

STILL SEPARATE STILL UNEQUAL

The newest CPS leadership frames the district's current inequities as an inevitable result of demographic trends. Their fraudulent attempts to absolve corporate reform of any culpability in our separate and unequal school system are an extension of the resistance that enforcement of desegregation faced in the decades after *Brown v Board*. The constitutional principles of *Brown* were narrowly intended to eliminate *de jure* segregation, segregation that was approved and upheld by law. The common argument used against enforced desegregation was that existing segregation was *de facto*, created by socioeconomic circumstances, and the choices and habits of society. In Chicago Public Schools, desegregation has been abandoned as a policy, and *de facto* segregation and all its complementary injustices have become accepted as the norm rather than recognized as the deliberate and systematic constructions that they are.

The historical record of corporate reform in the Chicago Public Schools is clear. Under-resourced and understaffed segregated schools exist in both Black and Latino communities. Disruptive actions against school communities have predominantly been concentrated in segregated communities of color in Chicago. School closings in particular have been especially concentrated in the Black community. School closings are one of the many crises of priorities found in CPS that *intensify* the harmful effects of segregated schools. The simultaneous rapid expansion of charters schools has also deepened segregation and its harms. Together with the use of standardized tests to punish and disempower schools, the instability created by annual closings, turnarounds and layoffs have further isolated the segregated schools most likely to be subject to these harmful policies.

The city of Chicago is a deeply segregated city. But that does not excuse the pursuit of policies that intensify segregation, and worse, assault the school communities that have most borne the brunt of segregation's harmful effects.

“Historically, the segregation of Blacks, Latinos, and Indians, was imposed by law, discrimination, and violence. Segregation was not, and has never been, chosen.”

– Gary Orfield ¹

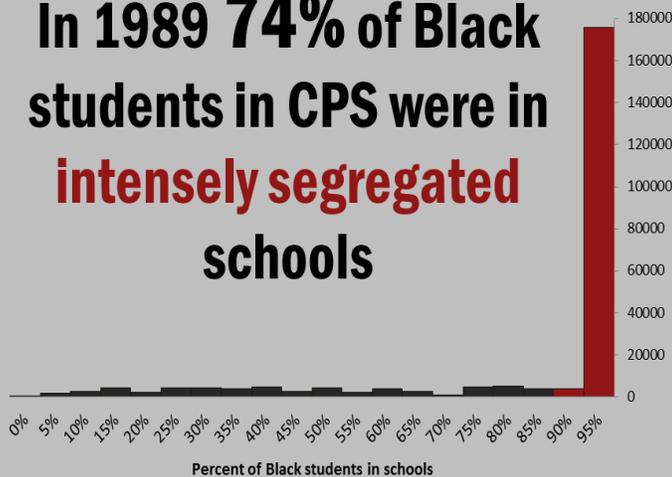
Intense Segregation in Chicago Public Schools

Intense segregation is a measure of the *concentration* of groups into extremely segregated environments. Intensely segregated schools have more than 90% of their student body composed of the same ethnicity. In 1971, 84% of Black students in CPS were in intensely segregated schools. Intense segregation of Black students decreased by 10% from 1971 to 1989. The majority of that decrease came in the years after the 1980 consent decree and court-ordered desegregation plan. Following the decree, intense segregation dropped by 7% over the 8 year span of 1981 to 1989.

Since then there has been little done to reduce the *concentration* of black students into the most intensely segregated schools. In 2012, 69% of Black students were in intensely segregated schools, down by just 5% over the two decades since 1989. However, more Black students are ending up in schools that are just slightly segregated. Over the same time period the percentage of Black students attending slightly less segregated schools (70% to 90% Black), increased from 6% to 11%.

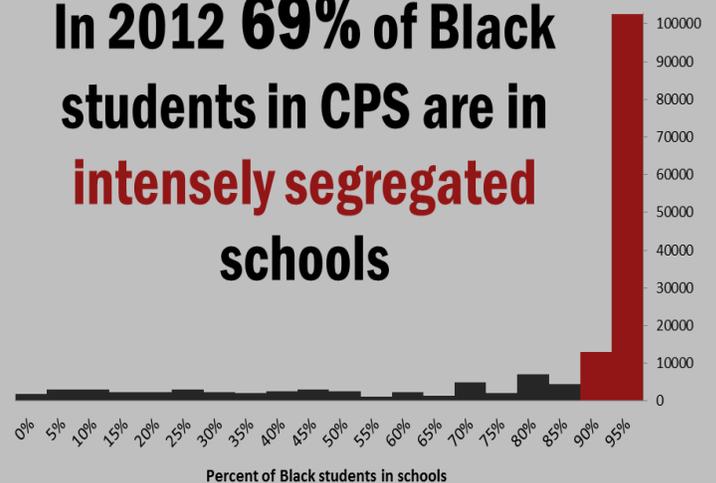
In 1989 74% of Black students in CPS were in intensely segregated schools

Number of Black students in each group of schools



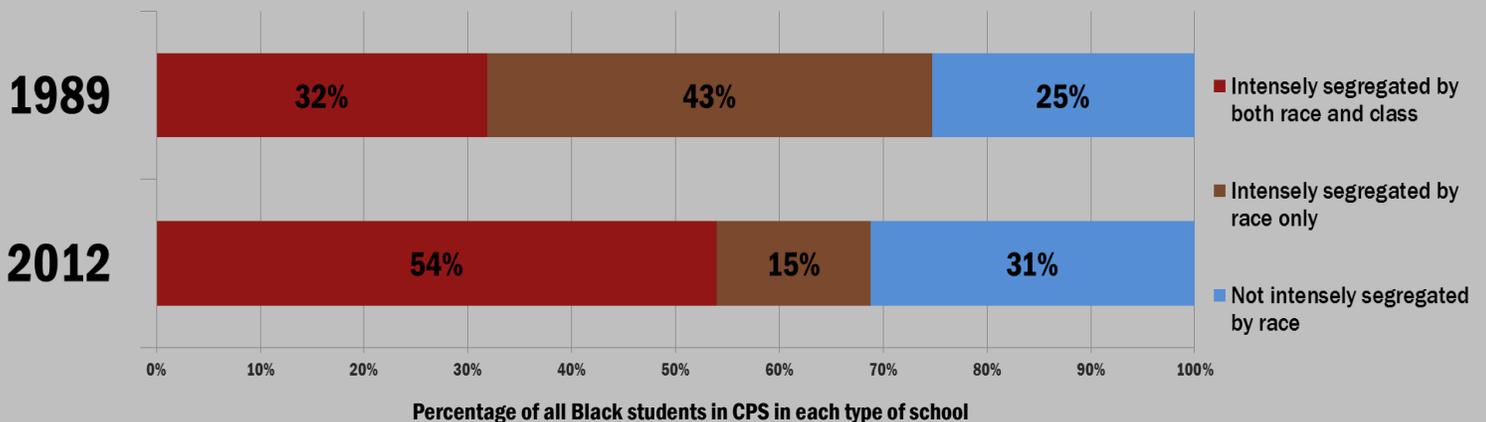
In 2012 69% of Black students in CPS are in intensely segregated schools

Number of Black students in each group of schools



Another trend that shows the failure of CPS to support the growth of integrated learning environments is the increase in the concentration of Black students into schools that are *both* predominantly Black *and* predominantly low-income. In other words, intense segregation by both race and class has worsened for Black students. In 1989, a third of all Black students were in schools where the student population was at least 90% African American and at least 90% eligible for free and reduced lunch. In 2012, over half of Black students were in such schools.

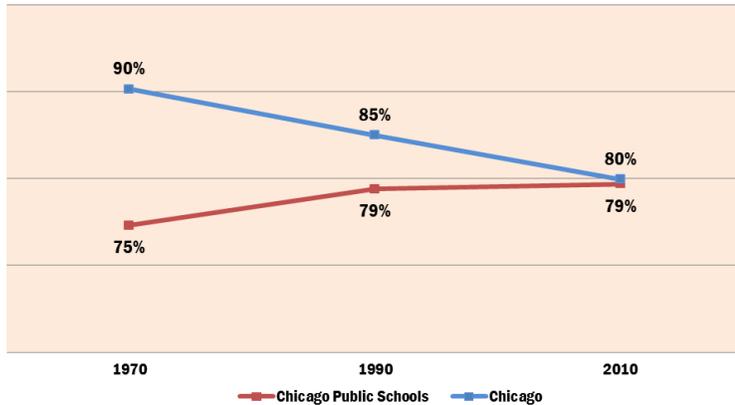
Intense segregation of Black students: 1989 & 2012



Segregation across CPS & the city of Chicago

While the city has become less segregated as a whole, the schools have become more segregated!

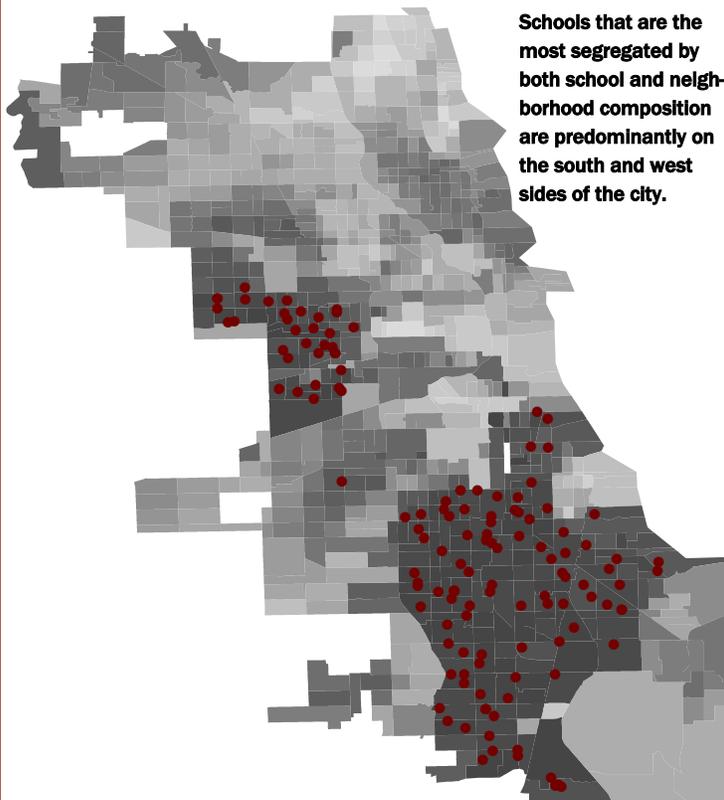
Segregation of Black students increases even as residential segregation in Chicago falls



Percentage of Black students (residents) that must change schools (census tracts) in order to be spread evenly throughout CPS (Chicago)

The minor decline in the prevalence of schools that have at least 90% Black students has not improved integration. Segregation of Black students in Chicago Public Schools has worsened even as segregation of Black residents across the city has mildly fallen. One of the standard measures of segregation is the dissimilarity index. The measure is interpreted as the percentage of Black students who must change schools so that each school has the same proportion of Black students as CPS overall. Similarly, for the city, the index would indicate the percentage of residents who would have to move so that each census tract would have the same percentage of Black residents as the city overall. In 1970, 90% of Chicago's Black residents would have had to move from their census tracts in order for Black residents to have a balanced distribution across the city. That percentage has fallen over the past four decades, to 80% of Black residents.² In CPS however, the percentage of students needing to switch schools in order for black students to be equally distributed has *increased*, from 75% in 1970 to 79% in 2010. **This means that while the city has become less segregated CPS has become more segregated!**

Segregated Schools in Segregated Communities



Schools that are the most segregated by both school and neighborhood composition are predominantly on the south and west sides of the city.

The darker the gray color the less diverse³ the area is. The red dots represent the least diverse schools in CPS.

SEGREGATED SCHOOLING IS NEVER EQUAL!

In Chicago, where segregation by race and class is written deep into our city grid, policies that disinvest, marginalize, and stratify students operate on a grand scale—disempowering entire communities mostly in the economically and racially segregated south and west sides.

“Separate but equal” schooling can never be truly equal in an unequal society. Equitable schooling requires more than just ensuring all schools have adequate and equal resources. Not all households and communities have the necessary economic resources to provide the out-of-school educational nurturing that children need. Nor do most have the economic clout to grant their children access to the out-of-school networks and opportunities that are so crucial to life success. Systemic inequities and racism are still pervasive, leading to the “pedagogy of poverty” imposed upon low-income schools. Integrated schooling is but one crucial step in improving the conditions of opportunity for disadvantaged children.

What does segregation mean for students of color in CPS ?

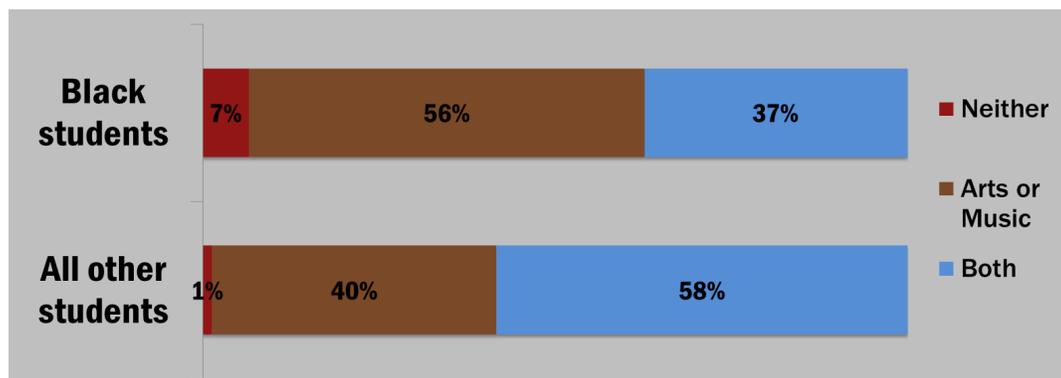
Segregated economically and racially, students of color bear the brunt of austerity and failed accountability policies.

Disproportionately impacted by school closings, turnarounds and disruption.

Over the past decade **1 out of every 4** of all intensely segregated Black schools have been closed, phased-out or turned around. Fewer than 1 in 20 schools with a student population less than 75% African American were affected.

Segregated student exposure to arts & music instruction in elementary schools

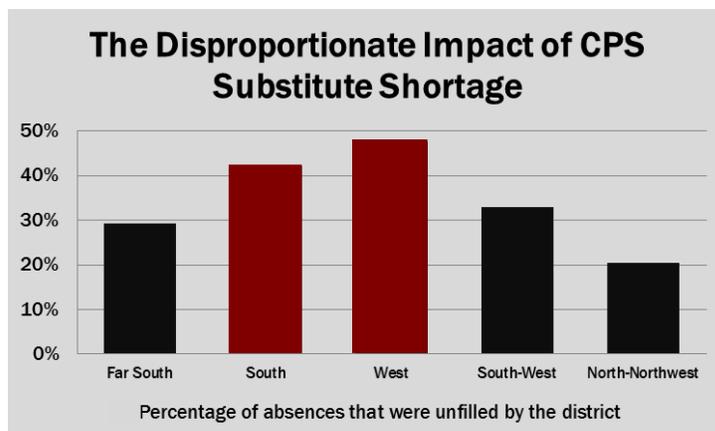
Without guaranteed programmatic funding for arts and music, many elementary schools offer only one of these subjects, or in some instances, neither. Black students are disproportionately affected, attending schools with *neither arts nor music* at a rate 7 times that of other races in 2012.



Substitute teacher shortage disproportionately impacts South & West Sides

The substitute teacher shortage this year, like other resources shortages, has had a disproportionate impact on the segregated schools on the South and West sides of the city.⁴ A snapshot of a typical day of substitute coverage in CPS showed that South and West side schools are far more likely to lack needed substitutes.

When substitutes are not made available, school principals often make special education instructors, arts, music, language and other teachers perform sub duty. Classroom teachers also asked to sub during prep time. In all these cases, students are disadvantaged by the loss of instruction or shortened preparation.



Reproducing Segregation & Inequity

Segregation for students and teachers of color increased with the targeting of segregated schools for closure.

School segregation has increased for Black students in Chicago, even as residential segregation has slightly fallen. Segregation for Black students by both race and class has increased even though the district's corporate reform policies have decimated predominantly African-American schools, closing down or turning around a quarter of all intensely segregated Black schools over the past decade. When school closures and the rapid expansion of non-neighborhood schools are done without a broader strategy to integrate students, socio-economically disadvantaged students become even more isolated in the remaining neighborhood schools. Chicago's most aggressively expanding charter networks, as well as the privately operated AUSL turnaround schools, are known to employ strict application and discipline policies which leads to self-selection or direct push-out of low-performing students.

Black teachers are also deeply segregated in CPS. Over the past decade the overall segregation of Black teachers has increased, even as the segregated Black schools they predominantly taught in had been targeted for closure and school actions. Rather than moving towards more racially integrated schools, CPS is now tremendously imbalanced, with a growing proportion of schools where there are virtually no Black teachers and no Black students, as shown by the graphs on page 7. Charters are excluded from that particular data presentation, but their inclusion would show an increase in schools that are intensely segregated for students of color, but employ virtually no teachers of color. In the CTU report, "The Black & White of Education in Chicago" the tremendous diversity gap between the students and staff of charter schools is revealed. Some charter networks have as little as 10% teachers of color with student populations that are over 95% students of color. Nationally the picture on racial segregation of staff looks very similar—Black or Latino/a teachers are only found to be the majority in highly segregated schools, there are virtually no teachers of color in all-white schools, and students of color are increasingly in schools with majority white teachers.

One of the goals of desegregation was to ensure that faculty with extensive and lesser experience were distributed comparably across the district schools. Due to the expansion of segregated charter schools where teacher retention issues result in high percentages of first-year teachers, students of color in CPS are now more likely to have an inexperienced, first-year teacher than white students.

Historically, school closures and turnarounds have disproportionately impacted the schools with both high concentrations of Black students and majority Black teaching staff. The rapid decline in the percentage of Black teachers in CPS over the last decade, and the proliferation of schools that have virtually no Black faculty members mirrors the loss of thousands of qualified Black teachers and administrators in the decades after the *Brown* decision. The schools in Chicago's communities of color are again targeted with closures this year, and CPS does not even have a semblance of a plan for integration and equity in learning conditions and life opportunities that those who fought for desegregation hoped to ensure.

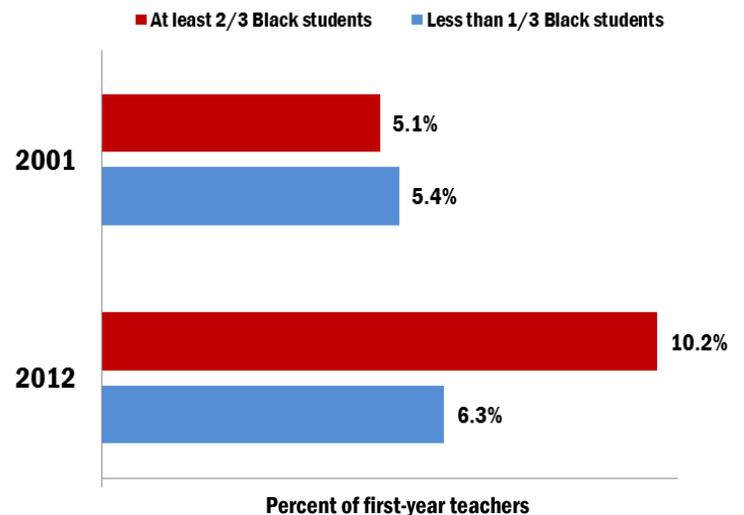
Segregated Access to Experienced Teachers

Racial disparities are caused by the increasing prevalence of segregated Black & Latino/a charter.

Segregation of teachers by experience is apparent and disproportionately impacting segregated Black schools.

In 2001, first-year teachers comprised 5% of the teachers in both schools that were over two-thirds (“predominantly”) African American, and in schools less than a third (“marginally”) African American. By 2012, an obvious disparity existed: 10% of teachers were first-years in schools predominantly African American and 6% in schools marginally African American. Virtually all of this disparity is due to the proliferation of segregated predominantly Black charter schools, where first-year teachers make up over 25% of the teachers.

The percentage of first-year teachers in predominantly Black schools has doubled over the past decade

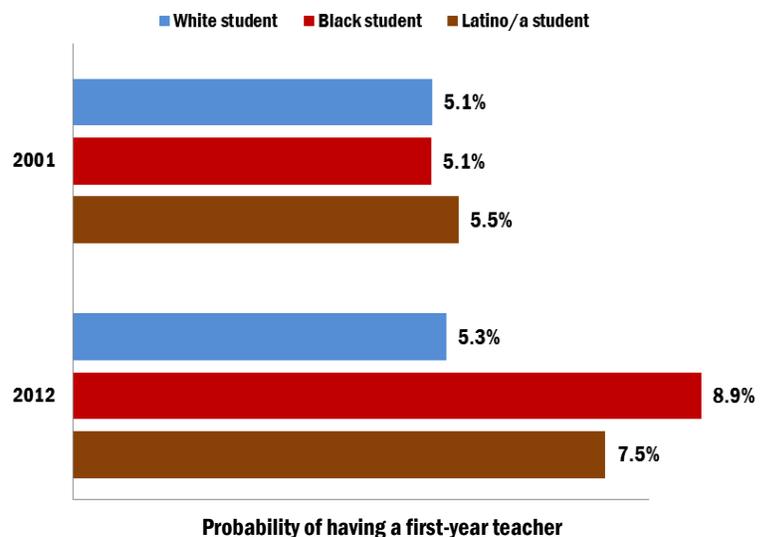


Due to the proliferation of charters, Black and Latino/a students now have much higher probabilities of having a first-year teacher than White students.

Looking at probabilities tells us a bit more about these disparities since we can look at the exposure of students to first-year teachers across all schools, rather than just at disparities between schools grouped by a chosen threshold of minority percentage.⁵

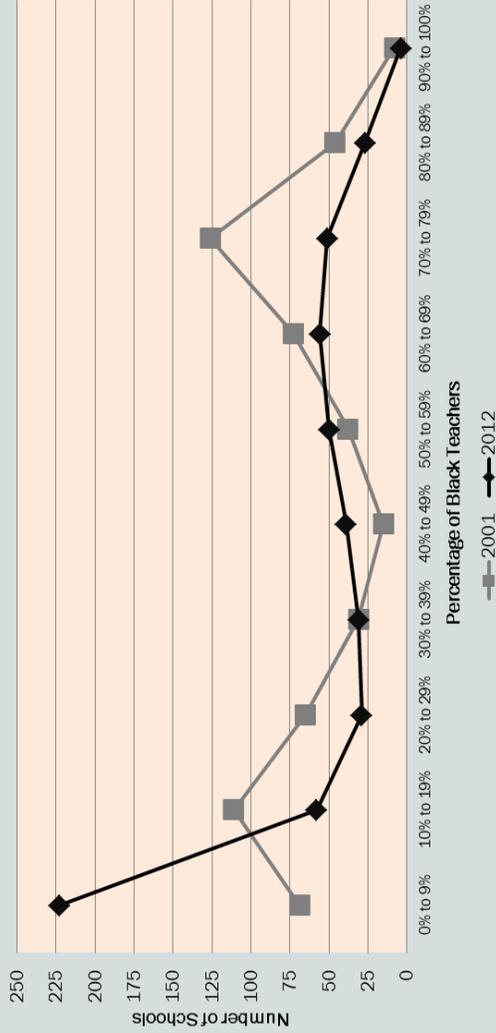
In 2001 the probability that a Black or Latino/a student would have a first-year teacher was no different than for a White student. By 2012, a Black student was nearly twice as likely to have a first-year teacher as a White student was. The probability for White students hardly changed, at close to 5%. Again, these racial disparities are driven by the growth of segregated charters.⁶

Racial disparities in the probability that students have a first-year teacher



The Increasing Segregation of Black Teachers

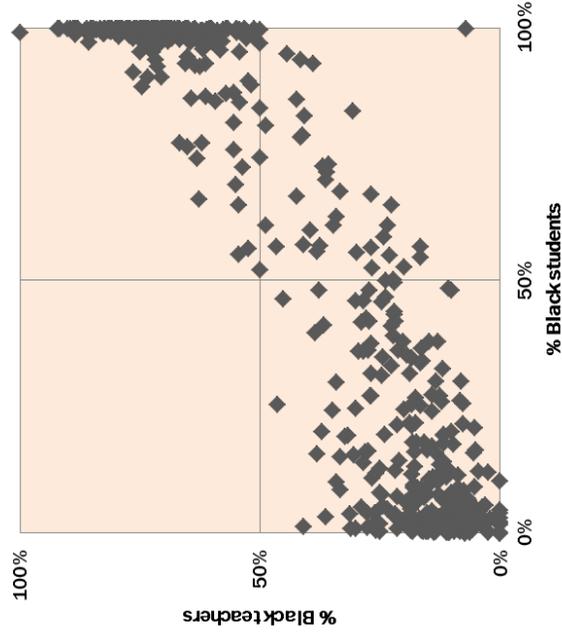
Schools with less than 10% Black teaching staff have more than tripled



All students deserve to have a diverse teaching staff. Schools that are composed of either mostly Black teachers or very few, dominate CPS. Since 2001, there has been a decline in the number of schools with teaching staff that are predominantly African American, but there has also been a *tremendous increase in the number of schools with few Black teachers*. The number of schools with less than 10% Black teaching staff went from 69 to 223 over the last decade. Schools where there are no Black teachers soared from 10 to 50. The decades-long targeting of Black teachers through layoffs, turnarounds, and closings have reinforced a deeply segregated learning environment.

Segregation of teachers has increased. The dissimilarity index, a measure of segregation, shows that Black teachers are more segregated now than they were a decade ago. According to the index, 60% of Black teachers would have to change schools for Black and White teachers to have identical distributions across schools, up from 48% in 2001.

CPS Schools in 2001 by Percentage of Black students & Black teachers

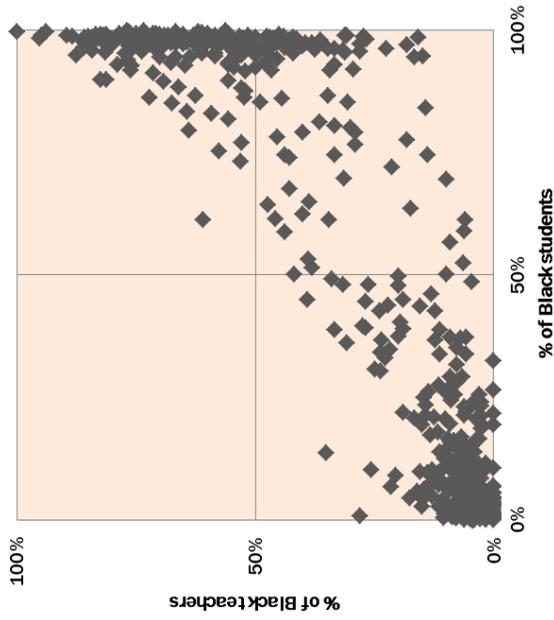


The scatterplots show CPS district schools, represented by gray squares, by percentage of Black students on the x-axis and percentage of Black teachers on the y-axis. Schools in the bottom left have both a student and a teacher population that is less than 50% African American. Schools in the top right have both a student and a teacher population that is more than 50% African American.

Fewer integrated schools Gray dots in the middle regions of the scatterplot represent schools that are not overwhelmingly segregated and are also roughly balanced in the percentage of Black teachers and Black students. Since 2001, schools have moved away from the middle region, down and towards the corners, indicating *more racial imbalance and more segregation*.

More schools with virtually no Black teachers and no Black students There are also far more schools in the lower left corner—representing schools that have very low percentages of both Black teachers and Black students. Schools with fewer than 10% Black students and Black teachers now make up 28% of CPS schools, up from 10% in 2001.

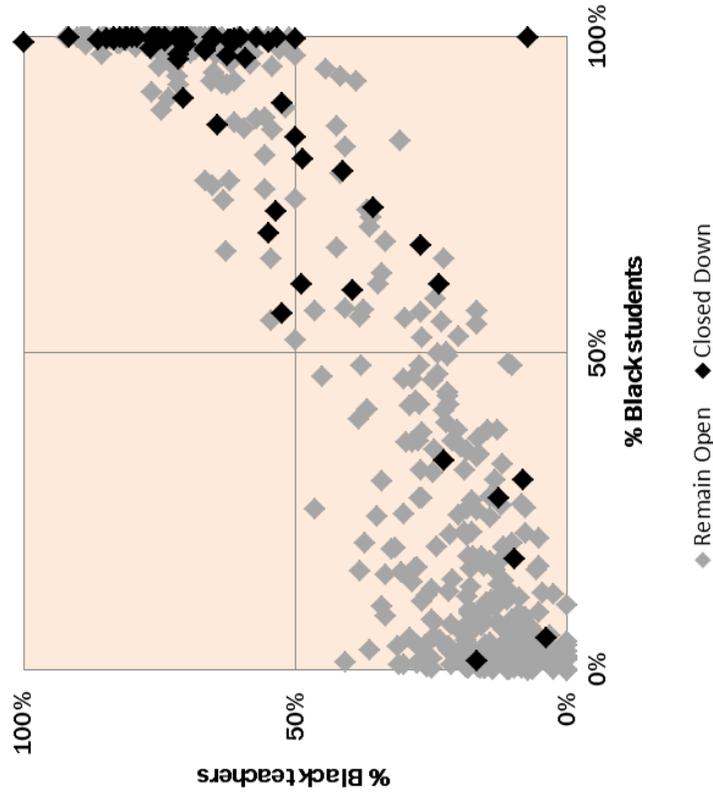
CPS Schools in 2012 by Percentage of Black students & Black teachers



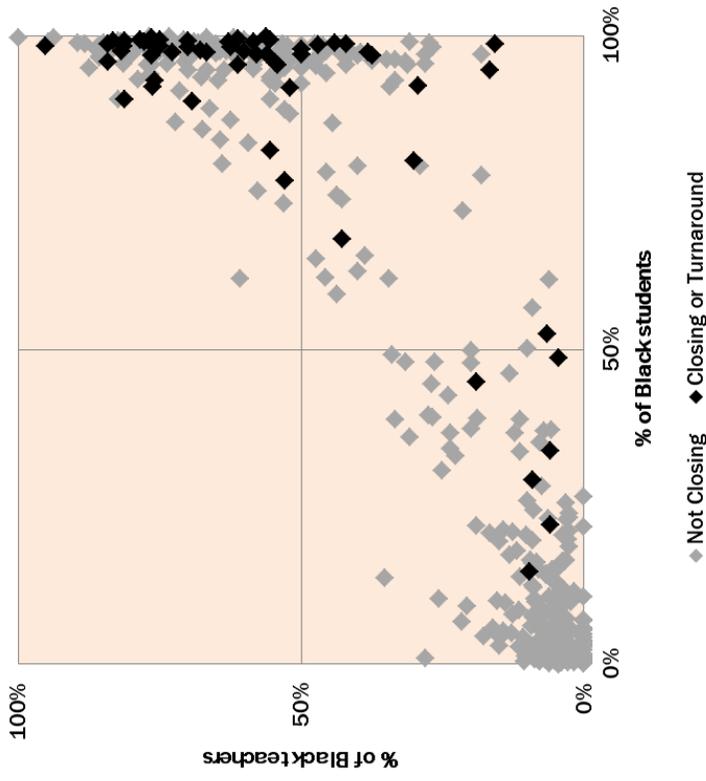
The Segregated Harm of School Closings

Schools with segregated Black students & Black teachers disproportionately bear the harm of school closings

CPS Schools in 2001 by Percentage of Black students & Black teachers



CPS Schools in 2012 by Percentage of Black students & Black teachers



The school closings over the last decade have primarily targeted segregated schools where both Black students and Black teachers were the majority. The scatterplot on the left shows all schools in 2001 by the percentage of Black teachers and Black students. Schools that have since been closed down are colored in black, and schools that remain open are colored in gray. Almost of the schools shut down were schools with majority Black populations. Seven out of 10 schools with both an intensely segregated Black student population and a majority Black teaching staff in 2001 have since been closed down.

The scatterplot on the right shows that the upcoming round of school closings once again targets Black students and Black teachers. The 59 schools threatened with closure or turnaround, are almost all schools with both majority Black students and majority Black teachers. This year, one third of all district elementary schools are composed of *both* majority Black staff and Black students, but such schools are over 70% of the schools slated for closure or turnaround.

School closings continue to disproportionately hurt segregated Black schools. The closures of segregated schools over the past decade, in addition to the educational harms to children, did nothing to reduce segregation. In fact, as previously shown, segregation increased and integration decreased over the period.

Integration & Equity, Not Choice & Competition

Chicago schools are barely more integrated now than they were 60 years ago when the Brown vs. Board of Education decision declared that “in the field of public education, the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place.” Yet, desegregation does not appear on the agenda of CPS or its corporate backers. Chicago Reader’s Steve Bogira satirized Rahm Emanuel’s disinterest in integration by suggesting a “Race to Diversity” contest in which neighborhoods would compete with one another to be the first to desegregate and win a \$10,000 prize.

When Bogira asked Emanuel about his strategy to address segregation, Emanuel replied (not satirically) that desegregation would be a result not of any direct approach, but as a byproduct of policies that promote “safe streets, strong schools, and good-paying jobs”. However, Rahm’s corporate handbook that supposedly leads to these ends promotes competition for scarce resources and austerity of public services. These policies do the opposite of what they claim--they increase inequality and further destabilize the most vulnerable communities. A tiny minority have access to safe streets, strong schools and good-paying jobs and those few become increasingly insulated from the majority left in segregated, neglected communities. The cycle of resource disinvestment, concentrated disadvantage, and destabilization of public schools furthers the socio-economic segregation of our students.

Along with this strategic disinvestment in our public schools, the system of choice and competition offered through schooling from Charter Management Organizations is imposed as the solution for the harms of segregation and disadvantage. In reality, they make segregation worse. Like segregated housing in Chicago, school segregation is not ‘chosen’ willfully by individual families, it is created by the racist conditions and institutions that force choices which lead to segregation.

“Choice” in education has its origins in maintaining social stratification in the wake of the Brown decision, and choice served to impede the very demands for equity that motivated the civil rights movement. In our society, who your parents are and who you know are at least as important as what you know. The segregation of children across schools is one way social prestige and class-status are generated and inherited across generations. Only when choice is used as a means to an integrated and equal school system that benefits all, with strict civil rights parameters, can ‘choice’ increase options without contributing to stratification.

Increased segregation, cycles of disinvestment, and poverty imposed upon marginalized communities cannot be ended through educational institutions alone. However, because the structure of corporate-controlled public schooling is one of the mechanisms through which these inequities operate, we must act to overturn these failed, racist policies. This means an end to the segregated harm of failed school closings and turnarounds, and a halt to the rapid expansion of private charter operators and other aberrations of ‘choice’ that increase segregation. Most importantly, in addition to equitable funding of schools serving disadvantaged populations, we must create an integrated public school system, where poor students of color are not systematically relegated to economically disinvested and isolated learning environments.

Data Sources: All demographic data from CPS School Data. All data prior to 1990 retrieved from CPS historical Racial/Ethnic Survey data reports produced by the Office of Research, Evaluation and Accountability. Teacher demographic data from ISBE Teacher Service Records and CPS employee record data.

End Notes:

1. Orfield, Gary. (2004). “Why segregation is inherently unequal: The abandonment of Brown and the continuing failure of Plessy.” *New York Law School Law Review*, 49: 1051-52.
2. Chicago census tract population data from U.S. Census Bureau.
3. Diversity is measured by a Diversity Index, which estimates the probability that two people in an the area will have a different racial background. Diversity is calculated separately for people in census tracts and students in CPS schools. The red dots indicate all schools that rank in the bottom quartile of the school Diversity Index.
4. Substitute data analysis provided by the district.
5. The numbers represent the probability that a typical student has a novice teacher. For details on model used, see Clotfelter, Charles, Ladd, Helen, and Vigdor, Jacob. (2005). “Who Teaches Whom? Race and the Distribution of Novice Teachers.” *Economics of Education Review*, 24: 377-392
6. When excluding charter schools from the analysis, the racial disparities between the probabilities disappears.