Welcome & Introduction

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Research Presentation

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#StudentDiversityMatters
segregation and academic achievement gaps

sean f. reardon
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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, Hispanic Students
What leads to unequal educational opportunity and achievement gaps?
(see Reardon, Weathers, Fahle, & Jang, 2019; available at 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
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 Economic Segregation

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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

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

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

All US School Districts with at least 100 Black & 100 White Students/Grade, 2009-2016
Average Learning Rates, by School Poverty

Average Learning Rates (Relative to National Average)

School Percent Free/Reduced-Price Lunch Eligible

Average

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

+20% +10% -10%
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

#StudentDiversityMatters
Separate & Unequal: How School Spending & Integration Matter

Rucker C. Johnson
University of California-Berkeley & NBER
Black-White Achievement Gap
Reading, 1954-2003 Birth Cohorts

B-W Achievement Gap (standard deviations)

Source: Sean F. Reardon (updated from Reardon 2011)
MAPPING THE LONG ROAD...
TO
...DESEGREGATION
Effect of Court-Ordered School Desegregation on Racial School Segregation

- Change in Racial Segregation Average During School-Age Years
  - Years Before Court Order
  - Court Order Takes Effect
  - Number of School-Age Exposure Years
  - Exposed All K–12 Years

Years Relative to Court Order
Effect of Court-Ordered School Desegregation on School Spending for Blacks

- Change in District Per-Pupil Spending Average During School-Age Years
- Years Before Court Order
- Court Order Takes Effect
- Number of School-Age Exposure Years
- Exposed All K-12 Years

Years Relative to Court Order:

-6 - 0 - 2 - 4 - 6 - 8 - 10 - 12 - 14 - 16 - 18
Effect of Court-Ordered School Desegregation on Educational Attainment, by Race

- **Change in Years of Education**
- **Years Before Court Order**
- **Number of School-Age Exposure Years**
- **Exposed All K-12 Years**

Graph shows the change in years of education for Blacks and Whites relative to the court order. The graph indicates that desegregation had a significant impact on educational attainment, with a noticeable increase in years of education for Blacks starting around the time of the court order.
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

- Percentage Point Change in Annual Likelihood of Poverty
- Years Relative to Court Order
- Court Order Takes Effect
- Number of School-Age Exposure Years
- Exposed All K-12 Years

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

- Years Before Court Order
- Number of School-Age Exposure Years
- Exposed All K–12 Years

Percentage Point Change in Likelihood of Ever Being Incarcerated

- Blacks
- Whites

Years Relative to Court Order:

-4 -2 0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16
Long-run Effects of School Finance Reform
Spending Disparities Between Rich and Poor Districts, 2012, by State

Negative percentages mean that students in the state's poorest school districts get fewer dollars per pupil than students in the state's most affluent districts.

Positive percentages mean that students in the poorest districts get more dollars per pupil.

Case study featured in this book

Percent Difference in Dollars per Pupil of State’s Poorest vs Richest Districts
Getting Ahead with Head Start
Head Start Magnifies Effect of School Finance Reform

Percentage-point change in likelihood of graduating from high school, poor kids

Percent change in adult wages, poor kids

Percentage-point change in annual likelihood of poverty in adulthood, poor kids

Effects of Head Start Access
- 10% below average K–12 spending
- Average K–12 spending
- 10% above average K–12 spending

Effects of 10% K–12 Spending Increase
- No Head Start
- With Head Start
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

Change in High School Graduation Rate (4-yr Cohort)

Small Spending Increase
Large Spending Increase

Years Relative to LCFF Implementation

-3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3
Effects of LCFF on High School Mathematics Achievement for Children From Low-Income Families

Large (vs. small) SFR-induced spending increase

![Graph showing the change in mathematics test score for 11th grade (NAEP-normed) over years relative to LCFF implementation. The graph compares small and large spending increases, with the large spending increase showing a significant increase starting around the LCFF implementation year.](image-url)
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

Change in Probability (High School Grad)

Year Aged 17 - Year of Release of Court Order

90% CI

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

Change in Probability (High School Grad)
“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

- **Blacks**
- **Whites**

Percentage Point Change in Children’s Likelihood of Graduation

Years Before Court Order

Court Order Takes Effect

Parent’s Number of School-Age Exposure Years

Years Relative to Court Order
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

Thank you!!!
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Research Presentation

Linda Darling-Hammond | @LDH_ed @LPI_Learning

President
Learning Policy Institute

#StudentDiversityMatters
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

[Diagram showing a scatter plot with countries plotted according to their mathematics performance and equity in education opportunities. The plot indicates the relationship between performance and equity, with countries grouped into categories of above-average and below-average performance, and varying levels of equity.]
In the US, School Funding is Unequal Across & Within States

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.
The Anatomy of Inequality

- Dysfunctional schools
- Unequal access to curriculum
- Inequitable distribution of well-qualified educators
- Unequal school funding
- Poverty and segregation
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

Proportion of Black Students Attending Majority-White Schools
Degree of Segregation in Relation to Court-Ordered Desegregation Plans

Funding Levels Have Fallen

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.

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

“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

#StudentDiversityMatters
Panel Discussion

MODERATOR

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#StudentDiversityMatters
Closing Remarks

Congresswoman Marcia Fudge | @RepMarciaFudge

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Learning Policy Institute Resources

The Federal Role and School Integration
Brown’s Promise and Present Challenges
Janel George and Linda Darling-Hammond

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