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ABSTRACT

This paper compares racial and ethnic enrollment in Milwaukee private schools between 1994-95, when the legislature expanded the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program (MPCP), and 1998-99, when the expansion was first implemented. While some predicted that more choice would worsen racial and ethnic segregation, researchers instead found that it contributed to a noticeable increase in racial and ethnic balance in private schools. Though the paper focuses on the impact of choice in private schools, it also presents comparative data on public school enrollment, suggesting that choice has had no major impact on overall racial and ethnic balance in the Milwaukee Public Schools. When the data are available for 1999-2000 and future years, it will be possible to assess the prediction that the voluntary school choice program will have a continuing positive impact on racial balance. An appendix presents raw data. (SM)



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The Impact of School Choice on Racial and Ethnic Enrollment in Milwaukee Private Schools

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Summary

This paper compares racial and ethnic enrollment in Milwaukee private schools between 1994-95, when the Legislature expanded the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program (MPCP), and 1998-99, when the expansion first was implemented.² While some predicted that more choice would worsen racial and ethnic segregation, we instead find that it contributed to a noticeable increase in racial and ethnic balance in private schools. Though we focus on the impact of choice in private schools, we also present comparative data on public school enrollment suggesting that choice has had no major impact on overall racial and ethnic balance in the Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS).

Background

In 1995, the Wisconsin Legislature and Governor Tommy Thompson expanded the MPCP by increasing the number of eligible children and by making religious schools eligible.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) sued, predicting that the "natural and foreseeable consequence" of including religious schools would be "further segregation of the schools of the State of Wisconsin." In later dismissing the NAACP suit, the Wisconsin Supreme Court did not directly address the merits of this claim, one that continues to be raised in connection with Milwaukee's choice program and the overall concept of school choice. For example, earlier this year:

- During a television forum on race relations in Milwaukee, choice opponents said private school admission practices would foster segregation.³
- In a widely publicized speech, North Carolina Governor James Hunt said school choice, in Milwaukee and elsewhere, would accelerate a trend toward increased racial segregation.⁴
- David Berliner, Dean of Education at Arizona State University, said: "Voucher programs would allow for splintering along racial and ethnic lines...[V]oucher programs could end up resembling the ethnic cleansing occurring in Kosovo."⁵
- NAACP President Kweisi Mfume, speaking at an anti-school choice rally in Detroit, said: "We can't allow our nation's schools to be divided once again by skin color...."⁶

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Results

In earlier papers, we disputed predictions that choice would worsen segregation.⁷ We predicted instead that choice would reduce overall racial isolation in private schools. At the time, however, we did not have data on actual implementation of the expanded program.

Now, based on the first year's actual experience in 1998-99, such data are available. They show that choice in Milwaukee has had the opposite effect of that predicted by the NAACP, Governor Hunt, Dean Berliner, Kwesi Mfume, and others. **Rather than increasing racial isolation, choice has caused a notable increase in racial balance in Milwaukee's private schools.** A separate analysis, by Harvard University researcher Jay Greene, identifies a similar effect in Cleveland, location of the nation's second largest choice program.⁸

These results are explained by the fact that most low-income students using school vouchers in Milwaukee (and Cleveland) belong to racial or ethnic minorities. In using the choice program, they have moved from racially isolated public schools, with a low percentage of white students, to systems of private schools with a larger enrollment of white students. This had led to more integrated private school systems.

The Milwaukee NAACP said the opposite would occur. Its 1996 lawsuit⁹ said "...a natural and foreseeable consequence [of the expanded choice program] will be...further segregation of the schools" in Milwaukee.

The available data refute this claim, showing instead that overall racial and ethnic balance in private Milwaukee schools improved noticeably between 1994-95 and 1998-99. Further, on a school-by-school basis, private schools with the largest number of new choice students in 1998-99 were much less racially isolated than in MPS.

Racial and ethnic enrollment — private and public Milwaukee schools

Overall, racial and ethnic isolation in private Milwaukee schools declined notably between 1994-95 and 1998-99. See Table 1.

Table 1. Minority¹⁰ and White students, ages 4-19, in Milwaukee private schools, by %.

| | <u>Minority</u> | <u>White</u> |
|---------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1994-95 | 27.4% (n = 7,631) | 72.6% (n = 20,185) |
| 1998-99 | 35.7% (n = 9,718) | 64.3% (n = 17,490) |

During the same period, racial isolation in public schools increased, continuing a long-standing trend. See Table 2.

Table 2. Minority and White students, ages 4-19, in Milwaukee public schools, by %.

| | <u>Minority</u> | <u>White</u> |
|---------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1994-95 | 77.6% (n = 82,916) | 22.4% (n = 23,951) |
| 1998-99 | 81.5% (n = 91,468) | 18.5% (n = 20,700) |

Table 4 suggests that the expanded choice program was not a significant factor in this continuing trend.

What caused the change in private school enrollment?

Tables 1 and 2 are based on citywide censuses of school-aged Milwaukee children.¹¹ While documenting a significant change in the racial and ethnic composition of private school enrollment, they do not address why these changes occurred.

We hypothesize that the changes mainly were attributable to the school choice program. To test this hypothesis, we estimated what the racial and ethnic composition of private and public school enrollment would have been in 1998-99 if there had been no expansion in the choice program. In other words, what if the additional choice students in 1998-99 instead had attended MPS schools? In that instance, what would the racial and ethnic breakdowns have been?

To answer these questions, we:

- Estimated the racial and ethnic composition of the additional 5,392 students in the MPCP in 1998-99 vs. 1994-95;¹²
- Subtracted those students from actual, overall private school enrollments in 1998-99;
- Added them to actual, overall public school enrollments; and
- Recalculated the racial and ethnic composition of both systems, assuming that all new choice students last year instead attended public schools.

Private schools. Using the method described above, Table 3 compares the actual racial and ethnic composition of private Milwaukee schools in 1998-99 with what would have existed without choice. It shows a strong correlation between expansion of the choice program and the overall racial and ethnic enrollment changes identified in Table 1.

Table 3. Minority and White enrollment, by %, private schools, 1998-99 v. 1994-95.

| | <u>Minority</u> | <u>White</u> |
|---|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1994-95 (actual, before expansion) | 27.4% (n = 7,631) | 72.6% (n = 20,185) |
| 1998-99 (actual, with choice expansion) | 35.7% (n = 9,718) | 64.3% (n = 17,490) |
| 1998-99 (estimated, without expansion) | 26.9% (n = 5,858) | 73.1% (n = 15,958) |

Public schools. Using the same method, we also estimated what public school enrollment patterns would have been in 1998-99 if new choice students in 1998-99 instead had attended MPS. As Table 4 illustrates, with or without choice, MPS racial and ethnic enrollment would have been about the same.

Table 4. Minority and White enrollment, by %, public schools, 1998-99 v. 1994-95.

| | Minority | White |
|---|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1994-95 (actual, before expansion) | 77.6% (n = 82,916) | 22.4% (n = 23,951) |
| 1998-99 (actual, with choice expansion) | 81.5% (n = 91,468) | 18.5% (n = 20,700) |
| 1998-99 (estimated, without expansion) | 81.1% (n = 95,328) | 18.9% (n = 22,232) |

School-by-school racial and ethnic enrollment patterns

The data in Tables 1 and 3 support our earlier predictions that the expanded school choice program would reduce overall racial and ethnic isolation in private schools.

As these data are **system wide**, they do not address enrollment at the individual school level. It remains possible that White and minority choice students might have transferred mainly to "one-race" schools.

To test this possibility, we compared school-by-school enrollment patterns in MPS elementary schools with school-by-school data from a sample of 26 of 30 elementary Catholic choice schools.¹³ Overall, Catholic schools accounted for more than half of the 1998-99 choice expansion involving religious schools.

To assess whether the sample of 26 Catholic schools was representative of private schools in general, we compared minority and White enrollment at those schools with overall enrollment in Milwaukee private schools. The comparison, in Table 5, suggests that the sample of 26 schools is representative.

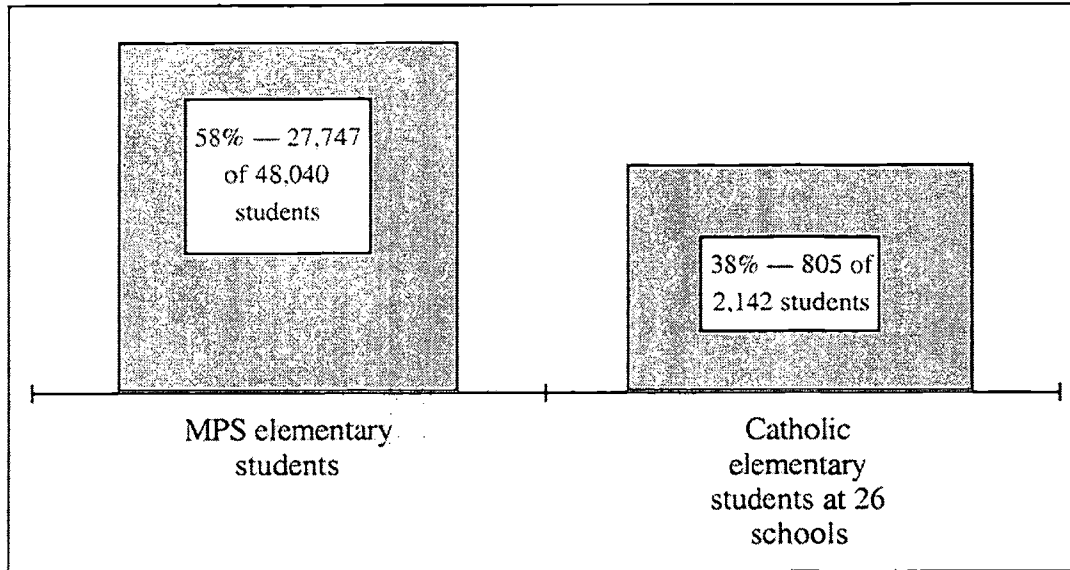
Table 5. Minority and White students, by %, in (i) 26 Milwaukee Catholic schools and (ii) all private schools, 1998-99.

| | Minority | White |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| Sample of 26 Catholic Schools | 33.9% (n = 2,142) | 66.1% (n = 4,168) |
| Overall Private School Enrollment | 35.7% (n = 9,718) | 64.3% (n = 17,490) |

We next identified racially isolated MPS and Catholic elementary schools, which we defined as schools where minorities were either 90% or more or 10% or less of total enrollment.¹⁴ Figure 1 compares the per cent of minority MPS and Catholic elementary students attending racially isolated schools in 1998-99. It shows that about 50% more MPS elementary students were in racially isolated schools.

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Figure 1. Per cent of minority elementary students in racially isolated public and private schools, 1998-99.¹⁵



Officials at the Archdiocese of Milwaukee predict that, because of choice, this gap in "racial isolation" between many private and public schools will widen. For example, in the current school year, (1999-2000), an additional 2,000 students entered the choice program. The majority of these new students are likely to have come from racial and ethnic minorities. Officials at the Archdiocese say this is so for new choice students at its schools, reducing the number of such schools that we would define as racially isolated. When comparable 1999-2000 data for MPS and Archdiocese schools are available, we will report on results in the second year of the choice expansion.

Conclusion

We identify in this paper several sources of data regarding racial and ethnic enrollment patterns in public and private schools in Milwaukee. We compare the overall patterns in 1994-95, when a major expansion of choice was approved, and 1998-99, when the expansion first was implemented. We also analyze school-by-school enrollment data for MPS and a representative sample of private choice schools in 1998-99.

The Milwaukee Parental Choice Program appears to have increased racial and ethnic enrollment balance for students participating in the program and, in general, for students at participating private schools. This outcome, for the first year of the choice program's expansion, differs sharply from the prediction made in the NAACP's 1996 complaint. When data are available for 1999-2000 and future years, it will be possible to assess the Archdiocese prediction that the voluntary choice program will have a continuing positive impact on racial balance.

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Notes

- ¹ Fuller is Director of the Institute for the Transformation of Learning, Marquette University, and former superintendent of the Milwaukee Public Schools. Mitchell is a partner in The Mitchell Company, a public policy research firm. He is a consultant to the Institute's Office of Research.
- ² Between the summer of 1995 and 1998, Wisconsin's Supreme Court enjoined the expanded program. On June 10, 1998, the Court upheld all aspects of the expansion, which then went into effect in 1998-99.
- ³ "Through One City's Eyes: Race Relations in America's Heartland," broadcast Sept. 28, 1999, Wisconsin Public Television.
- ⁴ "Gov. Hunt: Better schools, without vouchers," The Raleigh News & Observer, June 16, 1999.
- ⁵ "Arizona Dean Warns of Possible Ethnic Splits," The Albuquerque Journal, May 8, 1999.
- ⁶ Antonucci, Mike, "The Education Intelligence Agency Communique," November 15, 1999, <http://members.aol.com/educintel/eia>.
- ⁷ Mitchell, "Impact of MPCP on School Integration," unpublished paper, January 1997, The Mitchell Company, Milwaukee; and Fuller and Mitchell, "The Impact of School Choice on Racial Desegregation," Current Education Issues No. 99-3, June 1999, Institute for the Transformation of Learning, Marquette University, Milwaukee.
- ⁸ Greene, Jay P., Ph.D., "The Racial, Economic, and Religious Context of Parental Choice in Cleveland," October 8, 1999. Presented November 5, 1999, at the annual meeting of the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, Washington, D.C.

Greene is an Assistant Professor of Government, University of Texas-Austin, and a Research Associate, Harvard University Program on Education Policy and Governance.

In addition to his recent research on Cleveland, Greene finds that private schools students nationally are more likely than public school students to attend integrated schools and classrooms. See "Civic Values in Public and Private Schools," in Learning from School Choice, Paul Peterson and Bryan C. Hassel, editors, Brookings Institution Press, 1998.
- ⁹ NAACP attorneys William H. Lynch and James Hall, from brief filed August 14, 1996, in Dane County (Wisconsin) Circuit Court, Case No: 98-CV-1889.
- ¹⁰ In this paper, students are classified as "white" and "minority," where "white" excludes Hispanics and "minority" including African Americans, Hispanics, Asians, American Indians, and others.
- ¹¹ Milwaukee Public Schools, City of Milwaukee Child Census, June 30, 1995 and City of Milwaukee Child Census, June 30, 1999. Tables 1 and 2 are derived from data in "Part 9, Ethnic Totals, Summary by Tract [and] School Type," of each census report. While the substantial majority of children in these reports attended public and private K-12 schools, a small fraction (precise amount not known) attended public and private colleges
- ¹² There were 802 choice students in 1994-95 and 6,194 in 1998-99, for growth of 5,392.

The growth is attributable to three groups:

(i) low-income students in MPS the prior year;

(ii) low-income students in private schools the prior year, who used scholarships from Partners Advancing Values in Education (PAVE), a privately financed group created in 1992 to assist poor families; and

(iii) students new to school.

We estimated the racial and ethnic breakdown of each group, based on various data from PAVE and from prior choice studies conducted at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The combined result of these estimates is the following estimated racial and ethnic composition of the additional choice students in 1998-99.

| Category | # of new choice students | % of total new choice students |
|------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| African American | 2,882 | 53.5% |
| Hispanic | 813 | 15.1% |
| Other | 165 | 3.1% |
| White | 1,532 | 28.4% |
| Total | 5,392 | 100.0% |

Based on these estimates, the percentage of White students in the 1998-99 choice expansion (28.4%) exceeded the overall White enrollment in public schools (22.4% in 1994-95 and 18.5% in 1998-99).

Does that mean that choice contributed to "white flight" from MPS, a concern raised by the NAACP? The data suggest that the answer is no.

Specifically, choice program growth in 1998-99 was skewed by the addition of PAVE students, who formerly attended private schools, not MPS. The majority of these PAVE students were White, while less than 10% of the choice students coming from MPS were White.

- ¹³ Data for these 26 schools came from their responses to a survey conducted by the Wisconsin Legislative Audit Bureau (LAB). We did not have complete data for 4 of 30 Catholic elementary schools. The schools provided us with copies of their survey responses. Results from the full LAB survey, of about 90 choice schools in 1998-99, will be released later in 1999 or early in the year 2000.
- ¹⁴ We did not compare MPS middle and high schools with private schools; our data for private middle and high schools are too limited.
- ¹⁵ MPS data from "Enrollment by Ethnic Categories and Schools," September 1998, copy available from MPS Office of Media Relations and Internal Communications. Catholic elementary school data from responses to "State of Wisconsin, Legislative Audit Bureau, Milwaukee Parental Choice Program School Survey, June 1999," copies provided by Archdiocese of Milwaukee.

APPENDIX — Raw data for results reported in Tables 1-5 and Figure 1.

Data for Table 1

| | American Indian | Black | Asian | Spanish | White | Other | Total | Minority | White |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------|-------|---------|--------|-------|--------|----------|--------|
| Private (1994-95) | 342 | 4,554 | 412 | 1,806 | 20,185 | 517 | 27,816 | 7,631 | 20,185 |
| % of Total | 1.2% | 16.4% | 1.5% | 6.5% | 72.6% | 1.9% | 100.0% | 27.4% | 72.6% |
| Private (1998-99) | 422 | 5,913 | 455 | 2,276 | 17,490 | 652 | 27,208 | 9,718 | 17,490 |
| % of Total | 1.6% | 21.7% | 1.7% | 8.4% | 64.3% | 2.4% | 100.0% | 35.7% | 64.3% |

Source: Milwaukee Public Schools, City of Milwaukee Child Census, June 30, 1995 and City of Milwaukee Child Census, June 30, 1999. See "Part 9, Ethnic Totals, Summary by Tract [and] School Type," of each report.

Data for Table 2

| | American Indian | Black | Asian | Spanish | White | Other | Total | Minority | White |
|------------------|-----------------|--------|-------|---------|--------|-------|---------|----------|--------|
| Public (1994-95) | 1,072 | 63,501 | 4,561 | 11,866 | 23,951 | 1,916 | 106,867 | 82,916 | 23,951 |
| % of Total | 1.0% | 59.4% | 4.3% | 11.1% | 22.4% | 1.8% | 100.0% | 77.6% | 22.4% |
| Public (1998-99) | 1,228 | 67,920 | 5,493 | 14,639 | 20,700 | 2,188 | 112,168 | 91,468 | 20,700 |
| % of Total | 1.1% | 60.6% | 4.9% | 13.1% | 18.5% | 2.0% | 100.0% | 81.5% | 18.5% |

Source: Same as for Table 1.

Data for Table 3

| Private school enrollment | Minority | White | Total |
|---------------------------|----------|--------|--------|
| 1995 actual | 7,631 | 20,185 | 27,816 |
| % of total | 27.4% | 72.6% | 100.0% |
| 1999 actual w/choice | 9,718 | 17,490 | 27,208 |
| % of total | 35.7% | 64.3% | 100.0% |
| 1999 w/o choice — est. | 5,858 | 15,958 | 21,816 |
| % of total | 26.9% | 73.1% | 100.0% |

Source: Same as for Table 1.

Data for Table 4

| Public school enrollment | Minority | White | Total |
|--------------------------|----------|--------|---------|
| 1995 actual | 82,916 | 23,951 | 106,867 |
| % of total | 77.6% | 22.4% | 100.0% |
| 1999 w/choice | 91,468 | 20,700 | 112,168 |
| % of total | 81.5% | 18.5% | 100.0% |
| 1999 w/o choice | 95,328 | 22,232 | 117,560 |
| % of total | 81.1% | 18.9% | 100.0% |

Source: Same as for Table 1.

Data for Table 5 — 26 Catholic Elementary Schools

| School Name | 1998-99 est. enrollment | Minority | White | % Minority | % White |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| St. Paul | 150 | 3 | 147 | 2.0% | 98.0% |
| Blessed Sacrament | 205 | 9 | 196 | 4.4% | 95.6% |
| St. Roman | 455 | 31 | 424 | 6.8% | 93.2% |
| St. Alexander | 156 | 14 | 142 | 9.0% | 91.0% |
| St. Veronica | 420 | 41 | 379 | 9.8% | 90.2% |
| St. Margaret Mary | 431 | 56 | 375 | 13.0% | 87.0% |
| St. Elizabeth Ann Seton | 277 | 43 | 234 | 15.5% | 84.5% |
| St. John Kanty | 168 | 28 | 140 | 16.7% | 83.3% |
| Mother of Good Counsel | 455 | 81 | 374 | 17.8% | 82.2% |
| St. Helen | 138 | 25 | 113 | 18.1% | 81.9% |
| Our Lady, Queen of Peace | 229 | 44 | 185 | 19.2% | 80.8% |
| St. Catherine of Alexandria | 206 | 43 | 163 | 20.9% | 79.1% |
| St. Sebastian | 444 | 107 | 337 | 24.1% | 75.9% |
| Our Lady of Good Hope | 188 | 50 | 138 | 26.6% | 73.4% |
| St. Bernadette | 215 | 69 | 146 | 32.1% | 67.9% |
| Our Lady of Sorrows | 161 | 55 | 106 | 34.2% | 65.8% |
| Catholic East Elementary | 186 | 67 | 119 | 36.0% | 64.0% |
| Corpus Christi | 144 | 55 | 89 | 38.2% | 61.8% |
| St. Raphael | 127 | 53 | 74 | 41.7% | 58.3% |
| St. Philip Neri | 199 | 112 | 87 | 56.3% | 43.7% |
| St. Josaphat | 190 | 120 | 70 | 63.2% | 36.8% |
| Prince of Peace | 236 | 173 | 63 | 73.3% | 26.7% |
| St. Adalbert | 210 | 156 | 54 | 74.3% | 25.7% |
| St. Rose | 211 | 201 | 10 | 95.3% | 4.7% |
| St. Anthony | 274 | 271 | 3 | 98.9% | 1.1% |
| St. Leo | 235 | 235 | 0 | 100.0% | 0.0% |
| Total | 6,310 | 2,142 | 4,168 | 33.9% | 66.1% |

Source: Archdiocese of Milwaukee and school survey information provided to Legislative Audit Bureau.

Data for Figure 1

For Catholic schools, see preceding table.

For public schools, overall data are below and school-by-school data are on the following two pages

| | 1998-99 enrollment | % White | % Minority | # White | # Minority |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|---------|------------|---------|------------|
| 119 MPS Elementary Schools | 57,791 | 16.9% | 83.1% | 9,751 | 48,040 |

Source: "Enrollment by Ethnic Categories and Schools," September 1998, MPS.

School-by-school MPS data for Figure 1, page 1 of 3

| School Name | 1998-99 Enrollment | # Minority | # White | % Minority | % White |
|-------------------|-----------------------|------------|---------|------------|---------|
| Whittier | 208 | 55 | 153 | 26.4% | 73.6% |
| German Immersion | 592 | 223 | 369 | 37.7% | 62.3% |
| Burdick | 525 | 216 | 309 | 41.1% | 58.9% |
| French Immersion | 397 | 168 | 229 | 42.3% | 57.7% |
| Honey Creek | 339 | 148 | 191 | 43.7% | 56.3% |
| Whitman | 433 | 196 | 237 | 45.3% | 54.7% |
| Manitoba | 447 | 204 | 243 | 45.6% | 54.4% |
| Clement | 457 | 209 | 248 | 45.7% | 54.3% |
| Fairview | 609 | 282 | 327 | 46.3% | 53.7% |
| Zablocki | 584 | 286 | 298 | 49.0% | 51.0% |
| 95th Street | 293 | 147 | 146 | 50.2% | 49.8% |
| Tippecanoe | 226 | 120 | 106 | 53.1% | 46.9% |
| Lowell | 294 | 157 | 137 | 53.4% | 46.6% |
| Fernwood | 409 | 227 | 182 | 55.5% | 44.5% |
| Cooper | 362 | 201 | 161 | 55.5% | 44.5% |
| Burbank | 535 | 298 | 237 | 55.7% | 44.3% |
| Trowbridge | 328 | 186 | 142 | 56.7% | 43.3% |
| Grant | 560 | 324 | 236 | 57.9% | 42.1% |
| Garland | 356 | 206 | 150 | 57.9% | 42.1% |
| Victory | 498 | 291 | 207 | 58.4% | 41.6% |
| Alcott | 359 | 215 | 144 | 59.9% | 40.1% |
| Wis. Conservatory | 661 | 400 | 261 | 60.5% | 39.5% |
| Meir | 255 | 160 | 95 | 62.7% | 37.3% |
| Curtin | 317 | 199 | 118 | 62.8% | 37.2% |
| 78th Street | 526 | 334 | 192 | 63.5% | 36.5% |
| Dover | 546 | 353 | 193 | 64.7% | 35.3% |
| Elm | 580 | 376 | 204 | 64.8% | 35.2% |
| Goodrich | 399 | 264 | 135 | 66.2% | 33.8% |
| Humboldt Park | 576 | 388 | 188 | 67.4% | 32.6% |
| Doerfler | 614 | 432 | 182 | 70.4% | 29.6% |
| Morgandale | 600 | 424 | 176 | 70.7% | 29.3% |
| Lincoln | 611 | 437 | 174 | 71.5% | 28.5% |
| Spanish Immersion | 569 | 418 | 151 | 73.5% | 26.5% |
| MacDowell | 612 | 452 | 160 | 73.9% | 26.1% |
| Greenfield | 409 | 305 | 104 | 74.6% | 25.4% |
| Craig | 307 | 229 | 78 | 74.6% | 25.4% |
| Parkview | 384 | 288 | 96 | 75.0% | 25.0% |
| Neeskara | 422 | 323 | 99 | 76.5% | 23.5% |
| Hawley Road | 341 | 264 | 77 | 77.4% | 22.6% |
| Riley | 738 | 575 | 163 | 77.9% | 22.1% |
| River Trail | 413 | 322 | 91 | 78.0% | 22.0% |
| Emerson | 288 | 227 | 61 | 78.8% | 21.2% |

School-by-school MPS data for Figure 1, page 2 of 3

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|
| Barton | 588 | 468 | 120 | 79.6% | 20.4% |
| Grantosa | 618 | 499 | 119 | 80.7% | 19.3% |
| Stuart | 341 | 277 | 64 | 81.2% | 18.8% |
| 81st. Street | 455 | 374 | 81 | 82.2% | 17.8% |
| Mitchell | 750 | 619 | 131 | 82.5% | 17.5% |
| K-12 Home/Hospital | 12 | 10 | 2 | 83.3% | 16.7% |
| Hartford | 595 | 500 | 95 | 84.0% | 16.0% |
| Gaenslen | 760 | 640 | 120 | 84.2% | 15.8% |
| Maryland | 289 | 248 | 41 | 85.8% | 14.2% |
| Thoreau | 742 | 640 | 102 | 86.3% | 13.7% |
| Engleburg | 502 | 433 | 69 | 86.3% | 13.7% |
| Fratney | 351 | 304 | 47 | 86.6% | 13.4% |
| Forest Home | 898 | 783 | 115 | 87.2% | 12.8% |
| Maple Tree | 527 | 465 | 62 | 88.2% | 11.8% |
| Longfellow | 610 | 540 | 70 | 88.5% | 11.5% |
| Bryant | 574 | 509 | 65 | 88.7% | 11.3% |
| Hi-Mount | 505 | 449 | 56 | 88.9% | 11.1% |
| Bruce | 522 | 465 | 57 | 89.1% | 10.9% |
| Sign Language | 602 | 541 | 61 | 89.9% | 10.1% |
| 68th St. ECC | 203 | 183 | 20 | 90.1% | 9.9% |
| Hawthorne | 389 | 356 | 33 | 91.5% | 8.5% |
| Lancaster | 570 | 524 | 46 | 91.9% | 8.1% |
| Cass | 573 | 528 | 45 | 92.1% | 7.9% |
| Happy Hill | 485 | 447 | 38 | 92.2% | 7.8% |
| Kilbourn | 405 | 374 | 31 | 92.3% | 7.7% |
| 53rd. Street | 399 | 372 | 27 | 93.2% | 6.8% |
| Congress | 619 | 579 | 40 | 93.5% | 6.5% |
| Hampton | 529 | 495 | 34 | 93.6% | 6.4% |
| Starms Early | 360 | 337 | 23 | 93.6% | 6.4% |
| 65th Street | 398 | 374 | 24 | 94.0% | 6.0% |
| Browning | 457 | 431 | 26 | 94.3% | 5.7% |
| Starms Discovery | 326 | 308 | 18 | 94.5% | 5.5% |
| Kluge | 617 | 584 | 33 | 94.7% | 5.3% |
| Off Site Head Start | 268 | 254 | 14 | 94.8% | 5.2% |
| Lloyd | 617 | 585 | 32 | 94.8% | 5.2% |
| Kagel | 337 | 320 | 17 | 95.0% | 5.0% |
| Townsend | 536 | 509 | 27 | 95.0% | 5.0% |
| Carleton | 484 | 461 | 23 | 95.2% | 4.8% |
| Allen-Field | 923 | 881 | 42 | 95.4% | 4.6% |
| Granville | 397 | 380 | 17 | 95.7% | 4.3% |
| Pierce | 573 | 549 | 24 | 95.8% | 4.2% |
| Garfield | 441 | 424 | 17 | 96.1% | 3.9% |
| Thurston Woods | 366 | 353 | 13 | 96.4% | 3.6% |
| Silver Spring | 361 | 350 | 11 | 97.0% | 3.0% |

School-by-school MPS data for Figure 1, page 3 of 3

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Vieau | 616 | 598 | 18 | 97.1% | 2.9% |
| Story | 482 | 468 | 14 | 97.1% | 2.9% |
| Brown | 581 | 565 | 16 | 97.2% | 2.8% |
| Sherman | 585 | 572 | 13 | 97.8% | 2.2% |
| Hayes Bilingual | 344 | 337 | 7 | 98.0% | 2.0% |
| 21st Street | 606 | 596 | 10 | 98.3% | 1.7% |
| Urban Waldorf | 314 | 309 | 5 | 98.4% | 1.6% |
| 35th Street | 337 | 332 | 5 | 98.5% | 1.5% |
| Douglass | 287 | 283 | 4 | 98.6% | 1.4% |
| Holmes | 685 | 677 | 8 | 98.8% | 1.2% |
| 38th Street | 560 | 554 | 6 | 98.9% | 1.1% |
| Wisconsin Ave. | 717 | 710 | 7 | 99.0% | 1.0% |
| Clemens | 453 | 449 | 4 | 99.1% | 0.9% |
| Westside II | 380 | 377 | 3 | 99.2% | 0.8% |
| Philipp | 388 | 385 | 3 | 99.2% | 0.8% |
| 27th Street | 604 | 600 | 4 | 99.3% | 0.7% |
| Siefert | 605 | 601 | 4 | 99.3% | 0.7% |
| Hopkins | 708 | 704 | 4 | 99.4% | 0.6% |
| Palmer | 550 | 548 | 2 | 99.6% | 0.4% |
| Green Bay | 552 | 550 | 2 | 99.6% | 0.4% |
| Keefe | 586 | 584 | 2 | 99.7% | 0.3% |
| McNair | 333 | 332 | 1 | 99.7% | 0.3% |
| King, Jr. | 507 | 506 | 1 | 99.8% | 0.2% |
| Lafollette | 530 | 529 | 1 | 99.8% | 0.2% |
| Clarke | 537 | 536 | 1 | 99.8% | 0.2% |
| Auer | 598 | 597 | 1 | 99.8% | 0.2% |
| Franklin | 627 | 626 | 1 | 99.8% | 0.2% |
| Lee | 644 | 643 | 1 | 99.8% | 0.2% |
| Wheatley | 691 | 690 | 1 | 99.9% | 0.1% |
| Garden Homes | 481 | 481 | 0 | 100.0% | 0.0% |
| Starms | 45 | 45 | 0 | 100.0% | 0.0% |
| Monumental | | | | | |
| 37th Street | 502 | 502 | 0 | 100.0% | 0.0% |
| Westside I | 503 | 503 | 0 | 100.0% | 0.0% |
| | <u>57,791</u> | <u>48,040</u> | <u>9,751</u> | <u>16.9%</u> | <u>83.1%</u> |

Source: "Enrollment by Ethnic Categories and Schools," September 1998, MPS.



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