Arkansas Department of Education
Little Rock Area Public Education Stakeholder Group
Monday, December 5, 2016 - 5:00 PM
ADE Auditorium

AGENDA

I. Little Rock Area Public Education Stakeholder Group Meeting Called to Order
Presenter: Chair Tommy Branch

II. Consideration to Approve Minutes - September 26, 2016   2
The members are requested to approve the minutes for the September 26, 2016, meeting of the Little Rock Area Stakeholder Group.
Presenter: Deborah Coffman

III. Consideration of Guidance from the State Board   5
State Board Chair Mireya Reith requested Dr. Jay Barth liaison with the Little Rock Area Public Education Stakeholder Group. Dr. Barth will provide guidance from the October 13, 2016, meeting of the State Board of Education.
Presenter: Dr. Jay Barth

IV. Consideration of Requested Information from the Office of Education Policy   38
(OEP)
Dr. McKenzie and Dr. Ritter will present their findings on student movement as noted in the integration study.
Presenter: Dr. Sarah McKenzie and Dr. Gary Ritter

V. Consideration for Next Steps
Presenter: Dr. Denise Airola

VI. Consideration of Agenda for Next Meeting
Presenter: Chair Tommy Branch

VII. Adjournment
Presenter: Chair Tommy Branch

Minutes
Little Rock Area Public Education Stakeholder Group Meeting
Monday, September 26, 2016

The Little Rock Area Public Education Stakeholder Group met Monday, September 26, 2016, in the Arkansas Department of Education Auditorium. Chair Tommy Branch called the meeting to order at 5:05 p.m.

Members Present: Tommy Branch, Chair; Jim McKenzie, Vice-Chair; Tamika Edwards; Ann Brown Marshall; Antwan Phillips; Leticia Reta; and Dianna Varady.

Members Absent: none.

Audience: ADE staff, general public, and press.

The meeting was live streamed and the recording was posted on the ADE website at http://www.arkansased.gov/state-board/minutes/board_meeting_categories/2016.

Consideration to Approve Minutes – August 29, 2016

Mr. McKenzie moved, seconded by Ms. Edwards, to approve the August 29, 2016, minutes. The motion carried unanimously.

Consideration of Feedback from the Arkansas State Board of Education

On September 9, 2016, Vice-Chair Jim McKenzie presented a progress report to the State Board of Education.   He said the State Board encouraged the group to keep working on the assigned task.

State Board Chair Mireya Reith thanked the group for their service to the task.

Consideration of the Little Rock School District School Improvement Plan

The group requested to table the item until Little Rock School District Superintendent Mr. Michael Poore was available.

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Consideration of the Scope of Work and Timeline Proposal from the Center on Reinventing Public Education (CRPE)

On August 29, 2016, the group requested a scope of work and timeline from the Center on Reinventing Public Education (CRPE). Director of the Office of Innovation in Education Dr. Denise Airola said she also checked with Rand Education. She shared a research report summary of work in New Orleans. Dr. Airola said the government structure in New Orleans was very different from Little Rock and therefore, as the authors noted, the findings are not generalizable to other cities with different governmental school structures. Rand provided names of potential researchers in addition to the names identified by CRPE.

Commissioner Key said the Department of Education did not anticipate the proposed expenses. He suggested the group revisit the task with the State Board.

Mr. Phillips said Ms. Cynthia Williams, a researcher, had reached out to him and was interested in being considered for part of the research.

Dr. Airola suggested the group consider prioritizing the research questions.

Ms. Marshall emphasized that decisions at all levels need to be based on data that are current and reliable.

Consideration of Next Steps

The group discussed scheduling additional meetings as needed to support the process. The group discussed the need for a framework to ensure success, sustainability, and support from the public. The group discussed the need for public input.

Dr. Airola said the Office of Educational Policy has been conducting research on migratory patterns as noted within question four. The group was also very interested in why parents and students made their choices for schools. Dr. Airola said that information on question four would be immediately useful.

Dr. Airola recommended asking the State Board to revisit the task. She said she would check to see if any graduate students are available to conduct research.

Consideration of Public Comment

<u>Public Comment from Elected Official</u> Senator Joyce Elliott suggested the public have an opportunity to input to the Stakeholder Group, including additional questions for

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research before the final decision was made regarding a researcher. She said she would consider a venue and timeline for public input.

Consideration of Agenda for Next Meeting

The group requested to hear from the State Board and Senator Elliott before scheduling the next meeting. The group also requested to receive the report from Dr. Ritter when available.

State Board Chair Mireya Reith said the coexistence of traditional schools and charter schools must be examined holistically. She said the public must be informed in order to work and support the schools collaboratively. She said the data are needed to inform future decisions by the State Board.

Adjournment

Mr. McKenzie moved, seconded by Ms. Marshall, to adjourn. The motion carried unanimously. The meeting adjourned at 6:26 p.m.

Minutes recorded by Deborah Coffman.

Minutes
State Board of Education Meeting
Thursday, October 13, 2016

The State Board of Education met Thursday, October 13, 2016, in the Arkansas Department of Education Auditorium. Chair Mireya Reith called the meeting to order at 10:01 a.m.

Present: Mireya Reith, Chair; Dr. Jay Barth, Vice-Chair; Dr. Fitz Hill; Joe Black; Diane Zook; Ouida Newton; Susan Chambers; Brett Williamson; Charisse Dean; Meghan Ables, 2016 Teacher of the Year, and Johnny Key, Commissioner.

Absent: None

Consent Agenda

Dr. Barth moved, seconded by Ms. Chambers, to approve the consent agenda, less consent items 7, 8, 9, and 12. The motion carried unanimously.

Items included in the Consent Agenda:

- Minutes – September 8, 2016
- Minutes – September 9, 2016
- Review of Loan and Bond Applications
- Newly Employed, Promotions and Separations
- Consideration of Report on Waivers to School Districts for Teachers Teaching Out of Area for Longer than Thirty (30) Days, Ark. Code Ann.§ 6-17-309
- Consideration of the Recommendation of the Professional Licensure Standards Board for Case #15-099 – David Wesley Waddell
- Consideration of the Recommendation of the Professional Licensure Standards Board for Case #16-088 – Keresia Lorraine Jones
- Consideration of the Recommendation of the Professional Licensure Standards Board for Case #16-119 – Debra Ann Duford
- Consideration of the Recommendation of the Professional Licensure Standards Board for Case #16-120 – Christopher M. Horne
- Consideration of the Recommendation of the Professional Licensure Standards Board for Case #16-134 – Annette Susan Queck

Action Agenda

Consent Items 7, 8, 9, and 12 moved to the Action Agenda:

#7 Consideration of the Recommendation of the Professional Licensure Standards Board for Case #16-096 – Mary Lorene Horton

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Professional Licensure Standards Board (PLSB) Chief Investigator Mr. Eric James said any changes or recommendations would be sent back to the educator and PLSB Ethics Subcommittee for consideration.

Ms. Newton moved, seconded by Ms. Zook, to send consent item #7 back to the PLSB Ethics Subcommittee for consideration of adding professional development for the educator. The motion carried unanimously.

#8 Consideration of the Recommendation of the Professional Licensure Standards Board for Case #16-101 – Mallory Dawn Rorie

Ms. Newton moved, seconded by Ms. Dean, to send consent item #8 back to the PLSB Ethics Subcommittee for consideration of additional review of the suspension time for the educator. Dr. Barth voted no. The final vote was 7-1. The motion carried.

#9 Consideration of the Recommendation of the Professional Licensure Standards Board for Case #16-109 – Ruby Jean Fowler

Ms. Newton moved, seconded by Ms. Chambers, to send consent item #9 back to the PLSB Ethics Subcommittee for consideration of professional development and/or reflection by the educator. The motion carried unanimously.

#12 Consideration of the Recommendation of the Professional Licensure Standards Board for Case #16-131 – Jeremy E. Ellis

Ms. Newton moved, seconded by Ms. Zook, to send consent item #12 back to the PLSB Ethics Subcommittee for consideration of professional development for the educator. Dr. Barth voted no. The final vote was 7-1. The motion carried.

A-1 Consideration of Resolution for Arkansas School Bus Safety Week, October 17-21, 2016

Senior Transportation Manager Mr. Mike Simmons introduced special guests Ms. Susie Everett, representing Everett Buick GMC, Ms. Michelle Cadle and Ms. Trina Kuklaw, representing Arkansas PTA, and Mr. Tom Farmer, representing Bryant School District, and said they were instrumental in the Flashing Red. Kids Ahead. campaign. Mr. Simmons requested the State Board of Education recognize October 17-21, 2016, as Arkansas School Bus Safety Week.

Ms. Zook moved, seconded by Dr. Hill, to accept the resolution to recognize October 17-21, 2016, as Arkansas School Bus Safety Week. The motion carried unanimously.

Ms. Zook also encouraged drivers to follow the speed limit in school zones.

A-2 Consideration of Resolution for Arkansas Safe Schools Week, October 16-22, 2016

Director for Arkansas Center for School Safety Dr. Cheryl May requested the State Board of Education recognize October 16-22, 2016, as Arkansas Safe Schools Week. She recognized Safe School Committee members Captain Jamie Hammond, Mr. Bubba Jones, Ms. Otistene Smith, Ms. Deborah Coffman, Ms. Kimberly Friedman, and Mr. John Kaminar.

Mr. Williamson moved, seconded by Mr. Black, to approve a resolution to recognize October 16-22, 2016, as Arkansas Safe Schools Week. The motion carried unanimously.

A-3 Consideration of Petition for Minimum School District Size Waiver Filed by the Strong-Huttig School District

General Counsel Ms. Lori Freno said the Strong-Huttig School District had fewer than 350 students in the two years immediately preceding the current school year. Consequently, Ark. Code Ann. § 6-13-1603 required the district to be consolidated with or annexed to another school district unless the State Board granted the district's petition for a minimum school district size waiver pursuant to Ark. Code Ann. § 6-13-1613. She said the State Board shall grant the petition for waiver if the District demonstrates the several factors set forth in Ark. Code Ann. § 6-13-1613. She said the district must request the waiver yearly. She said currently the district was not in academic, fiscal, or facilities distress. She said the district was not in probationary status for violation of the standards of accreditation.

Strong-Huttig School District Superintendent Mr. Jeff Alphin said all building were safe and have been met all mandated maintenance requirements. He said the 2016-2017 budget has been submitted to the Department. He said the district utilized a financial consultant and a state audit. He said instruction was continuing to improve. He said the district continued to prepare graduates to become successful citizens. He said the current enrollment was 311 students.

Representative John Baine said Ark. Code Ann. § 6-13-1613 was a unanimous decision by the General Assembly. He said small, rural schools could be effective for students due to the new technologies available for learning. He encouraged the Board to consider this waiver because the Strong-Huttig School District is a viable district willing and committed to students and the community.

Mr. Alphin said the district had a broadband tower on-site and had excellent broadband access. He said each student will have a laptop. He said the district had a plan to improve academic achievement. He said Advanced Placement and concurrent credit courses are available to students.

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Ms. Zook moved, seconded by Dr. Hill, to grant the petition for Minimum School District Size Waiver for the Strong-Huttig School District. The motion carried unanimously.

The Board encouraged the district to consider opportunities for the district for the upcoming years.

A-4 District Request for Waivers Granted to Open-Enrollment Charters: Hope School District

Division of Learning Services Coordinator Ms. Mary Perry said Act 1240 of 2015 allows a school district to petition the State Board of Education for all or some of the waivers granted to open-enrollment public charter schools that serve students who reside in the school district. She said the waiver request was for three (3) years.

Hope School District Superintendent Mr. Bobby Hart said the long-term library media specialist retired and the only applicant for the position was hired as a long-term substitute. He requested a waiver from educator licensure for library media specialist to allow time for the applicant to enroll in a program of study to meet licensure requirements.

Assistant Commissioner for Educator Effectiveness and Licensure Ms. Ivy Pfeffer said this was an appropriate avenue for waiver for this position. She said library media specialist was an endorsement (add on) to a standard teaching license.

Dr. Hill moved, seconded by Ms. Newton, to approve district request for waivers granted to Open-Enrollment Charters for the Hope School District. The motion carried unanimously.

A-5 District Request for Waivers Granted to Open-Enrollment Charters: Kirby School District

Division of Learning Services Coordinator Ms. Mary Perry said Act 1240 of 2015 allows a school district to petition the State Board of Education for all or some of the waivers granted to open-enrollment public charter schools that serve students who reside in the school district. She said the waiver was requested for three (3) years.

Kirby School District Superintendent Mr. Pike Palmer requested waivers for class size and teacher licensure. He said the request for class size increases was for Kindergarten, 1st grade – 3rd grade, and 4th grade – 6th grade. He said the district was under the 350 student enrollment and therefore needed larger class sizes to maximize the funding for the district. He said the waivers granted to Kirby Elementary School would permit the school to have a maximum of 25 students in Kindergarten, 28 students in grades 1-3, and up to 30 students in grades 4-6. He said the licensure waiver would allow a paraprofessional to teach elementary physical education. He said the paraprofessional would receive additional professional development. He said he would collect data regarding the effects of the waiver on student achievement.

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Assistant Commissioner for Educator Effectiveness and Licensure Ms. Ivy Pfeffer said this was an appropriate avenue for waiver for the position.

Elementary Principal Ms. Dolores Cowart said the district had a certified Orton-Gillingham dyslexia teacher.

Ms. Newton moved, seconded by Dr. Barth, to deny the district request for waivers granted to Open-Enrollment Charters for the Kirby School District for class size for Kindergarten. Ms. Zook voted no. The final vote was 7-1. The motion carried.

Dr. Barth moved, seconded by Ms. Newton, to deny the district request for waivers granted to Open-Enrollment Charters for the Kirby School District for class size for grades 1-3. Ms. Zook and Ms. Chambers voted no. The final vote was 6-2. The motion carried.

Ms. Newton moved, seconded by Dr. Barth, to approve district request for waivers granted to Open-Enrollment Charters for the Kirby School District for class size for grades 4-6. The motion carried unanimously.

Ms. Zook moved, seconded by Ms. Newton, to approve district request for waivers granted to Open-Enrollment Charters for the Kirby School District for licensure. Dr. Barth voted no. The final vote was 7-1. The motion carried.

A-6 Consideration of Recommendation to Adopt Art: Content Knowledge (5134) Replacing Art: Content and Analysis (5135) to Accommodate Test Takers

Public School Program Coordinator Ms. Joan Luneau said the Educational Testing Service (ETS) offers two art content assessments: Praxis® Art: Content Knowledge (5134) and Praxis® Art: Content and Analysis (5135). The Praxis® Art: Content and Analysis (5135) is the current art content test adopted for Arkansas educator licensure in Art (K-12).   Praxis® Art: Content and Analysis (5135) has 85 selected-response (multiple choice) questions and three (3) constructed-response (written discussion) questions and is offered four (4) testing periods a year (March, June, September, and December). The Praxis® Art: Content Knowledge (5134) has 120 selected-response questions and is offered every month (12 testing periods a year). She said to accommodate the art licensure test being offered more frequently, the Department recommended adopting the Praxis® Art: Content Knowledge (5134) with a cut score of 158, effective October 1, 2016. She said the Department also recommended allowing candidates to take either the 5134 or 5135 until December 31, 2016.

Ms. Zook moved, seconded by Mr. Williamson, to approve recommendation to adopt Art: Content Knowledge (5134) replacing Art: Content and Analysis (5135) to accommodate test takers. The motion carried unanimously.

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A-7 Consideration of Waiver Request for Teaching License – Sean F. Steiger

Professional Licensure Standards Board (PLSB) Attorney Ms. Jennifer Liwo said Mr. Sean F. Steiger was seeking a first time teaching license. On July 21, 2016, the Department notified Mr. Steiger that he was ineligible for licensure and employment in an Arkansas public school based on a disqualifying offense enumerated in Ark. Code Ann. § 6-17-410. Mr. Steiger requested a waiver of the disqualifying offense. Ms. Liwo said the Department recommended that the State Board grant the waiver request. Mr. Steiger did not attend the meeting.

Ms. Dean moved, seconded by Ms. Chambers, to grant the waiver of the disqualifying offense for Mr. Sean F. Steiger. The motion carried unanimously.

A-8 Consideration for Next Steps for the Little Rock Area Public Education Stakeholder Group

Ms. Ann Brown Marshall said the Stakeholder Group received information regarding research firms and requested guidance from the State Board on next steps. She said the Stakeholder Group wanted to make decisions based on data.

The Board discussed, focusing on data that are currently available, research from Effective Schools, and collaboration among traditional and charter schools south of the river. The Board recommended focusing on question #6, how collaboration between traditional public schools and open-enrollment charter educational offerings can maximize the achievement of students and fiscal efficiency of the system of public education south of the river. The work should move forward focused on (1) What is working? (2) How do we get to collaboration? and (3) How to include this information in ESSA?

Ms. Reith asked Dr. Barth to be the liaison to the Little Rock Area Public Education Stakeholder Group.

No additional action was taken at this time.

A-9 Consideration for Early Start Time on November 10, 2016

Chair Mireya Reith asked Board members to consider an early start time for the November 10 meeting because November 11 is a holiday. Board members will participate in a work session on the evening of November 9.

Ms. Chambers moved, seconded by Ms. Zook, to approve an early start time of 8:30 a.m. on November 10, 2016. The motion carried unanimously.

Reports

Report-1 Little Rock School District

Little Rock School District Superintendent Mr. Michael Poore presented the Power of Us – a call to action for LRSD Now.

Mr. Poore said the challenges for the district included academic performance, capital needs for multiple facilities, equity of support for wrap around services, middle school enrollment, antiquated business systems, loss of desegregation funds, and public perception. He said he would be reaching out to the community for a list of items that could be considered for cost savings. He said to overcome the budget issues he would be transparent and inclusive, provide timeline alignment, and encourage a willingness to invest in the district. He said the investment would restructure the LRSD debt, enhance community support programs to impact achievement, and support positive public relations for the district.

Mr. Poore said the improvements included Achieve Team, Literacy Council, Special Education Task Force, Bright Futures, Parent/Student/Staff/Community Engagement, Career Development Centers, K-10 Project Based Environments with a Middle School emphasis, Student Report Card, Athletics/Fine Arts, and Capital Improvements.

Mr. Poore said the Achieve Team model was focused on schools in academic distress and actions that can bring about improvement. Washington Elementary Principal Ms. Katherine Snyder said the Achieve Team conducted a needs assessment and planned pathways around barriers. She said the staff then identified how to move the work forward and designed an action plan. Henderson Middle School Mr. Frank Williams said the Achieve Team examined data and put the information into action for students. He said the work was focused on meeting the needs of individual students. He said the Achieve Team was working to make every classroom like an EAST classroom – project based learning. J.A. Fair High School Mr. Michael Anthony said the data indicated needed improvement in teaching and learning. He said the Achieve Team reflected on how to support the teachers. He said the district had an abundance of resources to support these needs.

Mr. Poore said Ms. Sadie Mitchell and Ms. Sabrina Stout are leading the work of the Literacy Council to improve reading and writing. He said parents and staff on the Special Education Task Force were working to improve the learning for all students. He said the Bright Futures program would meet the needs of children in the Little Rock Community by addressing needs within 24 hours. He said the City of Little Rock and Goodwill Industries are in full support of Bright Futures. He said the Parent/Student/Staff/Community engagement and outreach was evident in the teams that are walking in the communities to meet with patrons.

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Mr. Poore said the district needed to create additional learning environments including career development centers, middle school partnerships, and project based learning opportunities. He said career development centers would include careers focused in construction, medical, aerospace, and technology. He said each high school needed a career center. He said the district could be growing their own educators with future educator programs. He said the students needed more opportunities for concurrent credit. He said the K-10 project-based environments (middle school emphasis) would partner with organizations such as UAMS, Heifer International, and First Security. He said the district was working on a student report card with better indicators of growth from fall to spring.

Mr. Poore said the capital improvements are needed now. Dr. Marvin Burton asked students to provide input on the new Southwest Little Rock High School.   McClellan High School Student Ms. Faith Madkins said students need the new school now. McClellan High School Student Ms. Paola Vazquez said the old building issues caused disruptions in learning. She said the students need better labs and materials. She said a new school should be a vibrant, safe place to learn. J. A. Fair High School Alumni Mr. Ambrossiaal Rose Jr. said the new school would be more engaging for the students and more conductive to learning in the 21st century. Dr. Burton said the new school would provide a collegiate feel for learning in the academic village because of the focus on college and career readiness, culture and student engagement, health and wellness, and resource readiness.

Mr. Poore said the capital improvement projects would require a vote from the public to improve the roofs, HVAC systems, technology, athletic and fine arts facilities, and parking lots. He said the sense of urgency is now. He said the equity of opportunity was needed now.

Mr. Poore said Ms. Cathy Kohler and the educator association was instrumental in previous cost savings to the district. He said they would be engaged in the planning for the future. He said plans to restructure the debt was needed to do the right things for students.

Commissioner Key said the previous Little Rock School Board had planned for a millage increase to build the new high school. He said Mr. Poore was recommending debt restructuring to build the new high school and make other school improvements.

Mr. Poore said he would be asking the public to prioritize budget cuts. He said a school utilization team would be developed to discuss how current buildings can be repurposed. He said in November and December, the team would be in every zone. He said if a school was planned for closure the administration would be meet directly with the community.

Report-2 2016-2017 Novice Teacher and Beginning Administrator Mentoring Overview

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Director of Educator Effectiveness Ms. Sandra Hurst provided a report on the enhancements and updates to the novice teacher and beginning administrator mentoring systems. She said educators may be mentored through the BloomBoard platform in addition to the one-to-one mentoring program. She said educators may achieve micro-credentials through the BloomBoard system.

Assistant Commissioner for Educator Effectiveness and Licensure Ms. Ivy Pfeffer said Ms. Marilyn Johnson from the Arch Ford Cooperative was leading the work with the other education service cooperatives. She said educators are collaborating across the state.

Report-3 Educator Preparation Praxis Core Report

Assistant Commissioner of Educator Effectiveness and Licensure Ms. Ivy Pfeffer said as a prerequisite to licensure, Arkansas candidates must demonstrate that they meet the requirement of basic skills, pedagogical, and content-area knowledge. The Praxis Core was adopted by the State Board of Education as the assessment for demonstrating basic skills. She said the report represented three years of pass rate data for the Praxis Core Academic Skills for Educators: Reading (5712), Praxis Core Academic Skills for Educators: Writing (5722), and Praxis Core Academic Skills for Educators: Math (5732). Pass rates are not disaggregated by educator preparation providers (EPP), since EPP do not prepare test takers for the Praxis Core. All skills assessed in the Praxis Core tests have been identified as needed for college and career readiness in reading, writing, and math.

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Adjournment

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Ms. Dean moved, seconded by Mr. Black, to adjourn. The motion carried unanimously. The meeting adjourned at 5:04 p.m.

Minutes recorded by Deborah Coffman

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Correlates of Effective Schools: 1989 - Present

Clear and Focused School Mission
There is a clearly articulated mission for the school through which the staff shares an understanding of and a commitment to the instructional goals, priorities, assessment procedures, and accountability

Safe and Orderly Environment
There is an orderly, purposeful atmosphere that is free from the threat of physical harm for both students and staff. However, the atmosphere is not oppressive and is conducive to teaching and learning.

High Expectations
The school displays a climate of expectation in which the staff believes and demonstrates that students can attain mastery of basic skills and that they (the staff) have the capability to help students achieve such mastery.

Opportunity to Learn and Time on Task
Teachers allocate a significant amount of classroom time to instruction in basic skills areas. For a high percentage of that allocated time, students are engaged in planned learning activities directly related to identified objectives.

Instructional Leadership
The principal acts as the instructional leader who effectively communicates the mission of the school to the staff, parents, and students, and who understands and applies the characteristics of instructional effectiveness in the management of the instructional program at the school.

Frequent Monitoring of Student Progress
Feedback on student academic progress is frequently obtained. Multiple assessment methods such as teacher-made tests, samples of students' work, mastery skills checklists, criterion-referenced tests, and norm-referenced tests are used. The results of testing are used to improve individual student performance and also to improve the instructional program.

Positive Home-School Relations
Parents understand and support the school's basic mission and are given opportunity to play an important role in helping the school achieve its mission

EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS RESEARCH BASE

The Effective Schools model of school reform is based on more than thirty years of research conducted nationally and internationally. This research identified schools in which students were mastering the curriculum at a higher rate and to a higher level than would he predicted based on students' family background, gender, and racial and ethnic identification. In addition, these schools showed steady increases in achievement over time, and the achievement gap between students from low socioeconomic and high socioeconomic backgrounds narrowed. These unusually effective schools were found to possess a set of common characteristics, called "correlates." The correlates have been shown to be as essential for equitable effectiveness today as they were thirty years ago and thus are building blocks used in the Effective Schools model. They are defined below.

Clear School Mission.   In the effective school, there is a clearly-articulated school mission through which the staff shares an understanding of and commitment to instructional goals, priorities, assessment procedures and accountability. Staff accepts responsibility for all students achieving the school's essential curricular goals.

High Expectations for Success.   In the effective school, there is a climate of expectation in which the staff believes and demonstrates that all students can attain mastery of the essential content of the curriculum. The staff members also believe that they have the capability to help all students achieve mastery of a challenging curriculum based on state and national standards.

Instructional Leadership.   In the effective school, the principal acts as an instructional leader and also empowers and helps teachers to become collaborative leaders in continuous improvement. He or she effectively and persistently communicates the school's locally-developed mission to staff, parents, and students. The effective principal also understands and applies the characteristics of quality instruction and. assessment in implementing programs and evaluating classroom instruction.

Frequent and Appropriate Monitoring of Student Progress. In the effective school, student academic progress is measured regularly and rigorously by a variety of appropriate assessment procedures. The results of these assessments are used to improve both individual student performance and the instructional program. Student mastery of the adopted curriculum standards is determined through these assessments, and progress reports are made available to teachers, parents, and older students on a regular basis. In conjunction with other pertinent data about the student, teachers use these mastery data to make timely and targeted decisions about each student's instructional needs. Parents are kept informed and included in their children's academic progress, and administrators can make more informed judgments about building-wide and district-level curricular and instructional issues.

Opportunity to Learn and Student Time on Task. In the effective school, teachers concentrate on using classroom time for instruction in essential content and skills. For a significant proportion of the time, students engage in teacher-structured activities, and grouping arrangements are used to ensure that all students receive the help needed to master challenging material. The interruptions for announcements and other non-academic uses of time are kept to a

minimum. All staff are well-versed in and expected to use the "best practices" research to deliver and assess classroom instruction, thereby maximizing each student's opportunity to achieve the highest possible expectations.

Safe, Orderly, and Productive Environment. In the effective school, there is an orderly, purposeful, businesslike atmosphere which is free from the threat of physical harm. The physical facility is clean, attractive, kept in good repair, and student work is prominently displayed. The school climate is not oppressive and is conducive to teaching and learning.

Positive Home - School Relations. In the effective school parents understand and support the school's basic mission and play an important role in helping the school to achieve that mission. Their involvement is legitimate in that they actually help to shape policies and procedures. Parents in the effective school share the responsibility for their children's academic success by seeing to it that they attend school, demonstrate responsible citizenship, and work to meet the academic expectations set forth for them.

The preceding correlates (and several comparable or very similar sets identified in effective schools research) are associated with improved student learning. The Effective Schools model of school reform, when adopted, can enable a school to establish the correlates as a means to achieving high and equitable levels of student learning.

EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS

Effective Schools
The Evolving Research and Practices

By Lawrence W. Lezotte, Ph.D.

In his book, The Conflict in Education in a Democratic Society (1953), Robert Hutchins suggests that education for all may be the greatest idea that America has given the world. However, the world is entitled to know whether this means that everybody can be educated or, simply, that everybody must go to school. As the United States approaches the end of the twentieth century we have made significant progress toward Hutchins' vision. Each has established a system of free public education for all of its children. Each state has established compulsory schooling laws which require that every child attend those free public schools or their equivalent. While the struggle to assure universal access to quality schools is far from settled, it is nevertheless true that all students are required to attend school for at least a minimum number of years, regardless of their race, gender, or social class.

The 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision, Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, represented a milestone in the struggle to assure equal educational opportunity for all. That general principle is now established, even though court cases continue which involve more subtle legal questions regarding access to public education.

After the 1950s, the battle line for democratic education shifted. Researchers began to ask whether minority students, especially African Americans, were participating in the schools' programs and services in proportion to their numbers in the population. Here again, some progress has been realized but much more is required.

Minority children are still overly represented in special education programs, low track, and other remedial programs. They lag behind their non-minority counterparts in rates of graduation, proportion going to post-secondary education, and participation in more academically rigorous programs, especially mathematics and science. Researchers documenting the problem have begun to identify programs and other strategies that seem to be helpful in assuring more success for more students, especially those groups who have profited little from schooling in the past.

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The Effective Schools Movement: A Historical Perspective

One of the programs that has resulted from this research and has become widely used by educators throughout the United States is school improvement based on effective schools research. This program has been described by some as the "effective schools movement." It represents a program of school reform that is based on research and descriptions of effective school practices that now span about 25 years.

This brief description of the effective schools movement, is organized around five relatively distinguishable periods. The first period discussed the problems of definition and the subsequent search for the "effective school." In the following period, a series of case studies designed to capture the organizational culture of the identified "effective schools" were completed. The third period represented a critical transition—from describing the effective school to creating more effective schools, one school at a time. In the fourth period, the larger organizational context and the local school district came to play an important role in school improvement; how could the school district enhance or impede improvement of schools, one school at a time. Finally, there is some discussion of the current federal and state policies and programs that are being implemented to ensure the availability of more effective schools for more children.

Phase I: Search for Effective Schools

The story of the effective schools movement began in July, 1966, with the publication Equality of Educational Opportunity by James Coleman and his colleagues. The controversial findings reported in that document became widely disseminated and debated. This excerpt from the Coleman study summarizes the issue of effective schools:

> "Schools bring little influence to bear on a child's achievement that is independent of his background and general social context... this very lack of an independent effect means that the inequality imposed on children by their home, neighborhood and peer environment are carried along to become the inequalities with which they confront adult life at the end of school. For equality of educational opportunity must imply a strong effect of schools that is independent of the child's immediate social environment, and that strong independence is not present in American schools." (Coleman, 1966, p. 325)

Coleman and his colleagues clarified the effective schools public policy issue by bringing into sharp contrast the question of whether student achievement derives more from the homes from which children have come or the schools to which they are sent. He said that the issue has been, and is likely to continue to be, fundamental to the discourse on student achievement for a long time to come. The issue serves

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top questions the usefulness of increasing public investments in public schools if, in fact, schools do not (and seemingly cannot) make a difference.

Unfortunately, public acceptance of the Coleman hypothesis still constitutes a formidable obstacle to the advancement of educational equity and to the general improvement of student achievement through schooling. Fortunately, several researchers did not accept the "Coleman hypothesis." Initially working independently of one another, they began to formulate a research strategy that if successful, would begin to challenge the hypothesis. Their strategy was to go into the real world of public schools and see if they could identify individual schools that represented clear exceptions to Coleman's theory.

The first generation studies conducted by these researchers became the foundation for the research base of the effective schools movement. Readers who are interested in an in-depth synthesis of the early research and public policy debate should read Ronald Edmonds' (1978) paper, "A Discussion of the Literature and Issues Related to Effective Schooling." Further syntheses of the effective schools research, can be found in the compilation of articles from Educational Leadership, edited by Ronald S. Brandt (1989). The papers in the first section of this collection do a good job of "tracking" the effective schools research, associated policy issues, and the research criticisms.

Collectively, these syntheses indicate that the validity of Coleman's theory remains largely intact if one judges student achievement by means of "broad gauged," standardized, norm-referenced measures designed to find differences among the test population; such differences in measured student performance do tend to be more directly associated with home and family background factors. If, however, one measures student achievement by assessing student mastery of the taught curriculum, then the differences in school-to-school effects become more marked, and a stronger case is made for the school effect. The conclusion is that the issues of measurement have been, and probably always will be, at or near the center of the debate on effective schools.

Because of the centrality of the measurement questions, any discussion of school improvement must begin with the question: "What should we be willing to accept as observable, measurable evidence of school effectiveness or school improvement"? To help schools with the issue of acceptable evidence of school improvement, the following conceptual definition of an effective school is offered:

An effective school is one that can demonstrate the joint presence of quality (acceptably high levels of achievement) and equity (no differences in the distribution of that achievement among the major subsets of the student population).

These criteria must be operationalized in the state and local setting and demonstrated in outcome terms reflective of the school's learning mission.

Besides demonstrating that Coleman and his colleagues are right or wrong, depending on how student achievement is measures, effective schools case study

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research has also proven them just plain wrong in one sense. This literature clearly demonstrates, in numerous settings, that there are schools that are able to attain remarkably high levels of pupil mastery of essential school skills, even though these schools are serving large proportions of economically poor and disadvantaged students, minority and nonminority. The criticisms of the effective schools research have been many and pointed, but this one fact remains true: Some schools are able to achieve these extraordinary results. As long as such places exist, the effective schools debate is not a discussion of theory, but a discussion of commitment and political will.

Phase II: Descriptions of Effective Schools

During the second major period of the effective schools movement, the attention of researchers turned toward the internal descriptions of these effective schools. Ironically, the search for effective schools captured the interest of social scientists and policy makers, but not necessarily of educational practitioners. School leaders, teachers, and local boards of education began to take a more active interest in the effective schools research, as the descriptions of the effective schools made their way into the literature and language of the educational community.

During this period, researchers sought to answer the following general question: "In what ways do effective schools differ from their less effective counterparts?" Their research methodology generally consisted of three steps:

First, effective schools, based on measured outcomes, were identified and paired with schools that were similar in all respects except for the more favorable student outcome profile. Next, field researchers were sent into these "pairs of schools" where they conducted interviews, observations, and surveys designed to develop as rich a description of the life of these schools as possible. Finally, the data were then analyzed with the following question in mind: "What are the distinctive characteristics of the effective schools that seems to set them apart from their less effective counterparts?"

From the field research emerged descriptions of certain characteristics that seemed to describe how these schools were able to maintain their exceptional status. These five factors were described by Edmonds (1979) in his early research:

- The principal's leadership and attention to the quality of instruction
- A pervasive and broadly understood instructional focus
- An orderly, safe climate conducive to teaching and learning
- Teacher behaviors that convey the expectation that all students will obtain at least minimum mastery
- The use of measures of pupil achievement as the basis for program evaluation

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Since that original listing, numerous other studies have cross-validated the original findings. Some of the more recent studies have described additional factors, and others have sought to make the original Edmonds' factors more explicit and more operational. New studies have also looked closely at elementary schools, as did Edmonds in his original research. Other more recent studies have also taken the characteristics, or factor theory, of the effective school to the secondary levels as well. In addition, the researchers have now documented the existence of the correlates in settings other than those that were characterized as serving primarily economically poor and minority student populations. Finally, the research has been expanded to include studies in other countries, particularly in Great Britain.

What are the major conclusions that seem to emerge from this expanding array of descriptive studies of the organization and operation of effective schools? First, schools where students master the intended curriculum do share a describable list of institutional and organizational variables that seem to coexist with school effectiveness. Second, these core factors seem to be robust in that they have endured across the various studies. Third, the effective school can and generally does stand alone, even among its counterparts in the same local school district. The major implication is that the institutional and organizational mechanisms that coexist with effectiveness can be attained by individual schools, one school at a time. This suggests that effective schooling is within the grasp of the teachers and administrators who make up the teaching community of the single school.

With the publication of these descriptions of the effective school, practitioners and community members began to take a more active interest. It became clear that more schools could organize themselves to achieve these extraordinary results. The important question began to refocus itself: How could the knowledge about these effective schools become the basis for the purposeful transformation through planned change programs for even more schools?

Phase III: Creating More Effective Schools—One School at a Time

When school practitioners began to discover that the effective school could be characterized by a relatively short list of alterable school variables, some educators began to see new possibilities for their schools. Their reasoning seemed to proceed along the following lines: If these individual schools had the wherewithal to make their schools effective, as suggested by the original effective schools descriptions, then individual schools ought to accept the responsibility for doing so. The original research provided little guidance as to how the effective schools became effective (that is, the processes involved). In the more common language of the 1980s, the effective schools research provided a vision of a more desirable place for schools to be but gave little insight as to how best to make the journey to that place.

As a result, three problems emerged. First, in many cases, central offices and local boards of education, not knowing a better way, tried to mandate that their local schools become effective—and the sooner the better. This led to the conclusion by many teachers and building-level administrators that the effective

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schools process was just another "top-down" model of school improvement. Second, many principals were told that they were responsible for making their schools effective and that it was a matter of administrative responsibility. As a result, principals often erroneously concluded that they were expected to make their schools effective by themselves. This created anxiety and a great deal of resistance, for the principals had not been trained to be agents of change. Their evaluations generally had been based on the efficient management of school processes rather than results. Additionally, principals could not understand how their low-achieving students could learn, when many, if not most, of them came from low-income families. Third, teachers began to see the effective schools process as an administrative mechanism that implied that teachers were not already doing their best, given the existing working conditions. To many teachers, creating a "more effective school" meant simply "working harder." Given these apparently insurmountable problems and the resistance they engendered in the major "stakeholders" to more effective schools, why was the movement not stopped in its tracks?

The survival of the effective schools movement against these significant obstacles seemed to depend heavily on the implementation strategies used by schools. This overview will focus on the processes used by Edmonds and Lezotte as they responded to the numerous invitations to work with schools. Their experience was repeated by many other facilitators of effective schools research, with some variations in the processes. A review of the available research literature produced several guiding principles for successful school change. They are:

- The single school must be preserved as the strategic unit for the planned change.

- Teachers and other members of the school community must be an integral part of the school improvement process; principals, though essential as leaders of change, cannot do it alone.

- School improvement, like any change, is best approached as a process, not an event. Such a process approach is more likely to create a permanent change in the operating culture of the school that will accommodate this new function called continuous school improvement.

- The research would be useful in facilitating the change process but it would have to include suggestions of practices, policies, and procedures that could be implemented as a part of the process.

- Finally, like the original effective schools, these improving schools must feel that they have a choice in the matter, and, equally important, they must feel that they have control over the processes of change.

With these guiding principles, the task of creating school plans to take the school from its current level of functioning toward the vision of effectiveness as represented in the research was undertaken. Literally hundreds of schools launched their

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effective schools processes. Some did it with help from the outside; some chose to proceed on their own. Some followed the guidelines of the lessons we had learned, even without knowing the research per se; others chose to try to implement change and ignore what the research on successful change has reported.

As a result of this diversity in approaches, we can say that effective schools research worked for some and not for others. Fortunately, it has worked for enough schools so that a growing number can proudly claim that they have the results to prove more of their students are learning, and learning at a higher level. These schools feel empowered to commit their professional energies to the proposition that even more students can and will learn in their schools in the future.

Two major conclusions can be drawn from the lessons from this period of the effective schools movement. First, while researchers do not have all of the answers, the literature on successful change clearly establishes that some strategies of planned change do indeed work better than others. Second, the process of school improvement based on the effective schools research takes time, involvement, and commitment. Whenever one tries to gloss over any one of these essential prerequisites, the results are soon diminished. Clearly, when effective schools processes are followed appropriately, school improvement is reaffected. However, when effective schools processes are not implemented properly, they fail to produce more effective schools.

Phase IV: District-Wide Programs Based on Effective Schools Research

The early efforts to implement programs of school improvement based on the effective schools research clearly supported the individual school as the strategic unit for change. Effective schools research emphasizes that if school improvement is going to occur, it will take place one school at a time. Experience with the school-by-school model has taught a number of valuable lessons which taken together serve to reinforce the district-wide concept associated with this phase of the effective schools movement.

Two forces seem to have combined to reinforce the current emphasis on the overall district planning model. First, the effective schools model represented a viable, manageable, and, therefore, attractive district response to the local call for a program of school improvement. The second force evolved when individuals working with the effective schools process at the school level realized that individual schools exist as a part of the larger legal, political, and organizational setting of a local school district. It became clear that one could successfully effect school improvement at the individual school level and still ignore this layered context. It also became clear how difficult it would be to sustain it on a long-term basis. Furthermore, when an individual school's faculty set out on their own to plan and implement their program, they often found themselves being challenged by their colleagues or, at least, being impeded by district level policies, patterns, and practices.

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These two forces were joined, and a new, stronger formulation of the effective schools process resulted. This formulation still places great emphasis on school-level change but now also emphasizes the larger organizational context and its role in supporting and enhancing the individual school's efforts. The formulation builds upon the notion of a district plan that supports school change. In this plan, the policies, programs, and procedures generally thought to be beyond the control of a single school are aligned to support the effort. There are two challenges that are faced in the district planning process. First, the plan must address the necessary changes in district-level policies and programs to ensure that school-level change can occur. Second, the plan must not go so far as to mandate what each school must do in its improvement plan. The first set of challenges, when handled successfully by the district planning group, give guidance, direction, and the human and financial resources to the school-level improvement process. However, if this plan goes too far, the sense of ownership and empowerment leading to the essential commitment at the school level gets lost.

The current emphasis on the district model for sustained school improvement serves several valuable functions. It acknowledges:

1. That there are no unimportant adults in the school system.
2. The role of the superintendent and the members of the board of education is critical in providing leadership and vision for school improvement.
3. There is a need to couple more tightly and ensure alignment between the school site and the district office.
4. School-level personnel are central to school effectiveness, and all other personnel should stand ready to do whatever they can to be of assistance.

Early efforts at implementing effective schools produced an expanded list of individual schools that benefit from these efforts. But as each preceding phase builds upon and adds to what has gone before, the fundamental belief that all students can and will learn is reinforced.

Assumptions for District and School-Based School Improvement

An important set of basic beliefs undergirds our internal renewal model.

1. Only two kinds of schools exist in the United States: improving schools and declining schools.
2. Every school can improve regardless of current levels of success.
3. The potential for improvement already resides in every school.
4. In school improvement, no adults in the school are unimportant.
5. School improvement is a process, not an event.

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6. The people working in the school now — teachers, administrators, support staff, and others — are in the best position to manage the change process. We are not convinced that there is a significant and enduring role for the outside person or agency. That is contrary to many of the innovations that we have tried in the past. In the past we have thought that improvement would come by bringing in a new curriculum, a new approach by classroom organization, or whatever. We have finally come to realize, by looking at both effective schools and other successful organizations in the private sector, that the people inside the organization are in the best position to improve the outcomes of that organization.

7. Teachers and administrators are already doing the best they know to do, given the conditions under which they find themselves.

8. Internal renewal requires that an ongoing discourse on school improvement be established and sustained in each school and in the district as a whole.

Essential Prerequisites for Discourse on School Improvement

Modern American schools have a "design defect" —a lack of structure, organization, or functioning of most schools in the United States today to assure an ongoing discourse on school improvement. It is almost as if the architect of the American public school left off the "back porch" on which this conversation was to occur. The absence of rituals and structures calling for an ongoing discourse on improvement means that when you begin to talk about school improvement in most schools, people perceive that you are asking them to participate in an unnatural act. People will say something like this: "Why do we have to be involved in school improvement? We are already doing a good job. If it's not broken, don't fix it." What they are saying with that language is that to talk about school improvement in most schools is not a natural occurrence. To correct this design defect requires three essential prerequisites.

1. School-based discourse on school improvement among the adults who work in a school requires a common language, a language of improvement. In order to launch a systematic program of school improvement in your school or district, you have to plan a strategy for introducing all staff members to the common language of school improvement.

2. A structure through which this discourse can--and will--flow must be created. Such a collaborative, school-based, school-improvement team needs to consist of a cross-section of teaching faculty, the principal of the school, and others--both in and outside the school. This discourse on school improvement should not be limited simply to that group, but that group is in a position to take leadership and provide the language for discussion that will lead to making plans for improvement.

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3. Finding time in each school for this group to meet is essential. One major shortcoming in our schools today is the limited time staff members have to meet and talk about school improvement. Local boards of education and the superintendent must convince the community that this time to meet and to talk about school improvement is absolutely critical. Creating more time for planning, curriculum review, and staff development is going to be a major challenge to local boards of education for two reasons. First, Time is a code word for money; more time will cost more money—and that is always a problem. Second, and as important, most people in the community believe that the only time a teacher is at work is when he/she is in the presence of students. This belief will create some tension in most communities when teachers are given released time to meet and talk about school improvement. But these three prerequisites, a common language, a school improvement team, and time, are essential for creating viable discourse on improvement in our schools.

School Improvement—The Decade Ahead

Much of what is likely to happen to the effective schools movement in the early 1990s is predictable, given the momentum it has gathered recently. However, the model of school improvement based on the effective schools framework will likely undergo significant modifications and refinements in the decade ahead.

The metaphor of the "journey" has been used to describe the process of school improvement based on the effective schools research. In using this metaphor it is useful to note that, as in any journey, the effective schools process of school improvement has: a destination, a mode of transportation, and a map to be followed throughout. The journey metaphor with its three parts is a useful framework for discussing the anticipated changes in school improvement that are likely to occur in the decade of the 1990s.

<u>The Effective Schools Destination</u>

By the end of the 1980s the battle lines regarding school improvement became clearly drawn. The effective schools framework and its advocates can share the credit or blame for this clarification and the attendant lines that subsequently were drawn. From the beginning, the effective schools research suggested that the primary mission of the schools ought to be "learning for all." As the advocacy of this mission became more widely known, if not accepted, it became clear where the political opposition would, and did, gather. Those who favored either the custodial mission or the mission of sorting and selecting students organized and began their counterattack. The excellence advocates called for "teaching for learning for only a few (given limited resources)." Those who advocated that schools serve as the family, which "many poor children never had," began to advance with the notion of nurturing first, and learning second—if time permitted. How these struggles will

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be resolved is not clear yet. What is clear is that this nation is going to have to come to terms with the child care issue, or it will have neither good schools nor reliable custodial care—except for the economically advantaged. A nation with as many "at-risk" children as ours is an "at-risk" nation.

In the decade of the 1990s, the debate regarding the evidence to be used in judging school effectiveness or school improvement will continue and probably intensify. The position of the effective schools advocates is clear. At the moment there is no consensus as to what this country will accept as evidence of school improvement. If and when consensus is reached, and assuming it does focus on the mission of learning for all, the effective schools framework will surely help the nation's schools to get from where they are to their chosen destination.

A related issue surrounding the destination (or mission) debate has to do with curriculum content itself. The effective schools process has helped to clarify two other "truths" that are most unsettling because of their inherent conflict. On the one hand, it is true that virtually all students tend to learn well those things on which they spend the most time. On the other hand, it is true that the curriculum of the public schools must be "trimmed back" because the schools are trying to teach too much content in too little time and with too few resources. Currently, the mission of many teachers is to cover content. The effective schools model asks teachers to commit themselves to assuring that their students learn the content they cover. To be successful in this mission, they will have to abandon aspects of the curriculum content. This abandonment is going to be an extremely delicate issue and is likely to become volatile before it is settled.

The 1990s is likely to be recorded as the decade of the great curriculum debates. These debates probably cannot be avoided, since it is unlikely that the political processes will provide enough resources to teach all that we must know in our rapidly changing society. Such debates should be welcomed and should include a broad cross-section of educators and community representatives. Ron Edmonds said, "We can, whenever and wherever we choose, successfully teach all students . ." I would like to add to that statement the phrase, "whatever we choose" but to do so assumes that we can agree on what it is that we want all students to know.

Mode of Transportation

On the journey to school improvement, the means to get a school from where it is to where it wants to go seems both clear and compelling. The democratization of the American public school is the means for successfully making the journey. The use of the top-down, outside-in mandates approach to change has been tried unsuccessfully and found wanting because so few educators at the local level are willing to own the change. Without ownership and commitment and the enthusiasm they engender, few ideas have the potency required for long-term success. A new organizational form—one that invites teachers and administrators to work

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collaboratively as partners in the process of school reform—represents our best hope for sustained school reform.

Several changes are needed, however, if this democratic form of school organization is to deliver its promise. In the 1990s these changes must take hold, or else the "old order" will probably reaffirm its "grip" on our public schools. First, administrators must be trained to work in the network organization. Second, teachers must come to believe that the time and energy required to make the democratic school work is worth the effort. Third, the necessary time for discourse and training becomes a priority for the local boards of education. Finally, from research and proven practices, powerful visions of what can be done must be delivered, through democratic organizations, to improve the schools. Ron Edmonds said, "We already know more than we need in order to do that." I would like to amend that statement by adding for emphasis, "we already know more about what to do and how to do it than we need in order to do that."

The Map

During the last decade the effective schools journey has followed a map of the correlates or characteristics of effective schools as they were identified in the original studies. Surprisingly, these correlates have displayed a resiliency that amazed many. It is unlikely that any of the correlates will be found to be unimportant. However, two changes in the map for effective schools are likely to occur in the future. First, the research on effective schooling is going to be joined even more closely with the effective teaching research, and the resulting syntheses are going to make it even clearer how mutually reinforcing and powerful these paradigms are as instruments for successful school transformations.

Second, the characteristics of effective schools are likely to evidence a significant growth in the 1990s. A number of the schools have been relying on the effective schools research as the framework for their school improvement program. After three or four years, many claim that they have successfully met the criteria described in the research on the correlates of effective schools. These educators ask if there is anything that comes after, or goes beyond, these standards. The concept of second generation correlates attempts to incorporate the recent research and school improvement findings and offers an even more challenging developmental stage to which the schools committed to the "learning for all" mission ought to aspire.

There are two underlying assumptions to keep in mind. First, school improvement is an "endless journey." Second, the second generation correlates cannot be successfully implemented unless the first generation correlate standards are present in the school. In one sense, the second generation correlates represent a developmental step beyond the first and, when successfully accomplished, will move the school even closer to the mission of learning for all.

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1. Safe and Orderly Environment

The First Generation:

In the effective school there is an orderly, purposeful, businesslike atmosphere which is free from the threat of physical harm. The school climate is not oppressive and is conducive to teaching and learning.

The Second Generation:

During the first generation, the safe and orderly environment correlate was defined in terms of the absence of undesirable student behavior (e.g. students fighting). In the second generation, increased emphasis will be placed on the presence of certain desirable behaviors (cooperative team learning). These second generation schools will be places where students actually help one another.

Since schools as workplaces are characterized by their isolation, creating more collaborative/ cooperative environments for both the adults and students will require substantial commitment and change in most schools. Several changes will be required. First, teachers will have to be taught the "technologies" of teamwork. Second, the school will have to create the "opportunity structures" for collaboration. Finally, the staff will have to nurture the belief that collaboration, which often requires more time initially, will help the schools to be more effective and satisfying in the long run.

But schools will not be able to get students to work together cooperatively unless they have been taught to respect human diversity and appreciate democratic values. These student learnings will require a major and sustained commitment to multicultural education.

2. Climate of High Expectations for Success

The First Generation:

In the effective school there is a climate of expectation in which the staff believes and demonstrates that all students can attain mastery of the essential school skills and they believe that they have the capability to help all students achieve that mastery.

The Second Generation:

During the second generation, the emphasis placed on high expectations for success will be significantly broadened. In the first generation, expectations were described in terms of attitudes and beliefs that suggested how the teacher should behave in the teaching-learning situation. Those descriptions sought to tell teachers how they should initially deliver of the lesson. High expectations meant, for example, that the teacher should evenly distribute question-asking to all students and

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provide each student with a more equal opportunity to participate in the learning process. Unfortunately, this "equalization of opportunity," though beneficial, proved to be insufficient to assure mastery for many of the learners. Teachers found themselves in the difficult position of having had high expectations and having acted upon them—still some students did not learn.

In the second generation, the teachers will anticipate this and they will develop a broader array of responses. For example, teachers will implement additional strategies such as reteaching and regrouping to assure that all students do learn to achieve mastery. Implementing this expanded concept of high expectations will require the school as a cultural organizational system, to reflect high expectations, since most of the useful strategies will require the cooperation of the school as a whole. Teachers cannot implement most of these strategies working alone in isolated classrooms. High expectations for success will be judged, not only by the initial staff beliefs and behaviors, but also by the organization's response when some students do not learn.

3. Instructional Leadership

The First Generation:

In the effective school, the principal acts as an instructional leader and effectively and persistently communicates that mission to the staff, parents, and students. The principal understands and applies the characteristics of instructional effectiveness in the management of the instructional program.

The Second Generation:

In the first generation, the standards for instructional leadership focused primarily on the principal and the administrative staff of the school. In the second generation, instructional leadership will remain important; however, the concept will be broadened and leadership will be viewed as a dispersed concept that includes all adults, especially the teachers. This is in keeping with the teacher empowerment concept and recognizes that principals cannot be the only leader in a complex organization like a school. With the democratization of the organizations, especially the schools, the leadership function becomes one of creating a "community of shared values." The role of the principal will be changed to that of "a leader of leaders" rather than a leader of followers. Specifically, the broader concept of leadership recognizes that leadership is always delegated from the followership in any organization. It also recognizes what teachers have known for a long time and good schools have capitalized on since the beginning of time; namely, expertise is generally dispersed across many, not concentrated in a single person.

4. Clear and Focused Mission

The First Generation:

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In the effective school there is a clearly articulated school mission through which the staff shares an understanding of and commitment to the instructional goals, priorities, assessment procedures and accountability. Staff accept responsibility for students' learning of the school's essential curricular goals.

The Second Generation:

In the first generation the effective school mission emphasized teaching for learning for all, with two issues coming to the fore. First, did this really mean all students or just those for whom the schools had a history of reasonable success? When it became clear that this mission was inclusive of all students, especially the children of the poor (minority and nonminority), the second issue surfaced. It centered itself around the question: Learn what? Partially because of the accountability movement and partially because of the belief that disadvantaged students could not learn higher-level curricula, the focus was on mastery of mostly low-level skills. In the next generation, the focus will shift toward a more appropriate balance between higher level learnings and those more basic skills that truly prerequisite to their mastery.

Finally, a subtle but significant change in the concept of school mission deserves notice. Throughout the first generation, effective schools proponents advocated the mission of "teaching for learning for all." In the second generation the advocated mission will be "learning for all." The rationale for this change is that the " teaching for" portion of the old statement created ambiguity (although this was unintended) and kept too much of the focus on "teaching" rather than "learning." This allowed people to discount school learnings that were not the result of direct teaching. Finally, the new formulation of "learning for all" opens the door to the continued learning of the educators as well as the students.

5. Opportunity to Learn and Student Time on Task

The First Generation:

In the effective school teachers allocate a significant amount of classroom time to instruction in the essential skills. For a high percentage of this time, students are engaged in whole class or large group, teacher-directed, planned learning activities.

The Second Generation:

In the second generation, time will continue to be a difficult problem for the teacher. As a matter of fact, in all likelihood, the problems that occur with too much to teach and not enough time to teach it will intensify. In the past, when the teachers were oriented toward "covering curricular content" and more content was added, they knew what to do in response - "speed-up." Now teachers are being asked to stress the mission that assures student mastery of the content covered. How are they to respond? In the next generation, teachers will have to become

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more skilled at interdisciplinary curriculum, and they will need to learn how to practice "organized abandonment" comfortably. They must be able to ask the question, "What goes and what stays?" One reason that many of the mandated approaches to school reform have failed is that, in every case, the local school was asked to do more! One of the characteristics of the most effective schools is their willingness to declare that some things are more important than others and to abandon some less important content so as to dedicate enough time to those areas that are valued the most.

The only alternative to abandonment would be to adjust the available time that students spend in school so that, those who need more time to reach mastery would be given it. The necessary time must be provided in a quality program that is not perceived as punitive by those in it or excessive by those who will have to fund it. These conditions will be a real challenge indeed!

If the American dream and the democratic ideal of educating everyone is going to move forward, we must explore several important policies and past practices. For example, on the issue of time to learn, if the children of the disadvantaged present a "larger educational task" to teachers, and if it can be demonstrated that this "larger task" will require more time, then our notion of limited compulsory schooling may need to be changed. The current system of compulsory schooling makes little allowance for the fact that some students need more time. If we could get the system to be more mastery-based and more humane at the same time, our nation and its students would benefit immensely.

6. Frequent Monitoring of Student Progress

The First Generation:

In the effective school student academic progress is measured frequently. A variety of assessment procedures are used. The results of the assessments are used to improve individual student performance and also the improve the instructional program.

The Second Generation:

In the first generation. the correlate was interpreted to mean that the teachers should frequently monitor their students' learning and, where necessary, the teacher should adjust his/her behavior. Several major changes can be anticipated in the second generation. First, the use of technology will permit the teachers to do a better job of monitoring their students' progress. Second, this same technology will allow students to monitor their own learning and, where necessary, adjust their own behavior. The use of computerized practice tests, the ability to get immediate results on their homework, and the ability to see correct solutions developed on the screen are a few of the available "tools for assuring student learning."

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Another major change that will become more apparent in the second generation is already underway. In the area of assessment the emphasis will continue to shift away from standardized norm-referenced paper-pencil tests and toward curricular based, criterion-referenced measures of student mastery. In the second generation, the monitoring of student learning will emphasize "more authentic assessments" of curriculum mastery. This generally means that there will be an decreased emphasis on the paper-pencil, multiple-choice tests, and an increased emphasis on assessments that take the form of products of student work, including performances and portfolios. Teachers will pay much more attention to the alignment that must exist between the intended, taught, and tested curriculum.

Two new questions are being stimulated by the reform movement and will dominate much of the professional educators discourse in the second generation. The two important questions are: "What's worth knowing?" and "How will we know when they know it?" In all likelihood the answer to the the first question will become clear relatively quickly because we can reach agreement that we want our students to be self-disciplined, socially responsible, and just. The problem comes with the second question, "How will we know when they know it?" Educators and citizens are going to have to come to terms with that question. The bad news is that the question demands our best thinking and will require patience if we are going to reach consensus. The good news is that once we reach something of a consensus, the schools will be able to deliver significant progress toward these agreed upon outcomes.

7. Home–School Relations

The First Generation:

In the effective school parents understand and support the school's basic mission and are given the opportunity to play important role in helping the school to achieve this mission.

The Second Generation:

During the first generation the role of parents in the education of their children was always somewhat unclear. Schools often gave "lip service" to the desire to have parents more actively involved in the schooling of their children. Unfortunately, when pressed, may educators were willing to admit that they really did not know how to deal effectively with increased levels of parent involvement in the schools.

In the second generation, the relationship between parents and the school must reflect that of an authentic partnership between the school and home. In the past when teachers said they wanted more parent involvement, more often than not, they were looking for unqualified support from the parents. Many teachers believed that the parents knew how to get their children to behave in the ways that the school desired if they truly valued education. It is now clear to both teachers and

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parents that the parent involvement issue is not that simple. What is clear is that parents are often as perplexed as the teachers regarding the best way to inspire students to learn what the school teaches. The best hope for effectively confronting the problem—and not each other—is to build enough trust and enough communication to realize that both have the same goal the effective school and home for all children!

Summary

School improvement is like a journey. As with any journey, one needs to choose the destination, select the means of transportation, and select a map to follow as a guide. The concept and supporting effective schools research is especially well suited for the school improvement journey. In using the effective schools framework, the destination is both clear and compelling—learning for all. That destination speaks about "equity in quality" for all students. The means of transportation to this destination is equally clear and just as compelling. The process calls for a collaborative school-based team empowered with the right and responsibility to take the school from wherever it is and bring it closer to the mission of learning for all. Finally, we have the large and evolving body of effective schools research, the process of disaggregating student outcome data, and the assessment of school environments for the presence or absence, strength or weakness of the effective schools characteristics. This is indeed a detailed and compelling map to guide the school teams' efforts on their journey to school improvement.

Successful school improvement based on the effective schools framework, like the effective school itself, is the outcome of a change strategy implemented through the efforts of many individuals. It requires commitment and time. It also represents the collective interests and commitment of a "community of shared values."

Creating more effective schools through the effective schools framework will only occur in those schools and districts in which the necessary patience, persistence, pride, and partnership is evident. The future belongs to those educators who have the vision of educating all children and the courage to act on that vision. The exhilaration that will be felt by those who dare to act will more than compensate for the risk-taking such actions require.

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Integration in the Little Rock Area: Part 1
Demographic Trends in Enrollment

- Enrollment in traditional public schools (TPSs) in the Little Rock Metro Area has declined steadily over 30 years for an overall decrease of **18%**

- Charter school enrollment has increased continuously since beginning in 2001, and currently enroll about **10%** of students in LR Metro area public schools.

- TPSs in the LR Metro Area enroll a **higher percentage** of black and FRL students than charters.

- The share of black students enrolled in charters has increased, while the share of black students enrolled in TPSs has decreased.

- The share of FRL students has increased over time in both TPSs and charters; up **7%** in LR Metro, **10%** in LRSD, and **14%** in charters.

- In LR Metro TPSs and charters, Hispanic students have increased to **10%** of enrollment.

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School integration has been a contentious policy issue in Little Rock since the 1950s. Recent charter expansions have raised questions about the current level of integration in public schools (charter and traditional) in the Little Rock Area. As an introduction to this work, we begin by examining broad changes in enrollment before we drill down in later briefs and study the impacts of individual moves.

Introduction

In this brief, we look descriptively at enrollment patterns in the Little Rock area school systems. These systems include traditional public schools and public charter school systems. As policymakers build a vision for an effective school system in Little Rock, in which multiple traditional public districts and charters work synergistically to meet the needs of all students, it is important to understand how the sectors compare, and the demographic composition of the schools.

The data used in this series are drawn from the Arkansas Department of Education, and racial indicators come from paperwork submitted by parents when students first enroll at a school. LRSD represents students enrolled in the Little Rock School District, while LR Metro includes LRSD students as well as students enrolled in Pulaski County Special School District (PCSSD) and North Little Rock School District (NLRSD). Charter includes students enrolled in public charter schools in the Little Rock area: Academics Plus, College Prep Academy, Covenant Keepers, eStem , Exalt

Academy, Flightline Upper Academy, Jacksonville Lighthouse, Lisa Academy, Lisa Academy North, Little Rock Prep, Premier High, Quest High, and SIAtech High.

Enrollment Patterns, 1989-2015

Before focusing on the time period covered in depth in this series, it is helpful to consider a long-term, big-picture view of enrollment in the Little Rock area. Figure 1 presents trends in enrollment by sector between the 1987-88 and 2015-16 school years. Private school enrollments are reported biannually through the Private School Universe Survey, and are not yet available for more recent years.

As shown in Figure 1, enrollment in the Little Rock Metro Area as a whole (LRSD, North LRSD, Pulaski County Special School District) has steadily decreased by 18% from over 58,000 in 1989-90 to about 48,000 in 2015-16. Enrollment in Little Rock School District (LRSD) declined about 9% over this time, from about 27,000 in to about 23,000 in 2015-16. At the same time, enrollment in districts surrounding the Little Rock area (Bryant, Conway, and Cabot) has increased significantly, from 15,000 to nearly 29,000 in 2015-16. Enrollment in Little Rock area private schools increased slightly from 1988-89 to 2011-12 (the most recent data available), growing from under 9,000 students to over 10,000 students in slightly over a decade. The charter sector has also grown since the first open enrollment charter school in the Little Rock area opened in 2001. Since that time, charter enrollment has increased to just over 6,000 students in 2015-16. With this

broad enrollment overview in mind, we focus on enrollment in on the Little Rock Metro Area between 2008-09 and 2014-15.

Little Rock Area Enrollment, 2008-2015

Overall public school enrollment (including public charters and traditional public schools) has been generally increasing in the Little Rock area between the 2008-09 and 2014-15 school years. However, differences emerge when looking at enrollment trends in charters and TPSs.

Enrollment in Little Rock School District declined by 4% from 25,760 to 24,725 in the 2014-15 school year, and enrollment in the Little Rock Metro Area traditional public schools (Little Rock School District, North Little Rock School District, and Pulaski County Special School District) declined nearly 8% from 55,380 students to 51,055 students in 2014-15. Little Rock area charter school enrollment more than doubled from 2,119 students in the 2008-09 school year to 5,709 in the 2014-15 school year.

Racial/ Ethnic Composition

Black Students

Figure 2 highlights the changing composition of each public school sector in the Little Rock area over time. Roughly 66% to 68% of students enrolled in LRSD are black in the years 2008-09 to 2014-15, while roughly 40% to 46% of students enrolled in Little Rock area charters are black over the same time period. However, when viewed as a trend, we see that the percent of black students in Little Rock area charters has generally increased over time, going from about 40% of charter students in 2008-09 to a peak of 47% of students in the 2012-13 school year. Conversely, black students comprised the largest percentage of the LRSD student body in the 2008-09 school year, when 68% of enrolled students were black. The share of black students enrolled at LRSD has generally decreased each year since, declining to 66% in the 2014-15 school year. The share of black students enrolled in the Little Rock Metro Area has also slightly decreased over time, falling from 58% of the student population in 2008-09 to 57% in the 2014-15 school year.

White Students

When we examine the percentage of white students in each public school sector in the Little Rock area from 2008-09 to 2014-15, we see that white students comprised 22% of the LRSD student body in the 2008-09 school year, and the percentage has decreased each year to 18% of the student body in the 2014-15 school year. Similarly, in the Little Rock Metro Area, white students have decreased from comprising 34% of the student body in 2008-09 to representing 29% of the student population in 2014-15. White students have gone from comprising 47% of the Little Rock area charter sector student body in 2008-09 to 37% in the 2014-15 school year, with the percent of white students in the charters decreasing in every year. The share of white students in the Little Rock area, whether in charters or TPSs, has decreased over the past seven school years; however, white students still represent a larger share of the charter school population than the TPS population.

Hispanic Students

The share of Hispanic students enrolled charters and traditional public schools has increased over time. In 2008-09, Hispanic students represented 5.0% of charter students, while in 2014-15, 10.2% of charter students were Hispanic. Similarly, Hispanic students grew from 7.8% of the LRSD student population in 2008-09 to 12.6% of

Figure 1: Enrollment in Little Rock Area Schools, 1989 to 2016, by School Group
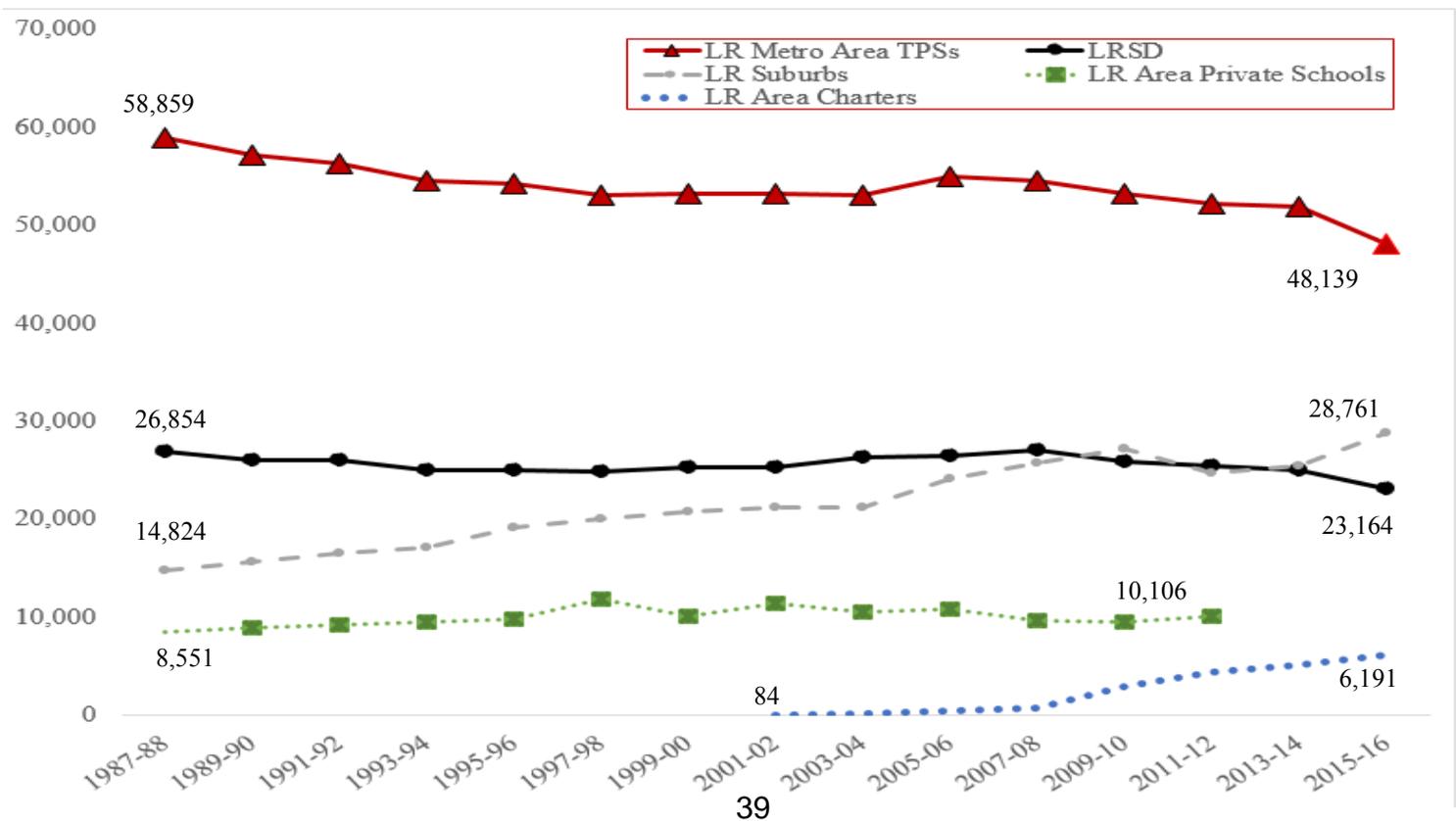
the student body in 2014-15. In the LR Metro Area as a whole, Hispanic students gone from 6.2% of the student body to 10.0% of the students enrolled in traditional public schools.

Other Students of Color

We group together Asian, Native American, multiracial, and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander students for the sake of brevity in this analysis. This group of students represented less than 5% of all students in TPSs over the time examined, and about 7-8% of all charter students. In charter schools, the share of other students of color has fallen from 8.1% of the student population in 2008-09 to 6.9% of the student population in 2014-15. In LRSD and in the LR Metro Area as a whole, the percent of other students of color enrolled in TPSs grew from about 2% of the student body to about 4% of the student body.

Special Program Composition

Figure 3 presents the percentage of students participating in special programs in Little Rock area public schools by school sector.

Free and Reduced Lunch Students

The Free and Reduced Lunch Program (FRL) provides school meals to students who are economically disadvantaged. Schools with greater than 40% of students participating in FRL also receive additional federal funding to support student learning. Although an imperfect measure, participation in this program is frequently used an indicator of a student's socio-economic status.

The percentage of students eligible for free or reduced price lunch increased in each sector from 2008-09 through 2012-13, when 46% of charter students were eligible for free or reduced price lunch (FRL), as were 72% of students enrolled at LRSD, and 67% of students in the LR Metro Area. In 2013-14, the percent of FRL students in charters increased slightly, while in LRSD FRL rates fell from 72% to 61% of the student body, and in the LR Metro Area the percent of students eligible for FRL fell by six percentage points. In 2014-15, 47% of charter students were FRL-eligible, while the percent of FRL-eligible students in the LRSD increased to almost 75% of the student body. About 69% of students in the Little Rock Metro Area qualified for free or reduced price lunch in the 2014-15 school year.

English Language Learners

As can be seen in figure 3, a small but increasing percentage of students in the Little Rock Metro area are identified as English Language Learners (ELL). The percentage of students has increased over the years in Little Rock area charter schools, the Little Rock School District, and in the Little Rock Metro Area. In the 2008-09 school year, less than 1% of students enrolled in Little Rock area charter schools were identified as ELL, while about 6% of students enrolled in LRSD were identified ELL, as were 4% of students in the LR Metro Area. In 2014-15, ELL student enrollment grew to almost 3% of the charter student population, 7% of the LR Metro Area student population, and almost 11% of the LRSD student population. Due to the relatively small number of students identified as ELL throughout the Little Rock area public school system, and the small number switching between public school sectors, we do not focus on changes in ELL student enrollment changes between sectors our analyses.

Figure 2: Student Demographics in the Little Rock Area, by Public School Sector, 2008-09, 2014-15 and Percent Change
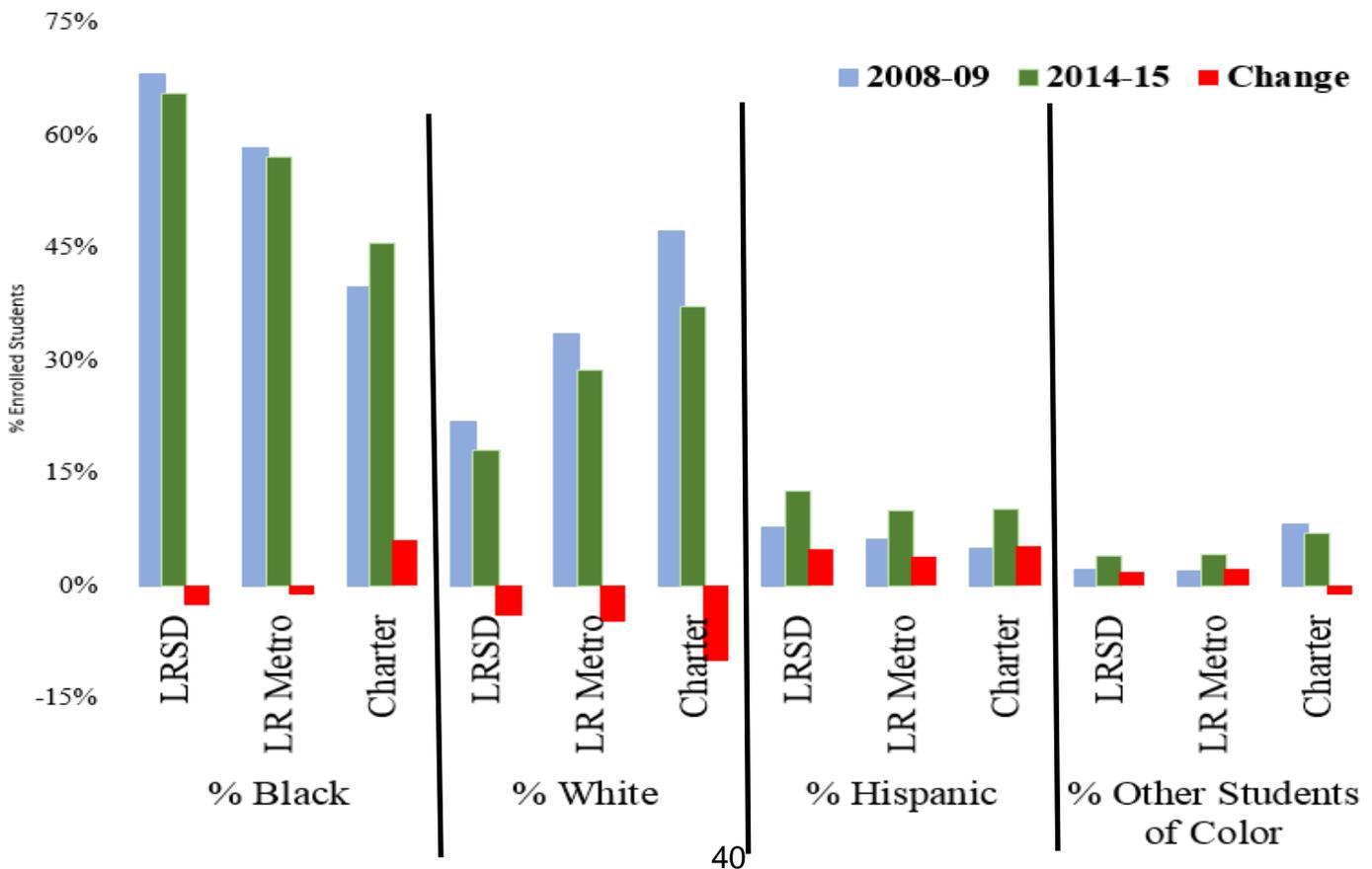
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Special Education Students

As can be seen in figure 3, the percentage of students who are identified as special education students has increased slightly to 11% in the TPSs. Only 6.5% of the students enrolled in area charters is identified as special education, although the percentage has increased since 2008-09. Due to the relatively small number of students identified as SPED throughout the Little Rock area public school system, and the small number switching between public school sectors, we do not focus on changes in SPED student enrollment changes between sectors in our analyses.

Figure 3: Student Special Program Participation in the Little Rock Area, by Public School Sector, 2008-09, 2014-15 and Percent Change
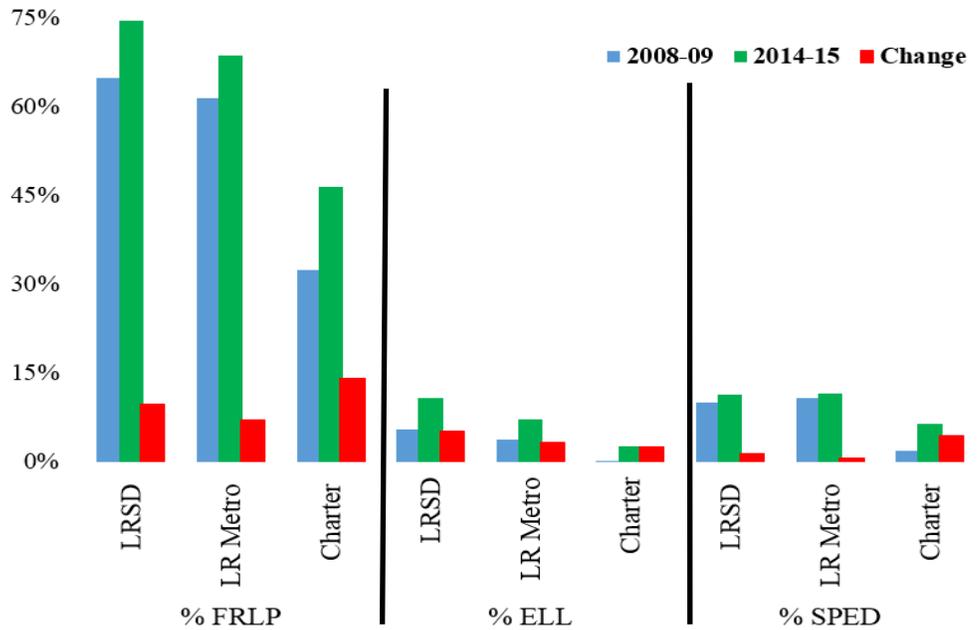
Conclusion

Little Rock School District and other traditional public schools in the Little Rock Metro Area enroll greater shares of black students and students qualifying for free or reduced price lunch than do area charter schools. Over time, however, the share of black students in charters has increased, while the share of black students in TPSs has decreased. Although the percentage of FRL students has increased across all public school sectors in the Little Rock area, the percentage of FRL students has increased more rapidly in charters. This trend is encouraging for those of us hoping to see increased integration in all schools in the Little Rock education system. While it is clear that significant differences in racial composition exist between sectors in the Little Rock area, this level of aggregation does not allow us to determine whether levels of integration within schools have increased or decreased over time, or how student transfers between sectors impact the level of integration of either the schools they leave or the schools they enter. To do this, we must dig deeper into the data and look at student-level data of the students who are choosing to transfer between public school sectors in the Little Rock area. The issues related to integration and segregation will be studied in forthcoming policy briefs and Arkansas Education Reports.

For more information about integration in the Little Rock school system, please read our upcoming policy briefs in the series:

• Who switches sectors? Demographic and academic characteristics of students voluntarily moving between charters and traditional public schools

• What about the schools? School–level changes in demographics and academics in schools affected by student movement.

• Integration or segregation? The impact of individual student-level moves on school-level integration.

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Integration in the Little Rock Area: Part 2
Disproportionalities Among Student Movers

- About **2%** of LRSD students move to charters annually.

- About **6%** of LRSD students move to other school districts annually.

- About **6%** of LRSD students leave Arkansas' public system entirely each year, excluding those who graduate.

- Students who switch between TPSs and charters generally are **academically similar** to other students in the school that they left.

- Black students are slightly **underrepresented** in transfers from TPSs to charters.

- FRL students were **underrepresented** among students transferring from TPSs to charters.

- Black and FRL students were **underrepresented** among students exiting the public school system.

School integration has been a contentious policy issue in Little Rock since the 1950s. Recent charter expansions have raised questions about the current level of integration in public schools (charter and traditional) in the Little Rock Area. As part of our series on integration in Little Rock, this brief examines the demographics and academic performance of students switching between public school sectors, and disproportionate representation of certain students among sector switchers.

Introduction

In this brief, we examine students who choose to transfer between traditional public schools and public charter schools in the Little Rock area.. We compare the demographic characteristics of those who switch to the demographics of the public system as a whole. We also compare students' academic achievement to the school they leave. In this way, we can examine whether movers are disproportionately likely to belong to a particular demographic group, and whether students who switch sectors are more likely to be high performing, low performing, or on par with their peers.

When we examine racial integration in this brief, we focus on black and white students. We understand that the representation of Asian American, Native American, Latino/a, multiracial, and other students of color are of interest to many, and are important subjects of future study. We focus here on black and white students for the sake of brevity and because they represent the majority of students in the Little Rock area school system.

The data used in this analysis are from the Arkansas Department of Education, and racial indicators come from paperwork submitted by parents when students first enroll at a school. More in-depth information about the data and analyses can be found in the Arkansas Education Report.

Table 1 presents student demographics by sector and location in the Little Rock area for 2008-09 through 2014-15. LRSD represents students enrolled in the Little Rock School District, while LR Metro includes LRSD students as well as students enrolled

Table 1: Demographics of Little Rock Area Students, by Public School Sector, 2008-09 to 2014-15

		2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15
% Black	LRSD	68%	68%	67%	67%	66%	66%	66%
	LR Metro	58%	58%	57%	57%	57%	57%	57%
	Charter	40%	40%	46%	46%	47%	47%	46%
% White	LRSD	22%	22%	21%	20%	19%	19%	18%
	LR Metro	34%	33%	32%	32%	31%	30%	29%
	Charter	47%	47%	40%	40%	38%	37%	37%
% FRL	LRSD	65%	70%	70%	71%	72%	63%*	75%
	LR Metro	62%	65%	66%	65%	67%	61%*	69%
	Charter	32%	35%	40%	44%	46%	46%	47%

*Note: While 2013-14 %FRL values are surprisingly low for LRSD and , therefore, LR Metro, these values were reported by the ADE Data Center.

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in Pulaski County Special School District (PCSSD) and North Little Rock School District (NLRSD). Charter includes students enrolled in public charter schools in the Little Rock area: Academics Plus, College Prep Academy, Covenant Keepers, eStem , Exalt Academy, Flightline Upper Academy, Jacksonville Lighthouse, Lisa Academy, Lisa Academy North, Little Rock Prep, Premier High, Quest High, and SIAtech High. It is important to remember that Charter schools differ from traditional public schools because students are not required to live in a certain geographic area to enroll. Even though a charter may be located within the boundary for a particular school district, all students are eligible to attend.

Table 1 highlights the changing enrollment in the LR Metro Area public schools; decreasing white enrollment, and increasing percentages of students eligible for Free/Reduced Lunch (FRL) in TPSs and charters. Black enrollment has been consistent in TPSs and increasing in charters. For more information about the changes over time in enrollment in the Little Rock area, refer to the first policy brief in our series or the full Arkansas Education Report. The earlier brief and table 1 are the foundation for the following analyses, in which we compare the demographics of students switching between sectors to the demographics of the sector they left. Table 1 is the reference to determine how representative students who switch are of the sector as a whole, or if particular groups of students are over– or under-represented.

We also examine the academic performance of students who switch sectors compared to the school that they exited. Academic performance is measured as a student's average standardized score on state math, literacy, and science exams. The academic performance of the school the student is exiting is measured by the weighted average standardized score on the same exams. Scores are standardized across the state population of test takers, within year, grade, and subject to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. Such scores, called Z scores, enable the comparison of scores across subjects, grades, and years. Students performing above the state average will have a positive score, and students performing below the state average will have a negative score. Similarly, schools where students, on average, perform above the state performance will have a positive score, while schools with students that perform, on average, below the state average will have a negative score. By comparing the scores of the students to the schools they are exiting, we can determine if students who are switching are academically higher (indicated by positive Assessment diff values), lower (indicated by negative Assessment values) or about the same (indicated by Assessment values near 0) as students at the school that they exited.

We examine the demographics and academic performance for students exiting LRSD, LR Metro and Charter schools in the Little Rock area to identify if certain types of students are exiting more than would be expected based on enrollment.

Students Exiting Little Rock School District

Figure 1 illustrates LRSD student movement between the 2013-14 and 2014-15 school years. Students who graduated are excluded from the calculations, and the patterns are representative of all years examined. As shown in the pie chart, 85% of students enrolled in LRSD in fall 2013 remained in LRSD in fall 2014. Students transferring from LRSD to charters represented the smallest share of student switchers, at 2% of the LRSD student body. Six percent (6%) of students from LRSD transferred to other public school districts in the state, with 3% attending other TPSs in the Little Rock Metro area and 3% moving to other districts throughout the state. At 7%, the largest group of students leaving LRSD were those who left the public school system entirely. These students left for private school, homeschool, schools in another state, no school (dropped out). Students could also have passed away or been incarcerated.

Table 2 outlines the demographics, socio-economic status and academic performance of LRSD students overall and of students transferring out of LRSD for other schooling options. Socio-economic status is measured by Free and Reduced Lunch eligibility (FRL), and academic performance is measured by the average standardized exam score in math, reading, and science. We include the information for LRSD overall to allow examination of disproportionate representation of students among transfers.

Figure 1: LRSD Student Enrollment Decisions, 2013-14 to 2014-15

85% of LRSD students remained in LRSD

■ 2% To Charters	■ 3% To PCCSS, NLRSD
■ 3% To Other AR	■ 7% Leave Public System
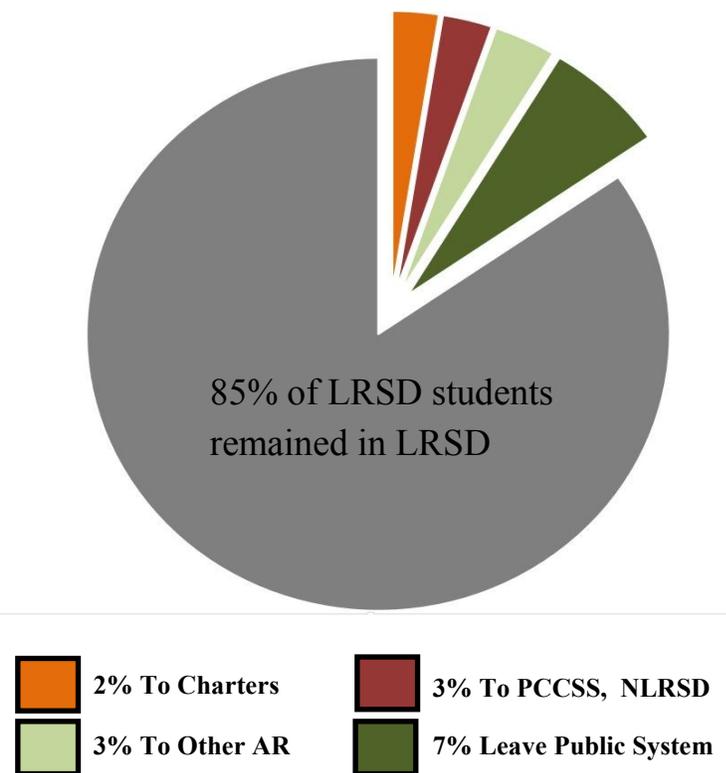
LRSD to Charters

We begin by examining student transfers from the Little Rock School District (LRSD) to charters in the Little Rock area. As can be seen in Table 2, in 2009 about 68% of LRSD students were black, while only about 58% of students moving from LRSD to charters were black. This means that black students were underrepresented among student switchers by 10 percentage points in 2009. In 2012, however, black students were slightly overrepresented among students transferring to charters from LRSD. Over the years examined, black students were underrepresented in LRSD transferring to charters by about 3 percentage points.

White students were proportionately represented among students moving from LRSD to area charters. Across the seven years examined, 20% of LRSD students were white, as were 19% of students moving from LRSD to charters.

FRL students have been underrepresented among students transferring to charters from LRSD in all years examined. In 2009, FRL students were underrepresented among students switching from LRSD to charters by over 7percentage points. In 2014, 75% of LRSD students were on FRL, as were 65% of students transferring from LRSD to charters. Over the years examined, FRL students were underrepresented by about 8 percentage points across all years of analysis.

Table 2: Demographic and Academic Information for Students Exiting Little Rock School District, 2009-2014

		Move 2009	Move 2014	Total Movers 2009-2014
All LRSD	N	25,760	25,078	**177,520**
	% Black	68%	66%	**67%**
	% White	22%	18%	**20%**
	% FRL	65%	75%	**69%**
LRSD to Charter	N	310	562	**2,710**
	% Black	58%	61%	**64%**
	% White	26%	19%	**19%**
	% FRL	58%	65%	**61%**
	Assessment diff	0.12	-0.04	**0.03**
LRSD to Other LR Metro	N	891	754	**4,874**
	% Black	81%	79%	**80%**
	% White	16%	15%	**15%**
	% FRL	72%	79%	**75%**
	Assessment diff	-0.22	-0.19	**-0.20**
LRSD to Other AR Public	N	612	604	**3,886**
	% Black	60%	64%	**62%**
	% White	22%	19%	**21%**
	% FRL	75%	79%	**77%**
	Assessment diff	0.02	-0.05	**0.01**
LRSD to Out-of-system	N	1,689	1,484	**9,482**
	% Black	62%	55%	**59%**
	% White	24%	26%	**27%**
	% FRL	62%	54%	**64%**
	Assessment diff	-0.05	-0.02	**0.03**

Students switching from LRSD to charters tend to perform at about the same level as the students who remain in the school they exited. We compare student switchers' average standardized exam score in math, reading, and science with the school's standardized exam scores in math, reading, and science for all years examined. Overall, students switching from LRSD to charters scored slightly above the rest of their school before they transferred to a charter (0.03 standard deviations).

LRSD to Other LR Metro (NLRSD, PCSSD)

Black students were consistently overrepresented among students switching to NLRSD or PCSSD by over ten percentage points. In 2009, 68% of LRSD students were black, as were 81% of students transferring from LRSD to North Little Rock (NLRSD) or Pulaski County Special School Districts (PCSSD). Over the years examined, black students were overrepresented in LRSD transferring to other LR Metro school districts by about 13 percentage points.

White students were slightly underrepresented among students moving from LRSD to other TPSs in the Little Rock Metro area. Across all years examined, 20% of LRSD students were white, while 15% of students moving from LRSD to NLRSD or PCSSD were white.

FRL students were overrepresented by 6 percentage points among students transferring to LR Metro from LRSD. In most years, the difference was small, although there was a large gap of 18 percentage points in 2013-14, perhaps an impact of unusually low FRL rates in LRSD.

Students switching from LRSD to other traditional public school districts in the LR Metro Area performed slightly below their peers, on average scoring 0.20 standard deviations below their school on a combined math, reading, and literacy score for the years examined.

LRSD to Other Arkansas Public Schools

Many students exit LRSD and transfer to another public school outside of the Little Rock Metro area. Although black students are underrepresented by 5 points over the years examined, the representation of black students among switchers going from LRSD to other areas of the state has increased over time.

White students were proportionately represented among students moving from LRSD to other areas of the state in the years examined.

The share of FRL students transferring from LRSD to other public schools in the state was 8 percentage points larger than we would have expected given the demographics of LRSD in that year.

Academically, student switchers in this group are about on par with their peers, scoring virtually identically to their school's average on a combined measure of math, reading, and science scores.

LRSD to Out-of-System (Largest Group)

Students in this group have either moved out-of-state, gone to a private school, begun homeschooling, been incarcerated, or passed away. Black students were underrepresented among this group of students by 8 percentage points over the years examined. The share of black students switching from LRSD to out of the state's public school options was substantially lower than we would have expected given their share of the LRSD student body.

White students were slightly overrepresented among students leaving the Arkansas public school system from LRSD. Across all years examined, 20% of LRSD students were white, while 27% of students leaving the Arkansas public school system were white.

FRL students were also generally underrepresented among students in this group, although the gap was smaller for FRL students than for black students. In FRL students were underrepresented by over 20 percentage points.

Academically, students switching out of the system were average achievers in the schools they left. Across all years, switchers were on average performing about 0.03 standard deviations above the rest of their school when they chose to leave.

Students Exiting Little Rock Metro TPSs

Figure 2 shows the enrollment choices made by students who attended any of the three Little Rock Metro area TPSs (LRSD, NLRSD, and PCSSD) between the 2013-14 and 2014-15 school years, identified as Movers 2014. If students move between the TPSs, for example LRSD and PCSSD, we identify them as a Stay in LR Metro do not switch sector so are Students who graduated are excluded from the calculations, and the patterns are representative of all years examined. Again, the vast majority of students stay in

Figure 2: LR Metro Traditional Public School Student Enrollment Decisions, 2013-14 to 2014-15

87% of LR Metro TPS students remained in LR Metro TPS

■ 1% To Conway, Cabot, Bryant　　■ 2% To Other AR

■ 3% To Charters　　■ 7% Leave Public System
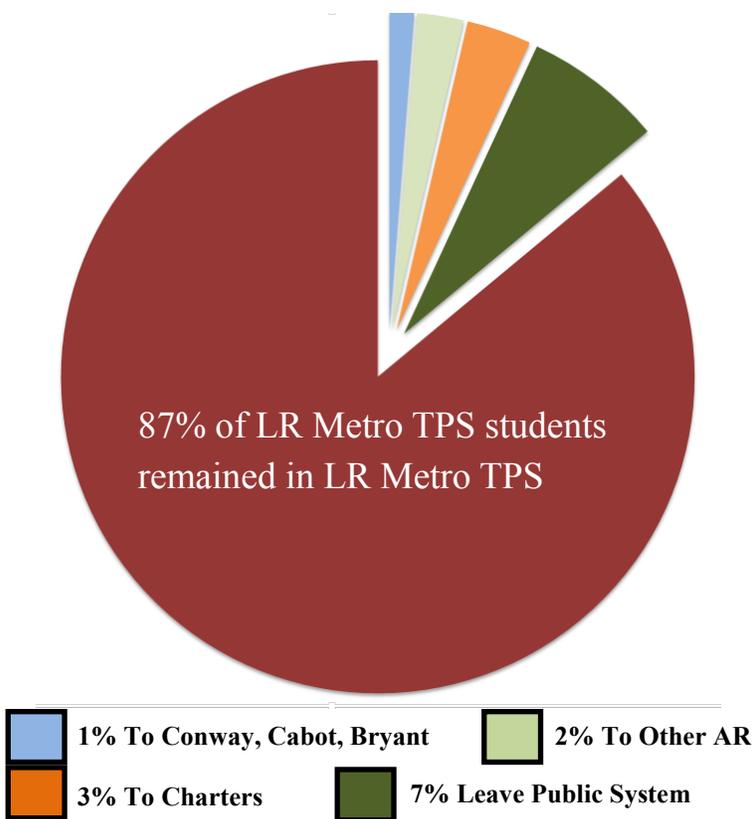
TPSs—about 87% of students in this case. Only 3% of students transfer from LR Metro Area TPSs to charters, while 7% of students leave LR Metro Area TPSs and exit Arkansas' public school system completely.

Table 3 illustrates the outlines the demographics, socio-economic status and academic performance of students transferring out of the LR Metro Area (LRSD, NLRSD, and PCSSD). We also see how switchers from the LR Metro Area compare to the LR Metro demographics and achievement overall. Students leaving the LR Metro Area for surrounding districts or for options outside the Arkansas public school system were racially and socioeconomically similar to switchers overall, but students switching from LR Metro Area TPSs to charters or other schools in the state were more likely to be black or qualify for FRL.

LR Metro to Charters

There is no clear pattern in the representation of black students among switchers from the LR Metro Area to charters over this time. In some years black students are overrepresented and in others they are underrepresented. On average for the years examined, however, black students are equally represented in those switching from LR Metro Area TPSs to charters.

White students were proportionately represented among students transferring from Little Rock Metro Area TPSs to charters over the years examined.

Table 3: Demographic and Academic Information for Students Exiting Little Rock Metro TPSs, 2009-2014

		Move 2009	Move 2014	Total Movers 2009-2014
All LR Metro	N	53,261	51,881	**365,965**
	% Black	58%	57%	**57%**
	% White	34%	29%	**31%**
	% FRL	62%	61%	**64%**
LR Metro to Charter	N	778	1,066	**5,365**
	% Black	50%	53%	**56%**
	% White	39%	28%	**29%**
	% FRL	50%	58%	**55%**
	Assessment diff	0.20	-0.01	**0.03**
LR Metro to Conway, Cabot, Bryant	N	518	578	**3,498**
	% Black	26%	38%	**35%**
	% White	63%	53%	**57%**
	% FRL	59%	67%	**62%**
	Assessment diff	0.06	0.07	**0.08**
LR Metro to Other AR Public	N	1,053	1,091	**6,625**
	% Black	48%	46%	**46%**
	% White	34%	32%	**33%**
	% FRL	74%	78%	**76%**
	Assessment diff	-0.02	-0.04	**-0.04**
LR Metro to Out-of-system	N	3,742	3,279	**21,124**
	% Black	52%	47%	**49%**
	% White	36%	36%	**37%**
	% FRL	57%	55%	**59%**
	Assessment diff	-0.07	0.00	**-0.02**

FRL students were consistently and substantially underrepresented among students switching from LR Metro Area TPSs to charters in this time. In 2009, FRL students were underrepresented by about 15 percentage points, and were still underrepresented by over 11 percentage points in 2014.

Students transferring from LR Metro Area TPSs to charters over this time were achieving at their school's average before they left. In 2009, students transferring to charters scored 0.20 standard deviations above their peers, while in 2014 they slightly underperformed relative to their peers. Overall, switchers were an average 0.03 standard deviations above their school's performance.

LR Metro to Surrounding Districts

In 2009, 58% of students in LR Metro Area TPSs were black, but only 26% of students transferring from LR Metro Area TPSs to surrounding districts (Conway, Cabot, Bryant) in that year were black. Black students were underrepresented among this group of students by 32 percentage points. This gap decreased slightly over time, but remains substantial.

White students were highly overrepresented among students transferring from Little Rock Metro Area TPSs to surrounding districts. Across the years examined, 31% of Little Rock Metro Area TPS students were white, while 57% of students transferring to Bryant, Cabot, or Conway were white.

FRL students were overrepresented among students switching from LR Metro Area TPSs to surrounding districts in the years examined, but not as significantly as black students. In 2010, FRL students were underrepresented by 6 percentage points, while in 2014 FRL students were underrepresented by just 2 percentage points.

Students switching to public schools around the LR Metro Area were academically similar to their peers when they left. Across the years examined, students leaving LR Metro Area TPSs for Bryan, Cabot, or Conway scored 0.08 standard deviations above their peers.

LR Metro to Other Arkansas Public Schools

Black students were consistently underrepresented among students transferring from LR Metro Area TPSs to public schools in the state away from Little Rock by around 10 percentage points in each of the years examined year.

White students were generally proportionately represented among students transferring from LR Metro AreaTPSs to other public schools in the state across all years examined.

FRL students were overrepresented among students transferring to other areas of the state from LR Metro Area TPSs. In 2009, 74% of students moving elsewhere in the state received FRL, while 65% of students in LR Metro Area TPSs were on FRL. In 2014, that gap decreased slightly to about 10 percentage points.

Students switching to public schools in other areas of the state were performing at their school's average when they chose to switch sectors. On average, across all years examined, students leaving LR Metro Area TPSs for other public schools in the state were 0.04 standard deviations below their peers, an insubstantial difference.

LR Metro to Out-of-System (Largest Group)

Similar to what we saw when considering students coming from LRSD, black students were underrepresented by about 6 percentage points among students exiting the ArkansasAR public school system entirely in 2009. In 2014, black students were underrepresented by just over 10 percentage points.

Across all years examined, white students were overrepresented among students exiting the Arkansas public school system completely from Little Rock Metro Area TPSs by 6 percentage points.

FRL students were consistently underrepresented among this group of switchers, but the gap varied over time. In 2009, FRL students were underrepresented by 8 percentage points, while in 2013 FRL students were proportionately represented among students exiting the Arkansas public school system entirely from the LR Metro Area. In 2014, however, this discrepancy shot up, with FRL students 13 percentage points underrepresented among student switchers from LR Metro Area TPSs to options outside of the Arkansas public school system.

Academically, students leaving the LR Metro Area for educational options beyond the Arkansas public school system were roughly on par with their peers in the school they exited. Switchers were 0.02 standard deviations below their school average across all years examined.

Students Exiting Charter Schools

Figure 3 presents the enrollment choices that students in Little Rock area charter schools made between the 2013-14 and 2014-15 school years. About 79% of students remained in LR charters in 2014-15, while about 5% transferred to LRSD. A large share—8%—left the Arkansas public school system completely.

Figure 3: LR Area Charter Student Enrollment Decisions, 2013-14 to 2014-15

79% of Charter students remained in Charters

- 3% To Other AR
- 5% To LRSD
- 5% To PCCSS, NLR
- 8% Leave Public System
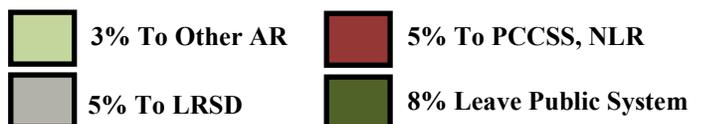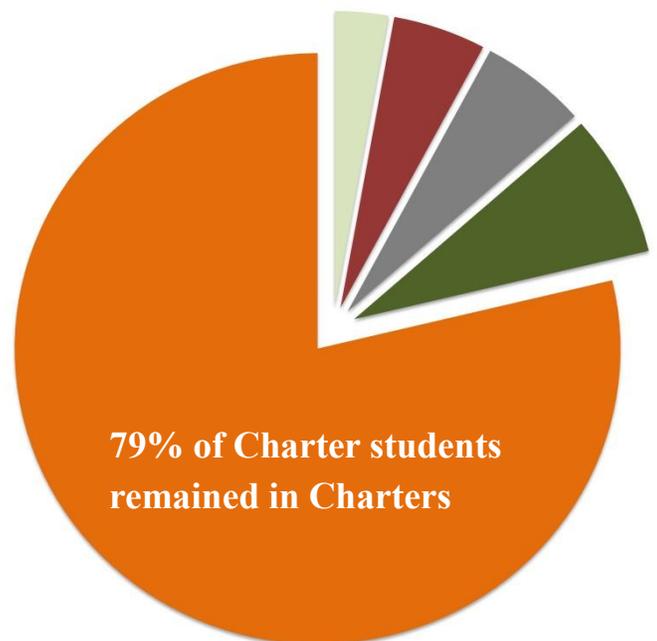
Table 4 presents the demographics of students who chose to leave LR area charter schools for various other options, including LRSD and LR Metro Area TPSs. We compare these demographics to the demographics of the charter sector as a whole to determine whether particular demographic groups were over– or underrepresented among switchers. We also compare students switching from LR charters to all movers during this time. Students switching from charters to LRSD and LR Metro Area TPSs were morel likely to be black than all movers, while students switching from charters to other areas of the state or out of the Arkansas public school system completely were less likely to be black. Students leaving charters for other options in the state or options beyond the public school system were also less likely to receive FRL. Students leaving charters for LR Metro Area TPSs received free or reduced price lunch at the same rate as all movers, while students switching from charters to LRSD were more likely to receive FRL.

Charters to LRSD

Black students were highly overrepresented among students transferring from charters to LRSD in each of the years examined. In 2009, black students were overrepresented among students switching from charters to LRSD by over 18 percentage points, and in 2011 black students were overrepresented by a substantial 26 percentage points. In 2014, this gap remained high at over 23 percentage points.

Table 4: Demographic and Academic Information for Students Exiting Little Rock Area Charters, 2009-2014

		Move 2009	Move 2014	Total Movers 2009-2014
All Charter	*N*	*2,119*	*5,084*	*28,761*
	% Black	40%	47%	**45%**
	% White	47%	37%	**37%**
	% FRL	32%	46%	**43%**
Charter to LRSD	*N*	*168*	*274*	*1,489*
	% Black	58%	69%	**66%**
	% White	32%	14%	**18%**
	% FRL	54%	63%	**57%**
	Assessment diff	-0.15	0.08	**-0.11**
Charter to LR Metro	*N*	*296*	*513*	*2,716*
	% Black	56%	63%	**61%**
	% White	37%	24%	**28%**
	% FRL	46%	58%	**53%**
	Assessment diff	-0.24	-0.04	**-0.16**
Charter to Other AR Public	*N*	*43*	*137*	*613*
	% Black	16%	33%	**33%**
	% White	79%	53%	**57%**
	% FRL	37%	52%	**45%**
	Assessment diff	-0.02	0.03	**0.01**
Charter to Out-of-system	*N*	*183*	*375*	*1,759*
	% Black	32%	38%	**41%**
	% White	47%	41%	**40%**
	% FRL	22%	51%	**47%**
	Assessment diff	-0.07	0.16	**0.02**

White students were consistently underrepresented among students moving from Little Rock charters to LRSD in all years examined, generally by over 20 percentage points. Across the years examined, 40% of charter students were white, but only 18% of students transferring from charters to LRSD were white.

FRL students were also highly overrepresented among students moving from charters to LRSD in the years examined. FRL students were overrepresented among switchers by 8 percentage points in 2013, and in all other years were overrepresented by over 10 percentage points among students switching from charters to LRSD.

Academically, students switching from charters to LRSD were performing slightly below their peers in the year they decided to move. Across the years examined, students switching from charters to LRSD scored 0.11 standard deviations below their peers.

Charters to LR Metro

The patterns among students switching from charters to TPSs in the LR Metro Area are similar to those among students switching from charters to LRSD. In all years except 2010, black students were overrepresented among switchers by 14-19 percentage points. In 2010, black students were overrepresented by 3 percentage points.

White students were underrepresented among students leaving charters for Little Rock Metro Area TPSs in each year examined, typically by over 10 percentage points. Across all years examined, white students were underrepresented by 12 percentage points.

FRL students were also overrepresented among students transferring to TPSs in the LR Metro Area. FRL students comprised a disproportionately higher share of switchers than charter enrollees by 5-11 percentage points in each of the years examined in this analysis.

Academically, switchers were slightly below their peers, performing about 0.16 standard deviations below their peers across the years examined.

Charters to Other Arkansas Public

Black students were underrepresented among students switching to other public school options out of the LR area charters in the years examined. In 2009, black students were underrepresented among students leaving the LR area for school by 24 percentage points. In 2015, that disproportionality had decreased by almost half, with black students underrepresented by 13 percentage points.

White students were consistently overrepresented among students leaving Little Rock charters for other public districts in the state. Across all years examined, 57% of students moving from charters to other areas of the state were white, despite only 40% of charter students being white.

FRL students were close to proportionately represented among students leaving charters for other public options in the state, and were overrepresented among switchers by 2 percentage points in 2010 and les than 1 percentage point in 2013. In 2014, however, FRL students were overrepresented in this group by 5 percentage points.

Students switching from area charters to other parts of the state were academically similar to their peers in the years examined. Across all years, switchers were on average just 0.02 standard deviations above their peers.

Charters to Out-of-System (Largest Group)

Black students were generally underrepresented among students leaving the Arkansas public school system altogether in the years examined, although the differences range from less than 1 percentage in 2013 to 11 percentage points in 2010. In 2014, black students were underrepresented by 8 percentage points among this group.

There is no consistent pattern of over– or under– representation of white students transferring from Little Rock charters to options outside the Arkansas public school system. Across the years examined, 40% of charter students were white, and 40% of students leaving the state public school system from charters were white.

FRL students were underrepresented among students exiting the Arkansas public school system from LR charters in 2009-2011, but were overrepresented among this group from 2012-2014. The gap ranged from less than 1 percentage point in 2010 from area charters to almost 14 percentage points in 2009.

Academically, students exiting the system entirely on average performed as well as their school, although in 2014 switchers were 0.16 standard deviations above their school on a combined measure of math, reading, and science.

Conclusion

The distribution of student movement in the Little Rock area school system was striking. Although a small percentage of students are leaving traditional public schools for area charters, a much larger percentage are leaving for non-public school options and for other traditional public schools. For example, an average of 6% of the LRSD student body leaves the state system entirely, and an additional 6% enroll in its student public schools in other areas of the state. Changes in enrollment and demographics in LRSD are driven more by the 12% of students leaving LRSD for these options than by the 2% of students leaving LRSD for charters.

Students who switch schools tend to be average performers compared to the school they are leaving. However, students who transfer from LR Metro Area TPSs to surrounding districts, and students who leave charters for either LRSD or LR Metro Area TPSs tend to score below their school peers.

Overall, black students were slightly underrepresented among students switching to charters from LRSD or LR Metro Area TPSs, but overrepresented among students making the opposite switch from charter to TPS. Black students from LRSD were disproportionately overrepresented among students transferring to other traditional public school districts in the Little Rock Metro Area, but black students from the metro area as a whole were underrepresented among students who transfer out of the system to nearby districts. Black students were underrepresented among students leaving Arkansas' school system completely.

Students eligible for Free/Reduced lunch were underrepresented among those transferring to charters from TPSs, but overrepresented among those switching from charters to TPSs. FRL students from LR Metro were overrepresented among those switching to other school systems in the state, although not to the ones nearest geographically. FRL students were underrepresented among TPS students who choose to leave the school system entirely, although FRL students from charters were slightly overrepresented. We do not yet know, however, whether these moves had an integrative or segregative impact on the LR system, because we are not taking into account the demographic composition of the school (not sector) each student is leaving and entering.

To continue our series on integration in the Little Rock school system, read our policy briefs on how voluntary student moves affect school-level measures of achievement and demographics, and whether voluntary student moves have an integrative or segregative impact on the schools affected. Also, be sure to read our blog discussing the challenges of studying integration in schools.

Integration in the Little Rock Area: Part 3
Where Do Students Move?

- Over **10,000** students transferred between Traditional Public Schools (TPSs) and charters in the Little Rock area in the past six years.

- All students moving into charters from TPSs enter schools with a **lower concentration of FRL** students.

- All students moving into TPSs from charters enter schools with a **higher concentration of FRL** students.

- There is **no evidence** that students transfer into schools with higher concentrations of students of the same race.

- Overall, students move into schools with **similar academic performance** as the schools that they exited. There is no clear pattern of differences in academic performance between the schools students transfer between.

Office for Education Policy

School integration has been a contentious policy issue in Little Rock since the 1950s. Recent charter expansions have raised questions about the current level of integration in public schools (charter and traditional) in the Little Rock Area. As part of our series on integration in Little Rock, this brief examines the differences in school-level demographics and academics between the schools students leave and the schools these students enter.

Introduction

In this brief, we address the question of whether, when students decide to transfer between sectors, they move to schools with student populations that are more or less similar to them. For example, we ask whether white students are more likely to transfer to schools with higher concentrations of white students, or whether students eligible for Free or Reduced Lunch (FRL) students are more likely to transfer to schools with higher concentrations of FRL-eligible students.

In our [first brief examining integration in Little Rock](#), we presented the changing demographics of the Little Rock School District (LRSD), the Little Rock Metro Area (LRSD, North LRSD, and Pulaski County Special School District), and Little Rock charters (Academics Plus, College Prep Academy, Covenant Keepers, eStem , Exalt Academy, Flightline Upper Academy, Jacksonville Lighthouse, Lisa Academy, Lisa Academy North, Little Rock Prep, Premier High, Quest High, and SI-Atech High). In our second brief, we examined the demographics of students who chose to switch between sectors and how their demographics compared to the sector they exit. We also examined how the academic performance of students who transferred between school sectors compared to the average performance of the school that they exited.

In the brief, we take the comparisons a step further. Instead of asking if students are moving to schools more like them, we assess the extent to which students are moving between school with different student demographics. Demographic comparisons are measured as the difference in percentage of students in a particular group between the schools. If students enter a school with a higher concentration of black students than the school they left, we characterize this as a positive change in the percent black of the student body. If students enter a school with a lower concentration of FRL students than the school they left, we characterize this as a negative change in the percent FRL.

We apply the same analysis to academic performance by determining whether students tend to transfer into schools with better, worse, or about equal academic performance. Each school's average academic performance is the weighted average standardized score on state math, literacy, and science exams. Student scores are standardized across the state population of test takers, within year, grade, and subject to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. Such scores, called Z scores, allow for the comparison of scores across subjects, grades, and years. Students performing above the state average will have a positive Z score, and students performing below the state average will have a negative Z score. Similarly, schools where students, on average, perform above the state performance will have a positive Z score, while schools with students that perform, on average, below the state average will have a negative Z score.

By comparing the Z scores of the schools, we can see if students are switching to higher or lower performing schools, or to schools that are about the same as the school that they exited.

From Little Rock School District to Area Charters

Table 1 illustrates the changes experienced by the students who switched from LRSD to area charters in each year examined. We present the change in the percent of black, white, and FRL students from their old school to their new school, and the change in average academic performance from their old school to their new school.

Black Students

The top panel in Table 1 shows the difference between the LRSD schools that the 1,733 black students transferred out of and the area charters that they transferred into. The top row (row 1) shows the difference in the percentage of black students enrolled at the TPS and charter. Negative numbers indicate that the student transferred into a charter school where black students comprised a smaller share of the student body, while positive numbers indicate that the student transferred into a charter school where black students comprised a greater share of the student body than they had at the traditional public school (TPS) they left. The change was not consistent over time. In 2009, black students transferred into charter schools where (on average) black students comprised a 3.1 percentage point smaller share of the student body than they had in the school they left. For example, if a black student was enrolled in an LRSD school with 100 students, and 50 of those students were black, then on average in 2009 they would have transferred into a charter of 100 students where only about 47 were black. In 2010, however, this dynamic was reversed, and black students on average transferred into charters where the share of black students enrolled was 3.6 percentage points higher than it had been in the TPS they exited. In 2011-2014, black students transferring from LRSD to area charters entered schools where the share of black students enrolled was less than the share of black students enrolled at the school they exited. In 2011, the difference was 10.3 percentage points, the largest difference in the years examined. The difference was similar in 2014, when black students transferred into charters where on average black students comprised a 9.1 percentage point smaller share of the student body than they had in the TPS students exited.

We also examine the difference in the concentration of students receiving free or reduced price lunch (FRL) between the TPSs black students exited and the area charters black students entered between 2009 and 2014. As can be seen in row 2, In all years, black students tended to transfer into charters with a smaller share of students receiving FRL than there had been in the

TPSs they exited. This difference was over 10 percentage points between 2009 and 2013, and dropped to just below 7 percentage points in 2014. In other words, if a black student transferred from a TPS of 100 students in 2014 where 60 students received FRL and entered a charter school of 100 students, about 53 of the students at the charter would receive free or reduced price lunch.

Finally, we examine the change in school academic performance experienced by black students transferring from LRSD schools to area charters over this time. As can be seen in row 3, the difference in academic achievement was slight in all years examined. In 2009 and 2010 black students transferred into charters that on average performance 1/10 of a standard deviation above the TPSs the students exited, while in 2011 and 2012 the academic performance was unchanged between the TPS and charter. In 2013 black students entered charters that on average were performing 0.2 standard deviations below the TPSs they exited, while in 2014 that difference again disappeared. There is no clear pattern of academic differences between the charters black students entered and the TPSs black students exited over this time.

White Students

We next examine the changes in demographics and academics experienced by the 523 white students transferring from schools in LRSD to area charters. The second panel of Table 1 summarizes these changes. In row 4, we see the average change in the percent of white students in the student body between the TPSs students exited and the charters students entered over this time. There is considerable variation between years in the differences between TPSs and charters. In 2009, white students entered charters where on average white students represented a 6 percentage point larger share of the student body than they had in the TPSs students exited. In 2010-2013, white students entered charters where on average white students represented a slightly smaller share of the student body than they had in the schools students exited. In 2014, however, this trend reversed itself, and white students on average entered charters where the percent of white students in the student body was 8.4 percentage points higher.

Similar to changes in FRL concentration experienced by black students transferring from LRSD schools to charters from 2009 to 2014, white students in all years transferred into charters that enrolled a substantially lower percentage of FRL students than had the LRSD schools white students exited. As can be seen in row 5, the difference was well over 10 percentage points in all years.

Table 1: Differences in School Demographics and Academic Performance for Students Moving from Little Rock School District to Area Charter Schools, 2010-2015

	Row	School Demographics	Move 2009	Move 2010	Move 2011	Move 2012	Move 2013	Move 2014
Black Students (Total n=1,733)	1	Change in % Black	-3.1	3.6	-10.3	-8.1	-3.1	-9.1
	2	Change in % FRL	-10.1	-15.5	-17.9	-18.7	-14.4	-6.7
	3	Change in Avg. Z (test score)	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	-0.2	0.0
White Students (Total n=523)	4	Change in % White	6.2	-2.1	-1.5	-1.0	-2.7	8.4
	5	Change in % FRL	-20.6	-18.4	-15.0	-18.2	-12.9	-22.2
	6	Change in Avg. Z (test score)	0.2	0.0	-0.1	0.0	-0.1	-0.2
FRL Students (Total n=1,662)	7	Change in % White	1.7	-2.4	3.7	2.2	0.0	4.5
	8	Change in % FRL	-12.1	-15.7	-16.6	-18.7	-15.5	0.3
	9	Change in Avg. Z (test score)	0.1	0.1	-0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0

Finally, we examine the change in academic performance experienced by white students transferring from LRSD schools to area charters between 2009 and 2014. The differences are negligible in all years, and there is no clear pattern of white students consistently transferring into schools that are higher or lower performing than the LRSD TPSs that they exited.

FRL Students

The bottom panel of Table 1 presents the demographic and academic changes experienced by the 1,662 FRL students transferring from LRSD schools to area charters in 2009 through 2014. Row 7 shows the difference in the share of white students enrolled at the charter versus the TPS, where negative values indicate that the charter had a smaller share of white students than the TPS, and positive values indicate that the charter had a larger share of white students than the TPS. The differences in the racial composition between the TPSs FRL students exited and the charters FRL students entered were slight in all years examined, but tended to be slightly positive, indicating that FRL students transferred from LRSD into charters with a larger share of white students in the student body. In 2014, FRL students transferred into charters where white students on average comprised a 4.5 percentage point greater share than they had in the TPSs students exited.

Row 8 shows the change in the concentration of FRL students between the TPSs FRL students exited and the charters they entered. In the first 5 years of our analysis, FRL students entered charters where a substantially smaller share of the student body received FRL than in the TPSs students exited. In 2014, however, this difference was virtually gone, with FRL students transferring into charters with virtually the same percentage of FRL students in the study body.

Finally, we examine the academic difference between the TPSs FRL students exited and the area charters they entered between 2009 and 2014. As with black and white students, the differences are negligible. There is no evidence that FRL students consistently entered charter schools that were performing at a higher or lower level than the LRSD schools that they exited

From Area Charters to Little Rock School District

Table 2 presents the changes in school-level demographics and academics experienced by students transferring from LR Area charters into LRSD schools.

Black Students

The top three rows of Table 2 show the changes experienced by the 981 black students transferring from Little Rock Area charters to LRSD schools between 2009 and 2014. In all years except 2011, students transferred into TPSs with a larger share of black students than there had been in the charters students exited. However, the differences have been slight in the last three years, with black students moving from charters into LRSD schools with a similar racial composition.

The second row in Table 2 shows the difference in the share of students receiving FRL between the charters black students exited and the TPSs they entered between 2009 and 2014. In all years black students entered schools with a substantially greater concentration of FRL students than had been enrolled in the school they exited. The charters black students exited served a more economically advantaged student population than did the TPSs black students entered.

The third row shows the difference in academic achievement between the charters black students exited and the LRSD schools black students entered from 2009 to 2014. There isn't a clear pattern of black students moving into higher or lower performing schools. In 2009 and 2011, black students transferred into TPSs that on average were slightly worse academically than the charters students exited, while in 2010 and 2012-2014 black students transferred into schools that were slightly higher performing.

White Students

The middle panel of Table 2 shows the changes in school-level demographics and academic performance between the charters that 274 white students exited and the LRSD schools they entered between 2009 and 2014. In all years except 2010, white students entered TPSs that enrolled a smaller percentage of white students than had the charters students exited. In 2010, white students moved between schools with virtually the same racial composition.

As with black students, white students consistently transferred into TPSs with a greater share of FRL students than had been enrolled in the charters white students exited. These changes were substantial, and well over 10 percentage points in all 6 years examined.

Row 6 shows the academic differences between the charters white students exited and the TPSs they entered between 2009 and 2014. In 2009 and 2010, white students entered TPSs with

Table 2: Differences in School Demographics and Academic Performance for Students Moving from Area Little Rock Area Charter Schools to Little Rock School District, 2010-2015

	Row	**School Demographics**	**Move 2009**	**Move 2010**	**Move 2011**	**Move 2012**	**Move 2013**	**Move 2014**
Black Students (Total n=981)	*1*	Change in % Black	13.7	7.0	-9.2	2.2	2.8	1.3
	2	Change in % FRL	24.6	9.6	10.0	9.7	7.0	9.3
	3	Change in Avg. Z (test score)	-0.2	0.2	-0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3
White Students (Total n=274)	*4*	Change in % White	-10.5	1.4	-3.0	-12.6	-6.0	-4.0
	5	Change in % FRL	20.3	17.9	15.2	20.3	13.1	19.4
	6	Change in Avg. Z (test score)	-0.4	-0.3	0.0	-0.1	0.0	0.0
FRL Students (Total n=852)	*7*	Change in % White	-13.8	-3.3	4.1	2.5	-0.5	3.4
	8	Change in % FRL	26.7	8.8	10.3	8.7	11.3	7.6
	9	Change in Avg. Z (test score)	-0.3	0.0	-0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4

test scores that were 0.3-0.4 standard deviations worse than the charter schools they exited, but in all other years there was virtually no difference in academic achievement between the schools white students exited and entered.

FRL Students

Rows 7-9 show the school-level changes experienced by 852 FRL students transferring from charters to LRSD schools between 2009 and 2014. Row 7 shows the change in the percent of white students in the student body between the charters the FRL students left and the TPSs they entered. There is no consistent pattern of demographic change between charters and TPSs. In 2009, 2010, and 2013 FRL students transferred into TPSs with a smaller share of white students, while in 2011 and 2014 they transferred into TPSs with a larger share of white students. However, in all years except 2009, these difference were slight.

FRL students transferring from charters to LRSD schools consistently transferred into schools with a greater concentration of FRL students. This difference was substantial in each of the six years examined, and was generally around 10 percentage points.

There is no clear pattern of academic differences between the charter schools FRL students exited and the LRSD schools they entered from 2009 to 2014. In 2009, FRL students entered schools that were slightly worse academically than the charters they exited, while in 2014 FRL students entered TPSs that were slightly better academically than the charters they exited. Between 2010 and 2013, however, there was no difference in academic performance between the schools students exited and entered.

From Little Rock Metro to Area Charters

We now broaden our focus to the Little Rock Metro Area as a whole, which includes LRSD, PCSSD and NLRSD. We are still interested in the differences in demographics and academic performance between the schools students choose to exit and enter. Table 3 presents the school level differences between the LR Metro Area TPSs students exited and the area charters they entered between 2009 and 2014.

Black Students

The top panel of Table 2 shows the differences in school demographics and academic performance between the LR Metro TPSs black students exited and the area charters they entered between 2009 and 2014. The first row shows the difference in the share of black students enrolled in the study body. In all years except 2010, black students transferred into charters where on average black students comprised a smaller share of the student body than they had in the TPSs students exited. However, the magnitude of the difference is not consistent over time. In 2014, black students transferred into charters where black students represented a 6 percentage point smaller share of the student body than they had in the TPSs students exited.

The second row of Table 2 shows the difference in the percentage of FRL students enrolled in the charters black students entered compared to the TPSs black students exited. In all years, black students entered charters with a substantially lower concentration of FRL students.

The third row of Table 2 shows the academic differences experienced by students transferring from Little Rock Metro Area TPSs into area charters in the six years examined. There is no clear pattern of academic differences between the TPSs students exited and the charters they entered, and in all years the differences are less than 0.1 standard deviations.

White Students

Rows 4-6 show the difference between the TPSs white students exit and the charters they enter. Row 4 shows the demographic differences between the TPSs white students left and the charters they transferred into. There is no clear pattern of significant differences in racial composition between the sectors. In 2009, 2011, and 2014, white students moved into charters where on average white students comprised a larger share of the student body than they had in the TPSs they exited, while in 2010, 2011, and 2013 the opposite was true. Between 2009 and 2013 the difference was slight, although in 2014 white students transferred into charters where on average the share of white students was 6 percentage points greater than it had been in the TPSs they exited.

Row 5 indicates that white students consistently transferred into charters with a substantially smaller share of FRL students than had been enrolled in the TPSs white students exited. In 2014, 69% of LR Metro Area TPS students received FRL; a white student transferring from an average TPS entered a charter where about 50% of the students were receiving FRL.

Table 3: Differences in School Demographics and Academic Performance for Students Moving from Little Rock Metro Traditional Public Schools and Area Charter Schools, 2010-2015

	Row	School Demographics	Move 2009	Move 2010	Move 2011	Move 2012	Move 2013	Move 2014
Black Students (Total n=3,011)	1	Change in % Black	-2.7	5.7	-6.2	-4.0	-0.3	-6.2
	2	Change in % FRL	-15.2	-13.6	-15.3	-13.8	-11.2	-7.8
	3	Change in Avg. Z (test score)	0.1	0.1	-0.1	-0.0	-0.0	0.0
White Students (Total n=1,548)	4	Change in % White	3.8	-0.9	-1.1	1.2	-2.2	6.0
	5	Change in % FRL	-20.2	-17.4	-16.8	-13.8	-14.0	-19.4
	6	Change in Avg. Z (test score)	0.1	0.0	-0.0	0.1	0.1	-0.0
FRL Students (Total n=2,956)	7	Change in % White	0.9	-4.9	0.9	-0.5	-3.8	2.2
	8	Change in % FRL	-17.5	-14.8	-16.0	-14.5	-12.3	-5.9
	9	Change in Avg. Z (test score)	0.1	0.1	-0.0	-0.0	0.0	0.1

Finally, row 6 indicates that there is no substantial difference in the academic performance of the TPSs white students exited and the charters they entered between 2009 and 2014 in the Little Rock Metro Area.

FRL Students

The bottom three rows of Table 2 show the differences in demographics and academics between the TPSs FRL students exited and the area charters they entered between 2009 and 2014. Row 7 indicates that there was no substantial difference in the percent of white students in the student body between the TPSs they exited and the charters they entered during this time.

Row 8 indicates that, similar to changes experienced by black and white students, FRL students transferred into charters with a substantially lower share of FRL students than had been enrolled in the TPSs FRL students exited, although the difference appears to be decreasing slightly over time.

Row 9 indicates that there was no substantial difference in academic performance between the Little Rock Metro Area TPSs FRL students exited and the charters they entered during this time.

From Area Charters to Little Rock Metro

We last look at the demographic and academic differences between the Little Rock area charters that students exited and the Little Rock Metro TPSs they entered between 2009 and 2014. Table 4 illustrates these differences.

Black Students

The first row of Table 4 shows the differences in the percent of the student body that is black between the area charters that 1,650 black students exited and the Little Rock Metro Area TPSs that black students entered during this time. There is no consistent pattern of black students entering schools with a higher or lower concentration of black students, and from 2012-2014 the difference in racial composition has been negligible.

Row 2 indicates that black students consistently transfer into Little Rock Metro Area TPSs with a higher concentration of FRL students than had been in the charters black students exited between 2009 and 2014.

Row 3 indicates that in 4 of the 6 years examined, there was no substantial difference in the academic performance of the charters black students exited and the TPSs the entered during this time. However, in 2009 black students entered TPSs that were slightly lower performing than the charters they exited, while in 2014 black students entered TPSs that were slightly higher performing than the charters they exited.

White Students

Row 4 indicates that white students tended to transfer into TPSs where white students comprised a substantially smaller share of the student body than they had in the charters 758 white students exited in all years examined. In 2014, about 29% of students in LR Metro Area TPSs were white; if a white student had transferred from an average TPS to a charter, about 22% of students in the charter would have been white.

Consistent with the pattern we've observed throughout this brief, row 5 indicates that white students transferring to TPSs from charters entered schools where a much higher percentage of the student body received FRL. In 2014, the difference was just over 15 percentage points.

Finally, row 6 shows the differences in academic performance between the charters white students exited and the TPSs they entered during these 6 years. In all years white students entered TPSs that performed worse academically than the charters white students exited; this difference was about 0.1 standard deviations in most years examined. In 2014, white students entered TPSs that were just under 0.2 standard deviations worse academically than the charters they exited.

FRL Students

The last three rows of Table 4 show the differences in demographics and academic performance between the charters 1,430 FRL students exited and the Little Rock Metro Area TPSs they entered between 2009 and 2014. Row 7 shows no consistent pattern in the difference between the percent of white students enrolled in the charters FRL students exited and the TPSs they entered ruing this time. In 2009 and 2010, FRL students entered TPSs with a smaller share of white students than in the charters they exited, while in 2011-2014 FRL students entered TPSs with a greater share of white students than had been enrolled in the charters they exited. In 2014, FRL students entered TPSs where white students represented about 6 percentage points more of the student body than in the charters they exited.

Table 4: Differences in School Demographics and Academic Performance for Students Moving from Area Charter Schools to Little Rock Metro Traditional Public Schools, 2010-2015

	Row	School Demographics	Move 2009	Move 2010	Move 2011	Move 2012	Move 2013	Move 2014
Black Students (Total n=1,650)	1	Change in % Black	10.5	3.4	-12.8	0.5	-1.2	-1.9
	2	Change in % FRL	23.5	9.8	6.1	9.7	4.6	6.1
	3	Change in Average Z	-0.2	0.0	-0.0	0.1	0.1	0.2
White Students (Total n=758)	4	Change in % White	-11.3	-7.9	-5.2	-7.0	-7.5	-5.8
	5	Change in % FRL	21.4	21.3	15.8	15.8	13.5	15.1
	6	Change in Average Z	-0.3	-0.1	-0.0	-0.1	-0.1	-0.2
FRL Students (Total n=1,430)	7	Change in % White	-9.3	-1.4	8.6	4.2	3.2	6.2
	8	Change in % FRL	24.1	10.9	6.7	9.1	8.4	5.3
	9	Change in Average Z	-0.2	0.0	-0.0	0.1	0.1	0.3

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Row 8 continues the pattern that we've observed throughout this brief—when students transferred from charters to TPSs between 2009 and 2014, the percent of FRL students in the student body increased. In 2009, FRL students transferred into TPSs where the share of FRL students was 24 percentage points greater than it had been in the charters students exited, while in 2014 that difference had shrunk to about 5 percentage points.

Finally, we can examine the difference in academic performance between the charters FRL students exited and the LR Metro TPSs they entered during this time. The differences were not substantial between 2010 and 2013. In 2009, FRL students entered TPSs that were 0.2 standard deviations worse than the charters they exited, while in 2014 FRL students entered TPSs that were about 0.3 standard deviations better than the charters they had exited. Overall, however, the schools that FRL students exited had academic performance similar to the schools that they entered.

Conclusion

Table 5 presents a visual summary of the results of the analyses presented in this brief. The only consistent and striking pattern is the difference in the concentration of students receiving free or reduced price lunch between TPSs and charters students transferred between from 2009 and 2014. All students from LRSD and the Little Rock Metro Area entering charters moved into schools serving a substantially more economically advantaged population than the schools they exited. Conversely, all students exiting area charters and entering TPSs in LRSD and the Little Rock Metro Area moved into schools serving a substantially less economically advantaged student body. In 2014-15, for example, 47% of charter students were FRL, while 69% of LR Metro Area students were FRL, indicating the difference in economic advantage between the sectors.

There is no consistent pattern of differences in the racial composition between charters and TPSs students transferred between during the 6 years examined, although black students moving to area charters tended to be moving into schools with lower percentages of black students and white students transferring to charters from LR Metro TPSs tended to transfer into schools with higher percentages of white students. There is also no pattern of differences in the academic performance of the TPSs and charters that students transferred between during this time.

We have not yet addressed the question of whether student moves are helping to integrate or segregate the Little Rock Metro Area school system. Our next brief in this series will examine the current level of integration in Little Rock Metro Area schools, and our final brief will examine whether individual student moves serve to further integrate the system.

Table 5: Overall Patterns of Differences in School Demographics and Academic Performance for Students Moving between Sectors, 2010-2015

	School Demographics	TO CHARTERS		TO TPSs	
		LRSD to Charter	**LR Metro to Charter**	**Charter to LRSD**	**Charter to LR Metro**
Black Students (Total n= 7,375)	Change in % Black	↓	↓	▬	▬
	Change in % FRL	↓	↓	↑	↑
	Change in Average Z	▬	▬	↑	▬
White Students (Total n= 3,103)	Change in % White		↑	↑	↓
	Change in % FRL	↓	↓	↑	↑
	Change in Average Z	▬	▬	▬	▬
FRL Students (Total n= 6,900)	Change in % White	▬	▬	▬	↑
	Change in % FRL	↓	↓	↑	↑
	Change in Average Z	▬	▬	▬	▬

↑ = Increased overall ↓ = Decreased overall ▬ = No Change/ No Consistent Pattern

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

Integration in the Little Rock Area: Part 4
What Is The Current Level of Integration in Little Rock?

- **6%** of charter students, **5%** of LRMA TPS students, and **7%** of LRSD students attended **schools where 90% or more of students are of the same race.**

- **3%** of charter students, **18%** of LRMA TPS students, and **22%** of LRSD students attended schools **where 90% or more of students are eligible for Free/Reduced Lunch.**

- Fewer than 50% of students in any sector attended **racially integrated schools.**

- Fewer than 38% of students in any sector attended **socioeconomically integrated schools.**

- Public school students in the Little Rock Area are more likely to attend a racially integrated school than a socioeconomically integrated school.

School integration has been a contentious policy issue in Little Rock since the 1950s. Recent charter expansions have raised questions about the current level of integration in public schools (charter and traditional) in the Little Rock Area. As part of our series on integration in Little Rock, this brief examines the prevalence of hyper segregated white, black, and economically disadvantaged schools, and calculates the average difference between school demographics and the area's demographics.

Introduction

In our previous briefs, we examined patterns in enrollment and demographics in Little Rock Area charters and traditional public schools (TPSs), characteristics of student movers, and differences in school characteristics between the schools student exit and enter. With that foundation, we now turn to current levels of racial and socioeconomic integration in Little Rock Area charters and TPSs.

We focus on three measures of integration in this brief to describe the current level of integration in Little Rock Area public schools. There are many different ways to define integration, but we selected three that are reasonable for the Little Rock area: racially hyper-segregated schools, socioeconomically hyper-segregated schools, and schools that are integrated, or mirror the demographics of the community .

We begin by examining the percent of students who attend hyper-segregated schools, defined as schools where 90% or more of the students are the same race or are eligible for Free/Reduced price lunch. While this measure of segregation fails to consider the overall racial or socioeconomic composition of the broader community, we believe it is important to identify schools in which 90% of the students are similar.

Next, we examining the percent of students who attend integrated schools, defined as those with racial compositions that are similar to that of the community as a whole. Specifically, an integrated school is within a certain numerical range of the area's demographic composition.

Finally, we create a continuous integration measure by computing the difference between schools' demographic characteristics and the area's average demographic characteristics. This numerical "distance" is a measure of how integrated the school is, with smaller values representing schools more representative of the area's student population, and larger values indicating the school demographics are very different from the area's student population.

In this brief, as in previous briefs, we focus on racial and socioeconomic integration. Further, when we discuss racial integration we focus on black and white students.

Key Terms

Racially hyper-segregated: 90% or more of students enrolled in the school are of the same race.

Economically hyper-segregated: 90% or more of students enrolled in the school are eligible to receive Free/Reduced price lunch.

Integrated: The demographics of the students enrolled are similar to those of the public school students in the Little Rock Metro Area.

Office for Education Policy

Hyper-Segregated Schools

We begin by examining the percent of students who attended hyper-segregated public schools—charters and TPSs—in the Little Rock Metro Area (LRMA) between the 2008-09 and 2014-15 school years. A hyper-segregated school is defined as a school in which 90% or more of students are of the same race or socioeconomic status. We consider schools in which 90% or more of students are white, schools in which 90% or more of students are black, and schools in which 90% or more of students receive free or reduced price lunch (FRL). In this brief, as in our other briefs in this series, we use an indicator of whether or not a student receives free or reduced price lunch (FRL) as a proxy of economic disadvantage. There were no schools in the Little Rock Metro Area in which the share of students receiving FRL was fewer than 10%, so this category is omitted from analyses.

Figure 1 illustrates the number of public schools (traditional and charter) in LRMA by percentage of students that are black in 2014-15. The distribution is relatively normal, with few schools enrolling very low or very high percentages of black students. The four traditional public schools and one charter school in which 90% or greater of the students are enrolled are circled in Figure 1 and are identified as racially hyper-segregated. While we can identify that these five schools are hyper-segregated for this one year, further analysis is needed to determine if these schools have experienced the same demographic pattern in prior years and how many students are attending the identified schools.

Table 1 presents the percent of students in the Little Rock Metro Area enrolled in hyper-segregated schools in (2014-15) and across all years examined (2008-09 through 2014-15).

Figure 1: Number of Schools in the Little Rock Metro Area by Percent Black Enrollment, 2014-15 by Sector.
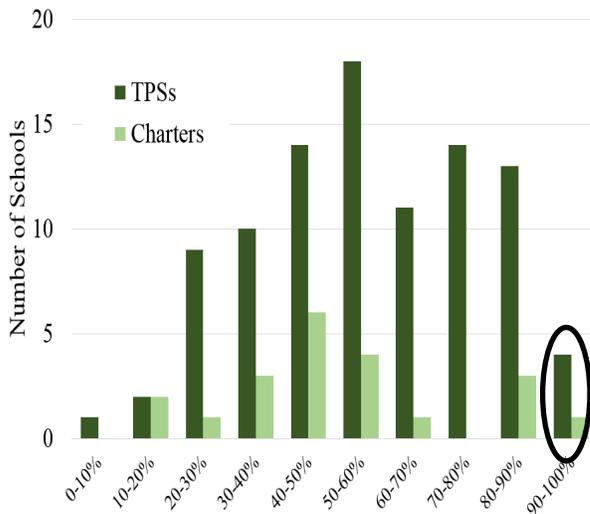
> **Racially hyper-segregated**: A similar percentage of charter school students and TPS students attended racially hyper-segregated schools.
>
> **Economically hyper-segregated**: A greater percentage of TPS students attended economically hyper-segregated schools.

Table 1 illustrates two main patterns. First, a similar percentage of charter school students and TPS students attended racially hyper-segregated schools during the years examined. In 2014-15, 4.4% of charter students attended a racially hyper-segregated school, as did 3.9% of TPS students in the Little Rock Metro Area (LRMA) and 5.6% of students in the Little Rock School District (LRSD). Across the years examined, 6.3% of charter students attended a racially hyper-segregated school, as did 5.0% of LRMA TPS students and 7.3% of LRSD students.

Second, a substantially higher percentage of students attended socioeconomically hyper-segregated schools (where 90% or more of students were receiving FRL), and there are significant differences between sectors when looking at socioeconomic segregation. In 2014-15, 11.6% of charter students attended socioeconomically hyper-segregated schools, while 21.5% of LRMA TPS students and 28.7% of LRSD students attended socioeconomically hyper-segregated schools. Across the years examined, 3.3% of charter students attended schools in which over 90% of students received FRL, while 17.7% of LRMA TPS and 22.4% of LRSD students attended such socioeconomically hyper-segregated schools. This is consistent with other analyses in our series on integration in the Little Rock Area: charters serve a less economically disadvantaged student population than TPSs in the Little Rock area.

Table 1: Percentage of Little Rock Area Students Enrolled in Hyper-Segregated Schools, 2008-2015 by Sector.

	2014-15			Total (2008 to 2015)		
	Charter	LRMA TPSs	LRSD TPSs	Charter	LRMA TPSs	LRSD TPSs
Racially Hyper-Segregated	4.4%	3.9%	5.6%	6.3%	5.0%	7.3%
Hyper Segregated: White	0.0%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%
Hyper-Segregated: Black	4.4%	3.4%	5.6%	6.3%	4.6%	7.3%
Socioeconomically Hyper-Segregated	11.6%	21.5%	28.7%	3.3%	17.7%	22.4%
Enrollment	5,709	51,055	24,725	28,761	365,965	177,520

Charters: Charters in the Little Rock Metro Area. **LRMA** TPSs: Traditional Public Schools in the Little Rock Metro Area (Little Rock School District, North Little Rock School District and Pulaski County Special School District). **LRSD** TPSs: Traditional Public Schools in the Little Rock School District

Note: For totals, schools are counted as hyper-segregated in each year that they are identified.

Our measure of hyper-segregated schools is useful because it creates clear distinctions between schools along a fixed criterion, and it is reasonable to think that if the student body within a school overwhelmingly lacks racial or socioeconomic diversity, it is segregated. This perspective does not consider, however, what schools can reasonably be expected to look like demographically, because it does not take into account the demographics of the area in which the school is located. For example, if a school is located in an area where 98% of residents are black, and 98% of the students in that school were black, then our measure would label that school hyper-segregated, while it is simultaneously perfectly representative of the community from which it could draw students.

In the next sections, we consider the extent to which schools in the Little Rock Metro Area are representative of the broader community.

Integrated Schools

To determine what percentage of students in each sector attends integrated schools, we needed to construct a quantifiable definition of integration. This requires that we set a reasonable comparison group against which to measure the demographics of public schools. *Is a school integrated if it reflects the demographics of the country? The state? The city? The neighborhoods surrounding the school?*

We set our comparison group as all students enrolled in public schools in the Little Rock Metro Area. This encompasses the area from which charter schools draw students, the students who could attend area TPSs, and is broad enough to transcend neighborhood-based residential segregation, which may reflect historic patterns of legal housing discrimination. We do not compare school demographics to the demographics of all individuals living in the Little Rock Metro Area, because some students choose to attend private schools or are homeschooled.

Once we've set a comparison group, we determine how closely a school needs to reflect the comparison group in order to be defined as "integrated"—are only those schools that perfectly match the area integrated, or can there be

slight differences between school demographics and area demographics? In this section, we set cut-offs for determining integration to examine discrete categories of integrated schools, but because these cut-offs are somewhat arbitrary, in the next section we examine a continuous measure of integration to relax our judgments about what an integrated school should look like.

Figure 2 illustrates the number of public schools (traditional and charter) in LRMA by percentage of students that are black in 2014-15. The distribution is relatively normal, and represent the LRMA average of 56% black enrollment. The traditional public schools and charter schools in which 41% to 71% of the students are black are circled in figure 2 and are identified as racially integrated. While we can identify that these are integrated for this one year, further analysis is needed to determine if these schools have experienced the same demographic pattern in prior years and how many students are attending the identified schools.

Table 2 shows the percentage of students in Little Rock Area charters, LRMA TPSs, and LRSD TPSs who attended integrated schools across all seven years examined in this analysis. We define integrated in as schools within 15 percentage points of the LRMA racial or socioeconomic average. In a separate analysis, we define integrated schools as schools within 10 percentage points of the LRMA racial or socioeconomic average; the results are generally similar.

The demographics of students enrolled in LRMA public schools changed each year; for example, in 2008-09, 58% of public school students in LRMA were black, while in 2014-15, about 56% of students in LRMA public schools were black. We calculated the percent of students in integrated schools for each sector for each year, then totaled the number of students in integrated schools across all years to determine the total percent of students in integrated schools across all seven years.

Racially Integrated Schools—% Black

Rows 1-2 in Table 2 show the percentage of charter and TPS students who were enrolled in schools where the percent of black students was similar to the percent of black students enrolled in the LRMA public school system overall. The first column shows Across the seven years examined, 49.8% of charter school students were in schools where the percent of black students in the student body was within 15 percentage points of the area average and 47 charter schools were identified as integrated across the seven years examined; in 2014-15, 6 charter schools were integrated. In 2014-15, about 56% of students in LRMA public schools were black, and 52.9% of charter students were in integrated schools, meaning more than half of charter students were in schools where 41-71% of students were black. In 2014-15, 10 charter schools were identified as integrated.

Figure 2: Number of Schools in the Little Rock Metro Area by Percent Black Enrollment, 2014-15 by Sector.
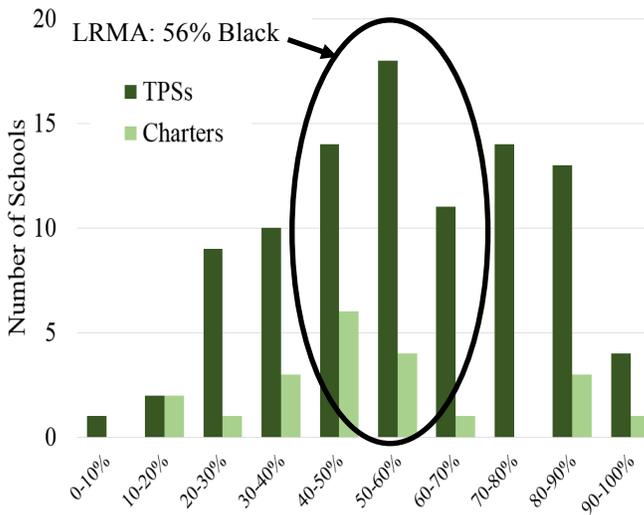
Table 2: Percentage of Students in Integrated Schools (+/- 15 percentage points of Little Rock Metro Area average), 2008-09 to 2014-15 by Sector.

	Row		Charters	LRMA TPSs	LRSD TPSs
Integrated-Black	1	% of students in +/- 15% schools	49.8%	47.0%	41.9%
	2	N of schools (schools repeat across years)	47	269	112
Integrated-White	3	% of students in +/- 15% schools	59.9%	36.5%	27.4%
	4	N of schools (schools repeat across years)	54	200	60
Integrated-FRL	5	% of students in +/- 15% schools	13.9%	37.1%	25.0%
	6	N of schools (schools repeat across years)	22	231	72

The next column shows the percent of students in LRMA TPSs who attended integrated schools between 2008-09 and 2014-15. A slightly higher percentage of charter students attended integrated schools than did TPS students. Across all seven years examined, 49.8% of charter students attended integrated schools, while just 47.0% of LRMA TPS students did. In 2014-15, 52.9% of charter students attended schools where 41-71% of students were black, as did 51% of LRMA TPS students.

Finally, we examine the percent of LRSD students who attended schools with a similar percentage of black students in their student body as in the LRMA public school system. Across the seven years examined, we see that only 41.9% of LRSD students attended integrated schools, a lower fraction than that among charter or LRMA TPS students. In 2014-15, 47.1% of LRSD students attended 18 integrated schools.

Racially Integrated Schools—% White

Rows 3-4 show the percentage of students enrolled in LRMA public schools where the percent of white students in the student body resembles the percent of white student in the area. There is a striking difference between the percent of charter students and TPS students who attend integrated-white schools. Across all seven years examined, 59.9% of charter students attended schools where the percent of white students was within 15 percentage points of the percent of white students enrolled anywhere in LRMA public schools. However, only 36.5% of LRMA TPS students and 27.4% of LRSD students attended similarly integrated schools. In 2014-15, 9 charter schools were integrated-white schools, as were 28 LRMA TPSs and 10 LRSD schools.

Socioeconomically Integrated—% FRL

Rows 5-6 show the percentage of students in socioeconomically integrated public schools in LRMA. We see that 13.9% of charter students attended socioeconomically integrated schools across the seven years examined, as did 37.1% of LRMA TPS students and 25.0% of LRSD students. In 2014-15, just under 52% of LRMA public school students received FRL. That year, 17.4% of charter students attended 5 socioeconomically integrated schools, as did 35.0% of LRMA TPS students and 19.8% of LRSD students.

Racially integrated- Black: A similar percentage of charter school students and TPS students attended schools that were similar to average black enrollment,

Racially integrated- White: A greater percentage of charter school students attended schools that were similar to average white enrollment.

Socioeconomically integrated: A smaller percentage of charter students attended economically integrated schools than TPS students.

Students in the Little Rock Area are more likely to attend a racially integrated school than a socioeconomically integrated school.

Differences in Composition

Our final analysis in this brief also compares the demographic composition of charter schools and TPSs to the demographics of the area as a whole, but instead of setting cut-offs of what qualifies a school as integrated, we calculate a continuous measure of the difference between schools' demographics and the area's demographics. This process is illustrated in Figure 3. Previously, we identifies the schools that were within a range of the LRMA average as 'integrated'. In this analysis, the actual difference between the school demographics and the average demographics is calculated. The greater the "distance" between the school's composition and the area's composition, the more segregated the school, and conversely, integration increases as the distance between the school's composition and the area's composition decreases. We calculate this measure in three ways. First, we look at the absolute value of the difference between the school's composition and the composition of the area as a whole. Second, we look at the average difference between schools that enroll a higher share of black, white, or FRL students and the share of black, white, and FRL students in LRMA public schools. Finally, we look at the average distance between the schools that enroll a lower share of black, white, or FRL students and the share of black, white, and FRL students in LRMA public schools. Table 3 presents these differences by sector.

Figure 3: Example of Continuous Difference Measure in the Little Rock Metro Area by Percent Black Enrollment, 2014-15 by Sector.
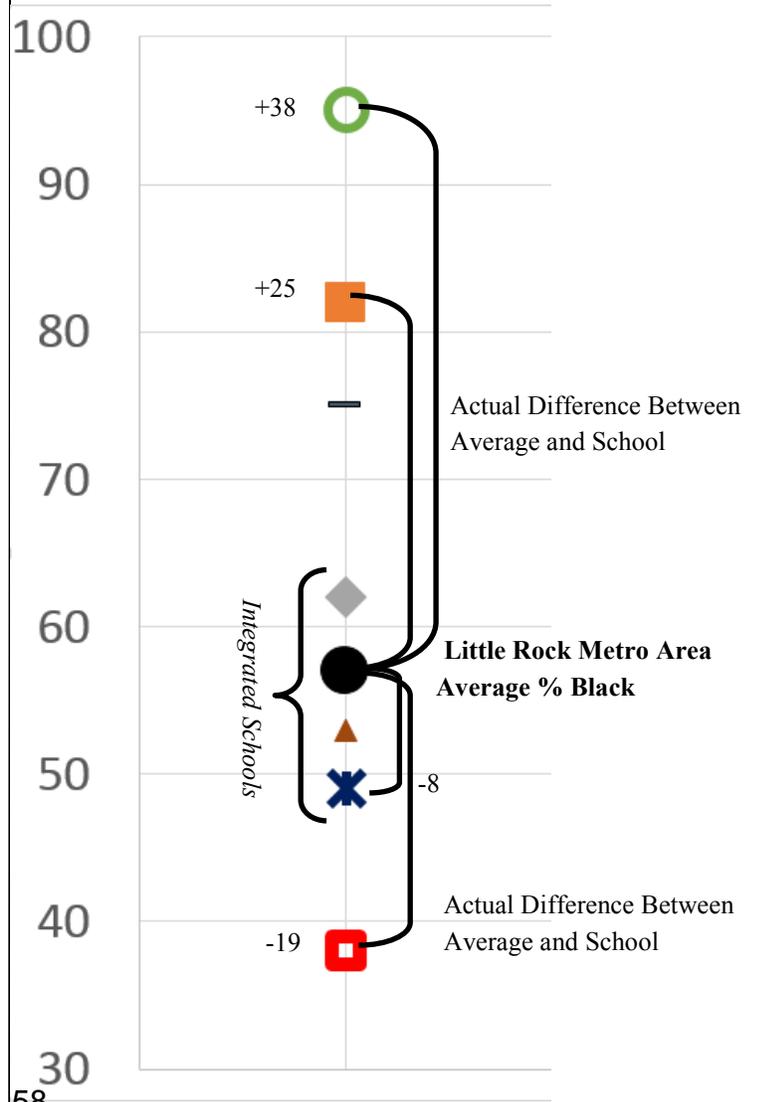
% Black

In table 3, Rows 1-3 show the average difference between the percent of black students enrolled in charters, LRMA TPSs, and LRSD TPSs and the percent of all black students in LRMA public schools by sector across the years 2008-09 through 2014-15. On average, the gap between the percent of black students in the community and the percent of black students in charters was the greatest over the years examined. Across the seven years examined, charters were on average ± 19.5 percentage points away from the area average, while LRMA TPSs were ± 16.6 percentage points, and LRSD schools were 17.8 percentage points from the area demographics.

In row 2 we see that students in charter schools that enrolled a disproportionately large share of black students typically attended schools in which the share of black students in the student body was 27.2 percentage points greater than the share of black students in area public schools overall. Students who attended LRMA or LRSD TPSs that enrolled a disproportionately large share of black students typically attended schools where that gap was 18.5 or 21.0 percentage points wide, respectively.

Finally, row 3 shows the magnitude of the difference between the share of black students enrolled in charters and TPSs and the total percent of black students in the area in schools that enrolled a disproportionately small share of black students between 2008-09 and 2014-15. Again, the magnitude is greatest for students in charter schools, which on average enrolled an 18.3 percentage point lower share of black students than were in the area as a whole, while LRMA TPSs enrolled a 15 percentage points lower share of black students and LRSD TPSs enrolled an 11.8 percentage point lower share of black students than were enrolled anywhere in the LRMA public school system.

Table 3: Distance from the Little Rock Metro Area Demographic Composition, 2008-09 to 2014-15 by Sector.

	Row		Charters	LRMA TPSs	LRSD TPSs
% Black	1	Absolute Distance From Metro Area % Black	±19.5	±16.6	±17.8
	2	Average Distance For Students Above LRMA % Black	27.2	18.5	21.0
	3	Average Distance For students Below LRMA % Black	-18.3	-15.0	-11.8
% White	4	Absolute Distance From Metro Area % White	±17.2	±18.3	±20.2
	5	Average Distance For Students Above LRMA % White	16.9	16.3	14.7
	6	Average Distance For students Below LRMA % White	-20.1	-20.8	-22.7
% FRL	7	Absolute Distance From Metro Area % FRL	±27.8	±19.6	±22.1
	8	Average Distance For Students Above LRMA % FRL	18.1	20.5	22.1
	9	Average Distance For students Below LRMA % FRL	-29.7	-18.7	-22.7

Figure 4: Example of Continuous Difference Measure in the Little Rock Metro Area by Percent Black Enrollment, 2014-15 by Sector.
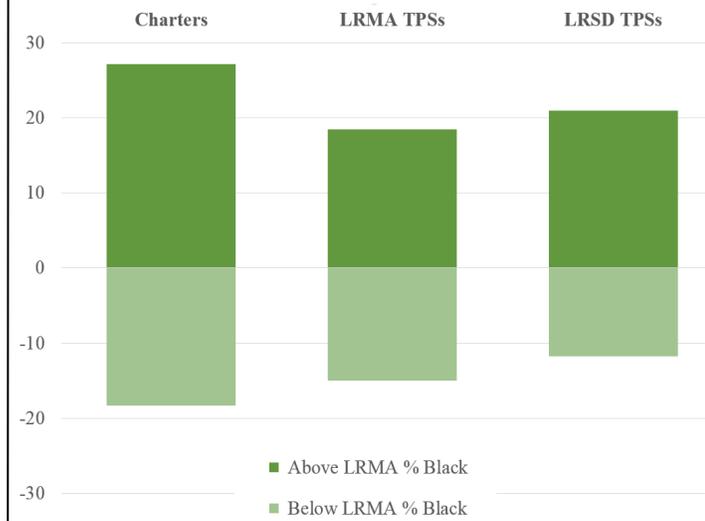
Figure 4 displays the information regarding black student enrollment graphically, making it easy to determine that the students attending charter schools were, on average, attending schools that were less similar to the LRMA than students in traditional public schools. Charter schools that were above average black enrollment were farther from the average than the TPSs were, and charter schools that enrolled fewer black students than the regional average were also farther from the average than TPSs. It is important to note the difference in the number of schools in each sector as well. Because there are more TPSs than charters, these averages could be partially reflecting the greater variability that comes from a smaller N.

% White

Rows 4-6 in Table 3 show the average distance between the share of white students in the LRMA public school system and the share of white students enrolled in charters, LRMA TPSs, and LRSD TPSs between 2008-09 and 2014-15. Row 4 shows the absolute value of the difference between the share of white students enrolled in charters across all years and the share of white students in the entire LRMA public school system. We see that on average the share of white students in charters was ± 17.2 percentage points from the percent of white students enrolled in all area public schools, while on average the share of white students in LRMA TPSs and LRSD TPSs was ± 18.3 and ± 20.2 percentage points from the area average, respectively.

In row 5, however, we see that on average charters that enrolled a disproportionately large share of white students tended to have a 16.9 percentage point gap from the percent of white students in the area, while LRMA TPSs had a 16.3 percentage point gap and LRSD TPSs had a 14.7 percentage point gap. Finally, in row 6 we see that charters that enrolled a disproportion-

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ately small share of white students tended to be closer to the area average than were LRMA TPSs and LRSD TPSs who also enrolled a disproportionately low share of white students.

% FRL

Finally, rows 7-9 of table 3 show the differences between the percent of FRL students enrolled in charters, LRMA TPSs, and LRSD TPSs and the total percent of FRL students in all LRMA public schools. Across the seven years examined, the share of FRL students in charters was on average ± 27.8 percentage points away from the share of FRL students in LRMA public schools. This difference is greater than that observed for LRMA TPSs (± 19.6 percentage points) or LRSD TPSs (± 22.1) across the years examined.

Rows 8 and 9 indicate that this gap is due to charters enrolling a disproportionately low share of FRL students. In row 8, we see that among schools that enrolled a disproportionately high share of FRL students, LRMA TPSs and LRSD TPSs exceed the area average by a larger magnitude (20.5 percentage points and 22.1 percentage points, respectively) than did charter schools (18.1 percentage points). Conversely, in row 9, we see that among schools that enrolled a disproportionately low share of FRL students, the gap between charters and the area average (29.7 percentage points) was a greater magnitude than the gap between LRMA TPSs (18.7 percentage points) or LRSD TPSs (22.7 percentage points).

Conclusion

There is no clear pattern of charters or TPSs being more racially integrated in the seven years examined. Similar percentages of charter school students and TPS students attended racially hyper-segregated schools, where 90% or more of students were either white or black. A similar percentage of charter school students and TPS students attended schools that were similar to average black enrollment, but a greater percentage of charter school students attended schools that were similar to average white enrollment.

Socioeconomic segregation is more prevalent in the traditional public schools, as greater percentage of TPS students attended socioeconomically hyper-segregated schools, where 90% or more of students were eligible for Free or Reduced Lunch. Only 3% of charter students attended socioeconomically hyper-segregated schools, while approximately 20% of LRMA and LRSD TPS students attended hyper-segregated schools between 2008-09 and 2014-15.

Although students attended socioeconomically hyper-segregated schools at a higher rate in traditional public schools, TPSs were overall more similar to the area's Free/Reduced Lunch enrollment average than charters during this time. A smaller percentage of charter students attended socioeconomically integrated schools than TPS students.

We found charters had larger gaps between the percent of black students in charters and the percent of black students in the area, and among schools that enrolled a disproportionately large share of white students, the gap was larger for charter schools than TPSs. Charters also had larger gaps between the percent of FRL students in charters and the percent of FRL students in the area. This gap is driven by differences below the area average: among schools that enroll a disproportionately low share of FRL students, the gap is greater for charter schools than TPSs.

It is important to note that public school students in the Little Rock Area are more likely to attend a racially integrated school than a socioeconomically integrated school. However, in neither sector are the majority of schools integrated with regards to race or socioeconomic status.

This brief has examined static measures of integration in the Little Rock Area over the past seven years. In our fifth and final brief of the Little Rock Integration series, we will address the question of whether student moves between traditional and charter schools in the area are helping to improve integration in Little Rock Metro Area public schools, or whether those moves are exacerbating racial and socioeconomic segregation.

Integration in the Little Rock Area: Part 5
Are Student Moves Integrative or Segregative?

Students leaving Little Rock metro area traditional public schools between 2008 and 2014 had **racially and economically integrative** impacts on the school that they exited:

- **84%** of moves made by black or white students were **racially integrative or neutral**.

- **79%** of moves made students were **economically integrative or neutral**.

- **83%** of transfers of black and white students out of traditional public schools and into area charters had an **racially integrative or neutral**.

- **78%** of transfers out of traditional public schools and into area charters had an **economically integrative or neutral**.

School integration has been a contentious policy issue in Little Rock since the 1950s. Recent charter expansions have raised questions about the current level of integration in public schools (charter and traditional) in the Little Rock metro area. As part of our series on integration in Little Rock, this brief examines the impact of student moves on the overall level of integration in the Little Rock area public school system.

Introduction

Defining and measuring integration is not an easy task. What is the appropriate threshold for integration? Is a school integrated if its student body matches the United States population, matches the state's population, or matches the demographics of the city where it's located? Or should we hold schools to a different standard—equal shares of white students and students of color? It is intuitive to suggest that an integrated school is one in which students interact with peers of different backgrounds and are exposed to new perspectives, but that definition is not easily measured, and we need an objective way to determine whether schools are moving towards the goal of integration.

We define integration for this analysis based on the demographics resemble those of all students enrolled in public schools in the Little Rock metro area. We believe this standard provides the most practical and relevant context in which to examine integration in the Little Rock area public school system.

In this brief, we examine the Little Rock metro area public school system as a whole, rather than looking exclusively at the Little Rock School District (LRSD). Readers interested specifically in LRSD can find the analysis in the full Arkansas Education Report.

Our analysis of integration in the Little Rock metro area school system includes traditional public schools (TPSs) in the area impacted by federal desegregation cases and the public charter system. The traditional public schools include LRSD, North LRSD, and Pulaski County Special School District. Charter schools in the LR metro area include: Academics Plus, College Prep Academy, Covenant Keepers, eStem, Exalt Academy, Flightline Upper Academy, Jacksonville Lighthouse, Lisa Academy, Lisa Academy North, Little Rock Prep, Premier High, Quest High, and SIAtech High.

Why Compare to Metro Area Public School Students?

By comparing schools' demographic composition to the Little Rock metro area rather than the city of Little Rock itself, we ensure that our results are not biased by patterns of residential segregation and historical racial divides between cities and suburbs

By comparing schools' demographic composition to the demographics of public school students in the Little Rock metro area we ensure that we are holding schools to a realistic standard. Since all eligible students do not enroll in public schools, the demographics of public school students may not mirror those of the entire population of the Metro Area. Given the students who choose a public education, we expect that students in each school are exposed to the full diversity of their peers.

Methods

In this analysis we focus on the integrative impact of two groups of students: students exiting traditional public schools and students entering public charter schools. We include all students who exited traditional public schools in the analysis, as well as all students who entered charter schools during the years examined.

It's important to remember that the majority of students who are exiting traditional public schools in the Little Rock metro area do not enroll in charters, but rather leave the public school system entirely. In 2014-15, 1% of student movers from LR metro area TPSs went to charters, while 3% moved to surrounding districts (Conway, Cabot, or Bryant), 3% went to other public schools in the state, and 7% left the state public school system completely.

Similarly, students entering charter schools come from a variety of educational settings. In 2014-15, 72% of students entering LR metro area charters came from LR metro area TPSs, 21% came from outside the Arkansas public school system, and 7% came from public schools in other parts of the state. For a more detailed analysis of where students move, see the second and third briefs in the series.

Classifying School Demographics

We begin by classifying schools as above average, integrated, or below average with respect to the percent of white, black, and FRL students enrolled in the school each year. We use a +/-10 percentage point window around the Little Rock Metro Area public school enrollment average to classify schools in this way.

For example, in the 2008-09 school year, 58% of students enrolled in a public school (charter or TPS) in the LR Metro Area were black. Schools at which 48%-68% of students identified as black were designated as integrated, while schools at which less than 48% of the students were black were labeled below average, and schools at which more than 68% of students were black were above average. Similarly, in 2008-09 62% of LR Metro Area students received free or reduced price lunch (FRL), meaning schools with 52%-72% of their students receiving FRL were labeled integrated, schools with less than 52% of students receiving FRL were below average, and schools with more than 72% of their students receiving FRL were above average.

Above Average (black/white/FRL) School: The relevant demographics of the students enrolled are greater than 10 percentage points above those of the public school students in the Little Rock metro area.

Integrated (black/white/FRL) School: The relevant demographics of the students enrolled are within 10 percentage points of those of the public school students in the Little Rock metro area.

Below Average (black/white/FRL) School: The relevant demographics of the students enrolled are greater than 10 percentage points below than those of the public school students in the Little Rock metro area.

Labeling Exits from Traditional Public Schools

For each transfer out of a Little Rock metro area traditional public school, we determine if the exit had an integrative, neutral, or segregative impact on the school. The determination of the impact of a student exiting a school depends on both the demographics of the school and of the student who is leaving.

Figure 1 illustrates the three possible impacts of a black student exiting from a school:

A) The black student was enrolled in a school where an above average share of the student body is black. When the student leaves the school the percentage of black students decreases slightly. Because the student's exit moves the school's racial composition closer to the area average, we identify this move as **integrative**.

B) The black student had been attending a school where black student enrollment was within 10 percentage points of the area's average share of black students. Since the school is integrated in regard to black enrollment, the impact of the student exit is determined to be **neutral**.

C) The black student had been attending a school with a below average share of black students enrolled. When the student exits the school, the percentage of black students decreases slightly. Because the student's exit moves the school's racial composition farther from the area average, we identify this move as **segregative**.

Although it is possible that an individual student move tips the school from neutral to below average black, we make the simplifying assumption that each individual move only moves the school within the category that it began in—that the integrated school remains in the integrated category, that the below average school moves towards the average mark but remains below average, and that the above average school moves towards the average but remains above average.

We label all student exits from traditional public schools in this manner for black, white, FRL and Non-FRL students across the seven years of our analysis.

Figure 1: Potential School Impacts of a Student Exit

A) Above average % black   Black student   Integrative

B) Integrated black   Black student   Neutral

C) Below average % black   Black student   Segregative
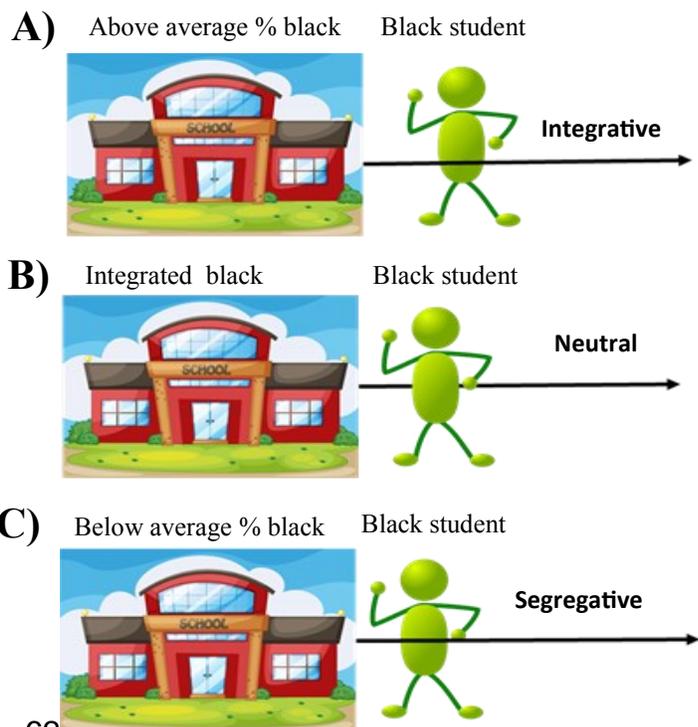
Labeling Entrances to Charters

For each transfer into a Little Rock metro area pub-lic charter school, we determine if the exit had an inte-grative, neutral, or segregative impact on the school. The determination of the impact of a student entering a school depends on both the demographics of the school and of the student who is entering.

Figure 2 illustrates the three possible impacts of a economically disadvantaged student enrolling in a charter school in the Little Rock metro area. The stu-dent is eligible for the Free or Reduced Lunch (FRL) program, which is used as a proxy for economic disad-vantage. The school that the student is entering may enroll a below average, about average, or above aver-age share of FRL-eligible students compared to the Little Rock metro area public school enrollment as a whole.

A) The FRL student enrolls in a school where a below average share of the student body is FRL. When the student enters the school the percentage of FRL students increases slightly. Because the student's en-trance moves the school's FRL composition closer to the area average, we identify this move as **integrative**.

B) The FRL student beings attending a school where FRL student enrollment is within 10 percentage points of the area's average share of FRL students. Since the school is integrated in regard to low econom-ic enrollment, the impact of the student exit is deter-mined to be **neutral**.

C) The FRL student enrolls in a school with a be-low average share of FRL students enrolled. When the student attends the school, the percentage of FRL stu-dents increases slightly. Because the student's entrance moves the school's low economic composition farther from the area average, we identify this move as **segre-gative**.

We label all student entrances to public charter schools in this manner for black, white, FRL and Non-FRL students across the seven years of our analysis.

Figure 2: Potential School Impacts of a Student Entrance
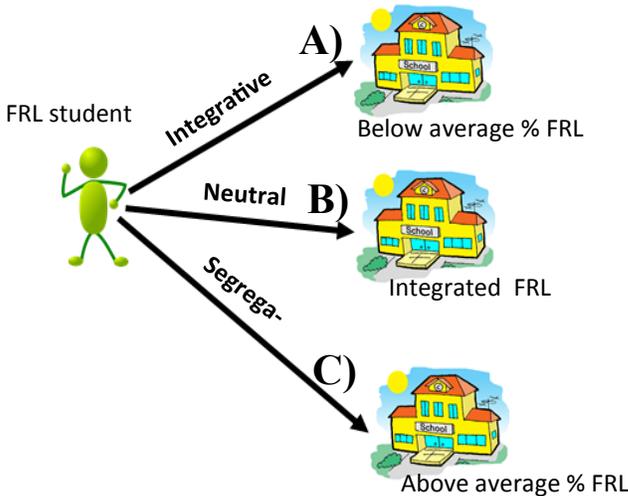
Impact on Exited Traditional Public Schools

Table 1 shows the impact of the moves made by black and white students on the LR metro area TPSs they left between the 2008-09 and 2014-15 school years. Across all seven years examined, 52% of moves made by students were racially integrative, while 17% were segregative, and 30% were neutral. The majority of black student are leaving schools that are above average black en-rollment, and the majority of white students are leaving schools that are above average white enrollment.

*Table 1: **Exit Impact** of All Student Transfers **Out of** Little Rock Metro Area TPSs by Race.*

Student Demographic	School Demographic	Impact	2014-15 # of Students	2014-15 % of Exits	2008-09 to 2014-15 # of Students	2008-09 to 2014-15 % of Exits
Black students leaving	Above avg % black	Integrative	1,425	25.2%	9,166	26.1%
	Integrated black	Neutral	1,054	18.6%	6,601	18.8%
	Below avg % black	Segregative	722	12.8%	3,860	11.0%
White students leaving	Above avg % white	Integrative	1,529	27.1%	9,059	25.8%
	Integrated white	Neutral	665	11.8%	4,668	13.3%
	Below avg % white	Segregative	257	4.5%	1,767	5.0%
		Total	**5,652**	**100%**	**35,121**	**100%**

Table 2 shows the impact of the moves made by FRL and Non-FRL stu-dents on the LR metro area TPSs they left between the 2008-09 and 2014-15 school years. In total, 56% of the moves made by students in the seven years examined had an economically integrative impact on the TPSs they left, while 21% had a segregative impact and 23% had a neutral impact. Moves made by FRL students during this time generally had a economically integrative impact on the TPSs they exited. Similar to the patterns identified by race, the majority of students are leaving schools that enroll an above average percentage of stu-dents similar the them economically.

*Table 2: **Exit Impact** of All Student Transfers **Out of** Little Rock Metro Area TPSs by FRL Status.*

Student Demographic	School Demographic	Impact	2014-15 # of Students	2014-15 % of Exits	2008-09 to 2014-15 # of Students	2008-09 to 2014-15 % of Exits
FRL students leaving	Above avg % FRL	Integrative	2,095	31.4%	13,238	32.9%
	Integrated FRL	Neutral	874	13.1%	5,564	13.8%
	Below avg % FRL	Segregative	957	14.4%	5,778	14.4%
Non-FRL students leaving	Above avg % Non-FRL	Integrative	1,599	24.0%	9,370	23.3%
	Integrated Non-FRL	Neutral	642	9.6%	3.558	8.8%
	Below avg % Non-FRL	Segregative	479	7.5%	2,699	6.7%
		Total	**6,664**	**100%**	**40,207**	**100%**

Impact on Exited TPSs of Students Entering Charters

While we believe that integration should be examined for the Little Rock metro area system holistically, including ALL student exits from TPSs, we wanted to specifically examine if students leaving traditional public schools for charters is resulting increased racial or economic segregation in the traditional public schools that they are exiting.

Tables 3 and 4 present the racial and economic integration impacts of students who exited a LR metro area TPSs and entered a LR metro area public charter schools over the seven years examined. Although only 2% of the students who exited LR metro area traditional public schools enrolled in area charter schools, the impact of the student moves are consistent with what we found when examining all student exits from the area TPSs. Across all years examined, 48% of TPS to charter moves were racially integrative to the TPS, 35% were neutral and 17% were segregative. Additionally, 56% of TPS to charter moves were economically integrative to the TPS, 22% were neutral and 22% were segregative. Students leaving the traditional public schools to enroll in area charters decrease the segregation of the school that they exit.

*Table 3: **Exit Impact** of Student Transfers **Out of** Little Rock Metro Area TPSs and **Into** Little Rock Metro Area Charters by race*

Student Demographic	TPS School Demographic	Impact	2008-09 to 2014-15	
			# of Students	% of Exits
Black students leaving TPS for charters	Above avg % black	Integrative	1,283	28.1%
	Integrated black	Neutral	1,109	24.3%
	Below avg % black	Segregative	619	13.6%
White students leaving TPS for charters	Above avg % white	Integrative	916	20.1%
	Integrated white	Neutral	483	10.6%
	Below avg % white	Segregative	149	3.3%
	Total		**4,559**	**100%**

*Table 4: **Exit Impact** of Student Transfers **Out of** Little Rock Metro Area TPSs and **Into** Little Rock Metro Area Charters by FRL*

Student Demographic	TPS School Demographic	Impact	2008-09 to 2014-15	
			# of Students	% of Exits
FRL students leaving TPS for charters	Above avg % FRL	Integrative	1,753	32.7%
	Integrated FRL	Neutral	629	11.7%
	Below avg % FRL	Segregative	574	10.7%
Non-FRL students leaving TPS for charters	Above avg % Non-FRL	Integrative	1,267	23.6%
	Integrated Non-FRL	Neutral	541	10.1%
	Below avg % Non-FRL	Segregative	601	11.2%
	Total		**5,365**	**100%**

Impact on Entering Charters of Students Exiting TPSs

The impact on the charter schools that students are entering after they leave TPSs is also important to examine.

Tables 5 and 6 present the racial and economic entrance integration impacts of students who exited a LR metro area TPS and entered a LR metro area public charter schools. Across all years examined, 26% of moves into charters from TPSs were racially integrative to the charter school, 27% were neutral and 46% were segregative. It is important to note the differences in TPS to charter moves by race. After the switch to charter, there was a large increase in the number of black students attending a school serving a below average enrollment of black students. Conversely, after the switch to charter, there was a marked decreased in the number of white students attending a school with a below average percentage of white enrollment.

Additionally, 29% of TPS to charter moves were economically integrative to the charter, 10% were neutral and 61% were segregative. Students that switched from TPSs to charters were more likely to attend a school with a below average percentage of FRL students.

*Table 5: **Entrance Impact** of Student Transfers **Out of** Little Rock Metro Area TPSs and **Into** Little Rock Metro Area Charters by race*

Student Demographic	Charter School Demographic	Impact	2008-09 to 2014-15	
			# of Students	% of Exits
Black students entering charters from TPS	Below avg % black	Integrative	1,173	25.7%
	Integrated black	Neutral	699	15.3%
	Above avg % black	Segregative	1,139	25.0%
White students entering charters from TPS	Below avg % white	Integrative	29	0.6%
	Integrated white	Neutral	540	11.8%
	Above avg % white	Segregative	979	21.5%
	Total		**4,559**	**100%**

*Table 6: **Entrance Impact** of Student Transfers **Out of** Little Rock Metro Area TPSs and **Into** Little Rock Metro Area Charters by FRL*

Student Demographic	Charter School Demographic	Impact	2008-09 to 2014-15	
			# of Students	% of Exits
FRL students entering charters from TPS	Below avg % FRL	Integrative	1,370	25.6%
	Integrated FRL	Neutral	352	6.6%
	Above avg % FRL	Segregative	1,234	23.0%
Non-FRL students entering charters from TPS	Below avg % Non-FRL	Integrative	205	3.8%
	Integrated Non-FRL	Neutral	163	3.0%
	Above avg % Non-FRL	Segregative	2,041	38.0%
	Total		**5,365**	**100%**

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Figure 3: Integrative Impact of Student Moves to Charters on LRMA TPSs 2008-09 to 2014-15
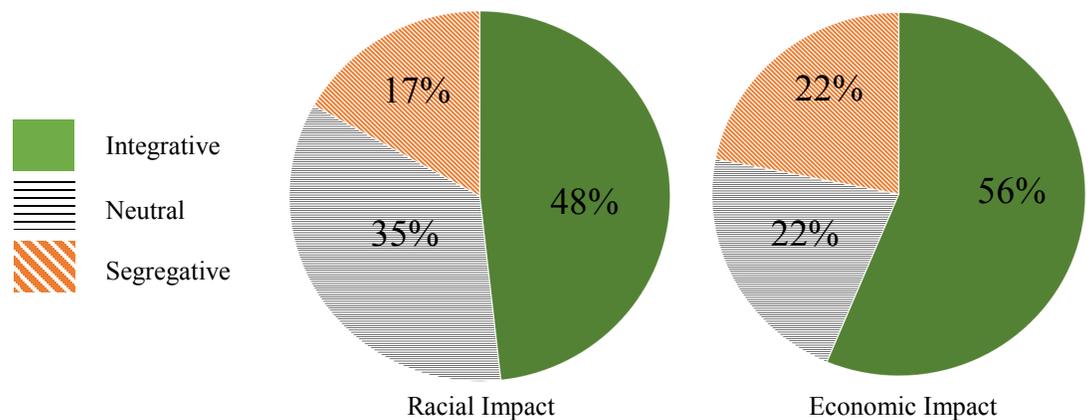
Overall Impact of Student Exits on LR Metro Traditional Public Schools

Across the seven years examined, 84% of the moves made by black or white students had a racially neutral or integrative impact on the Little Rock metro area traditional public school that they exited. Similarly, 79% of the student moves made from TPSs had an economically neutral of integrative impact on the Little Rock metro area traditional public school that they exited. Although the students who move to charters represent only 13% of the students who exit LR metro area traditional public schools annually, the students who move to charters mirror the impact effects seen for all exits.

Figure 3 summarizes the racial and economic integration impacts of students exiting Little Rock metro area traditional public schools and enrolling in area charters. Across the seven years examined, 83% of the moves made by black or white students had a racially neutral or integrative impact on the Little Rock metro area traditional public school that they exited. Similarly, 78% of the moves made from TPSs to charters had an economically neutral of integrative impact on the Little Rock metro area traditional public school that they exited.

Conclusion

In this analysis, we examined if the students who leave LR area traditional public schools increased or decreased racial and economic segregation in the schools. On the whole, moves made by students had an integrative impact on the traditional public schools they exited. Moves made by white students tended to further segregate the charters they entered, while moves made by black and FRL students into charters helped integrate those schools. Taken together, the moves made by students during this seven year period had a neutral to integrative impact on the Little Rock metro area public school system as a whole.

Overall, students exiting traditional public schools and/or entering area charters are advancing racial and economic integration in the Little Rock metro area traditional public schools.

In our last brief, we explored the current level of integration in Little Rock metro area schools, and found that the majority of schools are not integrated with respect to either race or socioeconomic status. This analysis shows that, currently, student transfers between schools are helping to improve the state of integration in the Little Rock metro area public school system. Moves out of the traditional system are typically integrative because the schools that students are attending are often racially and economically segregated.

It is important to consider the root causes behind racial and economic segregation in traditional public schools, and what policy makers can do to ameliorate the educational segregation that many students encounter as a result of their home address.

Throughout this series, we have explored the complex and contentious issue of integration in the Little Rock area, an issue first raised when the Little Rock Nine desegregated Central High. At the conclusion of this series, we hope to have provided information to policymakers and residents in Little Rock about what demographic trends are happening in schools in the area. Ultimately, integration is only partially measured by demographics and numbers of students—it is truly realized when students build authentic relationships with peers from different backgrounds, and understand and appreciate the rich mosaic of cultures in the Little Rock area. That work will remain an ongoing endeavor in classrooms, homes, and the Little Rock community more broadly.

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INTEGRATION IN LITTLE ROCK, PART 1:

PATTERNS IN ENROLLMENT AND CHARACTERISTICS OF STUDENT MOVERS

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Executive Summary

This report examines trends in racial and socioeconomic composition of public schools in the Little Rock area between 2008-09 and 2014-15. The Little Rock metropolitan area is characterized by a variety of schooling options for students and families, including multiple traditional public school districts, public charter schools, private schools, and homeschooling. We examine the demographics of each public sector in the area, and whether students who move are representative of the sector they choose to exit. This report is structured around two main research questions. Our research questions and a brief summary of our findings are below:

1. **How many students are enrolled in the Little Rock area and what are their characteristics?**

   - In the 2014-15 school year, 56,764 students were enrolled in charters or traditional public schools. The share of students enrolled in charters relative to traditional public schools has been increasing steadily from 2010-2015, while traditional public schools have seen steady decreases in enrollment.
     - LRSD: In the 2014-15 school year, 24,725 students (44%) were enrolled in the Little Rock School district
     - NLR: In the 2014-15 school year, 9,109 (16%) students were enrolled in the North Little Rock School district
     - PCSSD: In the 2014-15 school year, 17,221 (30%) students were enrolled in Pulaski County Special School District.
     - LR charters: In the 2014-15 school year, 5,709 (10%) students were enrolled in charters in the Little Rock area

   - In the 2014-15 school year, 46% of charter students were black, as were 57% of Little Rock Metro Area traditional public school (TPS) students. Over time, the share of black students enrolled in charters has increased, while the share of black students enrolled in TPSs has decreased.

   - In the 2014-15 school year, 46% of charter students were eligible for free or reduced price lunch (FRL), as were 69% of Little Rock Metro Area TPS students. The share of FRL students has increased over time in both sectors.

2. **How many students voluntarily switch schools in the Little Rock Metro Area and what are their characteristics?**

   - **Transfers from TPS:** Over the six years that we analyzed, 5,365 students transferred from TPSs to charters, 10,123 transferred from TPSs to other schools (including traditional public and charters) in the state, and 21,124 transferred from TPSs to options outside the Arkansas public school system, such as private schools, homeschooling, out-of-state schools, or jail.

     - **Student characteristics**: In 2014-15, 53% of students transferring from TPSs to charters were black, and 58% received free or reduced price lunch. 43% of students transferring from TPSs to other areas of the state were black, and 75%

received FRL. 47% of students leaving the system from TPSs were black, and 55% received FRL.

- o **Disproportionalities:** Black students and FRL students were disproportionately less likely to transfer from TPSs to charters, or from TPSs to options outside the AR public school system. Black students and FRL students were disproportionately likely to transfer from TPSs to other areas of the state. There is no evidence that student movers are higher or lower achieving than their peers.

- **Transfers from charters**: Between 2008-09 and 2014-15, 2,253 students transferred from charters to TPSs, 592 students transferred from charters to other schools in the state, and 1,750 left charters for options outside the Arkansas public school system.

  - o **Student characteristics**: In 2014-15, 63% of students transferring from charters to TPSs were black, and 58% received free or reduced price lunch. In 2015, 33% of students transferring from charters to other areas of the state were black, and 52% received FRL. In 2014-15, 38% of students leaving the public school system from charters were black, and 51% received FRL.

  - o **Disproportionalities:** Black students and FRL students were disproportionately likely to transfer from charters to TPSs in the Little Rock metro area. Black students were disproportionately less likely to transfer from charters to other areas of the state.

- **Academics of the schools students exit:** In all years examined, students were far more than 3 times more likely to exit schools from the bottom 1/3 of the Little Rock Metro Area performance distribution than schools from the top 1/3 of the performance distribution, regardless of the sector they initially attended.

I.   Introduction

Little Rock School District was thrust into the national spotlight in 1957 when images of resistance to the Little Rock Nine shocked the country. The district's struggle with desegregation continued for well over half a century, with the desegregation payments from the state to the Little Rock, Pulaski County, and North Little Rock schedule to end after the 2017-18 school year, according to a settlement approved in 2014.[1] Despite the legal settlement, the issue of race and desegregation is far from resolved in the Little Rock area, with new controversies recently erupting over a state takeover of the Little Rock School District (LRSD) in 2015 and an expanding charter sector in the city. Critics of the takeover and of charter expansion have charged that such policies work to re-segregate schools in the area and provide unequal, inferior educational opportunities for students of color in Little Rock.[2] The approved expansion of two charter schools in Little Rock in April 2016 raised questions among elected officials and private individuals about how well integrated schools in the Little Rock area currently are, and how student transfers between schools affect school demographics and achievement levels.

This report will focus on recent trends in the level of integration among public schools—charters and traditional public schools—in the Little Rock area, but it is important to consider the historical context of racial integration in Little Rock as well. One measure of integration is the interracial exposure index, which measures the probability of a white and black student interacting in the overall region. The value taken by the index cannot exceed the total percent of

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[1] Robertson, C. (2014, January 13). With Ruling, Funds to Aid Desegregation in Arkansas Are Ended. *New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/14/us/judge-approves-desegregation-plan-in-little-rock.html?_r=1

[2] Brantley, M. (2015, October 7). Here's text of lawsuit fighting takeover of Little Rock School District. *Arkansas Times*. Retrieved from http://www.arktimes.com/ArkansasBlog/archives/2015/10/07/heres-text-of-lawsuit-fighting-takeover-of-little-rock-school-district

black students in region. The closer the value to the overall percent of black students, the more similar the subgroups are to the racial composition of the overall group. Essentially, we compare the percent of white and black students in each of the individual public schools (both traditional public schools and public charters) with the aggregate fraction of each group in the overall area. For the years prior to 2005, the school level demographic data were provided by the National Center for Education Statistics. The data from 2005 and beyond were sourced via the Arkansas Department of Education (ADE) website. The data provided by these sources were combined in order to calculate the interracial exposure index for Little Rock and the Little Rock Metro area and their respective relationship with the percentage of Black students in those regions. Figure 1 illustrates how those relationships varied over time.

Figure 1: Interracial Exposure Index in Little Rock and the Little Rock Metro Area, 1988-2016
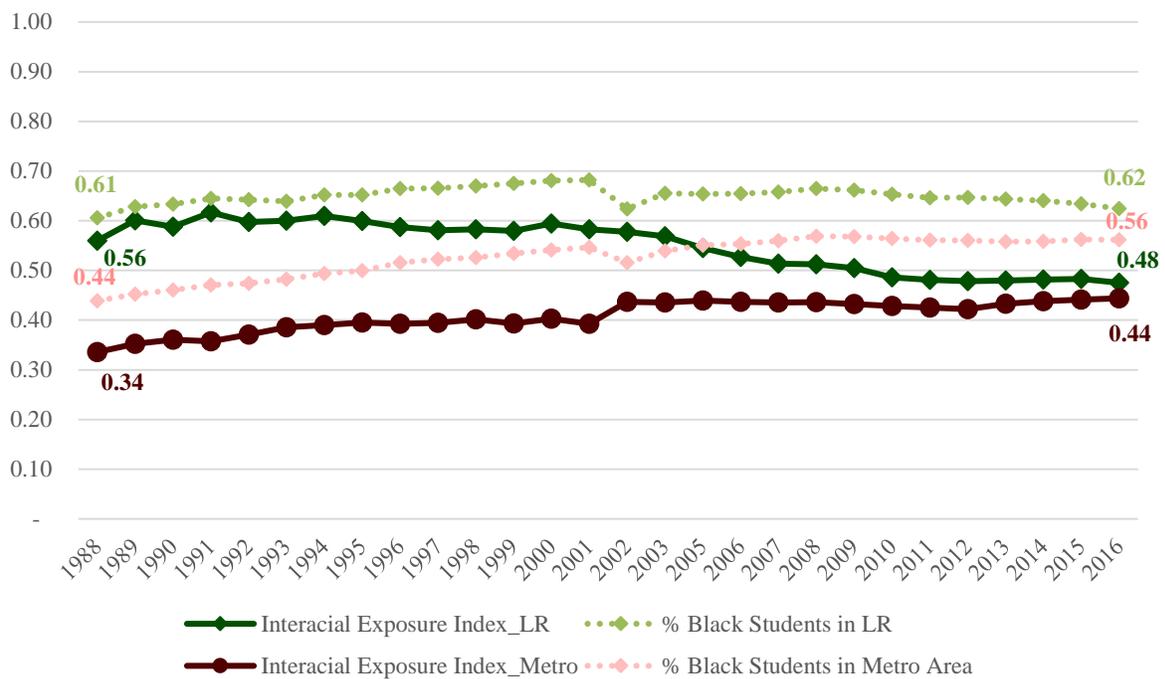
As shown in Figure 1, the interracial exposure index in Little Rock generally decreased from 1988 through 2010, when it stabilized at around 0.48 from 2011 onwards. This index is meant to be compared to the percentage of Black students in the Little Rock area, whose percentage remained fairly unchanged from 1988 through 2016. As can be seen in Figure 1, the gap between the interracial exposure index in Little Rock and the percentage of Black students in Little Rock steadily increased over time, indicating that on average, the schools in the Little Rock region have become more segregated over time. Indeed, this is the concern voiced by many opponents of charter schools. However, it is not at all clear from these data that the introduction of or expansion of charter schools contributed to this segregation. As the graph indicates, the trend of increasing segregation was already underway from 1988 onward even though the expansion of charter schools did not take place until after the year 2000. Moreover, as we will show later on in this report, the number of students transferring into charter represent only a fraction of the total number of students leaving the traditional public schools each year,

Figure 1 also shows the interracial exposure index in the Little Rock metro area as a whole. The pink line shows the percent of Black students in the Little Rock metro area, while the red line shows the interracial exposure index in Little Rock metro area schools. The percentage of Black students in the Little Rock metro area as increased from 44% to about 56% from 1988-2016; the interracial exposure index has also increased from 0.34 to about 0.44 over this time. At first glance, one may deduce that the increase in the interracial exposure index in the Little Rock metro area indicates greater segregation over time. However, that is not necessarily the case as the gap between the index and the percentage of Black students in the metro area is what determined the degree of segregation that has taken place over time. It can be seen in figure 1 that as the percentage of Black students increased, the interracial exposure index increased

proportionately to it as the gap remained fairly consistent over that time, except in 2003 where the gap narrowed. This shows that the level of segregation in Little Rock metro area schools overall did not change much in the nearly thirty years analyzed here.

With this historical context in mind, we turn now to addressing the following research questions concerning the recent trends in school integration in the Little Rock area:

1) How many students are enrolled in the Little Rock area and what are their characteristics?

   a. What was the overall enrollment in the LR Metro area, LRSD, and Little Rock Area charters?

   b. What percentage of enrolled students in each year were black, Hispanic, other students of color, white, receiving free or reduced price lunch, or were English Language Learners?

2) How many students voluntarily switch schools and what are their characteristics?

   a. What percentage of movers in each year were black or receiving FRL? How do movers' academic achievement compare to their schools' performance?

   b. Are certain demographic groups over- or under- represented among transfer students?

II.   Definitions

In this report, we examine the issue of integration and segregation in the Little Rock school system; specifically in Little Rock's open enrollment charter and traditional public schools. This section details the terminology and geographic definitions used throughout this report.

1. **Traditional public school (TPS):** Schools with geographic catchment areas, organized and operated by state-authorized school districts. Funded by local, state, and federal sources, with the ability to raise local property taxes for school funding. Traditional public schools (TPSs) are the default for students—students are assigned to specific schools depending on where they live, and must actively work to attend another school if they do not want to attend their neighborhood traditional public school.

2. **Open enrollment charter school (charter school):** Public schools without defined geographic catchment areas, authorized by the state Board of Education. Students need to complete an application to attend an open enrollment charter school in a non-competitive process that is determined by lottery if the school is oversubscribed—if there are more students who want to attend than there are seats available. Open enrollment charter schools can be run by for-profit charter management organizations, non-profit charter management organizations, or locally by the administration at that particular school. Charter schools are funded by the state, but do not have the authority to raise funds from local taxes. In this report, we focus solely on charters located in the LR metro area— Academics Plus, College Prep Academy, Covenant Keepers, eStem, Exalt Academy, Flightline Upper Academy, Jacksonville Lighthouse, Lisa Academy, Lisa Academy North, Little Rock Prep, Premier High, Quest High, and Siatech High.

3. **Private schools:** Private schools are beyond the jurisdiction of the state Board of Education, and are financed through tuition, fundraising, and other private sources. Private schools are not required to administer state assessments or publicly report data. For this reason, we do not include private schools in this analysis. However, private schools need to be considered when thinking about the educational landscape in Little Rock—in the 2011-12 school year, 21,333 K-12 students were enrolled in private schools in Arkansas, attending schools that were on average 81% white.[3]

4. **Student Moves:** We track student moves by looking at student enrollment data in October of year 1 and the following October. A student is classified as a student switcher if they voluntarily transferred schools (they did not graduate and were not entering kindergarten) during this time. Our 'Move 09' variable refers to students were enrolled in

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[3] Data drawn from the National Center for Education Statistics' Table Generator function, found here: http://nces.ed.gov/ccd/elsi/tableGenerator.aspx

one school in October of the 2008-09 school year, and another school in October of the 2009-10 school year.

5. **Little Rock Metro Area (LRMA):** Geographic area in which students who attend charter schools in Little Rock generally live. The LRMA includes the Little Rock School District, North Little Rock School District, and Pulaski County Special School District.

6. **Little Rock Metro Area public school system:** All charters and traditional public schools within the boundaries of the Little Rock, North Little Rock, and Pulaski County Special School District.

7. **Little Rock:** Students within the Little Rock School District (LRSD) geographic boundaries.

8. **Free or reduced price lunch (FRL):** Program administered by the federal Department of Agriculture to ensure students have access to adequate nutrition through schools. Students qualify for reduced price lunch if their household income is 185% or less of the federal poverty line, and for free lunch if their household income is 130% or less of the federal poverty line. FRL status is used as an indicator of student socioeconomic status.

9. **English Language Learner (ELL):** Students are classified as English Language Learners if they are not native English speakers and are not yet proficient in English. ELL students qualify for additional supports and services in public schools, and schools are provided with additional funding depending on the number of ELL students enrolled at the school.

10. **A note on race:** In this report, we focus on integration of schools along two main dimensions: race and socioeconomic status. Further, when looking at race we focus mainly on black and white students. While there are students of other racial backgrounds in the Little Rock area, we focus on these categories because the vast majority of students enrolled in Little Rock schools identify as either black or white, and it is simpler to study integration along this dichotomy. We understand that the demographic patterns of enrollment among Asian American, Native American, Hispanic, multiracial, and other students of color represent important questions and areas of study in the Little Rock context; future work should be expanded to explore the experiences of these students as well. Our data is drawn from the Arkansas Department of Education, and racial indicators are drawn from enrollment paperwork submitted by parents when students enroll at school; when students move between schools, they resubmit this paperwork, and may change their racial identification in doing so. We retain those changes in our dataset.

III.   Data and Conceptual Challenges

This report is descriptive in nature—it does not tell us what causes the demographic makeup of Little Rock area schools. Instead, this report presents observed patterns of enrollment and demographics in Little Rock charter schools, Little Rock School District, and the Little Rock metro area. We look at data over time to pull out patterns and the changing backdrop to education in the Little Rock area. The Little Rock education system offers several educational options to students and families in the K-12 system: traditional public schools (TPS) such as the Little Rock School District, charter schools such as eStem, and private schools such as Episcopal Collegiate. Additionally, families have the choice of homeschooling their students or moving out of the Little Rock Area. As we will see in this report, families take advantage of all of their choices, finding the schooling option that works best for their student and their circumstances. This system of choice changes the discussion about integration in public schools. Open enrollment charter schools accept all students, regardless of where they live, disconnecting the longstanding link between residential and educational segregation. However, parents and students choose the charter schools to which they apply, and there are ever-present concerns that charter school staff may informally pressure certain students not to apply or drop out, thereby creating segregated schools. Parents and students too may choose to apply to charter schools where friends, neighbors, or other acquaintances have attended and had positive experiences, and in that way charter schools may come to reflect patterns of residential or social segregation. These nuances add complexity to the question of whether schools in Little Rock are integrated.

Data

This report uses student level data from the 2008-09 through 2014-15 school years. The data, from the Arkansas Department of Education, includes 841,295 observations of student

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district, school sector (traditional public school or charter public school), grade level, free or reduced price lunch (FRL) status, English Language Learner (ELL) status, gender, race, and standardized scores in math, science, and literacy on their grade appropriate state assessment. For the majority of this report, we look at school sectors—traditional public and charter schools—for simplicity and to address concerns in the community about whether charter schools are contributing to educational segregation in Little Rock or are fulfilling a need for quality educational opportunities for students. This aggregation by sector does not address the variation that exist within each sector—not all charters are alike, nor are all traditional public schools.

We have 7 years of data from the Arkansas Department of Education, allowing us to analyze 6 years of student moves: students who moved between October of the 2008-09 school year and October of the 2009-10 school year, from October 2009 to October 2010, from October 2010 to October 211, etc., until October of the 2013-14 school year to October of the 2014-15 school year.

IV. **How many students are enrolled in the Little Rock area and what are their characteristics?**

Total Enrollment, All Sectors

In this section, we explore general enrollment trends in public charter and traditional public schools from 2008-09 to the 2014-15 school year. The Census Bureau estimates that the Little Rock city population grew by 2.3% between 2010 and 2015; however, the state as a whole has seen a decrease in the percent of the population under 18, declining from 24.4% of the population in 2010 to 23.7% of the population in 2015.[4] Despite this, as Table 1 shows, overall

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[4] US Census Burea (2016). Quick Facts: Little Rock city, Arkansas. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/0541000,00.

public school enrollment has been generally increasing in the Little Rock area between the 2008-09 and 2014-15 school years. However, differences emerge when looking at enrollment trends in charters versus in the LRSD.

Table 1: Student Enrollment in Little Rock Area Charters, Little Rock School District, and Little Rock Metro Area Public Schools, 2008-09 through 2014-15

	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15
LR Charter Enrollment	2,119	2,900	3,708	4,408	4,833	5,084	5,709
LRSD Enrollment	25,760	25,795	25,610	25,497	25,055	25,078	24,725
LR Total Enrollment (Charter+LRSD)	*27,879*	*28,695*	*29,318*	*29,905*	*29,888*	*30,162*	*30,434*
LR Metro TPS Enrollment	53,261	53,141	52,358	52,172	52,097	51,881	51,055
Total Enrollment (Charter+LR Metro)	*55,380*	*56,040*	*56,066*	*56,580*	*56,930*	*56,965*	*56,764*
% LR in Charter	**7.6%**	**10.1%**	**12.6%**	**14.7%**	**16.2%**	**16.9%**	**18.8%**
% LR Metro in Charter	**3.8%**	**5.2%**	**6.6%**	**7.8%**	**8.5%**	**8.9%**	**10.1%**

As shown in Table 1, Little Rock Area charter school enrollment increased from 2,119 students in the 2008-09 school year to 5,709 in the 2014-15 school year. During this same period enrollment in Little Rock School District declined from 25,760 students in the 2008-09 school year to 24,725 in the 2014-15 school year. In the Little Rock Metro Area (Little Rock School District, North Little Rock School District, and Pulaski County Special School District), enrollment in traditional public schools declined from 55,380 students in the 2008-09 school year to 51,055 students in 2014-15. While this analysis focuses specifically on the relationship between charter schools and traditional public schools in Little Rock and the surrounding area, it is important to recognize this larger context of decreasing enrollment in traditional public schools in the Little Rock area.

Student Demographics, All Sectors

Charter schools command an increasing share of K-12 students in Little Rock, and it is important to understand whether and how students enrolled in public charter schools differ from students enrolled in traditional public schools. Table 2 summarizes student demographics in Little Rock Area public charter schools, LRSD, and in the Little Rock Metro Area (LRMA) for the years 2008-09 through 2014-15.

Table 2: Student Demographics by Public School Sector, 2008-09 through 2014-15

		2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	Change
% Black	Charter	39.7%	40.0%	46.2%	45.8%	47.0%	46.8%	45.7%	6.0
	LRSD	68.2%	67.8%	66.7%	66.7%	66.3%	66.0%	65.6%	-2.6
	LR Metro	58.3%	58.2%	57.4%	57.2%	57.1%	57.1%	57.1%	-1.2
% Hispanic	Charter	5.0%	5.7%	6.5%	7.4%	7.6%	8.3%	10.2%	5.2
	LRSD	7.8%	8.1%	9.3%	9.8%	10.9%	11.7%	12.6%	4.8
	LR Metro	6.2%	6.6%	7.4%	8.0%	8.6%	9.3%	10.0%	3.8
% Other Students of Color	Charter	8.1%	7.5%	7.1%	7.3%	7.5%	7.6%	6.9%	-1.2
	LRSD	2.1%	2.2%	3.0%	3.3%	3.5%	3.8%	3.9%	1.8
	LR Metro	2.0%	2.0%	2.7%	3.2%	3.9%	4.1%	4.2%	2.2
% White	Charter	47.2%	46.8%	40.2%	39.5%	37.9%	37.3%	37.2%	-10.0
	LRSD	21.9%	21.8%	21.1%	20.2%	19.3%	18.5%	18.0%	-3.9
	LR Metro	33.5%	33.1%	32.4%	31.6%	30.5%	29.5%	28.8%	-4.7
% FRL	Charter	32.4%	35.4%	40.0%	43.9%	45.6%	45.8%	46.6%	14.2
	LRSD	64.9%	70.4%	70.0%	71.0%	72.1%	60.7%	74.7%	9.8
	LR Metro	61.6%	64.9%	65.5%	65.1%	67.0%	61.3%	68.7%	7.1
% ELL	Charter	0.2%	0.1%	1.6%	1.1%	2.0%	1.7%	2.7%	2.5
	LRSD	5.6%	6.7%	7.4%	8.2%	9.1%	9.5%	10.8%	5.2
	LR Metro	3.9%	4.5%	4.9%	5.4%	6.1%	6.5%	7.3%	3.4
% Students with Disabilities	Charter	2.4%	2.3%	3.5%	4.4%	5.6%	5.6%	7.0%	4.6
	LRSD	10.3%	10.5%	10.7%	11.1%	11.5%	11.3%	11.4%	1.1
	LR Metro	10.5%	10.5%	10.4%	10.6%	10.7%	10.5%	11.0%	0.4

Black Students

The first panel in Table 2 shows the share of black students enrolled in each sector over time. The first row shows the percentage of black students relative to the entire population of

students enrolled in Little Rock Area charters. In 2008-09, about 40% of all charter students were black, while 68% of LRSD students were black, and 58% of all students in the LRMA were black. While black students were underrepresented in charter schools in 2008-09, the gap has been shrinking slightly over time. The share of black students in charter schools has grown by six percentage points over the seven years examined, and represented about 46% of the charter school population in 2014-15. At the same time, the share of black students in TPSs has been declining modestly over time. In 2014-15, black students represented 66% of the LRSD student body, and 57% of the LRMA student population. While there is still a gap between the percentage of black students enrolled in charters and TPSs in Little Rock and the LRMA, the gap is decreasing.

Hispanic Students

The second panel in Table 2 shows the share of Hispanic students enrolled in each sector over time. The percentage of Hispanic students in each sector has grown substantially over the seven years examined. In 2008-09, Hispanic students constituted 5% of the charter school population, 8% of the LRSD student body, and 6% of the LRMA student body. By 2014-15, the share of Hispanic students in each sector had grown by between 4 and 5 percentage points. In charters, Hispanic students represented 10% of the student body, while in LRSD Hispanic students represented 13% of the student body, and in the LRMA Hispanic students represented 10% of the student population. Compared to the LRMA, Hispanic students were proportionately represented in charter schools in 2015.

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Other Students of Color

We group together Asian American, Pacific Islander, Hawaiian Pacific Islander, Native American, and multiracial students in the third panel of Table 2 for the sake of brevity. In 2008-09, this group represented about 8% of the charter school student body, while only 2% of students in LRSD and the LRMA more generally were other students of color. This has changed only slightly over time. In 2014-15, other students of color represented 7% of the charter school student body, and around 4% of the LRSD and LRMA student populations.

White Students

The fourth panel of Table 2 shows the share of white students in each sector over time. The percentage of white students enrolled in charters, LRSD, and the LRMA has declined steadily over time. In 2008-09, 47% of charter students were white, as were 22% of LRSD students and 34% of LRMA students. However, by 2014-15 the share of white students enrolled in 2015 had shrunk by 10 percentage points, to 37% of the charter population. The share of white students enrolled in LRSD declined by almost 4 percentage points, to 18% of the student body in 2014-15. Finally, in the LRMA the share of white students decreased by about 5 percentage points, to 29% of the student body in 2014-15.

FRL Students

The fifth panel in Table 2 presents the socioeconomic composition of each sector over time. In 2008-09, about 32% of charter students received free or reduced price lunch, while 65% of LRSD students and 62% of LRMA students received FRL. Charters were serving a substantially more economically advantaged student population at this time. The share of FRL students has increased in all sectors over the years examined, but it has increased more quickly in

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charters than in TPSs. By 2014-15, 47% of charter students received FRL, as did 75% of LRSD

students and 69% of LRMA students. The gap in the percent of FRL students served by LRSD

and charters decreased from 33 percentage points in 2008-09 to 28 percentage points in 2014-15.

English Language Learner Students

English Language Learners (ELL) represent a small percentage of students in each of the

three sectors examined. In 2008-09, ELL students constituted less than 1 percent of all charter

students, about 6% of all LRSD students, and 4% of LRMA students. The share of ELL students

has been growing over the past seven years in all sectors, with LRSD seeing the most rapid

increase in the percent of ELL students enrolled. In 2014-15, about 3% of charter students were

ELL, while almost 11% of LRSD students were ELL, and about 7% of LRMA students were

receiving ELL services.

Students with Disabilities

Students with Disabilities (SWD) represent a small percentage of students in each of the

sectors examined; however, there are differences between sectors in the percent of SWD

enrolled. In 2008-09, slightly over 10% of students in LRSD TPSs and LRMA TPSs were

identified with a disability, while just 2% of students in area charters were identified with a

disability. However, while the share of SWD in LRSD and LRMA TPSs remained relatively flat

over the seven years examined, the share of SWD enrolled in charters increased by almost 5

percentage points over the same time, to 7% of the charter student population in 2014-15. Due

the small number of SWD in LRMA schools and the even smaller number of SWD who moved

between schools during the time of our analysis, we do not focus on patterns of movement among SWD.

Enrollment Summary

Taken together, Tables 1 and 2 indicate that charter school enrollment is indeed increasing in the Little Rock area, and that there are differences in student demographics between the charters and the traditional public schools. The Little Rock School District enrolls a higher percentage of black, Hispanic, FRL, and ELL students than do Little Rock area charters and the Little Rock Metro Area; however, the share of each of these underrepresented groups has been growing within charter schools. Charters enroll a larger share of other students of color and white students than LRSD and LRMA schools. The share of Hispanic, FRL, and ELL students has been growing in all sectors across the years examined, while the share of white students has been shrinking in all sectors across the years examined.

In the next section, we narrow our focus to students who voluntarily switch school sectors between traditional public and charter schools. Students who are required to leave a charter school because the school does not serve the subsequent grade level, or because the school closed are excluded from the analysis. Students who graduated or were too young to have been enrolled in school were also excluded. In order to better understand the effect the charter sector has on integration within Little Rock, we must examine who is voluntarily transferring between sectors, where they choose to leave, and where they choose to enroll instead.

V. How many students voluntarily switch school sectors and what are their characteristics?

In this section, we are interested in examining in greater detail the students enrolled within the Little Rock Area, and the choices they make about which school to attend from year to year. Little Rock is a dynamic school system, with public charter and traditional public school options available to students and families. Table 3 presents the choices students and their families made each year about whether to remain in the school sector in which they were enrolled or switch to another sector. Students are categorized by their initial enrollment sector: charter or traditional public. Students who were enrolled in traditional public are further differentiated if they were enrolled in LRSD. Information regarding students who moved to other public schools in the state or whose subsequent schooling took place out of the system because they left the Arkansas public school system is also presented. The number and percentage of students initially enrolled in each sector who made various enrollment selections is presented.

Table 3: Number and Percentage of Students Voluntarily Exiting and Remaining, by Sector 2008-09 through 2014-15

		Move 2009	Move 2010	Move 2011	Move 2012	Move 2013	Move 2014	Total (08-09 to 14-15)
Charter Starters (LR Metro)	*Prior Yr Enrollment*	*2,119*	*2,900*	*3,708*	*4,408*	*4,833*	*5,084*	*28,761*
	Stay in charter	1,545	2,204	2,616	3,123	3,627	3,789	16,904
		75%	80%	81%	76%	80%	79%	79%
	Switch to LRMA TPS	296	246	284	471	452	504	2,253
		14%	9%	9%	11%	10%	10%	10%
	Switch to Other AR Public	43	87	74	128	125	135	592
		2%	3%	2%	3%	3%	3%	3%
	Charter to Out-of-System	183	202	271	391	330	373	1,750
		9%	7%	8%	10%	7%	8%	8%
TPS Starters (LRSD only)	*Prior Yr Enrollment*	*25,760*	*25,795*	*25,610*	*25,497*	*25,055*	*25,078*	*177,520*
	Stay in TPS	19,332	19,307	19,104	18,758	18,843	18,724	114,068
		85%	85%	84%	83%	85%	85%	84%
	Switch to Charter	310	489	442	536	371	562	2,710
		1%	2%	2%	2%	2%	3%	2%
	Switch to Other AR Public	1,503	1,441	1,470	1,580	1,408	1,358	8,760
		7%	6%	6%	7%	6%	6%	6%
	TPS to Out-of-System	1,689	1,577	1,638	1,642	1,452	1,484	9,482
		7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%
TPS Starters (LR Metro)	*Prior Yr Enrollment*	*53,261*	*53,141*	*52,358*	*52,172*	*52,097*	*51,881*	*365,965*
	Stay in TPS	41,371	40,971	40,323	40,214	40,414	39,879	243,172
		87%	87%	87%	87%	87%	87%	87%
	Switch to Charter	778	897	916	943	765	1,066	5,365
		2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%
	Switch to Other AR Public	1,571	1,704	1,706	1,711	1,762	1,669	10,123
		3%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
	TPS to Out-of-System	3,742	3,744	3,540	3,510	3,309	3,279	21,124
		8%	8%	8%	8%	7%	7%	8%
New to LR Metro	*Prior Yr Enrollment*	*4,709*	*4,449*	*4,716*	*4,373*	*4,106*	*4,129*	*26,482*
	Other AR Public to Charter	106	89	143	137	79	111	665
		2%	2%	3%	3%	2%	3%	3%
	Other AR Public to LRMA TPS	1,541	1,484	1,495	1,526	1,444	1,433	8,923
		33%	33%	32%	35%	35%	35%	34%
	Out-of-System to Charter	275	276	382	286	300	309	1,828
		6%	6%	8%	7%	7%	7%	7%
	Out-of-System to TPS	2,787	2,600	2,696	2,424	2,283	2,276	15,066
		59%	58%	57%	55%	56%	55%	57%

Non-Movers

In Table 3, we see that the majority of students remain in the sector in which they completed their previous year of schooling, with roughly 85% of students remaining in LRSD year to year and roughly 75-80% of students remaining in charter schools from year to year. Approximately 87% of students in the LRMA remain in traditional public schools from year to year.

TPSs to Charters

In both the Little Rock School District and in the Little Rock Metro Area roughly 1-2% of students transfer out of traditional public schools and into charter schools each year. That rate has increased over time, mirroring the increase in total charter enrollment demonstrated in Table 1. However, roughly 10% of students exit charter schools and return to traditional public schools each year, so a greater share of students transferring out of charters are going back to traditional public schools than are transferring out of traditional public schools and into charters each year.

Exits to Other Public Schools

Each year, there is more movement out of the Little Rock public education system than there is within the Little Rock area public education system. In 2009, 1,503 students left LRSD to attend a public school elsewhere in the state; in 2014 1,358 students left LRSD to attend a public school elsewhere in the state. 1,571 students left the Little Rock Metro Area in 2009 for other public schools in the state; 1,669 did so in 2014. In 2009, 43 students left Little Rock charters for other public schools in the state; that number increased to 135 leaving the area for other public schools in 2014. Many students leaving LRSD for other public schools in the state.

Over the years examined, 4,874 (56%) students transferred from LRSD to other districts in the

LRMA—North Little Rock School District or Pulaski County Special School District, while

3,886 (44%) transferred to other areas in the state. Similarly, we can distinguish between

students leaving the LRMA for neighboring districts (Bryant, Cabot, or Conway) and students

leaving for other areas of the state. For students moving between 2009 and 2014, 3,498 (35%)

transferred to neighboring districts, while 6,625 (65%) moved to other public schools in the state.

Students Who Move Out-of-System

        We can also see the number of students who completely exit the Arkansas public school

system each year. In 2009, 183 students (9%) left Little Rock charter schools and the Arkansas

public school system completely. In 2014, 8% of Little Rock charter students exited the

Arkansas public school system. The numbers are similar for traditional public schools: 7% of all

students in LRSD and 7% of all students in the Little Rock metro area in 2014-15 left the

Arkansas public school system completely. This represented a loss of 1,484 students from LRSD

in 2014 and 3,279 students from the Little Rock metro area. These students are completely

exiting the Arkansas public school system, either by dropping out of school, moving out-of-state,

attending a private school, being homeschooled, being incarcerated, or dying.

Students New to the Area

        Students also enter the Little Rock public school system each year. These students come

from other public schools in state and from outside the Arkansas public school system. In 2014,

Little Rock charter schools gained 111 students from around the state, while Little Rock Metro

Area TPSs gained 1,433 students in the same year. 309 students entered the Arkansas public

school system for the first time by enrolling in a LR charter in 2014; 2,276 students entered the

Arkansas public school system by enrolling in a TPS in the Little Rock metro area in that same year. The dynamic nature of the composition of Little Rock school is thus driven by student movement between sectors, across the state, and into and out of the public school system entirely.

Section Summary

While LRSD typically lost around 6% of its student body to other public schools or non-public school options each year in the time examined, it only lost around 2% of its student body each year to charters. Enrollment and demographic changes within the Little Rock School District are generally driven by students leaving LRSD for other public school districts in Arkansas, and by students transferring to private schools, out of state schools, homeschooling options, or being put in jail or dying.

Demographics of Sector Switchers, from LRSD

Having discussed the magnitude of student switchers, we turn to an examination of the demographics of students transferring from LRSD to other education sectors to determine if there are discrepancies in which type of students are the most likely to transfer. When we examine these numbers, it is most helpful to compare each percentage to the overall demographics of the sector. In this way, we can determine whether student switchers are representative of the sector as a whole, or whether particular groups are disproportionately represented among student switchers. If the share of a particular demographic group of students is less than the share of students in that demographic group in the sector as a whole, then they are underrepresented among student switchers. Conversely, if the share of a particular demographic group is greater than the share of that demographic group in the sector as a whole, then they are

overrepresented among student switchers. Table 4 outlines the demographics of students

transferring out of LRSD.

Table 4: Demographic Characteristics of School Sector Switchers from Little Rock School District, 2010-2015

		Move 2009	Move 2010	Move 2011	Move 2012	Move 2013	Move 2014	Total (2008-09- 2014-15)
All LRSD	*Prior Yr N*	25,760	25,795	25,610	25,497	25,055	25,078	177,520
	% Black	68%	68%	67%	67%	66%	66%	67%
	% White	22%	22%	21%	20%	19%	19%	20%
	% FRL	65%	70%	70%	71%	72%	61%	69%
	% ELL	6%	7%	7%	8%	9%	10%	7%
LRSD to Charter	*N*	310	489	442	536	371	562	2,710
	% Black	58%	70%	64%	68%	61%	61%	64%
	% White	26%	18%	21%	14%	20%	19%	19%
	% FRL	58%	60%	61%	64%	58%	65%	61%
	% ELL	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%
LRSD to Other LR Metro	*N*	891	818	781	897	733	754	4,874
	% Black	81%	79%	80%	82%	80%	79%	80%
	% White	16%	16%	17%	16%	15%	15%	15%
	% FRL	72%	71%	76%	77%	79%	79%	75%
	% ELL	1%	1%	2%	2%	4%	4%	2%
LRSD to Other AR Public	*N*	612	623	689	683	675	604	3,886
	% Black	60%	65%	60%	61%	61%	64%	62%
	% White	22%	21%	21%	20%	20%	19%	21%
	% FRL	75%	74%	75%	73%	83%	79%	77%
	% ELL	4%	3%	3%	4%	5%	3%	4%
LRSD to Out-of-system	*N*	1,689	1,577	1,638	1,642	1,452	1,484	9,482
	% Black	62%	62%	59%	59%	53%	55%	59%
	% White	24%	25%	26%	28%	31%	26%	27%
	% FRL	62%	69%	68%	66%	64%	54%	64%
	% ELL	8%	9%	10%	8%	10%	12%	9%

LRSD to Charters

     We first examine student transfers from LRSD to area charters between 2008-09 and

2014-15. In 2009, 68% of LRSD students were black; however, only 58% of student movers

from LRSD to charters were black. Black students were underrepresented among student movers

by 10 percentage points. That disproportionality has not remained constant over time. In 2010 and 2012 black students were proportionately represented among students moving from LRSD to charters, while in 2011, 2013, and 2014 black students were again underrepresented among students transferring from LRSD to charters. In 2014, black students were underrepresented among students switching from LRSD to charters by about 5 percentage points.

There is no consistent pattern of white students being over- or under-represented among students transferring from LRSD to area charters in the years examined. In 2009, white students were slightly overrepresented, while in 2010 and 2012 white students were slightly underrepresented. In 2011, 2013, and 2014 white students were proportionately represented.

In 2009, FRL students were underrepresented among students switching from LRSD to charters by about 7 percentage points, as 65% of LRSD students received FRL, but only 58% of students moving to charters also received FRL. Students receiving FRL were underrepresented among students moving from LRSD to area in all years examined, and were underrepresented by about 10 percentage points in 2010, 2011, and 2013. In 2012, FRL students were underrepresented by about 7 percentage points, while in 2013 FRL students were underrepresented by about 4 percentage points.

Finally, we turn to English Language Learners (ELL). In 2009, ELL students were underrepresented among students moving from LRSD to charters by about 6 percentage points, as 6% of LRSD students were ELL, but no ELL students transferred from LRSD to charters in that year. ELL students were consistently underrepresented among students moving from LRSD to charters in the years examined, and the disproportionality has been growing over time. In 2014, 10% of LRSD students were ELL, but less than 2% of students switching from LRSD to area charters were ELL.

In this section, we examine students transferring from LRSD to North Little Rock School District (NLRSD) or Pulaski County Special School District (PCSSD). As noted about, over half of all students who leave LRSD and remain in in-state public school districts transfer to either NLRSD or PCSSD. In 2009, 68% of LRSD students were black, as were 81% of students moving from LRSD to NLRSD or PCSSD. Black students were overrepresented among switchers by 13 percentage points. The disproportionality remained over time, and in 2014 79% of switchers were black, while only 66% of LRSD students were black. Black students were consistently overrepresented among students transferring from LRSD to other public districts in the LRMA by over 10 percentage points in the years examined.

White students were slightly underrepresented among students transferring from LRSD to other TPSs in the Little Rock Metro Area. Across the years examined, 20% of LRSD students were white, but only 15% of students transferring from LRSD to NLRSD or PCSSD were white.

FRL students were overrepresented among students switching from LRSD to NLRSD or PCSSD in all years examined, but this difference was slight in all years except 2013-14. In 2013-14, 61% of LRSD students receiving FRL, while 79% of students switching from LRSD to LRMA TPSs received FRL. FRL students were overrepresented by 18 percentage points. In 2010 and 2011, FRL students were overrepresented by less than 2 percentage points, while in 2012, 2013, and 2015 FRL students were overrepresented by around 5 percentage points.

ELL students were consistently underrepresented among students transferring from LRSD to other TPSs in the LRMA. In 2009, ELL students represented about 7% of the LRSD student body, but only 1% of students moving from LRSD to NLRSD or PCSSD. Between 2010

and 2014, ELL students were underrepresented among student switchers by 6 to 8 percentage points.

LRSD to Other AR Public

In this section, we examine the representativeness of students who transferred from LRSD to public school districts in the state, but not in the immediate LRMA. In 2009, 68% of LRSD students were black, as were 60% of students moving from LRSD to other public districts in the state. Black students were underrepresented by about 8 percentage points among student movers in that year. By 2014, that disproportionality had declined to 5 percentage points, with 67% of LRSD students identifying as black, and only 62% of students transferring from LRSD to other public districts in the state identifying as black.

White students were proportionately represented among students transferring from LRSD to other areas of the state in all years examined. Across the seven years of analysis, 20% of LRSD students were white, as were 21% of students moving from LRSD to other areas of the state.

Students receiving FRL were overrepresented among students switching from LRSD to other public districts in the state in all years examined. In 2009, 70% of LRSD students received FRL, as did 75% of students leaving LRSD for other areas of the state. In 2013, 61% of LRSD students received FRL, as did 83% of students moving to other areas of the state for school. In 2014, this gap decreased to 5 percentage points.

ELL students were consistently underrepresented among students moving from LRSD to other public districts in the state. In 2009, 7% of LRSD students were ELL, but only 4% of students moving to other areas of the state were ELL. ELL students were underrepresented by 5 percentage points in 2010-2013, and were underrepresented by 7 percentage points in 2014.

LRSD to Out-Of-System

Students leaving LRSD and exiting the Arkansas public school system entirely represent the largest group of student movers in the years examined. Over 9,000 students exited LRSD and entered private schools, moved out of state, began homeschooling, were incarcerated, or passed away in the years examined. In 2009, 62% of movers were black, a 6 percentage point smaller share of the student population than in LRSD as a whole, where black students constituted 68% of the student body. Black students were consistently underrepresented among students exiting the Arkansas public school system entirely. In 2014, 67% of LRSD students were black, as were only 53% of students exiting the public school system from LRSD.

White students were slightly overrepresented among students moving from LRSD to options outside of the Arkansas public school system in all years examined, although the disproportionality ranged from 2 percentage points in 2009 to 12 percentage points in 2013. Across all seven years, 20% of LRSD students were white, as were 27% of students who exited LRSD and the state public school system entirely.

FRL students were also generally underrepresented among students leaving the Arkansas public school system from LRSD in the years examined; however, the pattern is not consistent over time. In 2009, 65% of LRSD students received FRL, as did 62% of students exiting the public school system from LRSD, a difference of 3 percentage points. FRL students were underrepresented by less than 5 percentage points between 2010 and 2012. In 2013 and 2014 FRL students were underrepresented by 6-7 percentage points.

ELL students tended to be proportionately represented among students exiting the Arkansas public school system from LRSD, with the share of ELL students in LRSD and among movers differing by less than 3 percentage points in all years examined.

Demographics of Sector Switchers, from LR Metro Area

We turn now to looking at patterns of student movements in the Little Rock Metro Area, rather than narrowly at the Little Rock School district. Table 5 presents the demographic characteristics of students transferring from TPSs in the Little Rock Metro Area.

Table 5: Demographic Characteristics of School Sector Switchers from Little Rock Metro Area, 2010-2015

		Move 2009	Move 2010	Move 2011	Move 2012	Move 2013	Move 2014	Total (2008-09-2014-15)
All LR Metro	*Prior Yr N*	*53,261*	*53,141*	*52,358*	*52,172*	*52,097*	*51,881*	*365,965*
	% Black	58%	58%	57%	57%	57%	57%	57%
	% White	34%	33%	32%	32%	31%	30%	31%
	% FRL	62%	65%	66%	65%	67%	61%	64%
	% ELL	4%	5%	5%	5%	6%	7%	5%
LR Metro to Charter	*N*	*778*	*897*	*916*	*943*	*765*	*1,066*	*5,365*
	% Black	50%	64%	55%	60%	55%	53%	56%
	% White	39%	26%	29%	26%	28%	28%	29%
	% FRL	50%	55%	55%	57%	56%	58%	55%
	% ELL	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%
LR Metro to Conway, Cabot, Bryant	*N*	*518*	*588*	*622*	*609*	*583*	*578*	*3,498*
	% Black	26%	30%	37%	40%	36%	38%	35%
	% White	63%	60%	58%	54%	53%	53%	57%
	% FRL	59%	60%	60%	60%	68%	67%	62%
	% ELL	6%	2%	4%	4%	6%	3%	4%
LR Metro to Other AR Public	*N*	*1,053*	*1,116*	*1,084*	*1,102*	*1,179*	*1,091*	*6,625*
	% Black	48%	48%	43%	44%	48%	46%	46%
	% White	34%	34%	33%	33%	32%	32%	33%
	% FRL	74%	74%	77%	76%	78%	78%	76%
	% ELL	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
LR Metro to Out-of-system	*N*	*3,742*	*3,744*	*3,540*	*3,510*	*3,309*	*3,279*	*21,124*
	% Black	52%	52%	49%	49%	46%	47%	49%
	% White	36%	37%	37%	38%	39%	36%	37%
	% FRL	57%	62%	63%	58%	61%	55%	59%
	% ELL	6%	6%	6%	6%	7%	8%	6%

Little Rock Metro to Charters

There is no clear pattern of black students being consistently over or underrepresented among students moving from Little Rock Metro Area TPSs to charters in the years examined. In 2009, black students were underrepresented among students switching to charters by 8

percentage points, while in 2012 black students were slightly overrepresented. In 2014, black students were underrepresented by about 4 percentage points.

There is no consistent pattern of white students being over- or under-represented among students transferring from LRMA TPSs to charters in the years examined. In 2009 white students were overrepresented among students moving to charters from LRMA TPSs, while from 2010-2014 white students were slightly underrepresented among students moving to area charters. Across the years examined, 31% of LRMA TPS students were white, as were 29% of students transferring from LRMA TPSs to charters.

FRL students were consistently underrepresented among students switching from LRMA TPSs to area charters in the years examined. In all years except 2014, FRL students were underrepresented among student movers by about 10 percentage points. In 2014, FRL students were underrepresented by 4 percentage points, largely due to the substantial decrease in the percent of LRMA TPS students receiving FRL in that year.

ELL students were also consistently underrepresented among students moving from LRMA TPSs to area charters, although the disproportionalities were relatively slight. ELL students were underrepresented by 4-6 percentage points in all years examined.

Little Rock Metro to Surrounding Districts

We next examine students moving from LRMA TPSs to surrounding districts—Bryant, Cabot, or Conway. In 2009, 58% of LRMA TPS students were black, but only 26% of students moving from LRMA TPSs to neighboring districts were black, a difference of 32 percentage points. That disproportionality abated slightly. In 2014, 57% of LRMA TPS students were black, but only 38% of students leaving for surrounding districts were black, a difference of 19

percentage points. Across all years, 57% of LRMA TPS students were black, as were 35% of students moving from LRMA TPSs to neighboring districts.

White students were consistently overrepresented among students transferring from LRMA TPSs to surrounding districts by over 20 percentage points. Over the seven years examined, 31% of LRMA TPS students were white, but 57% of students transferring from LRMA TPSs to Bryant, Cabot, or Conway were white, a difference of about 26 percentage points.

FRL students were also consistently underrepresented among students moving from LRMA TPSs to neighboring districts. In 2009, FRL students were underrepresented by 6 percentage points, while in 2014 FRL students were underrepresented by 2 percentage points.

Little Rock Metro to Other AR Public

We next examine demographic patterns of students moving from LRMA TPSs to districts in other areas of the state. Black students were underrepresented among students moving from LRMA TPSs to other areas of the state. In 2009, black students were underrepresented by 8 percentage points, while in 2014 black students were underrepresented by 2 percentage points. Across all years examined, black students were underrepresented by 5 percentage points.

White students were generally proportionately represented among students transferring from LRMA TPSs to other areas of the state. Overall, 31% of LRMA TPS students were white, as were 33% of students transferring from LRMA TPSs to other areas of the state.

FRL students were overrepresented among students moving from the LRMA to other areas of the state. In 2009, 70% of LRMA TPS students received FRL, while 75% of students moving from LRMA to other areas of the state receiving FRL. In 2014, FRL students were overrepresented among students moving to other areas of the state by 4 percentage points.

Across all years examined, FRL students were overrepresented among students transferring to other public districts by 8 percentage points.

ELL students were underrepresented among students transferring out of the area by 3 to 6 percentage points in all years examined. Although the percent of ELL students in Little Rock Metro Area TPSs varied between 5% and 7% across the years examined, the ELL students generally represented just 1% of students transferring to other areas of the state.

<u>Little Rock Metro to Out-of-System</u>
Black students were consistently underrepresented among students moving from LRMA TPSs to options outside the Arkansas public school system. Black students were underrepresented by 6 percentage points in 2009, and 10 percentage points in 2014.

White students were slightly overrepresented among students leaving LRMA TPSs and exiting the Arkansas public school system completely. Across the years examined, 31% of LRMA TPS students were white, as were 37% of students exiting the Arkansas public school system completely, a 6 percentage point difference.

FRL students were also underrepresented among students in this group, by 3-6 percentage points in all years examined. FRL students were less likely to move out-of-system than we would expect given their share of LRMA TPS enrollment.

ELL Students were generally proportionately represented among students leaving the Arkansas public school system over this time, with differences of 2 percentage points or less in all years. However, ELL students were slightly overrepresented in each of these years, although the differences are too slight to observe a consistent, substantial pattern.

Demographics of Sector Switchers, from Charters

Finally, we examine students moving from Little Rock Area charters to other sectors.

Table 6 presents these descriptive trends.

Table 6: Demographic Characteristics of School Sector Switchers from Little Rock Area Charter Schools, 2010-2015

		Move 2009	**Move 2010**	**Move 2011**	**Move 2012**	**Move 2012**	**Move 2014**	**Total** (2008-09-2014-15)
All Charter	*Prior Yr N*	*2,119*	*2,900*	*3,708*	*4,408*	*4,833*	*5,084*	*28,761*
	% Black	40%	40%	46%	46%	47%	47%	45%
	% White	47%	47%	40%	40%	38%	37%	40%
	% FRL	32%	35%	40%	44%	46%	46%	43%
	% ELL	0%	0%	2%	1%	2%	2%	1%
Charter to LRSD	*N*	*168*	*186*	*315*	*263*	*283*	*274*	*1,489*
	% Black	58%	59%	72%	67%	64%	69%	66%
	% White	32%	26%	13%	17%	17%	14%	18%
	% FRL	54%	50%	59%	59%	54%	63%	57%
	% ELL	2%	1%	1%	4%	7%	2%	3%
Charter to LR Metro	*N*	*296*	*346*	*588*	*503*	*470*	*513*	*2,716*
	% Black	56%	49%	65%	64%	60%	63%	61%
	% White	37%	41%	25%	24%	25%	24%	28%
	% FRL	46%	45%	55%	55%	52%	58%	53%
	% ELL	2%	1%	0%	3%	5%	2%	2%
Charter to Other AR Public	*N*	*43*	*87*	*91*	*130*	*125*	*137*	*613*
	% Black	16%	32%	42%	32%	34%	33%	33%
	% White	79%	61%	49%	54%	59%	53%	57%
	% FRL	37%	37%	52%	40%	46%	52%	45%
	% ELL	0%	1%	1%	2%	0%	0%	1%
Charter to Out-of-system	*N*	*183*	*202*	*270*	*394*	*335*	*375*	*1,759*
	% Black	32%	35%	42%	46%	48%	38%	41%
	% White	47%	50%	43%	39%	30%	41%	40%
	% FRL	22%	39%	43%	54%	56%	51%	47%
	% ELL	0%	0%	4%	1%	5%	3%	2%

Charter to LRSD

Black students were overrepresented among students transferring from charters to LRSD in all years examined. In 2009, while 40% of charter students were black, 58% of students moving from charters to LRSD were black. This disproportionality peaked in 2011, when black

students were overrepresented by 26 percentage points. In 2014, 47% of charter students were black, as were 69% of students moving from charters to LRSD.

White students were consistently underrepresented among students moving from Little Rock charters to LRSD in all years examined, typically by 20 percentage points or more. Across all seven years examined (2008-09 through 2014-15), 40% of charter students were white, but only 18% of students transferring from charters to LRSD were white.

FRL students were also consistently overrepresented among students switching from Little Rock Area charters to LRSD in all years examined. In 2009, 32% of charter students received FRL, while 54% of students moving from charters to LRSD were on FRL. In 2013, the disproportionality was under 10 percentage points, when 46% of charter students received FRL and 54% of movers going into LRSD received FRL. However, in 2014 FRL students were overrepresented by 17 percentage points.

There is no consistent pattern of over- or under-representation of ELL students among students transferring to LRSD from charters in the years examined. In all years except 2013 ELL students were proportionately represented among student movers. In 2013, ELL students were overrepresented by 5 percentage points among students switching from Little Rock charters to LRSD.

Charters to LR Metro

The demographic patterns of students switching from charters to LRSD are similar to those seen when examining students switching from charters to TPSs in the Little Rock Metro Area. Black students were consistently overrepresented among students transferring from charters to TPSs, and in all years except 2010 this disproportionality was well over 10 percentage

points. In 2014, 47% of charter students were black, but 60% of students moving from charters to LRMA TPSs were black, a difference of 13 percentage points.

White students were consistently underrepresented among students leaving charters for Little Rock Metro Area TPSs, typically by over 10 percentage points. Across all seven years examined, 40% of charter students were white, but only 28% of students transferring from charters to LRMA TPSs were white.

FRL students were also consistently overrepresented among students moving from Little Rock Area charters to LRMA TPSs. In all years except 2013 FRL students were overrepresented by around 10 percentage points or more, while in 2013 FRL students were overrepresented by 7 percentage points.

ELL students were proportionately represented among students moving from charters to LRMA TPSs. In 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2014 the share of ELL students among students moving from charters to TPSs was within 1 percentage point or less of the share of ELL students in the charter sector, while in 2012 and 2013 the difference was less than 3 percentage points.

Charter to Other AR Public

Black students were consistently underrepresented among students switching from Little Rock Area charters to public school districts elsewhere in the state. In 2009, 40% of charter students were black, but only 16% of students moving from charters to other areas of the state were black. This disproportionality remained in 2014, when 47% of charter students were black, but only 33% of students moving from charters to other public schools in the state were black. Overall, black students were underrepresented among students moving to other schools in the state by 13 percentage points.

White students were consistently overrepresented among students exiting Little Rock Area charters for other public districts in the state, typically by more than 10 percentage points. Overall, 40% of charter students were white, but 57% of students exiting charters for other areas of the state were white, a 17 percentage point difference.

There is no consistent pattern when examining FRL students moving from charters to other areas of the state. In 2010 and 2013 FRL students were proportionately represented among students moving from charters to other areas of the state, while in 2012 FRL students were underrepresented among student movers; in 2009, 2011 and 2014, FRL students were overrepresented among students moving to other areas of the state from Little Rock Area charters.

ELL students were proportionately represented among students leaving Little Rock Area charters for public schools in other areas of the state

Charter to Out-Of-System

There is no consistent pattern of over- or under- representation of black students among students exiting Little Rock Area charters and leaving the Arkansas public school system completely. Black students were underrepresented in 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2014, but were proportionately represented in 2012 and 2013.

There is no consistent pattern of over or under representation of white students among students transferring from Little Rock charters to options outside of the Arkansas public school system. Across the seven years examined, 40% of charter students were white, and 40% of students exiting the Arkansas public school system from charters were white.

There is similarly no consistent pattern when examining FRL students exiting the Arkansas public school system from Little Rock Area charters. In 2009, FRL students were underrepresented by 11 percentage points, but were slightly overrepresented in 2010 -2014.

ELL students were proportionately represented among students exiting Little Rock Area charters and the Arkansas public school system entirely in the years examined. In 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2014, the share of ELL students among movers was within 1 percentage point of the share of ELL students in the charter sector as a whole, and in all years the difference was less than 4 percentage points.

Section Summary

This section has examined the demographics of students switching schools between 2009 and 2014. A striking trend when looking at student movement was the large share of students transferring from traditional public schools either to other areas of the state or to non-public school options. LRSD lost an average 6% of its student body each year to public schools in other areas of the state. In 2013, 283 students left LRSD and enrolled at North Little Rock, 523 students left LRSD for PCSSD, and 869 students left LRSD for other districts in the state. In contrast, 371 students transferred from LRSD to charters in 2013. In short, changes in enrollment and demographics in LRSD are driven more students leaving LRSD for other traditional public school districts than by students leaving LRSD for charter options in Little Rock.

Black students and FRL students were consistently overrepresented among students moving from charters to TPSs, whether LRSD or LRMA TPSs. However, there was no consistent pattern of over- or under-representation of black students moving from TPSs to charters. FRL students were generally underrepresented among students moving from TPSs to

charters, but the size of the disproportionality varied widely over time. ELL students were underrepresented among students leaving TPSs for other public schools, whether nearby or in other areas of the state. However, ELL students were proportionately represented among students leaving TPSs for non-public school options, and among students exiting charters for a variety of choices.

Academic Achievement of Sector Switchers

Although student demographics are a key factor in identifying patterns of enrollment between public school sectors in the Little Rock area, we also examined the academic achievement levels of students who switch between school sectors. While it is important for students to meet state performance criteria, often presented as the percentage of students scoring Proficient on state assessments, more detailed information can be gained from using standardized scale scores. Scale scores can vary across assessments, so student-level scale scores are standardized across the state population of test takers, within year, grade, and subject to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1, enabling the comparison of scores across time. Students performing above the state average will have a positive Z score, and students performing below the state average will have a negative Z score. Each student's Z score is an average of math, literacy, and science assessments in a given year. Each school's average Z is the weighted average standardized score on state math, literacy, and science exams. The combined results from math, literacy, and science give a high-level snapshot of the school's academic performance, rather than examining each subject separately. These analyses compare students' average standardized score on statewide literacy, math, and science exams to their school's average standardized score on statewide exams to determine if the students who leave are high or

low performing relative to their school. Only students who completed criterion-referenced state assessments in grades 3 or higher during the years examined are included in the analyses, so the number of students in each sector varies from the number presented in previous demographic tables that reflected all students enrolled.

We are also interested in whether student movers left relatively higher or lower performing schools. To evaluate this, we assigned each school to a category (bottom 1/3, middle 1/3, or top 1/3) based on the average of their students' scores on a standardized composite measure of math, reading, and science state assessments. We then tracked whether student switchers came from schools in the top or bottom 1/3 of the distribution of scores in the Little Rock Metro Area.

Students Leaving LRSD

Table 8 outlines the academic performance of students leaving LRSD and the difference between their overall average score on state standardized assessments and the school-level average score on state standardized assessments.

Table 8: Academic Achievement of LRSD Switchers, 2008-09 through 2014-15[5]

		Move 2009	Move 2010	Move 2011	Move 2012	Move 2013	Move 2014	Total
LRSD to Charter	*Total Movers*	*310*	*489*	*442*	*536*	*371*	*562*	***2,710***
	N-With Scores	*267*	*356*	*299*	*422*	*301*	*422*	***2,067***
	Student Z	-0.20	-0.33	-0.14	-0.32	-0.25	-0.25	**-0.25**
	School Z	-0.32	-0.31	-0.23	-0.33	-0.26	-0.21	**-0.28**
	% In Top 1/3 School	21%	19%	25%	18%	23%	23%	**21%**
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	70%	69%	62%	72%	59%	59%	**65%**
LRSD to LRMA	*Total Movers*	*891*	*818*	*781*	*897*	*733*	*754*	***4,874***
	N-With Scores	*553*	*539*	*493*	*609*	*499*	*487*	***3,180***
	Student Z	-0.67	-0.61	-0.56	-0.67	-0.62	-0.56	**-0.62**
	School Z	-0.45	-0.45	-0.36	-0.46	-0.42	-0.37	**-0.42**
	% In Top 1/3 School	11%	10%	12%	10%	10%	13%	**11%**
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	86%	82%	79%	81%	72%	70%	**79%**
LRSD to Other AR Public	*Total Movers*	*612*	*623*	*689*	*683*	*675*	*604*	***3,886***
	N-With Scores	*344*	*345*	*403*	*434*	*400*	*370*	***2,296***
	Student Z	-0.46	-0.47	-0.39	-0.37	-0.45	-0.44	**-0.43**
	School Z	-0.48	-0.49	-0.37	-0.44	-0.45	-0.39	**-0.44**
	% In Top 1/3 School	10%	9%	13%	9%	11%	14%	**11%**
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	78%	76%	71%	76%	71%	69%	**74%**
LRSD to Out-of-system	*Total Movers*	*1,689*	*1,577*	*1,638*	*1,642*	*1,452*	*1,484*	***9,482***
	N-With Scores	*481*	*551*	*580*	*678*	*679*	*665*	***3,634***
	Student Z	-0.37	-0.28	-0.27	-0.24	-0.20	-0.22	**-0.26**
	School Z	-0.32	-0.37	-0.30	-0.28	-0.26	-0.20	**-0.29**
	% In Top 1/3 School	13%	14%	17%	17%	20%	22%	**17%**
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	73%	79%	69%	68%	60%	60%	**68%**

As shown in Table 8, students moving from LRSD TPSs to charters scored below the

state average on a composite measure of their math, reading, and science standardized

assessments. Across the years examined, students switching from LRSD TPSs were 0.25

standard deviations below the state average. However, when compared to their peers within their

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[5] Academic achievement is only for students in tested grades. Students in K-2 are not tested, and students in grades 9-11 are not necessarily tested each year. Students who exited the Arkansas public school system before the testing window are not included in this sample. Students who exited the Arkansas public school system before the testing window were in all grades K-11. Test score data is drawn from the 2008-09 through 2013-14 school years.

school, students switching from LRSD TPSs to charters were average. Across the years examined, the average score in the LRSD schools students exited was 0.28 standard deviations below the state mean. When compared to their peers *at their school*, there is no systematic pattern of students who switch from LRSD to charters being higher or lower achieving students.

Further, students who switched from LRSD TPSs to charters were more about three times more likely to come from schools in the bottom 1/3 of performing schools than schools in the top 1/3 of the performance distribution. Across the years examined, 21% of students switching from LRSD TPSs to charters started in schools where the average student achievement on a composite measure of math, reading, and science state standardized assessments were in the top 1/3 of achievement in the Little Rock Metro Area, while 65% of students originated in schools that were in the bottom 1/3 of the achievement distribution.

Students who moved from LRSD schools to other TPSs in the LRMA generally underperformed relative to the state and to their *peers within their school*. Across the six years examined, students moving from LRSD TPSs to other LRMA TPSs scored 0.62 standard deviations below the state average, and 0.20 standard deviations below their peers in their school. Students moving from LRSD to NLRSD or PCSSD were generally lower-performing than their peers in the schools they exited. Students switching from LRSD TPSs to LRMA TPSs were also much more likely to leave schools in the bottom 1/3 of the performance distribution of the area. Across the years examined, 79% of students moving from LRSD TPSs to other public schools in the LRMA came from the lowest-achieving schools, while just 11% came from schools in the top 1/3 of the performance distribution.

Students who exited LRSD TPSs and moved to other parts of the state on average underperformed relative to the state, but were on par with the other students *in their school*.

Students moving from LRSD to other parts of Arkansas on average scored 0.43 standard deviations below the state average across the six years examined, and left schools where the average score was 0.44 standard deviations below the state average. There is no evidence that students moving from LRSD to other areas of the state were systematically higher or lower achieving than other students in their school. Students who moved from LRSD to other areas of the state were also extremely likely to leave schools that were at the bottom of the performance distribution on a composite measure of student scores in math, reading, and science state assessments. In the six years examined, 74% of students leaving LRSD for other areas of the state came from the lowest-performing schools, while only 11% came from the area's highest-performing schools.

Students who exited LRSD TPSs and the Arkansas public school system performed slightly below the state average, but were commensurate with their peers *within their school*. Across the six years examined, students exiting the public school system scored 0.26 standard deviations below the state average, but left schools were on average students scored 0.29 standard deviations below the state average. There is no evidence that students exiting the public school system were systematically higher or lower achieving than their peers *in their school*. However, it should be noted that a large number of students who exited the Arkansas public school system did so before the testing window opened in the year that they left. As we do not have testing data for these students, we do not know if the students for whom we have data are representative of the students for whom we do not have data. However, we do see that students leaving LRSD and exiting the Arkansas public school system completely tended to come from relatively lower-performing TPSs. Across the six years examined, 68% of the students who exited the Arkansas public school system from LRSD came from the bottom 1/3 of the

performance distribution, while only 17% originated in schools in the top 1/3 of the performance

distribution.

Students Exiting LRMA

      Table 9 presents the academic achievement of students moving between sectors, the

difference between the student's performance and the achievement of the school they left as a

whole, and the relative academic performance of the school they exited compared to all schools

in the area.

Table 9: Academic Achievement of LRMA Switchers, 2008-09 through 2014-15[6]

		Move 2009	Move 2010	Move 2011	Move 2012	Move 2013	Move 2014	Total
LR Metro to Charter	*Total Movers*	*778*	*897*	*916*	*943*	*765*	*1,066*	*5,363*
	N-With Scores	*567*	*642*	*646*	*712*	*614*	*802*	*3983*
	Student Z	-0.04	-0.29	-0.13	-0.22	-0.22	-0.20	**-0.18**
	School Z	-0.24	-0.24	-0.17	-0.23	-0.23	-0.19	**-0.22**
	% In Top 1/3 School	24%	21%	27%	20%	18%	20%	**22%**
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	69%	59%	57%	65%	55%	59%	**61%**
LR Metro to Bryant, Cabot, Conway	*Total Movers*	518	588	622	609	583	578	*3,498*
	N-With Scores	302	353	381	359	347	335	*2077*
	Student Z	-0.25	-0.20	-0.19	-0.24	-0.22	-0.22	**-0.22**
	School Z	-0.31	-0.29	-0.26	-0.31	-0.33	-0.29	**-0.30**
	% In Top 1/3 School	16%	15%	22%	15%	8%	15%	**15%**
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	79%	64%	63%	71%	66%	72%	**69%**
LR Metro to Other AR Public	*Total Movers*	*1,053*	*1,116*	*1,084*	*1,102*	*1,179*	*1,091*	*6,625*
	N-With Scores	*565*	*640*	*614*	*676*	*696*	*671*	*3,862*
	Student Z	-0.43	-0.44	-0.35	-0.38	-0.42	-0.38	**-0.40**
	School Z	-0.41	-0.38	-0.31	-0.35	-0.36	-0.34	**-0.36**
	% in Top 1/3 School	11%	10%	16%	8%	8%	11%	**11%**
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	78%	69%	65%	71%	67%	71%	**70%**
LR Metro to Out-of-system	*Total Movers*	*3,742*	*3,744*	*3,540*	*3,510*	*3,309*	*3,279*	*21,124*
	N-With Scores	*1,158*	*1,266*	*1,338*	*1,364*	*1,383*	*1,382*	*7891*
	Student Z	-0.33	-0.27	-0.25	-0.22	-0.24	-0.22	**-0.26**
	School Z	-0.26	-0.25	-0.23	-0.23	-0.24	-0.22	**-0.24**
	% In Top 1/3 School	15%	18%	20%	17%	13%	18%	**17%**
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	75%	64%	62%	69%	62%	65%	**66%**

Students who switched from LRMA TPSs to area charters on average scored below the state average on a composite measure of their math, reading, and science state standardized assessments. Across the six years examined, student movers scored 0.18 standard deviations below the state average, but left schools where on average students scored 0.22 standard

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[6] Academic achievement is only for students in tested grades. Students in K-2 are not tested, and students in grades 9-11 are not necessarily tested each year. Students who exited the Arkansas public school system before the testing window are not included in this sample. Students who exited the Arkansas public school system before the testing window were in all grades K-11. Test score data is drawn from the 2008-09 through 2013-14 school years.

deviations below the state average. There is no evidence that students switching from LRMA TPSs to area charters were systematically higher or lower achieving than their peers *in their school*. Across all years, 66% of students leaving LRMA TPSs for charters left the worst-performing TPSs, while only 22% left the highest-performing TPSs in the area.

Similarly, students who transferred from LRMA TPSs to surrounding districts (Bryant, Cabot, or Conway) underperformed relative to the state average, but were on par with their peers *in the school they left*. Across the six years examined, students transferring from LRMA TPSs to surrounding districts on average scored 0.22 standard deviations below the state average, but 0.08 standard deviations above their peers in their school. Similarly, 69% of students who left LRMA TPSs for surrounding public districts in the 6 years examined left the lowest-achieving schools, while only 15% left the highest achieving schools.

Students transferring from LRMA TPSs to other areas of the state were academically similar to their peers *in the school they exited*. Over the six years analyzed, students moving to other areas of the state from LRMA TPSs scored 0.40 standard deviations below the state average, and 0.05 standard deviations below the average score in the school they exited. Across the years examined, 70% of students who exited LRMA TPSs and moved to other areas of the state left schools in the bottom 1/3 of the LRMA performance distribution, while only 11% left schools in the top 1/3 of the LRMA performance distribution.

Students who exited LRMA TPSs and the Arkansas public school system completely were academically similar to their peers *in the schools they exited*. Students leaving the Arkansas public school system completely from LRMA TPSs on average scored 0.26 standard deviations below the state average, but left schools were the average score was 0.24 standard deviations below the state average. There is no evidence that students exiting the Arkansas public school

system from LRMA TPSs were higher or lower achieving students than their peers in their school, but a large share of students exiting the system did so before the spring testing window in the year they exited. We do not know if the students for whom we have test scores are representative of those for whom we do not. However, 66% of the students who left LRMA TPSs and the Arkansas public school system between 2009 and 2014 exited the area's lowest performing schools, while just 17% left the area's highest-performing schools.

Students Exiting Charters
Table 10 presents the academic achievement of students who exit charters, and the difference between the students' academic achievement and the school's overall achievement.

Table 10: Academic Achievement of Charter Switchers, 2008-09 through 2014-15[7]

		Move 2009	Move 2010	Move 2011	Move 2012	Move 2013	Move 2014	**Total**
Charter to LRSD	*Total Movers*	*168*	*186*	*315*	*263*	*283*	*274*	*1,489*
	N-With Scores	*141*	*157*	*238*	*207*	*187*	*212*	*1,142*
	Student Z	-0.19	-0.35	-0.36	-0.36	-0.63	-0.23	**-0.35**
	School Z	-0.04	-0.16	-0.07	-0.44	-0.47	-0.31	**-0.25**
	% In Top 1/3 School	22%	37%	20%	19%	5%	31%	**21%**
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	22%	44%	24%	63%	60%	57%	**46%**
Charter to LR Metro	*Total Movers*	*296*	*346*	*588*	*503*	*470*	*513*	*2,716*
	N-With Scores	*229*	*282*	*415*	*395*	*321*	*406*	*2,048*
	Student Z	-0.26	-0.28	-0.41	-0.41	-0.53	-0.32	**-0.37**
	School Z	-0.02	-0.13	-0.12	-0.35	-0.36	-0.28	**-0.21**
	% In Top 1/3 School	15%	29%	16%	21%	12%	21%	**19%**
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	18%	38%	25%	53%	56%	52%	**41%**
Charter to State	*Total Movers*	*43*	*87*	*91*	*130*	*125*	*137*	*613*
	N-With Scores	*27*	*60*	*60*	*98*	*88*	*98*	*431*
	Student Z	-0.04	0.00	-0.17	-0.32	-0.09	-0.09	**-0.12**
	School Z	-0.02	-0.12	-0.13	-0.23	-0.13	-0.12	**-0.13**
	% In Top 1/3 School	5%	22%	11%	11%	26%	28%	**19%**
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	9%	39%	31%	38%	28%	33%	**32%**
Charter to Out-of-system	*Total Movers*	*183*	*202*	*270*	*394*	*335*	*375*	*1,759*
	N-With Scores	*104*	*104*	*107*	*159*	*157*	*176*	*807*
	Student Z	0.03	0.00	-0.14	-0.18	-0.39	0.00	**-0.11**
	School Z	0.10	-0.05	-0.08	-0.27	-0.34	-0.16	**-0.13**
	% In Top 1/3 School	18%	25%	11%	12%	8%	30%	**17%**
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	10%	29%	31%	57%	54%	43%	**41%**

Students who transferred from Little Rock Area charters to LRSD schools on average scored slightly below the state average on a composite measure of their math, reading, and science state standardized assessments. However, when compared to their peers *at their school*, student switchers have average academic performance. Across the years examined, students

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[7] Academic achievement is only for students in tested grades and subject. Students in K-2 are not tested, and students in grades 9-11 are not necessarily tested each year. Students who exited the Arkansas public school system before the testing window are not included in this sample. Students who exited the Arkansas public school system before the testing window were in all grades K-11. Test score data is drawn from the 2008-09 through 2013-14 school years.

moving from charters to LRSD on average scored 0.35 standard deviations below the state average, and 0.05 standard deviations below their school average. There is no evidence that students moving from charters to LRSD schools were systematically higher or lower achieving than their peers *in the school they left*. However, students exiting Little Rock charter schools for other options were more likely to leave schools in the bottom 1/3 of the performance distribution than they were to exit schools in the top 1/3 of the performance distribution. Across the six years examined, 46% of students who transferred from Little Rock Area charters to LRSD left schools in the bottom 1/3 of the performance distribution, while 21% exited schools in the top 1/3 of the performance distribution.

Students who moved from Little Rock Area charters to LRMA TPSs on average scored below the state average on a composite measure of their math, reading, and science test scores, and slightly below their peers *in the schools they exited.* Across the six years examined, students switching from charters to LRMA TPSs scored 0.37 standard deviations below the state average, and 0.11 standard deviations below the average at the school they exited. Further, 41% of students exiting charters for any TPS in the LRMA left the area's lowest-performing schools, while just 19% left the area's top-performing schools.

Students who moved from Little Rock Area charters to other areas of the state scored slightly below the state average, but scored roughly the same as their peers *in the school they exited.* Across the years examined, students moving from Little Rock Area charters to other parts of Arkansas scored 0.12 standard deviations below the state average, but exited schools at which the average score was 0.13 standard deviations below the state average. There is no evidence that students moving from Little Rock Area charters to other public schools in the state were systematically higher or lower achieving than their peers in the school they chose to leave. In the

years analyzed, 32% of students leaving Little Rock Area charters for other areas of the state left schools in the bottom 1/3 of the area's performance distribution, while 19% left schools in the top 1/3 of the area's performance distribution.

Students who exited Little Rock Area charters and the Arkansas public school system completely tended to slightly underperform the state average, but were not distinguishable from their peers *in their school*. Across the six years examined, students exiting the Arkansas public school system from Little Rock Area charters on average scored 0.11 standard deviations below the state average, but 0.03 standard deviations above the average score at their school. However, a large proportion of students who exited the Arkansas public school system did so before the testing window, and we do not know if the students for whom we have data are representative of those students for whom we do not have data. However, we do observe that 41% of all students exiting Little Rock Area charters and the state public school system completely left schools in the bottom 1/3 of the performance distribution, while just 17% left schools in the top 1/3 of the performance distribution.

Section Summary—Academics

In general, students who chose to switch schools in the years examined achieved slightly below the state average on a composite measure of their math, reading, and science state assessment scores. However, there was no systematic pattern of student switchers being higher or lower performing than their peers *in the schools they chose to leave*. On average, student switchers were academically similar to their school average. However, students generally exited schools that were in the bottom 1/3 of the performance distribution of the Little Rock Metro

Area. Although students switchers performed on par with their in-school peers, their schools were underperforming relative to the area overall.

VI.   Conclusions

We began this report with a series of questions about the enrollment and demographics of public schools in the Little Rock Area. We were also interested in examining the characteristics of students who choose to move between schools, and whether they were representative of their sector. Here is a summary of what our analyses have revealed:

- The share of students enrolled in charters increased between 2008-09 and 2014-15, while the share of students enrolled in TPSs has declined steadily over the same time.

- The share of black students enrolled in charters increased between 2008-09 and 2014-15 while the share of black students enrolled in TPSs has declined over the same time; however, TPSs still enroll a substantially higher share of black students than do charters.

- The share of economically disadvantaged students increased in both charters and TPSs between 2008-09 and 2014-15.

- About 2% of LRSD transfer to charters annually; however, about 6% move to other districts in the state annually, and another 6% leave the Arkansas public system entirely each year.

- Students who move are academically similar to their peers in the schools they chose to leave. However, over 2/3 of students making any type of move exited schools in the bottom 1/3 of the area's academic performance distribution.

- Black students and FRL students are underrepresented among students moving from TPSs to charters, and overrepresented among students moving from charters to TPSs.

- White students are overrepresented among students transferring from LRMA TPSs to surrounding districts or exiting the Arkansas public school system.

- White students are underrepresented among students transferring from charters to LRSD or LRMA TPSs, but slightly overrepresented among students transferring from charters to other areas of the state.

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Our next report will continue our focus on integration in the Little Rock Area by examining the characteristics of schools students voluntarily transfer into, and whether these moves ultimately have an integrative or segregative impact on schools.

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Integration in Little Rock, Part 2:
Racial and Socioeconomic Integration in Little Rock
Metro Area Public Schools

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Executive Summary

This report is a continuation of our analysis of racial and socioeconomic integration and segregation in the Little Rock Area between 2008-09 and 2014-15. The Little Rock Metropolitan Area is characterized by a variety of schooling options for students and families, including traditional public schools, public charter schools, private schools, and homeschooling. In this report, we focus on the current level of racial and socioeconomic integration in traditional public schools and charter schools, as well how student moves into and out of public schools in the Little Rock Area affect levels of integration in the schools they choose to leave and enter. This report is structured around four main research questions. Our research questions and a summary of our findings are below:

1. **What are the racial, socioeconomic, and academic differences between the schools students exited and entered?**

   - Over 10,000 students transferred between traditional public schools (TPSs) and charters in the Little Rock Area between 2008-09 and 2014-15.

   - On average, students moving into charters from TPSs entered schools with a lower concentration of students receiving free or reduced price lunch (FRL); conversely, all students moving into TPSs from charters entered schools with a higher concentration of FRL students.

   - There is no evidence that students transferred into schools with higher concentrations of students of the same race.

   - Overall, students moved into schools with similar academic performance as the schools that they exited. There is no clear pattern of differences in academic performance between the schools student transferred between.

2. **What is the current level of segregation and integration in the Little Rock Area?**

   - 6% of charter students, 5% of LRMA TPS students, and 7% of LRSD students attended schools were 90% or more of the students were of the same race.

   - A slightly higher percentage of students in the charter sector (49.8%) attended integrated-black schools compared to the percentage of students in either LRMA TPSs (47.0%) or LRSD TPSs (41.9%).

   - Charter schools were more likely to be representative of the broader community with regards to the percent of white students enrolled, with 60% of charter students attending integrated-white schools, compared to 37% of LRMA TPS students and 27% of LRSD students.

   - Fewer than 50% of students in any sector attended racially integrated schools (racially integrated schools have a racial composition within +/- 10 percentage points of the area average racial composition).

- 3% of charter students, 18% of LRMA TPS students, and 22% of LRSD students attended schools where 90% or more of students were eligible for free or reduced price lunch.

- Traditional public schools were more likely than charter schools to be socioeconomically integrated, with 37% of LRMA TPS students attending socioeconomically integrated schools, compared to 25% of LRSD students and just 14% of charter students.

- Fewer than 38% of students in any sector attended socioeconomically integrated schools (percent of FRL students is within +/- 10 percentage points of area average FRL concentration).

- Students in all sectors in LRMA were more likely to attend a racially integrated school than a socioeconomically integrated school.

3. **How do student moves impact the level of integration in LRMA?**

- Between 2008-09 and 2014-15, 52% of moves had a racially integrative impact on the LRMA TPSs that students exited, while 32% of moves were racially neutral, and 16% were racially segregative.

- In the seven years examined, 56% of moves had a socioeconomically integrative impact on the LRMA TPSs that students exited, while 23% had a neutral impact, and 21% had a socioeconomically segregative impact.

- Overall, student moves had a neutral to integrative impact on the LRMA schools affected by student movements during this period.

3A. How do moves to Charter Schools impact the level of integration in LRMA?

- Between 2008-09 and 2014-15, 48% of student moves from LRMA TPSs to charters had a racially integrative impact on the LRMA TPSs students exited, while 35% of moves had a neutral impact, and 17% had a segregative impact.

- Across the years examined, 56% of student moves from LRMA TPSs to charters had a socioeconomically integrative impact on the exited TPSs, while 22% had a neutral impact, and 22% had a segregative impact.

- Overall, student moves from LRMA TPSs to charters tended to have racially and socioeconomically integrative impacts on the exited TPSs. However, student moves from outside the Little Rock area to LRMA charters tended to increase the level of racial and socioeconomic segregation in charters.

Table of Contents

I.   Introduction

In our [first AER examining integration in the Little Rock Area](#), we focused on two research questions:

1. How many students were enrolled in the Little Rock Area between 2008-09 and 2014-15, and what were their racial and socioeconomic characteristics?;

2. How many students voluntarily switched schools in the Little Rock Area between 2008-09 and 2014-15, and what were their racial, socioeconomic, and academic characteristics?

We found that traditional public schools (TPSs) enrolled larger shares of black students and students receiving free or reduced price lunch than did charters, but that the fraction of black and FRL students enrolled in charters was increasing over time. We also found that most students who exited LRMA TPSs left not for charters, but for public schools in other areas of the state or for non-public options. Among students who transferred to public schools, we found that black students and FRL students were disproportionately less likely to transfer from TPSs to charters or other areas of the state, given their share of the TPS student body. Black students and FRL students were also underrepresented among students transferring from charters to TPSs or other areas of the state. Finally, we found that students were much more likely to exit schools in the bottom 1/3 of the area's academic performance distribution than schools in the top 1/3 of the area's academic distribution. Our first report focused on characteristics of students in LRMA schools, particularly students who chose to switch schools between the 2008-09 and 2014-15 school years. In this report, we examine the impacts of those moves on the level of racial and socioeconomic integration in the Little Rock Metro Area school system. We pick up where we left off, analyzing the characteristics of schools students chose to enter to determine if students tend to enter schools in which more students are racially and economically similar to them than

in the schools they exited, then examine current levels of integration in charters and TPSs in LRMA before directly addressing the impact of student moves on the level of integration in LRMA schools. Finally, we examine the actual magnitude of schoolwide demographic changes in schools that lost or gained students in the years between 2008-09 and 2014-15. Specifically, our research questions in this AER are as follows:

1. What are the racial, socioeconomic, and academic differences between the schools students exited and entered?

2. What is the current level of integration in the Little Rock Area?

3. How do student moves impact the level of integration in the Little Rock Area?

4. How much do school demographics change year-to-year in schools with exiting or entering students?

Before diving into these questions and our findings, we begin by laying the definitions of key terms used throughout our first AER and this paper.

II.   Definitions

In this report, we examine the current (static) and changing (dynamic) level of integration in the LRMA school system. Throughout the report, we refer to the following terms to conduct our analyses:

1. **Little Rock Metro Area (LRMA):** Geographic area in which students who attend charter schools in Little Rock generally live. The LRMA includes the Little Rock School District (LRSD), North Little Rock School District (NLRSD), and the Pulaski County Special School District (PCSSD).

2. **Traditional public school (TPS):** Schools with geographic catchment areas, organized and operated by state-authorized school districts. Funded by local, state, and federal revenue, with the ability to raise local property taxes for school funding. Traditional public schools (TPSs) are the default for students—students are assigned to specific schools depending on where they live, and must actively work to attend another school if they do not want to attend their neighborhood TPS.

3. **Open enrollment charter school (charter school):** Public schools without defined geographic catchment areas, authorized by the state Board of Education. Admissions are non-competitive, and determined by lottery if the school is over-subscribed. Open-enrollment charter schools can be run by for-profit charter management organizations, non-profit charter management organizations, or locally by the administration at that particular school. Charter schools are funded by the state, but do not have the authority to raise funds from local taxes. In this report, we focus solely on charters in the Little Rock Metro Area—Academics Plus, College Prep Academy, Covenant Keepers, eStem, Exalt Academy, Flightline Upper Academy, Jacksonville Lighthouse, Lisa Academy, Lisa Academy North, Little Rock Prep, Premier High, Quest High, and Siatech High.

4. **Private schools:** Private schools are beyond the jurisdiction of the state Board of Education, and are financed through tuition, fundraising, and other private sources. Private schools are not required to administrate state assessments or to publicly report data. For this reason, we cannot include private schools in this analysis. However, private schools need to be considered when thinking about the educational landscape in Little Rock—in the 2011-12 school, 21,333 K-12 students were enrolled in private schools in Arkansas, attending schools that were on average 81% white.[1]

5. **Little Rock Metro Area public school system:** All charters and traditional public schools within the boundaries of the Little Rock, North Little Rock, and Pulaski County Special School Districts.

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[1] Data drawn from the National Center for Education Statistics' Table Generator function; located here: http://nces.ed.gov/ccd/elsi/tableGenerator.aspx

6. **Student moves:** We track student moves by looking at student enrollment data in October of year 1 and the following October (year 2). A student is classified as a switcher if they voluntarily transferred schools (they did not graduate and were not entering kindergarten) during this time. Our Move 09 variable refers to students who were enrolled in one school in October of the 2008-09 school year, and another school in October of the 2009-10 school year.

7. **Free or reduced price lunch (FRL):** Program administered by the federal Department of Agriculture to ensure students have access to adequate nutrition through their schools. Students qualify for reduced price lunch if their household income is 185% or less of the federal poverty line, and for free lunch if their household income is 130% or less of the federal poverty line. FRL receipt is used as an indicator of student socioeconomic status.

8. **Z-score:** This is a measure of student academic achievement. For each assessment taken by students, we calculate a standardized score measured in standard deviation units that allows us to compare scores across subjects and grades, which we cannot do if student test scores are reported in scale scores (points), because scales change across grades and subject. We then average each student's scores across all subjects so that we have one indicator of academic achievement for each student, rather than having multiple points of reference based on the number of standardized assessments the student took in that year. We can also calculate a z-score for each school by averaging the individual z-scores of the students enrolled in each school to compare the academic performance of individual schools.

9. **Racially hyper-segregated:** 90% or more students enrolled in the school are of the same race.

10. **Economically hyper-segregated:** 90% or more of students enrolled in the school receive free or reduced price lunch.

11. **Integrated:** The demographics of the students enrolled at a school are similar to those of the public school students in the LRMA as a whole. We examine whether schools are integrated racially (similar to the percent of black and white students in the area, respectively) and socioeconomically (similar to the percent of FRL students in the area).

12. **Integrative and segregative moves:** We label student moves as integrative if they serve to move a school's demographics closer to the area's demographics. For example, if a black student exits a school that has an above-average concentration of black students, that move is integrative. Conversely, if a white student enters a school that has an above-average concentration of white students, that move is integrative. If a student exits or enters a school whose demographics are roughly similar to the area's demographics (within 10 percentage points), we label that move as neutral.

III.   Data and Conceptual Challenges

Data

This report uses student level data from the 2008-09 through 2014-15 school years, provided by the Arkansas Department of Education. We have seven years of data, allowing us to analyze six years of student moves: students who moved between October of the 2008-09 school year and October of the 2009-10 school year, from October 2009 to October 2010, from October 2010 to October 2011, etc. until October of the 2013-14 school year to October of the 2014-15 school year.

Our dataset includes 841,295 student level observations, and includes data on where students are enrolled (including charters versus TPSs), grade level, FRL status, ELL status, gender, race, and standardized scores in math, science, and literacy on their grade appropriate state assessment. While we focus on differences between the TPS and charter sectors, we recognize that this level of aggregation tends to ignore the variation within each sector—not all TPSs are alike, nor are all charters.

Conceptual Challenges

In order to analyze integration in the Little Rock Area, we must adopt an operational definition of the term 'integration'. We approach this question in multiple ways throughout this report, but recognize that an operational definition of integration is difficult to reach, and our measures may not fully capture the interpersonal nuances of integration in schools. While we can analytically examine school enrollment and demographic characteristics, we cannot examine within-school measures of integration, including integration within classes (particularly between different academic tracks offered by schools) or integration in the lunch room, when student

choose whom to fraternize with and meaningful relationships are forged. However, our analysis still offers a window into whether and to what extent students in the Little Rock Area attend diverse schools, and have the opportunity to build connections with students who have different backgrounds and identities than they do. This is an important step in assessing the level of integration in the area, and how schools can move forward to promote and respect diversity.

In short, our conception and operational definition of 'integration' is based on the concept of representativeness. That is, we consider a school to be racially integrated, or racially balanced, if the composition of the student body is reflective of the student composition in the broader community. This line of thinking has support in the research literature.

However, before we venture into the question of integration, we begin by assessing the extent to which students move into schools with students who are more likely to be similar themselves, racially and economically. This question is also addressed in the research literature on racial integration in schools.

IV. What are the racial, socioeconomic, and academic differences between schools students exited and entered, 2008-09 through 2014-15?

We begin by addressing the question of whether, when students decide to transfer between sectors, they move to schools with student populations that are more or less similar to them; e.g., whether white students are more likely to transfer to schools with higher concentrations of white students, or whether FRL-eligible students are more likely to transfer to schools with higher concentrations of FRL-eligible students. We address this question here, before moving in the next section to an examination of the current level of integration in LRMA.

Demographic Changes Experienced By Students Switching Sectors—LRSD

In this section, we focus on students voluntarily switching public school sectors in Little Rock: from a charter to a traditional public school or from a traditional public school to a charter. These data allow us to explore the relationship between school characteristics and parent or student choices about which school to attend. Do students tend to leave schools with low achievement for schools with high achievement? Do students tend to leave schools in which they are in a minority racial group for schools in which they are in the majority? Do students tend to leave schools with high concentrations of FRL students for schools with low concentrations of FRL students? This does not tell us how each move impacts the composition of the school the student leaves or enters, but rather gives us a static snapshot of the characteristics of the schools that students choose to leave and enter. Table 1 illustrates the changes experienced by the students who switched between sectors in each year examined—the change in the percent of black, white, and FRL students from their old school to their new school, and the change in average academic performance from their old school to their new school. Each school's average academic performance is the weighted average standardized score on state math, literacy, and science exams. Scores are standardized across the state population of test takers, within year, grade, and subject to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1, enabling the comparison of scores across time. Students performing above the state average will have a positive Z score, and students performing below the state

average will have a negative Z score. We use a weighted average of results from math, literacy, and science to give a high-level snapshot of the school's academic performance, rather than examining each subject separately. Demographic comparisons are measured as the difference in percentage of students in a particular group between the schools. If students experience a positive change in the percent black of the student body from the school they leave to the school they enter, then the school they entered had a higher concentration of black students than the school they left. If students experience a negative change in the percent FRL of their school when they move, then the school they left had a higher concentration of FRL students than the school they enter.

Table 1: Change in Demographics between LRSD and Charter Schools Students Entered and Exited, 2010-2015

		Row	School Demographics	Move 2010	Move 2011	Move 2012	Move 2013	Move 2014	Move 2015
LRSD-Charter	Black Students	1	Change in % Black	-3.1	3.6	-10.3	-8.1	-3.1	-9.1
		2	Change in % FRL	-10.1	-15.5	-17.9	-18.7	-14.4	-6.7
		3	Change in Average Z	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	-0.2	0.0
	White Students	4	Change in % White	6.2	-2.1	-1.5	-1.0	-2.7	8.4
		5	Change in % FRL	-20.6	-18.4	-15.0	-18.2	-12.9	-22.2
		6	Change in Average Z	0.2	0.0	-0.1	0.0	-0.1	-0.2
	FRL Students	7	Change in % White	1.7	-2.4	3.7	2.2	0.0	4.5
		8	Change in % FRL	-12.1	-15.7	-16.6	-18.7	-15.5	0.3
		9	Change in Average Z	0.1	0.1	-0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Charter-LRSD	Black Students	10	Change in % Black	13.7	7.0	-9.2	2.2	2.8	1.3
		11	Change in % FRL	24.6	9.6	10.0	9.7	7.0	9.3
		12	Change in Average Z	-0.2	0.2	-0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3
	White Students	13	Change in % White	-10.5	1.4	-3.0	-12.6	-6.0	-4.0
		14	Change in % FRL	20.3	17.9	15.2	20.3	13.1	19.4
		15	Change in Average Z	-0.4	-0.3	0.0	-0.1	0.0	0.0
	FRL Students	16	Change in % White	-13.8	-3.3	4.1	2.5	-0.5	3.4
		17	Change in % FRL	26.7	8.8	10.3	8.7	11.3	7.6
		18	Change in Average Z	-0.3	0.0	-0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4

LRSD to Charters

The top half of Table 1 (rows 1-9) examines the changes experienced by students

transferring from LRSD schools to charters. In row 1, we see that black students on average transfer from LRSD TPSs to charters with lower percentages of black students in the student body. In 2010, 2011, and 2014 this difference was less than 4 percentage points; in 2012, 2013, and 2015, this difference was about 10 percentage points or less.

We also see that black students transfer from LRSD TPSs to charters that on average enroll a much lower percentage of FRL students, shown in row 2. This difference was in the double digits from 2010-2014, and dipped to 6.7 percentage points in 2015. In 2015, in the average LRSD school, 75% of students were eligible for free or reduced price lunch; if a black student transferred from such a school to a charter, the on average they would enroll in a school where about 68% of the student body was eligible for free or reduced price lunch. Black students were consistently enrolling in charters that served an economically more advantaged population than the LRSD schools they left.

Row 3 shows the changes in school academic performance experienced by black students transferring from LRSD schools to charters between 2008-09 and 2014-15. In all years, there is virtually no difference in performance between the TPSs students exited and the charters student entered. In 2009 and 2010, charters on average performed 0.1 standard deviations better than the TPSs students exited, while in 2013 charters on average underperformed the TPSs black students exited by 0.2 standard deviations. In all other years, there was no difference in academic performance between the TPSs students exited and the charters they entered.

From 2011-2014 we see white students switching into charters where on average white students represent 1-3 percentage points less of the student body than they had in the TPS they exited, as illustrated in row 4. In these 4 years, white students were not transferring into schools that were more racially similar to them. However, in 2010 and 2015 white students did transfer

into charters where white students represented a larger share of the student body. In 2015, white students transferred into charters where on average the portion of white students in the student body increased by 8.4 percentage points over the LRSD schools they exited.

Row 5 examines the change in the share of FRL students in schools white students exited and entered. White students transferring from LRSD schools to charters entered schools where on average a significantly smaller share of the student body received free or reduced price lunch. The difference was least in 2014, when white students transferred into charters that, on average, had a 12.9 percentage point smaller fraction of students receiving free or reduced price lunch than in the TPS students exited. In 2015, the difference was 22.2 percentage points. White students transferring to charters were consistently transferring into schools with an economically better off student body from 2010-2015.

Row 6 shows differences in academics between LRSD schools white students exited and charters white students entered during this time. White students transferred from LRSD schools to charters generally transferred into schools that performed at about the same level on state standardized assessments. In 2010, students transferring from LRSD to charters entered schools that on average performed about 0.2 standard deviations better on standardized assessments; in 2015, this was reversed, with students transferring into charters that on average performed about 0.2 standard deviations worse than the LRSD schools they left.

Finally, rows 7-9 highlight the changes experienced by FRL students transferring from LRSD schools to charters between 2008-09 and 2014-15. FRL students transferring from LRSD schools to charters switched between schools that on average had roughly similar racial compositions. In all years 2010-2015 the difference in the percent of white students enrolled in

the LRSD schools FRL students exited and the charters FRL students entered was less than 5 percentage points, and generally was 2 percentage points or less.

FRL students transferring from LRSD schools to charters between 2010 and 2014 transferred into schools where FRL students comprised a much smaller fraction of the student body than they had in the school they exited, shown in row 8. Over these 5 years, FRL students transferred into charters serving students who were economically more advantaged than the students enrolled in the LRSD schools FRL students exited. However, in 2015, this difference virtually disappeared, with FRL students transferring into charters that on average had a slightly higher percentage of FRL students enrolled.

In all years examined, FRL students transferred from LRSD schools into charters that were performing at virtually the same level on state standardized assessments. In 2010 and 2011 FRL students transferred into charters that on average scored 0.1 standard deviations better than the LRSD schools FRL students left; in 2012 FRL students transferred into charters that on average scored 0.1 standard deviations worse than the LRSD schools FRL students left. From 2013-2015, there was no difference in academic performance between the LRSD schools FRL students exited and the charters FRL students entered.

Charters to LRSD

The bottom panel of Table 1 (rows 10-18) examines the changes experienced by students transferring from charters to LRSD schools. In row 10, we see that on average in 2010, black students who switched from a charter to a LRSD school entered a school where the share of black students was 13.7 percentage points higher than it had been in the school that they left. So, if a black student attended a charter school with 100 students and 50 of those students were

black, they would transfer to a LRSD school with 100 students where about 64 of those students were black. This difference was greatest in 2010; by 2015 the change in the percent of black students enrolled at the switching student's school from the charter to the TPS was 1.3 percentage points, or about one student in a school of 100 students.

Row 11 in Table 1 examines the change in the percentage of students receiving free or reduced price lunch between the charter the student exited and the LRSD TPS the student entered. In 2010, a black student transferring from a charter to LRSD on average transferred into a school in which the share of FRL students was 24.6 percentage points higher than it had been in the school they exited. This difference has decreased over the years examined, but remained close to 9 percentage points in 2015. This reflects the increasing enrollment of black and FRL students in charter schools over time, discussed in our first AER. Despite this shrinking difference over time, black students still consistently transferred into LRSD schools that enroll a more economically disadvantaged student population than charters.

Row 12 presents the changes in academic performance between the charter the student exited and the LRSD TPS the student entered. In 2010, a black student transferring from a charter to LRSD on average transferred into a school performing 0.2 standard deviations worse on state standardized assessments than the school they left. However, in 2011, 2013, 2014, and 2015, a black student transferring from a charter to LRSD on average transferred into schools that were performing 0.1-0.3 standard deviations better on state standardized assessments.

Rows 13-15 present the average changes in demographics and academic performance experienced by white students transferring from charters to LRSD schools between 2010 and 2015. In 2010, 2012, 2013, 2014, and 2015, white students on average transferred into schools where white students comprised a smaller share of the student body than they had in the charter

they exited. This difference was greatest in 2013, when on average a white student transferring from a charter to an LRSD school entered a school where white students comprised 12.6 percentage points less of the student body than they had in the charter they exited. In 2015, the difference was 4 percentage points.

Similar to black students transferring from charters to LRSD schools, in all years white students on average transferred into schools where FRL students comprised a greater share of the student body than in the school they left. This difference was generally greater for white students than for black students; white students consistently transferred into schools where on average FRL students represented 13-20 percentage points more of the student body than in the charters they left, while black students generally transferred into schools were FRL students comprised a roughly similar portion of the student body, and in 2012 black students on average transferred into LRSD TPSs with a smaller share of FRL students. White students consistently transferred into LRSD schools serving students who were less economically advantaged than the students in the charters they left.

In general, white students transferred from charters into LRSD schools that were performing at about the same level on state standardized assessments. In 2010 and 2011, white students on average transferred to schools that performing 0.4-0.3 standard deviations worse than the charters they left, but between 2012 and 2014 there was virtually no difference in achievement between the charters white students exited and the TPSs white students entered.

Finally, we can look at the changes experienced by FRL students transferring from charters to LRSD schools in 2010-2015, shown in rows 15-18. In 2010, FRL students transferring from charters to LRSD entered schools where on average white students represented

13.8 percentage points less of the student body; however from 2011-2015 FRL students entered LRSD TPSs with a roughly similar racial composition as the charters they exited.

FRL students consistently entered LRSD TPSs with higher percentages of FRL students in the total student body than had been present in the charter schools they exited. This difference was greatest in 2010, when FRL students entered LRSD schools where on average FRL students comprised 26.7 percentage points more of the student body than in the charters they exited. In 2015, the difference was 7.6 percentage points. FRL students consistently transferred into LRSD schools serving a more economically disadvantaged student body than the charters they left.

As with both black students and white students, FRL students switched between schools with minimal differences in academic achievement when going from charters to LRSD schools. In 2010, FRL students transferred into LRSD schools that on average performed 0.3 standard deviations worse on state standardized assessments than the charters they left, but there was virtually no difference in performance from 2011-2014. In 2015, FRL students transferred into LRSD schools that on average performed 0.4 standard deviations better on state standardized assessments than the charters they exited.

Overall, the most consistent and striking pattern to emerge from Table 1 is the difference in the share of FRL students enrolled in charters and LRSD schools that students transfer between. Black, white, and FRL students consistently transfer from LRSD schools serving less advantaged students to charters with fewer students eligible for free or reduced price lunch. Conversely, when black, white, and FRL students transfer from charters to LRSD schools, the transfer into schools consistently serving a greater fraction of economically disadvantaged students. We also observe black students transferring from charters to LRSD schools where a greater percentage of the student body is black, and black students transferring from LRSD

schools to charter where a smaller percentage of the student body is black. We do not see as clear a pattern when looking at the racial composition changes experienced by white or FRL students switching between sectors. There is also no clear pattern in differences in academic performance between the LRSD schools and charters students transfer between.

Demographic Changes Experienced By Students Switching Sectors —LR Metro Area

Above, we examined the differences in demographics between the schools students transferred into and out of in the Little Rock School District (LRSD) and Little Rock charters. Here, we broaden our focus to examine demographic differences in schools affected by student movements in the broader Little Rock metro area. In this section, TPSs include schools in LRSD, NLRSD, and PCSSD, and charters include all charters in the Little Rock Metro Area (or LRMA). Table 2 presents the school level differences in demographics between the schools students exited and entered from 2010 to 2015.

Table 2: Change in Demographics between Little Rock Metro Traditional Public Schools and Charter Schools Students Entered and Exited, 2010-2015

		Row	School Demographics	Move 2010	Move 2011	Move 2012	Move 2013	Move 2014	Move 2015
LR Metro to Charter	Black Students	1	Change in % Black	-2.65	5.68	-6.23	-3.98	-0.26	-6.17
		2	Change in % FRL	-15.18	-13.62	-15.33	-13.77	-11.23	-7.76
		3	Change in Average Z	0.09	0.05	-0.05	-0.02	-0.03	0.02
	White Students	4	Change in % White	3.76	-0.86	-1.11	1.18	-2.24	6.03
		5	Change in % FRL	-20.21	-17.43	-16.77	-13.77	-13.97	-19.42
		6	Change in Average Z	0.06	0.00	-0.02	0.05	0.09	-0.04
	FRL Students	7	Change in % White	0.86	-4.90	0.88	-0.48	-3.83	2.23
		8	Change in % FRL	-17.45	-14.79	-16.01	-14.50	-12.30	-5.94
		9	Change in Average Z	0.12	0.10	-0.04	-0.01	0.00	0.08
Charter to LR Metro	Black Students	10	Change in % Black	10.45	3.35	-12.77	0.54	-1.24	-1.90
		11	Change in % FRL	23.48	9.75	6.13	9.73	4.62	6.10
		12	Change in Average Z	-0.22	0.02	-0.02	0.07	0.07	0.23
	White Students	13	Change in % White	-11.34	-7.89	-5.17	-6.98	-7.53	-5.80
		14	Change in % FRL	21.39	21.33	15.84	15.76	13.45	15.11
		15	Change in Average Z	-0.28	-0.14	-0.04	-0.10	-0.13	-0.17
	FRL Students	16	Change in % White	-9.25	-1.40	8.58	4.19	3.18	6.23
		17	Change in % FRL	24.08	10.91	6.67	9.09	8.37	5.27
		18	Change in Average Z	-0.22	0.03	-0.02	0.08	0.05	0.26

<u>Transfers from LRMA TPSs to Charters</u>

The top portion of Table 2 illustrates the changes experienced by students transferring from LRMA TPSs into Little Rock area charters. Row 1 shows the shifts in racial composition experienced by black students transferring from TPSs to charters. In all years, black students transferred into charters where a smaller share of the student body was black than in the traditional public school that they exited; this mirrors sector enrollment trends with LRMA TPSs generally enrolling a greater proportion of black students than area charters.

In row 2, we see that black students transferring out of traditional public schools enroll in charters with lower concentrations of FRL students than at the traditional public schools they leave, although the gap has decreased over time. In 2010, black students transferred from Little Rock metro area traditional public schools to area charters where on average FRL students comprised 15 percentage points less of the

student body than in the traditional public schools they left. In 2015, black students transferred from traditional public schools to area charters where on average FRL students represented an 8 point smaller percentage of the student body than in the students' previous traditional public schools.

Similarly, white students and FRL students transferring from LRMA TPSs to area charters attend schools where a smaller percentage of the student body is eligible for free or reduced price lunch in all years examined here, shown in rows 5 and 8. White students transferred to area charters where on average FRL students represented a 14-20 percentage point smaller share of the student body than in the Little Rock metro area traditional public school they exited, and FRL students transferred to area charters where on average FRL students represented a 6 to 18 percentage point smaller share of the student body than in the traditional public school they had attended. The difference between the percent of FRL students enrolled in Little Rock metro area traditional public schools and the area charters attended by sector switchers has decreased over time.

There were no substantial differences in the academic performance of the LRMA TPSs students exited and the area charters students entered during this time, regardless of the demographic characteristics of the student, as shown in rows 3, 6, and 9. On average, the traditional public schools and the area charters that students transferred between were within less than 0.1 standard deviations of each other terms of academic performance in the years examined.

White students generally transfer to charters where white students represent a similar share of the student body as the Little Rock metro area traditional public school that the students are exiting, as evidenced in row 4. In 2010 and 2015, white students transferred into area charters where white students represented a 4-6 percentage point greater share of the student body, but in other years the difference between the traditional public schools the students left and the area charters they entered was less than 1 percentage point.

Row 7 demonstrates that FRL students also transferred from Little Rock metro area traditional public schools to area charters with a similar racial composition; the change in the percent of white students from the traditional public schools that FRL students left to the area charters that they transferred

into was less than 1 percentage point in three of the years examined, and less than 5 percentage points in all years examined.

Transfers from Charters to LRMA TPSs

The bottom portion of Table 2 details the changes experienced by students leaving Little Rock area charters to attend traditional public schools in the Little Rock metro area. In rows 10-12, we see the changes experienced by black students transferring from area charters to traditional public schools in the Little Rock metro area. In 2010, 2011, and 2013, black students transferred to traditional public schools in the Little Rock metro area with higher concentrations of black students than had been enrolled in the area charter schools they exited; this change was only substantial in 2010. In 2012, 2014, and 2015 black students enrolled in traditional public schools in the Little Rock metro area where black students comprised a smaller share of the study body than the charter schools they exited; however, this shift was only substantial in 2012. In 2012, black students transferred into traditional public schools in the Little Rock metro area where on average black students comprised 12 percentage points less of the student body than in the area charters they had exited.

In all years examined, black students transferred from area charters into traditional public schools where a greater proportion of the student body qualified for free or reduced price lunch, as shown in row 11. In 2010, black students transferred to traditional public schools in the Little Rock metro area where on average the share of FRL students was 23 percentage points higher than in the area charter school that they transferred out of. In 2015, black students transferred to traditional public schools in the Little Rock metro area where on average the share of FRL students was 6 percentage points higher than in the area charter school that they transferred out of.

As illustrated in row 12, there were no real differences in academic performance between the area charters black students transferred out of and the traditional public schools in the LRMA that they transferred into in 2011-2014, with any differences less than 0.1 standard deviations in size. In 2015, black students transferred into traditional public schools in the LRMA that on average performed 0.23

standard deviations better than the charters the students left; this was a reversal from 2010, when black students transferred into traditional public schools that on average performed 0.22 standard deviations worse than the charters they left.

Rows 13-15 illustrate the changes experienced by white students transferring from charters to TPSs in LRMA. In every year examined, white students transferring from area charters to traditional public schools in the LRMA entered schools where the percent of white students in the student body was less than the percent of white students in the student body of the area charter school that they transferred out of. The change was greatest in 2010, when the share of white students in the traditional public schools in the LRMA that the white students transferred into was on average 11 percentage points less than in the area charters from which white students transferred. In 2015, the change in the percent of white students in the student body in the traditional public schools in the LRMA relative to the percent of white students in the student body at the area charter that the students had exited was -6 percentage points.

Similar to black students, white students transferring from area charters to traditional public schools in the LRMA went to schools where a higher percentage of the student body qualified for free or reduced price lunch. The share of FRL students in the traditional public schools in the Little Rock metro area that white students transferred into relative to the share of FRL students in the area charters white students transferred from was 13 to 21 percentage points higher in the six years examined.

Row 15 shows the academic differences between TPSs white students entered and the charters they exited. White students transferred to traditional public schools in the Little Rock metro area that academically underperformed the area charters that they transferred out of in all years examined. On average, across all six years, white students transferred to traditional public schools in the LRMA that performed 0.14 standard deviations below the area charter schools they exited. This downward shift in academic performance for white students stands in contrast to the upward academic shift for black students, who on average entered traditional public schools in the LRMA that performed 0.03 standard deviations better than the area charters they exited.

Finally, rows 16-18 show the changes experienced by FRL students transferring from charters to LRMA TPSs, beginning with shifts in racial composition in row 16. Students who were eligible for free and reduced lunch and attending area charters tended to transfer into LRMA TPSs with higher concentrations of white students beginning in 2012. In 2012-2015, FRL students transferred from area charters to traditional public schools in the LRMA where white students represented a 3 to 9 percentage point greater share of the student body than in the area charters that they transferred out of. In 2010 and 2011, FRL students transferred into TPSs in the LRMA where white students represented a lower share of the student body than in the area charters that the students had exited.

Students who were eligible for free and reduced lunch and attending area charters consistently transferred into traditional public schools in the LRMA that had higher shares of FRL students than the charters they transferred out of, although the difference has been declining over time. In 2010, FRL students transferred to traditional public schools in the Little Rock metro area where on average FRL students represented 24 percentage points more of the student body than in the area charter they exited; in 2015, FRL students transferred to traditional public schools in the Little Rock metro area where on average the share of FRL students was 5 percentage points greater than in the area charter they exited.

Row 18 shows that there is no clear pattern in academic performance between the schools students who were eligible for free and reduced lunch and attending area charters transfer out of and into in the six years examined here. On average, FRL students transferred into traditional public schools in the Little Rock metro area that academically outperformed the area charters FRL students left by 0.03 standard deviations, but the difference is negligible. In 2010, FRL students transferred to traditional public schools in the Little Rock metro area that on average substantially underperformed the area charters they transferred out of, while in 2011-2014 there were no clear differences between the area charters and Little Rock metro area traditional public schools that the students moved between. In 2015, the Little Rock metro area traditional public schools substantially outperformed the area charters that FRL students left. This pattern mirrors the changes experienced by black students transferring to Little Rock metro area traditional public schools from charters over the same time.

The only consistent pattern in this section is the difference in the fraction of FRL students in charters and TPSs that students transferred between. All students from LRSD and LRMA TPSs who moved to charters entered schools serving a more economically advantaged student body than did the schools they exited. Conversely, all students moving from charters to TPSs entered schools serving a more economically disadvantaged student body. In 2014-15, for example, 47% of charter students received FRL, while 69% of LRMA TPS students received FRL, indicating the difference in socioeconomic status between the sectors.

Whether we are considering only the Little Rock School District or the broader Little Rock Metropolitan area, some common themes emerge in our analyses of student transfers:

- When black students exit the TPS sector and enter charter schools, they enter schools with slightly lesser concentrations of black students and fewer FRL students

- When white students exit the TPS sector and enter charter schools, they enter schools with very similar concentrations of white students but with fewer FRL students

- Students moving between TPSs and charters do not move between schools with substantially different levels of academic achievement.

This above analysis, while helpful and important, does not tell us how the student transfers between school sectors affect the composition of schools they enter and exit. It also does not answer the question of whether these moves are serving to help integrate or segregate the schools in the Little Rock area public school system. Thus, in the next section, we examine current levels of integration in LRMA before turning to the question of how student moves impact integration in the LRMA public school system.

V. What is the current level of segregation and integration in the Little Rock TPS and Charter sectors?

We use two measures of segregation and two measures of integration to examine the current levels of racial balance and of socioeconomic balance in the LRMA public school system. First, to measure segregation, we define hyper-segregated schools as school in which over 90% of the student body are either of the same race (racially hyper-segregated) or in which over 90% of the student body receives FRL (socioeconomically hyper-segregated). We believe this definition is important to examine because it demonstrates whether students are in isolated environments in which they have little to no opportunities to interact with students of different backgrounds and identities.

We move from this classification of schools to an analysis of integration; here, we conceive of integration as the extent to which the demographic composition of schools is representative of the composition of the area as a whole. This allows us to see not only whether students are exposed to diversity, but also recognizes that schools can only be as diverse as the communities in which they are located. We do this in two ways: first, by examining the number of schools whose demographics are within 15 and 10 percentage points, respectively, of the community demographics; and, second, by calculating a continuous measure of the difference between the schools' demographics and the demographics of the area.

Hyper-Segregated Schools

Our first analysis examines the percent of students who attend hyper-segregated public schools—TPSs and charters—in the LRMA between the 2008-09 and 2014-15 school years. We

classify schools as hyper segregated[2] if 90% or more of the student body is white, 90% or more of the student body is black, or 90% or more of the student body receives FRL. There are no schools in the LRMA in which the share of students receiving FRL was less than 10%, so we do not present those numbers here.

Table 3 presents the percent of students in the LRMA enrolled in schools we identified as hyper-segregated in each year 2008-09 through 2014-15, and across all years combined.

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[2] This measure of hyper-segregation has been previously employed by researchers on this question.

Table 3: Percentage of Little Rock Area Students Enrolled in Hyper-Segregated Schools by Sector, 2008-2015

	Sector (# Students)	All Students in Racially Hyper-Segregated Schools	Students in Hyper-Segregated White Schools	Students in Hyper-Segregated Black Schools	Students in Hyper-segregated FRL Schools
2008-09	Charters (2,119)	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	LRMA TPSs (53,261)	6.7%	0.7%	6.0%	15.8%
	LRSD (25,760)	8.4%	0.0%	8.4%	19.6%
2009-10	Charters (2,900)	2.9%	0.0%	2.9%	0.0%
	LRMA TPSs (53,141)	5.4%	0.7%	4.7%	18.0%
	LRSD (25,795)	6.8%	0.0%	6.8%	25.4%
2010-11	Charters (3,708)	11.5%	0.0%	11.5%	0.0%
	LRMA TPSs (52,358)	4.0%	0.0%	4.0%	18.8%
	LRSD (25,610)	7.0%	0.0%	7.0%	24.3%
2011-12	Charters (4,408)	6.1%	0.0%	6.1%	3.8%
	LRMA TPSs (52,172)	5.4%	0.6%	4.7%	17.9%
	LRSD (25,497)	8.6%	0.0%	8.6%	24.3%
2012-13	Charters (4,833)	7.9%	0.0%	7.9%	2.6%
	LRMA TPSs (25,055)	4.6%	0.6%	4.0%	20.6%
	LRSD (52,097)	7.2%	0.0%	7.2%	27.4%
2013-14	Charters (5,084)	8.1%	0.0%	8.1%	0.0%
	LRMA TPSs (51,881)	5.0%	0.0%	5.0%	11.0%
	LRSD (25,078)	7.7%	0.0%	7.7%	7.1%
2014-15	Charters (5,709)	4.4%	0.0%	4.4%	11.6%
	LRMA TPSs (51,055)	3.9%	0.6%	3.4%	21.5%
	LRSD (24,725)	5.6%	0.0%	5.6%	28.7%
Total 2008-2015	**Charters (28,761)**	**6.3%**	**0.0%**	**6.3%**	**3.3%**
	LRMA TPSs (365,965)	**5.0%**	**0.5%**	**4.6%**	**17.7%**
	LRSD (177,520)	**7.3%**	**0.0%**	**7.3%**	**22.4%**

Table 3 reveals a few striking patterns. First, not surprisingly based on the racial composition of students in Little Rock, students who attend racially hyper-segregated schools overwhelmingly attend schools at which 90% or more of the student body is black, rather than schools at which 90% or more of the student body is white. This was true in all years examined. Fewer than 1% of students in any sector attended a hyper-segregated white school in any of the

years examined. Second, a similar percentage of charter students and TPS students attended racially hyper-segregated schools overall, but there are differences between years. For example, in 2008-09, 0.0% of charter students attended hyper-segregated black schools, while 8.4% of LRSD students and 6.0% of LRMA TPS students attended hyper-segregated black schools. However, in 2010-11, 11.5% of charter students attended hyper-segregated black schools, while only 7.0% of LRSD students and 4.0% of LRMA TPS students attended hyper-segregated black schools. Across all years examined, however, the percentages were more consistent across sector: 6.3% of charter students, 7.3% of LRSD students, and 4.6% of LRMA TPS students attended hyper-segregated black schools.

Table 3 also demonstrates that students in all sectors were more likely to attend a socioeconomically hyper-segregated school than a racially hyper-segregated school. There are also clear differences by sector in the concentration of FRL students. In 2008-09, 2009-10, 2010-11, and 2013-14, 0.0% of charter students attended a socioeconomically hyper-segregated school. (Remember also that no students in any sector in any year attended a school at which 90% or more of students did NOT receive FRL). In contrast, in no year did fewer than 11% of TPS students attend a socioeconomically hyper-segregated school. Across all years examined, 3.3% of charter students, 17.7% of LRMA TPS students, and 22.4% of LRSD students attended socioeconomically hyper-segregated schools. Socioeconomic hyper-segregation affected more students than racial hyper-segregation in LRMA between the 2008-09 and 2014-15 school years.[3]

Our measure of hyper-segregated schools is useful because it creates a clear distinction between schools using a set criterion, and it is important to determine how isolated students of a

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[3] One of the reasons that schools in the TPS sector were more likely to be socioeconomically hyper-segregated is that TPS schools served a higher proportion of FRL students during all years examined here.

particular race or socioeconomic status are. This analysis does not consider, however, the demographic composition of the community in which schools are located. It could thus be argued that this analysis penalizes schools that are located in less diverse areas. For this reason, we turn now to measures of integration that compare the demographic composition of schools to the demographic composition of the LRMA as a whole.

Integrated Schools: The Details of Defining and Identifying

To determine whether a school is integrated or not, we must determine a reasonable comparison group for the school; otherwise, we just know the composition of the school, but not how to interpret the numbers. We are essentially answering the question of what makes a school integrated—if it reflects the demographics of the country? The state? The city? The neighborhoods surrounding the school? Some might claim that an ideal integrated environment should be a mosaic of different cultures, races, ethnicities, and socioeconomic backgrounds, but that does not set a quantitative bar next to which we can hold up the actual schools in the LRMA and say whether the school is meeting that goal or not. Others could suggest that integrated schools should look like the country as a whole, but different regions have such diverse demographic make-ups that it seems unlikely that any school would look like the United States average. Perhaps schools in Little Rock should look like Arkansas demographics statewide to be considered integrated, but that seems an unfair standard by which to measure schools because of historic patterns of settlement, immigration, and economic opportunities.

That takes us to comparing the demographics of individual LRMA public schools to the demographics of the LRMA, or the neighborhoods in which the schools are situated. Comparing schools to the neighborhoods in which they are located is to say that schools should reflect the

demographic composition of neighborhoods that have been shaped by a history of racial and socioeconomic residential segregation and housing discrimination—to hold schools to this bar would thus seem to perpetuate the broader problem of segregation and discrimination in society, while failing to acknowledge schools' role in that discrimination. To compare schools simply to Little Rock as a city would also fall into this trap, ignoring the enduring impact of suburban development and sprawl on residential segregation. We believe, therefore, that best point of comparison is the Little Rock Metro Area—this is the area that schools can feasibly resemble, but one that is large enough to not excuse schools for perpetuating historical patterns of segregation. By comparing schools to the LRMA, which encompasses the broader community of Little Rock, North Little Rock, and Pulaski County, we are able to account for a broader, more diverse population and overcome the influences of suburban development and urban residential segregation.

Once the geographic reference point of a socially acceptable level of integration is determined, further questions arise. Should schools reflect the entire population of the LRMA, including adults and young children, or the K-12 population that is eligible to be in the public schools we are interested in studying? If we exclude individuals outside the K-12 age range, should we compare schools to all the demographics of all K-12 aged individuals in the area, or just those children who are enrolled in public schools? The distinction could have an important impact—the US Census bureau estimates that about 20% of K-12 students in Little Rock are enrolled in private schools.[4] If we include students enrolled in private schools in our definition of integration, however, are we holding public schools to a standard they cannot reach unless the students enrolled in private schools were to choose to re-enter the public school system? These

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[4] Data from the US Census Bureau American Community Survey interactive data tool, available at http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/index.xhtml#.

are questions without obvious right or wrong answers. Thus, we make our choices here and attempt to make them clear to the reader, acknowledging that other researchers might make other choices.

In this section, we compare schools' composition to the composition of students enrolled in public schools in the LRMA. This encompasses the area from which charter schools draw students, the students who could attend area TPSs, and is broad enough to transcend neighborhood-based residential segregation, which often reflects patterns of housing discrimination. We do not compare school demographics to the demographics of all people in the LRMA, because many families choose to send their students to private school, and it is not necessarily fair to think that schools can reflect the demographics of students who would never attend them.

Now that we have established our definition of the "broader community", we next need to determine how closely school must resemble that comparison group in order to be defined as 'integrated'—do schools need to perfectly match the community composition in order to be integrated, or can there be slight differences? We define integration in two ways: first, by looking at all schools whose composition is within 15 percentage points of the community composition, and second, by looking at all schools whose composition is within 10 percentage points of the community composition.

Integrated Schools: +/- 15 Percentage Points of Community Composition

Table 4 shows the percentage of students in LR Area charters, LRMA TPSs, and LRSD TPSs who attended integrated schools across all seven years examined in this analysis. In this table, we define integrated schools as those whose demographics are within 15 percentage points

of the community's demographics. The demographics of students enrolled in LRMA public schools changed year to year; for example, in 2008-09, 58% of public school students in the LRMA were black, while in 2014-15, about 56% of students in LRMA public schools were black. We calculated the percent of students in integrated schools for each sector in each year, then aggregated the number of students in integrated schools across years to determine the overall percentages of students in integrated schools across years.

Table 4: Percentage of Students in Integrated Schools (+/- 15 percentage points of LRMA average) By Sector, 2008-09 to 2014-15

	Row		**Charters**	**LRMA TPSs**	**LRSD TPSs**
Integrated-Black	1	% of Students	49.8%	47.0%	41.9%
	2	Average N of Schools	7	38	16
Integrated-White	3	% of Students	59.9%	36.5%	27.4%
	4	Average N of Schools	8	29	9
Integrated-FRL	5	% of Students	13.9%	37.1%	25.0%
	6	Average N of Schools	3	33	10

Rows 1-2 show the percentage of charter and TPS students enrolled in schools where the percent of black students was similar to the percent of black students enrolled in the LRMA public school system overall. The first column shows that across the seven years examined, 49.8% of charter students attended schools in which the percent of black students in the student body was within 15 percentage points of the share of black students in LRMA public schools. Row 2 shows the average number of schools that were labeled as integrated in a year. The first column shows that on average 7 charter schools were integrated in a given year. In 2014-15, 10 charter schools were integrated, while in 2008-09 3 charter schools were integrated. In 2014-15, about 56% of LRMA public school students were black, and 52.9% of charter students were in integrated schools, meaning more than half of charter students were in schools where 41-71% of students were black.

The second column shows the percent of students in LRMA TPSs who attended schools where the share of black students in the student body was within 15 percentage points of the fraction of black students in the LRMA public school system overall. 47.0% of LRMA TPS students attended integrated-black schools between 2008-09 and 2014-15. In 2014-15, 51.0% of LRMA TPS students attended integrated-black schools, meaning more than half of LRMA TPS students attended schools where 41-71% of students were black. In 2014-15, 40 LRMA TPSs were integrated, while in 2008-09, 43 LRMA TPSs were integrated.

Finally, column 3 shows the percent of students in LRSD TPSs where the fraction of black students was within 15 percentage points of the share of black students in the LRMA public school system. Across all years, 41.9% of LRSD students attended integrated-black schools, a slightly smaller share than that seen in the charter sector or across all LRMA TPSs during this time. In 2014-15, 47.1% of LRSD students attended schools where 41-71% of the student body was black. In that same year, 18 LRSD schools were integrated, while in 2008-09 16 schools enrolled a share of black students that was within 15 percentage points of the share of black students in LRMA public schools overall.

Rows 3 and 4 show the percent of students in each sector enrolled in schools where the share of white students was within 15 percentage points of the share of white students in LRMA public schools, and the number of schools across the seven years examined that were integrated-white. Across all years examined, 59.9% of charter students, 36.5% of LRMA TPS students, and 27.4% of LRSD students attended integrated-white schools. In 2014-15, 53.8% of charter students attended schools at which the share of white students was within 15 percentage points of the fraction of white students enrolled in LRMA public schools, as did 36.5% of LRMA TPS students, and 32.0% of LRSD students. In 2014-15, 9 charters were integrated-white, while in

2008-09 5 charters were integrated-white. In 2014-15, 28 LRMA TPSs and 10 LRSD TPSs were integrated white, while in 2008-09, 24 LRMA TPSs and 7 LRSD TPSs were integrated-white. Students in charter schools were more likely than students in TPSs to attended integrated-white schools across all seven years examined.

Finally, rows 5 and 6 show the percentage of students enrolled in schools where the share of students receiving free or reduced price lunch was within 15 percentage points of the share of FRL students enrolled in LRMA public schools during this time. Across the seven years examined, only 13.9% of charter students, 37.1% of LRMA TPS students, and 25.0% of LRSD students attended socioeconomically integrated schools. Students in TPSs were more likely to attend socioeconomically integrated schools than students in charters; however, only a small share of students in any sector actually attended socioeconomically integrated schools during this time.

In 2014-15, 17.4% of charter students attended 5 socioeconomically integrated schools, while in 2008-09 no charter students attended socioeconomically integrated schools. In 2014-15, 35.0% of LRMA TPS students attended 31 socioeconomically integrated schools, while in 2008-09, 40.6% of LRMA TPS students attended 36 socioeconomically integrated schools. Finally, in 2014-15, 19.8% of LRSD students attended 8 socioeconomically integrated schools, while in 2008-09, 23.9% of LRSD students attended 9 socioeconomically integrated schools. The number of charter schools and the share of charter students attending socioeconomically integrated schools has increased over the seven years examined, while the number of socioeconomically integrated TPSs and the share of TPS students attending socioeconomically integrated TPSs has decreased over this period. However, in both sectors the share of students attending socioeconomically integrated schools remains low.

In this analysis of integration, we classify schools within 15 percentage points (on either side) of the community average as integrated. With regard to the percentage of black students, charter schools appear to be slightly more integrated with 50% of charter students attending integrated schools, compared to 47% of student in the LRMA TPS sector and 42% of students in LRSD. With regard to the percentage of white students, charter schools are much more likely to be representative of the broader community, with 60% of charter students attending integrated schools, compared to 37% of student in the LRMA TPS sector and 27% of students in LRSD. Finally, with regard to socioeconomic integration, the charter sector is less likely to be integrated, with only 14% of charter students attending FRL-integrated schools, compared to 37% of student in the LRMA TPS sector and 25% of students in LRSD.

Integrated Schools: +/- 10 Percentage Points of Community Composition

Table 5 shows the percentage of students and the number of schools at which the school's demographics are within +/- 10 percentage points of the community composition. This is a slightly more restrictive threshold of integration than the one used in the previous section, which labeled schools as integrated if they were within +/- 15 percentage points of the community composition.

Table 5: Percentage of Students in Integrated Schools (+/- 10 percentage points of LRMA Average) By Sector, 2008-09 to 2014-15

	Row		**Charters**	**LRMA TPSs**	**LRSD TPSs**
Integrated-Black	1	% of Students	33.2%	37.3%	35.6%
	2	Average N of Schools	5	28	13
Integrated-White	3	% of Students	40.9%	29.5%	24.3%
	4	Average N of Schools	5	22	7
Integrated-FRL	5	% of Students	10.5%	23.0%	12.0%
	6	Average N of Schools	2	21	5

Row 1 in Table 5 shows the percentage of students in each sector who attended schools where the share of black students was within 10 percentage points of the percent of black students enrolled in LRMA public schools during this time, while row 2 shows the average number of schools in each sector that were integrated-black between 2008-09 and 2014-15. Across the seven years examined, 33.2% of charter students, 37.3% of LRMA TPS students, and 35.6% of LRSD students attended integrated-black students. The number of integrated-black schools varied between years. In 2008-09, 3 charter schools, 30 LRMA TPSs, and 13 LRSD schools were integrated-black, while in 2014-15, 6 charter schools, 27 LRMA TPSs, and 14 LRSD schools were integrated-black.

Rows 3 and 4 show the percentage of students and number of schools in each sector in which the share of white students was within +/- 10 percentage points of the fraction of white students enrolled in LRMA public schools. Charter students were more likely to attend integrated-white schools than were TPS students in either the LRMA or LRSD. Across the seven years examined, 40.9% of charter students, 29.5% of LRMA TPS students, 24.3% of LRSD students attended integrated-white schools. In 2014-15, 41.7% of charter students attended 7 integrated-white schools compared to 52.8% of charter students attending 4 integrated-white schools in 2008-09. In 2008-09, 30.9% of LRMA TPS students attended 24 integrated-white schools, while in 2014-15, 29.7% of LRMA TPS students attended 21 integrated-white schools. Finally, in 2008-09, 23.8% of LRSD students attended 7 integrated-white schools, while in 2014-15, 28.3% of LRSD students attended 8 integrated-white schools.

Finally, rows 5 and 6 show the percentage of students enrolled in and the average number of schools that were socioeconomically integrated during the seven years of this analysis. In contrast to the pattern observed in Table 4, here we see that when we define integration as being

within 10 percentage points of the community average, TPS students are more likely to attend socioeconomically integrated schools than are charter students. However, we again see that only a small fraction of students in any sector attended socioeconomically integrated schools during this time. Across the seven years examined, 10.5% of charter students, 23.0% of LRMA TPS students, and 12.0% of LRSD TPS students attended socioeconomically integrated schools. In 2008-09, no charter students attended socioeconomically integrated schools, while 26.2% of LRMA TPS students attended 23 socioeconomically integrated schools, as did 23.9% of LRSD students (in 9 schools). In 2014-15, 17.4% of charter students attended 5 socioeconomically integrated schools, while 25.4% of LRMA TPS students attended 20 socioeconomically integrated schools. In 2014-15, 11.6% of LRSD students attended 4 socioeconomically integrated schools.

Whether integrated schools are defined as being within 15 percentage points of the community's composition or within 10 percentage points of the community's composition, we see roughly similar shares of students from both the charter and TPS sector attending integrated-black schools, a slightly higher share of charter students attending integrated-white schools, and low shares of students attending socioeconomically integrated schools in either sector.

In this analysis, we use a stricter definition of integration and classify schools within 10 percentage points (on either side) of the community average as integrated. With regard to the percentage of black students, charter schools appear to be slightly less integrated with 33% of charter students attending integrated schools, compared to 37% of student in the LRMA TPS sector and 36% of students in LRSD. With regard to the percentage of white students, charter schools are more likely to be representative of the broader community, with 41% of charter students attending integrated schools, compared to 30% of student in the LRMA TPS sector and

24% of students in LRSD. Finally, with regard to socioeconomic integration, the charter sector is less likely to be integrated, with only 11% of charter students attending FRL-integrated schools, compared to 23% of student in the LRMA TPS sector and 12% of students in LRSD.

Differences in Composition

In the previous section, we labeled schools as integrated if their composition was within a certain range of the community demographic composition. While a fixed criterion is helpful for labeling schools, it is necessarily somewhat arbitrary in nature. In this section, we avoid the arbitrary benchmarks and instead calculate a continuous measure of integration based on the difference between the demographic composition of each sector and the demographic composition of the community. We calculate the difference between the school's demographics and the demographics of all LRMA public school students. The greater the "distance" between the school's composition and the community's composition, the more segregated the school; conversely, integration increases as that "distance" shrinks. Primarily, we focus on the absolute value of the difference between each sector's composition and the composition of the LRMA as a whole; we also look at the components of this figure by presenting the difference from the community average for schools that enroll a <u>higher</u> share of black, white, or FRL students and for schools that enroll a <u>lower</u> share of each student group.

 Table 6 presents these measures by sector for all years between 2008-09 and 2014-15.

Table 6: Distance from the LRMA Demographic Composition by Sector, 2008-09 to 2014-15

		Charters	LRMA TPSs	LRSD TPSs
% Black	**Absolute Distance** From Metro Area % Black	±19.5	±16.6	±17.8
	Average Diff. For Students <u>Above</u> LRMA % Black	+27.2	+18.5	+21.0
	Average Diff. For Students <u>Below</u> LRMA % Black	-18.3	-15.0	-11.8
% White	**Absolute Distance** From Metro Area % White	±17.2	±18.3	±20.2
	Average Diff. For Students <u>Above</u> LRMA % White	+16.9	+16.3	+14.7
	Average Diff. For Students <u>Below</u> LRMA % White	-20.1	-20.8	-22.7
% FRL	**Absolute Distance** From Metro Area % FRL	±27.8	±19.6	±22.1
	Average Diff. For Students <u>Above</u> LRMA % FRL	+18.1	+20.5	+22.1
	Average Diff. For Students <u>Below</u> LRMA % FRL	-29.7	-18.7	-22.7

<u>Integration as Measured by % Black</u>

The first three rows of Table 6 show the difference between the average percent of black students enrolled in charter schools, LRMA TPSs, and LRSD TPSs, and the percent of black students in the LRMA public school sector. On average, the gap between the percent of black students in the community and percent of black students in charter was greater than the gap between the percent of black students in the community and the percent of black students enrolled in TPSs, although the difference was over 15 percentage points in all sectors. Across all years, the average absolute difference between the percent of black students at a charter school and the percent of black students enrolled in LRMA public schools was 19.5 percentage points. The average absolute difference between the percent of black students at a TPS and the percent of black students enrolled in LRMA public schools was 16.6 percentage points among all LRMA TPSs and 17.8 percentage points among LRSD TPSs.

Row 2 illustrates the average difference between the community composition and schools if they enrolled a larger share of black students than were enrolled in LRMA public schools as a whole. Across all years, charters with a disproportionately large share of black students enrolled

a 27.2 percentage point higher fraction of black students than the community composition, while LRMA TPSs enrolled an 18.5 percentage point higher share of black students and LRSD TPSs enrolled a 21.0 percentage point higher share of black students than the community composition.

Finally, row 3 shows the average difference in composition between schools that enrolled a disproportionately small share of black students and the share of black students in the LRMA public school system overall. Across the seven years examined, charters that under-enrolled black students on average had an 18.3 percentage point smaller share of black students than the community composition, while LRMA TPSs had a 15.0 percentage point smaller share of black students than the LRMA public school system overall, and LRSD TPSs on average had an 11.8 percentage point smaller share of black students than the LRMA public school system overall.

Integration as Measured by % White

The next three rows show the average difference between the share of white students enrolled in schools in each sector and the share of white students enrolled in the LRMA public school system. Row 4 shows that the average absolute difference between the share of white students in TPSs and the share of white students in the LRMA public school system is slightly larger than the average absolute difference between the share of white students in charters and the LRMA public school system. On average, the share of white students in charters was ±17.2 percentage points of the share of white students in the LRMA public school system, while the share of white students in LRMA TPSs was ±18.3 percentage points of the area average, and the share of white students in LRSD TPSs was ±20.2 percentage points of the area average.

Taken together, rows 5 and 6 show that difference between the share of white students enrolled in each sector and the share of white students enrolled is roughly similar across charter

and TPSs, but the magnitude of the difference is greater when looking at schools that enroll a disproportionately small share of white students relative to the fraction of white students in LRMA public schools. On average, schools that enrolled a disproportionately larger share of white students enrolled a 15-17 percentage point higher fraction of white students than the area as a whole, while schools that enrolled a disproportionately small share of white students enrolled a 20-23 percentage point lower fraction of white students than the area as a whole.

Finally, rows 7-9 show the difference between the share of FRL students enrolled in schools in each sector and the share of FRL students enrolled in LRMA public schools. On average, the absolute difference between the share of FRL students in charters and the share of FRL students in LRMA public schools was slightly greater than the difference between the share of FRL students in TPSs and in LRMA public schools overall. However, the difference between the share of FRL students in charters in which FRL students were overrepresented was greater on average than the difference between the share of FRL students in TPSs (LRMA or LRSD) in which FRL students were overrepresented relative to the community. Finally, the average difference between the share of FRL students in charters in which FRL students under-represented was 29.7 percentage points lower than the share of FRL students in the LRMA public school system, while the average difference for LRMA TPSs was -18.7 percentage points, and was -22.7 percentage points for LRSD TPSs.

Overall, differences in the share of black students enrolled in schools relative to the share of black students enrolled in the LRMA public school system were slightly greater in charter schools than in TPSs, while differences in the share of white students enrolled in schools relative to the community were roughly similar across sectors. The largest differences were seen when examining the representation of FRL students in each sector relative to the share of FRL students

in the community as a whole. TPSs in general had more similar shares of FRL students relative to the community than did charter schools during this time.

Because there is no single, agreed-upon definition of an "integrated" school or system, we employed multiple analytic strategies. Whether we identified particular cutoffs (such as being with 10 or 15 percentage points of the community average) or we looked at the average differences between the school composition and the broader community, we arrived at roughly similar conclusions.

- *First of all, with regard to the percentage of black students, charter schools and TPS appear to be <u>similarly</u> integrated. Depending on the cutoffs employed, somewhere between 30% and 50% of the students attend schools identified as integrated and the figure for charter schools was quite similar to that for TPS. On average, students in each sector attended schools with percentages of black students roughly 17 to 20 percentage points different from the community average.*

- *Second, with regard to the percentage of white students, charter schools appear to be <u>slightly more representative</u> of the broader community than are TPS in LRSD or LRMA. Regardless of the cutoffs employed, a significantly greater fraction of the students in the charter sector attended integrated schools. However, in terms of the average deviation from the broader community, students in charter schools attended schools with percentages of white students roughly 17 percentage points different from the community average. This figure was just over 18 points for LRMA and 20 points for LRSD. Thus, the difference between sectors is not large.*

- *Finally, with regard to socioeconomic integration, the charter sector is <u>less likely to be integrated</u>, regardless of the measure chosen. While neither sector can boast of being socioeconomically representative, students in the charter sector are much less likely to attend school with student bodies that have an FRL percentage similar to that in the overall community. Indeed, on average, students in the charter sector attended schools with percentages of FRL students roughly 27 percentage points different from the community average. This figure was 20 points for LRMA and 22 points for LRSD.*

This section has examined static measures of integration in schools in the LRMA. We next turn to examining the impact individual student moves have on the level of integration in the schools the exit and enter.

VI.   How do student moves impact the level of integration in LRMA public schools?

Conceptual Challenges of Determining Schools' Level of Integration

Determining the impact of an individual student transfer between schools on the segregation of the Little Rock Area public school system as a whole is a different and challenging undertaking. However, the primary difficulty lies in determining what an integrated school is supposed to look like – and we described our decision rules on this topic in the prior section. After benchmark metric for integration has been established, it is a relatively easy task to determine whether students <u>leaving</u> make the school look more or less like the ideal integrated school, and whether students <u>entering</u> the school make the school look more or less like the ideal integrated school. In this section, we examine whether individual student moves tend to make the schools they leave and enter look more or less like the LRMA average, which is our definition of 'integrated'. Thus, student moves that result in a school looking more like the LRMA average, and thus more representative of the broader community, are categorized as 'integrative'.

Impact of Student Movement on School-Level Integration

Our chosen methodology first requires schools be classified as above average, integrated, or below average with respect to the percent of white, black, and FRL students at the school in each year. We use a +/- 10 percentage point bandwidth (we used this metric in the above section) around the LRMA public school enrollment average to make this designation. For example, in the 2008-09 school year, 58% of the students enrolled in any LRMA public school—charter or traditional public—were black. Schools at which 48-68% of enrolled students were designated as integrated with respect to black students in that year; schools where more than 68.1% of enrolled students were black were designated as above average in percent black students, and schools

where less than 47.9% of the student body was black were designated as below average in percent black students. We repeated this process with respect to white students and FRL students and for each of the six years examined. For each transfer out of a LRMA TPS, we determine whether the student left an above average, integrated, or below average black, white, or FRL school. For each transfer into a LRMA charter school, we similarly determine whether the student entered a school with an above average, integrated, or below average percentage of black, white, or FRL students. We then break this down by sector—what kind of schools are students transferring out of from LRMA TPSs, and what kind of charters are students transferring into in the Little Rock area? We investigate whether black students leave schools with below average shares of black students for schools with above average shares of black students (which would be segregative), or if FRL students leave schools with above average shares of FRL students for schools with below-average shares of FRL students (which would be integrative). We examine whether there are patterns of students leaving integrated TPSs for more

segregated charter schools, or whether there are patterns of students leaving integrated charters

for integrated TPSs, for example.

Impact on LRMA Schools Students **Exit**

Table 7 examines the TPSs that students exited between 2008-09 and 2014-15.

Table 7:ALL Student Transfers out of Little Rock Metro Area Traditional Public Schools, by Demographic of Student and Related School Integration, Selected Years, 2008-09 to 2014-15

		Move 2009		Move 2012		Move 2014		2008-09 to 2014-15	
		# of Students	% of Transfers	# of Students	% of Transfers	# of Students	% of Transfers	# of Students	**% of Transfers**
Black Students Leaving	Above Avg % Black	1,421	24.6%	1,635	27.4%	1,425	25.2%	9,166	**26.1%**
	Integrated Black	1,162	20.1%	1,089	18.2%	1,054	18.6%	6,601	**18.8%**
	Below Avg % Black	593	10.3%	643	10.8%	722	12.8%	3,860	**11.0%**
White Students Leaving	Above Avg % White	1,395	24.2%	1,591	26.6%	1,529	27.1%	9,059	**25.8%**
	Integrated White	912	15.8%	730	12.2%	665	11.8%	4,668	**13.3%**
	Below Avg % White	290	5.0%	286	4.8%	257	4.5%	1,767	**5.0%**
N, Black and White Moves		**5,773**		**5,974**		**5,652**		**35,121**	
FRL Students Leaving	Above Avg % FRL	1,735	26.4%	2,354	34.6%	2,095	31.4%	13,238	**32.9%**
	Integrated FRL	1,077	16.4%	896	13.2%	874	13.1%	5,564	**13.8%**
	Below Avg % FRL	994	15.1%	887	13.0%	957	14.4%	5,778	**14.4%**
Non-FRL Students Leaving	Below Avg % FRL	1,610	24.5%	1,613	23.7%	1,599	24.0%	9,370	**23.3%**
	Integrated FRL	777	11.8%	566	8.3%	642	9.6%	3,558	**8.8%**
	Above Avg % FRL	380	5.8%	481	7.1%	497	7.5%	2,699	**6.7%**
N, FRL and Non-FRL Moves		**6,573**		**6,797**		**6,664**		**40,207**	

We label moves where black students leave schools with an above average percentage of

the student body is black as having an integrative impact on the schools they leave, because it

brings the school's racial composition closer to the average of the LRMA. Conversely,

incidences of white students leaving schools with below average percentages of white students

have a segregative effect, as these moves shift the school's racial composition further from the

LRMA composition. We classify student moves from schools that are integrated as having a neutral effect on the overall level of integration of the LRMA public school system.

In 2009, 5,773 black and white students exited LRMA public schools. Slightly less than 25% of those moves were black students exiting schools with an above-average share of black students—these moves were integrative. Similarly, about 24% of those moves were white students exiting schools with an above-average share of white students—these moves were also integrative. In the same year, 20.1% of moves were black students making neutral moves, and 15.8% were white students making neutral moves. In 2009, 10% of moves were black students leaving schools in which black students were underrepresented, and the final 5% of moves were white students leaving schools in which white students were underrepresented. These moves were segregative. In 2009, 2,816 moves (48.8%) were racially integrative, while 35.9% were neutral, and just 15.3% were segregative.

Across all seven years examined, we see a similar story. 26.1% of all moves were black students leaving schools in which black students were overrepresented, and another 25.8% of moves were white students leaving schools in which white students were overrepresented. Slightly less than 19% of moves were neutral moves made by black students, and another 13% were neutral moves made by white students. Finally, 11% of moves were segregative moves made by black students, and 5% were segregative moves made by white students. In total, 18,225 of 35,121 (52%) of moves were racially integrative, 32% were racially neutral, and 16% were racially segregative. The majority of student exits from LRMA TPSs had a racially integrative impact on the schools students chose to leave.

The bottom half of Table 7 shows the impact of student exits on the level of socioeconomic integration in LRMA TPSs. Across all seven years, there were 40,207 student

exits from LRMA TPSs.[5] Of those moves, 32.9% were made by FRL students exiting schools in which FRL students were overrepresented, and another 23.3% were non-FRL students exiting schools in which non-FRL were overrepresented—the moves were integrative. Between the 2008-09 and 2014-15 school years, 13.8% of moves were made by FRL students and had a neutral impact on the level of socioeconomic integration in the schools they exited, while another 8.8% were moves made by non-FRL students that had a neutral impact on the level of socioeconomic integration in the schools they exited. Finally, 14.4% of moves were made by FRL students and had a segregative impact on the exited schools, and 6.7% of moves were made by non-FRL students and had a segregative impact. In total, 56% of moves were socioeconomically integrative (22,608 of 40,207), while 23% were neutral, and 21% had a segregative impact on the LRMA TPSs that students chose to exit.

Over the seven years of this analysis, the majority of moves made by students exiting LRMA TPSs had a racially and socioeconomically integrative impact on the exited schools, because the majority of moves were students leaving schools in which they were demographically overrepresented.

Impact on LRSD Schools Students **Exit**

Table 7 examined the impact of student transfers on LRMA TPSs students exited between the 2008-09 and 2014-15 school years. We are also interested specifically on the impact student exits had on the single central city school district (LRSD) during this time. Table 8 presents this analysis.

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[5] This total is different from the total number of black and white student moves because it includes students with other racial identities.

Table 8: ALL Student Transfers Out Of LRSD TPSs, by Demographic of Student and Related School Integration, Selected Years 2008-09 to 2014-15

		Move 2009		Move 2012		Move 2014		Overall	
		# Students	% of Transfers	# Students	% of Transfers	# Students	% of Transfers	# Students	% of Transfers
Black Students Leaving	Above Avg % Black	1,701	54.9%	1,867	59.9%	1,391	48.3%	9,725	**53.5%**
	Integrated Black	540	17.4%	437	14.0%	606	21.0%	3,082	**17.0%**
	Below Avg % Black	59	1.9%	161	5.2%	142	4.9%	695	**3.8%**
White Students Leaving	Above Avg % White	220	7.1%	370	11.9%	314	10.9%	1,769	**9.7%**
	Integrated White	265	8.5%	22	0.7%	198	6.9%	1,244	**6.8%**
	Below Avg % White	315	10.2%	262	8.4%	228	7.9%	1,661	**9.1%**
N, Black and White Moves		**3,100**		**3,119**		**2,879**		**18,176**	
FRL Students Leaving	Above Avg FRL	1,470	42.0%	2,221	59.1%	1,319	38.7%	10,924	**52.1%**
	Integrated FRL	590	16.8%	131	3.5%	280	8.2%	1,554	**7.4%**
	Below Avg % FRL	310	8.9%	348	9.3%	132	12.7%	2,080	**9.9%**
Non-FRL Students Leaving	Below Avg % FRL	556	15.9%	586	15.6%	760	22.3%	3,507	**16.7%**
	Integrated FRL	319	9.1%	82	2.2%	326	9.6%	1,020	**4.9%**
	Above Avg FRL	257	7.3%	390	10.4%	287	8.4%	1,867	**8.9%**
N, FRL and Non-FRL Moves		**3,502**		**3,758**		**3,404**		**20,952**	

Table 8 presents the impact on LRSD schools exited by students. Moves are integrative if students leave schools where they are already overrepresented (for example, black students leaving above average black schools), neutral if they leave schools where they are proportionately represented (for example, white students leaving integrated white schools), and segregative if they leave schools where they are disproportionately underrepresented (for example, FRL students leaving below average FRL schools).

The top half of Table 8 examines the impact of student movements on the level of racial integration in the LRSD schools students exited. Across all seven years examined, 18,176 black and white students exited LRSD TPSs. Of those, 11,494 moves (63%) had a racially integrative impact on the exited schools, as they were made by black or white students leaving schools in

which they had been demographically overrepresented. During the same period, 24% of moves were neutral, and just 13% of moves had a racially segregative impact on the exited LRSD schools.

The bottom half of Table 8 examines the impact of student movements on the level of socioeconomic integration in the LRSD schools students chose to leave. In the years analyzed, 20,952 students exited LRSD schools for other options. Of these moves, 14,431 (69%) had an integrative impact on the exited schools, as they were made by FRL or non-FRL students exiting schools with a disproportionately large share of FRL or non-FRL students, respectively. An additional 12% of moves had a neutral impact, and the remaining 19% of moves (3,947) had a seegregative impact on the exited schools.

Across the seven years examined, a majority of student exits from LRSD schools had a racially and socioeconomically integrative impact on the schools exited, as most students left schools in which they had been demographically overrepresented.

Impact on LRMA TPSs Students **Exit** for Charters

The previous sections have examined the impact of student exits from <u>all</u> LRMA TPSs and LRSD TPSs into <u>all</u> different school settings, including other TPS schools, out-of-state schools, private schools, and charter schools. Despite the fact that a relatively small number of these transfers include students moving into charter schools, transfers into charters are often controversial and of great interest to policymakers. Thus, policymakers focused on the Little Rock School District are very interested in the question of how student movements from transfers to charters impact the level of integration in LRTMA TPSs. Table 9 shows the impact of this subset of moves.

*Table 9: Student Transfers Out Of LRMA TPSs for LRMA **Charters**, by Demographic of Student and Related School Integration, Selected Years 2008-09 to 2014-15*

		Move 2009		Move 2012		Move 2014		Overall	
		# Students	% of Transfers	# Students	% of Transfers	# Students	% of Transfers	# Students	**% of Transfers**
Black Students Leaving	Above Avg % Black	120	17.3%	275	34.2%	246	28.6%	1,283	**28.1%**
	Integrated Black	195	28.2%	175	21.8%	214	14.9%	1,109	**24.3%**
	Below Avg % Black	73	10.5%	112	13.9%	105	12.2%	619	**13.6%**
White Students Leaving	Above Avg % White	151	21.8%	152	18.9%	202	23.5%	916	**20.1%**
	Integrated White	122	17.6%	67	8.3%	63	7.3%	483	**10.6%**
	Below Avg % White	31	4.5%	22	2.7%	29	3.4%	149	**3.3%**
N, Black and White Moves		**692**		**803**		**859**		**4,559**	
FRL Students Leaving	Above Avg FRL	220	28.3%	331	35.1%	333	31.2%	1,753	**32.7%**
	Integrated FRL	115	14.8%	99	10.5%	128	12.0%	629	**11.7%**
	Below Avg % FRL	54	6.9%	106	11.2%	152	14.3%	574	**10.7%**
Non-FRL Students Leaving	Below Avg % FRL	174	22.4%	219	23.2%	259	24.3%	1,267	**23.6%**
	Integrated FRL	150	19.3%	82	8.7%	83	7.8%	541	**10.1%**
	Above Avg FRL	65	8.4%	106	11.2%	111	10.4%	601	**11.2%**
N, FRL and Non-FRL Moves		**778**		**943**		**1,066**		**5,365**	

The message of Table 9 is similar to that of Tables 7 and 8, although it is smaller in scale than Table 7 because only a small share of student exits from LRMA TPSs is due to students moving to area charters. Across the seven years examined, 4,559 black and white student exited LRMA TPSs for area charters. Of those moves, 2,199 (48%) were racially integrative, as they represented black or white students leaving schools with an above average share of black or white students, respectively. Another 1,592 moves (35%) were racially neutral, and the remaining 768 moves (17%) were racially segregative, as they were black or white students exiting schoosl with a below average share of black or white students, respectively.

The bottom half of Table 9 shows the impact of student exits from LRMA TPSs to LRMA charters on the level of socioeconomic integration in the exited LRMA TPSs. In the seven years examined, 5,365 students exited LRMA TPSs for area charters. Of those, 3,020

(56%) had an integrative impact on the exited schools, as FRL and non-FRL students exited schools in which they had been demographically overrepresented. Another 1,170 moves (22%) were neutral, while the remaining 1,175 moves (22%) were segregative.

When looked at as a whole, student exits from LRMA TPSs to LRMA charters had a racially and socioeconomically integrative impact on the schools students chose to leave, as students exited schools in which they had been demographically overrepresented.

Impact on LRSD Schools Students **Exit** for Charters

While LRMA charters draw students from all TPSs in the area, the impact of student movements from LRSD schools may be of particular interest to policymakers. Table 10 highlights the impact of student exits from LRSD schools to LRMA charters on the level of integration in the exited LRSD schools.

*Table 10: Student Transfers Out Of LRSD TPSs for LRMA **Charters**, by Demographic of Student and Related School Integration, Selected Years 2008-09 to 2014-15*

		Move 2009		Move 2012		Move 2014		Overall	
		# Students	% of Transfers	# Students	% of Transfers	# Students	% of Transfers	# Students	% of Transfers
Black Students Leaving	Above Avg % Black	111	41.4%	256	57.3%	209	46.2%	1,116	**48.7%**
	Integrated Black	58	21.6%	69	15.4%	110	24.3%	480	**20.9%**
	Below Avg % Black	12	4.5%	33	7.4%	23	5.1%	118	**5.1%**
White Students Leaving	Above Avg % White	21	7.8%	32	7.2%	52	11.5%	206	**9.0%**
	Integrated White	39	14.6%	39	8.7%	37	8.2%	242	**10.6%**
	Below Avg % White	27	10.1%	18	4.0%	21	4.6%	131	**5.7%**
N, Black and White Moves		**268**		**447**		**452**		**2,293**	
FRL Students Leaving	Above Avg FRL	108	34.8%	299	55.8%	221	39.3%	1,255	**46.3%**
	Integrated FRL	42	13.5%	11	2.1%	38	6.8%	180	**6.6%**
	Below Avg % FRL	20	6.5%	46	8.6%	89	15.8%	287	**10.6%**
Non-FRL Students Leaving	Below Avg % FRL	65	21.0%	96	17.9%	123	21.9%	539	**19.9%**
	Integrated FRL	54	17.4%	16	3.0%	31	5.5%	152	**5.6%**
	Above Avg FRL	21	6.8%	68	12.7%	60	10.7%	297	**11.0%**
N, FRL and Non-FRL Moves		**310**		**536**		**562**		**2,710**	

The first section of Table 10 shows the impact of student moves from LRSD schools to LRMA charters on the level of racial integration in LRSD schools. Across the years examined, 2,293 students exited LRSD schools for LRMA charters. Of those moves, almost half (48.7%) were black students leaving schools with an above-average share of black students. Another 9% of moves were white students leaving schools in which they were demographically overrepresented. In total, 1,322 (57.7%) student exits from LRSD for charters had a racially integrative impact on the schools they left behind. Another 31% of moves had a racially neutral impact on LRSD schools, and 11% had a racially segregative impact on the LRSD schools students exited.

The bottom section of Table 10 shows the impact of LRSD student exits for charters on the level of socioeconomic integration in the exited LRSD schools. There were 2,710 student moves across the seven years of our analysis, 1,794 of which were FRL or non-FRL students leaving schools in which they had been demographically overrepresented. In other words, 66% of student moves had a socioeconomically integrative impact on the LRSD schools they exited. 332 moves (12%) had a socioeconomically neutral impact on the exited LRSD schools, and 584 (22%) had a socioeconomically segregative impact.

Across the seven years examined, student exits from LRSD TPSs to LRMA charters tended to have an integrative impact on the schools that students left, because black, white, and FRL students tended to exit schools in which they had been demographically overrepresented.

Net Impact of Student Moves from LRMA TPSs to LRMA Charters on Integration

Policymakers thinking about the LRMA public school system as a whole should be concerned about the overall impact of student movements on the level of integration on the system as a whole. Whether students are in an integrated or segregated environment matters regardless of whether the student attends a charter or a traditional public school. When thinking about education policy moving forward, and whether the charter sector should continue to grow and how admissions into charters should be handled, policymakers need to understand the net impact of student movements on the system as a whole. However, as we have shown, much of the student movement affecting LRMA schools is the result of education sectors outside of LRMA policymakers' decisions—students move into the area from other parts of the state or from outside the public school system, and students leave the area for traditional schools in other parts of the state or options outside the public school system. Thus, when we look at the net

impact of student movements, we need to limit our scope just to move within the LRMA in order to capture the impact of each student move both on the school they exit and on the school they enter. Table 11 summarizes the impact of student moves on the LRMA TPSs students exited and on the LRMA charters students entered during the seven years of our analysis.

Table 11: Net Impact of Student Moves from LRMA TPSs to LRMA Charters, 2008-09 to 2014-15

		Exits from TPS	Entrances to Charters	Total Moves	Overall %
Black Students	**Integrative**	1,283	1,173	2,456	26.9%
	Neutral	1,109	699	1,808	19.8%
	Segregative	619	1,139	1,758	19.3%
White Students	**Integrative**	916	29	945	10.4%
	Neutral	483	450	1,023	11.2%
	Segregative	149	979	1,128	12.4%
FRL Students	**Integrative**	1,753	1,370	3,123	29.1%
	Neutral	629	352	981	9.1%
	Segregative	574	1,234	1,808	16.8%
Non-FRL Students	**Integrative**	1,267	205	1,472	13.7%
	Neutral	541	163	704	6.6%
	Segregative	601	2,041	2,642	24.6%

Table 11 shows the net impact of students moving from TPSs to charters on the LRMA public school system as a whole. This analysis takes into account the fact that each student move has two impacts—one on the school they exit, and one on the school they enter. This analysis adds both of those impacts together so we can see whether student moves from TPSs to charters is increasing, decreasing, or not affecting the level of integration experienced by students in LRMA public schools.

In the top section of Table 11, we see the impact of student moves on the level of racial integration in both LRMA TPSs and LRMA charters. Across the years examined, 26.9% of moves were integrative moves made by black students, while an additional 10.4% of moves were

integrative moves made by white students. In total, 3,401 of 9,028 (37.7%) of moves made by black and white students had a racially integrative impact either on the TPS students exited or on the charter students entered. About 20% of moves made during these seven years were moves made by black students that had a neutral impact; another 11.2% of moves were moves made by white students that had a neutral impact. In total, 2,741 moves (30.4%) made by black and white students had a neutral impact on either the TPS students exited or the charter students entered during this time. Finally, we see that 19.3% of moves were moves by black students that had a racially segregative impact, as were 12.4% of moves made by white students. In total, 2,886 moves (32.0%) made by black and white students had a racially segregative impact on either the TPSs students left, or the charters they entered. Overall, a plurality of moves (37.7%) made by black and white students had an integrative impact on the LRMA public school system as a whole.

The bottom section of Table 11 shows the impact of student exits from LRMA TPSs to LRMA charters on the level of socioeconomic integration in the LRMA public school system. Across the years examined, 29.1% of moves were made by FRL students and had an integrative impact on the LRMA public school system. An additional 13.7% of moves were made by non-FRL students and had an integrative impact on the LRMA public school system. Overall, 4,595 (42.8%) of moves had a socioeconomically integrative impact on either the TPSs students exited or the charters students entered. The smallest share of moves had a socioeconomically neutral impact on the LRMA public school system, highlighting the polarization of LRMA schools into having either an above or below average share of FRL students. Across the years examined, 1,685 (15.7%) of moves had a socioeconomically neutral impact on either the TPSs students exited or the charter they entered into. Finally, we see that 16.8% of moves were made by FRL

students and had a segregative impact, and another 24.6% of moves were made by non-FRL students and had a segregative impact. Taken together, 41.5% of moves had a socioeconomically segregative impact on the LRMA public school system.

When we consider the impact of a student move on both sides—on the school left behind and on the school entered—we see that student moves from LRMA TPSs to charter tended to be slightly more racially and socioeconomically integrative than segregative across the seven years included in this analysis.

Impact on Charter Schools Students **Enter**

When thinking about the LRMA public school system as a whole, we are interested in how student moves impact both the schools that students **exit** and the schools that students **enter**. In the past section, we focused on students moving into charters from LRMA charters, but a larger share of charter students come from outside the LRMA public school system. Charter schools only exist because students choose to enter them, and it is important to know if students who currently attend charters are in integrated environments (which we discussed in section V), and whether the charter environment has grown more or less racially and socioeconomically integrated over time. We turn now to whether the moves of students into charters from all other schools (LRMA TPSs, other areas of the state, or non-public options) had an integrative, neutral, or segregative impact on the charters they entered. We focus here on charters because, over time, all of their students entered as the result of student movements.

When examining **all** entrants to charters, we see different patterns emerge than when we only look at students coming into LRMA charters from LRMA TPSs. Across the seven years examined, 1,388 of 6,472 (21%) moves made by black and white students had a racially integrative impact, while 29% were racially neutral, and 49% were racially segregative. Students

coming into LRMA charters from outside the LRMA tended to enter into charters in which they were already demographically overrepresented. Similarly, when looking at the impact of all student transfers into LRMA charters on the level of socioeconomic integration in LRMA charters, we find that 2,072 of 7,699 (27%) were socioeconomically integrative, while 9% were neutral, and a full 64% were socioeconomically segregative. Again, we see that students entering charters from outside the Little Rock area enroll in schools in which they are demographically overrepresented.

The charter sector in the Little Rock Area has grown in recent years, and there is clear demand among families for charter options. However, as it is also important for public schools to create diverse, affirming environments for students of all backgrounds, we need to look at whether student moves into charters are helping to integrate or segregate the student body. By doing so, we can have a better discussion about policy questions such as having weighted lotteries for charter admission to ensure that students of different backgrounds are proportionately represented in charter schools.

VII.   Conclusions

We began this report with three research questions probing the current level of integration in Little Rock Area public schools, and how student movement is impacting integration in both charters and TPSs. Broadly, the conclusions from these analyses are as follows:

- All students moving into charters from TPSs entered schools with a lower concentration of FRL students; conversely, students moving into TPSs from charters entered schools serving a less economically advantaged student body.

- Overall, students moved into schools with similar academic performance as the schools they exited.

- 6% of charter students, 5% of LRMA TPS students, and 7% of LRSD students attended racially hyper-segregated schools.

- 3% of charter students, 18% of LRMA TPS students, and 22% of LRSD students attended socioeconomically hyper-segregated schools.

- Public school students in the LRMA were more likely to attend racially integrated than socioeconomically integrated schools; however, fewer than 50% of students in any sector attended racially integrated schools, and fewer than 38% of students in any sector attended socioeconomically integrated schools.

- Transfers of back, white, and FRL students tended to have an integrative impact on the LRMA TPSs they exited.

- Black, white, and FRL students tended to enter charters in which they were already demographically overrepresented. However, when only looking at students moving from LRMA TPSs to LRMA charters (not including students entering charters from outside the area) moves tended to be both racially and socioeconomically integrative.

- The primary reason that student transfers from TPS into charters were more likely to have an integrative effect than a segregative one is straightforward: students who transferred to charters generally exited TPS schools that were segregated. About half of all moves were made by students exiting schools in which they had been demographically overrepresented.