over time.
- Create structures to review progress, identify problems, and adjust the theory of action as needed.

Each profile contains elements from MAEC's Advancing Racial and Socioeconomic Diversity Playbook, which provides actions or "plays" to stakeholders interested in pursuing integration policies, as well as corresponding pitfalls to avoid. The playbook can be used as a complement to these profiles, offering a broader set of tools to achieve equity. Taken together, these resources can inform, support, and encourage school communities that wish to launch or revisit a socioeconomic integration effort.

## Profile 1: Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, NC

#### **Background**

The origins of the socioeconomic status integration (SESI) efforts in Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools (CMS) are rooted in the U.S. Supreme Court-ruled 1971 Swann decision. This ruling was the most famous "busing" decision in the history of desegregation cases, which called for the heterogeneous grouping of students into schools based on race. The district established socioeconomic status integration policies in 2016 after years of expressed concerns about using race-based student placement criteria.

CMS's socioeconomic status integration planning process was led by a consulting company, school and district staff, students and families, and advocacy groups on either side of the issue—those against busing for integration and those for diversifying schools.

#### The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools' integration plan

In analyzing segregation in its district, Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools used a range of data, including district-level, census, and surveys that inquired about parent household, adult educational attainment, English proficiency, and homeownership information. Summaries of the data were converted into numerical ratings and grouped as high, medium, or low socioeconomic status. The ratings were used to determine student eligibility to attend magnet schools: the lower a student's socioeconomic status (SES), the more likely the student's eligibility for magnet school admission. One local reporter noted, "CMS leaders say they are trying to open opportunities to as many students as possible while maintaining standards that let each program function effectively. For instance, students seeking admission to middle and high school International Baccalaureate® (I.B.) magnets previously needed passing scores on state reading and math exams; now, only the reading score is required. However, the high school I.B. magnets are adding requirements to ensure that students show success to stay in the program" (Helms, 2016).

#### **Implementation strategy**

Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools implemented its plan by offering two magnet lotteries to select students for schools to fill any slots remaining in the SES-based placement. The plan called for CMS to add magnet seats every year (Helms, 2016). The district worked to keep families informed about the process and school options through a fair, regional events, school visits, and family surveys.

#### **Monitoring**

The Board approved a revised student assignment plan on May 24, 2017, after a 2016 review.

#### **Community response**

There have been mixed responses to the integration implementation strategy. Some CMS alumni have indicated that their experiences with diverse schools prepared them for a diverse and multicultural world. A subset of CMS SESI supporters started OneMeck, a network of residents dedicated to working together for integration and diversity in Charlotte. Some students supported the plan by joining Students for Education Reform (SFER). SFER shares students' positive experiences and perspectives in the district to shed light on school integration (Cohen, 2016). Other community members expressed concern for "forced busing."

CMS has identified a critical set of beliefs in the district's 2024 strategic plan to inform its theory further. This plan serves as the basis for how CMS will continue to educate the students in Mecklenburg County (CMS). CMS continues to advocate for the integration of schools.

#### **Impact**

CMS continues to collect data and monitor the progress of its implementation plan. They remain committed to providing equitable access to high-quality educational opportunities for all students. As the results of those efforts are identified, they will be evaluated and shared with all relevant stakeholders.

## **Profile 2: District 15, New York City, NY**

#### **Background**

In 2014, New York City converted 45 of its schools into community schools to improve student attendance and decrease student dropout rates. Community schools have proven to yield positive outcomes, including increased graduation rates, reduced absenteeism, fewer disciplinary incidents, and improvements in student achievement. Today, there are 267 community schools in New York City. The city launched this socioeconomic school integration effort for districts 1, 6, 13, 15, and 17 in 2017. The community schools include eight non-zoned elementary schools (similar to magnet schools) that reserve a portion of their seats for students eligible for free or reduced-price lunch, English Learners, students from families impacted by incarceration, and students in the child welfare system.

#### **District 15's integration plan**

District 15 (D15) started establishing socioeconomic integration policies in 2013. The New York City Department of Education (DOE) began developing a District 15 Diversity Plan during the 2017-18 school year. "The D15 Diversity Plan follows years of previous advocacy work led by local parents, school leaders, and elected officials. The plan's community-based process sought to build from these earlier efforts; to engage the larger D15 community in conversations on race, class, diversity, and integration; and to use community engagement to develop solutions reflective of the diverse needs of D15's school community." (D15 Diversity Plan: Final Report, 2018)

The D15 Diversity Plan working group functioned as a design team for the overall effort. It included students, parents, teachers, principals, administrators, community advocates, and members of local community-based organizations. The process tasked the working group with keeping the process inclusive, accessible, and accountable to all D15 residents. The group generated interest in public workshops, reviewed and provided feedback on community findings, and used the results of the findings to shape the plan's framework and recommendations. There were four phases of the D15 diversity planning process:

- 1. Introduction: Finalized roles and responsibilities and introduced the planning process
- 2. Framing: Gathered and prioritized community concerns and insights
- 3. Options: Demonstrated through data analysis and presentation how different options could affect District 15 and gathered feedback
- 4. Plan: Created a final plan and presented it to the community

The district hosted four public workshops and a community presentation to gather community feedback to inform the D15 Diversity Plan, reaching more than 500 D15 community members. The plan can be downloaded from <a href="https://d15diversityplan.com">https://d15diversityplan.com</a>:

**Public workshop #1**: Introduced the planning process and provided participants the opportunity to discuss the current middle school admissions process, segregation in D15, and the challenges related to integration.

**Public workshop #2**: Briefly addressed the historical roles of racism and segregation, examined how the D15 population has changed over time, and provided community members with an opportunity to share their ideas on integrating schools and creating inclusive school environments.

**Public workshop #3**: Community members provided feedback on a set of initial draft recommendations. Feedback from this workshop informed refinements to the developing plan.

**Public workshop #4:** A final set of draft recommendations was shared. Advisory groups provided formal feedback on the findings from public workshops #1 and #2, draft recommendations before public workshop #3, and final draft recommendations before the community presentation held during public workshop #4.

Facilitators worked directly with the working group and community members to develop recommendations on implementing the D15 Diversity Plan. Process facilitators included the New York City Department of Education; WXY, an urban planning and design firm focusing on civic projects in NYC; and Border Crossers, an organization that trains and empowers educators to dismantle patterns of racism and injustice.

#### Implementation strategy

District 15's socioeconomic planning process was grounded in using a broad range of data to consider, investigate, and address critical questions. District-level and community-level data included:

- Race/ethnicity
- · Admissions policies
- Considerations for culturally responsive curricula
- School overcrowding
- School quality features
- · Resource allocation
- Safety
- Restorative justice practices
- Special education designations
- · Household distances to schools
- Staff representation

Importantly, District 15 has been a choice school district for middle schools, and there are no zoned middle schools in the district, which means that its 11 middle schools do not serve a specific geographic area. In response to the challenges related to its middle school choice approach, the district decided to address school screening processes that served as barriers to equal school access.

The year one integration recommendations include maintaining school choice, the removal of all school screens and the creation of an admissions priority for low-income students that is reflective of the D15's population average.... it is useful to note that the use of school screens was only first implemented during the early 2000s as a strategy to draw middle-class families to D15 middle schools and to increase diversity. Before this shift, D15's middle schools were zoned by geographic areas. The proliferation of school screens has contributed to the segregation within the D15's middle schools. For example, three middle schools have seen more than a 100% increase in White students between 2007 and 2017, and a corresponding decrease of Black and Latino students of 40% and 28%, respectively, in that same period. (D15 Diversity Plan. Final Report 2018)

The implementation strategy matched students for 10 of 11 schools. Students were allowed to rank their middle school choices, and with a 52% diversity priority, students were placed in schools of their highest choice unless that percentage was not met. If there were not enough seats, then students in both categories (i.e., diversity priority and general) were assigned random lottery numbers, and those chosen were admitted. If students did not get their first choice, their second or subsequent choices were given priority. Lower-rated schools began to enact some relationship and rapport building with feeder schools where students ranked them lower on their choice lists to encourage future elevation on those lists.

The D15 Diversity Plan working group released its final plan on August 3, 2018. The DOE responded to the working group and the D15 community at the end of the summer. The DOE committed to ensuring that any changes would be explained to the community in an easy-to-understand way. The target date for full implementation of the plan was fall 2019.

#### **Monitoring**

The D15 Diversity Plan included a monitoring plan and annual review to track progress and identify problems. The monitoring plan involved conducting an audit on enrollment results to ensure that equitable numbers of students from the admissions priority were chosen for each D15 middle school. Results of the audit were made publicly accessible.

The annual review included an audit of accomplishments, an update on inclusion initiatives (integrated schools, inclusive classrooms, restorative practices, collaboration and engagement, resource inequity, and students with special needs and physical access), outstanding items, and a comparison of the year-by-year demographic information contained in the DOE Demographic Snapshot of the individual middle schools and overall district. This annual review also monitored the number of students attending the D15 middle schools relative to previous years and the latest census data.

The DOE created a centrally funded full-time diversity, equity, and integration coordinator position that partners with D15 administrators, educators, staff, parents, and students on diversity and integration initiatives. The coordinator tracked integration initiatives in D15 and solicited feedback to inform plans and other NYC integration efforts. This coordinator worked in collaboration with the restorative justice coordinator and admissions coordinator.

#### **Community response**

The public, including families and the community, had mixed responses to the integration implementation strategy. Some families still seem to oppose integration. There was approximately a 7% enrollment decrease for middle schools at the onset of the diversity plan. Otherwise, most families are giving the integration process a try.

#### **Impact**

The approach has been effective. Schools that were predominantly White and affluent have seen the most significant student-type enrollment shifts with fewer White students and more students experiencing poverty and students learning English, as was the design for the plan. Predominantly Latinx schools have also shown some notable shifts.

## Profile 3: San Antonio Independent School District, TX

#### **Background**

The origins of the San Antonio Independent School District's (SAISD) socioeconomic school integration efforts are rooted in Mohammed Choudhury's arrival as the new chief innovation officer in 2017. "Choudhury is responsible for overhauling low-performing schools by relaunching them with innovative instructional models that will tap into what he describes as a sea of affluence in San Antonio" (Ura & Swaby, 2018). Serving almost 50,000 students, SAISD is one of 14 school districts in San Antonio.

#### San Antonio Independent School District's integration plan

San Antonio's integration initiative balances student and family socioeconomic diversity and incorporates:

- "Diversity by design" initiatives in open-enrollment school models
- Data to inform and assess the strategy
- Transportation to all schools of choice using SAISD's fleet of buses (Opalka, 2018)

The SAISD approach to socioeconomic school integration began with a review of district-level data to analyze segregation. There was a particular focus on poverty rates, which were at 90% for the district. This rate was of great concern since poverty correlates with opportunity disparities. The district's data also indicated that affluent families opted into new schools more frequently than schools with high percentages of students experiencing poverty. Choudhury developed a theory of action using the data: the district would use newly placed or reopened specialized, charter, and magnet schools in urban core/downtown locations as the primary vehicles to diversify schools. The district also focused on improving attendance zone planning to include students from low-income and wealthy areas.

#### Implementation strategy

San Antonio ISD's implementation process engaged school administrators, teachers, and community members. They kicked off their efforts by analyzing census block data that would inform attendance zoning revisions, lotteries, and controlled school choice. SAISD's integration initiative identified students using family data relative to income, educational attainment, homeownership rates, and single-parent households.

The district communication strategy regarding implementation entailed "savvy marketing and winning hearts" (Opalka & Heyward, 2018). The district focused on the specialized, new, or renewed school attendance opportunities for students and families. The school district's marketing campaign informed students and families of locations and instructional program offerings. From the responses, SAISD decided to offer advanced and inquiry-based learning, dual language programs, and the Montessori school model (Opalka & Heyward, 2018).

SAISD implemented controlled attendance zoning and provided transportation so that students could attend their school of choice. SAISD's integration strategies sought to ensure that families in the most economically disadvantaged areas of San Antonio were engaged and aware of their options, locations, and instructional program offerings.

Schools reserved at least half of their enrollment capacity for students from low-income households. Admissions officers ran multiple digital lotteries with computerized algorithms based on income and geography to balance students from working and middle-class families. SAISD conducted these lotteries until all low-income family seats were filled and then accessed the waiting lists to fill remaining seats with students from higher-income families. For students not selected via computerized lotteries, district staff assisted families with finding similar schools with open seats or new programs closer to their homes.

#### **Monitoring**

To ensure fair representation of students from diverse backgrounds and to monitor the integration progress, SAISD's Office of Enrollment has used equity audits to monitor integration progress. More schools now have balanced numbers of low- and high-income families.

#### **Community response**

Families and community members have had mixed responses to the integration strategy. Some schools, families, and staff welcome the integration strategies, while others feel left out (Ura & Swaby, 2018). One complaint has been that the district only invested in schools targeted for integration and not all schools needing improvement.

Despite the district's efforts to level resourcing in all schools, some parents decided to remove their students from the district (Ura & Swaby, 2018). Some teachers also protested the changes by calling for the superintendent's removal. At one point, the teachers' union filed a lawsuit against the district in response to the district's charter granting practices claiming that local charter considerations should only include organizations with local community ties.

In support of the efforts, some families were pleased that children could receive bilingual education without paying tuition at a private school.

#### **Impact**

Many families who had previously opted out of the district returned to take advantage of the newly offered options (Ura & Swaby, 2018). There has been a significant increase in the number of graduates pursuing higher education (Hawkins, 2018). SAISD was named one of the fastest-improving districts in Texas in their 2017-18 performance report (Hawkins, 2018). Within three years, SAISD rose from "failing" to "average," with more than one-third of its schools earning the state's "distinction" designation.

## **Profile 4: Jefferson County Public Schools, KY**

#### **Background**

The origins of the socioeconomic school integration efforts in Jefferson County Public Schools (JCPS) began in the 1970s with a race-based busing plan under court order. There was massive resistance to the court order as 98% of White parents were against desegregation (Quick & Damante, 2016). After the court order ended in 2000, JCPS voluntarily continued to work toward school integration, but its efforts have not been without incident or setbacks. After the 2007 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that determined race could not be the sole factor in assigning students to schools, district officials decided to revise the school integration plan. JCPS developed a new plan in 2010 to diversify neighborhood schools with students representing racial, income, and diversity in parental educational attainments. The district developed a new plan in 2010 "that uses multiple criteria to achieve diversity." JCPS's chief equity officer led an inclusive process to inform the plan (Louisville, KY: Jefferson County Public Schools Geography-Based Integration Plan).

#### Jefferson County Public Schools' integration plan

The district was committed to designing an action plan that incorporated family and community perspectives and surveyed high school families. The survey revealed that families were committed to diversity. As with many school districts, some students were clustered in schools that reflected neighborhood conditions. JCPS's plan divided the schools into "clusters" composed of diverse neighborhoods and allowed families to rank preferences for schools in their cluster. The district assigned students to schools based on their preferences and diversity goals. With the cluster system, the district hoped that students' bus rides would be shorter because the new plan also sought to reduce the distance between school options, which may have influenced diversity over time (Flack, 2016).

The district plan prioritized a diverse representation of students in all schools using criteria that considered family income level, parental educational attainment, and race and ethnicity identities. Under a recent iteration of the district's integration plan, census block groups are designated as category 1, category 2, or category 3. To determine which category a block group fell into, JCPS analyzed each block group for factors including income, percentage of White residents, and educational attainment. The specific goal of the student assignment plan was for each school to enroll a specific proportion of students from the three-block categories (Holme & Frankenberg, 2017).

#### **Implementation strategy**

A multi-faceted approach to implement its integration plan allowed JCPS to:

- Use neighborhood-level demographics to ensure each school in the district served a combination of students from high and low-opportunity neighborhoods
- Implement a variety of choices for students, including magnets and special programs
- Use a centralized application process with outreach assistance for those in need of support to complete the application by the deadline
- Provide transportation and equitable funding to support all students
- Implement diversity strategies in hiring staff and professional development

JCPS's Racial Equity Advisory Council has assisted the superintendent in developing and monitoring the integration plan. The advisory council, which consists of parents, teachers, classified staff members, administrators, and community members, oversees implementation and outcomes.

#### **Monitoring**

To review progress and identify problems, the Racial Equity Advisory Council provides the JCPS Board of Education with a progress report twice per year regarding the implementation of the JCPS Racial Educational Equity Plan. The progress reports address timelines, achievement data by race, measurable goals, and family feedback. The district and the advisory council also hosts at least two community conversations per year. Community conversations gather community members' perspectives about racial issues and educational equity to inform implementation.

#### **Community response**

JCPS intentionally and regularly engages with its community stakeholders to provide information about implementation processes, increase family access to information about their options, and gather feedback and insights about family experiences. Ultimately, JCPS hopes to build and strengthen relationships with families, stakeholders, and the community.

Families and other community stakeholders have expressed mixed responses to the integration implementation plan. The Neighborhood Schools Bill (House Bill 151) was introduced to prioritize students living closer to a preferred school. One source says, "[T]his bill would essentially segregate the public school system again. Currently, JCPS is one of the most integrated school districts in the nation. House Bill 151 would completely destroy this integration. Thankfully, the bill only passed in the House to die last week in the Senate" (Arnett, 2017).

JCPS has encountered some challenges (e.g., a failed proposed state takeover proposal and support for the Neighborhood Schools Bill) but continues working to improve integration.

#### **Impact**

JCPS continues to collect data and monitor the progress of its implementation plan. They remain committed to providing equitable access to high-quality educational opportunities for all students. As the results of those efforts are identified, they will be evaluated and shared with all relevant stakeholders.



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# **Further Reading from MAEC**

- Advancing Racial and Socioeconomic Diversity Playbook
  - Promoting School Equity: Lessons from the Socioeconomic Integration Community of Practice
- A Data Inquiry Guide for Exploring Equity Issues and Solutions
  - Time to Act: How School Superintendents Keep Equity at the Center of Their Leadership
  - **Getting Started: With Restorative Practices in Schools**

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