

# Separate and Unequal: How School Investment and Integration Matter for Educational Opportunity and Attainment

November 14, 2019 | #StudentDiversityMatters

*Sponsored by Senator Chris Murphy (D-CT)  
and Congresswoman Marcia L. Fudge (D-OH-11)*

# Welcome & Introduction

**Jessica Cardichon** | @LPI\_Learning

*Director of Federal Policy and Director, Washington, DC Office*  
Learning Policy Institute

# Research Presentation

**Sean Reardon** | @seanfreardon @StanfordEd

*Professor of Poverty and Inequality in Education*  
Stanford University

# segregation and academic achievement gaps

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sean f. reardon

stanford university

november 14, 2019

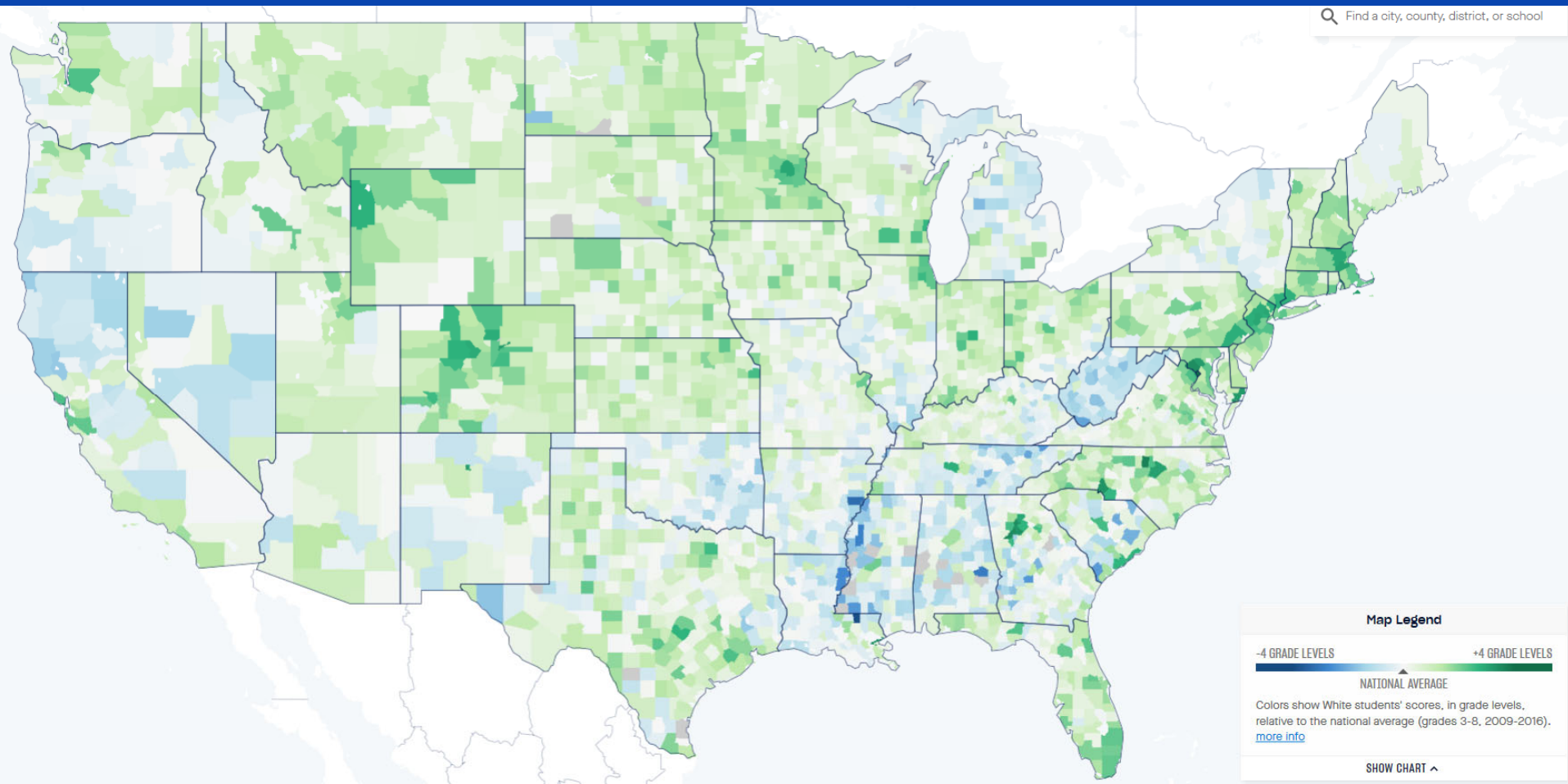




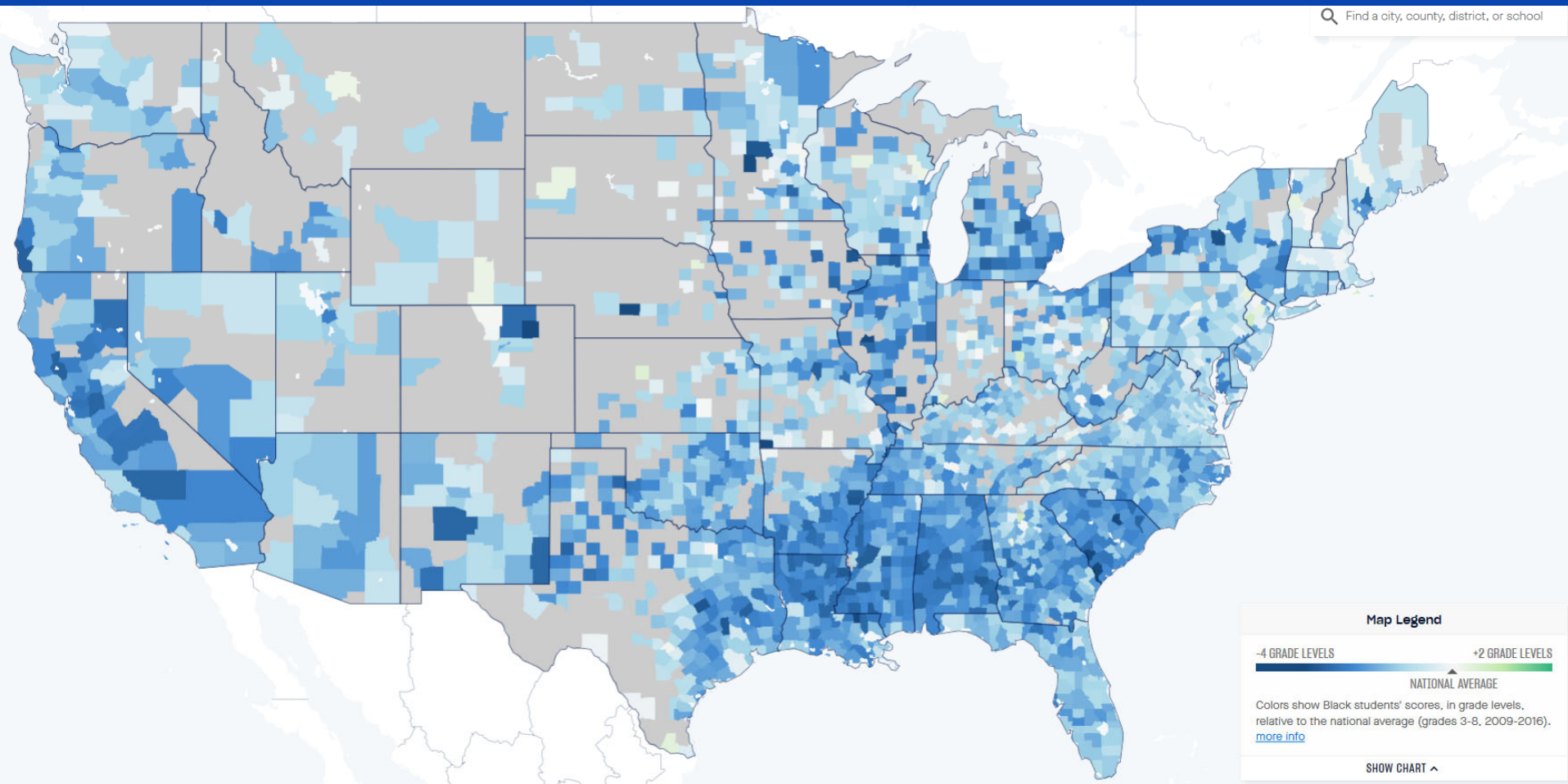
# the educational opportunity project

We're measuring educational opportunity  
in every community in America

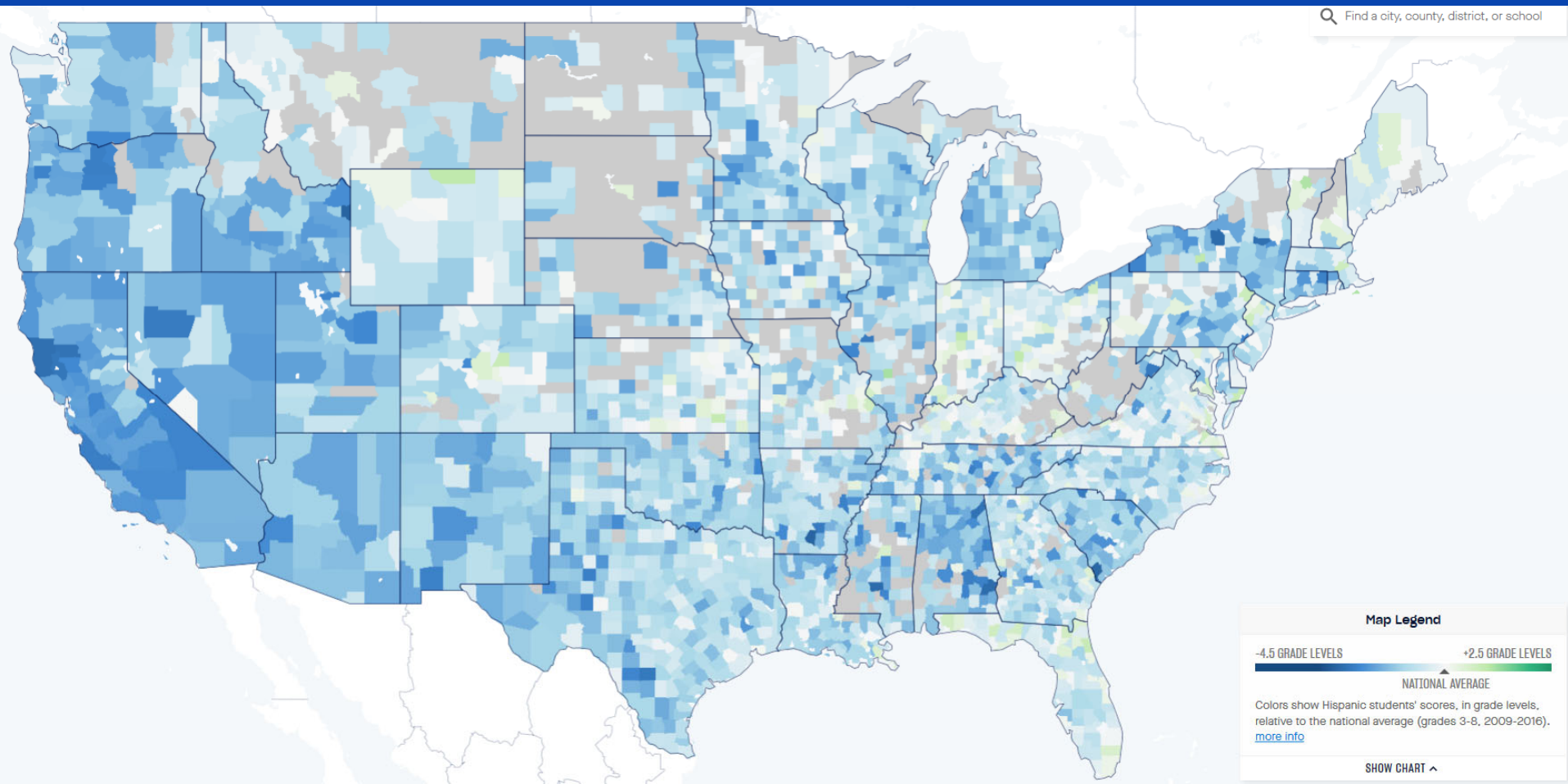
# Average Test Scores, White Students



# Average Test Scores, Black Students



# Average Test Scores, Hispanic Students



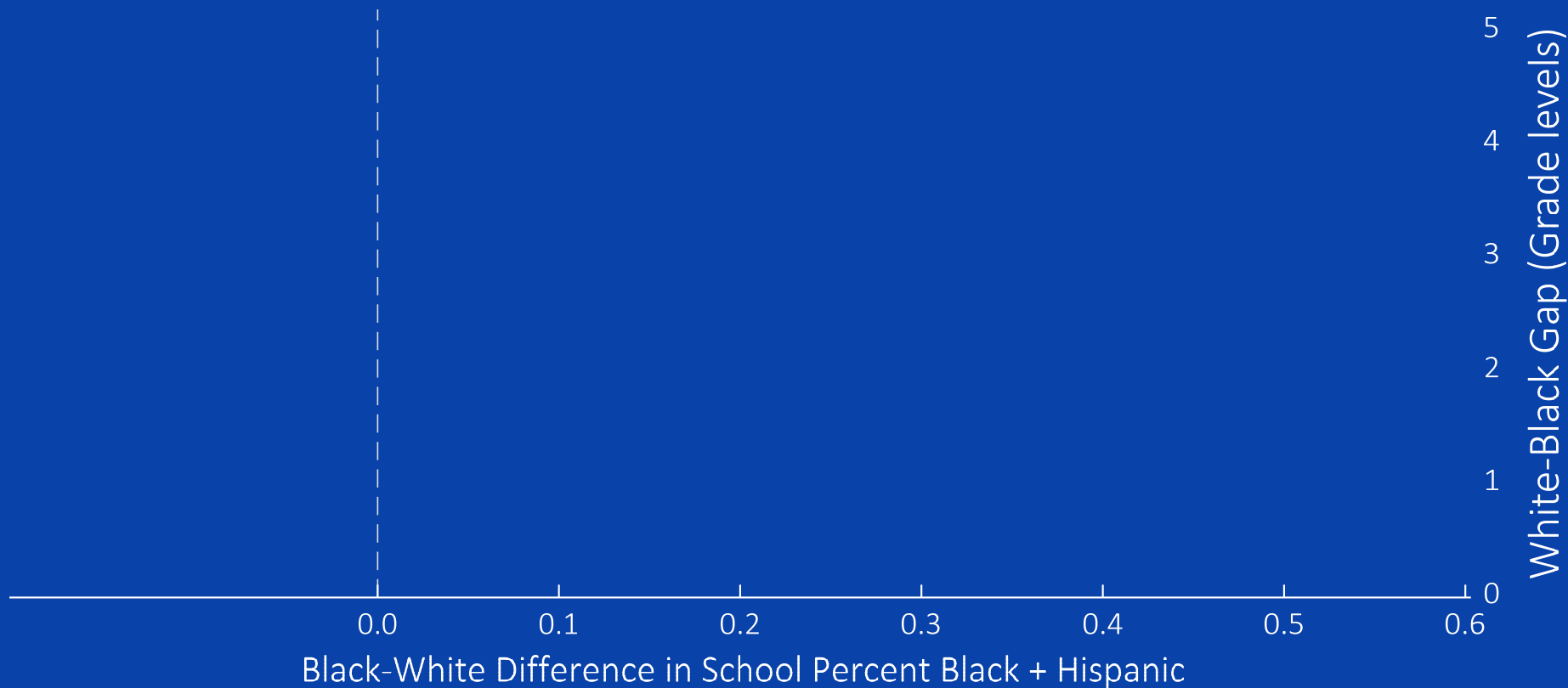
# What leads to unequal educational opportunity and achievement gaps?

(see Reardon, Weathers, Fahle, & Jang, 2019; available at [edopportunity.org](https://edopportunity.org))

- Economic inequality
- School and residential segregation
  - Racial segregation (difference in the racial composition of white and black students' schools and neighborhoods)
  - Racial economic segregation (difference in the poverty rate of white and black students' schools and neighborhoods)

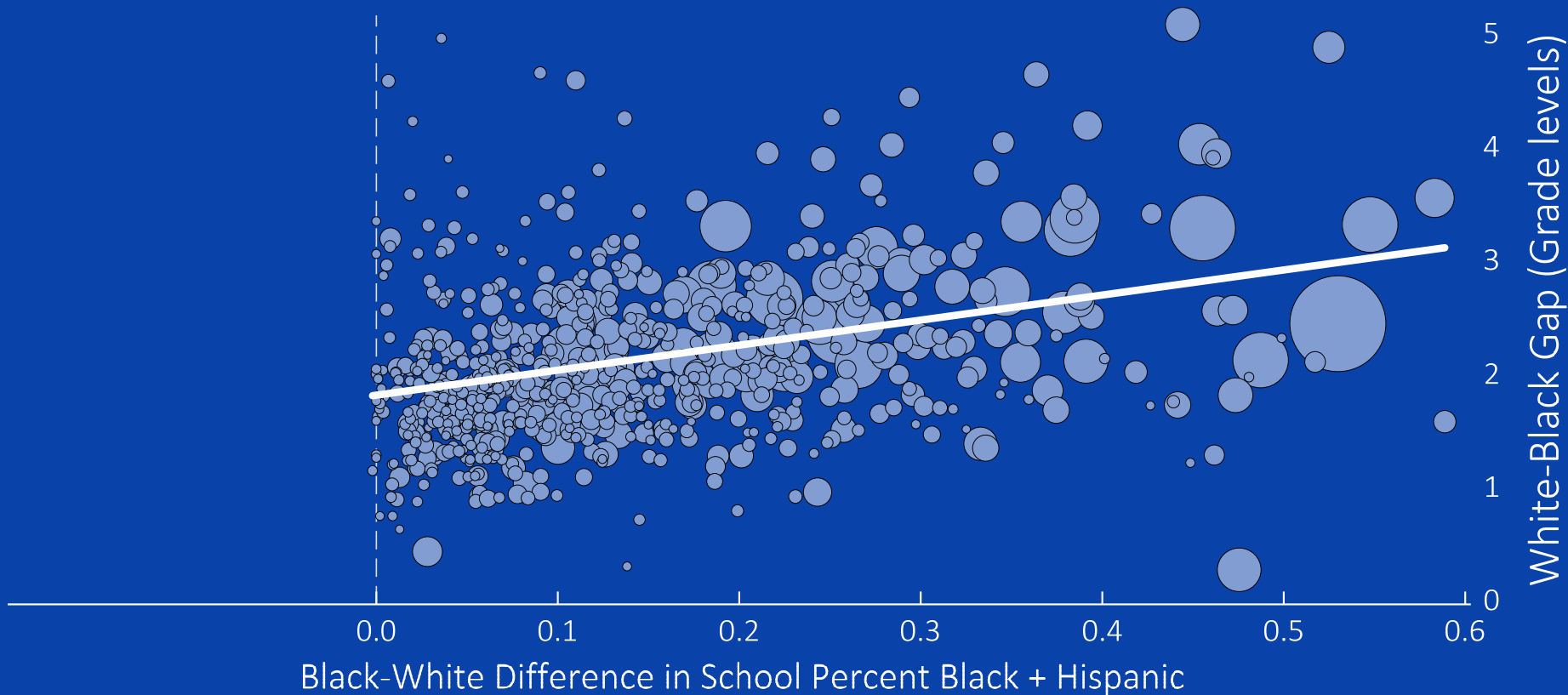
# White-Black Achievement Gap, by White-Black Racial Segregation

All US School Districts with at least 100 Black & 100 White Students/Grade, 2009-2016



# White-Black Achievement Gap, by White-Black Racial Segregation

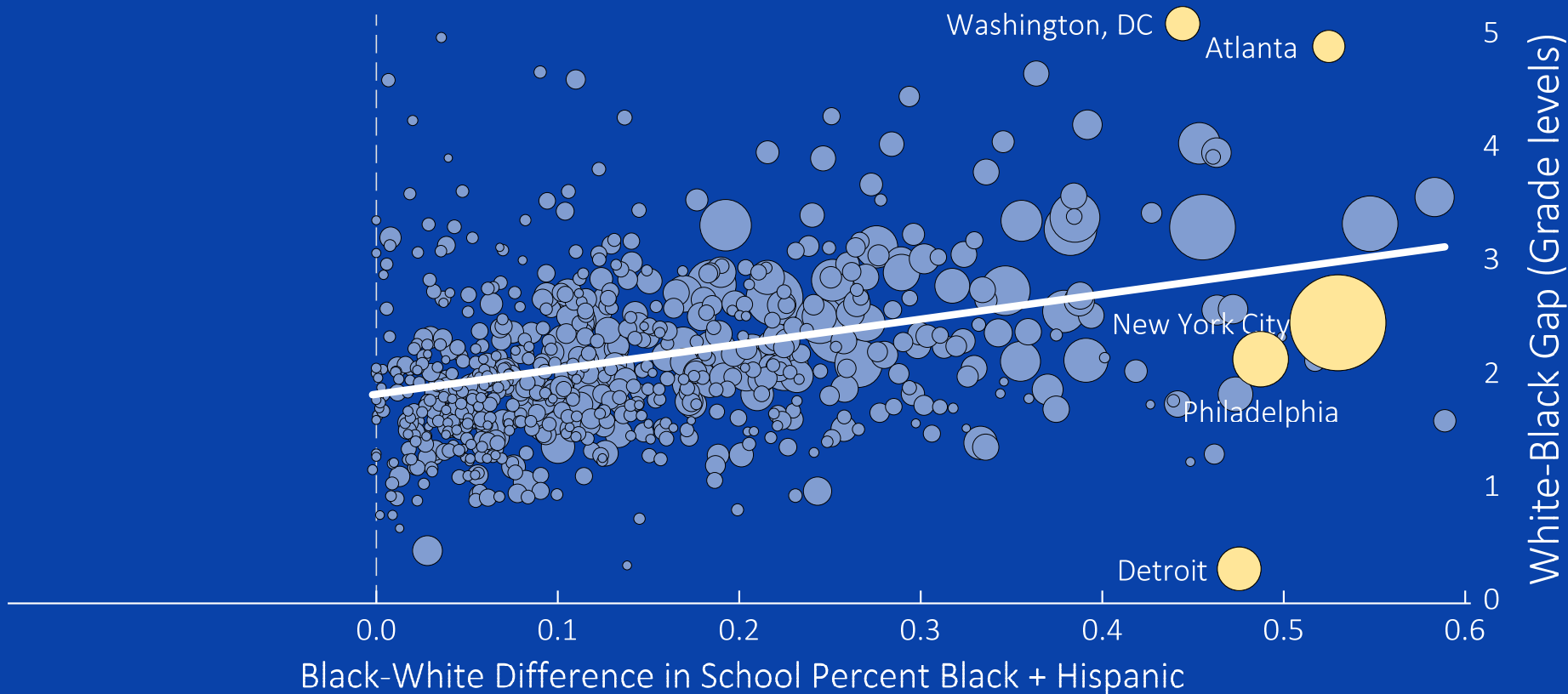
All US School Districts with at least 100 Black & 100 White Students/Grade, 2009-2016





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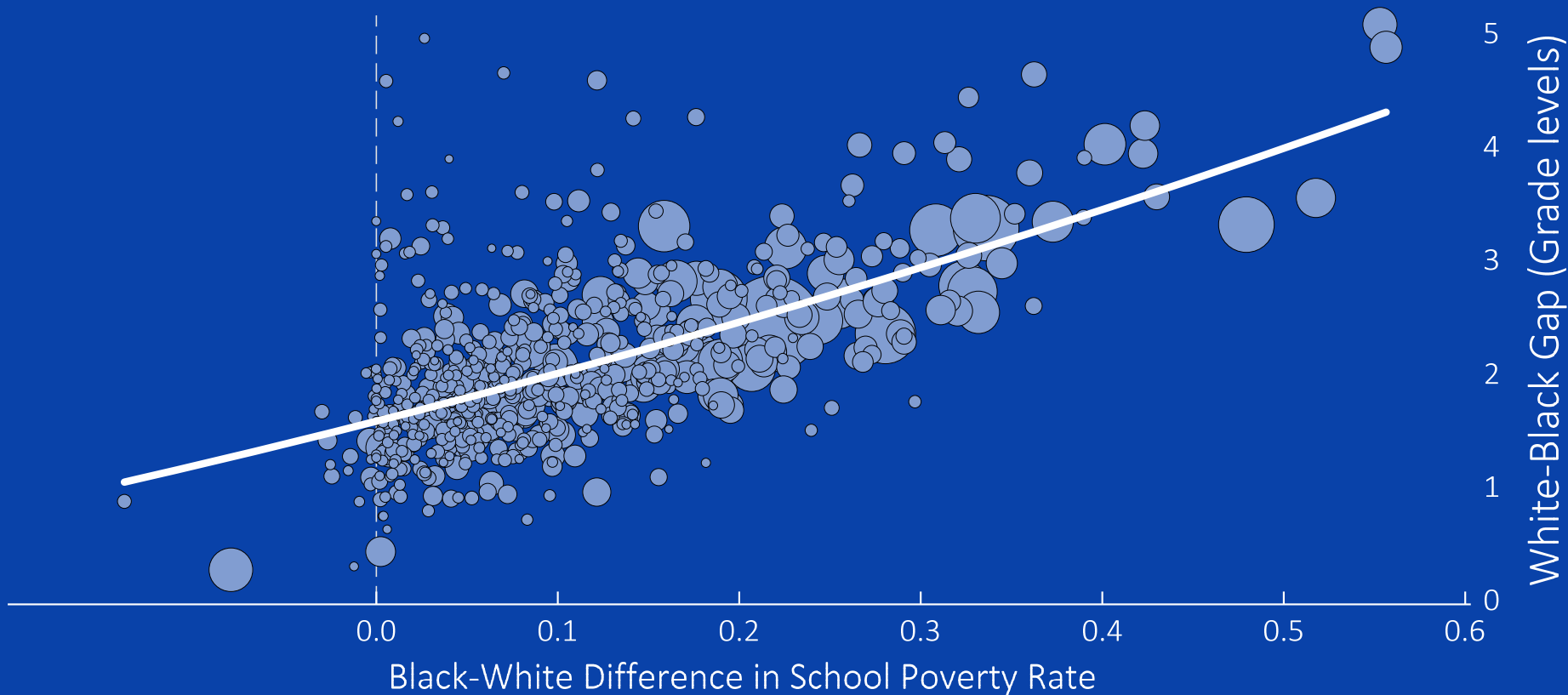
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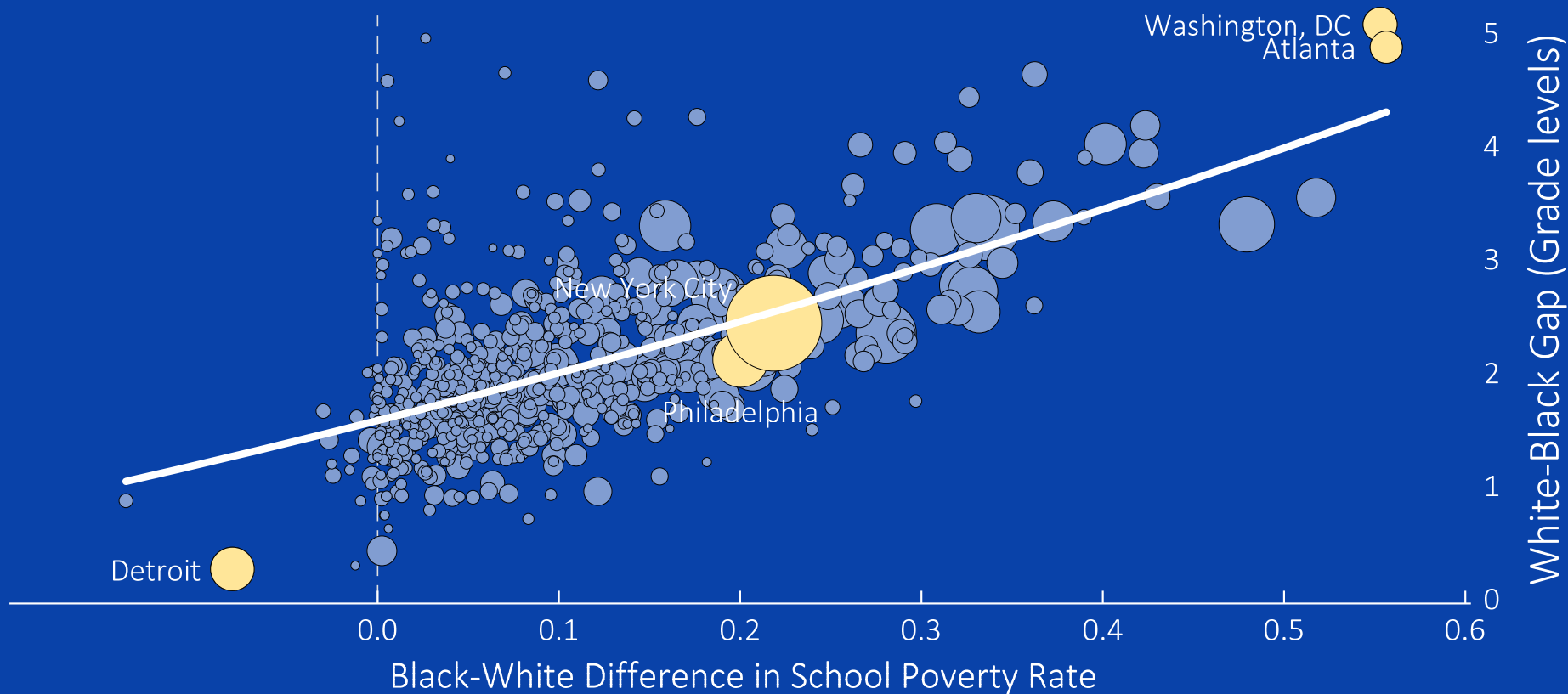
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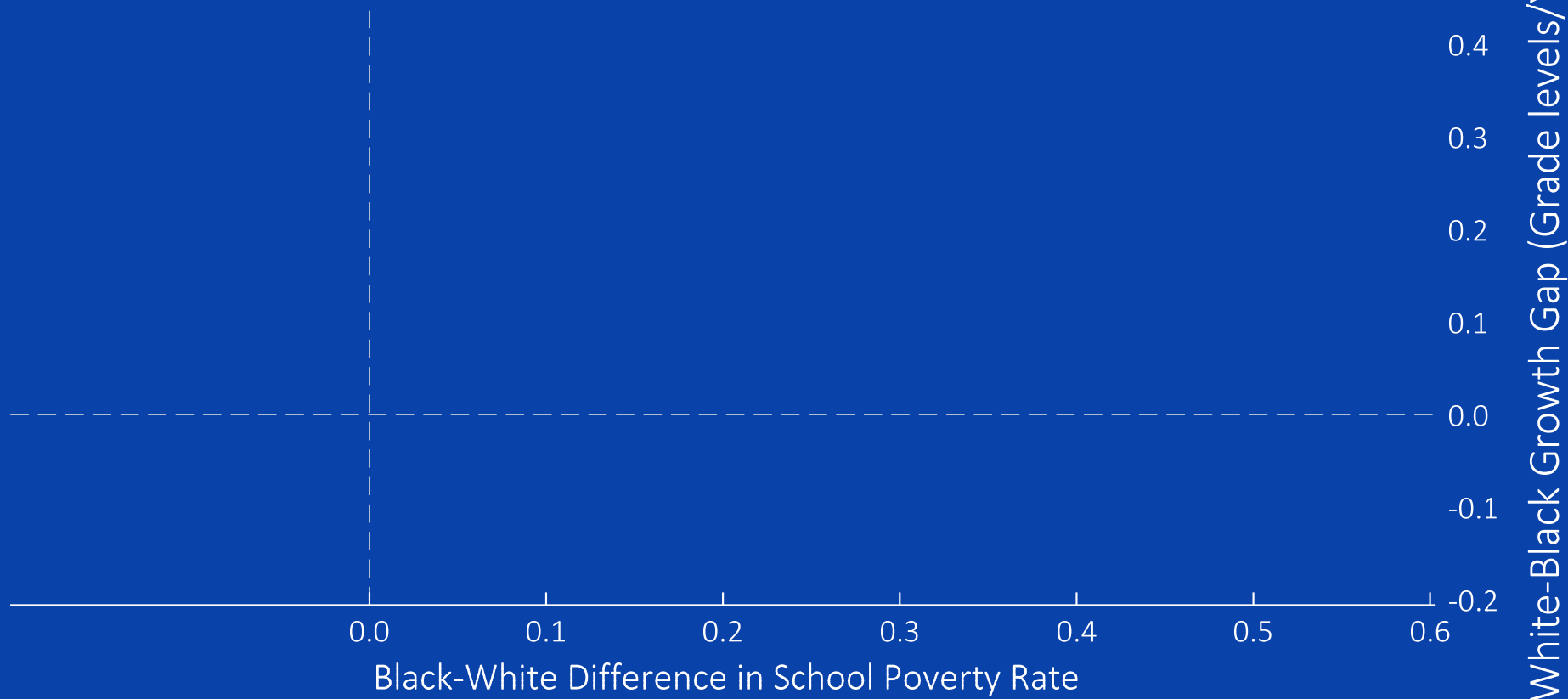
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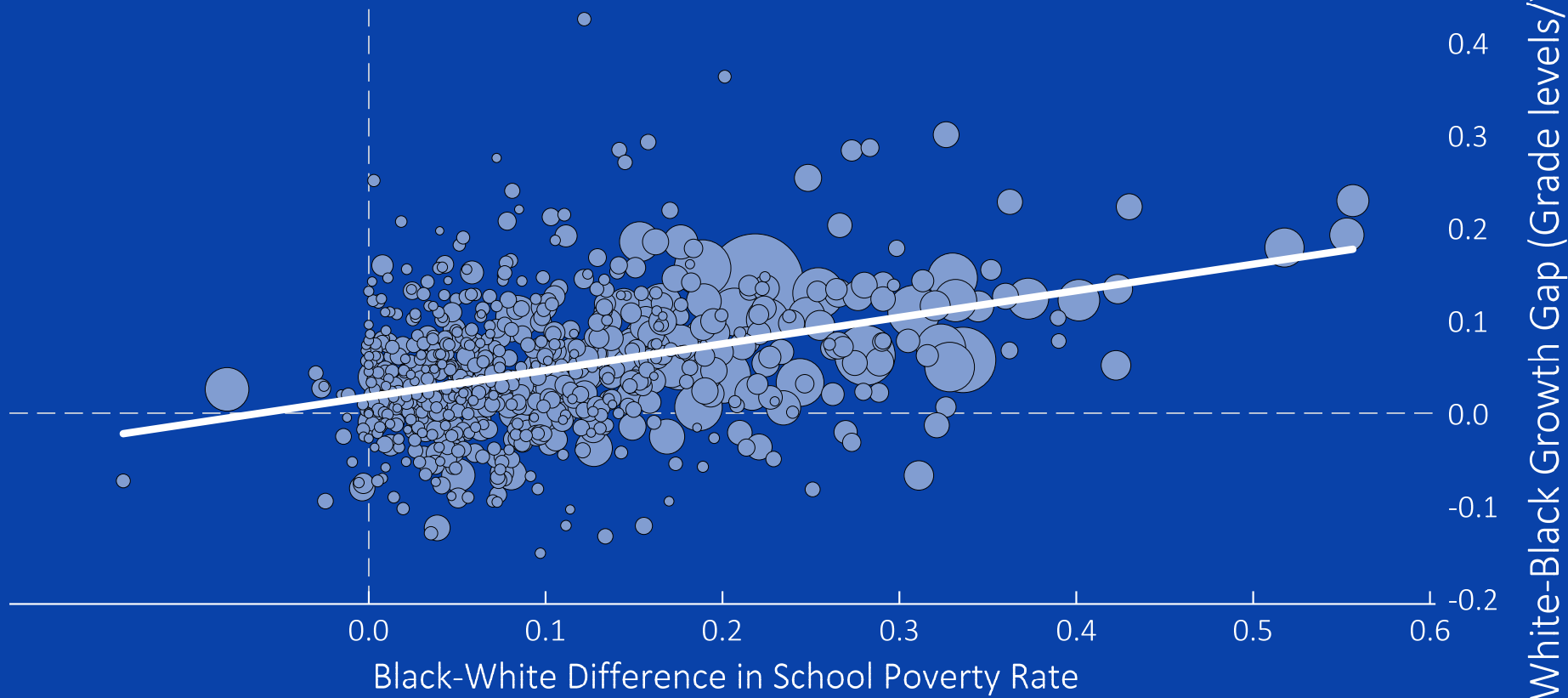
# White-Black Achievement Growth Rate Gap, by White-Black Economic Segregation

All US School Districts with at least 100 Black & 100 White Students/Grade, 2009-2016



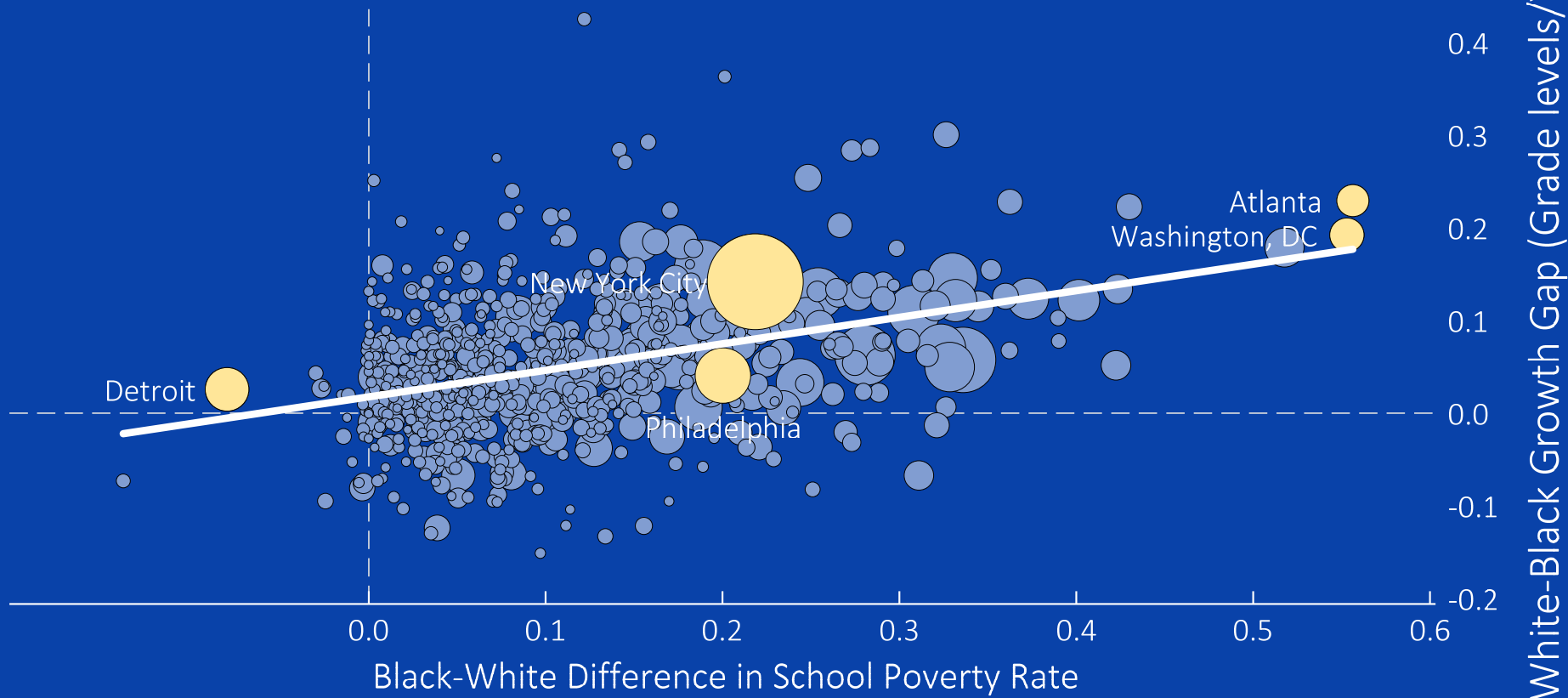
# White-Black Achievement Growth Rate Gap, by White-Black Economic Segregation

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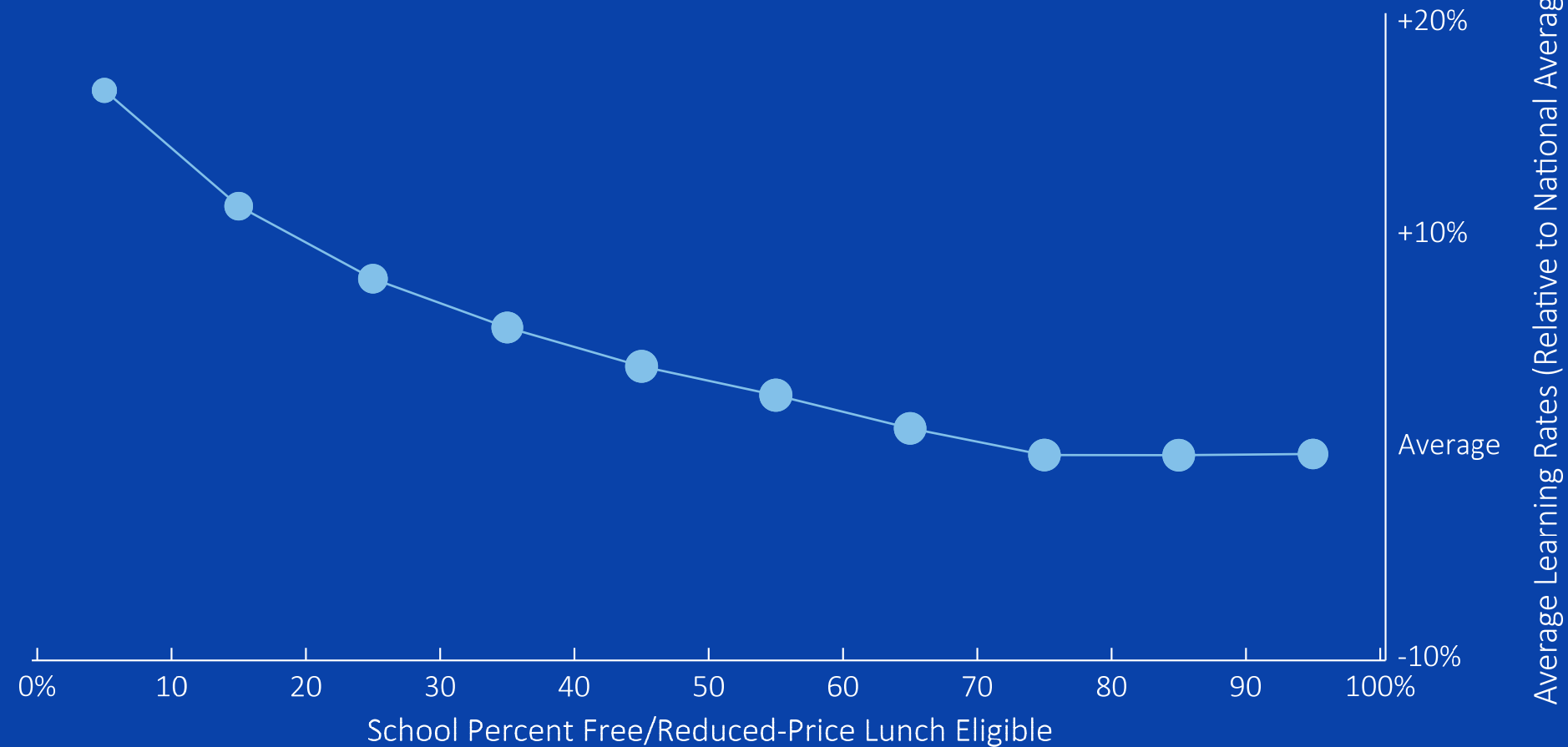


# White-Black Achievement Growth Rate Gap, by White-Black Economic Segregation

All US School Districts with at least 100 Black & 100 White Students/Grade, 2009-2016



## Average Learning Rates, by School Poverty



# Summary of findings

- Racial segregation leads to unequal educational opportunity.
- It does so because it almost always results in the **concentration of black and Hispanic students in high-poverty schools**, and high-poverty schools are, on average, not as effective as lower-poverty schools.
- **“Separate but equal” is a fiction**: it does not exist in any community in America.
- To create equal educational opportunity, we will **need to reduce residential and economic segregation**.





edopportunity.org

We're measuring educational opportunity  
in every community in America

# Research Presentation

**Rucker Johnson** | @ProfRucker @GoldmanSchool

*Chancellor's Professor of Public Policy,*  
**University of California, Berkeley, Goldman School of Public Policy**



# Congressional Briefing

November 14, 2019

Separate & Unequal: How School  
Spending & Integration Matter

Rucker C. Johnson  
University of California-  
Berkeley & NBER

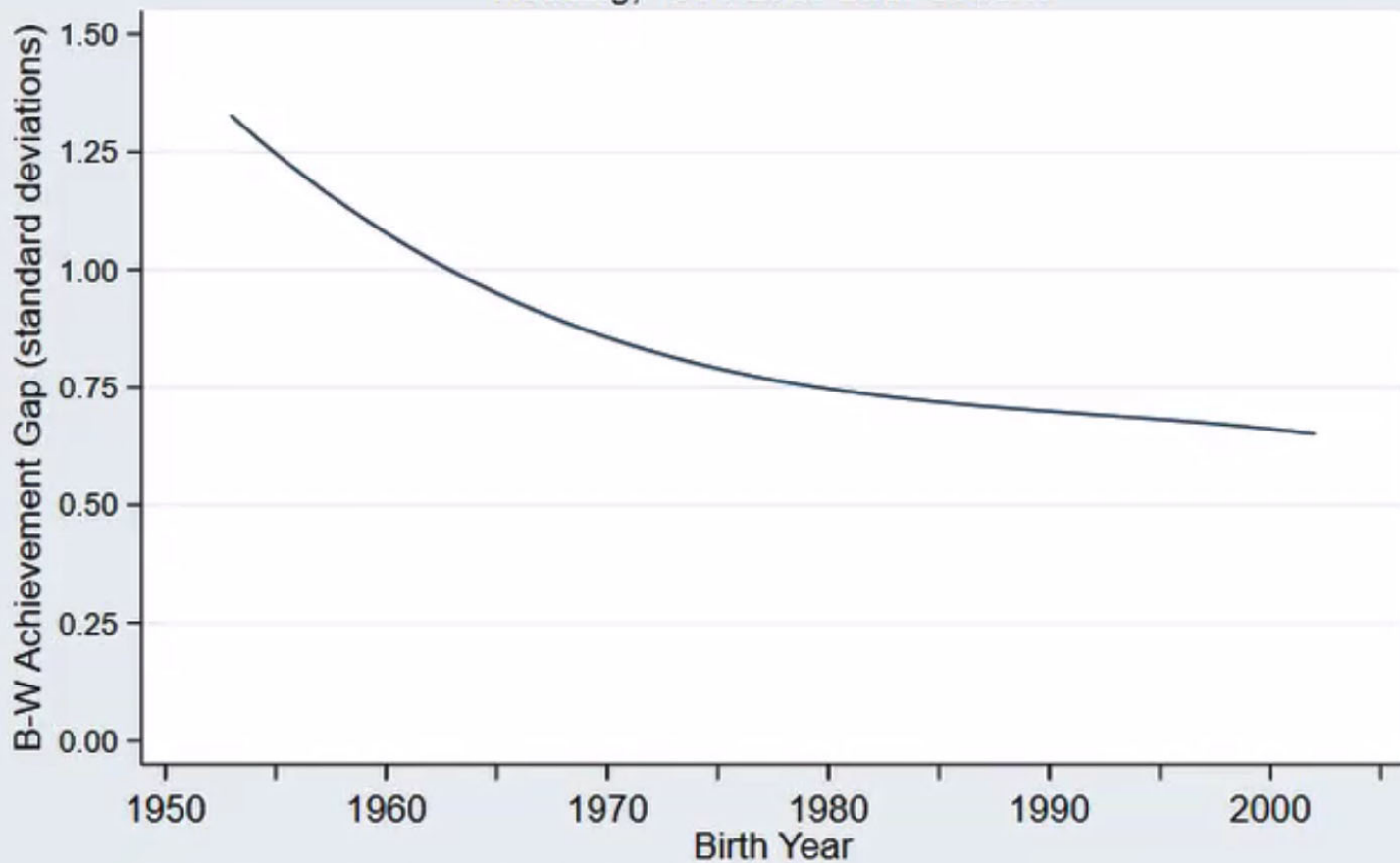
CHILDREN  
OF THE DREAM

WHY SCHOOL INTEGRATION WORKS

RUCKER C. JOHNSON



## Black-White Achievement Gap Reading, 1954-2003 Birth Cohorts

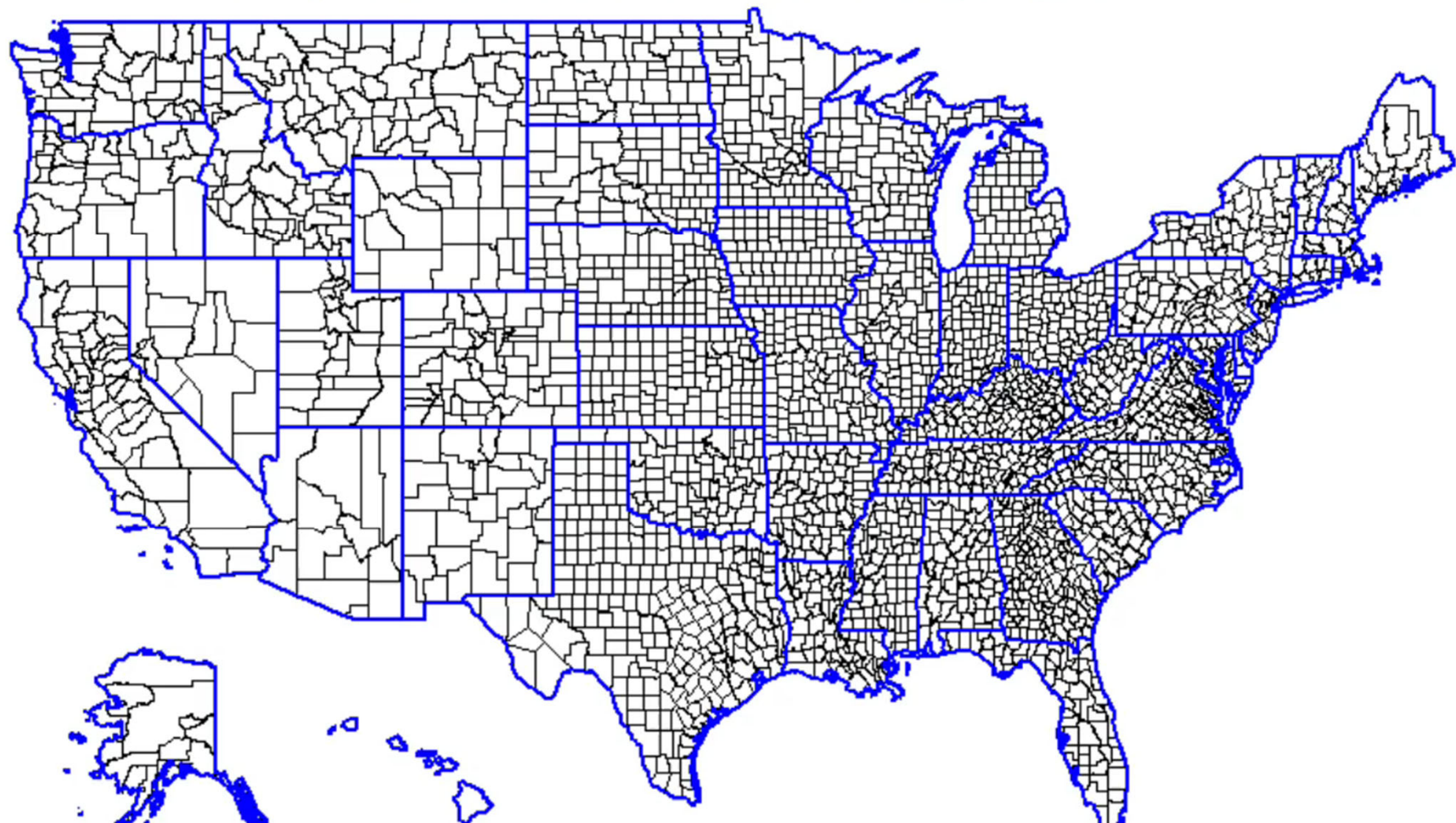


Source: Sean F. Reardon (updated from Reardon 2011)



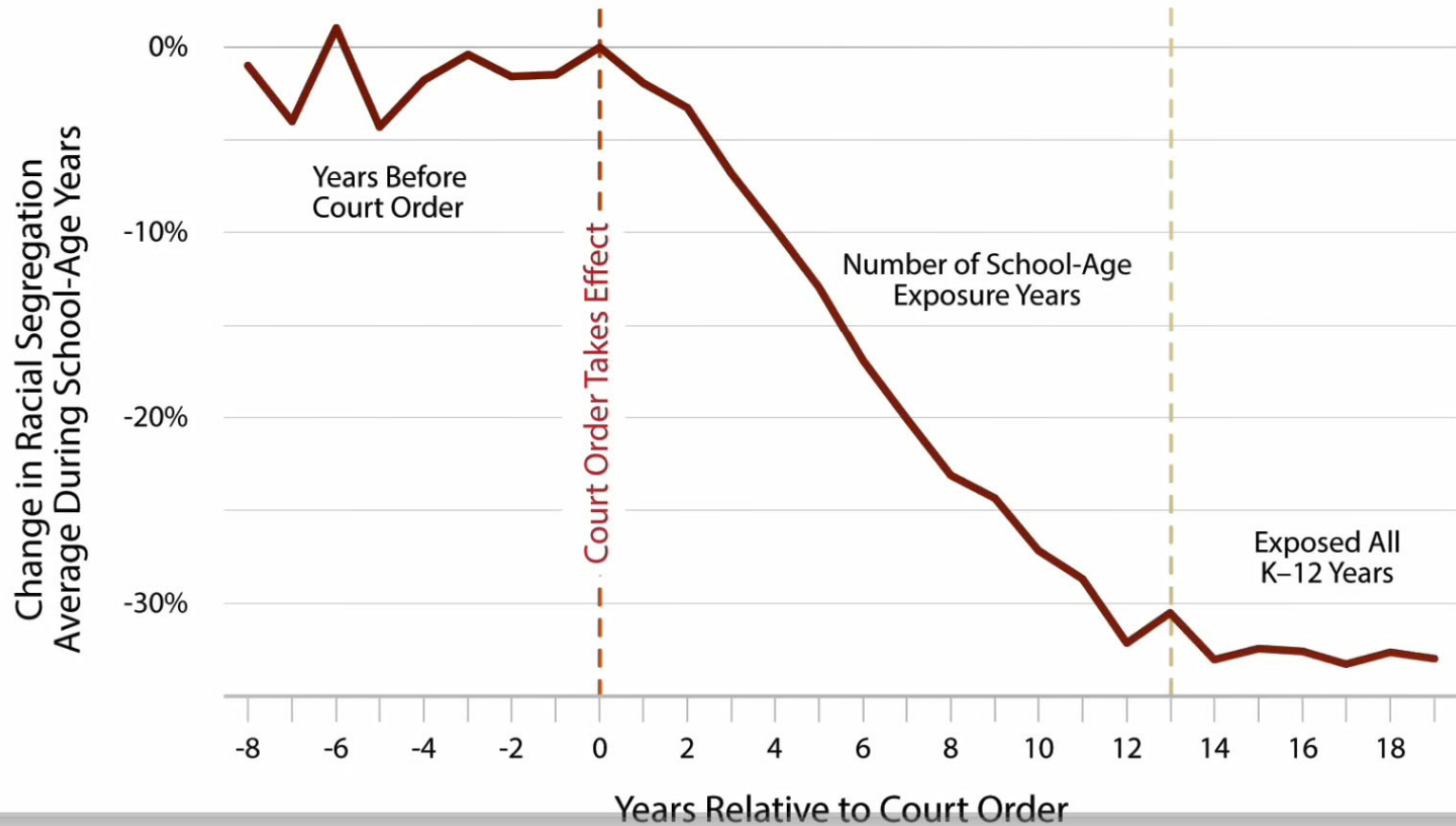
# **MAPPING THE LONG ROAD... TO ...DESEGREGATION**

## Timing of Court-Ordered School Desegregation: 1954

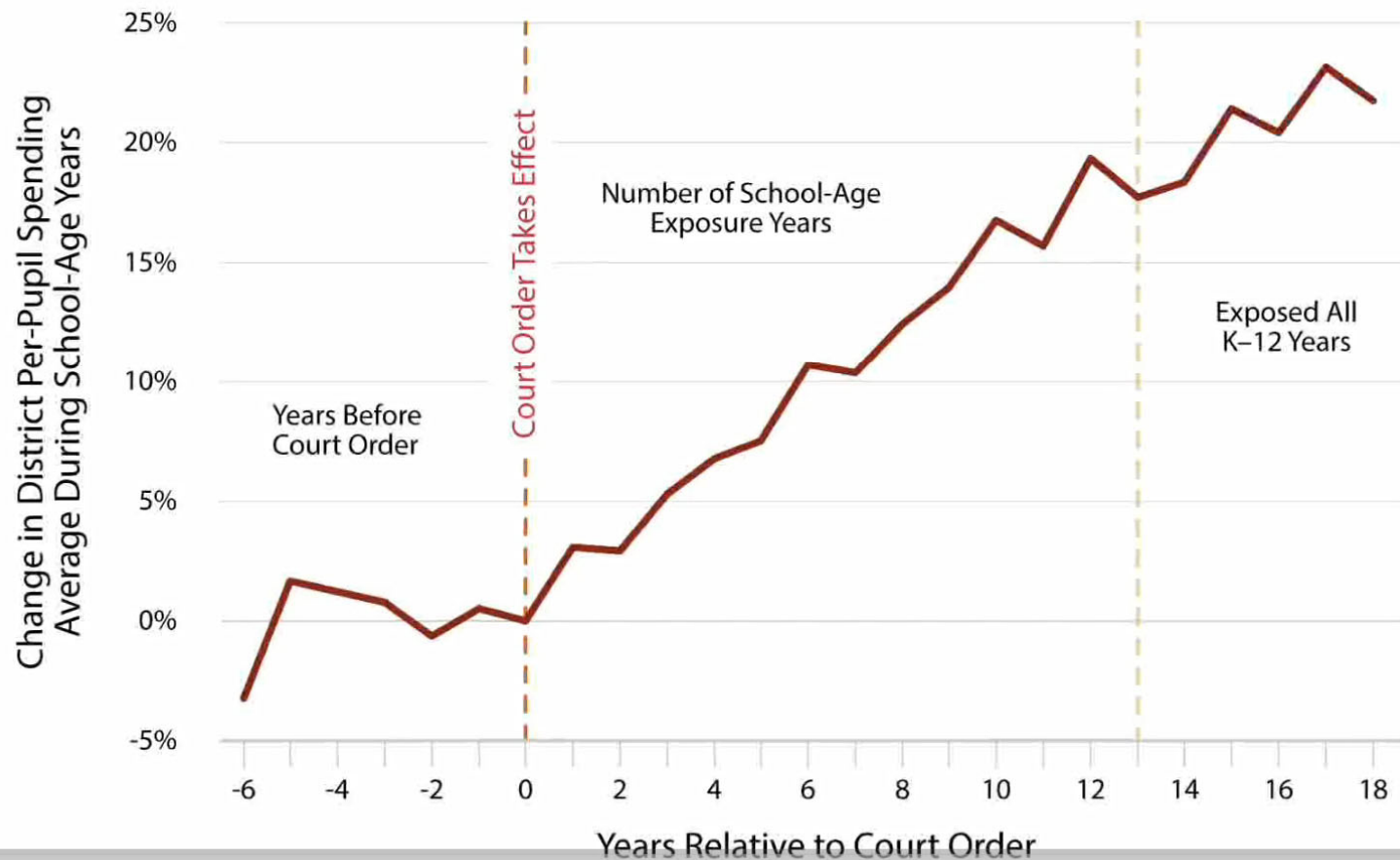




# Effect of Court-Ordered School Desegregation on Racial School Segregation

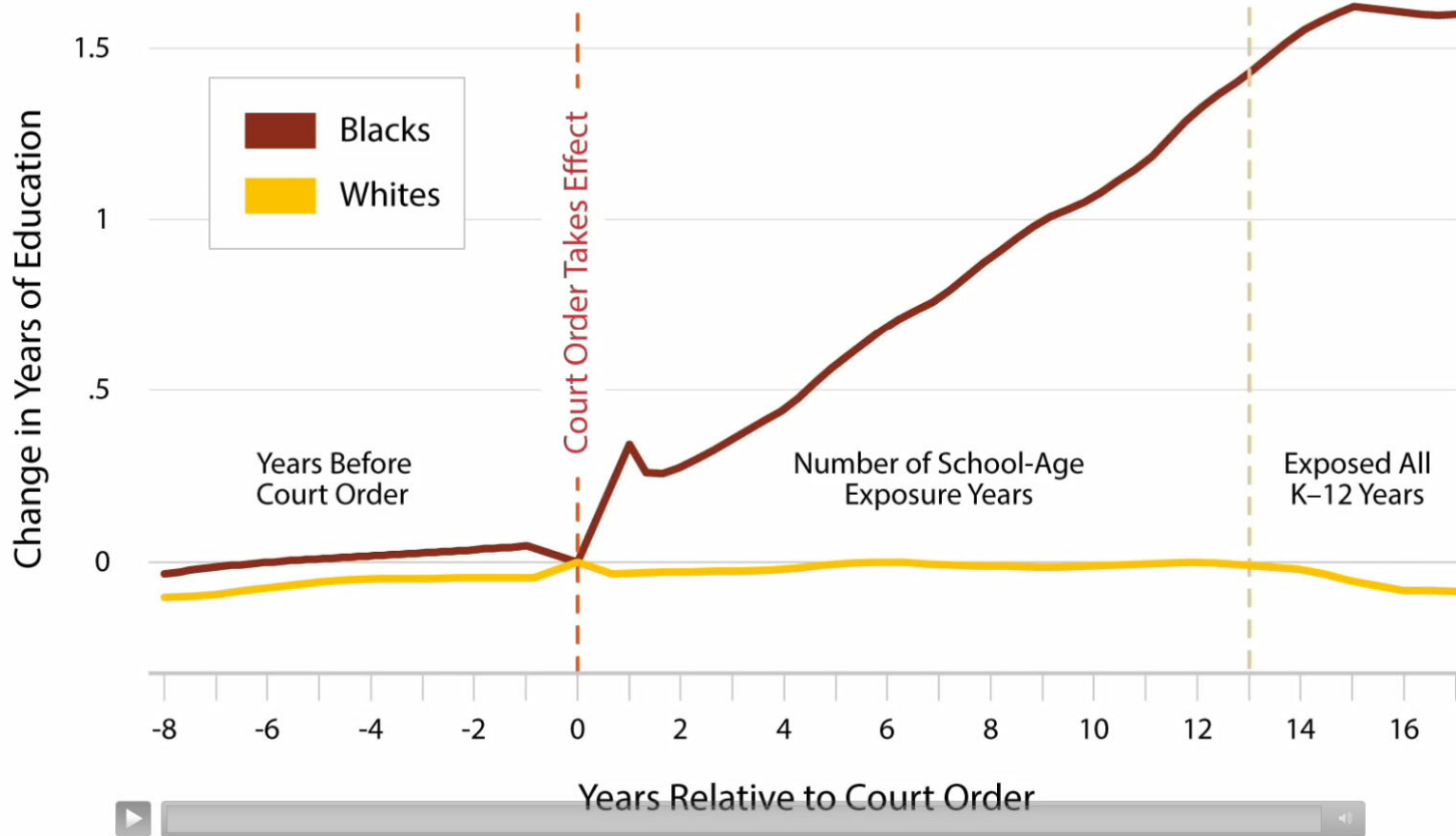


# Effect of Court-Ordered School Desegregation on School Spending for Blacks

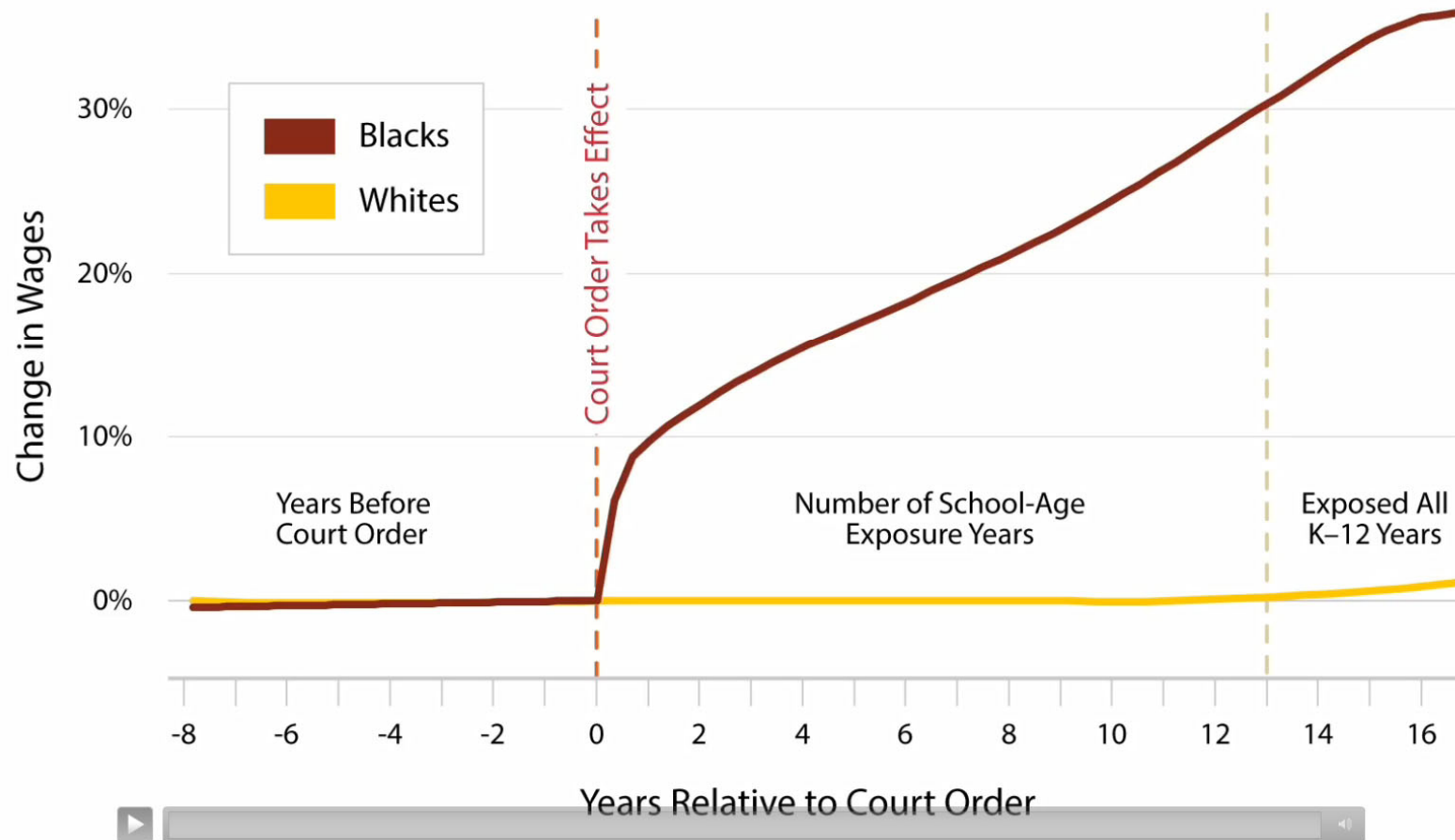




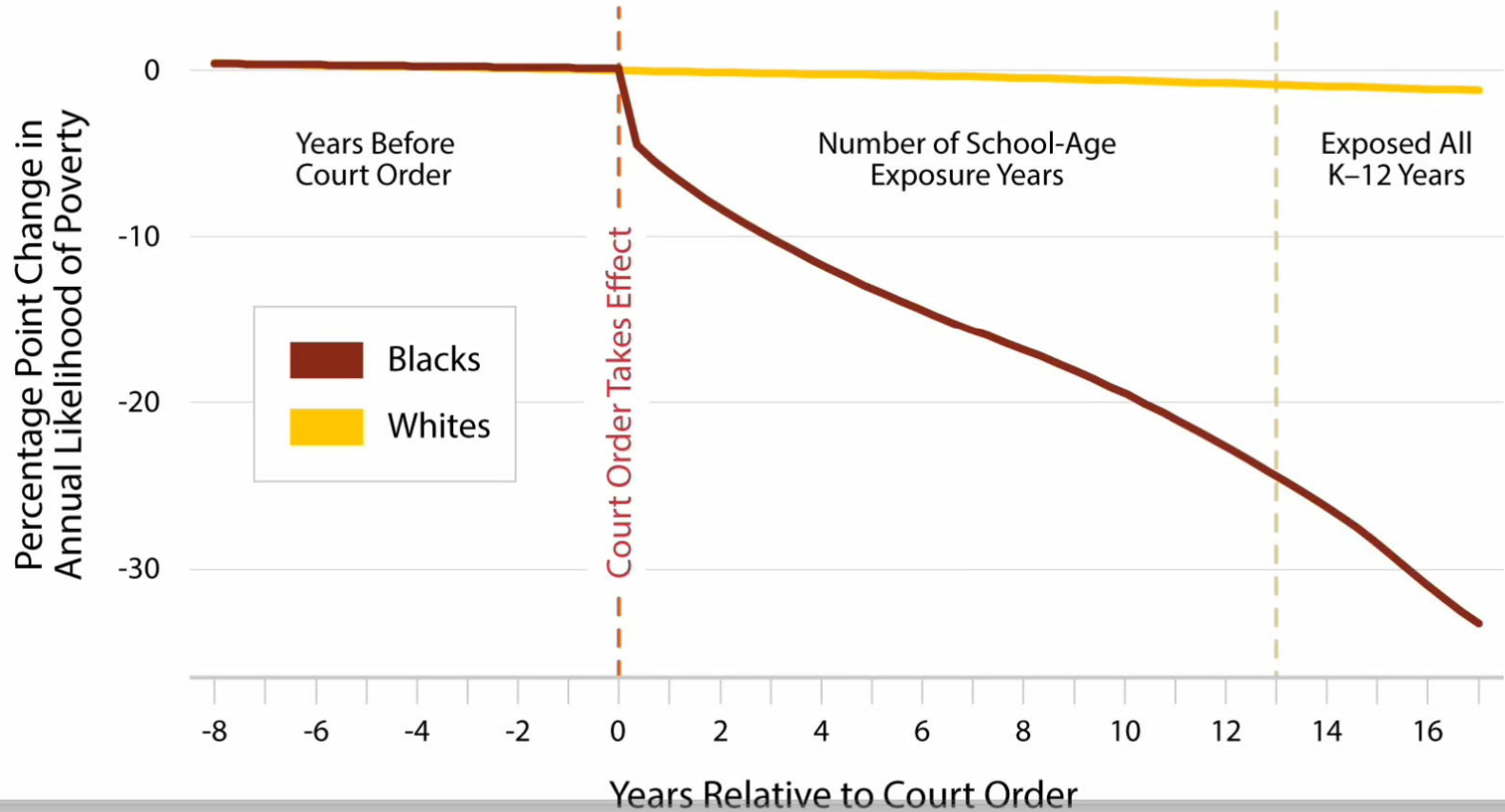
# Effect of Court-Ordered School Desegregation on Educational Attainment, by Race



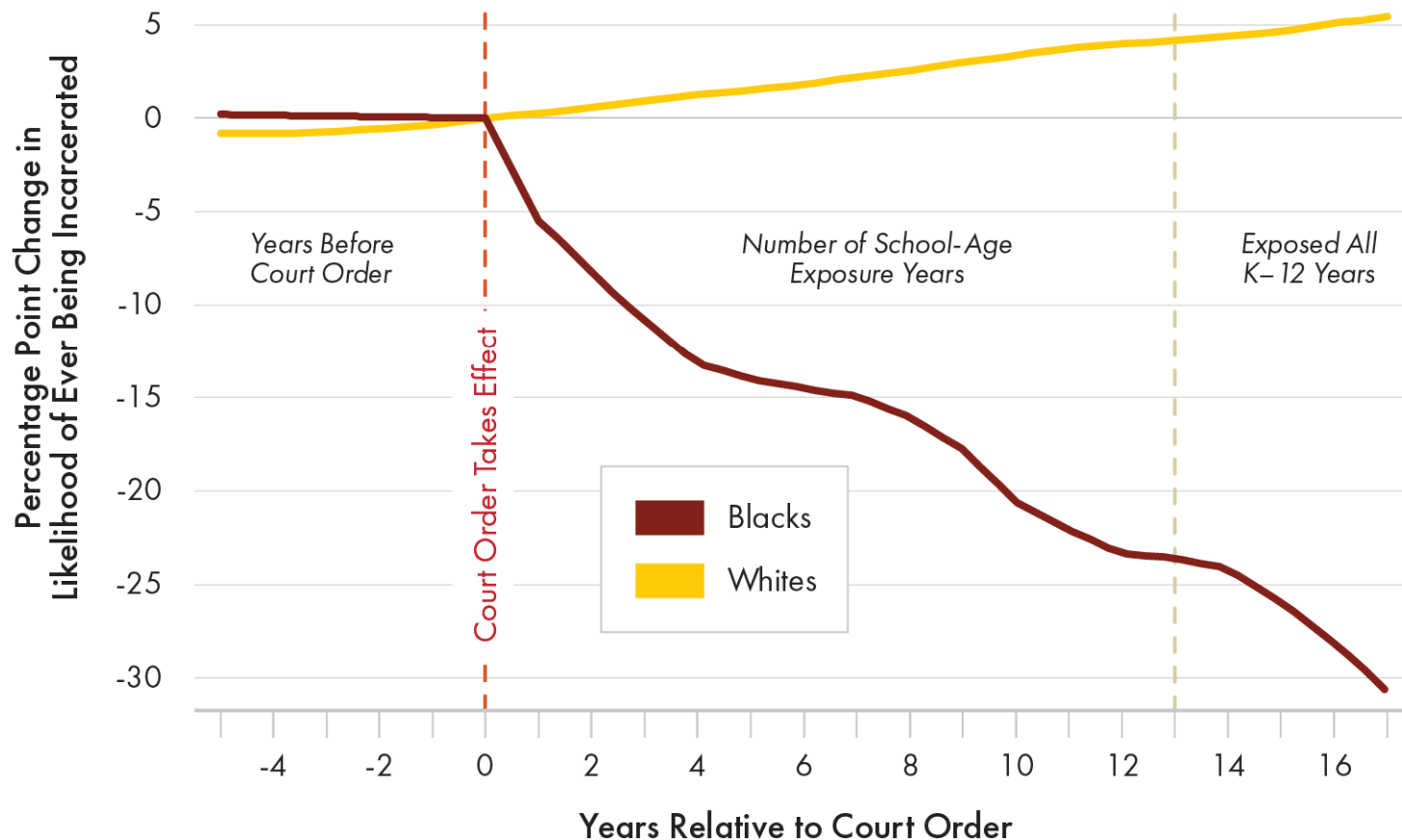
# Effect of Court-Ordered School Desegregation on Adult Wages, by Race, Ages 20–50



# Effect of Court-Ordered School Desegregation on Annual Incidence of Poverty in Adulthood, by Race



# Effect of Court-Ordered School Desegregation on the Likelihood of Ever Being Incarcerated, by Race

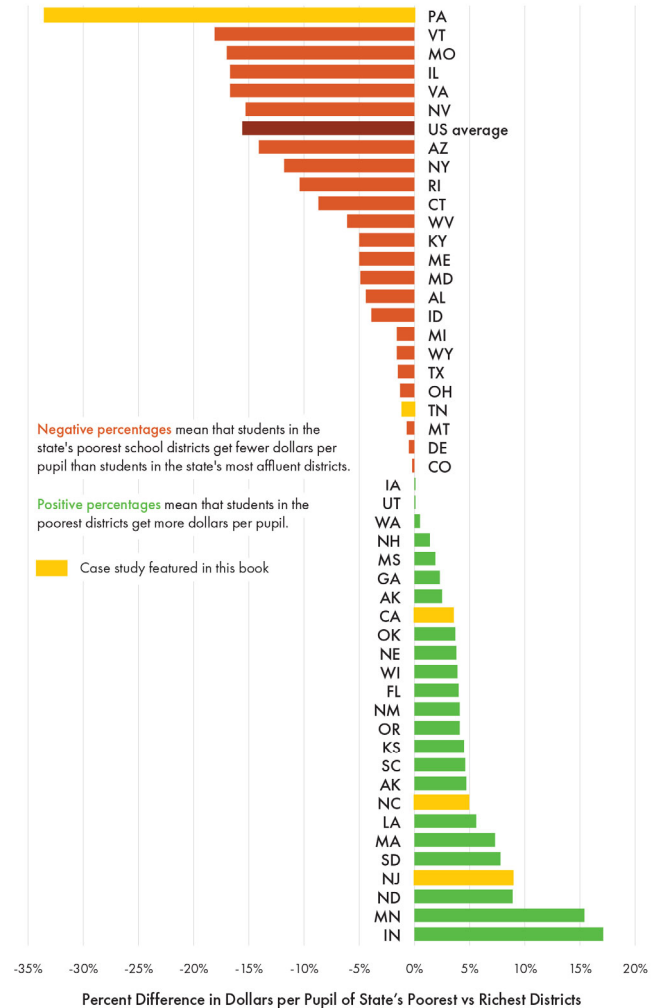




# Long-run Effects of School Finance Reform

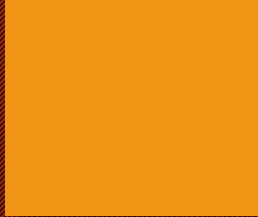


## Spending Disparities Between Rich and Poor Districts, 2012, by State



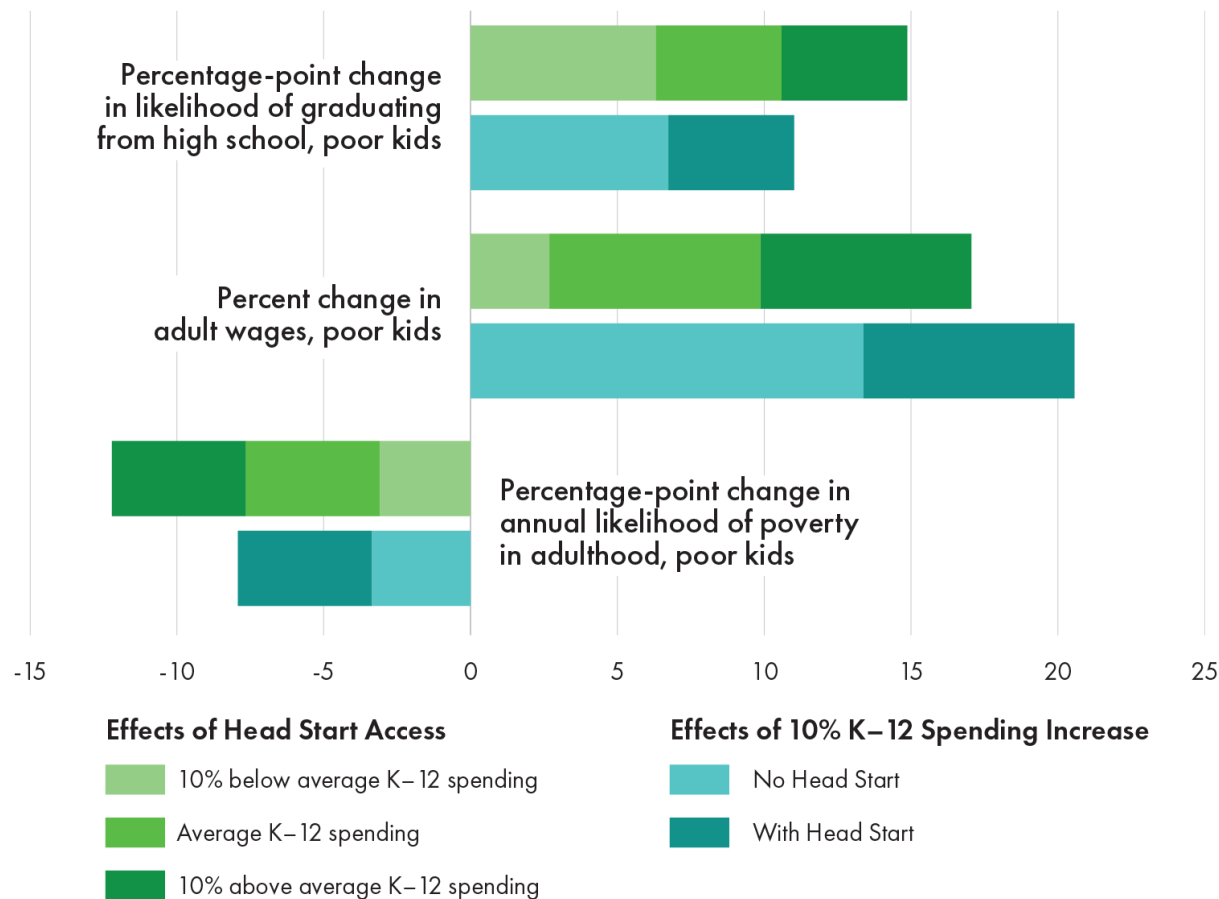


# Getting Ahead with Head Start





# Head Start Magnifies Effect of School Finance Reform





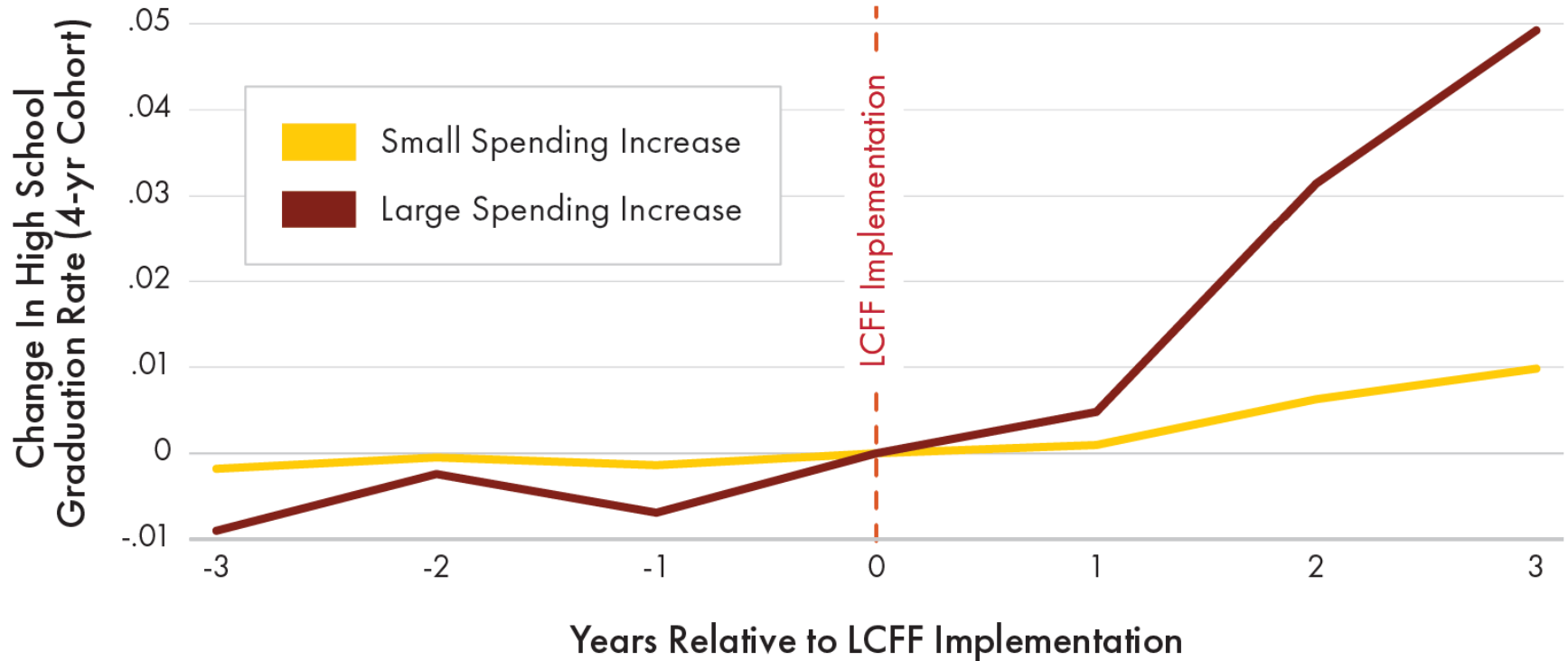
# Money & Freedom:

The Impact of California's School Finance Reform



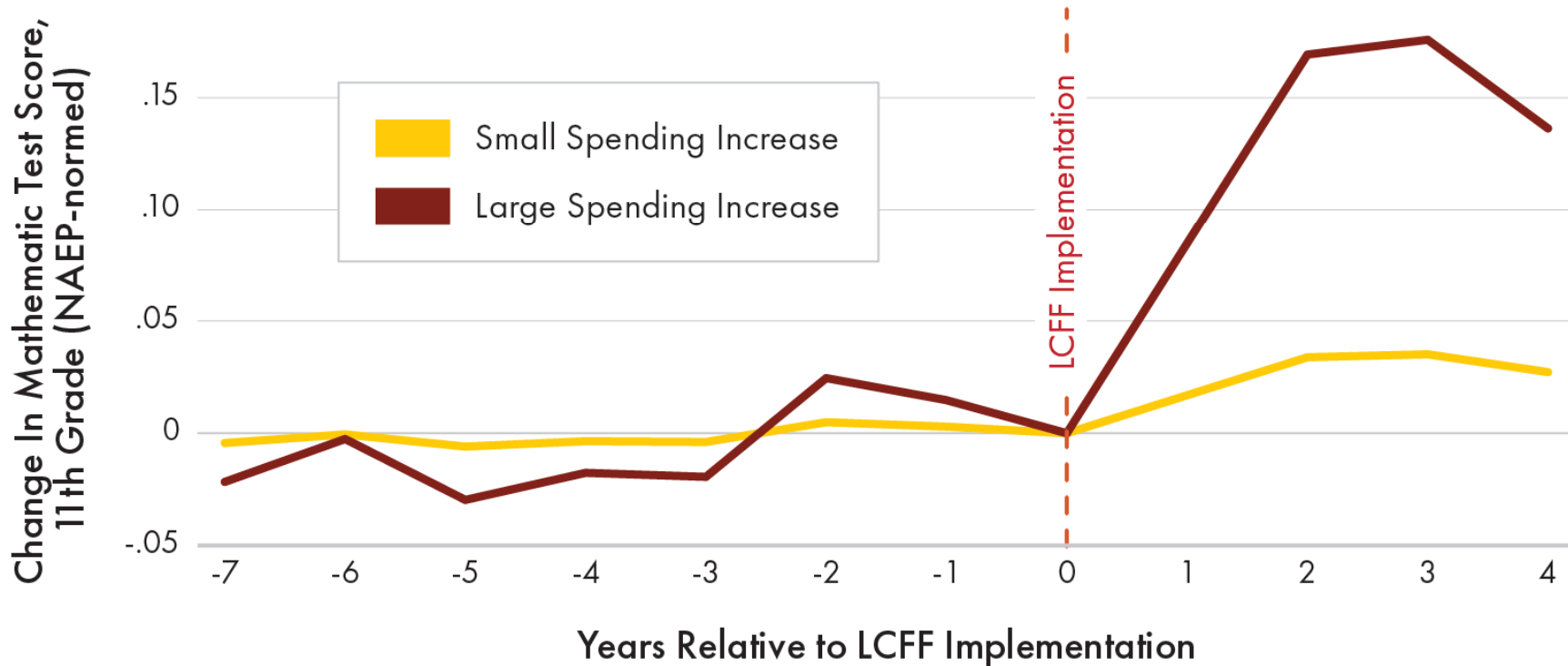
# Effects of LCFF on High School Graduation Rate for Children From Low-Income Families

*Large (vs. small) SFR-induced spending increase*



# Effects of LCFF on High School Mathematics Achievement for Children From Low-Income Families

*Large (vs. small) SFR-induced spending increase*



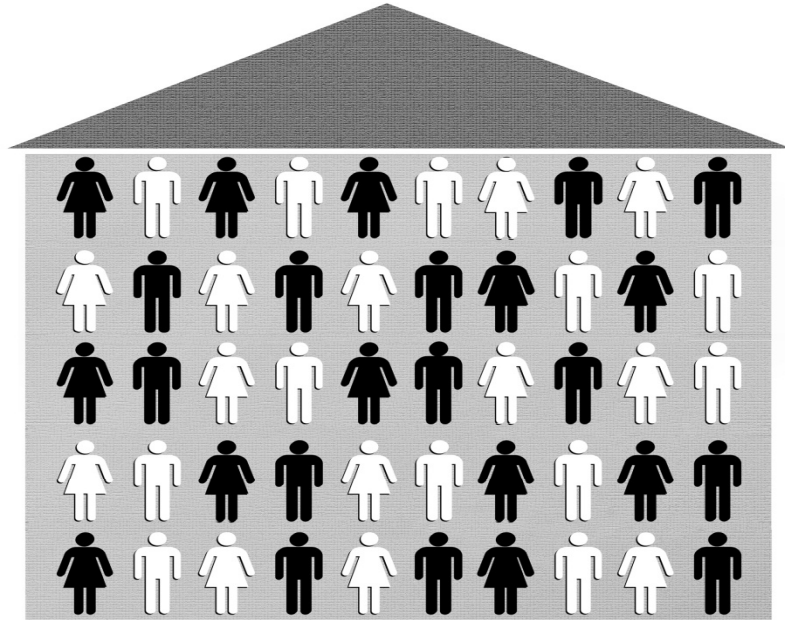


# The Dream Reversed

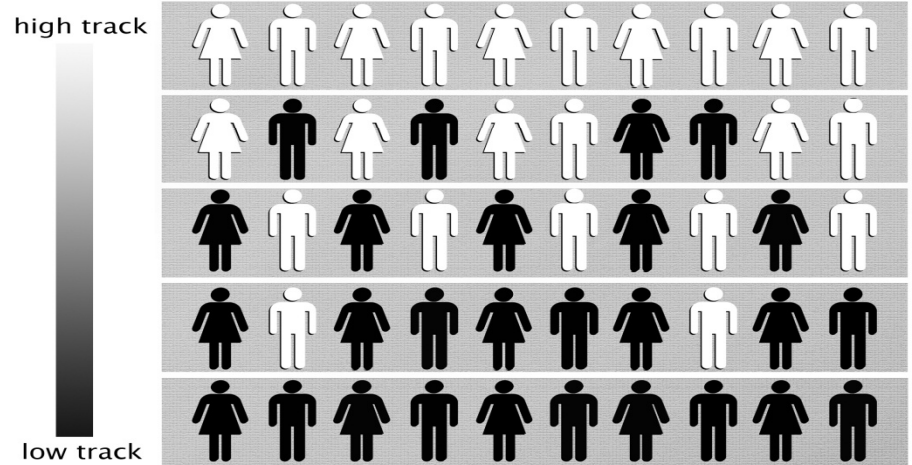
Moving away from Desegregation  
Contemporary Legal Environment



# Desegregated Schools, Segregated Classrooms

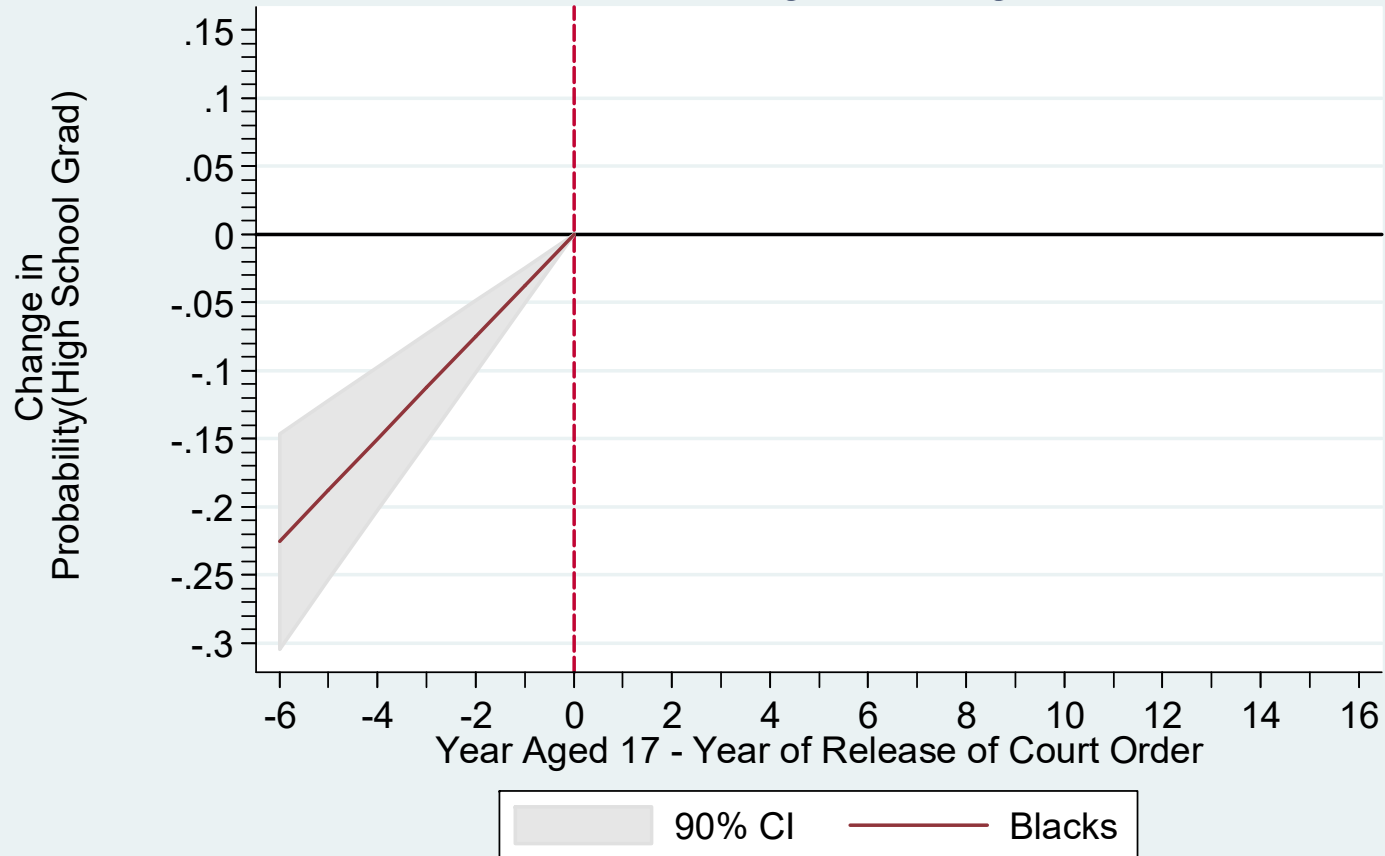


Overall racial composition of magnet school

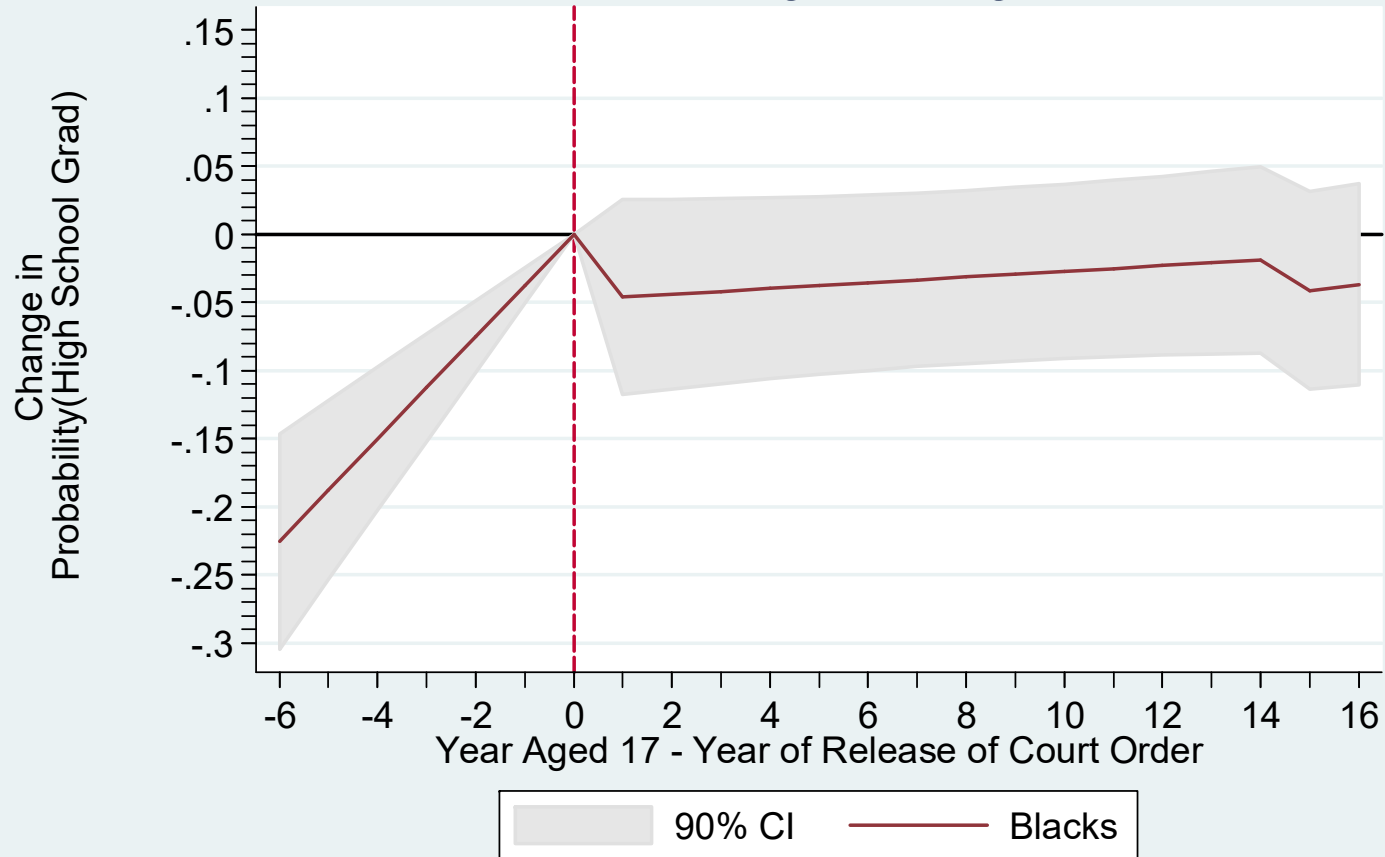


Segregation level of the classroom

## Effects of Release of Desegregation Court Orders on Likelihood of Graduating from High School, Blacks



## Effects of Release of Desegregation Court Orders on Likelihood of Graduating from High School, Blacks





“

"People fail to get along because they fear each other; they fear each other because they don't know each other; they don't know each other because they have not communicated with each other."

”

*-Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.*

## Contact Hypothesis

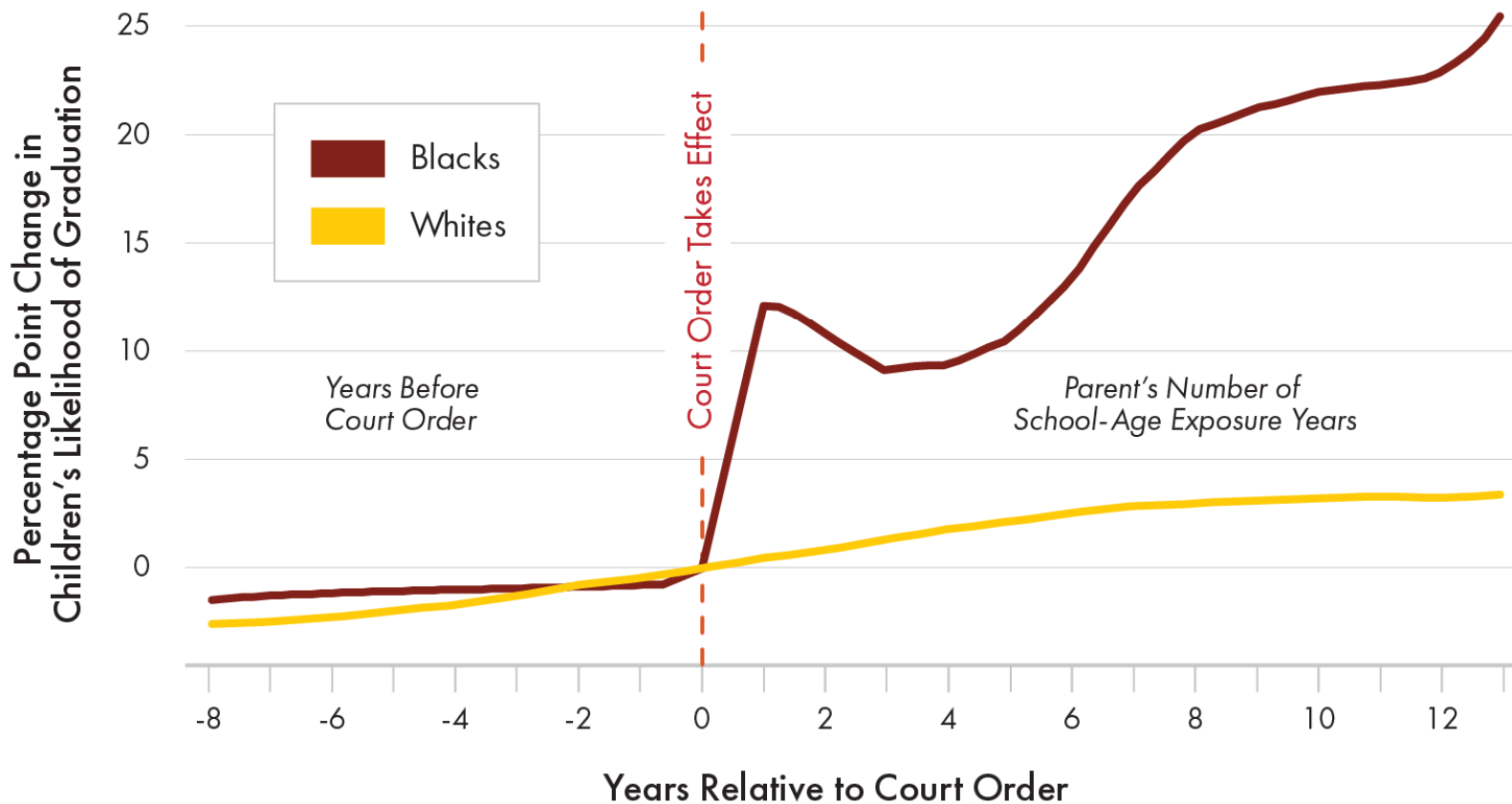


# The Grandchildren of Brown

Legacy  
Generation to Generation



# Effect of Parental School Desegregation Exposure on the Next Generation's Likelihood of Graduating from High School, by Race





# Summary

- For poor children, long-run effects of K-12 spending double when preceded by access to quality pre-K
- Resegregation of schools resulted in lower educational attainment for poor, minority children; widened academic achievement gaps
  - ↓teacher quality value-added
- Recent surges in political polarization & racial intolerance in adulthood linked to lack of school-age exposure to diversity
- 25% increase in per-pupil spending throughout K-12 could eliminate average attainment gaps between children from low-income & non-poor families
- Targeted public investments in preK-12 education & health pay for themselves down the road: communities spend less on remediation, public assistance, health care, crime, while benefitting from increased tax revenues from more productive adults



# *Reimagining Diversity & Excellence by Design*

## CHILDREN OF THE DREAM

WHY SCHOOL INTEGRATION WORKS

RUCKER C. JOHNSON

Thank you!!!  
[ruckerj@berkeley.edu](mailto:ruckerj@berkeley.edu)



# Research Presentation

**Linda Darling-Hammond** | @LDH\_ed @LPI\_Learning

*President*

**Learning Policy Institute**

# Separate and Unequal: How Investment & Integration Matter



Linda Darling-Hammond  
Learning Policy Institute

# Today, the U.S. Has Two Achievement Gaps

- The gap between white and more affluent students in the U.S. and students of color and those in poverty.
- The gap between U.S. students and those in other high-achieving nations that have made more thoughtful — and more equitable — investments in education over the last 30 years.



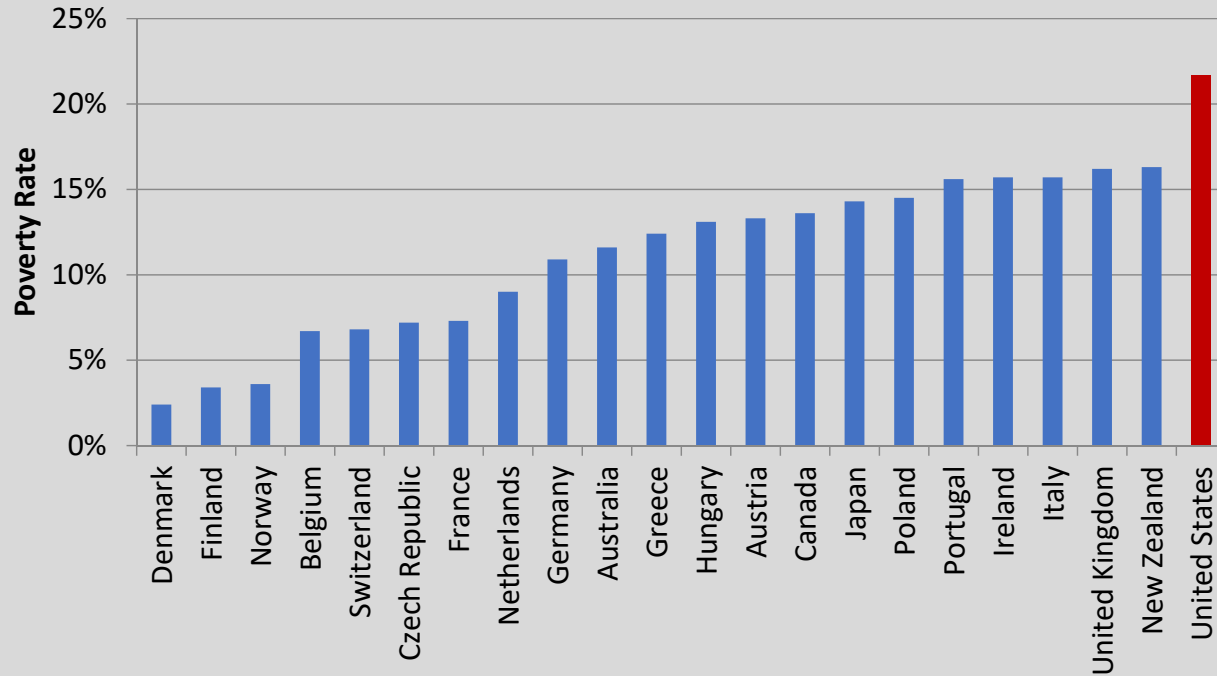




The Genesis of Inequality

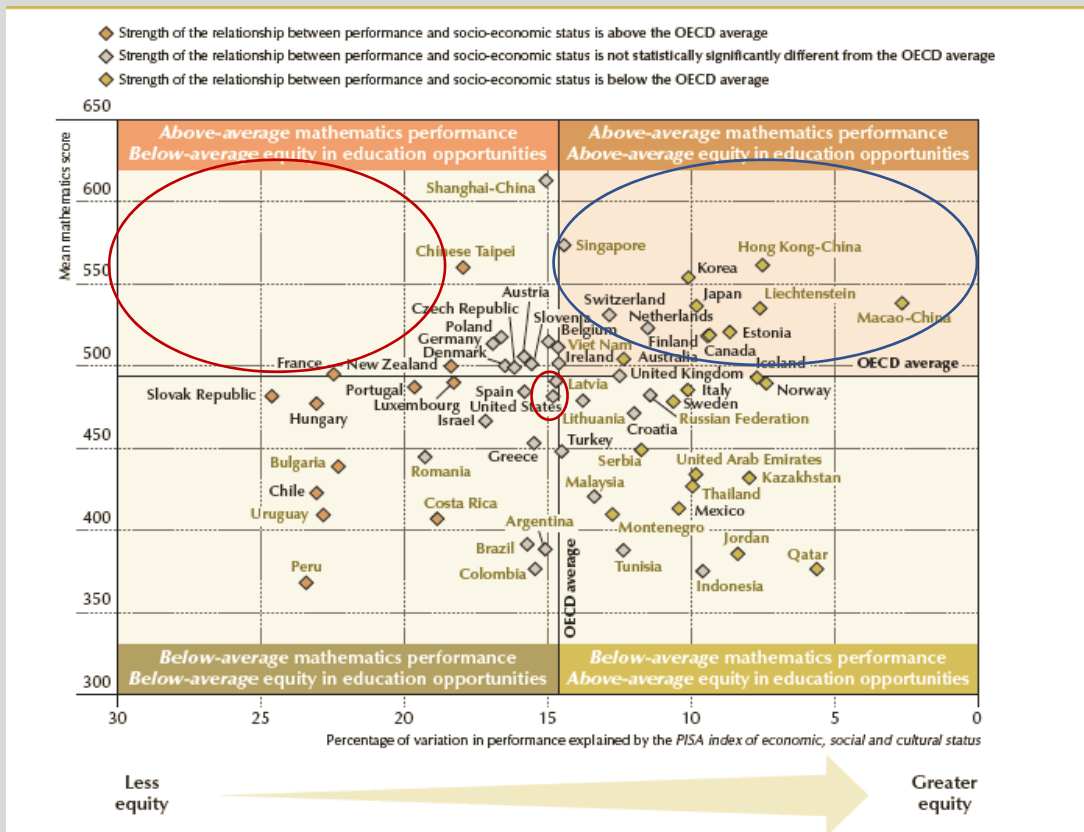


# US Child Poverty Rates Are the Highest in the Industrialized World

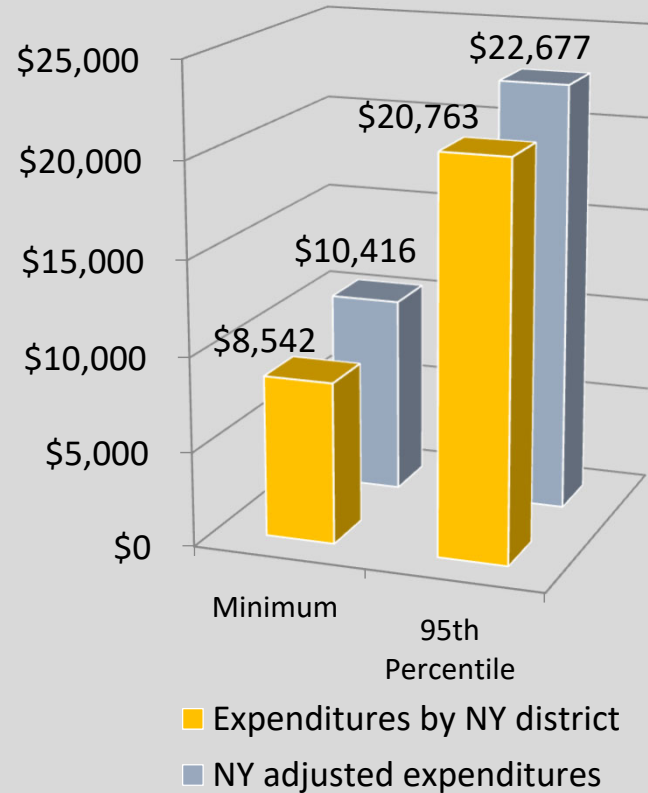
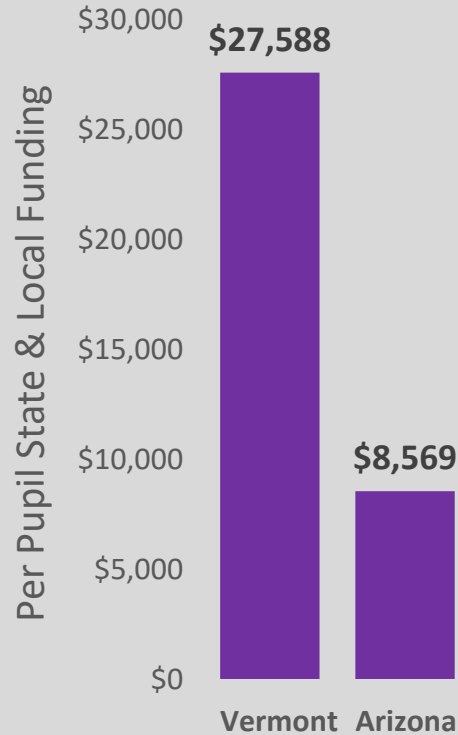


Source, OECD, 2015

# High Performers Combine Quality with Equity



# In the US, School Funding is Unequal Across & Within States



Source: Farrie, D., Kim, R., & Sciarra, D. G. (2019) *Making the Grade 2019: How Fair Is School Funding in Your State?* Newark, NJ: Education Law Center.

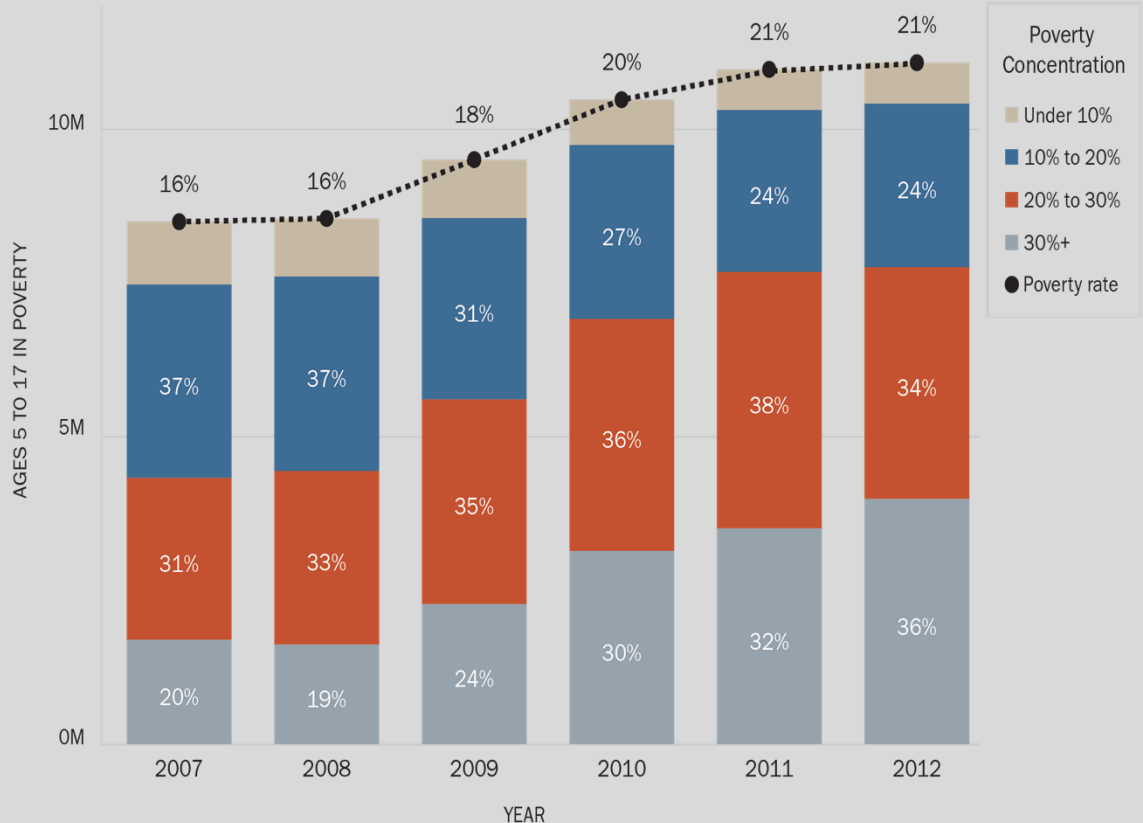
Poverty is increasingly concentrated in specific districts and schools, which are also increasingly segregated.

Only 12 states spend at least 10% more on high-poverty districts.

Most states (28) spend less on children in high-poverty districts.

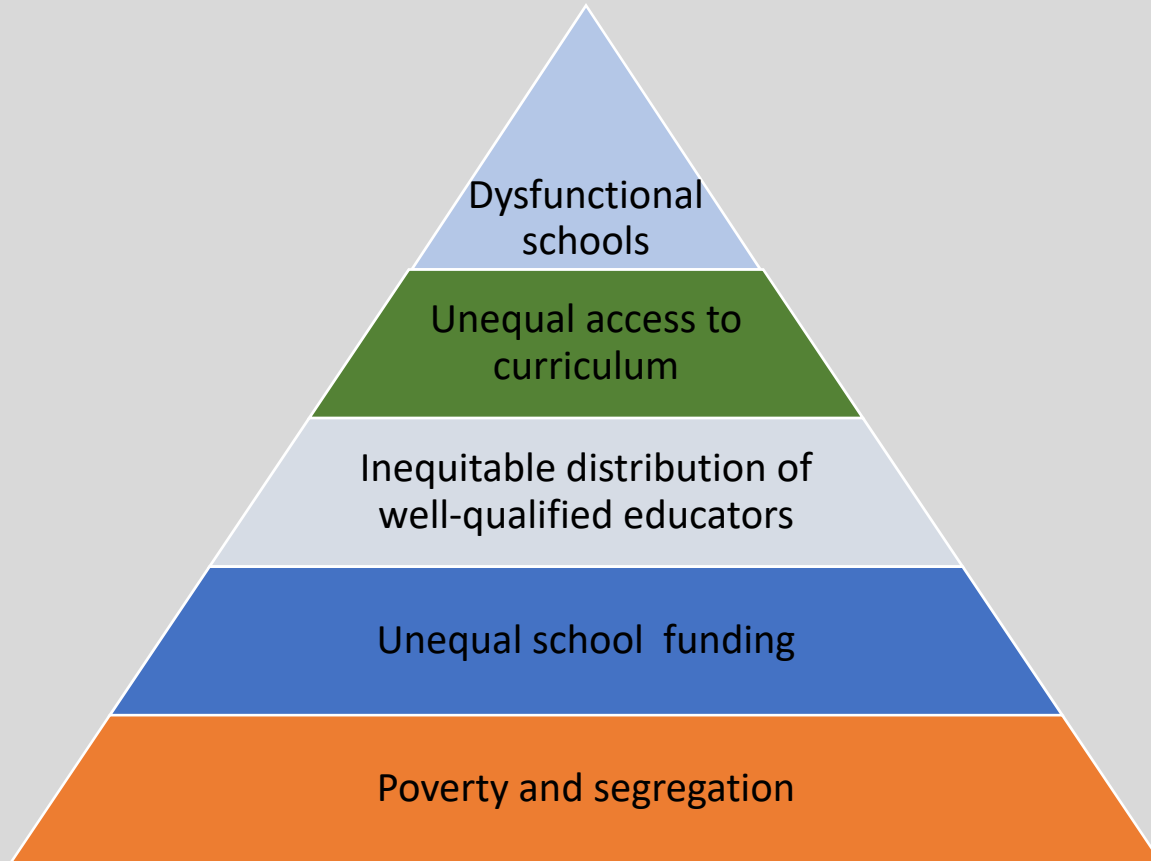
Source: Education Law Center, Making the Grade, 2019.

## Degree of Concentrated Poverty in Districts Attended by Children From Low-Income Families



Source: Baker, B., Sciarra, D., & Farrie, D. (2015). *Is school funding fair? A national report card*. Newark, NJ: Education Law Center.

# The Anatomy of Inequality







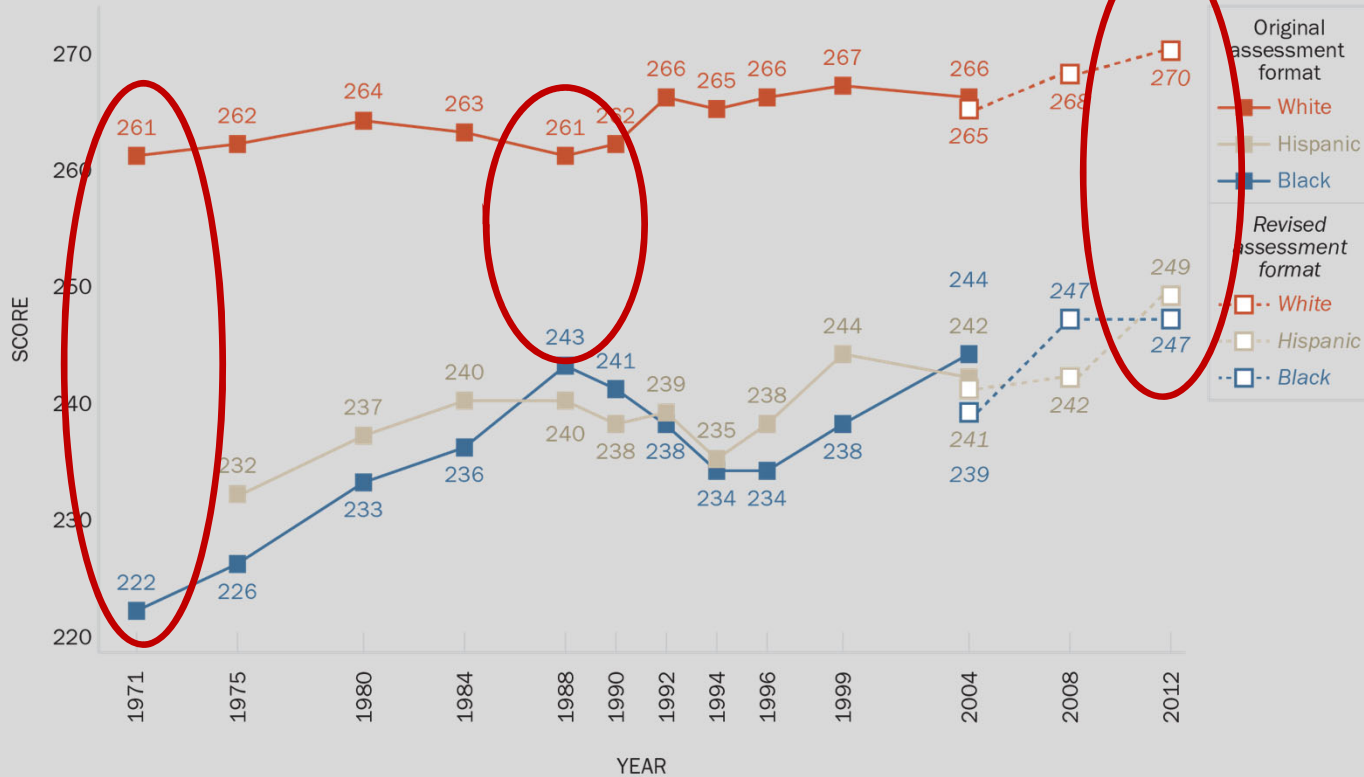
## How Investments Matter

Over 40 years, low-income students who experienced the benefits of school finance reforms for all of K-12, with 20% greater funding:

- Had graduation rates 23 points higher
- Added a year of educational attainment
- Had family incomes 52% higher
- Eliminated the adult poverty gap with more affluent classmates

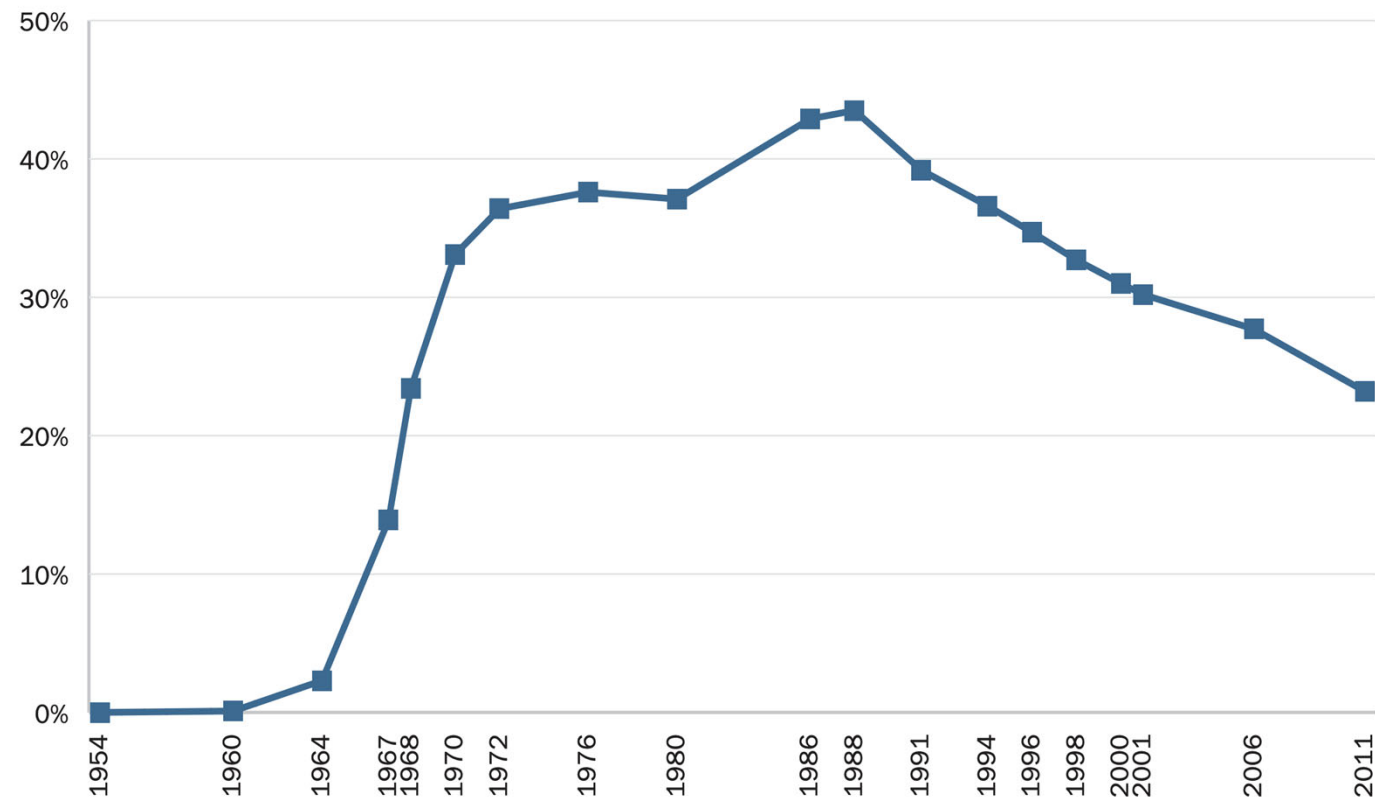
Jackson, Johnson, & Persico (2016)

# Average Reading Scale Scores on the Long-Term Trend National Assessment of Educational Progress for 13-Year-Olds, by Race/Ethnicity, Selected Years, 1971–2012



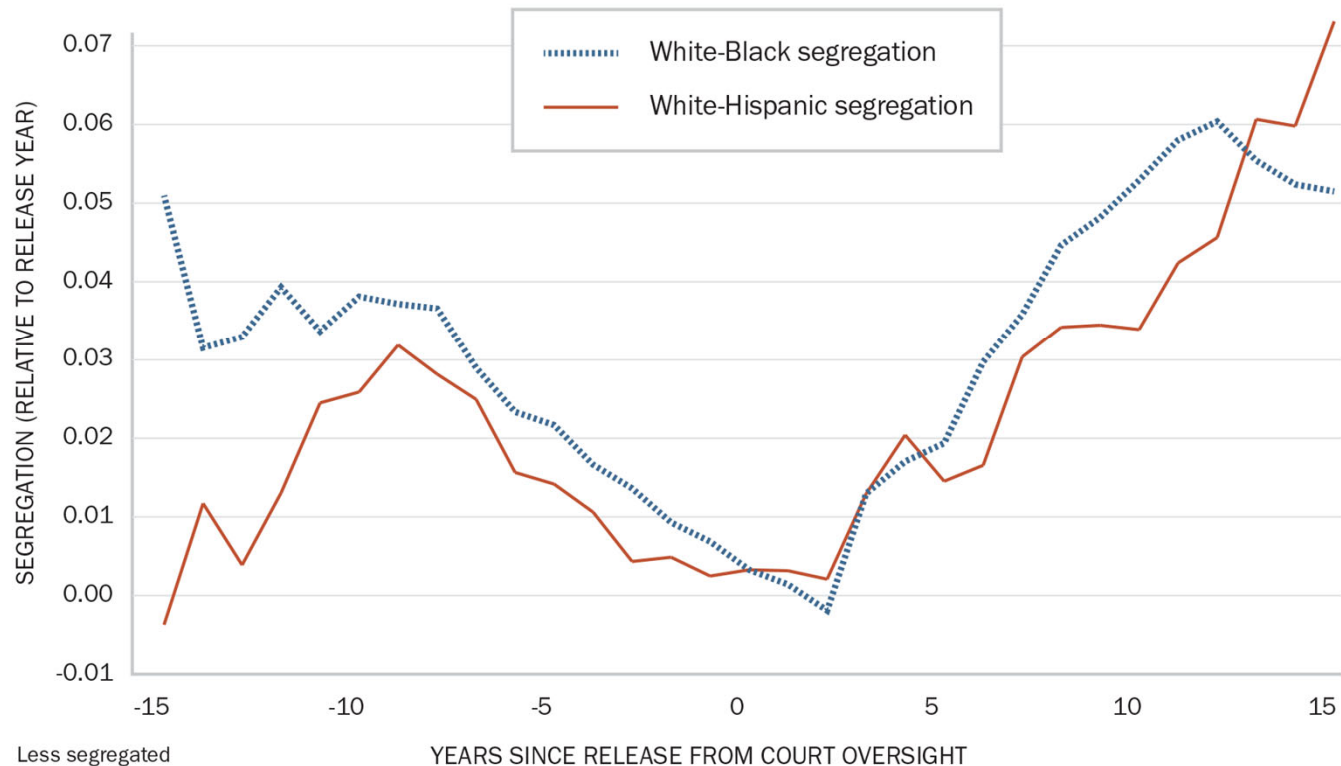
Source: National Center for Education Statistics (2013). *The Nation's Report Card: Trends in Academic Progress 2012* (NCES 2013-456). Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education. See *Digest of Education Statistics 2013*, table 221.85.

# Proportion of Black Students Attending Majority-White Schools



## Degree of Segregation in Relation to Court-Ordered Desegregation Plans

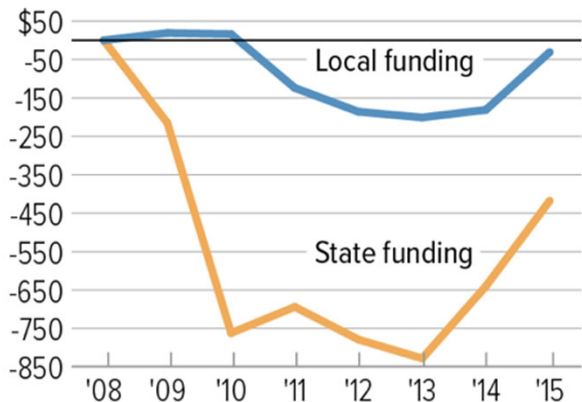
More segregated



# Funding Levels Have Fallen

## K-12 Funding Fell Sharply After Recession Hit

Change in funding per pupil compared to 2008, inflation adjusted



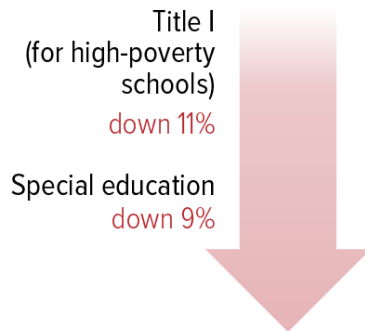
Note: Excludes Hawaii and Indiana due to lack of data.

Source: CBPP analysis of U.S. Census Bureau, "Public Education Finances: 2015."

CENTER ON BUDGET AND POLICY PRIORITIES | CBPP.ORG

## Major Federal Education Aid Programs Have Shrunk

Funding change from 2010 - 2015, adjusted for inflation



Source: CBPP calculations based on Office of Management and Budget data.

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24 states are spending less than in 2007; 19 states cut more in 2016-17

Schools serving low-income children have been hardest hit, while more of these families have also experienced homelessness, food insecurity, and lack of health care.



# Federal Policy Strategies

1. Tie federal funding to progress on school resource equity along with achievement; include equity indicators in district and school report cards.
2. Re-establish DOE's guidance to inform voluntary desegregation efforts.
3. Increase funding under ESSA for magnet schools and for other state and local efforts to create more economically and racially diverse schools.
4. Eliminate legislation prohibiting the use of federal funds for busing.
5. Enforce ESSA's policies for integrative student assignment policies, school finance reporting, and comparability provisions for ensuring teacher equity.

# The Costs of Inequality and the Benefits of Equity



If Hispanic and African American student performance grew to be comparable to white performance and remained there over the next 80 years, the ... impact would be staggering—adding some \$50 trillion (in present value terms) to our economy—more than three times the size of our current GDP. (This) represents the income that we forgo by not ensuring equity for all of our students.

— *For Each and Every Child*, Report of the Excellence and Equity Commission, 2013

# 21<sup>st</sup> Century Learning for All

“What the best and wisest parent wants for his or her child, that must the community want for all of its children. Any other goal is narrow and unlovely. Acted upon, it destroys our democracy .... Only by being true to the full growth of all the individuals who make it up, can society by any chance be true to itself.”

— John Dewey



# Remarks

**Senator Chris Murphy** | [@ChrisMurphyCT](#)

# Panel Discussion

MODERATOR

**Peter Cookson** | @LPI\_Learning

*Senior Researcher, Learning Policy Institute*

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**Linda Darling-Hammond** | @LDH\_ed @LPI\_Learning

*President, Learning Policy Institute*

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**Rucker Johnson** | @ProfRucker @GoldmanSchool

*Chancellor's Professor of Public Policy, University of California, Berkeley,  
Goldman School of Public Policy*

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**Sean Reardon** | @seanfreardon @StanfordEd

*Professor of Poverty and Inequality in Education, Stanford University*

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# Closing Remarks

**Congresswoman Marcia Fudge** | [@RepMarciaFudge](#)



# Learning Policy Institute Resources



## The Federal Role and School Integration

*Brown's Promise and Present Challenges*

Janel George and Linda Darling-Hammond



FEBRUARY 2019

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