Interdistrict Desegregation Programs

A (Brief) National Overview
Traditional “School Choice” Policies

- In addition to standards, tests and accountability systems being used to improve student achievement, the use of “school choice” policies has been a central focus of our nation’s education reform agenda for several decades.

- Many choice policies (e.g. vouchers, charters) allow alternative, private providers to compete for students and public funding in an unregulated educational marketplace.

- In theory, school choice policies increase students’ and parents’ access to high quality educational options.

- In practice, school choice policies often allow schools to control the demographic makeup of the student populations they serve, whether by race, income, or performance level.

- Without an explicit focus on equity, school choice policies often exclude the students most in need of educational opportunity, exacerbating opportunity gaps that have real consequences for student achievement.

Can “school choice” be used to increase equity and access for traditionally underserved students?
Avoid the dichotomy between integration and place-based interventions.

- Kirwan Institute’s opportunity framework – invest in people, places, and linkages.

- In theory, interdistrict integration policies connect traditionally underserved students to schools that are already smoothly functioning and not struggling with the educational challenges that are commonly found in racially isolated schools with high concentrations of poverty (e.g. high teacher turnover).

- Few states have grappled with the questions being discussed today – to what extent should integration be included in a comprehensive reform strategy and how can reformers ensure that school choice policies work together with other reform strategies?

“The benefits for students of color come not from sitting next to white students but rather because of a reduction in social isolation that exists in their own communities and schools as well as the networks and relationships that they develop in integrated settings.”

--Finnegan, 2009
“Despite the fact that [interdistrict] programs are out of sync with the current political framing of problems and solutions in the field of education, the research… to date suggests that they are far more successful than recent choice and accountability policies at closing the achievement gaps and offering meaningful school choices.”

-- Wells, 2009
The way [interdistrict] policies are crafted will matter a great deal in terms of student outcomes. Most important, any new federal or state policies to foster inter-district public school choice must have the following characteristics to support a non-competitive, but equity-minded framework for school choice policies:

1. Target and Support Meaningful School Choices for the Most Disadvantaged Students;
2. Foster and Support Significant Participation of Suburban Districts; and
3. Further the Goal of Equity by Encouraging Collaboration Between Urban and Suburban Districts (Magnets, Supports for Non-Choice Students & Educators)
The goal is to increase student access to already existing high-quality environments, with a focus on desegregating educational opportunity:

- challenging curriculum
- well-prepared teachers
- adequate facilities
- high expectations
- socioeconomically diverse peer groups
- other tangible and intangible factors that influence learning

Why include interdistrict integration efforts in education reform strategies?

- **Equity** - These programs recognize and attempt to address longstanding opportunity gaps that exist between districts and within regions

- **Diversity** - Based on a belief that all children should be able to access the well-documented benefits of racial and economic diversity

- **Efficiency** - To the extent that we know that concentrated poverty affects learning conditions, we should be proactive about reducing concentrations in poverty and other policies that can help schools function more smoothly

- Move beyond a “beat the odds” education reform frame – comprehensive reform is not just about getting individual players (teachers, students, parents) to behave differently
There are many ways to get there.

- Universal open-enrollment (has no equity focus, can exacerbate inequalities)
- Charter schools (often no desegregation focus)
- Target subgroups – e.g. students of color, low performing students, low income students
- Target geographic areas – increase access for students in underperforming districts and/or underperforming schools (or schools/districts with high poverty rates, etc.)
- Target specific students in need
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State Court Order</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2010-2011 Enrollment</th>
<th>Admissions</th>
<th>Participating Districts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Palo Alto</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>893 (2009)</td>
<td>Lottery (only K-2 admitted)</td>
<td>1 SD 9 RDs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartford (Sheff Magnets)</td>
<td>1996</td>
<td>≈19,000 (2007)</td>
<td>Lottery</td>
<td>1 SD 9 RDs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis (Choice is Yours)</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>≈2100 (50% K-8/50% HS)</td>
<td>So far, all applicants have been accepted and there is no lottery.</td>
<td>1 SD 11 RDs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>2,261</td>
<td>Lottery</td>
<td>1 SD 22 RDs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indianapolis*</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>5882</td>
<td>VICC chooses</td>
<td>1 SD 14 RDs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>VICC chooses</td>
<td>1 RD 15 SDs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>450 (2009)</td>
<td>RD chooses</td>
<td>1 SD 8 RDs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>3,300</td>
<td>BOS-RD chooses SPG-Lottery</td>
<td>2 SDs 37 RDs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartford</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>1,330</td>
<td>1 SD 29 RDs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>See above.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omaha</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11 participating districts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is wide variation in the policies and practices amongst interdistrict programs.

**Recruitment, Admissions, and Enrollment**

- Many programs have high demand, but declining enrollment often due to fewer seats being offered by suburban districts
- **Recruitment** – VICC (MO) sends out information to all eligible families annually; in contrast, Boston’s METCO program does little to no outreach
- **Admissions** – Many programs operate on a lottery system to avoid “creaming” concerns
  - Rochester – recent research documents policies that exclude students with behavioral, academic, and/or social challenges
- **Enrollment** –
  - Most suburban districts prefer to enroll students at a young age (K-3)
    - VICC (MO) 74% of students are placed in K-2
    - METCO (MA) approximately 60% of students are placed in K-2
    - Tinsley Program (CA) is only open to K-2 students
  - Hartford – Open Choice gives preference to students in underperforming schools (uncertain how this operates in practice)

**Transportation**

- All programs offer free, state-supported transportation
- Need to reframe debate about transportation as an equity tool
- Reasonable bus travel times are ideal
  - St. Louis, the average bus ride time is 54 minutes one way
- Perceptions of fairness come into play (unequal burden on students of color)

**Support for Transfer Students**

- Minneapolis – parent information centers, multicultural curriculum and/or regional professional development opportunities, regional equity and anti-racism initiatives.
- Boston – directors placed in each receiving district act as liaisons between home and school; summer school and tutoring services
- Rochester – no extra supports
- Many programs need increased funding to offer more supports, e.g. in Boston the quality of supports varies widely from district to district
Program Evaluation

• Many interdistrict reps report challenges in accessing performance data, and lack the capacity to analyze it even when they have access to it (some privacy concerns given the number of placements per school)
• There are few solid studies of the outcomes of individual programs, though we have more general evidence that racial and socioeconomic diversity leads to increased academic performance (as well as other positive outcomes)
• Evaluation is becoming increasingly important, but long-term results should be emphasized (no quick fix)
• Partnering with local universities and integration scholars can help make program evaluation possible

Community Engagement

• Ongoing efforts to build and sustain support for these programs is vital to their success
• Suburban educators and students especially come to value interdistrict programs over time, and often become some of their strongest supporters
  • St. Louis – suburban students in Clayton staged a walkout in 2007 as educators were discussing the elimination of St. Louis’ voluntary interdistrict program
  • Connecticut – Sheff Movement coalition (parents, students, educators who meet regularly and make a proactive effort to expand awareness about the importance of diversity)

For Kurland, however, the issue was less about test scores than about the diversity the transfer program brings to the district, giving white students in particular a view of life beyond what they normally experience.

“We needed more than a textbook education,” she said. “We needed an education about how different groups related to one another. There was this outrage from the students that something we’d always treasured and thought was an accepted thing was being pulled away all of a sudden.”

http://stlbeacon.org/issues/education/race-frankly/11604
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Funding Per Pupil (PPC)</th>
<th>Milwaukee</th>
<th>Indianapolis</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suburban District’s PPC</td>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>East Palo Alto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td></td>
<td>70% of Ravenswood’s per pupil funding – Wells (2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis</td>
<td></td>
<td>State aid follows the student to receiving district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Louis used to be equal to suburban district’s per-pupil cost</td>
<td></td>
<td>RDs are paid the lesser of their actual average cost of education per pupil or the current reimbursement maximum of $7,000 per student (down from $9,100 a few years ago and $7,500 last year)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Funds are used to provide transportation and to pay tuition amounts to participating school districts, based upon the local districts’ costs of education</td>
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<tr>
<td>State Average PPC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartford</td>
<td></td>
<td>RDs get per-pupil state aid + any state or federal compensatory funding (≈ $14M in aggregate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MN DOE covers transportation costs</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Federal Voluntary Public School Choice grants (≈ $.5M between WMEP, MN DOE, etc.) are used to enhance student supports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than State Average PPC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Boston/Springfield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartford</td>
<td></td>
<td>METCO Grant – currently $3,100 per student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Transportation – average of $1,800 per student (varies district by district)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Participants are counted in receiving district’s official enrollment, thus districts also receive state aid for METCO students</td>
</tr>
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- Some programs started up with federal support (e.g. Boston, Rochester, Minneapolis)
- Funding is now mostly covered by states and local districts
- Few opportunities for federal funding (e.g. Magnet Schools Assistance), NCSD is working on it...
Education policy has been increasingly focused on “measurable outcomes” as defined, in large part, by students’ performance on standardized tests.

Even supporters of interdistrict programs are pressuring program representatives to demonstrate the effectiveness of their programs.

Many programs do not have the capacity to conduct these analyses and/or are unable to obtain performance data.

In large part because of these pressures, we recently completed a study of the METCO program in Boston.
37 districts participate in METCO (34 in metro Boston, 4 in metro Springfield)
Currently, 13 of the 37 METCO districts are more than 90 percent White, even with the addition of METCO students
The highest poverty rate for a receiving district is just below 15 percent
No district has joined METCO since the mid-1970's
Funding for the program has remained fairly level, despite rising education costs:
- $15.5 for FY 2005
- $19.4 for FY 2006
- $20.2 for FY 2008
- $19.3 for FY 2009
- $18.4 for FY 2010
- $16.5 for FY 2011

### 2010-2011 DEMOGRAPHICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boston</th>
<th>Springfield</th>
<th>METCO</th>
<th>State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Special Education</strong></td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>English Language Proficiency</strong></td>
<td>30.3%</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low-Income</strong></td>
<td>74.4%</td>
<td>84.2%</td>
<td>50.2%</td>
<td>34.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Math – The gap between state average performance and METCO performance is largest in grade 3 (in 2010 a difference of 14 percent points) but, in most years, tends to narrow by grades 6 and 10.

Reading - The small gap between METCO student performance and state overall performance is largest in 3rd grade (5 percentage points in 2010) but consistently narrows or else disappears entirely.

Graduation Rates - METCO students consistently graduate high school at far higher rates than the state average and all other categories of students we examined.
Interdistrict Choice in Minnesota

Minneapolis, MN

- The Choice is Yours (CIY) Program gives open enrollment preference to FRL students in Minneapolis. CIY engages in extensive outreach and recruitment to reach as many FRL families as possible.

- The CIY program is only a small part of a complex web of education policies in the State of Minnesota that are designed to reduce racial and socioeconomic isolation.

- CIY’s focus on FRL has meant, in practice, that fewer people of color have been served by the program as might have been expected/desired.
“For racially isolated districts and racially identifiable schools that are not the result of intentional segregation, the Rule requires schools and communities to work together to design and implement educationally justifiable, effective, voluntary strategies that provide meaningful choices of integrated learning environments for students and their families.”

Districts receiving integration revenue are required to develop a desegregation plan in collaboration with their community. These plans should:

• Increase interracial contact through classroom experiences, magnet programs, or other education-based initiatives
• Add research-based programs designed to improve the performance of protected-class students on state or local assessments

Minnesota’s Interdistrict Programs

Minneapolis Desegregation Rule
Integration Revenue Statute
Joint Powers School Districts (3)
East Metro Integration District
St. Paul + 9 Suburbs
West Metro Education Program
Minneapolis + 10 Suburbs
NorthWest Suburban Integration District
8 Member Districts

The Choice is Yours

Currently, 139 school districts receive funding from this program.

“The CIY program allows families who qualify for FRL and who live in Minneapolis to enroll their child in selected suburban districts (or city schools other than their resident school).”

CIY sprang from a 2000 settlement of a five-year legal battle between the Minneapolis NAACP and MN.
Here, we compare aspects of two similarly-functioning programs, in Milwaukee and St. Louis.

Both programs involved Federal litigation—Milwaukee in 1979 and St. Louis in 1983.

Like many interdistrict programs, Milwaukee and St. Louis are facing declining enrollment, not because of low demand, but because suburban schools offer fewer seats each year.

In Milwaukee, we'll note the sharp decline in enrollment that has happened since "open enrollment" was put in place.
• Students of color residing in city schools can attend designated suburban schools.
• White students residing in predominantly white districts can apply to attend city magnets.
• Geographic areas of city are paired with suburban districts (helps reduce transportation times/costs).

To be eligible for Milwaukee’s Chapter 220 program, students must live in an attendance area of MPS in which more than 30 percent of the students are students of color.

Questions?
Unsure of the region in which you live?
Call (414) 475-8273.
Enrollment is declining in Milwaukee and St. Louis, because suburban schools are offering fewer seats.

Demand still remains high.

Unregulated open enrollment policies (Milwaukee), the end of court supervision, increasing diversity in the suburbs, and fiscal concerns in light of reimbursement rates are possible reasons for declining suburban participation.

Enhanced community outreach in suburban communities could potentially increase suburban participation (e.g., Sheff Movement coalition).

**MILWAUKEE: CHAPTER 220 & OPEN ENROLLMENT**

- In 2010-11, 59.5% of Chapter 220 students were Black, 28.7% were Asian, 11% were Latino and .9% were American Indian.
- In contrast, 61% of open enrollment students from MPS were White, 23.6% were Black, 10.2% were Latino, 3.8% were Asian and 1.4% were American Indian.

**Declining Suburban Participation and Enrollment**
Omaha’s Learning Community
Omaha, NE

- The newest interdistrict model emerging from Omaha, NE can expand our thinking about what is possible.
- Legislation passed in 2007 created a “learning community,” between Omaha and 10 of its surrounding school districts. The legislation also enables learning communities to be established in other areas of the state.
- Open enrollment is provided across all districts in the learning community, which all share a common tax base.
- Priority in open enrollment within the learning community is given to students who bring a school building’s SES diversity closer to the average SES diversity of the entire learning community.

“[H]ere we are in little dinky Nebraska and Omaha... I mean, all these places in the country you have this issue and surely there’s been a lot of smart people and surely they’ve come up with several ways to deal with it, and so all we need to do is go out and find out those ways and just pick the best one and we’re home free. That didn’t work.”

—Ron Raikes
Former Chair of the Education Committee
The LC owes its creation to legislators’ and member school districts’ willingness to look at the Omaha metropolitan areas as a single community served by 11 urban and suburban school districts, each of which contribute to the health and economic stability of the entire community.

State Learning Community Statute
Goals of increased socioeconomic diversity and closing the academic achievement gap.

Learning Community Coordinating Council (LCCC)
18 voting members, 3 from each of 6 electoral districts

Learning Community
(10 Districts + OPS)

LCCC Subcouncils (6)

Unique Aspects of Omaha’s Plan:
1. School districts participate in a large scale interdistrict SES desegregation plan, all without a court order;
2. It is funded through a shared metropolitan tax base;
3. A regional governing council implements the agreement and oversees the construction of new interdistrict schools of choice and support centers in high poverty communities.

Forging Regional Solutions in Education: Lessons Drawn
1. Messaging, Media, and Framing
2. Superintendent Leadership and Collaboration
3. Creating Interest Convergence: The Common Levy
4. Advancing Regional Equity While Preserving Local Control
5. Building on Existing Inter-Local Agreements
6. Community Advocacy: The Role of the Philanthropic Community, the Business Community, and Local Organizations
7. Leveraging the Accountability System to Get Political Support

“The LC owes its creation to legislators’ and member school districts’ willingness to look at the Omaha metropolitan areas as a single community served by 11 urban and suburban school districts, each of which contribute to the health and economic stability of the entire community.”
### Learning Community Coordinating Council
- 18 voting members, 3 from each of 6 electoral districts (2 elected, 1 appointed)

### Tax Sharing and Common Levy
- The levy is assessed across the property wealth of all the districts, then redistributed based on need
- LCCC can: 1) levy from $.90-.95 per $100; 2) levy up to $.02 more per $100 for a special building fund. Local districts can: 3) levy the difference between the LCCC levy and $1.05 (maximum permitted by state law)

### Plans to Increase SES Diversity
- Plans describe how the LC will “provide educational opportunities which will result in increased diversity”
- Target range between 35-40% FRL

### Elementary Learning Centers
- The LC is required to establish “at least one” Elementary Learning Center (ELC) for every 25 high-poverty elementary schools
- ELCs will provide social/academic support services

### Four Major Features:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Learning Community Coordinating Council</td>
<td>• 18 voting members, 3 from each of 6 electoral districts (2 elected, 1 appointed)</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Tax Sharing and Common Levy</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>• The LC is required to establish “at least one” Elementary Learning Center (ELC) for every 25 high-poverty elementary schools</td>
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</table>

### Choices Available:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Choice</th>
<th>Details</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Open Enrollment w/ SES Preference</td>
<td>• Priority in open enrollment within the LC is given to students who bring a school building’s SES diversity closer to the average SES makeup of the entire LC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Focus Schools</td>
<td>• Students can also apply to a focus school (no attendance area), and are selected through lottery (two lottery pools, FRL and non-FRL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Magnet Schools</td>
<td>• Last, students can apply to a magnet school, where they are selected according to their home attendance area and a lottery</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### LC Areas of Focus

1. Addressing both academic and social barriers to student achievement.
2. Having school communities reflect the SES diversity of the greater community.
3. Addressing the inherent inequities in funding that typically exist in urban/suburban educational settings.