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Who Chooses in the Hartford Region?

Report 2: A Statistical Analysis of Regional School Choice Office Applicants and Non-Applicants among Hartford and Suburban-Resident Students in the Spring 2013 Lottery

by Jack Dougherty, Diane Zannoni, Julio Franco, Stephen Spirou,
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Summary

Which Hartford and suburban families were more (or less) likely to apply to Regional School Choice Office (RSCO) public school options such as interdistrict magnet schools and the Open Choice city-suburban transfer program? How do these applicants and non-applicants vary by student characteristics, achievement levels, school composition, and neighborhood demographics? This study seeks to answer these questions by matching student-level records from the RSCO school choice lottery with potential applicants in the Public School Information System (PSIS) student enrollment database. Access to both files was provided by the Connecticut State Department of Education (CSDE), under a no-cost data confidentiality contract approved by Connecticut's Office of the Attorney General, with additional files provided by the Hartford Public Schools and the US Census Bureau. Our goal is to help public policymakers understand different levels of student participation in the Hartford region's voluntary interdistrict school choice programs for integrated education, and to contribute to efforts to improve the quality of instruction for all students.

When we released Report 1 in May 2014, we identified disparities between RSCO Spring 2012 lottery applicants and non-applicants among a sample of 6,673 Hartford-resident students enrolled in Hartford Public Schools (HPS) district and interdistrict magnet schools from grades 3 to 7. In that study, we found statistically lower RSCO lottery participation by Hartford students with English Language Learner and special education needs, and higher participation by students with higher Connecticut Mastery Test (CMT) scores, and/or living in census areas with higher median household incomes or higher levels of owner-occupied housing.¹

In Report 2, we expanded our analysis of RSCO Spring 2013 lottery applicants and non-applicants to include all grade levels in both Hartford and suburbs, defined as the RSCO transportation area. We identified 17,710 non-duplicated RSCO applications in this area, and matched as many as possible to a broader pool of over 170,000 PreK-12 students in the Public School Information System (PSIS) database. While we successfully matched 94 percent of the

RSCO applicants in grades K-11, our rate was lower for 3- and 4-year-olds, since most are not yet listed in the public school database. Therefore, this report focuses primarily on applicants and non-applicants in grades K-11. When we calculated the probabilities of applying by student with certain characteristics, we used the Pearson chi-square to test for statistical significance at the 95 percent level of confidence. Since some of our sample sizes are large, small differences can be statistically significant, so we reported the difference between the actual versus expected number of applicants (based on the proportion of the students with the characteristic in our population) to indicate the magnitude of any disparities. More details about sources and methods appear in the body of the report.

Overall, when we compared Hartford-resident K-11 applicants to non-applicants in the RSCO 2013 lottery, we found some disparities. Hartford students who are English Language Learners were much less likely to apply, with 26 percent fewer students than expected. Hartford students with special education needs were somewhat less likely to apply, with 16 percent fewer than expected. Hartford students living in higher-income or higher-homeownership areas were more likely to apply, with 24 and 28 percent more students than expected, respectively. Regarding test score differences, Hartford applicants had slightly higher reading scores than non-applicants, but this disparity was small and was not found in any other subject areas. Along racial lines, we found that Hartford Black students were more likely to apply (11 percent more than expected), while Hispanic students were less likely (8 percent fewer than expected), with no difference for White students.

Among suburban students, the data reveal several large disparities. Suburban lower-income students were more likely to apply (43 percent more students than expected). Black suburban students were much more likely to apply (169 percent more than expected), and Hispanic suburban students were more likely to apply (48 percent more than expected), while White suburban students were less likely to apply (47 percent fewer than expected). Students in suburbs with more than 60 percent minority enrollment were far more likely to apply (132 percent more students than expected). Regarding achievement tests, higher-scoring suburban students were less likely to apply (12 percent fewer students than expected).

A. Why Disparities Matter

Why should we care about disparities between applicants and non-applicants to the RSCO lottery? When the Connecticut Supreme Court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs in the 1996 *Sheff v O'Neill* school desegregation case, and subsequent courts approved settlements toward a remedy, the state committed to achieve racial integration through voluntary school choice. This reform strategy has created greater educational opportunities, primarily through the expansion of interdistrict magnet schools (with specialized curricular themes and resources to attract urban and suburban students) and Open Choice (a city-suburban interdistrict transfer program). Both the Sheff plaintiffs and the State defendants have agreed to a series of goals to increase the percentage of Hartford racial minority students enrolled in integrated schools.

But this choice-driven reform relies on thousands of school lottery applicants to fulfill Connecticut's constitutional obligation to provide equal educational opportunity. The success of Connecticut's choice remedy rests on the actions of individual families, both in the city and the suburbs, to apply to interdistrict magnet and Open Choice schools. At the center of the state's expansive school choice program was an unanswered public policy question: *who chooses?* We conducted this study because no one has systematically compared RSCO applicants to non-applicants to determine whether all students are equally likely to apply to this voluntary choice program.

After the release of our first *Who Chooses?* report in spring 2014, and a related Connecticut Voices for Children *Choice Watch* report on enrollment data, there is a growing recognition of the disparity problem in public school choice. The new superintendent of Hartford Public Schools released her *Transition Report* in October 2014, which stated that:

Many HPS stakeholders are concerned that inequality and unequal access disproportionately impact children of color, and they also have strong perceptions that: English Language Learners (ELL), children designated as special education (SPED), and children enrolled in most neighborhood schools have less access to magnets and Choice schools; neighborhood schools are not funded adequately; and large disparities exist in the quality of physical buildings and material conditions of magnet and neighborhood schools.²

Also, the signatories to the February 2015 Sheff III settlement extension expressed their concern about disparities, and agreed to take these steps:

The SDE [State Department of Education], in cooperation with RSCO Partners, will continue to collect data and review proposals to change the lottery process to achieve the following outcomes:

- i. Reduce the disparities in the number of students in ELL programs in the Hartford neighborhood schools and Sheff magnet schools;
- ii. Reduce the disparities in the number of students requiring special education services in the Hartford neighborhood schools and Sheff magnet schools;
- iii. Provide recognition for families that participate in RSCO lotteries over several years without obtaining an offer.³

Our series of *Who Chooses?* reports seek to contribute to this policy conversation. To be clear, our quantitative analysis of existing data does *not* determine the causes of these disparities. It is plausible that differences in applications may be attributed to multiple factors, such as:

- the design of the state's choice system, and the grade levels, locations, and themes of magnet schools,
- the actions of individual schools in encouraging certain families to apply,
- the actions of individual families who may be better-resourced to seek upward mobility through choice, or who may prefer to stay at their current school for various reasons.

But the first step toward investigating the disparity issue is to thoughtfully analyze data collected by state and local education agencies, as we seek to do in this report.

B. Background on Public School Choice in the Hartford Region

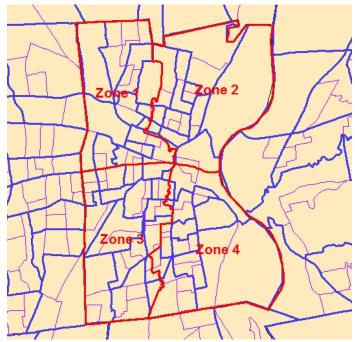
Over the past two decades, the range of public school choices for Hartford students has increased dramatically through three different policy changes. After the Connecticut Supreme Court's Sheff v O'Neill school desegregation ruling in 1996, and subsequent court-approved remedies (from Sheff I in 2003 to the Sheff III extension in 2015), the state legislature has funded the growth of voluntary integration through interdistrict magnet schools (with curricular themes designed to attract both city and suburban students) and the Open Choice program (where city students enroll in suburban district schools, and vice versa). Also in 1996, Connecticut lawmakers approved a bill to allow the creation of charter schools (which operate with public funds, but fewer regulations than district schools). Furthermore, in 2008, the Hartford Public Schools shifted from neighborhood school attendance areas to an "all-choice" initiative, which required families with students entering kindergarten or high school to submit a lottery application to their preferred HPS district school, with the option to switch schools between grades. Today, when all of these options are combined, the parent of a typical Hartford 6th grader is eligible to apply to over 40 different district and interdistrict public schools or programs in the metropolitan Hartford region. While the long-term goal of the Who Chooses? research project is to analyze choice activity around public schools, this report focuses solely on the Regional School Choice Office (RSCO) applications for interdistrict magnets and Open Choice in the Spring 2013 lottery.

C. Data and Methodology

1) Linked data sources and individual confidentiality

The core of our analysis relies on linking student records across data silos, and doing so in a way that protects individual confidentiality. To fully understand "who chooses" to participate in the RSCO lottery, we need to compare the characteristics of applicants to non-applicants, meaning the larger pool of prospective students who could have applied. Both groups of students appear in separate CSDE datasets, but these were not connected until we linked them. In addition, our study adds value to state-managed student records by matching them to the local school district, which allows us to link home address data to neighborhood-level census block groups to better understand socioeconomic characteristics. All together, this study links four separate data silos.

| Reg School | CT Dept of | Hartford | Census |
|-----------------|------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| Choice Office | Education | Public Sch | Bureau |
| 18,000 city & | Public Sch | 22,000 | American |
| suburban | Info System | geocoded | Community |
| applications to | + CMT tests | student | Survey 5-yr |
| interdistrict | for 170,000 | home | estimates for |
| magnets & | students in | addresses | census block |
| Open Choice | metro region | | groups |
| John Smith — | → John Smith | | |
| | 1234567890 —— | ► 1234567890 | |
| | | 100 Main St. — | → 100 Main St. |
| | | | Census 500101 |



City of Hartford (red), census tracts (blue), and census block groups (purple lines).

THE RSCO TRANSPORTATION ZONE

The transportation zone adopted by the Regional School Choice Office identifies the established borders for towns eligible to receive transportation for RSCO programs and schools.

Andover Ellington Hebron Somers Avon **South Windsor** Manchester **East Granby** Berlin Marlborough Southington Bloomfield East Hampton Middletown Suffield **Bolton** East Windsor **New Britain** Tolland **Bristol Farmington New Hartford** Vernon **Burlington** West Hartford Glastonbury Newington Plainville Wethersfield Canton Granby Portland Coventry Hartford Windsor Rocky Hill Windsor Locks Cromwell Hartland **East Hartford** Harwinton Simsbury



PSIS data included 43 traditional districts shown above, plus 6 non-traditional districts: CREC, Achievement First Hartford, Goodwin (part of LEARN), Jumoke, Odyssey, and CT Technical Schools. *Image source: RSCO transportation brochure, 2014-15*

Our sources were similar to those used in Who Chooses Report 1, but we expanded our analysis in Report 2 to study more grade levels and the city and suburban region. In October 2014, CSDE provided us with three large datasets for 2012-13 (the focus of our time period) and other years:

- a) Public School Information System (PSIS) records for October 2012, consisting of over 170,000 students enrolled in the 43 traditional public school districts located in the RSCO transportation region of central Connecticut, plus 6 non-traditional districts located in the Hartford area: Capitol Region Education Council (CREC), Achievement First Hartford, Jumoke Academy, Goodwin College magnet schools (part of the LEARN district) Odyssey Community, and the CT Technical High Schools.
- b) Connecticut Mastery Test (CMT) subject scores for grade 3-8 students enrolled in the districts above, which are linked to PSIS by unique student ID numbers (SASID). Spring 2013 was the last complete year of CMT data, as this test will be replaced by the Smarter Balanced assessment.
- c) The Regional School Choice Office (RSCO) provided over 18,000 applications submitted in Spring 2013, with outcomes for the 2013-14 school year. Fortunately, the RSCO 2013 application data we received for Report 2 was much more complete (including magnet and Open Choice preferences) than the RSCO 2012 data we received for Report 1.

The CSDE provided student-level data under a no-cost contract approved by Connecticut's Office of the Attorney General, which restricted the use of these confidential records only for the purpose of this study. Our research team implemented stringent security practices to protect the data, is prohibited from disclosing the data to any other party without the express written consent from the CSDE, and is required to destroy the data once the purpose is completed or the period of the agreement has ended. In this report, all student-level data has been aggregated into larger units to further protect anonymity, meaning that we do not report table cells of groups smaller than 5 students, or 20 students when it involves assessment data. Furthermore, the CSDE required us to receive their written consent before publishing our findings.

In addition, the Hartford Public Schools (HPS) provided approximately 22,000 records of student data for 2012-13, with home addresses as of June 2013, under a related no-cost agreement with security measures to protect student confidentiality. We geocoded student address records and linked them to American Community Survey 5-year estimate (ACS 2009-13) census block group data, which is publicly available from the US Census Bureau.

2) Methods and Limits of Recording Matching

To compare lottery applicants to non-applicants, we matched the RSCO Spring 2013 application records to a broader potential pool of students who could have applied. For our broader pool we selected the PSIS October 2012 database of students enrolled in public schools located inside the RSCO transportation area. Although RSCO applicants may reside anywhere in Connecticut, we narrowed our focus to those within the transportation area, where the vast majority are located.

CSDE staff helpfully provided data we requested for this study, and the quality of RSCO data continues to improve over time. Yet there are some limitations to RSCO and related datasets, which we identify below and about which CSDE is already aware, and we offer some recommendations to improve them for evaluations in future years:

a) Lack of SASID links between RSCO 2013 applications and other CSDE databases: While CSDE maintains the RSCO application database, it currently does not match applicants to the unique student ID (SASID) in the CSDE PSIS database. As a result, we spent considerable time matching records to answer the question about who does (or does not) participate in the RSCO lottery, and are willing to share our matched files with CSDE upon request. To answer this question in future years, we recommend that CSDE match RSCO applications to PSIS records.

b) Fewer PreK matches due to lack of access to PKIS database:

Families with young children (who list their grade level as PreK Age 3, PreK Age 4, or presumably Not in School) comprise over 36 percent of the students within the RSCO Spring 2013 applicant pool. But these young children are the hardest to match because so few are already enrolled in public schools, and therefore do not appear in the PSIS database. When we removed PreK students, our K-11 matching success rate for the transportation area rose from 79 to 94 percent. Halfway through our analysis we learned about the existence of the PKIS (PreK Information System) database, which may have improved the quality of PreK record matching for this study. We did not receive 2012-13 PKIS data from CSDE for this study, and for subsequent years, PKIS data are now managed by a different state agency, the Office of Early Childhood. To answer the question about who does (or does not) apply to the RSCO lottery, we recommend that CSDE and/or OEC coordinate to match RSCO applications to PKIS records.

c) Non-usable RSCO application IDs:

Although RSCO assigned ID numbers to the Spring 2013 applications, these are not unique IDs over time, meaning that we cannot easily trace applicants from prior years who re-applied to the lottery. For this reason, our study cannot easily identify families who have applied to the RSCO lottery multiple times without receiving an offer. This issue of multi-year applicants was identified in the 2015 Sheff III extension, but cannot be addressed until additional years of RSCO applications are matched to PSIS, beyond the Spring 2013 lottery we matched for this

report. We recommend that RSCO use unique student identifiers (such as SASIDs) as a better way to track multi-year applicants in future years.

c) Internal RSCO school codes did not match standard CSDE school facility codes: For lottery operations, the RSCO database maintains an internal 2-digit numerical code for magnet and Open Choice schools, which did not match the standard CSDE 7-digit school facility code system used in PSIS. RSCO staff provided us their lookup table, which we expanded (using PSIS) to include all public schools in the RSCO transportation area, and renumbered using the CSDE school facility code system. In future years, to better track the school origin and destination of lottery applicants, we recommend that RSCO adopt the CSDE 7-digit facility numbering system, and we are willing to share our expanded lookup table with CSDE upon request.

e) Documentation of RSCO application datasets over time:

All findings in this report are based on the RSCO Spring 2013 on-time application dataset we received in October 2014. CSDE staff informed us about a related dataset of late RSCO applications, which we did not receive in time to include in this report. There were 1,114 late applicants in Spring 2013, and while none of these received an offer, including them in future analyses would provide a richer answer to the question of who participates in the lottery system.

Also, we believe that RSCO data quality is improving over time. For Spring 2013 and prior years, RSCO staff manually entered a significant number of paper applications and may have invalidated those with data entry issues (such as incorrect grade levels for a requested magnet school). Since Spring 2014, virtually all on-time applications are automatically entered into the lottery due to vast number of parents who participate in the online system, thus reducing inaccurate parent data entries

One aspect of our study is that it merged datasets from different sources, such as RSCO and PSIS. We encountered some difficulties in matching data where documentation was not present. In the future, all evaluation efforts would benefit from datasets with richer metadata.

f) No RSCO supply-side data:

For this study, we did not request RSCO supply-side data, which would have provided us with the number and location of RSCO-managed magnet and Open Choice seats available in the lottery. Ideally, a richer analysis of the school choice market would include data on both the demand side (who chooses?) and the supply side (what choices are available?). We did not request RSCO supply-side data because we understand that the current status of seat declaration data is complicated by mid-year attrition and other factors. To improve the quality of school choice evaluations in future years, we recommend that RSCO produce a standardized count of available seats in its choice schools.

Given the first limitation noted above, our primary major task was to link records between CSDE data silos. We began with 18,366 RSCO Spring 2013 applications for all grades from the entire state that were provided to us in the October 2014 data delivery. After removing 31 duplicates (due to the RSCO practice in Spring 2013 of creating a second entry when manually placing students in a second school), we focused on 17,710 applicants from all grades who resided in the RSCO transportation area. Among these applicants, 35 percent resided in the City of Hartford and 62 percent resided in the suburban RSCO transportation area.

| | Total in | | , | Suburbs (RSCO only) | Out of RSCO area |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------|-------|------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| original applications file provided by RSCO | 18366 | | | | |
| duplicates removed due to RSCO manual placement | 31 | | | | |
| non-duplicated applications | 18335 | 17710 | 6360 | 11350 | 625 |
| percent of total | | 97% | 35% | 62% | 3% |

Using both automatic matching (by Last name, First name, Date of birth), and manual inspection of semi-automated matching (with two of the three variables above to catch different spellings, hyphenations, mistaken birthdates, with current, past, and future PSIS), we successfully linked 13,996 RSCO transportation-area applicants from all grades to PSIS (79 percent), as shown in the table below. Younger RSCO applicants (PreK3, PreK4, and Not in School) were the most difficult to match, since most are not enrolled in public schools and thus not in PSIS. Also, we removed a very small number (<5) of Grade 12 students who participated in next year's school choice. Therefore, by narrowing our focus to K-11 RSCO applicants in the transportation area, we successfully matched 10,667 (or 94 percent) to the PSIS database in 2012-13, or one year before or after.

Later in the study, we also linked the Hartford-resident portion of these K-11 RSCO-PSIS matched records to the HPS database, and successfully connected 3,180 (or 73 percent). The HPS database contained student home address data that was not available in the state's PSIS database. We geocoded the home addresses for nearly all of these Hartford-resident HPS students to link them to the American Community Survey 2009-13 census block group estimates for neighborhood-level socioeconomic data on median household income and percent of owner-occupied homes. We relied on linked census data as a socioeconomic measure for Hartford HPS students, since it is a continuous variable with fewer limitations than the Free and Reduced Price Meals proxy. In the suburbs, where we did not have student home address data provided by local school districts, we used the Free and Reduced Price Meals variable as a lower-income proxy.

| | RSCO transp | PSIS - RSCO | Pct matched PSIS- | Hartford residents | PSIS- RSCO- HPS | Pct matched PSIS- RSCO- |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| RSCO Spring 2013 apps by match rate | area | match | RSCO | only | match | HPS |
| Not in school | 2878 | 1219 | 42% | 821 | 8 | 1% |
| PreK3 | 1589 | 606 | 38% | 435 | 34 | 8% |
| PreK4 | 1937 | 1504 | 78% | 762 | 162 | 20% |
| Kindergarten | 1074 | 981 | 91% | 395 | 265 | 67% |
| Grade 1 | 938 | 879 | 94% | 397 | 291 | 73% |
| Grade 2 | 840 | 777 | 93% | 353 | 270 | 76% |
| Grade 3 | 826 | 784 | 95% | 367 | 288 | 78% |
| Grade 4 | 761 | 721 | 95% | 339 | 263 | 77% |
| Grade 5 | 1774 | 1721 | 97% | 490 | 373 | 76% |
| Grade 6 | 758 | 716 | 94% | 270 | 190 | 70% |
| Grade 7 | 687 | 632 | 92% | 286 | 188 | 65% |
| Grade 8 | 2399 | 2294 | 96% | 934 | 722 | 77% |
| Grade 9 | 710 | 670 | 94% | 297 | 191 | 63% |
| Grade 10 | 424 | 387 | 91% | 171 | 111 | 64% |
| Grade 11 | 114 | 105 | 92% | 43 | 28 | 63% |
| Total: All Grades (except 12th) | 17710 | 13996 | 79% | 6360 | 3384 | 53% |
| Total: Not in School + PK3 + PK4 | 6404 | 3329 | 52% | 2018 | 204 | 10% |
| Total: K-11 only | 11305 | 10667 | 94% | 4342 | 3180 | 73% |

In this report, we compare grade K-11 RSCO Spring 2013 lottery applicants from the transportation zone to non-applicants, only if their matches appeared in the PSIS Fall 2012 database. Although we initially found SASID identification numbers for 10,667 RSCO K-11 applicants in the Spring 2013 lottery, only 10,083 (95 percent) of these students appear in the Fall 2012 PSIS. The other 5 percent either moved into the Hartford region after October 2012, or appeared in the Fall 2011 or Fall 2013 PSIS.

As a result, our study focuses on 152,376 K-11 students from PSIS Fall 2012 who resided in the regional transportation area. We divide these into two groups: the applicants (10,083 who we matched in the RSCO Spring 2013 lottery) and the non-applicants (142,293 who had no match in that lottery). Overall, 7 percent of these PSIS K-11 students submitted RSCO applications that spring, which broke down to 18 percent for Hartford residents and 5 percent for suburban residents.

Later in the report, to compare achievement differences, we narrowed our analysis to students in the CMT grades levels (3-8). We found that only 82 percent of Hartford residents were reported to have scores in three subject areas (reading, writing, and mathematics), while 93 percent of suburban residents had three CMT scores.

| | | Hartford | Suburbs in |
|-------------------------------------------------------|------------------|-----------|-------------|
| PSIS Fall 2012 students by residence | RSCO Transp Area | residents | transp area |
| All Grades | 170288 | 23480 | 146808 |
| Grades K-11 | 152376 | 21027 | 131349 |
| Non-Applicants (no match in RSCO Spring 2013 lottery) | 142293 | 17211 | 125082 |
| Applicants (matched in RSCO Spring 2013 lottery) | 10083 | 3816 | 6267 |
| Pct RSCO applicants in K-11 PSIS | 7% | 18% | 5% |
| Grades 3-8 (CMT grades) | 75813 | 10019 | 65794 |
| Gr 3-8 with 3 CMT scores | 69598 | 8186 | 61412 |
| Pct Gr3-8 with 3 CMT scores | 92% | 82% | 93% |

D. Key Findings

1) English Language Learners and Special Education students by residence

For Hartford-resident K-11 students, English Language Learners and special education students were less likely to participate in the RSCO lottery in Spring 2013. We found that 176 fewer Hartford ELL students applied than expected (26 percent less), and 89 fewer special education students applied than expected (16 percent less). For suburban K-11 students, special education students also were less likely to participate, with 101 fewer than expected (about 15 percent less), but we found no disparity in applying between suburban English Language Learners and non-English Language Learners.

| Residence | English Language Learners K-11 | Probability of applying | Actual | Expected | Difference | Percent Difference from Expected |
|-----------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|--------|----------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Hartford | ELL | 0.13 | 500 | 676 | 176 fewer ELL students | -26% |
| Tiartioid | not ELL | 0.19 | | | applied than expected | -20% |
| Suburbs | ELL | 0.045 | | | No significant difference | |
| Suburbs | not ELL | 0.048 | | | No significant difference | |

| Residence | Special Education K-11 | Probability of applying | Actual | Expected | Difference | Percent Difference from Expected |
|-----------|------------------------|----------------------------|--------|----------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Hartford | SPED | 0.15 | 484 | 573 | 89 fewer SPED students | -16% |
| Hartioid | not SPED | 0.19 | | | applied than expected | -10% |
| Suburbs | SPED | 0.040 | 592 | 693 | 101 fewer SPED students | -15% |
| Juburus | not SPED | 0.049 | | | applied than expected | -13% |

2) Socioeconomic status by residence

We found opposite patterns when looking at the socioeconomic status for urban and suburban students who participated in the RSCO 2013 lottery. In Hartford, 90 percent of students qualify for the federal Free and Reduced Price School Meal program, so we developed a more precise SES measure using home address data provided for all urban students enrolled in any HPS school. We successfully geocoded 73 percent of student addresses to census block group estimates for median household income and percent owner-occupied housing, and found that Hartford-resident HPS K-11 students who lived in higher-income and higher-homeownership census areas were more likely to participate in the lottery.

Among Hartford-resident HPS K-11 students, 138 more higher-income students (or 24 percent) and 163 more higher-homeownership students (or 28 percent) applied than expected.

| Residence | lincome of concue block | Probability of applying | Actual | Expected | Difference | Pct Diff. from Exp. |
|-------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------|----------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Hartford in | Over \$40k | 0.23 | 703 | 565 | 138 more higher-income | 2.40/ |
| HPS | Under \$20k | 0.19 | | | applied than expected | 24% |

| Residence | Percent owner-occupied housing of census block group, K-11 | Probability of applying | Actual | Expected | Difference | Pct Diff. from Exp. |
|-------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|--------|----------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| Hartford in | Over 40% | 0.23 | 755 | 592 | 163 more high-homeowner | 28% |
| HPS | Under 1% | 0.18 | | | applied than expected | 2070 |

For suburban K-11 students, we lacked home address data, so we measured individual eligibility for the federal Free and Reduced-Price Meals program as a proxy for lower-income students. When we combined all suburbs, lower-income students were much more likely to participate in the RSCO lottery, with 789 more lower-income applicants than expected (43 percent more).

| Residence | free or reduced-price | Propability | Actual | Expected | Difference | Pct Diff. from Exp. |
|-----------|-----------------------|-------------|--------|----------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| Culturale | Eligible | 0.068 | 2607 | 1818 | 789 more lower-income | 43% |
| Suburbs | Not eligible | 0.040 | | | students applied than expected | 45% |

3) Racial differences by residence

We also found significant racial differences for urban and suburban students who participated in the RSCO lottery in Spring 2013. While students may select multiple races, for this analysis we constructed three mutually exclusive categories (Black only, White only, and Hispanic with any race), which means that those with other racial identities are not included here.

For Hartford K-11 residents, 169 more Black students applied than expected (11 percent more), and 151 fewer Hispanic students applied than expected, but there were no significant differences for White students.

| Residence | Race, K-11 | Probability of applying | Actual | Expected | Difference | Pct Diff. from Exp. |
|-----------|--------------|-------------------------|--------|----------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| | Black | 0.20 | 1667 | 1498 | 169 more Black students | 11% |
| | Not Black | 0.17 | | | applied than expected | 11/0 |
| Hartford | Hispanic | 0.17 | 1826 | 1977 | 151 fewer Hispanic students | -8% |
| Паглоги | Not Hispanic | 0.20 | | | applied than expected | -0/0 |
| | White | 0.18 | | | No significant difference | |
| | Not White | 0.18 | | | No significant difference | |

For suburban residents in the same grades, the differences were larger. Both Black and Hispanic suburban students were more likely to apply, while White students were less likely to do so. Specifically, we found that 1,130 more Black students (169 percent more) and 478 more Hispanic (48 percent more) students applied than expected, but 1,907 fewer White students applied than expected (47 percent less).

| Residence | Race, K-11 | Probability of applying | Actual | Expected | Difference | Pct Diff. from Exp. |
|-----------|--------------|-------------------------|--------|----------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| | Black | 0.13 | 1797 | 667 | 1130 more Black students | 169% |
| | Not Black | 0.04 | | | applied than expected | 109/0 |
| Suburbs | Hispanic | 0.07 | 1481 | 1003 | 478 more Hispanic students | 48% |
| Suburbs | Not Hispanic | 0.04 | | | applied than expected | 40% |
| | White | 0.03 | 2147 | 4054 | 1907 fewer White students | -47% |
| | Not White | 0.09 | | | applied than expected | -4/70 |

When we focused more closely on the racial composition of suburban towns, we found that students in suburbs with more than 60 percent minority enrollment were far more likely to participate in the lottery. Specifically, 1,482 more students from predominantly minority suburban towns applied than expected (132 percent more).

| Residence | Student minority percentage of town, K-11 | Probability of applying | Actual | Expected | Difference | Pct Diff. from Exp. |
|-----------|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------|--------|----------|------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Suburbs | Over 60% | 0.11 | 2605 | 1123 | 1482 more students from towns > 60% minority applied | 132% |
| Sabarbs | Under 30% | 0.02 | | | than expected | 132/0 |

4) Student achievement by residence

To examine achievement disparities, we focused on grade 3-8 students who received scores in three areas of the Connecticut Mastery Test (reading, writing, and mathematics). While 93 percent of suburban residents received scores in all three areas, only 82 percent of Hartford residents did so, probably due to higher proportions of exemptions for English Language Learners, special education students, or other reasons. For Hartford-resident test takers, those with higher CMT reading scores were more likely to apply to the RSCO lottery in Spring 2013, but we found no difference in the math and writing scores. By contrast, when we combined all suburban test takers with reported scores, those with higher CMT results in all three areas were less likely to apply to the lottery, with 279 fewer higher-scoring students than expected.

| Residence | CT Mastery Test (higher- scoring = 4 or 5 in all three subjects) Grades 3-8 | Probability of applying | Actual | Expected | Difference | Percent Difference from Expected |
|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------|----------|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| | All subjects higher | 0.26 | | | No significant difference | |
| | All subjects lower | 0.25 | | | No significant difference | |
| Hartford | Reading higher | 0.27 | 900 | 846 | 54 more higher-scoring | 6% |
| | Reading lower | 0.24 | | | reading applied than expected | |
| Suburbs | All subjects higher | 0.056 | 2059 | 2338 | 279 fewer higher-scoring students applied than | -12% |
| Sabarbs | All subjects lower | 0.079 | | | expected | 12/0 |

F. Detailed Analysis

1) Characteristics of RSCO Applicants and Non-Applicants by Residence

The following tables describe characteristics of RSCO applicants and non-applicants in the pool of all PSIS students in 2012-13, in Hartford and the suburbs. In the general characteristics table, for example, 13 percent of Hartford applicants versus 4 percent of suburban applicants were English Language Learners. In the census characteristics, Hartford applicants lived in block groups with 26 percent home ownership versus 68 percent for suburban applicants. The achievement table reports percentages of higher-scoring students, defined as CMT levels 4 to 5.

| General Characteristics of RSCO 2013 applicants | | Hartford res | idents | Suburbar | n residents i | n transp area |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------|--------------|-------------|----------|---------------|---------------|
| and non-applicants in PSIS 12-13 | All | Apps | Non-Apps | All | Apps | Non-Apps |
| All K-11 | 21027 | 3816 (18%) | 17211 (82%) | 131349 | 6267 (5%) | 125082 (95%) |
| % Male | 51% | 50% | 52% | 51% | 50% | 51% |
| % English Language Learners (ELL) | 18% | 13% | 19% | 4% | 4% | 4% |
| % Special education needs | 15% | 13% | 16% | 11% | 9% | 11% |
| % Free or reduced-price meals | 90% | 94% | 89% | 29% | 40% | 28% |
| % Black | 39% | 44% | 38% | 11% | 29% | 10% |
| % Hispanic | 52% | 48% | 53% | 16% | 24% | 16% |
| % White | 4% | 4% | 4% | 65% | 34% | 66% |
| by Grade level | | | | | | |
| % Kindergarten | 9% | 9% | 10% | 8% | 9% | 8% |
| % grade 1 | 10% | 9% | 10% | 8% | 8% | 8% |
| % grade 2 | 9% | 8% | 9% | 8% | 7% | 8% |
| % grade 3 | 8% | 9% | 8% | 8% | 7% | 8% |
| % grade 4 | 8% | 8% | 8% | 8% | 6% | 8% |
| % grade 5 | 8% | 12% | 7% | 8% | 19% | 8% |
| % grade 6 | 8% | 6% | 8% | 8% | 7% | 9% |
| % grade 7 | 8% | 6% | 8% | 8% | 6% | 9% |
| % grade 8 | 8% | 22% | 5% | 9% | 21% | 8% |
| % grade 9 | 10% | 7% | 11% | 9% | 6% | 9% |
| % grade 10 | 7% | 4% | 8% | 9% | 3% | 9% |
| % grade 11 | 7% | 1% | 8% | 9% | 1% | 9% |

| Census Characteristics of RSCO 2013 applicants | Ha | artford residen | ts | Suburban residents in transp area | | |
|------------------------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------|----------|-----------------------------------|----------|----------|
| and non-applicants in PSIS 12-13 | by c | by census block group by town | | | | |
| All K-11, by census area (ACS 2009-13) | All | Apps | Non-Apps | All | Apps | Non-Apps |
| Average Pct owner-occupied housing | 24% | 26% | 24% | 71% | 68% | 72% |
| Average median household income | \$29,540 | \$30,382 | \$29,325 | \$74,461 | \$68,987 | \$74,735 |

| Achievement Characteristics of Applicants and Non-Applicants with 3 Reported Scores | На | Hartford residents | | | Suburban residents in transp area | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|--------------------|------|-------|-----------------------------------|----------|--|--|
| in Grades 3-8, CMT Spring 2013 | All | All Apps Non-Apps | | | Apps | Non-Apps | | |
| Students with 3 scores reported | 8186 | 2048 | 6138 | 61412 | 3896 | 57516 | | |
| % High-Achieving Math level (4-5) | 33% | 32% | 33% | 72% | 65% | 72% | | |
| % High-Achieving Reading level (4-5) | 41% | 44% | 40% | 74% | 70% | 74% | | |
| % High-Achieving Writing level (4-5) | 43% | 44% | 43% | 71% | 66% | 71% | | |
| % High-Achieving in All levels (4-5) | 20% | 21% | 19% | 57% | 50% | 58% | | |
| Avg Math Vertical score (200-700) | 490 | 500 | 487 | 534 | 536 | 534 | | |
| Avg Reading Vertical score (200-700) | 456 | 465 | 452 | 495 | 497 | 495 | | |

2) Hartford-Resident Applicants as Percent of School Enrollment The table below lists schools in order of RSCO applicants as a percentage of Hartford-resident student enrollment.

Hartford-resident K-11 RSCO 2013 Matched Applicants as Percent of School Enrollment

| Hartford-resident K-11 RSCO 2013 Matched Ap | oplicants as | Percent o | T SCHOOL EHROL | iment | <u> </u> | Apps as Det |
|---------------------------------------------|--------------|-----------|----------------|--------|---------------|--------------|
| | | | A muli no mto | Dat of | Cabaal Famall | Apps as Pct |
| | | | Applicants | | School Enroll | of Hartford- |
| Cala a I | C. J. | Type in | matched | Total | (Hartford-res | res School |
| School | Code | 12-13 | with PSIS | Apps | K-11 Oct '12) | Enroll |
| Dr. Joseph Bellizzi Middle School* | 0645311 | | 31 | 0.8% | 57 | 54% |
| Sarah J. Rawson Elementary School | 0641711 | | 209 | 5.5% | 558 | 37% |
| McDonough Expeditionary Learning School | | | 130 | 3.4% | 384 | 34% |
| Simpson-Waverly School | 0642611 | | 93 | 2.4% | 279 | 33% |
| West Middle School | 0642111 | | 200 | 5.2% | 616 | 32% |
| M. L. King School | 0641611 | | 106 | 2.8% | 336 | 32% |
| Kennelly School | 0641011 | | 206 | 5.4% | 684 | 30% |
| Montessori Magnet School at Annie Fisher | 0643711 | magnet | 23 | 0.6% | 79 | 29% |
| Batchelder School | 0640411 | | 136 | 3.6% | 482 | 28% |
| Two Rivers Magnet Middle School | 2415014 | magnet | 31 | 0.8% | 112 | 28% |
| Parkville Community School | 0641511 | | 134 | 3.5% | 498 | 27% |
| Dr. Ramon E. Betances Early Reading Lab Sc | 0642811 | | 69 | 1.8% | 258 | 27% |
| Dr. James H Naylor/CCSU Leadership Acade | 0641411 | | 180 | 4.7% | 687 | 26% |
| Clark School | 0642411 | | 87 | 2.3% | 361 | 24% |
| M. D. Fox Elementary School | 0640811 | | 128 | 3.4% | 533 | 24% |
| Fred D. Wish Museum School | 0642211 | | 90 | 2.4% | 375 | 24% |
| SAND School | 0640111 | | 110 | 2.9% | 484 | 23% |
| Burr School | 0642311 | | 160 | 4.2% | 706 | 23% |
| Renzulli Academy | 0644011 | | 25 | 0.7% | 115 | 22% |
| Breakthrough Magnet School | 0643311 | magnet | 34 | 0.9% | 158 | 22% |
| Noah Webster Micro Society School | 0642011 | magnet | 54 | 1.4% | 252 | 21% |
| Expeditionary Learning Academy at Moylan | | | 121 | 3.2% | 586 | 21% |
| Sanchez School | 0643011 | | 92 | 2.4% | 458 | 20% |
| University High of Science and Engineering | 0646711 | magnet | 28 | 0.7% | 148 | 19% |
| Montessori Magnet School | 2413114 | magnet | 20 | 0.5% | 106 | 19% |
| Burns Latino Studies Academy | 0640611 | | 105 | 2.8% | 564 | 19% |
| Hartford Magnet Trinity College Academy | 0645411 | magnet | 71 | 1.9% | 393 | 18% |
| Hartford Transitional Learning Academy | 0649011 | | 7 | 0.2% | 39 | 18% |
| STEM Magnet School at Annie-Fisher | 0642511 | magnet | 31 | 0.8% | 173 | 18% |
| Asian Studies Academy* | 0640711 | magnet | 87 | 2.3% | 514 | 17% |
| Achievement First Hartford Academy | 2880113 | charter | 138 | 3.6% | | |
| Milner Elementary School | 0641911 | Charter | 59 | 1.5% | 353 | 17% |
| Jumoke Academy | 2610113 | charter | 55 | 1.4% | 335 | 16% |
| Public Safety Academy | 2415214 | <u> </u> | 21 | 0.6% | 135 | 16% |
| Reggio Magnet School of the Arts | | magnet | | | | |
| | 2410314 | magnet | 16 | 0.4% | 104 | 15% |
| High School Inc. | 0647611 | | 41 | 1.1% | 286 | 14% |
| Betances STEM Magnet School | 0643811 | magnet | 6 | 0.2% | 44 | |
| Great Path Academy Middle College High So | 0647911 | magnet | 8 | 0.2% | 59 | 14% |

Table continued on next page

| Global Communications Academy | 0643611 | | 55 | 1.4% | 408 | 13% |
|----------------------------------------------|---------|----------|------|------|-------|-----|
| University of Hartford Magnet School | 2410214 | magnet | 18 | 0.5% | 142 | 13% |
| Breakthrough II Elementary School | 0643511 | magnet | 15 | 0.4% | 123 | 12% |
| Museum Academy | 2410514 | magnet | 12 | 0.3% | 102 | 12% |
| Glastonbury/East Hartford Magnet School | 2410114 | magnet | 6 | 0.2% | 53 | 11% |
| R.J. Kinsella Magnet School of Performing A | 0641111 | magnet | 35 | 0.9% | 310 | 11% |
| Bulkeley High School Lower School | 0646111 | | 66 | 1.7% | 586 | 11% |
| Environmental Sciences Magnet School at M | 0640911 | magnet | 26 | 0.7% | 260 | 10% |
| Culinary Arts Academy | 0646011 | | 19 | 0.5% | 196 | 10% |
| HPHS Law and Government Academy | 0647411 | | 39 | 1.0% | 416 | 9% |
| Academy of Aerospace and Engineering | 2415114 | magnet | 16 | 0.4% | 181 | 9% |
| Metropolitan Learning Center for Global an | 2416114 | magnet | 12 | 0.3% | 139 | 9% |
| Greater Hartford Academy of the Arts Magi | 2415314 | magnet | 7 | 0.2% | 85 | 8% |
| HPHS Academy of Engineering and Green T | 0647211 | | 26 | 0.7% | 329 | 8% |
| International Magnet School for Global Citiz | 2410414 | magnet | 7 | 0.2% | 90 | 8% |
| Greater Hartford Academy of the Arts High | 2416414 | magnet | 11 | 0.3% | 143 | 8% |
| HPHS Academy of Nursing and Health Scien | 0647511 | | 28 | 0.7% | 371 | 8% |
| Capital Preparatory Magnet School | 0646911 | magnet | 18 | 0.5% | 255 | 7% |
| Journalism and Media Academy Magnet Sci | 0647711 | | 9 | 0.2% | 130 | 7% |
| Pathways Academy of Technology and Desi | 0646611 | magnet | 9 | 0.2% | 132 | 7% |
| Howell Cheney Technical High School | 9001616 | technica | 8 | 0.2% | 122 | 7% |
| Classical Magnet School | 0646411 | magnet | 18 | 0.5% | 278 | 6% |
| Sports and Medical Sciences Academy | 0646511 | magnet | 14 | 0.4% | 289 | 5% |
| Global Experience Magnet School | 0116311 | magnet | ≤ 5 | 0.1% | 22 | na |
| Connecticut IB Academy | 0436311 | magnet | ≤ 5 | 0.1% | 36 | na |
| Bulkeley High School Upper School | 0647111 | | ≤ 5 | 0.1% | 209 | na |
| Ana Grace Academy of the Arts Elementary | 2410614 | magnet | ≤ 5 | 0.1% | 25 | na |
| Medical Professions and Teacher Preparation | 2416514 | magnet | ≤ 5 | 0.1% | 77 | na |
| Two Rivers Magnet High School | 2416714 | magnet | ≤ 5 | 0.1% | 28 | na |
| Discovery Academy | 2418114 | magnet | ≤ 5 | 0.0% | 30 | na |
| Connecticut River Academy | 2456014 | magnet | ≤ 5 | 0.1% | 119 | na |
| A.I. Prince Technical High School | 9001516 | technica | ≤5 | 0.1% | 408 | na |
| Others with Hartford residents | | | 164 | | 1798 | 9% |
| TOTAL | | | 3816 | 100% | 21027 | 18% |

Note: This table shows only RSCO applicants matched with PSIS data.

Note: Bellizzi Middle School phased into Asian Studies Academy at end of 2012-13.

3) Statistical Analysis of the Characteristics of RSCO Applicants

The last two tables summarize our answer to this question: are students with a specific characteristic more likely to apply than students without that characteristic? Our key findings are featured in the front of this report. We tested to see if these probabilities are statistically significant, and if so, we reported the direction and magnitude of the difference. Since our sample size is large, small differences can be statistically significant, so we note that actual versus expected numbers to calculate the gap and place it in context. We use the Pearson chi-square statistic to test for statistical significance at the 95 percent level of confidence.

Hartford-resident Probability of Submitting RSCO 2013 Application by Characteristic

| Hartford K-11 | Probability | Actual | Eveneted | Difference | Pct Diff. |
|-----------------------------|-------------|--------|----------|------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Hartford K-11 | of applying | Actuai | Expected | Difference | from Exp. |
| Male | 0.18 | | | No significant difference | |
| Female | 0.19 | | | No significant difference | |
| English Language Learner | 0.13 | 500 | 676 | 176 fewer ELL students | -26% |
| not ELL | 0.19 | | | applied than expected | -20% |
| Special Ed | 0.15 | 484 | 573 | 89 fewer SPED students | -16% |
| not SPED | 0.19 | | | applied than expected | -10% |
| Black | 0.20 | 1667 | 1498 | 169 more Black students | 11% |
| Not Black | 0.17 | | | applied than expected | 11/0 |
| Hispanic | 0.17 | 1826 | 1977 | 151 fewer Hispanic students | -8% |
| Not Hispanic | 0.20 | | | applied than expected | -0/0 |
| White | 0.18 | | | No significant difference | |
| Not White | 0.18 | | | No significant difference | |
| Hartford in HPS K-11 | | | | | |
| Median household income of | | | | | |
| census block group | | | | | |
| Over \$40k | 0.23 | 703 | 565 | 138 more higher-income | 24% |
| Under \$20k | 0.19 | | | applied than expected | 24% |
| Percent owner-occupied | | | | | |
| housing of census blk group | | | | | |
| Over 40% | 0.23 | 755 | 592 | 163 more high- | 200/ |
| Under 1% | 0.18 | | | homeownership applied than | 28% |
| Hartford CMT Gr 3-8 | | | | | |
| Higher Scoring (4-5) | | | | | |
| All subjects higher | 0.26 | | | No significant difference | |
| All subjects lower | 0.25 | | | No significant difference | |
| Reading higher | 0.27 | 900 | 846 | 54 more higher-scoring reading applied than expected | 6% |
| Reading lower | 0.24 | | | Treading applied than expected | |
| Writing higher | 0.26 | | | No significant difference | |
| Writing lower | 0.25 | | | No significant difference | |
| Math higher | 0.24 | | | No significant difference | |
| Math lower | 0.25 | | | No significant difference | |

Suburban Probability of Submitting RSCO 2013 Application by Characteristic

| Suburban K-11 | Probability | Actual | Expected | Difference | Pct Diff. | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|--------|----------|---------------------------------------------------|-----------|--|
| | of applying | Actual | LAPECIEU | | from Exp. | |
| Male | 0.047 | 3152 | 3221 | 69 fewer males than | -2% | |
| Female | 0.049 | | | expected | -2/0 | |
| English Language Learner | 0.045 | | | No significant difference | | |
| not ELL | 0.048 | | | No significant difference | | |
| Special Ed | 0.040 | 592 | 693 | 101 fewer SPED students | -15% | |
| not SPED | 0.049 | | | applied than expected | 1370 | |
| Free or Reduced Price Meal | 0.068 | 2607 | 1818 | 789 more lower-income students applied than | 43% | |
| not FRPM | 0.040 | | | expected | 1370 | |
| Black | 0.13 | 1797 | 667 | 1130 more Black students | 169% | |
| Not Black | 0.04 | | | applied than expected | 155/0 | |
| Hispanic | 0.07 | 1481 | 1003 | 478 more Hispanic students | 48% | |
| Not Hispanic | 0.04 | | | applied than expected | 10/0 | |
| White | 0.03 | 2147 | 4054 | 1907 fewer White students | -47% | |
| Not White | 0.09 | | | applied than expected | 1770 | |
| Asian | 0.08 | 598 | 361 | 237 more Asian students applied than expected | 66% | |
| Not Asian | 0.05 | | | аррпец спап ехрестец | | |
| Student minority composition of town | | | | | | |
| Over 60% | 0.11 | 2605 | 1123 | 1482 more students from towns with > 60% minority | 132% | |
| Under 30% | 0.02 | | | applied than expected | 132/0 | |
| Suburban CMT Gr 3-8 | | | | | • | |
| Higher Scoring (4-5) | | | | | | |
| All subjects higher | 0.056 | 2059 | 2338 | 279 fewer higher-scoring students applied than | -12% | |
| All subjects lower | 0.079 | | | expected | | |
| Reading higher | 0.060 | 2712 | 2879 | 167 fewer higher-scoring | -6% | |
| Reading lower | 0.074 | | | reading than expected | | |
| Math higher | 0.057 | 2526 | 2791 | 265 fewer higher-scoring math than expected | -9% | |
| Math lower | 0.079 | | | main man expected | | |
| Writing higher | 0.059 | 2574 | 2769 | 195 fewer higher-scoring writing than expected | -7% | |
| Writing lower | 0.074 | | | witting than expected | | |

Conclusion

Connecticut's school desegregation strategy relies upon voluntary school choice programs, such as interdistrict magnet schools and city-suburban transfer programs. To evaluate the effectiveness of these programs, we needed clearer answers to the "who chooses?" question, by conducting a statistical comparison of applicants and non-applicants to the Regional School Choice Office lottery as demonstrated in this report.

Overall, when we compared Hartford-resident K-11 applicants to non-applicants in the RSCO 2013 lottery, we found some disparities. Hartford students who are English Language Learners were much less likely to apply, with 26 percent fewer students than expected. Hartford students with special education needs were somewhat less likely to apply, with 16 percent fewer than expected. Hartford students living in higher-income or higher-homeownership areas were more likely to apply, with 24 and 28 percent more students than expected, respectively. Regarding test score differences, Hartford applicants had slightly higher reading scores than non-applicants, but this disparity was small and was not found in any other subject areas. Along racial lines, we found that Hartford Black students were more likely to apply (11 percent more than expected), while Hispanic students were less likely (8 percent fewer than expected), with no difference for White students.

Among suburban students, the data reveal several large disparities. Suburban lower-income students were more likely to apply (43 percent more students than expected). Black suburban students were much more likely to apply (169 percent more than expected), and Hispanic suburban students were more likely to apply (48 percent more than expected), while White suburban students were less likely to apply (47 percent fewer than expected). Students in suburbs with more than 60 percent minority enrollment were far more likely to apply (132 percent more students than expected). Regarding achievement tests, higher-scoring suburban students were less likely to apply (12 percent fewer students than expected).

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¹ Jack Dougherty, Diane Zannoni, Marissa Block, and Stephen Spirou, *Who Chooses in Hartford? Report 1: Statistical Analysis of Regional School Choice Office Applicants and Non-Applicants among Hartford-Resident HPS Students in Grades 3-7, Spring 2012* (Hartford, CT: Cities Suburbs Schools Project at Trinity College, May 12, 2014), http://digitalrepository.trincoll.edu/cssp_papers/46.

² Beth Schiavino-Narvaez, *Transition Report* (Hartford Public Schools, 2014), page 4, http://www.hartfordschools.org/files/OIA/HPS TRANSITION REPORT FINAL COPY web.pdf.

³ Sheff v O'Neill, "Stipulation and Order [Remedy Phase III Extension]" (Superior Court: Complex Litigation Docket at Hartford, CT, HHD-X07-CV89-4026240-S, February 23, 2015), p. 9, https://www.dropbox.com/s/sqnwqekd1y8f7rb/Sheff20150223PhaseIV.pdf?dl=0.

⁴ Jack Dougherty et al., "School Information, Parental Decisions, and the Digital Divide: The SmartChoices Project in Hartford, Connecticut," in *Educational Delusions? Why Choice Can Deepen Inequality and How to Make Schools Fair*, ed. Gary Orfield and Erica Frankenberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 219–37; Matthew Daly, "Governor Signs Lottery, Charter School Bills," *Hartford Courant*, June 6, 1996.

⁵ Robert Cotto, Jr., *The Limits of Data on Free and Reduced Price Meal Eligibility in Connecticut* (New Haven, CT: Connecticut Voices for Children, March 2012), http://www.ctvoices.org/publications/limits-data-free-and-reduced-price-meal-eligibility-connecticut; Will Huntsberry, "True Or False? Free And Reduced-Price Lunch = Poor," *NPR.org*, January 30, 2015, http://www.npr.org/blogs/ed/2015/01/30/379330001/true-or-false-free-and-reduced-price-lunch-poor.