CULtivate.

100 Years and Counting:

The Enduring Legacy of Racial Residential Segregation in Chicago in the Post-Civil Rights Era

PART TWO:

The Impact of Segregation on Education in a "No Excuses" Environment

The Chicago Urban League
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The CULtivate Series

The mission of the Chicago Urban League is to work for economic, educational and social progress for African Americans and promote strong, sustainable communities through advocacy, collaboration and innovation. Our work is guided by a strategic plan that outlines four key organizational goals, one of which is as follows: "Be a leader on issues impacting African Americans." Strategies under this goal include identifying and prioritizing key focal issues, conducting research and gathering information, building collaborative partnerships and advocating for social change.

Beginning in early 2015, the Chicago Urban League began developing the **CULtivate Series** to ensure that our organization was actively pursuing a thought leadership role on behalf of the African American community in Chicago. We wanted to commit our time and resources to examining a key issue or set of issues, disseminating our findings and recommendations and committing to action steps to begin addressing these issues.

▪ Issues We'll Explore

Over the upcoming years, we'll examine a range of issues impacting African Americans, from business and economic development to educational equity, to public safety and criminal justice system reforms. At the start of each series, the Chicago Urban League leadership team will review the political, business and social landscapes nationally and in Chicago to identify a set of issues impacting African Americans. This landscape analysis will guide the research and advocacy activities and will also help us identify new partners and reaffirm commitments to existing partners working within this issue area.

▪ Methodology

Under the direction of the Executive Director of the Research and Policy Center, the Chicago Urban League will gather quantitative data from local sources, as well as data from publically available national surveys such as the U.S. Census, the American Community Survey and other similar sources. Qualitative interview and focus group data will be gathered from issue-focused subject matter experts, including academics, activists/advocates, elected officials, human service providers, impacted persons and representatives from the business, nonprofit and philanthropic communities. The qualitative data will be analyzed for themes and will be used to refine research findings and develop advocacy and policy recommendations.

▪ Disseminating Information

Members of the Chicago Urban League team will gather and synthesize data on the focal issue with the goal of developing research and policy documents for our constituents, the public, elected officials, our partners and other human service providers. The CULtivate Series will release this information through written issue briefs, educational panels, community discussions and media pieces so that the community will have multiple means of accessing the information.

Commitment to Action

Members of the Chicago Urban League team will review the information and recommendations and convene meetings of advocates, community partners, elected officials and subject matter experts to identify action steps that the League will commit to as part of this work. These action steps will be based on external research, community partner and expert input and the input of people directly impacted by the key issue.

Series 1: 100 Years and Counting - The Enduring Legacy of Racial Residential Segregation in Chicago in the Post-Civil Rights Era

Over the past decades, in what we refer to as the post-Civil rights era, community advocates, community-based organizations, researchers and others have drawn attention to the challenges faced by many Chicago neighborhoods, particularly those in predominantly African American community areas. More recently, attention has been paid to issues such as neighborhood "food deserts" or "employment deserts" or "transportation deserts," suggesting that residents must travel far outside of their community to access basic needs for food, income or transportation options.

National and local programs and policies developed to address the demands of the Civil Rights movement were occurring during the same period of deindustrialization in the 1970s. Declines in Chicago's manufacturing and industry base, coupled with changes in neighborhood small business economies, harmed many African American communities. The more recent closing of schools and health clinics and the slow or nonexistent development of new neighborhood economies in many African American areas of the city points to a larger issue than any one type of desert. In keeping with the desert theme, it might be more appropriate to say that there are community areas in Chicago that are best characterized as "urban deserts" – areas in which economic disinvestment, resident displacement, population losses and the loss of community anchor institutions have, in part, resulted in community areas characterized by significant need. When people think of a desert, they think of a place that is inhospitable to life. On the contrary, a desert is a place of extreme conditions, where life must resiliently adapt and find ways to survive in a harsh, resource-poor environment. This is why we must not say that these community areas lack strengths. From the families to the organizations to the schools and businesses that serve them, these neighborhoods are the homes, institutions, organizing centers and workplaces of many people.

We cannot ignore, however, that there are many community areas in Chicago that face significant challenges, and by extension, so do its residents. Further, these community areas do not face these challenges by simple misfortune or bad luck. Chicago is a city of contrasts: a city that offers unending challenges and limitless triumphs, both large and small. It is the home of the very poor and the very well-to-do. Within a simple geographic grid lay richly nuanced neighborhoods with sometimes impenetrable borders. Where you grew up has potentially everything to do with your success. And where you grew up in Chicago has a lot to do with the explicit and implicit policies and practices that segregated residents according to the color of their skin. In Chicago, in 2017, race still matters, just as it has for the past hundred years.

In this inaugural series, we examine some of the current impacts of enduring racial residential segregation on the lives of African Americans in Chicago in the post-Civil Rights era. Segregation impacts neighborhoods in many ways. It impacts a neighborhood's housing, both at the community and individual levels. Distressed and undervalued properties, high rates of foreclosure and a loss of rental units reduce housing stock and foster residential instability. Resident unemployment or underemployment, reductions in the purchasing power of incomes earned, higher ratios of housing expenses to income and the loss of affordable housing makes it difficult for families to remain stably housed. It impacts a neighborhood's educational outcomes, both at the community and individual levels. Schools are deprived of the resources they need to adequately serve students and sometimes shutter due to neighborhood population loss. Young residents have increased rates of dropout and lower grades and educational attainment than peers in more resource-rich communities. It impacts a neighborhood's economy, both at the community and individual levels. Businesses have a harder time developing and thriving. Residents have a harder time finding employment and earning a sustainable, living wage income.

To examine these issues more thoroughly, we will be splitting the research findings and recommendations into three parts:

- **Part One:** The Impact of Chicago's Racial Residential Segregation on Residence, Housing and Transportation
- **Part Two:** The Impact of Segregation on Education
- **Part Three:** The Impact of Segregation on Neighborhood Economies

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Methodology

Researchers utilized a wide variety of data sources, in order to present a complete and detailed picture of the education system in Chicago and the Chicago Metropolitan Area. This report examines school, district, community area, and metropolitan area level data on demographics and a variety of other metrics. Data were gathered from the United States Census, American Community Survey, Chicago Community Trust, Illinois State Board of Education Report Cards, Chicago Public Schools, City of Chicago Data Portal, and Chicago's Million Dollar Blocks.

- **Public School System Finances (US Census)**[1].Data on school funding were collected at the district level for all U.S. school districts for the most recent year available (2014), and then recoded for the Chicago Metropolitan Area. Districts with funding levels of zero were removed from the analysis. Researchers divided funding levels into quintiles, and further analyzed district funding data with respect to Title 1 funding.
- **American Community Survey (ACS)**[2]. A subdivision of the United States Census. 5-year estimates were used for 2011 – 2015 and 2008 – 2012. Data utilized included: poverty rates, child poverty rates, incomes, unemployment rates, educational attainment, and vehicle access. Data were downloaded at the census tract level and county level. Researchers then used 2010 Census TIGER data to exclude all tracts outside the City of Chicago, as well as some tracts partially outside the City. This tract level data was combined and analyzed at the community area level. County level data were combined to provide information on the metro area level. The ACS also provided parcel composition (e.g. commercial or vacant square footage) at the county level, which researchers used to calculate information for the Chicago Metropolitan Area.
- **Chicago Community Trust**. Provided data on parcel composition at the community area level via the Institute for Housing Studies and the Cook County Assessor, information on transit proximity via the United States Census (population and TIGER data) and City of Chicago Data Portal (CTA and Metra stations), and housing tenure data via the US2010 Project at Brown University and Longitudinal Tract Data Base.
- **Illinois State Board of Education Report Cards**[3].Used to gather data at the district level and state level for student and teacher demographics and school information, including: average class sizes, pupil to teacher ratios, teacher attendance, retention, education levels and salaries, student homelessness, English language learner status, student attendance, chronic truancy, and mobility, and student achievement levels on standardized testing (Illinois Standards Achievement Test, or ISAT, and Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Careers, or PARCC). Testing scores were further analyzed by student characteristics, including race and ethnicity, low income status, and student disability or Individualized Education Plan (IEP) status.
- **Chicago Public Schools Data**[4]. Researchers gathered demographic data by school via Demographic Tables for the 20th Day of School, 2016 – 2017. Researchers also analyzed The Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Careers (PARCC) achievement and demographic data. Analyses were also conducted on The Illinois Standards

Achievement Test (ISAT) achievement and demographic data. Demographic comparisons also included Network and other schools data.

- **City of Chicago Data Portal**[5]. Researchers collected and analyzed data for a selected set of crimes using Illinois Uniform Crime Reporting (IUCR) codes. This information was then analyzed by community area for multiple types of crime, including violent crime, property crime, and drug crime. The data was aggregated from 2012 -2016, so it was divided by 5 to come up with a yearly total.
- **Chicago's Million Dollar Blocks**[6]. Provided data on the cost of arrests at the community area level.
- **Key Informant interviews**. Qualitative data was gathered from a number of education experts, parents, teachers, and principals across Chicago. The data was coded twice: first pass coding for general themes, and then second pass coding for concepts, quotes and ideas.

INTRODUCTION:
A Primer on
School Funding and
Segregated Education

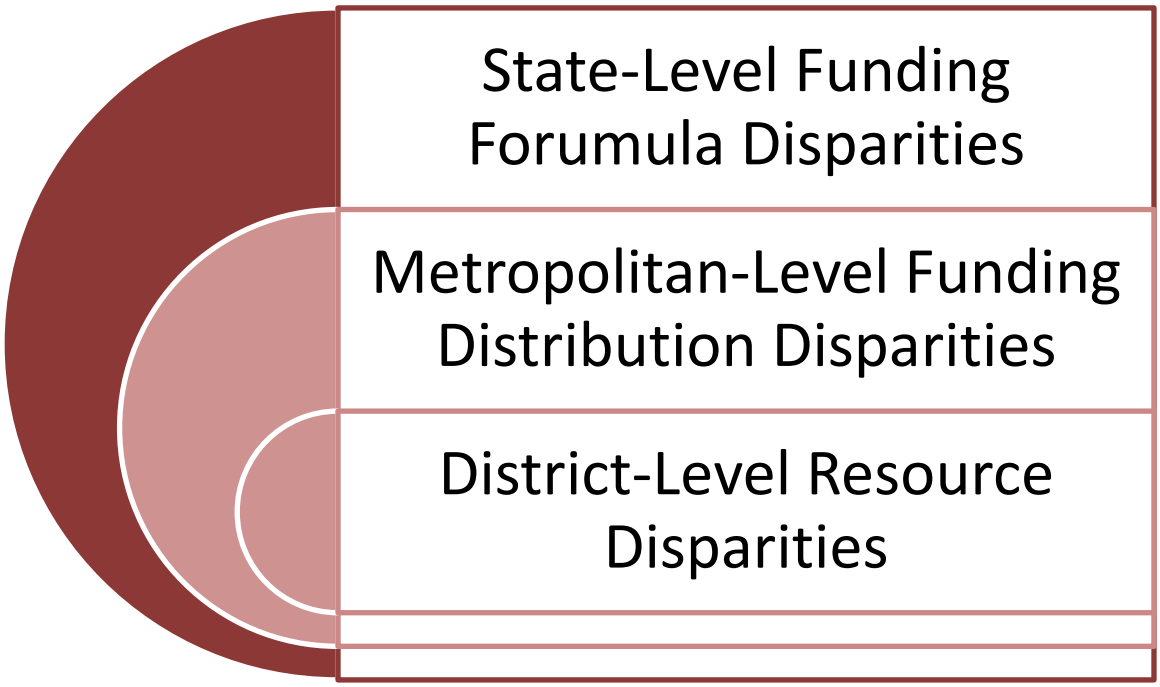
An Introduction to Part Two of the Series

In this second report in the series, we will examine the myriad ways in which our current educational system significantly disadvantages African American students from low income families. Even the brightest and most motivated students must struggle to address the many challenges facing them: attendance in under-resourced schools, located in under-resourced communities, with minimal resources in the home to overcome deficits in both the school and community.

This first section will begin briefly by providing some background for the reader. It will provide a broad overview of the current school funding system in Illinois, and how ours compares nationally to other states. It is important to recognize that Illinois has the most inequitable funding system in the country, and disparities faced by low-income students begin there. It will also introduce the reader to a brief overview of school segregation – what it is, how we got here and why it matters.

Following this introduction, the report will examine the various levels of disparity facing students – from inequitable funding models at the state level, to inequitable distribution of funds at the metropolitan level, to disparate community and family resources at the district level that result in very different schooling experiences for wealthy and low-income students. At every point in the system, African American students bear the brunt of an inequitable system.

Figure NF1: Inequity at Every Level of the Educational System



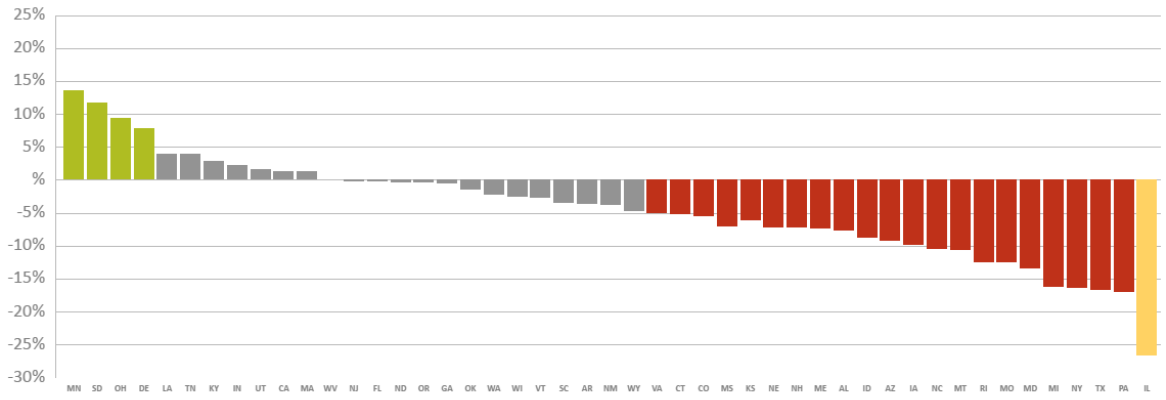
How Illinois's Funding System Leads to Inequity

To understand where educational disparities begin for Illinois students, it is important to start at the very beginning of this process, and that is our state educational funding system.

Illinois has the dubious distinction of being one of the worst states in the nation for equitable and fair funding of its schools by most national measures. Illinois currently ranks 50th out of 50 states for the percentage of education funding provided by the state[7] and 49th out of 50 states for our local funding reliance, second only to Washington D.C. Illinois ranks 50th out of 50 states on our equitable funding of low-income students.[8]

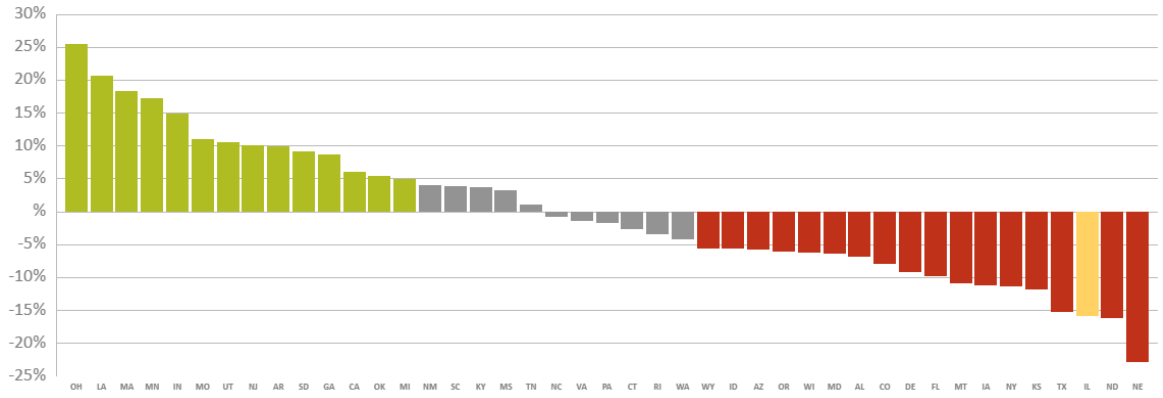
As seen in the figure below, Illinois ranks last when compared to other states on the funding gaps between the highest and lowest poverty districts. In the figure below, states shown in green provide more funds to districts with higher rates of poverty, states in grey provide roughly comparable funds, and states in red pay fewer funds to districts with higher rates of poverty. Illinois's highest poverty districts receive, on average, 27% fewer funds per student than the lowest poverty districts (adjusted for additional needs of low-income students).[9] This is in contrast to states like Minnesota, South Dakota and Ohio, in which the highest poverty districts receive 14%, 12% and 9% more in state and local funds than the lowest poverty districts. (Figure NF2)

Figure NF2: National Ranks of Funding Gaps between Highest and Lowest Poverty Districts



Illinois also ranks poorly for funding equity between districts serving the most and the fewest students of color. Only North Dakota and Nebraska rank worse than Illinois on this measure. In the figure below, states shown in green provide more funds to districts with higher rates of students of color, states in grey provide roughly comparable funds, and states in red pay fewer funds to districts with higher rates of students of color. In Illinois, districts serving the highest number of students of color receive 16% fewer state and local funds per student than districts with a lower number of students of color. This contrasts strongly with Ohio, where districts serving the most students of color receive 26% more in funds than districts serving the fewest students of color. (Figure NF3)

Figure NF3: National Ranks of Funding Gaps between Highest and Lowest Student of Color Districts



Taking a look at Illinois funding inequities in greater detail, we can see that there are a number of factors that lead to Illinois's current rankings. Two reports in particular highlight the Illinois funding challenges and how we got this way. In a recent report from the Center for American Progress, the most financially disadvantaged school districts in the country were examined and categorized based on the set of conditions leading to these disadvantages. Illinois was listed as "Savage Inequality" state, a nod to Jonathan Kozol's book detailing vast disparities in American education.[10] A "savage inequality" state is one in which higher-than-average student needs are met with lower-than-average resources when factoring combined state and local revenues.[11] These states are also characterized by very contrasting home and school environments - very affluent suburban areas with large homes, highly resourced schools and strong availability of academic enrichment and supportive services, and very low-income urban (and/or rural areas) with poor housing stock, under-resourced schools in poor or deteriorating buildings and limited availability of supports and services to ensure graduation and prevent drop-out.[12] As a result, students in some districts receive an exemplary education, replete with all of the services and amenities that prepare students to graduate college-ready, while other students receive the minimum required educational standards, but little beyond.

Digging a little deeper, another report from the Education Law Center, *Is School Funding Fair?*, examines the degree to which states are able to provide an equitable education for all students based on a set number of factors used to grade states on their funding fairness. These factors include: *funding level* - the overall level of state and local revenue provided to school districts; *funding distribution* - the distribution of funding across local districts within a state relative to local poverty; *effort* - the ratio of state spending to gross state product (GSP); *coverage* - proportion of school-aged children attending the state's public schools.[13] While the report cannot provide a specific threshold of funding amounts that would be considered "adequate" or "equitable," as these vary state by state based on a number of complex conditions, it does provide an overview of where states rank in funding fairness overall. See Table NF4 for Illinois rankings for each of these areas, and described in greater detail in the following paragraph.

Table NF4: Illinois Rankings on Funding Fairness[14]

Funding Factor	**Rank**
Funding Level	State Rank: 15
Funding Distribution	Grade: F
Funding Effort	Grade: C
Coverage	State Rank: 31
TOTAL SCORE (FAIRNESS RATIO: 0.35 - 2.00)[15]	**0.968 (State Rank: 31 of 48)***

* Excludes Alaska and Hawaii

Illinois ranks 15th in the nation for its *funding level* - the amount of average per-pupil funding per student adjusted for student poverty levels, regional wage differences and school district size and density. With a U.S. state average of $10,362 per-pupil, Illinois exceeds the national average at $11,108 per-pupil.[16]

Illinois unfortunately, but expectedly, receives an "F" grade for its *funding distribution* - the measure that examines whether the state's funding system accounts for the additional resources needed for students living and going to school in areas of concentrated poverty. Illinois has what is considered a "regressive funding pattern," one in which districts with higher concentrations of low-income students systematically receive lower per-pupil state and local revenues than districts with fewer low-income students. Under Illinois's regressive funding pattern, the local revenues in the lowest poverty districts are often higher than the combined state and local revenues per-pupil for the highest poverty districts, creating the first layer of disparity.[17] The second layer of disparity arises from the additional funds the lowest poverty districts receive in the form of federal, state general and state categorical aid.[18] Districts that least need the money often receive the greatest amount of funding and resources. The following figures show how a fair funding distribution might look (hypothetical need-based, wealth-equalized formula) and how the unbalanced Illinois system actually looks (Figures NF5 and NF6).

Figure NF5: A Hypothetical "Fair Funding Distribution"

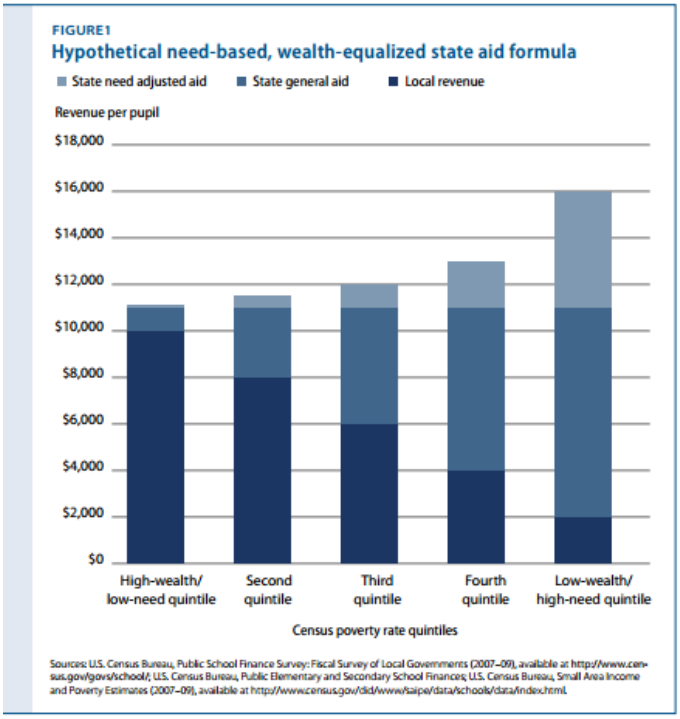
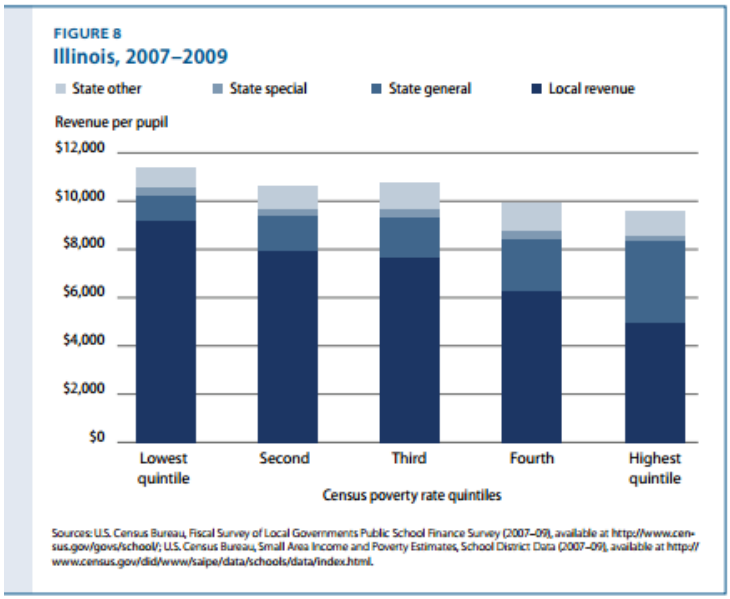


Figure NF6: Illinois Funding Distribution: 2007-2009



Illinois further receives a "C" grade for its *funding effort* - the amount of funds spent on education in relation to the state's economy (gross state product). This figure is calculated by dividing the total direct expenses for elementary and secondary education by the state GSP. For Illinois, this translates to a 3.5% effort, which puts us in the "average effort" category.[19] Illinois has a GSP of $776.9 billion (2015), and we are ranked 5th in the United States for our GSP, so we are considered an economically large state.[20] While it would be reasonable to assume that high GSP would result in a greater effort to fund education, the report found that states with large economies don't necessarily channel that money into education.[21]

Finally, Illinois ranks 31st in the nation for its *coverage* - the measure examining the number of school-aged children attending public schools and the ratio of median household income of students in public schools to median household income of students in private schools.[22] Only 12% of Illinois students attend private schools, and the median income for these private-school families is 46% higher than public-school families. This means, intuitively, that affluent families with high household wealth are more likely to opt out of Illinois public schools, and have little at stake in the fight for fair funding legislation.[23] However, with the vast majority of families being served by the public school system, the issue of fair and equitable funding is of reasonable concern for most Illinois residents.

Taken together, Illinois ranks 31st in the nation for overall funding fairness. We're very average in some regards - our percentage of GSP paid to education and our median income ratio for families in public and non-public schools places us squarely in the middle of states. We're slightly better than average in our overall statewide per-pupil funding, though the previous section noted that this varies considerably by district and is inadequate to meet the needs of Illinois's highest need students. Where we fare poorly is on a very important measure - the equitable distribution of funds across high and low needs districts. For the purposes of the fairness ratio, Illinois is right in the middle. Yet we must not let this obscure the fact that we are the worst in the nation for funding equity, and many of our Illinois students bear the burden of a systematically inequitable funding structure - one that overwhelmingly disadvantages the most in need living in the least resourced communities. `

Segregated Education and its Intersection with Inequity

Prior to a number of landmark cases and legislation that dramatically altered the educational landscape in the United States, schools operated under the "separate but equal" doctrine decided in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). Under this doctrine, which upheld the Jim Crow laws, facilities, services and institutions were segregated based on race, but each group had access to the same things in principle. In reality, however, this "separate but equal" system would result in widely disparate experiences and resources that were anything but equal. African American schools under *de jure* segregation were chronically under-funded, under-resourced and often housed in old or crumbling facilities. However, the prevailing belief was that African American students were best served in their own schools, in their own communities, and that a racial mixing of students in a classroom or school would have negative implications for all children.[24] Beginning with the Reconstruction period in the South, and well into the mid-century throughout the rest of the nation, racially segregated schooling was the norm, in spite of early efforts by the NAACP to chip away at the "separate but unequal" doctrine that guided educational policy and practice at the time.[25]

Defining School Segregation

School segregation has long been defined by two different outcome measures: to what extent are students isolated from other students (racial isolation) and to what extent is any one group of students the overwhelming majority of a given school (racial imbalance).[26] While critics are right to point out that these measures can be imprecise based on broader demographic shifts happening within many major urban areas, these measures can be useful as a general assessment of racial segregation within a given school district.[27], [28] However, to understand why these measures are relevant to student outcomes, it is important to understand how the root cause of school segregation could lead to such differences in educational settings.

At its core, school segregation – in fact, all forms of segregation – is used to disadvantage some groups in the competition for limited educational resources. Well-meaning parents reinforce resource competition by seeking high-status, high-quality schools for their children, but often lack a nuanced understanding of the factors that lead to a comprehensive, quality education. Instead schooling decisions are based on assumptions, beliefs and limited information that further fuels resource competition. Educated, middle to upper class parents in particular lack information about high-quality integrated schools, often assuming that the presence of minority or low income students is a marker of lower quality schools.[29] This assumption leads to the preference among middle class upper class parents – especially White parents – to send their children to less racially integrated schools. As the percentage of students of color increases in a given school, White families often respond by leaving the public school for a different school (private, gifted, magnet, etc.) or leaving the district for a whiter, less integrated school district.[30] Researchers, advocates and policymakers have been increasingly vocal in their insistence that we also include class/income prejudice as an additional factor in school choice, as middle to upper income families routinely self-select into communities or areas more wealth and a greater percentage of affluent families.[31] Resource competition follows, as parents fight for resources

and services that will provide their children advantages and opportunities to the exclusion of other students.

What results is an unequal allocation of resources to schools and school districts, as the "haves" operate from a privileged position that allows them to better monopolize resources to the detriment of the "have nots." Racial/economic isolation and imbalance follow as symptoms of the root causes of school segregation. In other words: assumptions and preferences about a schools' student composition leads to exclusionary de facto segregation by privileged parents, resulting in resource competition that leads to an uneven distribution of resources across schools, which creates a tiered schooling system for the "haves" and the "have nots" that spurs racial and economic imbalance and intensifies racial and economic isolation. Here and nationwide, African American students living in poverty go to their schools, White, affluent students go to their schools, and rarely the two shall meet.

- **Why Does School Segregation Matter?**

So we know what educational segregation is and how it comes to fruition, but why does it matter? It matters because of its relationship with the educational choice and the impact it has on schools and students. Educational choice is a general term that means different things to different groups of people, but for the purposes of this paper will be defined as the schooling options that parents select for their children to best meet their needs and educational expectations. These can include educational options such as the neighborhood attendance school, public charter schools, magnet schools, selective enrollment schools, contract schools, gifted schools, private schools, and other innovative small school models. Over the past two decades, as parents were provided more options for their children's education and courts moved away from enforcing public school integration plans, desegregation has been on the decline. The proliferation of charter schools, specialized schools and other innovative educational approaches funded through government and philanthropic investments have destabilized the traditional neighborhood school and actually increased racial and economic segregation in many school districts.

An educational system that relies on voluntary integration – one in which families have to opt-in to an integrated school system or district – is only as successful as the parents willing to choose this option. Research has overwhelmingly shown that while educated, middle-to-upper class parents like school integration in theory, in practice they are not likely to select that option for their own children. There is little incentive for these families to risk what they believe will be poorer outcomes for their children, and little is at stake for them if segregated or inequitable school systems continue to flourish. Parents that have the financial resources to reside in communities with the best school districts or have access to high quality private schools will choose to do so. Parents of all financial means that value public education and have access to selective enrollment schools, high performing neighborhood schools or magnet schools will choose to do so. These are reasonable and understandable decisions made by parents on behalf of their children, but the consequences for families with limited resources and limited access to the best educational options in a community are profound. Educational "choice" is a misnomer for these families. Absent the human capital and the knowledge to work the educational

system to their advantage, parents of low-income students of color will continue to see their children segregated into under-resourced schools in highly inequitable school districts.

Educational segregation also matters because it impacts both the schools and the students. Racially segregated schools with a higher percentage of low-income students – be they neighborhood attendance schools or the increasing number of public charters serving this population – have disproportionately fewer academic and student resources than other schools, and are more likely to create a punitive environment for students:

- *Academic and College Preparatory Courses and Learning Materials*: Less likely to offer a wide range of STEM classes, particularly math classes (pre-algebra, pre-geometry), science classes (biology, chemistry, physics) and STEM-focused academic enrichment resources (science labs, technology-enhanced curriculum, etc.)
- *Accelerated or Special Placement* Classes: Less likely to offer classes for students that are excelling academically and could benefit from more rigorous coursework.
- *Teacher Quality and Retention*: Less able to attract and retain skilled, qualified teachers because they often pay less than other districts and a student composition that often presents additional challenges for teachers.
- *Academic Enrichment and Extracurriculars*: Less able to provide before school/afterschool academic enrichment programs, tutors, instructional aids, field trips and extracurricular activities that enhance traditional school day activities and create a more well-rounded student.
- *Student Discipline*: Less likely to have supportive services for students and are more likely to apply disciplinary actions against a student, as well as suspend and expel students when compared to other schools.

Students are also directly impacted in the short and long term by attending racially and economically segregated schools. Considerable attention has been paid in recent years to the impacts of segregated educational experience on elementary school outcomes in particular, since this is an important developmental period for children. Research has shown that learning gains for children in grades K-3 are dramatically greater than for students in later grades, lending evidence to the belief that this is a crucial period in which to lay the foundation for literacy and math skills. By third grade, students in the lowest performing, most under-resourced schools are so behind the academic progress of their peers that they never catch up.

In general, significant achievement gaps exist between Black and White students. Overall, the achievement gap between Black and White students on math proficiency is greatest in 8th grade, ranging from a 25-point gap in 3rd grade, 28 points in 8th grade and 27 points in 12th grade. The achievement gap between Black and White students on reading proficiency is greatest in 12th grade, ranging from a 22-point gap in 3rd grade, 23 points in 8th grade and 26 points in 12th grade. Taken together, Black students are still lagging significantly behind their White counterparts, but promisingly, test scores have been consistently rising over the past 30 years.[32]

Data from the National Center for Education Statistics was used to compare differences in student achievement based on race and school composition (% of Black students) and found that Black students attending predominantly Black schools (60%-100% of students) performed considerably worse than Black students at predominantly White schools, controlling for family income and other factors. This suggests that achievement gaps, which are often assumed to be based on the race of the student, might more reasonably be attributed to student attendance in hypersegregated schools. In fact, racial academic achievement gaps have been shown to correlate to racial socioeconomic disparities, evidenced by the fact that states with the largest socioeconomic disparities are more likely to have higher academic achievement gaps. In addition to these standardized achievement gaps, students attending segregated schools are also less likely to complete high school and graduate with a diploma, enroll in college or stay enrolled in college and complete their undergraduate degree.

Addressing School Segregation: Landmark Court Cases and Legislation

Over the past several decades, the United States has attempted to address school segregation through the courts and targeted legislation. The impetus for one of the largest changes in school segregation history came from the experience of one little African American girl. Linda Brown, a 7 year-old student from Topeka, Kansas, attended a segregated all-Black public school about a mile from her home. To get to the bus that would take her to school, she walked six blocks to a bus stop that was nearly equidistant to an all-white neighborhood school.[33] The NAACP encouraged the Brown family, and 12 other families, to try to enroll in the all-white neighborhood schools. When their enrollment was expectedly rejected, the NAACP took the case to court.

Over the next few years, the NAACP worked several segregation cases and eventually rolled several cases into one case to be heard in front of the U.S. Supreme Court: *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*. It took several years for the case to work its way through Supreme Court proceedings, but in May, 1954, the Court, under Chief Justice Earl Warren, ruled unanimously in favor of the NAACP. In their decision, the Court stated that "separate but equal" has no place in a public education system and separate educational facilities based on race are inherently unequal.[34] *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) has been viewed as one of the most important cases in U.S. history because it served as a major turning point for civil rights struggles across the nation, and a signal that the law could be engaged to secure racial justice. Efforts to desegregate schools and provide a more equitable education for African American students were also helped by other cases and laws, which will be briefly reviewed here:

- *Civil Rights Act (1964)*: Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 states that no person in the United States should be discriminated against on the ground of race, color or national origin. Further, educational programs, agencies and institutions that receive federal financial assistance must operate in a non-discriminatory manner in areas including, but not limited to: admissions, recruitment, financial aid, academic programs, student treatment and services, counseling and guidance, discipline, classroom assignment, grading, vocational education, recreation, physical education, athletics, housing and employment.[35]

- *Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965):* Developed the Title I provision to distribute funding to schools and school districts with a large percentage of low-income students.
- *Green v. County School Board (1968):* Brown v. Board of Education made segregation under the "separate but equal" doctrine illegal, but did not address how districts would actively address integration. The Court determined that local school districts must create and adopt plans for actively integrating schools.[36]
- *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education (1970):* The Court upheld the decision that busing be used as a strategy and a tool for integration.[37] Under the desegregation busing model, students were assigned and transported to different schools or school districts to undo some of the effects of residential segregation.[38]
- *Keyes v. School District 1 (1973):* The Court ruled that a district could not consider a school desegregated by the mere presence of African American or Latino students, and further that the district would be assumed to practice segregation unless it were able to prove otherwise.[39]
- *Equal Education Opportunities Act (1974):* The law states that no U.S. state can deny equal educational opportunity to a student based on gender, race, color or nationality through intentional segregation, nor can educational institutions neglect to resolve intentional segregation.[40]
- *Milliken v. Bradley (1974):* The Court ruled that public school integration could only be legally enforced in school districts that displayed de jure segregation (separation enforced by law) and not de facto segregation (separation based on preference, choice or some condition not determined by law).[41]
- *Washington v. Seattle School District 1 (1981):* The Court upheld that mandatory desegregation busing by school districts could be enforced because it targeted public school integration efforts and attempted to equalize education for disadvantaged minority students.

In total, these decisions and laws bolstered integrationist policies and practices designed to undo decades of segregation that had been put in place under Jim Crow laws and the "separate but equal" doctrine.

Desegregation and Resegregation: Ground Gained, Ground Lost

In 1966, James Coleman authored a report, entitled *Equality of Educational Opportunity,* laid the foundation for describing and addressing challenges facing segregated school districts and the steps that would be needed to create educational equity across the nation. Commissioned by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Coleman study found that student achievement was most strongly influenced by key family, school and social contexts. What mattered most for Black students, the most segregated group of students in the nation at the time of the study, were the social environment in which they were expected to engage in learning and most importantly, their family backgrounds.

The Coleman study found that the composition of the school, both racial and economic, had a significant impact on student performance. Black students that attended highly segregated schools performed worse than their counterparts in more integrated schools. Further, students in highly segregated schools

had a decreased sense of opportunity (access to resources to build skills, knowledge, experience) and control over their environment (belief that personal actions will influence future) when compared to peers in more integrated schools. The study also found that family characteristics – things such as parent education, family income, access to educational resources in the home, stable housing and nutrition – played the biggest role in student achievement.

Taken together, these findings suggested that school segregation, which was a byproduct of the same racist and classist attitudes that impacted Black family wealth and wellbeing, was a factor in so much as it concentrated the most disadvantaged students together in one school building. Segregated schools did have inadequate resources and facilities, and this was a problem, but it was not these factors alone that led to disparities in performance. The real culprit behind why Black children performed so poorly in schools was the discrimination and devaluation of Black families, such that it made it hard for these families to secure stable and adequate incomes, housing and the resources needed to overcome the limiting effects of poverty. While the Johnson administration had hoped the report would pinpoint inadequate school resources as the primary factor in school achievement gaps, it ended up providing a strong rationale for the desegregation policies and practices that were put in place in the following decades.

The desegregation process that was undertaken during the 1960s-1980s was the nation's boldest attempt at undoing years of inequitable education policy and practice. It was also one of the few eras in which the impact of race and racism on schools and student performance were discussed so specifically and intentionally. During this 20 year period, states, the courts and local school districts were charged with developing and implementing desegregation/integration plans to create more integrated K-12 schooling opportunities for Black students. The efforts were largely successful – segregation decreased dramatically across the nation from 1968 to 1988, as the number of Black students attending 90-100% Black schools dropped from 77% to 24% in the South, 58% to 41% in the Midwest and 51% to 26% in the West. The success was due, in part, to the court enforcement of desegregation plans drawn up by the states and school districts.

Rejecting the concept of desegregation, then-President Ronald Reagan cut federal funding for desegregation efforts in 1981, with the head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division stating: "we are not going to compel children who do not want to choose to have an integrated education to have one."[42] And while the courts had previously given themselves authority to oversee and enforce local desegregation plans, they began the process of dismantling these plans in the late 1980s, returning authority back to local school districts. In effect, local school districts would no longer be required to act in accordance to pre-existing plans, and further would not be held responsible for the resulting resegregation, unless it was the intent of their local district decisions to produce segregation. What this meant for districts is that they were now able to terminate their desegregation plans and would not be on the hook for any resegregation that followed, unless it could be proven that the resegregation was the direct result of intentional efforts on their part to segregate students. Several Supreme Court rulings were used to begin striking down enforced desegregation plans, stating that the orders were never meant to be permanent:

- *Board of Education of Oklahoma City Public Schools v. Dowell (1991):* The Court ruled that enforceable desegregation orders can be terminated if the local school district is operating an integrated, unitary system. Once ruled unitary, it is not subject to legal oversight.[43]
- *Freeman v. Pitts (1992):* The Court ruled that the courts did not need to oversee or maintain control of a school district's desegregation efforts if a district was in compliance, and needed only intervene if integration plans were not proceeding.[44]
- *Missouri v. Jenkins (1995):* The Court rules that desegregation plans proposed by districts could be ruled unconstitutional if they were designed to remedy *de facto* segregation and not *de jure* segregation. [45]

From 1991 to 2009, 215 of the 483 nationwide school districts under court oversight (45%) terminated their desegregation plans, effectively ending one of the most useful mechanisms put in place to enforce integration.[46] While there are many factors that underpin academic performance and the racial achievement gaps that might be best addressed by housing, economic and social policies, desegregation efforts do play a role in equalizing educational opportunities.

In the years since many of these orders have ended, school segregation has again been on the rise and many of the gains made during the 1960s-1980s have been lost. The impact of desegregation efforts fades over time, and following release from desegregation orders, white/black segregation increased in most districts over the subsequent years. Young students living in racially or economically isolated communities are therefore more likely to attend racially or economically isolated schools now than they were just a few decades ago. History has shown time and time again that the country rarely acts, and systems rarely change, without the stick of judicial enforcement forcing equitable policy change.

The upcoming sections will examine the ways in which disparities at every level of the educational system disproportionately impact poor, African American students.

Section 1 will begin by more thoroughly reviewing the educational funding system in Illinois, pointing out the many characteristics that make it inequitable for low-income students and students of color. It will also provide an overview of reform efforts that have been undertaken to address these inequities.

Section 2 will examine the funding distribution system that provides an inequitable set of funds to different school districts across the metropolitan area, and how the highest poverty districts are often the most disadvantaged.

Section 3 will examine what happens in a segregated school district like Chicago, and how numerous community-level and family-level factors can stack up for or against a student either exacerbate or alleviate funding and resource constraints.

The report will conclude with recommendations for addressing inequities at the state and district levels. Also included is an appendix with education advocacy organizations that were graciously willing to meet with the Chicago Urban League to discuss these issues, recommend solutions and bring attention to the work that they are doing to address the challenges highlighted within this report.

I. A State out of Balance: Illinois Educational Funding

Illinois elementary and secondary schools receive funding from three separate revenue streams: local funds, state funds and federal funds (approximately 67%, 25% and 8% respectively).[47] This differs from funding in most states, where the revenue breakouts are shared more evenly across the local and state levels (45% local, 45% state, 10% federal).[48] It is this Illinois discrepancy that creates a system out of balance – a system that relies heavily on local funds to underwrite our children's education, creating an exceptionally disparate system that results in wide funding variations from school district to school district. This section will examine the source of Illinois educational funds, what makes them inadequate in funding our children's education and what has been done to change this over the past several decades.

▪ Funding Illinois Schools

Federal Funding for Schools

In Illinois, federal funds (ranging from 2%-8%) are the smallest pot of funds available to school districts to pay for Illinois educational expenses. Illinois school districts receive federal funding for education under the following legislation and programs: ESEA Title I grants (funds to improve supports for low-income students to increase academic achievement), ESEA Title II grants (funds to reduce class sizes and improve teacher and principal quality to improve academic achievement), IDEA grants (funds to provide services and programs for students with disabilities) and the National School Lunch Program (funds to offer students meals if their families meet federal income requirements).[49]

Approximately 45% of all federal educational funding supports elementary and secondary education across the United States, resulting in approximately $40 billion in expenses per fiscal year. The majority of federal dollars flow through the Department of Education and are provided to the states in the form of block grants, which are determined through a variety of formula[1] and competitive grant programs.[50] Other federal agencies provide funds for specific programs and services for U.S. students, though the amount varies state by state.

Federal funds available to local school districts are determined through annual appropriations bills within the U.S. Congress, developed in committee and signed into law by the President.[51] The total dollar amounts given to each state are based on available federal funds, the state's student population and student needs and poverty rates/percentage of students living in poverty served.[52] Additional federal funds can be awarded to provide services and supports for special populations or purposes, such as children with physical, developmental or behavioral disabilities.[53]

As a result, there can be significant variation in the amount of federal funds provided to a school district. Title I funds – the largest pool of funds – are determined through funding formulas. Districts with 2%-

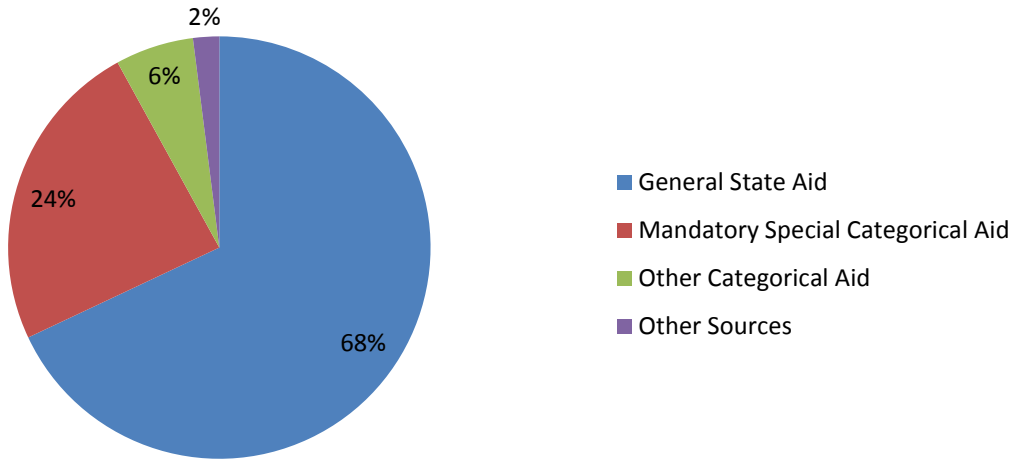
[1] Formula grant: A noncompetitive grant provided to predetermined eligible recipients that bases awarded dollar amount on a predetermined formula. Example: Title I funds authorized through the Every Student Succeeds Act of 2015 (ESSA 2015). Competitive grant: A grant that provides funding for a fixed period of time for specific projects or populations that is awarded through a competitive selection process.

14% of students living in poverty fall under the Basic Formula, which means that even wealthy districts with few low-income students are generally guaranteed federal funds meant to serve low-income students.[54] The Concentrated Formula covers school districts with at least 15% of students living in poverty. Under both formulas, the district will receive the same amount of money per low-income student regardless of how many students it serves. So a district with 15% of students living in poverty and a district with 50% of students living in poverty will receive the same per-pupil funds, even though the district with a higher percentage of low-income students is more likely to be in a poorer community with less local wealth and less resources. Further, if more than 40 percent of students at a school are poor, the money can be used for the entire school, not just the low-income students.[55] As a result, Title I funds have increasingly become a source of general education aid and not the targeted funds to be used to support programs and services for low-income students. [56]

State Funding for Schools

State funds are the next largest pot of money available for Illinois elementary and secondary educational expenses (approximately 25%-30% of Illinois educational funds for school districts). The two main sources of state funds for school districts are General State Aid and Categorical Aid. State funds available to local school districts are determined through annual appropriations bills within the Illinois General Assembly, developed in committee and signed into law by the Governor.[57] Figure SF1 shows the typical breakout of state aid allocated to schools.

Figure SF1: Funding Sources by Source Type in Illinois



Source: ISBE Presentation: Overview of Local, State and Federal Funding

General State Aid (GSA), the largest percentage of state funds available to school districts (approximately 68% of state educational funds), is distributed by the Illinois State Board of Education and is determined by our current funding formula.[58] [59] GSA is comprised of two grants: the *Equalization Formula Grant* and the *Supplemental Low-Income Grant*. The important distinction between the two is that the Equalization Formula Grant takes into consideration local funds and the wealth of a school

district, whereas the Supplemental Low-Income Grant does not.[60] Why this is an important distinction between grants is because the amount of the Equalization Formula Grant will vary by school district; as local wealth increases, the amount of the grant decreases (and vice versa).[61] In contrast, the Supplemental Low-Income Grant is not based on the local resources or wealth of a district, but instead the ratio of low-income students in a school district.[62] As the percentage of low-income students in a district increases, the payment per-student increases.

For the *Equalization Formula Grant*, the GSA establishes a "Foundation Level" of funding, which is the amount per-pupil that each student is supposed to receive, currently set at $6,119 per student.[63] However, the state does not expect to pay the full amount of the Foundation Level, and it will not make up the difference if a school district cannot provide enough local funds to meet the Foundation Level.[64] Further, the Foundation Level is not tied to actual educational costs, and is considered a starting point for determining spending per-pupil spending in Illinois school districts. Total per-pupil district spending will be a combination of local resources, state aid, federal funding and varies based on the resources available to a district.[65] Approximately 80% of Illinois school districts receive state aid under the Foundation Level formula; they qualify because their local resources cover 93% or less of the minimum per-pupil amount.[66] Districts can receive support per pupil ranging from approximately $430-$5,500, with the largest percentage of districts receiving funds in the $2,000-$3,500 per pupil range.[67]

For the *Supplemental Low-Income Grant*, the state grants award amounts based on the school district's percentage of low income students. Low-income students are identified as those students that receive support or services through the following Illinois Department of Human Services programs: Medicaid, the Children's Health Insurance Program, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families or the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program.[68] Districts with less than 15% of students qualifying as low-income are supposed to receive a flat amount of $355 per pupil; remaining districts receive a grant award based on a low-income formula that gives more money to districts with a larger percentage of low-income students. While this formula does account for variations in the population of low-income students, it does not take into account the local wealth of the school district. For this reason, even very wealthy school districts can receive supplemental grant funds for their low-income students at a per-pupil amount that would be equal to poorer school districts.[69] Payments can range from approximately $355 to $3,000 per low-income student based on the low-income funding formula –but variations might occur by data source.[70]

In addition to the GSA funds, the Illinois General Assembly provides funds under what is termed *Mandatory Special Categorical Aid* (approximately 24% of state educational funds), subject to the amount of money available from the state.[71] Categorical aid is money from the state that targets particular needs, programs or populations and restricts the use of funds to these specific uses. There are several mandated categories that appropriate funds for a specific purpose or population and are included in the annual appropriations process: Special Education; Free or Reduced Breakfast and Lunch; and Transportation.[72] There is also money made available under non-mandatory categorical aid (approximately 8% of state education funds). These include grants for early childhood education, bilingual education, reading programs, career/technical programs and gifted or accelerated programming. [73]

Local Funding for Schools

In Illinois, local funding sources play a critical role in determining the amount of money available for a school district budget (approximately 60%-67% of Illinois educational funds for school districts). The major source of revenue for school districts in Illinois is local property taxes, though other local sources of revenue (tuition, county sales taxes, school fees, activity fees, interest income and donations) help provide additional monies to fund public K-12 education expenses. [74]

The local property tax dollars are comprised of two main sources of revenue: real estate tax and corporate personal property replacement tax (a state tax on corporate net income).[75] Real estate tax is a tax on the property of homeowners and business owners. It represents the largest revenue stream not only for education, but also for most municipal services (government agencies, libraries, parks, public health, etc.). Real estate taxes vary by county and/or municipality and are based on the total property values in a district.[76] The corporate personal property replacement tax is revenue collected by the state from corporations, partnerships, trusts and other business entities and paid to local governments.[77] The usefulness of this revenue varies by location; school districts comprised of a large number of businesses and industry stand to benefit more from these monies than more residential areas.[78]

Taken together, the variations in dollar amounts collected from real estate tax and corporate personal property replacement tax result in much of the disparate funding gaps between local wealth and funds available for K-12 education. In property-wealthy communities with a good balance of residential and commercial/industrial property or high property market values, the local tax base can be sufficiently large enough to overcome gaps in funding from state and federal sources. In contrast, property-poor communities, with limited commercial/industrial property and low market value homes, are less likely to be able to collect the revenue necessary to adequately fund the school district and overcome gaps in state and federal funding.

▪ How Illinois Maintains an Unbalanced System

When a funding system designed to support the educational needs of students is out of balance, it is the students, the families and the communities that bear the overwhelming impacts of funding disparities. In 2014, statewide organizations, including the Illinois Association of School Administrators (IASA), the Illinois Principals Association (IPA), the Illinois Association of School Boards (IASB) and others, partnered to create a policy document outlining their vision for public education in Illinois. Entitled *Vision 20/20*, the document outlined key areas of improvements within the public education system to help create successful, prepared learners. This included programs and initiatives to improve teacher quality, 21st Century learning standards and enhanced college/career readiness programming, shared accountability and, importantly, equitable and adequate funding of the Illinois school system.[79]

The *Vision 20/20* report notes that funding plays a large role in the situation facing Illinois students. Large achievement gaps exist across the state, an issue exacerbated by the current funding system. Under the existing system, the minimum per-pupil spending is inadequate to cover the basic costs of educating students in Illinois. The loss of adequate state revenue at the district-level makes it more difficult poorer districts to hire the teachers, support staff and personnel necessary to serve students

with varied needs. Further, the budget crisis has taken a toll on Illinois schools, as actual dollars to school districts provided from state funds has decreased. What has resulted is a furthering of the achievement gap, especially among low-income students, and the inability to provide a comprehensive array of supports and services to increase academic success.

If we examine the equitable funding issue as an issue of fairness, we can ask ourselves: to what extent does the state of Illinois fairly distribute necessary resources necessary to ensure that students receive a high quality education regardless of family income, place of residence, or school district? Educational equity is centered on the belief that school districts should receive a revenue amount that takes into consideration the needs and profile of the student served, balanced against the ability of the state and local governments to pay for these services.[80] Under this model, state funding systems should vary the revenue provided to districts based on differences in educational and instructional costs, teacher salaries, school district size, student population growth or decreases, percentage of students and families in poverty and percentage of students with disabilities or bilingual language needs.[81]

Factors Undermining Efforts to Change the School Funding Formula

Three factors undermine our ability in Illinois to create an equitably funded educational system. First, significant cases heard by the Illinois Supreme Court upheld the existing funding system, finding it to be constitutional. In *Committee for Education Rights v. Edgar* (1996), the Court found that the Illinois constitution's guarantee of an "efficient" educational system could not be interpreted to guarantee equal educational funding, and that the State having "primary responsibility for financing the system of public education" should be interpreted as a goal or objective and not an explicit command.[82] The Court also denied the adequacy claim, stating that there was a lack of standard for defining "high quality education," leaving the General Assembly to address adequate educational opportunities. Further, the Court found that school funding issues were outside of the purview of the judiciary and were effectively served by the General Assembly.[83]

In *Lewis E. v. Spagnolo* (1999), the Court again found that it had no authority to judge the adequacy of the state's public education system. Underpinning both of these decisions was the Court's refusal to recognize education as a fundamental right guaranteed under the Illinois Constitution.[84] Justice Charles E. Freeman issued a dissent, disagreeing with the Court's decision.[85] Citing judicial deference, he stated that the rulings in *Edgar* and *Lewis* would preclude the court from taking action on the significant inequalities faced by school districts, instead leaving them to "languish under legislative inaction." [86]

Second, as mentioned earlier, the state places the primary responsibility of funding the local school district on the communities, each of which have widely differing property values and authorized tax rates. Financial inequities across school districts in Illinois stem primarily from variations in the local tax base; in some communities a $200,000 home will be assessed and taxed at $1,200 and in others, $12,000.[87] The state does provide equalization funds to compensate for these differences, but the dollars appropriated to local school districts often do not bridge this gap.[88] Due to differing tax school district tax rates, there is also a wide variation in the tax funds allocated to educational expenses. Some communities, commonly the suburban Chicago region, portion a larger percentage of their tax base to

funding elementary and secondary education, resulting in greater resources for those schools.[89] And districts with large factories, strong commercial centers or public utilities benefit from additional tax revenue above and beyond homeowner property taxes.[90] Thus, wealthy communities and low-income communities will create widely different school systems. In Illinois, our overreliance on local property taxes has created a situation in which the students most in need are often the students least likely to receive the resources needed to succeed academically.[91]

Third, the Foundation Level of funding, which has been set at $6,119 per pupil since FY2009, has never been adequate to meet the cost of educating a pupil, and further decreases in adequacy with each year as the cost of educating students rises.[92] EFAB recommends a minimum of $8,869 per-pupil spending. From its inception, the Foundation Level was not based on the actual cost of educating students, but is instead an amount determined by lawmakers as an amount that can be reasonably afforded by the state during the budget allocation process. [93] The Education Funding Advisory Board (EFAB) was created in 1997 to help the state align the per-pupil Foundation Level of spending with the actual costs of educating students by recommending an adequate per-pupil spending. In 2003, EFAB noted a deficit of only $120 per-pupil, but by 2016, this amount had grown to $2,780 per-pupil.[94] It must be noted that even if we enacted a the higher per-pupil spending recommended by EFAB, this spending level would not be adequate to cover the costs of educating "at-risk" students. Estimates suggest that approximately 1/3 of Illinois students – those that live in poverty, have limited English language abilities or have a disability – require a much higher per-pupil spending than even the EFAB recommended amount. [95]

Equitable and adequate funding is increasingly at the core of educational reform efforts in Illinois. All students deserve a quality education in a safe, well-resourced school. We have long seen the impact of the current funding system on students, especially low-income students. An equitable system takes the different needs of students into account, reducing gaps between the poorest and wealthiest communities. We know that low-income students in particular bear a greater burden of an inequitably funded system because they are more likely to live in communities with lower local wealth and less resourced schools. We know that race compounds this issue, such that districts with a greater percentage of students of color have even fewer resources and less money.[96] We know that low-income students have greater socioemotional, health, family and support needs than other students. We know that low-income students need help dealing with the cumulative and enduring effects of poverty on their education.[97] [98] We know that absent these supports, low-income students are significantly less likely to read at grade level, perform math at grade level and show evidence of academic success throughout their educational career. [99]

- **A Brief History of Recent Illinois Education Funding Reforms**

Chicago Urban League Educational Lawsuit

In 2008, the Chicago Urban League, a member of the A+ Illinois coalition, filed a civil rights lawsuit with the Quad County Urban League as plaintiffs in the case *Chicago Urban League, et. al v. State of Illinois, et. al* (State of Illinois and Illinois State Board of Education, defendants). The lawsuit challenges that the state's method for distributing education funds to local school districts, and the Illinois State Board of

Education's (ISBE) implementation of this system violates: (1) the Illinois Civil Rights Act, (2) the Uniformity of Taxation provision of the Illinois Constitution, (3) students' rights to "high quality educational institutions" under the Education Article of the Illinois Constitution and (4) students' rights to equal protection under the Illinois Constitution.[100]

The goal of the lawsuit was an effort on the part of the plaintiffs (*Chicago Urban League*) to obtain a court order declaring the current system of funding public education in Illinois as unconstitutional and in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 2003. Plaintiffs sought a declaration by the Illinois courts that the current public education financing structure in Illinois is unconstitutional, and that the state must take the necessary steps to eliminate the violations and create a more equitable funding system. The lawsuit did not propose a specific type of funding structure or formula in the suit, but requested a fair and equitable funding system that raises the level of funding available to all districts in need, particularly those in what the suit defines as majority-minority districts. Further, the suit requests a significant increase in state contributions to educational funding.

The lawsuit was based on an examination of the impacts of the existing funding structure on majority-minority communities, which are defined as communities in which the majority of residents are from a minority race or ethnicity. The following facts (with supportive research) were presented as evidence in the lawsuit:[101]

- The current school funding scheme provides inadequate resources and relies heavily unequal on local tax revenues;
- The current school funding scheme results in a significant resource disparity across school districts;
- The current school funding scheme leaves many school districts in poor financial condition;
- The current school funding scheme does not enable all districts to provide high quality education;
- The current school funding scheme has disparate impact on students in majority-minority districts.

Additional studies during the ongoing lawsuit deliberations (2009-2012) uncovered further evidence in support for the lawsuit. As part of a funding distribution study, it was determined that ISBE allocated limited categorical funds to districts that had less of a need for the dollars. Further, ISBE had systematically failed to take into account differences in student population, student need, and regional differences in costs and resources when allocating categorical aid dollars.[102]

The courts dismissed the suit's claims of violation against the Uniformity of Taxation Provision under the Illinois Constitution, the Education Article of the Illinois Constitution, and the equal protection clauses under the Illinois Constitution, citing the *Committee for Education Rights v. Edgar (1996)* case. During this period, the State of Illinois was dropped as a Defendant in the lawsuit, leaving ISBE as the sole defendant in the suit. The court found that ISBE could still be tried under the violation of the Illinois Civil Rights Act based on evidence to suggest that ISBE's actions had a disparate and discriminatory impact on minority students.[103]

Attempted Reforms by the General Assembly

In 2013, state senators, led by Senator Andy Manar, formed the Senate Education Funding Advisory Committee (EFAC) to examine Illinois's K-12 funding system and make recommendations where necessary to create an adequate, equitable and fair funding system.[104] The study team met with a wide range of stakeholders and presented a final report to the General Assembly in January, 2014 presenting steps that the state could take to make the funding formula more equitable and adequate.[105] A renewed commitment to funding reforms, resulting in part from the EFAC report and recommendations, led to several pieces of legislation being proposed from 2013-2015: *SB 16 (*Manar/La Via, 2013*)*; *SB 1 (*Manar, 2015); *SB 231 (*Manar/Mitchell, 2015*)*; *HB 828 (*Davis, 2015*)*; *HB 3190 (*Lightford/Davis, 2015*)*; *SB 2048 (*Currie/Cullerton, 2015*); HB 813 (*Cullerton/Gabel, 2015).

Educational Funding Commission

In response to pressure that had been building around the bills and an increasing call for a more equitable and fair educational funding system, Illinois Governor Bruce Rauner convened the bipartisan Illinois School Funding Reform Commission in July, 2016. The Commission was charged with making recommendations to revise the existing funding formula by February 1, 2017. Its stated goal was the recommendation for a new K-12 funding formula that would define what was meant by "adequate funding for education," more equitably distribute funds across districts and increase state support for education.[106]

In February, 2017 the Commission released a report that set forth the framework and the parameters of the new Illinois funding formula:

- Each school district must have a clearly defined *adequacy target* based on the unique needs of the student population (adequacy elements);
- Low-income children and students living in areas of concentrated poverty should receive additional resources to meet their full academic potential;
- Adequacy elements will be written into statute, but districts will have flexibility in their implementation;
- The Education Funding Advisory Board will be sunset and replaced with the Commission for the Oversight and Implementation of the School Funding Formula;
- Districts with the largest gap between adequacy targets and current funding levels will see reductions in their funding only after districts at or above adequacy lose funding;
- Funds will be distributed first to the districts furthest from their adequacy targets;
- Distribution should take into consideration local contributions to school funding (local capacity target reflective of district wealth);
- Special education and English Language services will be incorporated and protected into the adequacy elements of the new formula;
- District-authorized charter schools should receive adequate per-pupil funding that is equitable to district-managed public schools

Following the release of the report, the Commission provided draft language for an evidence-based funding formula proposal. Titled the *Evidence-Based Funding for Student Success Act*, it would provide

for an evidence-based funding formula and distribution system beginning with the 2017-2018 academic school year.[107] It also set forth provisions on key calculations: adequacy target, local capacity, base funding minimum, percent of adequacy and final resources.

Settlement of Chicago Urban League Lawsuit

On the heels of the State Education Commission Reports, on February 22, 2017, the Illinois State Board of Education reached a settlement in the case of Chicago Urban League V. State of Illinois (2009). ISBE agreed to develop new methods of distribute state aid in the event that Illinois does not allocate adequate funds to cover the full amount of funds it must send to local school districts. Under the former distribution model, ISBE would prorate the dollars, cutting the funds by a straight percentage across the board for all districts. This negatively impacted low-income districts more than it did affluent districts and was found to be discriminatory.

Under the terms of the agreement, ISBE will now have to develop a needs-based distribution system that takes into consideration the needs of the district and the impact that the cuts will have on that district. They will also have to provide notice to the public and to the schools when the state does not allocate sufficient funds to cover its portion of educational expenses. ISBE should transparently implement this system, providing updates on their progress and releasing final plans to the public for review.

Illinois must begin to undo the inequitable school funding system that continues to disadvantage our most vulnerable students. We routinely expect the same academic outcomes from a school spending $6,500 per-pupil as a school spending $16,500 per-pupil. We know that it will cost more to educate low-income students, because it costs money to close the achievement gaps in areas with higher rates of concentrated poverty. But it is an essential investment in youth, as education is the foundation for future success. To reduce the achievement gap and ensure that all Illinois students are prepared for college and careers, we must provide funding adequate and evidenced based budgeting to pay for the personnel, services and programs that help these students succeed.

Where Do We Go From Here?

Although the Funding Commission has made their recommendations and provided draft language for adoption of the evidence-based funding model, Illinois history has shown that this is absolutely no guarantee of change. As the preceding section shows, Illinois has endured decades of Blue Ribbon commissions, task forces, committees and research groups that have all collectively arrived at the same conclusion at different points in time: the Illinois school funding system is profoundly unbalanced, deeply inequitable and sorely in need of repair.

II. A Metro Area Out of Balance: Funding in the Chicago Metro Area

Segregation in the State and the Chicago Metropolitan Area

Illinois is the 2nd most segregated state for Black students attending 90-100% minority schools in the U.S., eclipsed only by New York. Approximately 62% of Black students attend highly segregated schools. If you increase the segregation to 99-100% minority schools, Illinois is 1st in the nation – 41% of Black students attend schools where nearly every child is another Black student.[108] The Black student "exposure rate" to White students is 18%, meaning that the probability of a Black student interacting with a White student is 18%. Interpreted another way, only 18 of every 100 students a Black student will interact with will be White.[109] Part of the reason this is problematic is because diverse, integrated classrooms expose students to different patterns of parenting, social and human capital and educational resources that mitigate some of the impacts of poverty on students.[110]

The Chicago Metropolitan Area enrolls the largest percentage of Black students in public schools (22% of the student body) when compared to the other major metropolitan areas with populations over 1 million residents (New York metro, Los Angeles metro, Dallas metro, Houston metro). Using these same metro areas as comparisons, the Chicago metropolitan area also ranks 1st in the number of Black students attending 90-100% minority schools (72%) and 1st in the number of Black students attending 99-100% minority schools (49%).[111] The Chicago metro area also has the highest black/white dissimilarity index (0.79), which is the percentage of a group that would need to move in order to create a more uniform distribution of students. In other words, 79% of Black students would need to be moved from their schools to have more racially balanced school districts. Black students in the Chicago metro area are also more likely to attend schools with a high percentage of low-income students (69%) than Black students in the other metro areas. Even when compared with other major urban areas, the Chicago metropolitan area stands apart in its degree of economic and racial segregation. The impact of this extensive segregation can be seen in Figure M1.

Funding Disparity

School funding disparity in Illinois ranks among the worst in the nation, as noted in the Introduction. The Illinois State Education Commission, reporting on Illinois's significant educational inequities in its latest report found that, although Illinois ranks 15th in average school funding per pupil, the disparities between the state's districts places it 48th in their comparisons to other states. In other words, Illinois has well-funded schools in general, but has one of the *most unequal* education funding systems in the country.[112] In this section we focus on the Chicago Metropolitan Area and explore funding disparities between several districts to better understand both the root causes and lasting effects of Illinois's unequal educational playing field.[2]

[2] Metro area here refers to the Chicago Metropolitan Statistical Area, the areas that are confined only to Illinois, not including portions in Wisconsin and Indiana. For comparison purposes, researchers removed districts that had zero pupils or had zero funding per pupil. Districts were used as the unit of analysis.

Figure M1: Distribution of State and Local Revenue by District, Low-Income Students by School

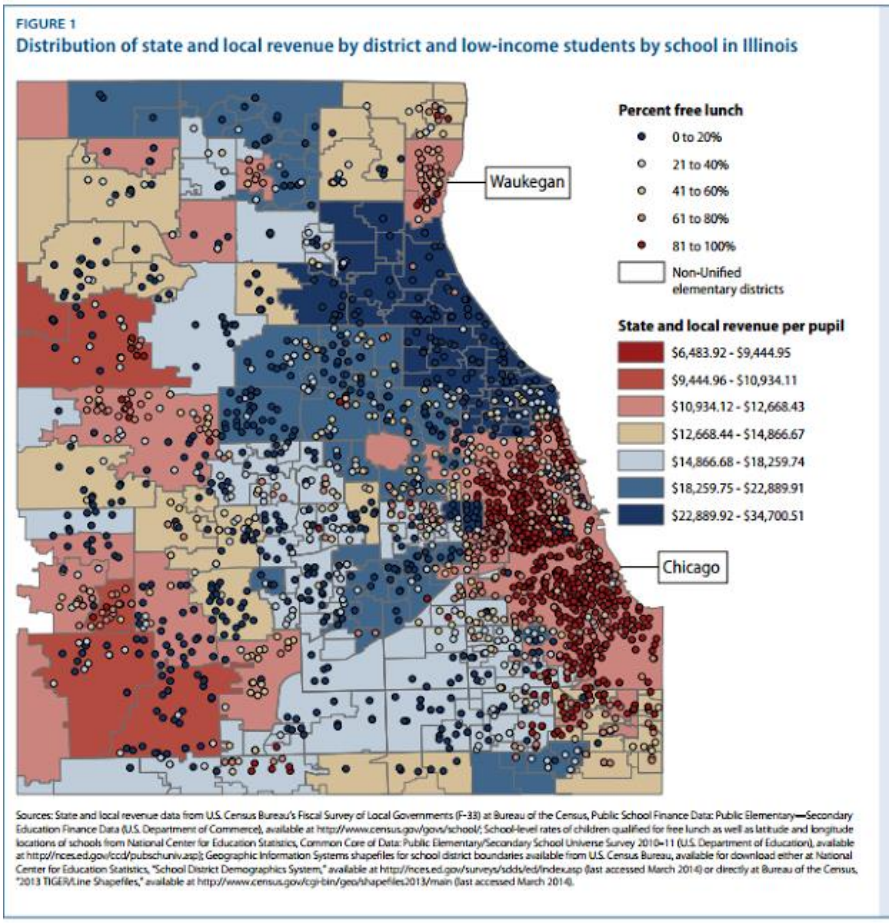


Figure M1, above, provides an overview of funding disparities in the Chicago Metropolitan Area. The color-coded map displays district funding per pupil, and the color-coded dots show the percentage of low-income students by school. This map shows start differences between districts. Students in Chicago attend schools that receive less funding, but also have significantly higher numbers of students living in poverty. On the other hand, wealthier students in areas like Chicago's North suburbs attend schools where funding per-pupil can *more than triple* that of Chicago's schools, with considerably fewer low-income students. A disparate funding system like this only perpetuates inequality, and fails to give low-income students a chance at success. Under the current system, schools with already advantaged students can give those students further advantages, while schools with disadvantaged students struggle to meet those students' basic needs.

- **Funding Differences in the Chicago Metropolitan Area**

Indeed, analysis revealed large variance in funding per pupil across the Chicago Metro Area. In order to determine levels of spending, researchers calculated means, ranges, quintiles, and differences between lower and higher per pupil expenditures.

While the average per pupil funding in the Chicago Metro area was just over $14,000, the difference between districts with the highest funding per pupil and the lowest funding per pupil was staggeringly disparate—more than $25,000 per student. The variation between the lowest 20% of districts was nearly $3,000, while the funding differences among the highest fifth funded schools was over $16,000 (Table M1)[113].

Table M1: Chicago Metro Area School Funding by Quintile, Mean, Range and Difference 2014[3114]

Quintile	Per-Pupil $	Range	Difference in Per Pupil Funding
1	$19,896	$16,802 -$33,695	$16,893
2	$15,247	$13,959-$16,770	$2,811
3	$13,194	$12,573-$13,933	$1,360
4	$11,715	$10,913 -$12,443	$1,512
5	$9,908	$7,908 -$10,875	$2,967
Average (Metro)	$14,011	$7,908- $33,695	$25,787

Funding by Source

Illinois' overreliance on property taxes exacerbates existing inequalities. Districts that rank in the highest quintile in per pupil spending on average fund 75% their school revenue with property taxes and local revenue sources. The inverse is true for those districts which had the lowest spending per pupil, on average just over 56% of revenues for schools came from local sources. The average for property tax and local funding was just over 65% for the Chicago Metropolitan Area districts.

State Funding

In terms of state spending, those districts that spent more per pupil on average—in the top 20%—received less than one quarter of their funding from state sources. The inverse is true of districts spending in the bottom 20% per student—for these districts, on average, nearly 39% of school funding came from the state. While state budgeting and the recent budget impasse impacts all districts, lack of consistent funding on the state level has a disparate impact on those districts without a large property tax base, as well as those with higher concentrations of students in poverty. Among all schools in the metro area, the average for state funding was about 30%. (Table M2)

Federal Funding

Federal funding for all schools remains a relatively small portion (4.1%) of per pupil funding across the Chicago Metro area. Federal funding is based on need for low-income students in the form of Title One programs to alleviate poverty, spending for students with special educational needs, transportation, and nutritional assistance. On average, federal funding makes up a smaller percentage of total resource allocation in schools with higher per-pupil spending.

[3] These analyses used the most recent census of schools data, which was 2014.

Table M2: Average Spending by Quintile and Source of Funding[115]

Quintile	Per-Pupil $	%Federal	% State	%Local
1	$19,896	2.3%	22.6%	75.0%
2	$15,247	3.3%	26.7%	70.1%
3	$13,194	4.7%	32.5%	62.8%
4	$11,715	5.1%	33.6%	61.2%
5	$9,908	5.0%	38.7%	56.3%
Average (Metro)	$14,011	4.1%	30.8%	65.1%

Issues with Title 1 Spending

Title 1 spending is federal money that is allocated to districts to support children who live in poverty. These funds ($14B nationally) can be used in a number of ways to boost underperforming students who live in poverty: professional development of teachers, family literacy, extended days, technology purchases, summer programs, and reduced class size. Title 1 funds can be used across the entirety of a school, as long 40% or more of the school's children receive free or reduced lunch. In 2013, the majority of students in the United States are now low-income (51%).[116] Illinois's share of low-income students mirrors this distribution.

The majority of schools in the Chicago Metropolitan Area (over 94%) receive this Title 1 funding, even the very wealthy districts. The top fifth of districts in per pupil funding (Quintile 1) received some Title 1 dollars (Table M3). Some schools, despite receiving these funds, have very few low-income students in their districts. Table M1 shows the significant disparities in per-pupil funding, and yet Table M3 shows that there is not much difference in the number of Quintile 1 schools and Quintile 5 schools receiving Title 1 funds (90% and 95% respectively).

Table M3: By Funding Quintile, School Districts Receiving Title 1 Funds by Percent and Number[117]

Quintile	%Title 1
1	90.3%
2	92.1%
3	98.4%
4	96.8%
5	95.2%
Mean	94.6%

The Department of Education, as well as the Brookings Institute, found that often times these expenditures aren't targeted to services for low-income students, nor are they used in the areas in which they are most needed.[118] [119] Districts have discretion in how these funds are used. Analyses have found that *spending in high poverty schools is lower per student than in low poverty schools*.[120] There is

no specific database that lists Title 1 spending by school district and how the money was allocated, so it is difficult to accurately track these expenditures.

The Government Accountability Office (GAO) sought to find out how these dollars were spent in a sample of districts and found that the vast majority of Title 1 funds were spent on activities that have little efficacy.[121] For example, the GAO survey asked elementary school principals how they used Title 1 monies. Eighty-one percent of principals indicated that this spending was allocated for "professional development."[122] In urban elementary districts, 93% of principals reported that Title 1 funds were used for professional development. Evidence shows that the type of professional development (PD) indicated in the survey are ineffective in improving impoverished students outcomes, although there are higher cost PD programs that are effective.[123] However, these programs are not often selected due to cost constraints. Other ways in which Title 1 funds have been used—like for afterschool extracurricular programming or technology—do little to improve the outcomes of students living in poverty. While reducing class size is effective for improving achievement gaps, these class sizes need to be reduced quite dramatically, from 23 to 15 pupils, to improve student outcomes among those living in poverty.[124]

Inequities in the distribution of Title 1 funds exist in the Chicago Metropolitan Area as well. The data in Table M4 demonstrate a huge difference between high, medium and low poverty schools and per-pupil spending per child in poverty. As noted above, Title 1 dollars are allocated to districts based on the number of low-income students in their schools. One of the suburban districts with a low percentage of low-income students received $122,000, resulting in per-pupil Title 1 support of approximately $10,000. In contrast, Chicago, with 86% low-income children, only received $1,100 per student in Title 1 funds (Table M4).

Table M4: Title 1 Spending Per Low-Income Pupil Ranked by Poverty Rate[125]

District Name	$ Per-Pupil	Poverty Rate	% Low Income	$ Title 1 Funds (Total)	# Low Income Students	$ Title 1 Funds Per-Pupil
Kenilworth SD 38	$24,341	Very Low	0.1%	$41,000	1	**$41,000**
Oak Grove SD 68	$18,601	Very low	0.2%	$82,000	3	**$27,333**
Glencoe SD 35	$21,219	Very low	1%	$122,000	12	**$9,807**
North Shore SD 112	$16,802	Low	26%	$222,000	1,137	**$195**
Union SD 81	$19,020	Median	47%	$17,000	48	**$355**
City of Chicago SD299	$13,522	High	86%	$376,367	341,111	**$1,103**

▪ Classrooms in Wealthy Districts and Low-Income Districts

Wealthier school districts in the Chicago Metropolitan Area not only receive much higher funding per pupil, but also are able to provide their students with assets that lead to a higher quality education: qualified, well-compensated teachers and smaller class sizes. Table M5 below shows the average salaries and education levels of teachers in selected districts. Wealthier districts are able to offer more competitive salaries, and thus attract the best, brightest, most qualified teachers to their schools. Districts like Glencoe and Oak Grove offer salaries at least $14,000 higher than the state average, allowing them to employ many more teachers with advanced degrees (16% and 25% respectively).

Table M5: Teacher Education Levels by Average Salary[126]

District Name	Average Salary ($)	% Bachelor's Degree	% Master's Degree or Higher
Glencoe SD 35	$82,674	23.0%	77.0%
Kenilworth SD 38	$81,696	33.2%	66.8%
Oak Grove SD 68	$77,309	13.8%	86.2%
North Shore SD 112	$75,244	27.3%	72.7%
City of Chicago SD 299	$70,366	39.2%	59.6%
Union SD 81	$63,450	51.5%	48.5%
State Average	$63,450	38.1%	61.4%

Students in wealthy districts also benefit from teachers who return year to year, and spend a higher portion of their teaching days in the classroom. Research has demonstrated that students perform worse in both English Language Arts (ELA) and math when their schools experience a high rate of teacher turnover. Losing established teachers and gaining new teachers each year is disruptive to both the students and the school, and can be a signal to potential teachers that the school is facing considerable challenges.[127] Students also learn better when their regular teacher is present, rather than a substitute.[128] Table M6 shows that, in general, wealthier districts are able to retain teachers at higher rates, and those teachers spend more time in the classroom. Chicago, on the other hand, ranks well below these districts and below Illinois's state average as well.

Table M6: Teacher Attendance and Retention by School District, 2016[129]

District Name	% Teacher Retention	% Teachers Absent ≤ 10 Days
Union SD 81	97.3%	100.0%
Oak Grove SD 68	95.5%	75.0%
Kenilworth SD 38	90.1%	95.2%
Glencoe SD 35	90.0%	71.5%
North Shore SD 112	85.9%	71.8%
City of Chicago SD 299	83.6%	72.5%
State Average	85.8%	76.5%

Another important factor that impacts student achievement is class size, represented in Table M10 below by Pupil to Teacher Ratio. A smaller pupil to teacher ratio means teachers can provide more individualized instruction to each student, and research has long demonstrated that overall, smaller class sizes help students learn better.[130] Table M7 shows that pupil to teacher ratios are generally lower in wealthier districts and higher in poorer districts, reaching heights well over the state average in the poorest districts, like Chicago.

Table M7: Class Size by School District

District Name	Pupil Teacher Ratio
Union SD 81	8:1
Kenilworth SD 38	10:1
Oak Grove SD 68	13:1
Glencoe SD 35	13:1
North Shore SD 112	14:1
City of Chicago SD 299	24:1
State Average	19:1

- ## Student Achievement

Students' achievement levels on state exams reflect the conditions of their schooling. Although there are important concerns related to standardized tests, this is one of the few statewide measures we have to compare student performance across districts. The PARCC (Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Careers) scores of students in wealthy districts far exceed those of students in low-income districts. As Table M8 shows, districts like Kenilworth, with 0% low income students, rank highest in student achievement. In contrast, the students in Chicago Public Schools perform poorly on the PARCC exam - worse than the average performance of districts across the state. Chicago cannot effectively address the needs of students living in poverty because they lack the requisite funds and resources to do so. All PARCC scores presented are composite scores for ELA (English Language Arts) and Math.

Table M8: Students Meeting or Exceeding PARCC Expectations by District, 2016[131]

District Name	% Met or Exceeded	% Low Income	Total # Students
Kenilworth SD 38	78.0%	0.0%	485
Oak Grove SD 68	76.0%	0.4%	822
Glencoe SD 35	70.0%	1.0%	1,215
North Shore SD 112	48.0%	26.1%	4,309
Union SD 81	30.0%	46.9%	113
City of Chicago SD 299	26.0%	83.9%	392,051
State Average	34.0%	49.9%	2,041,779

Achievement and Low Income Students

More telling, however, is that even in districts with a low percentage of low-income students overall, the low-income students in these areas perform worse on standardized tests than their higher income peers. Breaking down district PARCC scores by income status reveals further inequity. Table M9, below, shows that districts with higher percentages of low-income students fare worse than their higher income counterparts. Comparatively, Chicago actually fares better than some of the suburban districts when it comes to PARCC performance among low-income students (Table M9).

Table M9: Students Meeting or Exceeding PARCC Expectations Ranked by Income Status, 2016[132]

District Name	% Low Income	% Low Income Met/Exceeded	% Non-Low Income Met/Exceeded	Total # Students
City of Chicago SD 299	83.9%	20.0%	50.0%	392,051
Union SD 81	46.9%	26.0%	29.0%	113
North Shore SD 112	26.1%	17.0%	55.0%	4,309
Glencoe SD 35	1.0%	38.0%	67.0%	1,215
Oak Grove SD 68*	0.4%	--	--	822
Kenilworth SD 38*	0.0%	--	--	485
State Average	49.9%	19.0%	45.0%	2,041,779

***** So few low-income students attend Oak Grove or Kenilworth schools that data measuring the academic achievement of their low-income students was unavailable.

Special Education and Achievement

Inequality in funding helps explain the relatively lower PARCC scores of low-income students in poorer districts, as well as low-income students attending wealthier districts. The trend continues when we examine additional student demographics. Table M10 shows that students with disabilities (students with Individual Education Plans), generally perform worse in poorer districts; wealthier districts have adequate funding to more comprehensively provide for the needs of these students.

Table M10: Students Meeting or Exceeding PARCC Expectations Ranked by Income Status, 2016[133]

District Name	% Low Income	% IEP Met/Exceeded	% Non-IEP Met/Exceeded	Total # Students
City of Chicago SD 299	83.9%	4.0%	28.0%	392,051
Union SD 81	46.9%	0.0%	36.0%	113
North Shore SD 112	26.1%	18.0%	50.0%	4,309
Glencoe SD 35	1.0%	29.0%	74.0%	1,215
Oak Grove SD 68	0.4%	31.0%	77.0%	822
Kenilworth SD 38	0.0%	39.0%	81.0%	485
State Average	49.9%	8.0%	35.0%	2,041,779

Race and Achievement

Data in Table M11 shows the poorest districts struggling to adequately support their students in greatest need. African American students endure higher poverty rates and live in poorer districts than most Illinois students. Yet, because the schools they attend receive less funding per pupil, these students cannot obtain the more focused, individualized instruction they need to overcome these already substantial barriers.

Table M11: Students Meeting or Exceeding PARCC Expectations Ranked by Low Income Status [134]

District Name	% Low Income	% White Met/Exceeded	% AA Met/Exceeded
City of Chicago SD 299	83.9%	53.0%	15.0%
Union SD 81	46.9%	37.0%	14.0%
North Shore SD 112	26.1%	54.0%	19.0%
Glencoe SD 35*	1.0%	66.0%	--
Oak Grove SD 68	0.4%	70.0%	66.0%
Kenilworth SD 38*	0.0%	74.0%	--
State Average	49.9%	40.0%	15.0%

***** Both Kenilworth and Glencoe had too few African American students for the districts' PARCC achievement scores to be reported by race.

Strictly Speaking, Funding Matters.

When it comes to educating our children, funding matters. Districts and schools throughout the U.S. rely on state and federal funding to purchase books, pay teachers, and so much more. Yet school funding is distributed unequally on every level—nationally, statewide in Illinois, and within the Chicago Metro Area. Even funding specifically earmarked for alleviating poverty, like Title 1 funding, can be allocated in ways that do not achieve the goal of reducing challenges for low-income students. Wealthy schools with few if any low-income students receive Title 1 funding well beyond their need, while schools where nearly every student is low-income struggle to provide the highest quality education they can. If we hope to give all our students a chance at a brighter future, we must begin by ensuring that each school and district has the funds it needs. Funding matters, and leveling the playing field is the place to start.

III. A City Out of Balance: Education at the Crossroads of Segregation and Income Inequality

In the first paper in our series, *100 Years and Counting: The Impact of Chicago's Segregation on Residence, Housing and Transportation*, we explored in great detail how Chicago became such a segregated city, what is meant by the term "racially concentrated area of poverty," (RCAP), which community areas fit this description and what this means for these communities. Please review the Introduction and the first section of the first paper for a comprehensive overview of racial residential segregation and what this has looked like for the city of Chicago. In summary, the story of Chicago has long been a tale of two cities – one Black and one White. The paper examined in great detail how a segregated city results in two housing markets with a very different set characteristics and outcomes: a housing market existing in the more affluent areas of the city that managed to successfully weather the recent housing crisis and recovery, and a housing market in the poorest areas of the city that is marked to this day by numerous foreclosures, large numbers of distressed and vacant properties and many remaining homeowners underwater on their mortgages.[135]

In a similar regard, a segregated city creates not just two housing markets, but two of any market, system or set of institutions. Chicago's youth have long endured a different set of experiences and outcomes in their schooling based on their community of residence. Over the past several decades, after years of progress across the nation, public schools are again become more racially and economically segregated, most noticeably among African Americans of all income levels.[136] Just as residential neighborhood boundaries were drawn along racial and economic lines, so too were school attendance boundary zones, making it very likely for students of color to be isolated into schools with very high rates of student poverty and fewer resources.[137] Race matters when it comes to education in the city of Chicago – where you live is overwhelmingly determined by the color of your skin and the amount of your income, and the school you are most likely to attend is overwhelmingly determined by where you live. Access to educational opportunity is critically tied to these things. And all of this takes place against the backdrop of a profoundly inequitable state K-12 funding model that significantly disadvantages districts with higher rates of low-income students and students of color.

Nationwide, high and low income students and families living in major urban areas are clustered together into specific neighborhoods, and this rings true for Chicago as well. It would be fair to assume that the poverty rates in a given community area would give an indication of the poverty rates of students in the neighborhood public school, but this is not often the case. With the variety of school choices available to families in many urban areas (private, charters, magnets, gifted, neighborhood boundary school), it is often the poorest students and most disadvantaged families that remain in the local public schools.[138] Further, students are increasingly attending school with other students whose family incomes are very similar to their own, resulting in a loss of income variation seen among families in previous decades.[139] Research has shown that a schooling environment with income variation among families and a larger percentage of middle class families is powerfully beneficial for the lowest income students, whereas attending schools with equally disadvantaged students can result in worse academic

outcomes.[140] Rising income inequality and the growing segregation of families based on both race and class suggests that this is a problem that will be facing low-income students for the indefinite future.[141]

This section will begin by briefly reviewing the history of educational segregation and what this means for low-income students of color. This will help show that school reforms alone will be wholly inadequate to address the longstanding racial and economic segregation that results in differential experiences and outcomes for African American students. It will then go on to show how factors relating to a given community area – or the families living therein – can be stacked for or against the students. In some neighborhoods, community socioeconomic status, community resources and family affluence can significantly overcome challenges associated with our statewide and local school funding issues. In other neighborhoods, a lack of community assets and resources, longstanding economic disinvestment and higher rates of household poverty and unemployment place the disproportionate burden of inequity on the most vulnerable, neediest students and families.

- **Segregation in Chicago Public Schools**

These wide racial disparities mentioned above are easily recognized in a school district like the Chicago Public Schools (SD 299), which serving approximately 382,000 students per academic school year in grades pre-K through 12.[142] The history of segregation and inequitable schooling in the city of Chicago goes back decades. From the start of the Great Migration through the 1960s, the African American population in Chicago grew exponentially. Most families were crowded into neighborhoods on the south and west sides, leading to crowded conditions in the schools as well. School officials routinely adjusted attendance boundary lines to ensure that schools remained as segregated as the neighborhoods.[143]

Rather than allowing the African American students to enroll in White schools to relieve overcrowding, then Chicago Schools Superintendent Benjamin Willis (1953-1966) erected portable buildings (referred to as "Willis Wagons") to house the overflow of students.[144] These actions, and growing frustrations on the part of African American families and students, led to a large protest on October 22, 1963, known as the Chicago Public School Boycott. Civil rights leaders and organizations protested against segregated schools and inequitable resources provided to African American students, with approximately 225,000 students boycotting school on that day.[145]

Superintendent Willis was charged and investigated by the federal government in for discriminatory educational practices and resigned in 1966.[146] Willis replaced with Superintendent James Redmond (1966-1975), whose plans for integrating Chicago's schools were met with strong opposition from residents on the northwest and southwest sides.[147] About this time, "white flight" was increasing, and large numbers of White families were leaving the city for the suburbs, and a 1964 education advisory panel alerted the Chicago Board of Education that white students were leaving the district in record numbers.[148] By the 1990s, the population of White students in public schools fell by 75%, with families shifting to the suburban school districts or private schools in the city.[149]

Attempts to integrate the schools, which started in the mid-1960s, continued into the 1970s, ushering in the first wave of magnet schools.[150] While these were excellent opportunities for those that could access them, the limited number of schools and placement slots didn't fully address the need for systematic

integration of the schools.[151] Superintendent Joseph Hannon (1975-1979) developed a district plan to integrate school facilities entitled the Access to Excellence plan, designed to implement desegregate actions over a five-year period (1977-1982). However, the federal government did not find the plan sufficient to address segregation and in 1980, the Chicago Board of Education and the United States Department of Justice (DOJ) entered into a school desegregation consent decree.

The DOJ complaint alleged that the Chicago Public Schools engaged in practices that promoted inequalities through anti-integrationist attendance zone boundaries, severely overcrowded and inferior schools for African Americans, racially segregated staffing and racially segregated intra-district transfers.[152] The decree listed a set of desegregation and equalization objectives that the district was compelled to meet, and ordered the development of a Desegregation Plan. The decree was enforced by the courts through 2004, at which point a Modified Consent Decree was signed to address areas of the Desegregation Plan that had not reached full compliance.[153] Chicago Public Schools maintained its effort to remove itself from the court-monitored consent decree over the subsequent years, and in 2009, a federal judge ended the mandate requiring the district to integrate the its schools.[154]

In recent years, education advocates, parents, students and teachers have argued that Chicago Public Schools had failed to prioritize desegregation efforts for decades, a practice that continues to this day. Schools that were highly segregated almost 20 years ago remain highly segregated to this day, and Black students in the CPS system are nearly as likely to attend a highly segregated school these days (69%) as they were decades ago (74%).[155] What has worsened over time has been segregation based on both race and class – over half of all Black students currently attend predominantly poor, predominantly African-American schools on the south and west sides of the city.[156] The remainder of this section will briefly examine the state of segregation in the Chicago Public Schools.

- **Areas of Concentrated Poverty in Chicago Public Schools**

School districts, like the communities that surround them, can concentrate race and poverty into specific areas. A racially concentrated area of poverty is a term that has been used in housing policy to describe an area that is 60% or more African American, with 40% or more households living at or below the federal poverty level. The term has not really been used in education, but it could be applied to school districts that disproportionately serve low-income students of color. The Chicago Public Schools (CPS) have been called majority-minority schools, ones in which youth of color make up the vast majority of the student body. CPS serves approximately 382,000 students, 85% of which are African American and Latino (Table D1)[157]. Chicago Public Schools also meet the criteria for poverty—there are 4 children living in poverty for every 1 child not living in poverty in the district (84%). Taken together, CPS could be labeled a *racially and ethnically district of concentrated poverty* (R/E CAP).

These high concentrations of Chicagoans by race and poverty are especially evident when comparing District 299 to the state. The City of Chicago District 299 is comprised of significantly more racial and ethnic minorities when compared to the state (90% and 51% respectively). Although poverty rates are high in both the District and statewide public schools, Chicago also has a much higher percentage than the state (84% and 49% respectively). Furthermore, the percentage of African American students is

significantly higher in Chicago than in the state as a whole. For example, in District 299 in 2016, there were 4 African American students for every 1 White student, while the state's ratio was about 1 African American student to every 3 White students. Chicago District 299 also had significantly more English Language Learners than the State's districts as a whole (17% versus 11%).[158](Table D1.)

Table D1: City of Chicago District 299 and State: Demographic, Income, Special Educational and Language Status of Students, 2016 (R/ECAP Comparison)

	District	State
Total #	381,349	2,041,779
%White	10%	49%
%AA	38%	17%
%Latino	47%	26%
#AA to # White	4 to 1	3 to 10
Low Income Ratio	4 to 1	1 to 1
%People of Color	90%	51%
%Low Income	84%	49%
%IEP	14%	14%
%English Language Learner	17%	11%

Hypersegregation within Chicago Public Schools

Hypersegregation is well documented in Chicago's neighborhoods but is even more apparent within Chicago's schools. White parents with financial means often opt out of sending their children to public schools, so the concentration of African Americans and Latinos in the public schools is much higher than in Chicago's overall racial and ethnic composition (31% White, 29% Latino and 33% African American). White children, although never a high percentage of pupils within the district, become a smaller proportion of the district's population as they age; in kindergarten, around 12% of pupils are white, while among high school seniors the numbers decline to about 8%.

A hypersegregated school is one in which a specific race or ethnicity comprises 90% or more of the school's student population. African American pupils are the most likely to receive their education in racially hypersegregated schools. There are 664 schools in the district and 249 of them (38%) are hypersegregated African American schools. African American students make up 38% of the CPS student population (144,912 pupils) and 26% of students attend hypersegregated African American schools (97,949 pupils). (Table H1).

"If I had a magic wand I would desegregate the communities. If we had more diversity in all the schools, then the district would have to fund all the schools equally."- Principal in an RCAP School

While Latinos also face hypersegregation, it is not as severe as the segregation that African American children face in Chicago Public Schools. Latinos make up 47% of students in Chicago (179,234 pupils), 19% of students attend hypersegregated Latino schools (73,003 pupils). Latino hypersegregation occurs in 102 of the 664 district schools (15%) (Table H1). One might assume that hypersegregation would occur more often among Latinos students because they comprise the largest percentage of students in the district, but the opposite is true. This issue is partly to do with neighborhood composition, as Latinos live not only in predominantly Latino neighborhoods, but also mixed Latino/White and Latino/Black neighborhoods.

This data shows that even among students of color, African American students are more likely to attend hypersegregated schools than their Latino counterparts, even though it is an issue for both communities. Further, there is a larger number of segregated African American schools than Latino schools (249 versus 102), in spite of the fact that Latinos comprise a much larger percentage of the CPS student body.

Table H1: Hypersegregation by Number of Schools, Total % Students, 2016-17[159]

District Total	> 90% AA Schools	>90% Latino Schools
Number schools	249	102
% Schools	38%	15%
# Students	97,999	73,003
% of Total Students	26%	19%

There are no hypersegregated White schools, but there are a few schools that have 60% or more white students. White students comprise 10% of the CPS student body (approximately 38,000 pupils) and 33% of these students attend a predominantly White school (12,761 pupils). Of the 664 schools in the district, 18 (3%) are predominantly White schools. (Table H2).

H2: 60% Majority White Schools by Number, Total % of Students, 2016-2017[160]

District Total	%60 White Schools
Number of predominantly white schools	18
% Schools (of 664)	3%
# Students in predominantly white schools	12,761

* Total # of Students in CPS: 381,349

Segregation within Networks

Chicago's public schools are split up into 13 geographically determined networks. There is also a mix of Independent Schools Principals Programs (ISP), charter schools (different types), options or "alternative" schools for youth or young adults, contract schools (managed by external entities), and the Academy for Urban School Leadership program that are not included within a geographical network. The racial and ethnic composition of the school networks varies considerably and will be described in greater detail below.

African American Networks

The three hypersegregated networks in the CPS district are networks 9, 11 and 12. There are two Networks (11, and 12) for which it was impossible to calculate a Black to White disparity ratio because there are ***0%*** White children in these Networks. Network 12, made up of South Shore, Chatham and Avalon Park, is comprised of 94% African American pupils; Network 11, made up of Englewood, West Englewood and Auburn Gresham, is 92% African American . Network 9, which is comprised of the Hyde Park, Woodlawn and Washington Park community areas, serves 46 African American students for every 1 White student. There are an additional two networks have 60% or more African American pupils: Networks 13 (Pullman, Far Southside), and 5 (Garfield Park, North Lawndale). Additionally, the contract schools, Alternative Schools, and the Academy for Urban School Leadership all serve predominantly African American students (Tables N1-N2[161]).

Latino Networks

As noted in the per school analysis, there are more African American students who attend racially concentrated low-income schools than there are Latinos that attend ethnically concentrated low-income schools, and this is true at the network level as well. Two networks, 7 (Little Village, South Lawndale) and 8 (McKinley Park, Back of the Yards), are hypersegregated Latino Networks. None of these schools had 0% white students, but the Latino to White disparity ratio these schools was still very high. In network 7 (Little Village) there was 94 Latino students for every 1 White student; in Network 8, the ratio was 45 to 1, while the ratio in network 9 was 1 to 45 (Tables N3).

White Networks

These networks are limited in number. With few exceptions, most of the majority white schools were concentrated in Network 1, made up of Northwest side community areas like Edison Park and Portage Park, and Network 4, made up of Lincoln Park and North Center (Table H2).

Table N1: School Networks by Race, Ethnicity and Income Status, 2016-2017[162]

Schools by Geographic Network	%White	%AA	%Latino	%Low Income
Edison Pk/ Portage Pk/ Dunning (1)	31%	5%	52%	65%
Rogers Pk/West Ridge/Uptown/Edgewater (2)	18%	19%	42%	75%
Austin/Belmont Cragin/Montclare (3)	3%	34%	60%	90%
Lincoln Pk/Logan Square/ North Center (4)	25%	10%	57%	60%
Humboldt Pk/Garfield Pk/ North Lawndale (5)	2%	62%	35%	90%
Loop, Near West Bridgeport, Near South (6)	14%	30%	34%	68%
Little Village/South Lawndale/Near Westside (7)	1%	4%	95%	92%
McKinley Park/Back of Yards/Archer Heights (8)	2%	5%	90%	92%
Hyde Park /Woodlawn//Washington Park (9)	2%	93%	3%	81%
Midway/Chicago Lawn/Ashburn/Mt Greenwood (10)	9%	32%	58%	80%
Englewood/Auburn Gresham/ W. Englewood (11)	0%	92%	7%	89%
South Shore/ Chatham/ Avalon Park (12)	0%	94%	6%	89%
Pullman/Far Southside/ Hegewisch/Roseland (13)	2%	63%	34%	88%
Other Networks				
Academy for Urban School Leadership	2%	71%	26%	92%
Service Leadership Academies	3%	26%	69%	92%
Independent Schools Program	20%	16%	56%	65%
Charter (all types)	2%	53%	43%	88%
Contract (Extern managed Entities)	7%	74%	15%	76%
Options (Alternative Schools)	3%	65%	31%	93%
District Total	10%	38%	47%	80%

* Total # of Students in CPS: 381,349

Table N2: African American RCAP Networks and Other School Types[163]

Schools by Geographic Network*	Total	%White	%AA	%Latino	#White to #AA
South shore/ Chatham/ Avalon Park (12)	13,778	0%	94%	6%	0 to 94
Hyde park /Woodlawn//Washington Park (9)	13,533	2%	93%	3%	1 to 46
Englewood/Auburn Gresham/ W. Englewood (11)	16,332	0%	92%	7%	0 to 92
Pullman/Far Southside/Hegwisch/ Roseland (13)	15,484	2%	63%	34%	1 to 30
Humboldt Pk/Garfield Pk/ North Lawndale (5)	15,352	2%	62%	35%	1 to 31
Other Networks					
Contract	1,688	7%	74%	15%	1 to 10
Academy for Urban School Leadership	16,882	2%	71%	26%	1 to35
Options (Alternative Schools)	8,153	3%	65%	31%	1 to 21

* Total # of Students in CPS: 381,349; Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

Table N3: Ethically Concentrated Areas of Poverty (Latino) by Network and Other School Types[164]

Schools by Geographic Network *	Total	%White	%AA	%Latino	#Whites to #Latinos
Little Village/South Lawndale/Near Westside (7)	16,211	1%	4%	95%	1 to 94
McKinley Park/Back of Yards/Archer Heights (8)	22,879	2%	5%	90%	1 to 45
Austin/Belmont Cragin/Montclare (3)	19,827	3%	34%	60%	1 to 20
Other Networks					
Service Leadership Academies	3,076	3%	26%	69%	1 to 23

* Total # of Students in CPS: 381,349

- **Capital Improvements: Current Tools to Build and Maintain Segregation**

Chicago Public Schools can effectively be split into two districts—one educates mostly white, wealthier students, and the other educates mostly African American and Latino students living in poverty. This sort of segregation is nothing new, but that makes it no less of a problem. Students perform better in classrooms that are integrated—both racially and economically—but a number of forces intercede to keep Chicago's students segregated.[165] The construction of new schools is one crucial factor contributing to the separate, unequal school system in place today.

RCAP Schools: Overcrowded and Underutilized

We can only understand the importance of school construction in Chicago in the context of overcrowded and underused schools. Indeed, overcrowding often constitutes the primary rationale for building new schools. When schools become too crowded, the solution offered is to simply build more. But many schools in Chicago face the opposite problem. Over 300 CPS schools are classified as "underused," meaning that these schools have a surplus of space, rather than of students.[166]

Underused schools pose a challenge to new school construction—why build new facilities for students from overcrowded schools when there are empty classroom seats throughout the city? What's more, many of these underused schools share borders with overcrowded schools, so the issue is not how far students would have to travel. In reality, race and class segregation are at the heart of new school construction.

"It's a shame…we had to move. We had an auditorium and other resources. It was it a great building." – Principal in "underutilized" School

A majority of Chicago's underused schools serve African American and Latino students from low-income families. Students at these schools perform well below average on State assessments, largely because those schools lack the funding to meet their students' academic needs, let alone rid themselves of toxic lead or repair faulty infrastructure. The funds to accomplish these tasks exist, but are more often spent on new or improved schools for wealthier white students. Race and class do not just influence which schools get more or less funding, then, but also whether overcrowding will be addressed through construction or integration.

Construction not Integration in Affluent Areas

The wealthy but overcrowded Lincoln Elementary School received a $19 million addition last year. Lincoln, which is 65% white and only 15% low-income, shares a boundary with underused Manierre Elementary School, whose students are 96% black, 98% low income, and mostly live in public housing.[167] The decision to expand Lincoln, then, was made *instead* of integrating Lincoln and Manierre, or more simply expanding Manierre's boundary to include Lincoln students. The race and class implications of this decision cannot be ignored—CPS spent millions to expand Lincoln, rather than bring the school's mostly wealthy white students into contact with low-income and impoverished black students.

In another case, a plan to integrate the overcrowded Ogden International School of Chicago with the underused Jenner Academy of the Arts failed in 2016, after pushback from parents and inaction on the part of city officials. Ogden is a high performing school in the wealthy Gold Coast neighborhood, whereas Jenner serves mainly low-income African American students, whose families lived in the Cabrini-Green public housing development. The story of Ogden and Jenner parallels earlier stories of school segregation—some parents' call to convert Ogden's parking garage into extra classrooms bears a striking resemblance to the "Willis Wagons" built in the 1960s to accommodate overcrowding in majority African American schools, despite surplus room in nearby white schools. Though the school in need of space is flipped this time around, the theme of segregation by race and class remains.[168]

Construction: Expensive and Exacerbating Inequality

New school construction not only further segregates CPS's students, but also wastes valuable dollars that Chicago cannot afford to lose. The district's own master facilities plan refers to new school construction as an "extremely" expensive way to deal with overcrowding.[169] CPS could save millions by choosing integration over construction, but district officials either don't consider it their role to force integration, or feel handcuffed by parents opposed to the idea, often out of fear for their children's

safety. To save money and improve student outcomes would mean to reckon with the role race and class play in these fears, so long as it is wealthier, non-Black parents who refuse to send their children to underused schools that serve primarily low-income African American students.

If we hope to give all students in Chicago Public Schools a chance at success, we must acknowledge the segregation fostered by new school construction, the negative outcomes this segregation yields for all kids, and its disproportionate impact on low-income students of color. Desegregating Chicago's schools means committing to strategies that benefit all students, like integration and boundary expansion, rather than school construction, which often benefits wealthier students at the expense of poorer students. Chicago's two school districts, separate and unequal, can only be unified by a sincere, thoughtful reckoning with how systemic racism and poverty have helped bring us to where we stand today.

- **"Tipping Factors:" Factors that Influence the Impact of an Inequitable District on Students**

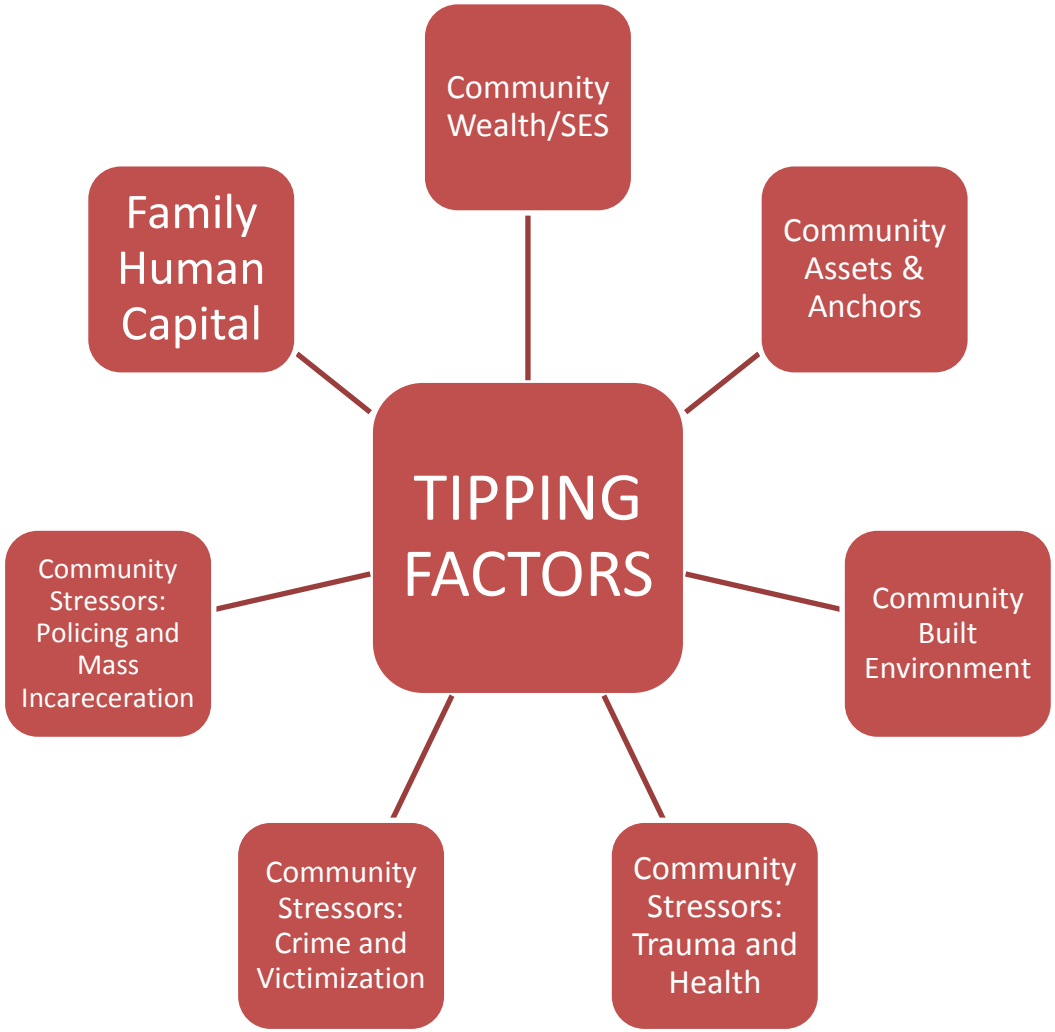
Students in racially and economically segregated schools are disproportionately impacted by state, local and district-level policies. In an inequitable school system, there are vast differences in the educational experiences of students served within the schools. The luckiest students will receive an exemplary education with varied academic supports and enrichment activities in facilities that rival that of colleges. The vast majority of African American students will receive a basic education with minimal academic supports and enrichment activities in older facilities. In theory, schools within the same school district should seem more similar than not, as they receive funds from the same pot of money and are subject to similar budgeting rules and expenditure guidelines. How could it be that one school in a district can look and operate one way, with one set of services and amenities, while a different school in the same district can look and operate another way, with considerably fewer services and amenities?

The answer lies in the availability of excess funds to offset the funding coming from the district, and the ways in which student composition compounds this issue. Low-income students simply require more financial resources for their education. The services needed above and beyond traditional schooling to overcome the overwhelming effects of poverty on the youth and family, such as free and reduced meals, mental health services, family services and afterschool programs, must be added to an already tight school budget. The schools serving a high percentage of low-income students rely almost completely on the funds received from CPS-controlled federal, state and local dollars under our existing state funding formula.[170] Principals at these schools will often budget this money first for core teaching staff and core administration and facilities positions, and then allocate what remains to other support positions and academic programs and services.[171] Often, there is little funding left for these services, and what remains is stretched very thin. In contrast, schools in affluent areas of the city are able to access a broader range of funding support to offset the funding burden imposed by CPS-controlled funds. These schools can draw from local community and parent resources to underwrite considerable funding gaps, from fees received through facility/parking lot lease programs, to additional student fees and parent-led fundraising and grant writing. [172]

What results from this disparity is a two-tiered school district that provides a very different education based on the community and parent resources attached to the local school. In effect, there are factors in place in some schools that buffer students from the full impact of statewide inequitable funding for education. These resource-rich schools - and the students in attendance - will not feel the pain of budget cuts, budget freezes and low per-pupil funding in the same way as resource-poor schools. It creates what is known as the "public private" school, a school that is technically a public school but with supplementary funds and resources that make them look different from other public schools. The placement of resource-rich schools in economically sound and safe residential neighborhoods, with an assemblage of retail, service, health and other community amenities, provides further resources above and beyond what the schools can offer. Factors here are stacked for, or in favor, of the students. In contrast, schools that cannot secure additional funds from parents, located in neighborhoods with higher rates of violent crime and fewer services and amenities, bear the greatest burden of an inequitably funded system. In what is the cruelest irony, the schools that can afford the inequity the least are the schools that feel the pinch of it the most. Factors here are stacked against, or injurious to, the students.

This section will closely examine what we refer to as "**tipping factors**." Tipping factors are the factors that stack in favor of or against a student to either alleviate or exacerbate funding gaps in inadequately funded districts. We first look at the community area factors, laying the foundation for why children living in certain neighborhoods and community areas struggle, and why their challenges are greater than children in other parts of the city. It will then examine the family factors that serve as either buffer or an amplification of these community factors depending on the family's income, educational and employment statuses.

TIPPING THE BALANCE:
FACTORS THAT EXACERBATE OR ALLEVIATE FUNDING INEQUITIES



Community Wealth and Socioeconomic Status

There have been longstanding socioeconomic differences between the poorest community areas and the most affluent community areas in the city. Researchers at the Natalie P. Voorhees Center at the University of Illinois at Chicago calculated a gentrification index designed to examine community area economic change or stability over a period of 40 years (1970 to 2010). Over this period, inequality in Chicago has grown, as some areas became considerably wealthier while others became considerably poorer.[173] Overlaid on all of this was the loss of many middle class neighborhoods, and the continuing poverty experienced by residents living in a number of predominantly African American communities on the south and west sides of the city.[174]

All of the RCAP community areas are typified as "extreme poverty" community areas. Currently and historically, these racially segregated communities have been characterized by high poverty rates and extremely low incomes, poor home values, higher than average residence in rentals or public/subsidized housing, lower educational attainment and higher rates of unemployment.[175] Children from these communities are also the least likely to attend private schools (8%), and are most likely than other parts of the city to live in a single female headed household (36%). Little has changed for these communities over the past four decades, and they remain some of the poorest parts of the city.

In contrast, there is more variation in the longstanding community SES of the community areas with the lowest poverty rates, though the majority is typified as "middle class" community areas. These particular areas are characterized by decades of stability: stability in overall rates of employment, home ownership, and educational attainment.[176] The middle class communities have median family incomes that are near the area median income, and have some of the highest rates of home ownership in the city. Families here have varied employment experiences - from working class to professional - and a larger percentage of their children (31%) attend private schools.[177] Two of the community areas (Edison Park, Forest Glen) were typified as "upper class" communities, though North Center is also emerging as a strong upper class community in recent years (typified as "increasing SES" because of its[178] growth over the past decade). The upper class communities have residents that earn incomes above the area median income, and have some of the highest property values in the city. Educational attainment and employment rates are high, and most residents have a college degree and work in professional or managerial positions. Children from these communities are also the most likely to attend private schools (33%), and are least likely live in a single female headed household (8%).[179]

Table SES1: 40-Year Socioeconomic Index in Highest Poverty Rate Community Areas

Rank	CA#	Community Area	SES Index
1	54	Riverdale	Extreme Poverty
2	37	Fuller Park	Extreme Poverty
3	68	Englewood	Extreme Poverty
4	29	North Lawndale	Extreme Poverty
5	40	Washington Park	Extreme Poverty
6	27	East Garfield Park	Extreme Poverty
7	67	West Englewood	Extreme Poverty
8	26	West Garfield Park	Extreme Poverty
9	36	Oakland	Extreme Poverty
10	61	New City	Decreasing SES

Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

Table SES2: 40-Year Socioeconomic Index in Lowest Poverty Rate Community Areas

Rank	CA#	Community Area	SES Index
1	74	Mount Greenwood	Middle Class
2	72	Beverly	Middle Class
3	9	Edison Park	Upper Class
4	11	Jefferson Park	Middle Class
5	12	Forest Glen	Upper Class
6	10	Norwood Park	Middle Class
7	64	Clearing	Middle Class
8	5	North Center	Increasing SES
9	17	Dunning	Middle Class
10	56	Garfield Ridge	Middle Class

Deindustrialization and the Global Economy: Community Assets and Anchors

Communities require a diverse range of assets and resources to meet the needs of its residents, stabilize its local economy and make it a safe and desirable place to live and work. Central to a community's assets are its anchor institutions, which are place-based institutions with a vested interest in the community that provide critical jobs, revenues and services to people living in the surrounding area.[180] Traditionally, these have been seen as the "eds and meds," institutions of higher education and medical facilities. However, the list can be expanded to include many other institutions such as: cultural institutions (museums, libraries, performing arts facilities, and arts centers), religious institutions, businesses (especially large businesses and corporations/headquarters), nonprofit organizations, educational facilities (elementary, high school, training institutes).[181]

Anchor institutions have the potential to significantly improve neighborhoods. Their location within the community gives them a unique vantage point, and when working with other anchors, can help community leaders and residents gain a comprehensive understanding of the range of issues impacting a community from various perspectives (business, health, education, social welfare and public safety).[182] They are also able to use their position within a community to bring people together across different issues or divisions, create opportunities to connect community leaders with institution leaders and create partnerships that can lead to collaborative problem-solving and strategic community planning.[183]

Differences in Assets and Anchors: Revenue Generation vs. Revenue Neutral

A community area's portfolio of assets and anchors varies considerably across the city of Chicago. Large, macro level conditions that impact housing, the economy, business and workforce development have a differential impact on communities. Over the past 40 years, Chicago transitioned from an industrial city with a strong manufacturing presence, to an emerging global city in a post-industrial era that moved toward the financial and service industries as the primary driver of economic growth.[184] In doing so, neighborhoods and community areas were altered dramatically - the Loop and lakefront areas of the north became symbols of prosperity and expansion, evidenced through ongoing development of new businesses, corporate headquarters, residential dwellings, shops and restaurants.

In contrast, communities on the south and west sides were instantly and powerfully destabilized - manufacturing and industrial companies provided jobs that not only supported the worker's families, but the income necessary to shop at local shops, dine at local restaurants, take in local entertainment and purchase homes in growing neighborhoods. When deindustrialization occurred, these jobs left and those skills became increasingly irrelevant in the emerging economy.[185] As the paycheck goes, so to go the businesses, services and amenities that relied on that income for their own growth. Community areas became skeletons of their former selves, and residents that could leave for better opportunities did so, leaving behind those that could not.

Lincoln Park and Englewood: A Comparison

Lincoln Park/Lakeview, with its abundance of theaters, entertainment venues, a major zoo and ballpark and unique cultural experiences, has significant opportunity to draw revenue from its assets - people

spend lots of money as they eat, drink and play in these areas. Retail and dining establishments have access to people with more money to spend beyond household essentials. Further, these areas bring in not only resident dollars, but visitor dollars.

In contrast, the South Side district has a lot of services and institutions that can benefit the communities as a whole, but are not revenue-generating assets. Nonprofits, community gardens, community organizations and churches are essential to the wellbeing of the community, but they draw on community resources and are not a means of making money for the neighborhoods. The end result has been a large and disparate difference in the assets and anchors of Chicago's more affluent community areas on the north side and near downtown, and the post-industrial community areas on the south and west sides.

- **The Built Environment: Desertification in Post-Industrial Chicago**

The built environment is the collection of buildings, businesses and transit lines that make up the places that we live, play and work in a community. The built environment within our communities can tell one quite a bit about the overall socioeconomic conditions within a neighborhood. For example, the Loop and the Near North Side are bright with possibilities; people flurry down sidewalks on their way to work, tall buildings buzz with activity and excellent transportation systems ferry residents and visitors alike to a host of dining and entertainment options. Chicago's Loop and the adjacent Near North Side is what happens when you funnel investment into opportunity. As a result, it attracts higher income residents and developers eager to build housing and retail establishments to cater to emerging demand.

In striking contrast to Chicago's Loop, communities on the south side remain areas of disinvestment, areas where transportation and commercial business is lacking and where vacant parcels of land fill the landscape. Many of the RCAP communities demonstrate such disinvestment. In this section, we look at how these factors can intersect to make a neighborhood look and feel blighted. These factors also play out in ways that make it more difficult for adults to find work and for children to get to school.

Transportation Access and Poverty

Access to transportation is crucial for all people, whether for grocery shopping, taking children to school, or perhaps most importantly, getting to work. Poverty is intimately connected to transportation access. People in highly impoverished areas often commute long distances to work, since few employment opportunities are available where they live. Depending on where you live in the city, your commute could involve multiple exchanges and several hours of travel time. This holds true in Chicago—many people living in impoverished parts of the Far South, Far Southwest, and West sides must travel to opportunity, and need access to some form of transportation other than walking or cycling. While Chicago is a transit-connected city overall, there are transit deserts in many areas on the south side that make it difficult to get to and from where residents need to be.[186]

In Fuller Park, located on the South side but not far from the Loop, 47% of people live in poverty. What helps *keep* people in Fuller Park living in poverty is lack of jobs, coupled with lack of transportation access. Despite their close proximity to downtown, 61% of people in Fuller Park live over ½ mile from a

rail transit stop. Furthermore, 53% of people in Fuller Park have no access to a vehicle. (Table T1) This means that Fuller Park's impoverished residents are doubly burdened—they can't find work where they live, and have trouble getting to areas where there is work. Alternative options, like ride share services or taxis, are not as available or affordable for people in areas like Fuller Park as they might be for the wealthier residents of the Loop. Even though people living in the Loop may not have a vehicle, they have ample access to bus and rail transit, and access and incomes that make it more likely for them to call a taxi or ride share.

Residents of the farthest reaches of Chicago, like Riverdale on the Far Southwest side, face additional transportation challenges to those of people living in Fuller Park. While residents of Riverdale have about 8% better vehicle access than those in Fuller Park, 0% live within ½ mile of rail transit stops. (Table T-1) Efforts to extend the Red Line have been ongoing, but to date the line stops at the 95th Street terminal, leaving many far south side residents without access to quick transit options[187].

Transportation Access and Wealth

Residents of Chicago's wealthier community areas do not lack transportation access in the way low-income neighborhoods do. Mount Greenwood, for example, provides a useful parallel to Riverdale, discussed above, since both areas are located on the Far Southwest side of Chicago. Residents of Mount Greenwood also lack rail transit access as well, but similarities end there. Only 3% of people living in Mount Greenwood live in poverty, compared with 60% in Riverdale. A full 45% of people living in Riverdale have no access to a vehicle, whereas only 5% of Mount Greenwood's residents are without a car. This means that families living in Mount Greenwood, with some exceptions, can get their children to school and themselves to work relatively reliably each day. In Mount Greenwood a car is readily available to 95% of households, so trips to the grocery store, doctor's office or school remain much more attainable than for parents and children living in areas of poverty without access to car or rail transportation. Lack of transit access is not as detrimental to these residents as it is to residents in other parts of the city. Poverty and structural conditions limit the movement of Riverdale's residents; Chicagoans living in Mount Greenwood face no such burden. (Tables T1 and T2)

Transportation Access and Impact on Children's Education

Access to transportation impacts parents with children living in their homes more direly than it does single adults and childless couples. Transportation burdened parents have multiple barriers to face when it comes to getting their children to/from school or afterschool , or getting themselves to parent/teacher conferences and report card pick up days. Lack of access to a car, particularly in families with more than one child, can making getting to school very difficult. Low-income families often have to rely on a patchwork commute of walking and buses to get to schools that are not in reasonable proximity to their home. The closure of schools in primarily the south and west side neighborhoods compounded this problem and exacerbated transportation disparities. Once the neighborhood school closed, families could opt to send their child to a Welcoming School, or could send their child to a school in closer proximity to their home. For parents, it was a difficult trade-off: send their children to a higher

quality Welcoming School but deal with the additional burden of transporting the child to school, or send their children to a lower quality school that was in close proximity to their home.[188]

Areas of Poverty and Business Deserts

The presence of commercial real estate is an important and positive factor in communities—businesses provide needed commodities, like goods and groceries, as well as jobs for members of the community. In general, areas with a high percentage of commercial real estate fare well in terms of lower poverty rates, employment rates, and educational attainment compared to areas with little commercial space. When communities lack commercial real estate, their residents must spend more time travelling to take care of their most basic needs, or go without goods and services. Not only do residents bear the burden of inconvenience and travel, but also deal with the added stressor of living in areas with a palpable lack of economic growth. Living in an area without commercial activity feels different than living in a neighborhood with a large concentration of businesses. Lack of commercial spaces can make a neighborhood feel like a desert, barren of the businesses and services that families – and children – need to survive.

Unsurprisingly then, the residents of Chicago's poorest community areas frequently lack access to the goods, services, and jobs that a strong commercial sector provides. In Oakland, where 34% of people live in poverty less than 1% of real estate square footage is dedicated to businesses (Table C1). Additional RCAP communities also lack considerable commercial real estate, ranging from 2.5% in Washington Park to 3.6% in Woodlawn. This was not always the case, as some of these areas were once home to thriving local economies catering to African American residents. As deindustrialization took hold in Chicago, and major manufacturers laid off African American workers, these businesses began to fold.

Wealthy Areas and "Bedroom Communities"

Some wealthier, largely residential areas also lack significant commercial real estate, like Forest Glen on the Far Northwest side. Only 2.6% of real estate square footage in Forest Glen is used for commercial purposes (Table C1). Largely residential, "bedroom communities" these areas are not strongly commercial, but were instead designed to be communities where families lived and played. Yet, Forest Glen residents have the advantage of living near neighborhoods and suburbs with a broad variety of shops and services and have the means to travel to adjacent areas to acquire these goods.

In some wealthiest areas of Chicago, mainly near downtown, commercial real estate is abundant. In the Near North Side, Lincoln Park, and other affluent community areas, residents enjoy quick access to essential goods and services. (Table C2) This commercial space also provides jobs for the people who live in these communities and a steady stream of revenue that benefits the community area as a whole. Economic vibrancy has a beneficial circuitous nature - as businesses in an area do well, more businesses come in, strengthening the existing base and encouraging more development. And so on.

Housing Unit Availability: Losses and Growth

Many of the RCAP community areas on the south and west sides of the city have been losing their Black population for over a decade. There are many reasons for this, from safety concerns, to concerns about public education, lack or variety of businesses and services, and many more. An additional factor may be the loss of adequate and affordable housing in a number of community areas. The housing and foreclosure crisis had an impact not only on household finances, but on the number of housing units available to families in RCAP areas.[189] Single family homes were lost, but more importantly, many multi-unit buildings were lost to foreclosure, displacing a greater number of families at one time. During the height of the foreclosure crisis, families would often have little turnaround time between final notice of their landlord's foreclosure and their removal from the rental property.[190] This constant and rapid turnover created significant community instability, as individuals and families moved from location to location trying to find safe, affordable and stable housing.

This issue has been compounded by the loss of public housing units once the Chicago Housing Authority's Plan for Transformation went into effect. Under the plan, the large high rise developments, and many of the smaller developments, were to be demolished or renovated over a fifteen year period. The targeted developments were taken down, and south and west side neighborhoods lost an average of 63% of available public housing units (approximately 12,000 demolished units). CHA had promised a rebuild of approximately 7,000 units, but to date, have completed only 36% of the redevelopment of the promised units.[191]

Taken together, the loss of market rental housing and the loss of public housing units have led to a reduction in the number of available housing units on the south and west sides. Community areas such as Douglas, Riverdale, Washington Park and West Englewood have seen losses of 5%-25% of available housing units over a 10-year period (Table H1).

In other parts of the city, notably the Loop and the Near South Side, evidence of a tremendous boom in the construction or redevelopment of housing units has been evidenced by the near constant presence of large cranes and construction equipment and the rapid succession of large buildings that have been added to the Chicago city skyline. Over the same 10-year period, the Near South Side (known as the South Loop) saw a jump in the number of available units (158%), followed by other parts of the Loop (97%) (Table H2). The pace and breadth of the development in these two areas has changed the look and feel of Chicago's downtown, and rapidly expanding its borders south and west.

School Closures – Loss of Community Anchors in African American Neighborhoods

The neighborhood public school is considered by many parents and residents to be one of the anchors of a community. It holds both practical and sentimental importance - at their best, schools are where parents send their children to be educated, but more so, serve an important role as a place of community, hope and possibility. Citing significant underutilization in many of the predominantly Black and Latino schools on the south and west sides of Chicago, Mayor Rahm Emanuel and the Chicago Board of Education announced plans in 2013 to close dozens of neighborhood elementary schools.[192] Proponents argued that the schools should be closed because they were poorly performing schools in

aging facilities that were not adequately preparing children for high school. Critics argued that the Board consider how to improve the schools and retain them as a community asset, rather than shutter them completely. In the end, the City voted to close 49 elementary schools and end one high school program, at the time the largest school closure in any one district in the nation.[193]

The schools slated for closure had a number of things in common, and it was not difficult to see the pattern of characteristics that each of the schools shared. First, all of the schools that were closed were on the south and west sides of the city, in predominantly low-income African American and Latino communities.[194] These community areas had been losing population for years - particularly the Black communities, leading to a reduction in the number of students and an underutilization of the elementary schools in the area.[195] The schools that were closed served some of the most vulnerable students in the community: poor, African American students that were more likely to receive free or reduced meals, receive special services, experience housing instability or frequent residential moves, and live in poor, segregated communities.[196] None of the school closures - not even the closures that were entertained but ultimately rejected - were in areas of affluence on the north or northwest sides of the city.

Even if people agreed that there was a sound rationale behind the school closures (reduce underutilization, transfer students to higher performing schools), the loss of these schools had profound impacts on the communities. It introduced new safety issues, such that the city had to implement a Safe Passage program to ensure that students could safely cross neighborhood boundaries and traverse further distances on their walk to and from school.[197] It required additional funding for programs and services at the Welcoming Schools, which was a benefit to those schools, but not nearby schools of lower quality that could have also benefitted from additional financial support.[198] Due to commuting and transportation issues, as well as convenience and safety, many of the students that had attended the closed schools actually attended lower performing schools, rather than the higher performing Welcoming Schools to which they were assigned.[199] Families that were interviewed by researchers during their school selection process routinely cited the following as some of their primary concerns for their children's new school, more so than academic performance of school services: "close to home," "safe commute," "transportation costs," "connections," "students transferred."[200] It's clear that for these families, a neighborhood school comprised of their children's friends in close proximity to the home with a safe and reasonable commute was of significant value to them.

Following the school closures, the majority of the large school buildings remain vacant. After several attempts to sell over 50 school buildings and facilities over the past several years, the city is renewing its efforts to sell the buildings to bidders in 2017.[201] Many of the schools, moderate to large size brick and concrete structures, have begun to show signs of age and neglect - vines and weeds, litter, deteriorating plywood boards that seal off entrances through windows and doors, rusty gates and fences, interiors and exteriors gutted for scrap and usable materials.[202] Property crimes also rose on the campuses of closed school buildings. Neighbors and residents cite the blight, deterioration, the unused space and the obvious loss of such an important community anchor as particularly disheartening for their communities. [203] And while most of the school closures happened on the south and west sides, there were a few closures on the north side whose buildings have not met the same fate. As is often the case

in these communities, the schools were well-preserved and able to fetch millions when sold to developers for community housing, arts and theater spaces.[204]

Vacancy, Blight and Poverty

Some of Chicago's poorest communities are also its emptiest—few residents, fewer businesses; where industry and self-contained local economies once dominated, little remains today after decades of decline. Located mainly on the south, west, and far southeast sides of Chicago, these community areas lost many of the assets and resources necessary to stabilize and grow strong families and neighborhoods. In places like South Chicago, where nearly one third of land is vacant, years of disinvestment have left residents with few options. Neighborhoods with high levels of vacancies aren't just simply disinvested, they *look* disinvested, creating a landscape that is blighted and barren. Vacancy like this is damaging to the people who live there. Research indicates that widespread vacancy in communities is damaging to the physical and mental health of residents; it attracts garbage and rodents and crime, and causes residents significant anxiety.[205] It certainly does not bode well for families and children who must traverse these blighted areas during the normal course of their lives. Blighted neighborhoods with little economic activity and minimal to no development and growth are a city's way of communicating to residents, "This neighborhood does not matter." It's hard to imagine how this message is not internalized by the residents, translating into a broader message, "In this city, you don't matter."

Table T1: Transportation Burden by Community Area, Ranked by Access to Vehicle, Rail and %Poverty

Rank	Community Area	CA#	% Pop Not 1/2 Mile Rail	% No Vehicles	%Poverty
1	Fuller Park	37	61%	53%	47%
2	Englewood	68	77%	49%	45%
3	Washington Park	40	27%	49%	42%
4	North Lawndale	29	52%	45%	42%
5	Riverdale	54	100%	45%	60%
6	Near North Side	8	24%	43%	14%
7	West Garfield Park	26	42%	43%	40%
8	Loop	32	11%	43%	12%
9	Oakland	36	100%	43%	34%
10	Woodlawn	42	44%	43%	29%

Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

Table T2: Lack of Transportation Burden by Community Area, Ranked by Access to Vehicle, Rail and %Poverty

Rank	Community Area	CA#	% Pop Not 1/2 Mile Rail	% No Vehicles	%Poverty
1	Mount Greenwood	74	100%	5%	3%
2	Beverly	72	53%	6%	4%
3	Ashburn	70	77%	7%	11%
4	West Elsdon	62	78%	7%	12%
5	Forest Glen	12	82%	7%	6%
6	Dunning	17	100%	9%	8%
7	Clearing	64	100%	9%	6%
8	O'Hare	76	96%	10%	10%
9	West Lawn	65	94%	10%	19%
10	Garfield Ridge	56	100%	10%	9%

Table C1: Community Areas with the Least Commercial Real Estate by Percent of Total Parcel

Rank (Lowest %)	Community Area	CA #	% Commercial Sq. Ft.
1	Oakland	36	0.9%
2	South Deering	51	1.7%
3	East Side	52	2.2%
4	Washington Park	40	2.5%
5	Mount Greenwood	74	2.6%
6	Forest Glen	12	2.6%
7	Hyde Park	41	3.0%
8	Englewood	68	3.2%
9	Riverdale	54	3.5%
10	Woodlawn	42	3.6%

Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

Table C2: Community Areas with the Most Commercial Real Estate by Percent of Total Parcels

Rank (Highest %)	Community Area	CA #	% Commercial Sq. Ft.
1	Near North Side	8	46.5%
2	Lincoln Square	4	23.0%
3	Near West Side	28	21.4%
4	Belmont Cragin	19	16.1%
5	Lakeview	6	14.8%
6	Lincoln Park	7	13.6%
7	Rogers Park	1	13.4%
8	Chatham	44	13.3%
9	Logan Square	22	12.9%
10	North Center	5	12.8%

Table V1: Community Areas with the Greatest % Vacant Sq. Feet by %Total Parcels

Rank %Greatest	Community Area	CA #	% Vacant Sq. Ft.
1	South Chicago	46	30.1%
2	Hegewisch	55	17.5%
3	Near South Side	33	15.1%
8	Englewood	68	14.5%
5	Grand Boulevard	38	13.1%
6	West Englewood	67	12.9%
7	West Garfield Park	26	12.6%
8	Burnside	47	11.5%
9	South Deering	51	11.0%
10	East Garfield Park	27	10.8%

Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

Table V2: Community Areas with the Least % Vacant Sq. Feet by %Total Parcels

Rank %Least	Community Area	CA #	% Vacant Sq. Ft.
1	Albany Park	14	0.2%
2	Edison Park	9	0.3%
3	Mount Greenwood	74	0.4%
4	Norwood Park	10	0.4%
5	O'Hare	76	0.4%
6	Dunning	17	0.5%
7	Hermosa	20	0.6%
8	Portage Park	15	0.7%
9	Jefferson Park	11	0.8%
10	Edgewater	77	0.8%

Table H1: Community Areas with the Greatest % of Housing Units Lost: 2000-2010

Rank	Community Area	CA #	% Housing Units Lost
1	Douglas	35	-25%
2	Riverdale	54	-14%
3	Grand Boulevard	38	-13%
4	Washington Park	40	-11%
5	Rogers Park	1	-8%
6	Hegewisch	55	-6%
7	Hyde Park	41	-5%
8	Fuller Park	37	-5%
9	West Englewood	67	-5%
10	Englewood	68	-5%

Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

Table H2: Community Areas with the Greatest % of Housing Units Gained: 2000-2010

Rank	Community Area	CA #	% Housing Units Gained
1	Near South Side	33	158%
2	Loop	32	97%
3	Near West Side	28	39%
4	Near North Side	8	22%
5	Burnside	47	17%
6	East Garfield Park	27	14%
7	Armour Square	34	11%
8	Woodlawn	42	9%
9	O'Hare	76	7%
10	West Town	24	6%

Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

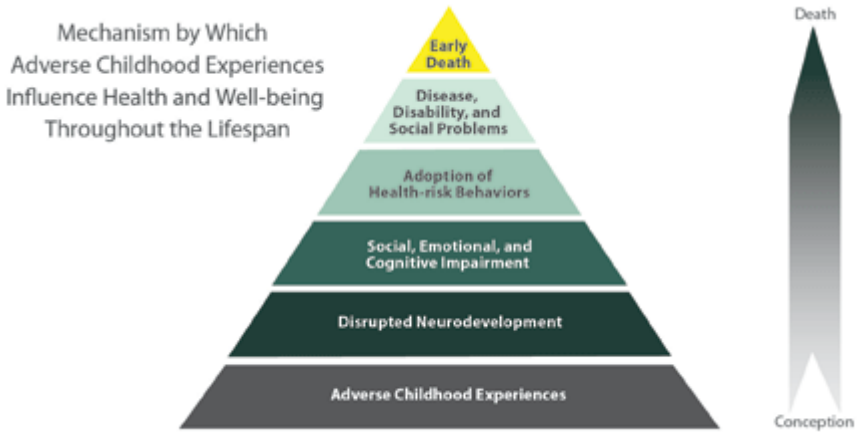
Community Stressors and Wellbeing

Families living in segregated, high poverty communities face significant stressors resulting from their own household challenges and the consequences of living in highly disadvantaged communities. Defined as multiple *stressor exposure*, children and adults living in these environments are exposed to an unrelenting set of physical and psychosocial stressors and demands that tax even the most resilient people.[206] These demands overwhelm the ability and capacity to cope and to self-regulate stress and behavior.[207] Additionally, living in poor, segregated communities places residents at increased risk for victimization and other harms. What results is an exhausting and chronic buildup of toxic stress that hinders the ability for students and parents to develop the skills and resources to succeed at home, work and school.

Community Stressors: Trauma Zones

Trauma exposure is a profoundly destabilizing experience with potentially lifelong impacts. Research on the impacts of traumatization indicates the role that Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) can have on both physical and mental wellbeing. These ACEs are highly predictive of disrupted neurodevelopment; social, emotional and cognitive impairment; adoption of high risk behaviors, disease, disability and social problems; and finally early death (Figure CS1)[208]. There are three categories of ACEs: 1) Abuse (physical, sexual and emotional); 2)household challenges (mother treated violently, household substance use disorder, mental illness within the household, parental separation or divorce, a household member in prison), and 3) Neglect (emotional and physical).

Figure CS1: Adverse Childhood Experiences and Outcomes of Traumatization[209]



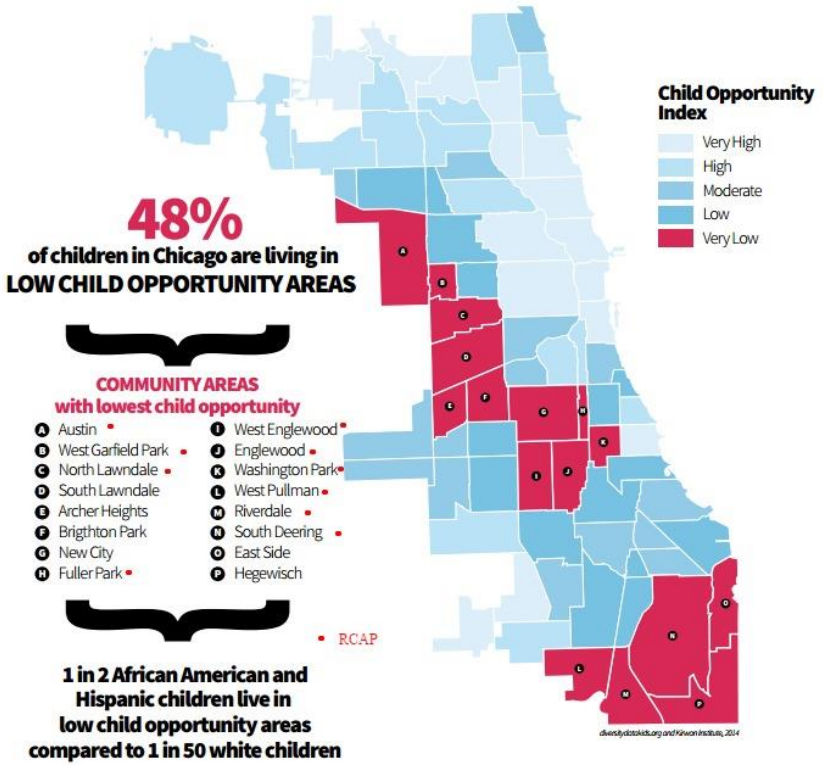
Children who are raised in RCAP neighborhoods are more likely to continue to experience trauma throughout their lives than children raised in affluent communities.[210] Trauma is also more likely to occur in RCAP communities because of sociodemographic factors that are predictive of trauma, like

community violence and concentrated neighborhood disadvantage (e.g. high unemployment rates, high poverty and instability, and high numbers of alcohol outlets). [211] Traumatic experiences manifest in many forms, from exposure to microaggressions, discrimination and racism to community violence, dislocation, or abuse or neglect, or crime victimization. [212] Poverty itself can be a traumatic stressor and can result in emotional and social challenges, acute and chronic stressors, cognitive lags, and health and safety concerns. All of these impact quality of life and can yield negative outcomes at school, at work and in the home.

Low Child Opportunity Areas in Chicago

Several of the conditions that underpin an increased risk of exposure to traumas are measured in the Low Child Opportunity Score shown below (Figure CS2). Low child opportunity is a composition of several metrics including the following: 1) Educational, adult educational attainment, school poverty rate, reading and math proficiency rates, participation in early childhood education, high school graduation rates, proximity to early childcare facilities; 2) retail healthy food index, proximity to toxic waste sites, proximity to open space and healthcare; 3) Neighborhood foreclosure rate, poverty, employment, public assistance and proximity to employment. As mentioned previously, living in areas of concentrated disadvantage increases the likelihood of traumatic exposure. Ten of the 16 or 63% of Low Child Opportunity Areas are RCAP community areas. [213]

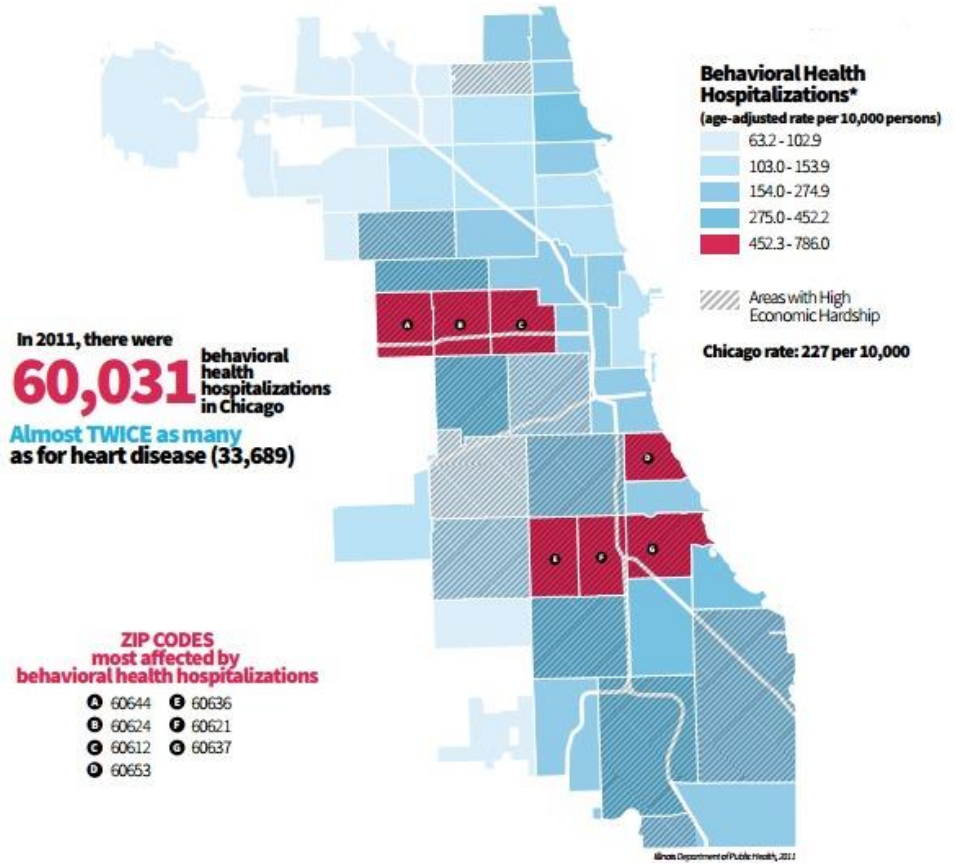
Figure CS2: Low Child Opportunity Areas by Community Area and RCAP[214]



Community Stressors: Mental Health

Behavioral health hospitalizations disproportionately impact RCAP areas, as shown in Figure CS3. [4] High rates of behavioral health hospitalizations can occur for several reasons. It can indicate a greater percentage of residents living with serious mental illness and experiencing a greater degree of symptoms and impairment. However, it can also be indicative of less community mental health services, such that by the time someone receives treatment, their impairment has become so profound that they need more intensive services. If there is nowhere to turn in the community for mental health care before it reaches a crisis point, hospitalization may be the only option. Finally, the lack of community services means that families or loved ones may have involved law enforcement in their effort to get help, and law enforcement in turn brought the individual to a hospital. Regardless, the number of behavioral health hospitalizations can be linked to overall rates of trauma and the cumulative impact of living in trauma zones. [215]

Figure CS3: Behavioral Health Hospitalizations by Zip Code[216]



[4] adjustment disorders; anxiety disorders; attention-deficit and disruptive behavior disorders; delirium, dementia and cognitive disorders; autistic disorder and other developmental disorders; anxiety, depression, bipolar and other mood disorders; schizophrenia and other psychotic disorders; alcohol- and substance-related disorders; suicide and self-inflicted injury

Community Stressors: Environmental Health

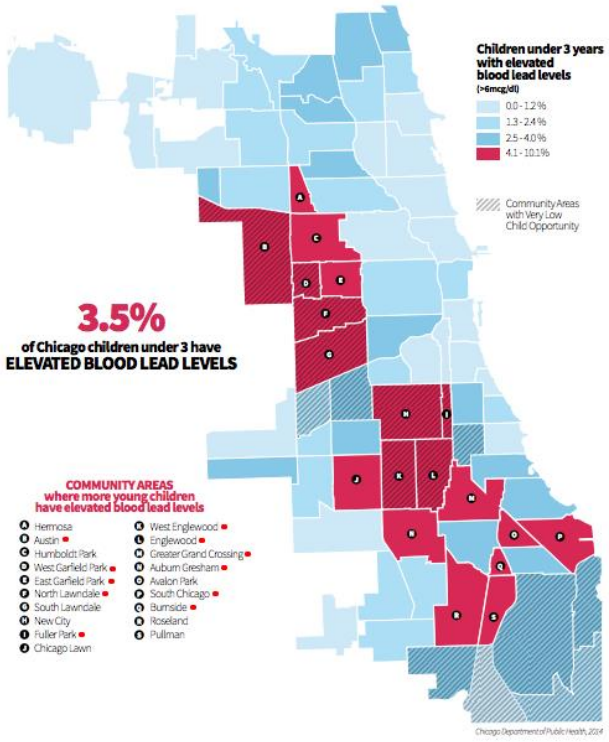
Living in and attending school in one of Chicago's RCAP community areas means contending with pollution and other environmental hazards on a daily basis. These factors harm student's health, adding additional stress on top of that already accompanying poverty, unemployment, and other non-environmental factors.

Lead and Poverty

Lead exposure can be very dangerous for children and can lead to a number of health and developmental problems. Research has long established that even low exposure to lead can impair children's development, lowering IQ and cognitive testing scores.[217]

As shown in Figure CS4 below, 3.5% of Chicago's children under 3 years old have elevated blood lead level. However, children in Chicago's RCAP communities have elevated levels of lead in their blood at rates wholly disproportionate to children in Chicago's whiter, wealthier communities. There are 19 community areas in Chicago where the percentage of children under 3 with elevated blood lead levels exceeds 4.1%. Over half of these areas are RCAP communities, including: Austin, West and East Garfield Park, North Lawndale, Fuller Park, West Englewood, Englewood, Greater Grand Crossing, Auburn Gresham, South Chicago, and Burnside. High blood lead levels in these communities are directly tied to poverty. People in Austin, for example, live where they can afford to live, and must often choose homes that are old, poorly maintained, and therefore dangerous.

Figure CS4: Elevated Lead Levels among Children Under 3 by Community Area[218]



Traffic, Pollution and Schools

High levels of pollution constitute another environmental hazard that disproportionately harms students in low-income communities. In particular, the construction of schools near heavily trafficked roads can result in a variety of health problems for students, ranging from asthma attacks to increased cancer risk, to cognitive impairments that decrease ability to learn.[219] Across the United States, 15% of schools serving mostly students of color are located near a busy road, compared to only 4% of schools with mostly white students.[220] Systemic racism is at the heart of disparities in school location. In the mid-20th century, highway construction in urban areas frequently cut through neighborhoods where African American families lived.[221]

Pollution is an added layer of risk for low income students and students of color, who are already much more likely to have asthma in the first place (1 in 6 African American children).[222] Parents and teachers alike have taken action to improve the quality of the air students breathe at school, but funding often limits what schools are able to change. Air filtration systems are prohibitively expensive, especially in schools that already lack central air conditioning. Concerned adults can often do no more than clean classrooms themselves, or bring in pollution collecting plants, which have only a modest effect. Moving to a different neighborhood sometimes seems like the best option for worried parents, but is also unaffordable for many of the families most impacted by pollution. If Chicago's students are to get an equal chance at success, we might start by making sure they all have clean air to breathe.

Community Stressors: Crime and Victimization

High crime rates in communities with concentrated poverty take an enormous toll on the people who live there. High crime rates stem in part from poverty, but also result from systemic racism, criminal justice policy and policing practice. Research has repeatedly linked lower health outcomes, including violent crime victimization and injury, to income inequality.[223]

Homicides in RCAP and Affluent Community Areas

Ninety-five percent of homicide victims in 2016 were black and brown.[224] The inequality in homicide deaths is easily visible in Chicago. Neighborhoods that are highly segregated by race and class have the highest rates of violent crimes and victimization. West Garfield Park has Chicago's highest murder rate (94 people per 100,000), and is also one of its poorest and most segregated community areas (Table M1). As of 2014, West Garfield Park was 96% African American, and 36% of its residents lived in poverty.[225] In contrast, Chicago neighborhoods like Forest Glen and Lincoln Park had an average of 0 murders per year between 2012 and 2016 (Table M2). These also happen to be among Chicago's wealthiest and whitest community areas.

High homicide rates can be especially traumatizing for children, particularly for those who must pass locations where a friend or family member was killed. Chicago radio Station WBEZ interviewed children in poor, segregated communities to learn more about their experiences living in these areas. One child, Chelsee from North Lawndale, told the WBEZ reporter about three different family members who had been killed, two cousins and one uncle.[226] Chelsee's experience is not especially uncommon. The murder

rate in North Lawndale is 58 per 100,000 people, more than triple the average for Chicago (Table M1). Other RCAP neighborhoods, like West Garfield Park, have homicide rates that are nearly 5 times that of Chicago's and 94 times that of Lakeview (Table M1). There are many more students then, like Chelsee, who must balance homework, tests, and school activities with the emotional trauma that comes from living in a place where people you know and love may be killed any given day. As one teacher stated:

> "We had two brothers in our school, and one sibling seemed really sad, just out of it. After checking in with the 6th grader it turned out that their uncle had been killed by gun violence. Not too long after that, both brothers left our school, and none of the teachers knows exactly where they ended up." [227]

Other Violent Crimes in RCAP and Affluent Community Areas

In low-income communities, murders are not the only thing people have to worry about. Rates for all violent crimes are higher in Chicago's poorest communities, where the highest percentages of African Americans live. These Chicagoans endure rates of assault, sexual assault, battery, and armed robbery well above the Chicago average. In Fuller Park, an extremely low-income community located just south of Guaranteed Rate Field, 377 people per 10,000 annually were the victim of a violent crime (excluding homicide) each year from 2012 – 2016 (Table V1).

As with homicides, wealthier, white communities experienced significantly lower rates of violent crime (excluding homicide). Forest Glen ranks near the top again for lowest violent crime rates (excluding homicide), as do other "bedroom communities" like Edison Park and Mount Greenwood. The rates in these communities are mere fractions of Chicago's total average—Forest Glen experienced over *10 times fewer* violent crimes other than homicide than Chicago as a whole (Table V2). Compared to Edison Park, the violent crime rate is *35 times greater* in Fuller Park. Anxiety about personal safety looks different for parents of children in these two communities. In Fuller Park, parents worry each and every day about their safety and that of their children; in Forest Glen, thoughts about violent crime can be fewer and farer between, as parents and children both go about their days in relative safety.

Property Crime in RCAP and Affluent Community Areas

Income inequality is a major contributing factor to violent crime, and more so with property crime. Thefts of goods and money from people, homes, businesses and buildings can often be viewed as crimes of poverty - crimes committed by people in need of money. In general, Chicago's poorest communities also experience the highest rates of property crime. The Loop is a notable exception here, as it is a relatively affluent area that also experiences the highest property crime rates in the city. This is best explained by its high concentrations of buildings and businesses and the volume of people moving into and out of the area.

Thefts in RCAP community areas like Washington Park look different than they do in the Loop. Building thefts make up a larger percentage of property crimes in the Loop than in other areas of the city - 33% of all thefts in the community area were from buildings, compared to 7% of thefts in Washington Park (Table P1, Table P2). In neighborhoods with high concentrations of poverty, thefts are more likely to

target homes and businesses. Washington Park had 7,245 property crimes per 100,000 annually from 2012 – 2016, but only 527 building thefts per 100,000. In the Loop, there were 17,713 property crimes per 100,000, but also 5,765 building thefts per 100,000 (Table P1, Table P2). Property crimes in communities of concentrated poverty increase the general anxiety and safety worries that residents may feel because thieves are more likely to target their homes or personal property.

The same wealthy, predominantly white communities with low violent crime rates also have the lowest property crime rates. In places like Edison Park, with 406 property crimes per 100,000, people can feel relatively confident that they face no greater risk to their cars or property than one does in general living in a large, urban city (Table P1).

Table M1: Top 10 Total Community Areas by Highest Average Yearly Homicides Rate (2012-2016[228]) by Rank

Rank High	#	Community Area	Rate 100K
1	26	West Garfield Park	94
2	68	Englewood	80
3	27	East Garfield Park	76
4	37	Fuller Park	65
5	40	Washington Park	65
6	67	West Englewood	63
7	29	North Lawndale	58
8	69	Greater Grand Crossing	56
9	54	Riverdale	54
10	61	New City	51
NA	Total	Chicago Total	19

Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

Table M2: Top 10 Total Community Areas by Lowest Average Yearly Homicides Rate (2012-2016[229]) by Rank

Rank Low	#	Community Area	Rate 100K
1	9	Edison Park	0
2	12	Forest Glen	0
3	74	Mount Greenwood	0
4	7	Lincoln Park	0
5	18	Montclare	0
6	5	North Center	1
7	6	Lake View	1
8	13	North Park	1
9	10	Norwood Park	2
10	4	Lincoln Square	2
NA	Total	Chicago Total	19

Table V1: Top 10 Total Community Areas by Highest Average Yearly Violent Crime Rate without Homicides (2012-2016[230]) by Rank

Rank High	CA#	Community Area	Rate 100K	Rate 10K
1	37	Fuller Park	3,771	377
2	40	Washington Park	3,386	339
3	26	West Garfield Park	3,193	319
4	27	East Garfield Park	2,947	295
5	29	North Lawndale	2,872	287
6	68	Englewood	2,592	259
7	54	Riverdale	2,585	258
8	69	Greater Grand Crossing	2,418	242
9	67	West Englewood	2,342	234
10	43	South Shore	2,080	208
Mean	NA	Total Chicago	900	90

Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

Table V2: Top 10 Total Community Areas by Lowest Average Yearly Violent Crime Rate without Homicides (2012-2016[231]) by Rank

Rank Low	CA#	Community Area	Rate 100K	Rate 10K
1	12	Forest Glen	66	7
2	18	Montclare	68	7
3	9	Edison Park	75	8
4	10	Norwood Park	111	11
5	74	Mount Greenwood	128	13
6	11	Jefferson Park	173	17
7	17	Dunning	199	20
8	5	North Center	206	21
9	64	Clearing	213	21
10	76	O'Hare	225	22
Mean	NA	Chicago Total	900	90

Table P1: Top 10 Total Community Areas by Highest Average Yearly Property Crime Rate without Retail Thefts (2012-2016[232]) by Rank

Rate High	#	Community Area	Rate All Property Crimes (Not including Theft from Buildings)	Rate Theft from Buildings	Total Rate 100K
1	32	Loop	11,948	5,765	17,713
2	37	Fuller Park	7,170	739	7,908
3	40	Washington Park	6,718	527	7,245
4	28	Near West Side	5,709	1,079	6,788
5	27	East Garfield Park	4,994	394	5,388
6	43	South Shore	4,913	370	5,283
7	68	Englewood	4,616	491	5,107
8	69	Greater Grand Crossing	4,555	365	4,920
9	26	West Garfield Park	4,552	385	4,937
10	44	Chatham	4,448	357	4,805

Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

Table P2: Top 10 Total Community Areas by Highest Average Yearly Property Crime Rate without Retail Thefts (2012-2016[233]) by Rank

Rate Low	#	Community Area	Rate All Property Crimes (Not including theft from Buildings)	Rate Theft from Buildings	Total Rate 100K
1	18	Montclare	379	26	406
2	9	Edison Park	651	79	730
3	74	Mount Greenwood	913	92	1,005
4	10	Norwood Park	1,047	129	1,175
5	12	Forest Glen	1,076	64	1,139
6	64	Clearing	1,268	88	1,356
7	17	Dunning	1,272	121	1,393
8	77	Edgewater	1,294	245	1,538
9	52	East Side	1,344	81	1,425
10	2	West Ridge	1,462	147	1,609
NA	NA	Chicago Total	2,752	359	3,111

Community Stressors: Policing and Community Relations

In January, 2017, the Department of Justice Report (DOJ) released a report that examining policing practices in Chicago in the wake of several highly publicized police shootings. The DOJ report demonstrated that systemic racism plays a historic and ongoing role in policing in RCAP neighborhoods. There is a pervasive narrative that America is a post-racial society and the DOJ report on the Chicago Police Department, makes it clear how strongly race, poverty and socioeconomics play in police/community interactions. [234]

Excessive Force, Uninvestigated Complaints and Racism

Racial discrimination creates many issues identified by the DOJ, from the unconstitutional use of excessive force, to deeply flawed training and accountability systems, to a lack of transparency throughout the department. Chicago's African American and Latino communities bear the brunt of the excessive force uncovered during the investigation. The DOJ report showed that excessive force was used *10 times* more often against Blacks than Whites. Yet, when Black Chicagoans reported excessive force to CPD, their allegations were *three times less likely* to be upheld. The City received over 30,000 complaints—fewer than half were investigated and fewer than 2% were sustained.[235]

The DOJ also found that many CPD officers routinely stereotype and insult the Black and Latino people they serve. From 2011 to March 2016, CPD received 354 complaints for the use of the word "n*****." Just four of those complaints were sustained and only in instances when there was video or audio evidence. Officers have regularly used this slur and other derogatory language to describe their black neighbors, calling them "animals," "monkeys," "savages," and "pieces of sh*^." It is hard to imagine how this deeply negative and discriminatory perception of African American people does not influence police/community relations. For adults and children who live and go to school in the neighborhoods, policing stress is an added safety concern not experienced by White Chicagoans. Research indicates that these discriminatory policing practices in fact do have a negative emotional impact on African Americans living in these communities.[236]

CPD received 354 complaints for the use of the word "n***." Just four of those complaints were sustained and only when there was video or audio evidence. – DOJ Report**

Systemic Racism and Drug Arrests

The Chicago neighborhoods with the highest rates of drug arrests are also its poorest and most segregated. This is not a coincidence. Drug arrests are common in poor, African American community areas like West Garfield Park (708 felony drug arrests per 10,000), East Garfield Park (401 felony drug arrests per 10,000) and North Lawndale (354 felony drug arrests per 10,000) (Table D1). Police have patrolled these neighborhoods intensely for decades, imprisoning huge swaths of Chicago's black and brown communities under the enhanced policing and penalty strategies of the federal "War on Drugs." Children in these communities frequently grow up with one or both parents in prison, resulting in family destabilization that makes success at school all the more challenging.

People of all races use drugs at about the same rate, but the criminal justice impacts are very different. [237] In wealthy white communities like Lincoln Park, people use drugs just like people do in West Garfield Park and North Lawndale. Yet, felony drug arrests in Lincoln Park only amount to 2 per 10,000 (Table D2). People living in predominantly African American communities experience constant policing and surveillance, whereas people living in wealthy white communities have minimal contact with police. The differences in policing presence and practice underlie much of the disparities in these arrests.

Misdemeanor marijuana arrests make up the vast majority of drug possession arrests in general, but African American Chicagoans living in poverty experience these arrests at rates vastly disproportionate to White Chicagoans. The average annual marijuana misdemeanor arrest rate from 2012 – 2016 in poor, largely black East Garfield Park was 2,342 per 100,000, 1000 times higher than the arrest rate in Edison Park (Table D3). As with other drug crimes, arrest rates are much lower for misdemeanor cannabis possession in wealthier, whiter communities. Edison Park, with only 20 arrests per 100,000, exemplifies this sort of disparity (Table D4). The DOJ report offers this illuminating quote from a Chicago Police Department officer: "when kids on the North Side of Chicago get caught with marijuana, they get a citation; kids on the South Side get arrested." [238]

One youth from a heavily policed neighborhood explained that his community felt like "an open air prison." – DOJ Report

Lack of police trust and combined with high levels of violence in RCAP communities impacts youth significantly. One youth from a heavily policed neighborhood explained during the DOJ investigation interviews that his community felt like "an open air prison."[239] It is hard to imagine children learn to the best of their abilities when they feel imprisoned in their own communities. These stressors, both from high crime and negative interactions with the police, are unique to RCAP students and have significant impact on student health, safety and wellbeing. [240]

Table D1: Top 10 Total Community Areas by Highest Average Yearly Felony Drug Arrest Rate (2012-2016[241]) by Rank

Rank High	#	Community Area	Felony Drug 100K	Felony Drug 10K
1	26	West Garfield Park	7,085	708
2	27	East Garfield Park	4,015	401
3	29	North Lawndale	3,541	354
4	23	Humboldt Park	2,418	242
5	25	Austin	1,941	194
6	37	Fuller Park	1,562	156
7	67	West Englewood	1,339	134
8	68	Englewood	1,106	111
9	40	Washington Park	899	90
10	61	New City	749	75

Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

Table D2: Top 10 Total Community Areas by Lowest Average Yearly Felony Drug Arrest Rate (2012-2016[242]) by Rank

Rank Low	#	Community Area	Felony Drug 100K	Felony Drug 10K
1	9	Edison Park	11	1
2	7	Lincoln Park	17	2
3	18	Montclare	17	2
4	12	Forest Glen	21	2
5	74	Mount Greenwood	29	3
6	10	Norwood Park	29	3
7	41	Hyde Park	30	3
8	72	Beverly	35	4
9	5	North Center	40	4
10	6	Lake View	43	4

Table D3: Top 10 Total Community Areas by Highest Average Yearly Misdemeanor Cannabis Arrest Rate (2012-2016[243]) by Rank

Rank High	#	Community Area	Misdemeanor Cannabis 100K	Misdemeanor Cannabis 10K
1	27	East Garfield Park	2,342	234
2	26	West Garfield Park	2,089	209
3	29	North Lawndale	1,687	169
4	37	Fuller Park	1,614	161
5	25	Austin	1,548	155
6	40	Washington Park	1,502	150
7	23	Humboldt Park	1,237	124
8	68	Englewood	1,210	121
9	67	West Englewood	1,176	118
10	42	Woodlawn	1,077	108

Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

Table D4: Top 10 Total Community Areas by Lowest Average Yearly Misdemeanor Cannabis Arrest Rate (2012-2016[244]) by Rank

Rank Low	#	Community Area	Misdemeanor Cannabis 100K	Misdemeanor Cannabis 10K
1	18	Montclare	20	2.0
2	12	Forest Glen	21	2.1
3	9	Edison Park	23	2.3
4	74	Mount Greenwood	40	4.0
5	41	Hyde Park	54	5.4
6	72	Beverly	60	6.0
7	5	North Center	65	6.5
8	7	Lincoln Park	65	6.5
9	33	Near South Side	70	7.0
10	64	Clearing	75	7.5

Community Stressors: Incarceration and Spending in RCAP and Affluent Communities

Located within many of Chicago's RCAP communities are "million dollar blocks," named for the amount of money spent – not on education or social services, but on the incarceration of individuals who lived on these blocks.[245] There are no million dollar blocks in the white and affluent parts of the city. To find them you have to travel to the South and West sides of Chicago.

Incarceration and "Million Dollar Blocks"

In Chicago, during the years 2005 to 2009, there were 851 Chicago "million dollar blocks" where over $1 million was spent on incarcerating residents for various offenses. Four of the 5 community areas that had the highest rates of spending for incarceration - Austin, Humboldt Park, East and West Garfield Park, and North Lawndale - are RCAP community areas. Incarceration touches most of the people in these communities—in North Lawndale, for example, around 70% of men ages 18 – 54 are likely to have been involved in the criminal justice system.[246] In wealthier, whiter Chicago neighborhoods, few residents can say the same.

The costs for these RCAP community areas alone totaled about $1.3 billion dollars in incarceration costs, $720 million of which was spent incarcerating nonviolent drug offenders (51%) (Table M1). To put these large numbers in context, the Chicago Public Schools Budget in approximately $5.5 billion per year. The cost of incarcerating residents in just these 5 community areas is 25% of the annual CPS budget. Taken another way, the average cost to incarcerate an individual in Illinois during this period was $22,000 a year, while the cost to educate a student in Chicago Public Schools was $13,500.

Incarceration spending in the RCAP areas was 100 times greater than in other parts of the city. In areas like Edison Park, O'Hare, Forest Glen, Norwood Park and Hegewisch, the total spending on incarceration for all crimes was less than $12M. Additionally the percent spent on incarcerating individuals for nonviolent drug crimes was significantly lower in these areas than RCAP areas (17% and 51% respectively) (Tables M1-M2). Together, these community areas spent just under $2 million dollars incarcerating people on nonviolent drug charges, a far stretch from the $720 million spent in the RCAP areas (Tables M1-M2).

Table M1: Top 5 Community Areas with Greatest Spending on Incarceration, by Total, Drug Offenses and % Total for Drug Offenses, 2005-09

Community Area	Total Incarceration Costs	Total Drug Offenses	% Drugs
Austin	$ 550,000,000	$ 290,000,000	53%
Humboldt Park	$ 292,000,000	$ 132,000,000	45%
West Garfield Park	$ 155,700,000	$ 91,000,000	58%
East Garfield Park	$ 158,300,000	$ 82,000,000	52%
North Lawndale	$ 240,700,000	$ 123,000,000	51%
Total	**$1,396,700,000**	**$ 718,000,000**	**51%**

Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

Table M2: Top 5 Community Areas with Least Spending on Incarceration, by Total, Drug Offenses and % Total for Drug Offenses, 2005-09

Community Area	Total Incarceration Costs	Total Drug Offenses	% Drugs
Edison Park	$ 1,238,123	$ 40,000	3%
O'Hare -	$ 1,433,113	$ 135,000	9%
Forest Glen	$ 2,332,654	$ 428,800	18%
Norwood Park	$ 3,176,326	$ 444,000	14%
Hegewisch	$ 3,697,050	$ 939,699	25%
Total	**$ 11,877,266**	**$ 1,987,499**	**17%**

The True Costs of Incarceration

Growing up in these neighborhoods, then, can make children fell like it is nearly impossible for them to succeed. As incarceration and arrest has become so commonplace in their communities, kids might be able to easily recall an incarcerated uncle or brother or cousin and wonder if whether they will be next.

The mass incarceration of black and brown people for nonviolent drug offenses has increased dramatically since the 1990s.[247] This has disrupted families and communities and created generations of young men and women that must now navigate life with the mark of a criminal record. Alternative approaches to incarceration do exist, and Chicago's children stand to benefit immensely from their implementation. Treatment for people with substance use and mental health disorders goes a long way, but even more reform is needed. In West Englewood on the South side, just under $200 million were spent on incarceration costs from 2005 – 2009.[248] Illinois cannot keep spending this kind of money on criminal justice system responses to nonviolent crimes while failing to fund critical social and health services. Incarceration does not help and likely makes things worse. People return to their communities from prison, and must endure the same sort of poverty, addiction, or other circumstance that led them to prison in the first place. However, now they must also contend with the barriers to employment, housing, and treatment that all come with a criminal record. A parent may return from prison with every intent of focusing on their children's education, but cannot find the job, housing or treatment opportunity to do so.

The status quo response to crime in Illinois harms all Chicagoans, but takes an enormous, disproportionate, and unacceptable toll on African American families living in poverty. If we want to improve the quality of education in Chicago, and give *all* children a chance to succeed, we must focus on providing communities, parents, and children what they *need*, rather than punishing them for circumstances largely beyond their control.

- **Human Capital in RCAP and Affluent Communities**

Growing up in one of Chicago's RCAP community areas means frequently taking a more arduous path through the education system, one with roadblocks and barriers at every turn. A multitude of factors conspire to challenge, frustrate, and ultimately limit Chicago's students in RCAP communities. These include low-incomes, high unemployment rates, and lower educational attainment among parents, as well as systemic racism and hypersegregation. All these factors cause problems in and of themselves, but taken together paint a detailed picture of the struggles of students in impoverished communities.

In any given home in an RCAP community, a family member may be imprisoned. Those adults who are at home work constantly to stay financially above water, others cannot find work at all. Many young students may grow up believing that lack of employment and poverty is the normal state of affairs. Add to this community violence, intensive policing and high incarceration rates that disrupt familial and neighborhood functioning. This spectrum of conditions makes it that much harder for children in an RCAP neighborhood to perform well at school and succeed in the educational system.

Simple things like paying for a fieldtrip, a dance at school, or even graduation can be impossible when parents are unemployed and/or living in poverty. Prior to the most recent budget cuts, many principals were able to put aside small pots of money to fund low-income students who could not afford to go on a school fieldtrip, pay student fees or participate in a sports or academic program. Budget cuts and dwindling resources have made this difficult, if not impossible. Cuts to educational funding impacts these parents – and their children – much more than cuts to funding in affluent areas. The difference between attending a normal school event or being able to have school supplies can impact a child's wellbeing and academic progress.

Afterschool programs are cut; fieldtrips are cut, unless the kid can pay for it. There are a handful of kids that cannot afford to pay for the dances or fieldtrips because they don't have the money- Teacher at an RCAP school.

Many parents in RCAP areas struggle to meet their children's most basic school needs, including: uniforms, backpacks and school supplies, like paper and pencils. In wealthier neighborhoods, a student may be expected to bring in ample supplies to fully equip the classroom. But when parents struggle to provide for their own children's school supplies, there is no money left for classroom supplies. RCAP classrooms feel the pinch of budget cuts and lower parent incomes more painfully than schools in other parts of the district. Families in the RCAP areas are also less likely to have internet access, and increasingly important tool in academic settings.[249] As technology finds its way into the classrooms, and as schools integrate more technology into their communications and outreach processes, it will be increasingly harder for these parents to stay connected to the school, keep track of their children's grades and attendance and stay in the loop of activities happening at the school.

Additionally, cuts to social service provision in general have a more disparate impact on children and parents who are low-income, unemployed or living in poverty. Affluent parents rarely rely on school-based social service providers or afterschool programming for socioemotional learning. They can afford

to pay for private professional services, academic enrichment programming and extracurricular sports and activities if needed or desired. Parents living in RCAP communities often don't have that option. These families rely more heavily on the schools to provide a broad array of academic, health and socioemotional programs and services to comprehensively address the needs of their children.

This difference between low-income and/or unemployed parents and more affluent parents is the disposable income each group can access to underwrite the costs of educating their children. Disposable income is not the cause of educational disparities resulting from inadequate funding, but it makes them glaringly more pronounced. Money that wealthier parents might spend on enriching their child's education must instead be spent by poorer parents on food and other basic necessities. Living in poverty, then, makes the educational experience feel different for low-income children - there are few extra resources that parents can provide to overcome the lack of resources and services in the school. Parents in all communities work hard to do their best for their children. However, parents in RCAP communities can't afford to give their children the best educational opportunities money can buy. They simply don't have the money to do so. It makes the inadequate finding system, with its built in disparities, that much harder and crueler for these children.

Family Factors: Poverty, Income, and Educational Attainment

Parent educational attainment is a strong predictor of parent income. Better educated parents tend to be wealthier; these wealthier parents are better able to support their children's education outside of school. Take helping with homework as one example. Wealthier, more educated parents can often better assist their children with homework, or hire someone who can. They may work more flexible jobs, have regular weekly schedules, paid time off or flexible work arrangements that allow them to be home more when their children are home. These are a rarity in the lower paid retail and service sectors, where many low-income parents find work. Long hours, unpredictable schedules and lack of paid time off make it much more difficult for low-income working parents to have the same level of availability as their higher-paid, professional peers. Wealthier parents can also pay for academic enrichment programs, tutors or camps to supplement their children's learning - something low-income parents do not have the time or money to afford.

Parents with higher educational attainment and income levels are also more likely to have books and read to their children. This means that children raised in poverty are at a severe disadvantage before entering school and while in school. They require more services, smaller class sizes, and additional literacy tutoring and support to get their reading up to grade level proficiency. Parents living in poverty cannot afford to outsource this to tutors or fee-for-service learning centers, so they rely on the schools to get their children up to speed. Budget cuts fewer resources mean that these programs are not always as frequent or available as they should be to meet the demands of the students.

<u>Poverty, Income, and Educational Attainment—a Tale of West Garfield and Lincoln Park</u>

A comparison of two Chicago community areas should help explain the interconnection between poverty, income, and educational attainment, and the compounding influences of systemic racism and segregation on African American students. West Garfield Park, located on the West side, is one of the

poorest areas of Chicago, with a median income of $24,477, a poverty rate of 40%, and a child poverty rate of 63%—*three times* the Chicago average. (Tables MI1, P1, and CP1) West Garfield Park is also 96% African American, and just 2% of its residents have advanced degrees (anything beyond a bachelor's degree) (Tables MI1 and EA5).

Lincoln Park, on the North side, stands in stark contrast to West Garfield Park. Lincoln Park has the second highest median income in Chicago ($101,928), and poverty and child poverty rates of 12%and 6% respectively (Tables MI2 and CP2, see Note 1).[5] Its residents are also 83% white, and 40% have advanced degrees (Tables MI2 and EA2).

Parents in Lincoln Park, then, have the means to enrich their children's educations. Parents in West Garfield Park, on the other hand, often struggle to put food on the table. Children in Lincoln Park might look forward to an after-school art, music or swimming lesson, whereas children in West Garfield Park might worry about whether they will go to bed hungry or not. These are important pieces of the inequity puzzle—children from low-income and impoverished families face a host of individual, family and community stressors that hinder their performance in school. Meanwhile, children from wealthier areas enjoy a variety of enriching programs and activities, on top of the benefits that come from living in safe, stable communities and having their basic needs met in the home.

The Importance of a College Degree – West Garfield Park and Lincoln Park

Having or not having a college degree plays an important role in determining a person's employment opportunities and potential earnings. Research shows that the completion of even some college increases lifetime earnings, but a bachelor's degree, compared with just a high school diploma, can increase lifetime earnings by almost $1 million.[250] In West Garfield Park, only 5% of residents have bachelor's degrees, but in Lincoln Park, 42% have college degrees. (Tables EA3 and EA4) For children in West Garfield Park, a college degree is a closely held goal, but frequently an unattainable one. Children in Lincoln Park, on the other hand, listen to their parents' college stories, and talk to their parents about college as an expected reality, if not an inevitability.

Unemployment in West Garfield and Lincoln Park

In Chicago's RCAP communities, low incomes account for one side of the poverty coin—high unemployment rates account for the other. Research shows that on top of limiting potential earnings, unemployment can be harmful to people's mental health.[251] The financial challenges faced by unemployed parents result in less money and resources to support their children's education.

Educational attainment feeds into unemployment rates, just as it influences poverty. People with higher attainment levels have an easier time finding work, and what work they do find often pays better. Moreover, racial discrimination in hiring helps limit opportunity in RCAP neighborhoods, and increases opportunity in affluent, whiter neighborhoods. Research has consistently shown that white job applicants are much more likely to obtain a given job than equally qualified African American

[5] See Appendix for full poverty data, including Lincoln Park.

applicants.[252] In poor, majority black West Garfield Park, 26% of people are unemployed—double the Chicago average. (Table U1) In wealthier, whiter Lincoln Park, only 5% of people are unemployed, less than half of the Chicago average. (Table U2) Through these communities, we can see how income, poverty, unemployment, and systemic racism all connect to impact children's' education in the city.

High Economic Hardship

Several of the conditions that underpin human capital are measures in the High Economic Hardship Index. The Index is a composition of several metrics, including the following: crowded housing, poverty, unemployment, low educational attainment, poverty, high numbers of children or the elderly. Figure CS5 demonstrates the community areas that experience high economic hardship – difficulties that impede parental human capital when it comes to children's education. Of the 26 areas that meet the criteria for high economic hardship, nearly all of the neighborhoods are either ethnically or racially concentrated areas of poverty. Fourteen of the high economic hardship areas are RCAPS, representing 54% high hardship community areas. RCAP areas include Austin, East and West Garfield Park, North Lawndale, Fuller Park, Oakland, Englewood, West Englewood, Washington Park, Greater Grand Crossing, Auburn Gresham, Burnside, South Chicago and Riverdale. (Figure1, red dots next to Community areas indicates RCAP).

Figure CS5: Chicagoans Living in High Economic Hardship Areas by Community area[253]

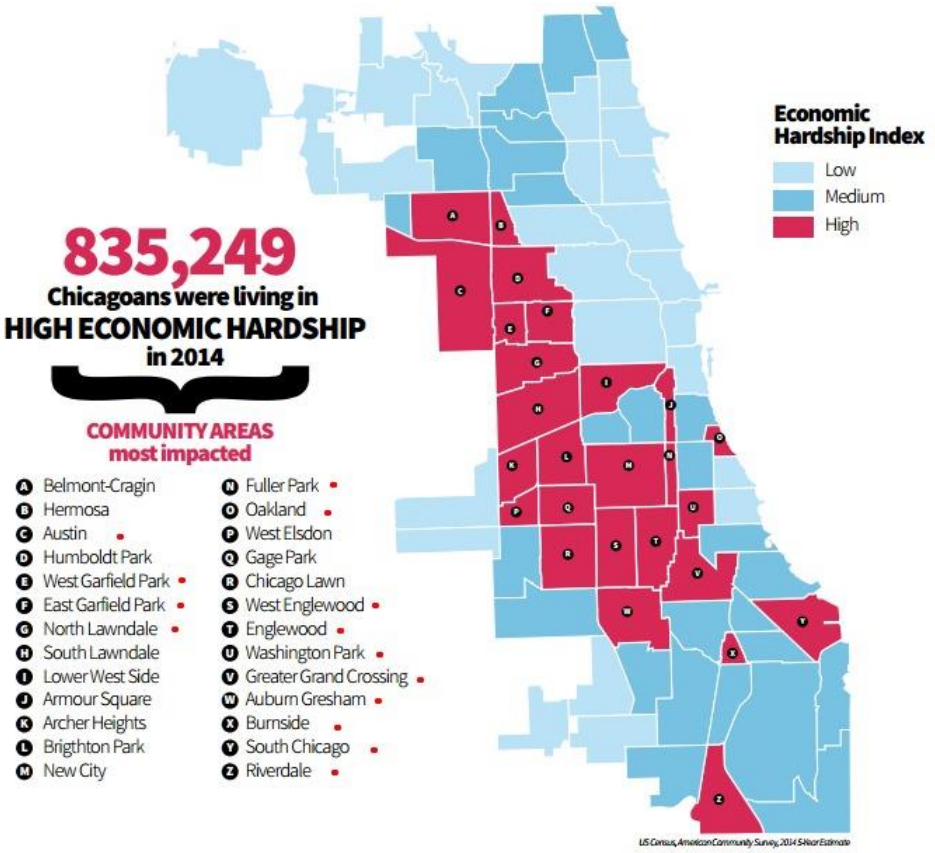


Table MI1: Top 10 Lowest Median Income by Community Area and Percent of Chicago Metro Area Median Income[254]

Rank Low	Community Area	CA #	Median Income	%CMA Median	%White	%Black	%Latino
1	Riverdale	54	$ 14,897	24%	0%	96%	2%
2	Fuller Park	37	$ 18,455	29%	2%	92%	5%
3	Englewood	68	$ 21,578	34%	0%	97%	1%
4	Burnside	47	$ 23,274	37%	1%	98%	1%
5	Armour Square	34	$ 23,923	38%	12%	11%	3%
6	East Garfield Park	27	$ 24,027	38%	3%	91%	4%
7	North Lawndale	29	$ 24,095	38%	1%	91%	6%
8	West Garfield Park	26	$ 24,477	39%	1%	96%	2%
9	Washington Park	40	$ 25,162	40%	1%	97%	1%
10	Woodlawn	42	$ 25,330	40%	7%	87%	2%

Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

Table MI2: Top 10 Highest Median Income by Community Area and Percent of Chicago Metro Area Median Income[255]

Rank High	Community Area	CA #	Median Income	%CMA Median	%White	%Black	%Latino
1	Loop	32	$ 102,177	162%	63%	11%	7%
2	Lincoln Park	7	$ 101,928	161%	83%	4%	6%
3	Forest Glen	12	$ 101,174	160%	75%	1%	11%
4	North Center	5	$ 93,408	148%	77%	2%	14%
5	Beverly	72	$ 90,679	144%	59%	34%	5%
6	Mount Greenwood	74	$ 88,715	140%	86%	5%	7%
7	Lakeview	6	$ 86,753	137%	80%	4%	8%
8	Edison Park	9	$ 82,543	131%	88%	0%	8%
9	Near North Side	8	$ 81,532	129%	72%	11%	5%
10	West Town	24	$ 75,680	120%	57%	8%	29%

Table P1: Top 10 Total Community Areas by Highest Poverty Rate

Rank	CA#	Community Area	% Poverty
1	54	Riverdale	60%
2	37	Fuller Park	47%
3	68	Englewood	45%
4	29	North Lawndale	42%
5	40	Washington Park	42%
6	27	East Garfield Park	42%
7	67	West Englewood	41%
8	26	West Garfield Park	40%
9	36	Oakland	34%
10	61	New City	34%
Mean	**NA**	**Chicago**	**21%**
Mean	**NA**	**Chicago Metro Area**	**13%**

Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

Table P2: Top 10 Total Community Areas by Lowest Poverty Rate

Rank	CA#	Community Area	%Poverty
1	74	Mount Greenwood	3%
2	72	Beverly	4%
3	9	Edison Park	4%
4	11	Jefferson Park	5%
5	12	Forest Glen	6%
6	10	Norwood Park	6%
7	64	Clearing	6%
8	5	North Center	7%
9	17	Dunning	8%
10	56	Garfield Ridge	9%
Mean	**NA**	**Chicago**	**21%**
Mean	**NA**	**Chicago Metro Area**	**13%**

Table CP1: Top 10 Total Community Areas by Largest Percentage of Children in Poverty[256]

Rank High	CA #	Community Area	%Children Poverty
1	54	Riverdale	73%
2	29	North Lawndale	63%
3	26	West Garfield Park	63%
4	40	Washington Park	61%
5	27	East Garfield Park	59%
6	68	Englewood	58%
7	47	Burnside	57%
8	69	Greater Grand Crossing	57%
9	53	West Pullman	56%
10	35	Douglas	55%
NA	NA	Chicago	31%
NA	NA	Chicago Metro Area	19%

Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

Table CP2: Top 10 Total Community Areas by Lowest Percentage of Children in Poverty[257]

Rank Low	CA #	Community Area	%Children Poverty
1	9	Edison Park	0%
2	74	Mount Greenwood	2%
3	72	Beverly	3%
4	12	Forest Glen	3%
5	5	North Center	3%
6	10	Norwood Park	6%
7	6	Lakeview	6%
8	7	Lincoln Park	6%
9	56	Garfield Ridge	9%
10	11	Jefferson Park	11%
NA	NA	Chicago	31%
NA	NA	Chicago Metro Area	19%

Table EA1: Top 10 Community Areas by Highest Percentage with High School Diploma as Highest Level of Education, 2012 Combined[258]

Rank High	CA#	Name	% HS Diploma GED/Alt.
1	26	West Garfield Park	39%
2	64	Clearing	36%
3	59	McKinley Park	36%
4	29	North Lawndale	35%
5	25	Austin	35%
6	65	West Lawn	35%
7	52	East Side	34%
8	56	Garfield Ridge	34%
9	67	West Englewood	34%
10	57	Archer Heights	34%
NA	**N/A**	**Chicago**	**23%**

Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

Table EA2: Top 10 Community Areas by Lowest Percentage with High School Diploma as Highest Level of Education, 2012 Combined[259]

Rank	CA#	Name	% HS Diploma GED/Alt.
1	7	Lincoln Park	**4%**
2	32	Loop	**6%**
3	6	Lakeview	**6%**
4	8	Near North Side	**6%**
5	41	Hyde Park	**8%**
6	33	Near South Side	**10%**
7	28	Near West Side	**12%**
8	24	West Town	**12%**
9	5	North Center	**12%**
10	77	Edgewater	**13%**
NA	**N/A**	Chicago	**23%**

Table EA3: Top 10 Community Areas by Lowest Percentage with College Degree 2012 Combined[260]

Rank	CA#	Community Area	% Bachelor's
1	47	Burnside	2%
2	68	Englewood	4%
3	30	South Lawndale	4%
4	26	West Garfield Park	5%
5	61	New City	5%
6	63	Gage Park	5%
7	67	West Englewood	6%
8	65	West Lawn	6%
9	20	Hermosa	6%
10	57	Archer Heights	6%
NA	**N/A**	**Chicago**	**20%**

Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

Table EA4: Top 10 Community Areas by Highest Percentage with College Degree 2012 Combined[261]

Rank	CA#	Name	% Bachelor's
1	6	Lakeview	46%
2	5	North Center	43%
3	7	Lincoln Park	42%
4	8	Near North Side	42%
5	32	Loop	41%
6	24	West Town	37%
7	4	Lincoln Square	34%
8	28	Near West Side	32%
9	77	Edgewater	31%
10	3	Uptown	31%
NA	**N/A**	**Chicago**	**20%**

Table EA5: Top 10 Community Areas by Lowest Percentage with Advanced Education[262] 2012 Combined[263]

Rank Low	CA#	Community Area	%Advanced Education
1	54	Riverdale	0%
2	20	Hermosa	1%
3	67	West Englewood	1%
4	63	Gage Park	2%
5	30	South Lawndale	2%
6	68	Englewood	2%
7	66	Chicago Lawn	2%
8	58	Brighton Park	2%
9	26	West Garfield Park	2%
10	61	New City	3%
NA	N/A	**Chicago**	13%

Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

Table EA6: Top 10 Community Areas by Highest Percentage with Advanced Education[264] 2012 Combined[265]

Rank High	CA#	Community Area	%Advanced Education
1	41	Hyde Park	44%
2	7	Lincoln Park	40%
3	32	Loop	38%
4	33	Near South Side	37%
5	8	Near North Side	34%
6	6	Lakeview	31%
7	28	Near West Side	29%
8	39	Kenwood	28%
9	72	Beverly	26%
10	12	Forest Glen	26%
NA	N/A	**Chicago**	13%

Table U1: Top 10 Community Areas by Highest Unemployment Rate 2012 Combined[266]

Rank High	CA#	Community Area	Unemployed	Civilian Labor Force	% Unemployed
1	67	West Englewood	5,042	14,055	36%
2	54	Riverdale	760	2,194	35%
3	37	Fuller Park	370	1,092	34%
4	36	Oakland	850	2,962	29%
5	40	Washington Park	1,333	4,664	29%
6	71	Auburn Gresham	6,078	21,447	28%
7	68	Englewood	2,834	10,123	28%
8	26	West Garfield Park	1,707	6,622	26%
9	38	Grand Boulevard	2,746	11,320	24%
10	44	Chatham	3,635	15,138	24%
NA	**N/A**	**Chicago**	**185,746**	**1,446,165**	**13%**

Note: Red highlights = RCAP areas

Table U2: Top 10 Community Areas by Lowest Unemployment Rate 2012 Combined Rate[267]

Rank Low	CA#	Community Area	Unemployed	Civilian Labor Force	% Unemployed
1	6	Lakeview	3,434	72,391	5%
2	33	Near South Side	693	14,054	5%
3	7	Lincoln Park	2,211	43,583	5%
4	5	North Center	1,150	22,079	5%
5	32	Loop	993	17,488	6%
6	24	West Town	3,731	56,861	7%
7	9	Edison Park	433	6,395	7%
8	12	Forest Glen	671	9,870	7%
9	8	Near North Side	3,839	54,998	7%
10	76	O'Hare	561	7,735	7%
NA	**N/A**	**Chicago**	**185,746**	**1,446,165**	**13%**

When Privilege and Opportunity Combine

Affluent families with higher incomes and more resources generally don't stop at providing solely for their children's education, but also contribute time, talents and financial resources to the betterment of the school community as well. This can take many forms, from joining the local parent/teacher association, to volunteering for events and activities at the school, to organizing or participating in fundraising activities designed to subsidize the costs of educating students in the school. While time is at a premium for many parents, it is more so for low-income parents that work long shift or multiple jobs to make ends meet. It can be very difficult to get involved in these types of activities, even if the desire and interest is there. Further, low-income parents are also less likely to be able to provide additional fundraising dollars for schools above and beyond what they are paying for their children's supplies, fees and other essentials. It is a privilege to have the time and the money to help your child's school - a privilege that is born unevenly throughout the city.

The Rise in Fundraising by Parents

Nationally the picture has changed dramatically in terms of fundraising by parents. In many districts, parent fundraising is filtered through a nonprofit arm loosely affiliated with the school - the PTA or PTO organization, or a 501(c)(3) "Friends of" organization that accepts funds on behalf of the school. Analysis of the number of school fundraising nonprofits has increased more than 230%, from 3,475 in 1995 to 11,453 in 2010. The amount of dollars that were raised by these nonprofits increased even more significantly, from about $200 million in 1995 to $ 880 million in 2010 (350% increase). That's an impressive sum - schools receive nearly $1 billion in supplementary funds from parents and businesses in their local community areas. Currently, 1 in 3 school districts in the United States has this kind of funding mechanism in place. [268] [269]

Research on these fundraising arrangements verified the assumptions that many make, namely that these were higher income, highly educated parents living in higher income areas. Larger school districts with high tax revenues, higher per-pupil expenditures and higher parent human capital (income, education, employment) are much more likely to have in place a nonprofit fundraising structure with proceeds paying for programs, academic enrichment and/or teaching staff. [270] Schools that do not have this fundraising structure in place miss out on considerable donations that can be used to offset the costs of a variety of student services - from gym and recreational equipment, to field trips and assembly programs, to teaching and support staff (art teachers, literacy couches, music teachers, social workers, etc.). Rather than providing add-ons, prizes, awards or incentives that have little relationship to academic performance, these fundraising arms have been critical for underwriting essential services and supports that might otherwise have been cut under budget restrictions and dwindling district resources.[271]

The implications of these findings have particular relevance for a school district like Chicago's. The ability of parents in affluent areas of the city to underwrite their children's education, and the inability of parents to do so in RCAP neighborhoods, exacerbates existing inequalities in Chicago schools.

"**Friends of" and Nonprofit Fundraising Capacity between RCAP and Affluent Neighborhoods**

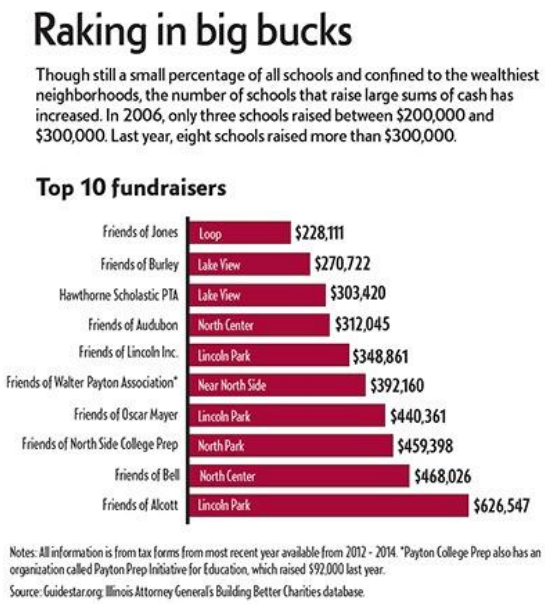
It is not a secret that affluent parents who send their children to public schools bring more assets and resources to the schools than parents from high poverty neighborhoods. But what is a bit of a secret, despite the media coverage in *the Atlantic*, the *New York Times* and in the *Chicago Reporter*, is the amount of fundraising by parents in some of the highest income communities in Chicago. Any parent whose child has attended a public school on the north side of Chicago (Lincoln Park, North Center, and Lakeview) is well aware of these fundraisings entities; even parents in other areas know they exist in name. But what parents outside of the schools might not know is how much these fundraising efforts make a difference in both enriching afterschool and school activities. One parent noted in an interview:

> "They would have a build our own teacher. There would be a picture of a teacher in the school and they would color it in as the raised the money. Like $30,000 would be the head, and as they raised the money that part would get colored in…The expected donation was above $1,200 per child. It wasn't stated that it was mandatory because that would be illegal. But there is pressure to give money to the school. Parents with a lot of resources… it's easy to auction off time at a beach or lake house, trips on sailboats."

Most of these fundraising attempts are through non-profit organizations that are created by the parents of behalf of the schools, often called "Friend of _____" 5013c. While it is not clear how much money is spent on funding teaching positions through this mechanism, available CPS records show that 18 full time positions and 5 part time teachers' salaries were paid with fundraising from parents in 2014. Parents paid in part for at least another 15 teachers' salaries through private fundraising. [272]

Schools that have earned top 10 statuses as fundraisers are all located on the north side of Chicago or the Loop – extremely affluent areas that also rank highest for median household income and educational attainment. Three of the top fundraising schools, located in Lincoln Park (Alcott, Abraham Lincoln, and Oscar Mayer), had total fundraising amounts of more than $1.4 million in 2014.[273] Burley and Hawthorne schools, both located in Lakeview, raised about$ 570,000. Together, these schools brought in over $2 million dollars to supplement school funds from the district (Figure F1).

Figure F1: Top 10 Fundraising Schools in Chicago 2014



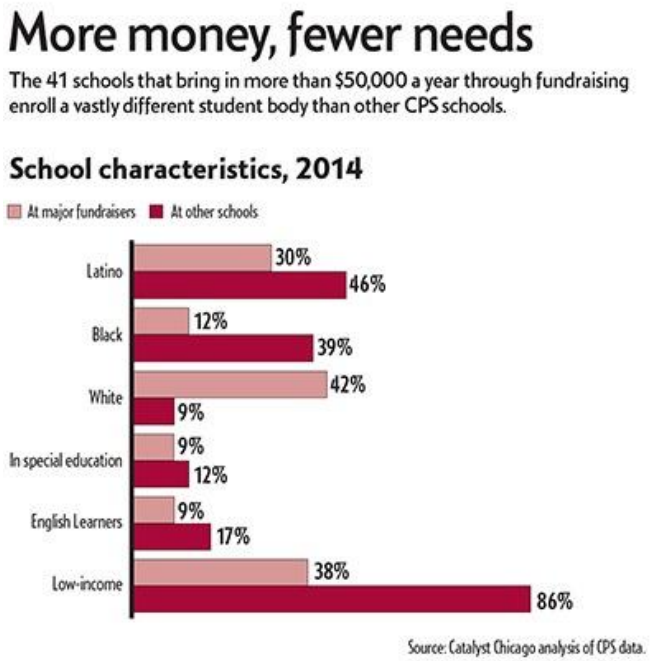
The fundraising money is not used only for teaching; it is used for "extras "like afterschool programs, technology and other school enrichments. This means that parents who fundraise large amounts of money for schools in affluent areas, like Alcott in Lincoln Park or Burley in Lakeview, can help the schools provide amenities for both students and teachers. As one principal noted: "I have lost good teachers to Northside schools or to places like Evanston. It's a lot easier to say you are doing fine when you have the dollars to do things. Incentives to teachers, better equipment…teachers have choices. They were offered more. [At wealthier schools] teachers were accommodated more, they can offer better resources and that counts for something."

<u>Disparate Impacts: The Consequences of Parent Fundraising</u>

They talk about the state funding as unfair, but the city funding is more unfair. It's a dirty secret. The building maintenance. The supplies. It's systemic. And no one wants to talk about that. – Principal in an RCAP School

Although low-income schools receive federal poverty dollars, research demonstrates that even more money is needed to offset deficits and close the achievement gap caused by poverty - about 2 or 2.5 times the amount of money is needed to educate students not living in poverty. [274] Analyses of parent fundraising in Chicago by Catalyst demonstrates that schools that received more than $50,000 in dollars in funds collected by a "Friend of" organization were much less likely to serve African American, Latino or low income students (Figure F2). So the schools that need this support the most are the least likely to be able to marshal the resources to provide it.

Figure F2: Catalyst Analysis of Fundraising by School Characteristics



The Creation of "Public Private" Schools

Examining the disparate impact of parent fundraising is complicated because the action is borne of good intentions. Parents of all economic levels want to provide the best education for their children and want to support the schools to the degree that they are able. This is the case among parents in the worst and best performing schools in the city. It is important to understand that the intentions of parents who engage in fundraising are good – they want to improve their child's schools and actually believe in public education. One parent said:

"They [Parents] want to be part of civic process to be in a public school. But it is a public school but like a private school." - Parent at North Side School with robust fundraising

The reality is that many affluent parents whose children go to public schools could chose to send their children to private schools, but they want to engage with the public school process. It builds civic engagement, supports an important community anchor. At their core, public schools are meant to be the great equalizer for students - the place where children should be able to come together in a community to learn together. We've never quite gotten that right, but the idea is a strong and powerful motivator for public school support.

What happens then, when you mix a desire to support public schools with a desire to ensure that your child's school has the resources and amenities it needs to provide a comprehensive educational experience, can be the creation of something called a "public private" school. This type of public school is characterized by supplemental funds and resources that are designed to overcome the deficits experienced by other schools with equally limited budgets. This is a great situation for the children attending these schools, but it does contribute to the growing resource gap between wealthier area schools and schools that are located in poorer neighborhoods. School funding is inequitable at the state and local levels, resulting in inadequate funds for all schools in a district; parent-based fundraising is the band-aid that has limited, short-term efficacy in addressing that wound.

More effective would be policy and advocacy to alter funding formulas at the state and local level. Fundraising might improve a single school, but it only is a temporary solution. Further, it does nothing to address the considerable needs of students at schools that cannot leverage this type of support. In other states, policymakers have begun to examine the disparities that result from this type of fundraising mechanism. New York, in an attempt to minimize the impact of these disparities on low-income schools, prevents fundraising money from being used to fund teacher's salaries. In Illinois, that restriction does not exist. [275]

- **Academic Outcomes for Children in a High Stakes Testing Era**

The preceding section laid out a comprehensive argument detailing the community and family factors that profoundly disadvantage poor, Black students and make academic performance and educational successes more difficult for students living in RCAP areas. These challenges in the home, school and community do impact student achievement. Pupils attending low-income, segregated schools fare worse on all assessment measures when compared to their peers. This section will briefly review these outcomes.

Testing in Chicago Public Schools

In this day and age, student success and achievement is measured by standardized testing data. Chicago Public Schools have used a number of tests during the past few years. This includes the now phased out International Students Admissions Test (ISAT), which was replaced by the Northwest Evaluation Association (NWEA) Measures of Academic Progress, which is *now* being replaced by the Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Careers (PARCC).

Testing in High Poverty Schools

Students are tested many times during the year, both to assess their performance, the school's performance as a whole and their teacher's performance. In low-income and impoverished schools, test scores are crucial—passing scores often mean schools won't have to close, or lay off teaching staff. In these schools, preparing for

"I know that fourth grade is not going to be easy," one student offers. "I know that we are going to have to take a test. I know that I might not pass."

-Linda Lutton, "The View from Room 205," *WBEZ*

standardized tests is teachers' main focus throughout the year. After all, there are frequent, multiple tests to take, and the stakes are high. The fates of the schools, and its teachers, lie in the hands of these students and how they perform on the litany of standardized tests they take. As one WBEZ report put it, standardized tests preparation in middle class schools feels like "an afterthought"; in low-income schools, they take "center stage."[276] Schools in high poverty neighborhoods often stage "pep rallies" and assemblies prior to high stakes testing in order to get the students excited and focused; students are given t-shirts, trinkets and rewards to encourage good performance. [277] These tests are an additional stressor on an already stressed student, teacher and school. Schools made up of kids living in poverty struggle to provide them with the education they need and deserve, yet rely on them to pass their tests in order to remain open. Unless these schools receive adequate funding, little is likely to change.

Achievement by Demographic Group

It's important to note that when compared to ISAT scores, students are doing significantly worse on the PARCC assessment than on the ISAT no matter the demographic group. For example, the percentage of 3rd-8th graders meeting or exceeding expectations on the 2014 ISAT math section was 52.8%, compared to only 24.6% on the 2016 PARCC (Tables A1 and A4). The PARCC is aligned with the Common Core standards, and while more than 20 states had committed to the PARCC test, only 6 are still using it, along with the District of Columbia. The PARCC test was first used in Chicago in 2014, while the other tests were still being given. There is much controversy surrounding these tests, with many children and parents choosing to opt out.

Students across all demographic groups have struggled to make the transition from ISAT to PARCC, but differences between demographic groups have survived the switch. In 2014, 79.5% of White students' ISAT scores met or exceeded expectations, compared to only 52.2% of Latino students and 43.7% of Black students (Table A1). 2016 PARCC scores show similar discrepancies—the score differential between White and African American students actually increased from 36.1% on the ISAT math section to 39.9% on the PARCC math section (Tables A1 and A4). Black and Latino students are more likely to come from low-income households, and therefore have greater educational needs not currently being met in the classroom. Under this environment of school resource constraints, the loss of additional supports and services impacts student performance on standardized tests.

Income and Poverty

Examining the breakdown of ISAT scores by income status further shows how low-income students face additional barriers to success in Chicago schools. On the 2014 ISAT reading section, low-income students scored 35.8% lower than non-low-income students (Table A3). This gap has not been closed by the switch to PARCC, but has actually widened slightly to 36% in 2016 (Table A5). If Chicago is to give its low-income students a fair shot at success, the schools they attend must receive the funding they need. Testing, through both ISAT and PARCC, reveals that this is far from reality today.

Diverse Learners – Special Education

Chicago's special education students have weathered the transition from ISAT to PARCC somewhat better than their peers, but still lag well behind expectations on the whole. On the 2014 ISAT math section, students with disabilities scored 42% lower than students without disabilities (Table A2). For the same section on the 2016 PARCC, students with disabilities scored 24% lower than their peers without disabilities (Table A6). This difference, again, stems from the issue of funding. Currently in Chicago, funding streams for special education and general education are combined, such that principals have to decide how to allocate that money. If principals want to keep any semblance of a special education program, they must make tough decisions that frequently result in layoffs. At some schools, it is the special education faculty that is laid off, giving those students with disabilities even less of a chance at success.

Table A1: ISAT 3-8th Grade Combined 2014[278]

Student Group	Meet/ Exceed Reading	Meet/ Exceed Math	Meet/ Exceeds Composite	+-Difference Whites Composite
All 3-8 Combined	46.2%	52.8%	52.5%	-27.0
Asian	73.7%	83.2%	79.7%	+.2%
White	76.3%	79.1%	79.5%	NA
Black	37.9%	43.0%	43.7%	-38.5
Latino	44.9%	53.2%	52.2%	-27.3

Table A2: ISAT 3-8th Grade Combined 2014[279]

Student Group	Meet/Exceed Reading	Meet/Exceed Math	Meet/Exceeds Composite	%Group Difference Composite
Children w Disabilities	9.1%	16.3%	15.7%	-42.4
Children w/out Disabilities	51.8%	58.3%	58.1%	NA

Table A3: ISAT 3-8th Grade Combined 2014[280]

Student Group	Meet/Exceed Reading	Meet/Exceed Math	Meet/Exceeds Composite	Difference Group
Low Income	41.4%	48.7%	48.2%	-31.6
Not Low Income	77.2%	78.9%	79.8%	NA

Table A4: PARCC Results for English and Math by Demographic and Comparison to Whites 2016[281]

Student Group	% Met or Exceeded Math	% Met or Exceeded Reading	%+/- Difference Whites Math	+/Difference Whites Reading
All	24.6%	28.3%	--	
Black	14.3%	18.6%	-39.9	-35.8
Hispanic	23.7%	27.2%	-30.5	-33.8
White	54.2%	59.3%	--	
Asian	61.9%	60.4%	7.7	1.1

Table A5: PARCC Results for English and Math by Income Status[282]

Student Group	# Students Tested	% Met or Exceeded Math	% Met or Exceeded Reading	%Difference Low Income
Low Income	136,170	19.8%	23.0%	Math 32.3%
Non-Low Income	23,513	52.1%	59.0%	Read 36.0%

Table A6: PARCC %Meeting or Exceeding Standards Math and Reading by Children with Disabilities, 2016[283]

Student Group	# Students Tested	% Met or Exceeded Math	% Met or Exceeded Reading	Difference
Students w Disabilities	23,217	4.0%	3.5%	Math 24.1%
Students w/out Disabilities	136,466	28.1%	32.6%	Read 29.1%

RECOMMENDATIONS:

CREATING A MORE EQUITABLE AND BENEFICIAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS

Recommendations for Action

This report has examined the educational inequities that exist at every level of the system – from statewide funding formula disparities that disadvantage low-income communities, to metropolitan area funding distribution disparities that fail to provide needed funds to the neediest schools, to in-district funding and resource disparities that create very different schools for different students.

In this final section, we will identify recommendations at each of the levels to address the issues identified in the report. These recommendations were gathered from existing research and countless meetings and interviews with teachers, administrators, parents, nonprofit program managers, nonprofit program staff working in the schools, education reformers and advocates, foundation staff and community-based organizations.

Long-Term, Macro-Level Reforms

In the first CULtivate report, we listed a large number of recommendations that would need to be implemented to undo the longstanding racial and economic segregation of African American communities for the past 100 years. Much of what was discussed in this report – community wealth, community assets and anchors, community stressors and family human capital – are directly related to racial residential segregation. Where you live matters, because where you live determines what opportunities, assets and resources you have access to in your community. Although these recommendations are not education-specific, they bear repeating, as efforts to undo the damaging effects of segregation on residence and housing will also help to undo the damaging effects of segregation on education. The full list of recommendations can be found in the first report, but they are summarized here:

- Revitalization of disinvested neighborhoods and community areas outside of the central city core
- Development of written revitalization action plans that can be used to monitor progress on stated goals
- Intentional engagement of neighborhood residents in community planning processes and decisions through an independent participatory citizen planning council; accountability to this council
- Thorough assessment of fair housing practices and policies to determine adequacy of housing units and facilitators/barriers to residential mobility
- Transit-oriented development and expansion of transit lines and stops to connect additional neighborhoods into the transit system and remove transit deserts
- Increase number of safe, affordable housing units under Mayor's Five-Year Housing Plan and the CHA Plan for Transformation rebuilds

State Level Educational Reforms

Recommendations at the state and metro levels aim to address some of the longstanding barriers to equitable funding that prevent schools across the state from receiving needed resources to adequately serve their students.

Resolve the State Budget Impasse

Before we can even begin to consider changes to our funding system, Illinois needs its state budget. Passing a budget must be the number one priority for the Illinois General Assembly and the Governor. The lack of a budget at the state level has had extremely dire consequences for schools, making the situation considerably worse for districts that rely on more state school funds to offset lower local revenues. Schools that receive more funding from the state and federal government have more low-income students, more homeless students and more English Language learners than other schools. These students require resources above and beyond the normal per-pupil costs of educating a student, and in times of budget crisis, see many of these services cut. The continuing lack of a budget hurts all children, whether in a high income district or a low-income district, but has a devastating and continuous impact on those most at risk.

The lack of a state budget has also devastated social service delivery, providing a one- two punch to communities and children most in need of services. Schools that cannot afford to provide needed health, mental health and socioemotional programs and services to students could historically rely on social service agencies and nonprofits to supplement their school-based services. However, with the budget impasse and the loss of social service dollars, many community and nonprofit organizations are also unable to provide these services to the degree which they had in previous years.

The longer we go without a budget, the more profound the impact will be on Illinois children and families. The state is borrowing a great deal of money and subject to significant interest payments and dropping credit ratings. The impasse is getting more and more costly for Illinois residents and will have a long-lasting effect on the services provided by public and nonprofit institutions. A budget must be passed as soon as possible and all revenue generations mechanisms should be included in discussions to resolve the state's financial woes.

Implement an Evidence-Based Education Funding Model

According to Article 10, Section 1 of the Illinois constitution, it is a "fundamental goal" of the State to provide for the "educational development of all persons to the limits of their capacities." Illinois's current education funding model, however, has created a woefully disparate and inequitable system. Low-income students of color are given a fraction of the money wealthier white students receive, yet require additional funds to overcome the impacts of racially, economically segregated education in under-resourced schools.

Illinois's current system allocates a minimum per-pupil level of funding ("Foundation Level") based on lawmakers' considerations of the overall budget. This number has remained stagnant for eight years, failing to keep up with rising educational costs and additional costs to address low-income student needs. An evidence-based funding model (EBM) works differently than our current funding model. EBM allocates funding based on student need, thereby addressing high need in low-income communities of color and providing all districts with the funding they need and deserve. Moreover, EBM promotes education practices that are known to work—practices that research shows increase student achievement, save the state money, and provide invaluable returns to taxpayers.

Adopting an evidence-based education funding model would also reduce Illinois's overreliance on local property taxes for education funding, narrow the achievement gap between students with the most and least need, and overall make Illinois a smarter, wealthier, and more equitable place to live and learn.

Implement Illinois State Board of Education (ISBE) Lawsuit Requirements

On February 22, 2017, the Illinois State Board of Education reached a settlement in the case of Chicago Urban League V. State of Illinois (2009). ISBE agreed to develop new methods of distribute state aid in the event that Illinois does not allocate adequate funds to cover the full amount of funds it must send to local school districts. Under the former distribution model, ISBE would prorate the dollars, cutting the funds by a straight percentage across the board for all districts. This negatively impacted low-income districts more than it did affluent districts and was found to be discriminatory.

Under the terms of the agreement, ISBE will now have to develop a needs-based distribution system that takes into consideration the needs of the district and the impact that the cuts will have on that district. They will also have to provide notice to the public and to the schools when the state does not allocate sufficient funds to cover its portion of educational expenses. ISBE should transparently implement this system, providing updates on their progress and releasing final plans to the public for review.

- ## Local Educational Reforms

Recommendations at the local-level aim to address greater transparency and accountability, some of the longstanding impacts of segregated schooling, as well as funding issues specific to the Chicago Public Schools.

Address the Chicago Public Schools Teacher Pension Payment Disparity

When ISBE ceded control of the Chicago Public Schools under an agreement with then-Mayor Richard M. Daley in 1995, a condition of the agreement was more local control over district expenditures. One of the changes made once the district had greater autonomy over their finances was the diversion of funds from pension payments to operating expenses. Between 1995 and 2005, the district was able to divert payments and still meet their pension asset requirements (funds to cover 90% of what was owed to retirees 35 years in the future).

In subsequent years, however, pension assets decreased and the district was forced to pay back into the pension. State pension funding for the city also decreased. While the city was supposed to receive 20%-30% of the contributions made to the state pension system, it received about 1% of the funds on average.[284] This means that the city is obligated to pay more into pension payments, reducing the finds available for operational expenses. Suburban schools receive approximately $2,000 per student for pension funding, but Chicago receives approximately $31 per student for pension funding.[285] Additionally, Chicago residents pay double for teacher pensions – they pay taxes that go toward the Chicago Teachers' Pension and the Illinois Teachers' Retirement System. They are doubly burdened by this arrangement - the loss of personal tax dollars and the loss of school operating funds in their

children's schools. Eliminating the double taxation and receiving additional funding from the state to cover debt obligations would address both issues, though these are not quick and easy fixes as they will require considerable cooperation between the city and state governments.

Reconsider Principal Allocated Budgeting for Special Education

In previous years, the Chicago Public Schools Central Administration offices covered the costs of special education for approximately 50,000 students throughout the city. These funds paid for special education teachers, aides and programs to serve this population. For the 2016-17 academic year, CPS changed their policy and transferred the funds from Central Administration to individual school budgets. Under the new policy, schools would have to pay for special education services directly, with principals given a budget to meet the requirement of student IEP plans.[286] On paper it seemed like many schools were getting additional funds in the upcoming school year, but in reality, some schools may have to cut services, increase class sizes not hire aides or other support staff for special education students if the funds are not adequate to cover the true costs of serving these students. Administration and teachers cite concerns about IEP compliance, more pupils per special education teacher and a more stressful learning environment as their major concerns with this new policy. The district should carefully review the unintended consequences of this policy decision and study the short and moderate-term impacts it is having on special education teachers and diverse learners.

Eliminate the Creation of New Tax Increment Financing Zones That Draw From School Revenues

The creation of Tax Increment Financing districts (TIFs) has caused considerable controversy for at least a decade. TIFs were originally set up as a means to deal with blighted areas and to create opportunities for reinvestment. There are several issues with TIFs that negatively impact public schools and the communities that in which they are located. First, if TIFs are contiguous, money can flow between TIF districts. While this might be beneficial if money was flowing from the more affluent downtown to the much poorer East Garfield Park, it is appreciably less beneficial if the money flows in the other direction. This can happen, and it actually leads to disinvestment within the TIF district most in need of the funds and continued investment in areas already under development. Second, the TIF siphons money from the public schools and other government services into development projects. The city has been pressured to divert more TIF dollars into the schools and consider any funds not attached to specific projects as surplus to be available to CPS, but these efforts have largely stalled.[287]

At a time when Chicago Public Schools are under such horrible budgeting constraints, allowing for moneys to be removed from schools to foster redevelopment – especially development in other community areas – does not make sense. Alternatives to the current TIF policies should be considered, such as mechanisms for diverting a larger percentage of TIF funds to the local schools or using TIF funds to offset educational expenditures in high needs, low-resource schools.

Elected School Board for Chicago Public Schools

In recent years, there have been a number of actions taken by the Chicago Public Schools and the Chicago Board of Education that have seriously eroded parent and student trust in the district: the

closing of 50 schools in predominantly African American and Latino communities, the contract with Supes Academy that led to prison time for former CPS CEO Barbara Byrd-Bennett. Increasing budget cuts, service cuts and safety concerns cause parents and students considerable worry.

Parents and education advocates have long recommended the development and implementation of an elected school board, one that would allow voters to have a voice in the decisions made at the district level. An elected school board would be a democratic, participatory process that would allow parents and residents to select candidates that best represented the interests, needs and concerns of the community. Under the current Mayoral board, members are appointed to the position, and do not necessarily have to reflect the interests or the will of community members. The elected school board would go a long way towards repairing distrust and improving accountability.

Consider Innovative Public Private Partnerships and Wrap-Around Services to Deal with Underutilized Schools

Many, if not most, underutilized schools are located within racially concentrated areas of poverty. These community areas have also experienced a loss of the number of health, mental health and social services and organizations in recent years. In areas with resource constraints, developing public/private partnerships and/or school/community partnerships can be an effective means of distributing service provision across entities, reducing the cost and time burdens on any one organization. Schools are ideal institutions to host such partnerships. Schools often serve as community anchors, particularly in areas of disinvestment on the south and west sides of the city. Health and social service providers can use space in the schools to provide services to students and community residents alike.

From a financial and service standpoint, these service hubs make sense. The buildings could be a one-stop shop for schools and nonprofits to deliver services such as GED classes, job training, health and wellness appointments and education, and behavioral health services for community members, parents and students. Schools benefit from an expanded portfolio of services and expanded use of their facilities; nonprofits benefit from cost reductions and better access to clients in need of services. The feasibility of this idea should be examined in more detail to determine the cost-benefit ratio for underutilized public schools.

Create "Adopt a School" Initiatives for 501(c)(3)s and Parents who Fundraise

While fundraising by affluent parents intensifies the funding gap between wealthy communities and their low-income neighbors on the south and west sides, there may be a way to use this mechanism to remedy some percentage of this gap. Wealthy 501(c)(3) fundraising organizations should consider partnering with a low-income RCAP school to distribute a portion of funds raised to the "adopted" school. Parents that fundraise for public schools tend to believe in the value of public schools, and fundraising is a form of civic engagement with the public school system. Building on this engagement, the "adopt a school" initiative would provide parents an opportunity to broadly support public education in a system that is profoundly disparate and lacking equitable resources across schools. Corporate sponsors could also contribute, donating money or resources to provide academic, recreational or technological goods or programming at the schools. Parents and local school councils in

the adopted schools could determine which resources were most needed, using these funds to help supplement their childrens' education.

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[243] These rates are the total misdemeanor drug arrests as defined by the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting System in each Community Area combined for the years 2012-2016 and then averaged and sorted by rate.
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[256] American Community Survey, Table B17020, "Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months by Age," 2015 5-year estimates.
[257] American Community Survey, Table B17020, "Poverty Status in the Past 12 Months by Age," 2015 5-year estimates.
[258] American Community Survey, Table B15002, "Sex by Educational Attainment for the Population 25 Years and Older," 2012 5-year estimates.
[259] American Community Survey, Table B15002, "Sex by Educational Attainment for the Population 25 Years and Older," 2012 5-year estimates.
[260] American Community Survey, Table B15002, "Sex by Educational Attainment for the Population 25 Years and Older," 2012 5-year estimates.
[261] American Community Survey, Table B15002, "Sex by Educational Attainment for the Population 25 Years and Older," 2012 5-year estimates.
[262] Advanced education includes Masters, Professional and Doctoral combined.
[263] American Community Survey, Table B15002, "Sex by Educational Attainment for the Population 25 Years and Older," 2012 5-year estimates.
[264] Advance education includes Masters, Professional and Doctoral combined.
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