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Choice Watch: Diversity and Access in Connecticut's School Choice Programs

**Robert Cotto, Jr., Ed.M.
Kenneth Feder**

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33 Whitney Avenue
New Haven, CT 06510
Phone: 203.498.4240
Fax: 203.498.4242

Website: www.ctvoices.org
E-mail: voices@ctvoices.org

I. Introduction

This report examines the impact of Connecticut’s interdistrict school choice programs on the state’s goals of providing an *equal educational opportunity* to every child – the opportunity to attend a well-resourced school with an integrated learning environment that prepares students (1) to engage in a democratic society *and* (2) to access gainful employment or higher education.¹

Interdistrict school choice programs permit parents to enroll their children in schools outside their local school district.² Nearly 50,000 Connecticut students now utilize one of these programs,³ and the State has spent millions of dollars above and beyond its traditional commitment to local public schools to support and expand various choice programs.⁴ National research shows that, when appropriately designed and regulated, school choice can help reduce student racial and ethnic isolation in public schools and provide otherwise disadvantaged students access to learning environments that meet their unique needs. When poorly designed, however, choice programs can exacerbate existing segregation and limit educational opportunities for students who are not English language dominant or who have disabilities.

This report focuses on interdistrict magnet, charter, and technical schools. Not only do these programs have larger enrollment than the state’s other choice programs and more readily available demographic data, but they also have a diverse set of missions, regulations, and program offerings that allow for an analysis of the impact of school design on integration and opportunity. This report seeks to answer the following questions:

- What is the demographic composition of Connecticut’s school choice programs?
- Do Connecticut’s choice programs reduce or increase racial segregation?
- Do Connecticut’s choice programs reduce or increase socioeconomic segregation?
- Are emerging bilingual students, for whom English is not a first language, proportionately represented in school choice programs?
- Are students with disabilities proportionately represented in school choice programs?

To answer these questions, the report examines the enrollment and demographics of each of Connecticut’s school choice programs throughout the state and, in the case of school choice programs in each of the State’s four largest towns (which enroll the most students in choice programs), it draws demographic comparisons between the choice programs and the local public schools of each respective town.

State level findings:

- Demographic Composition: When compared to all Connecticut public schools, charter, magnet and technical schools enroll a higher proportion of students of color and low-income students; by contrast, charter, magnet, and technical schools enroll a slightly lower proportion of emerging bilingual students and students with disabilities.
- Racial Segregation: A majority of magnet and technical schools are integrated by race/ethnicity, where integrated is defined as enrolling between 25% and 75% minority students (see Appendix A: Extended Methods). By contrast, a majority of charter schools are hypersegregated by race/ethnicity, where hypersegregated is defined as enrolling more than 90% or less than 10% minority students (again, see Appendix A: Extended Methods).
- Socioeconomic Segregation: A majority of all school choice programs are integrated by socioeconomic status, where integrated is defined as enrolling between 25% and 75% students eligible for free or reduced price meals (Appendix A: Extended Methods).
- Emerging Bilingual Enrollment: Emerging bilingual students are at least five percentage points underrepresented in a majority of all charter, magnet, and technical schools when these schools are compared to the local public schools of the towns in which they are located.

- Students with Disabilities Enrollment: Students with disabilities are at least five percentage points underrepresented in a more than a third of all charter and magnet schools, and a majority of technical schools, when these schools are compared to the local public schools of the towns in which they are located.

Local findings:

- Racial Segregation: In Connecticut's four largest cities – Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, and Stamford – magnet schools are typically more integrated by race/ethnicity than the local public schools. By contrast, technical schools in Bridgeport and Hartford are slightly more segregated than those towns' public schools (New Haven and Stamford have no technical schools), and charter schools are more segregated by race/ethnicity than the local public schools in all four towns.
- Socioeconomic Integration: In Connecticut's four largest cities, school choice programs are typically more integrated by socioeconomic status than the local public schools, reflecting the fact that these programs are less likely to enroll low income students. Charter schools in Stamford and New Haven prove the exception to this rule, with Stamford charter schools less and New Haven schools comparably integrated.
- Emerging Bilingual Enrollment: Emerging bilingual students are underrepresented in every choice program in all four large cities.
- Students with Disabilities Enrollment: Students with disabilities are underrepresented in every choice program in all four large cities, with the exception of Stamford's charters where they are overrepresented.

II. Background: The History of and Theory Behind School Choice

In 1969, the State of Connecticut enacted legislation defining four state educational interests:

- To provide every Connecticut child with an equal opportunity to receive a *suitable program* of educational experiences;
- To provide *financing sufficient* for students to achieve such a suitable education;
- To reduce *racial and ethnic isolation* by providing its students with educational opportunities to interact with students and teachers from other racial, ethnic, and economic backgrounds; and
- To implement the other educational requirements set forth in statute.⁵

Over the past several decades, Connecticut has relied increasingly on a variety of public “school choice” programs to help fulfill the state’s educational goals.⁶

Prior to the introduction of school choice, Connecticut families chose between public schools by choosing where to live, buying or renting homes in the town in which they wanted their children to attend school.⁷ The school district typically assigned children to specific schools based primarily on their neighborhood of residence.⁸ Families dissatisfied with these options could home-school their children or send them to private school.

Neighborhood choice as a means of school choice has obvious limitations. Discriminatory practices in the advertising and sale of real estate that began as early as the 1930s and ’40s led to dramatic racial and ethnic segregation, with white families concentrated in suburban towns and minority families in urban centers.⁹ This in turn had the impact of dramatically segregating school districts by race and ethnicity. Such segregation persists to this day, undercutting the ability of schools to prepare students to participate in democratic institutions and collaborate in the workplace in a diverse society.¹⁰

Over time, public school choice has developed as an alternative and increasingly widespread method of selecting public schools for one’s children. Rather than having children assigned to a school in their local school district of the town in which they reside, parents may opt to enroll their children in a school choice program that may or may not be located in their town of residence. Currently, Connecticut offers five school choice options:¹¹

- Technical high schools;
- Agricultural science and technology centers;
- The *Open Choice* program;
- Interdistrict magnet schools; and
- Charter schools.

Many of these programs have operated for decades but, while all seek to promote academic success, they do not share all the same goals.

- Connecticut’s technical schools have operated since the 1910s to provide students with the opportunity to master trade and technology skills.¹²
- Agricultural education centers were established in their current form in the 1950s to prepare students for careers in the environmental, natural resources, and agriculture science fields.¹³
- The Open Choice program – which allows urban students to attend suburban public schools – began in the 1960s (when it was named Project Concern) to reduce racial and ethnic segregation.¹⁴
- Interdistrict magnet schools, introduced in the 1980s, sought to reduce racial, ethnic, and economic segregation, by providing high quality, theme-based curricula that would attract students from a range of towns and backgrounds.¹⁵

- Charter schools, the newest of the school choice options intended to improve academic achievement, promote innovation and reduce racial, ethnic and economic isolation, began operating in the 1990s.¹⁶

Proponents of school choice generally fall into one of two camps: those who seek to heighten school quality and improve individual educational outcomes through market forces, and those who seek to effect positive societal change by using school choice as means to create a more inclusive and integrated learning environment.¹⁷

The first group of choice proponents – those who seek to improve school quality and maximize individual educational outcomes through market forces – believe that competition for students among educational providers will improve school performance and create efficiencies that lead to better educational services for individual families and children.¹⁸ This theory, sometimes called “market theory,” is based on the ideals of a well-functioning market, which in the context of public education would mean:

- Families have equal access to information needed to make fully informed choices;
- Families have knowledge of the school choice process and equal capacity to exercise their choices;
- Schools are willing and able to accept children who apply to them, and are willing and able to keep children in school absent a family choice to move children to a different setting;
- Children have equal access to their selected schools, without barriers such as lack of transportation; and
- There are low barriers to entry into the educational market, and parties who seek to provide new educational options to meet student needs have equal opportunity to open new programs.

These proponents of choice believe that, given the existence of a well-functioning market, education funds should be deployed in such a way that individual families have equal and unfettered opportunities to select among a number of school options based on what they believe will produce the best educational outcomes for their children.¹⁹ School options might include magnet schools, charter schools, and public or private schools that might accept a voucher.²⁰

In the context of public school selection, however, these ideal market conditions likely do not exist. Rather:

- Only limited information, such as test scores, may be available to parents about school quality, making informed choices challenging;
- Only some families may have full knowledge of the choice process because of societal barriers, and those families with socioeconomic, linguistic, or regional advantages may be able to exploit the choice process to their advantage;
- Schools may intentionally or unintentionally exclude students who are challenging to educate;
- Transportation to any school may not be readily available;
- Because of the challenges of opening a school, new choice programs may not be able to enter the market quickly enough to meet parental demands.

The second group of school choice proponents (sometimes called “integration theorists”) are unsatisfied with simply increasing individual educational outcomes. They seek instead to redress societal inequities by providing students who are deprived of educational opportunity through segregation or isolation the opportunity to attend integrated schools that can meet their educational needs and prepare them to be participants in public institutions and the workforce of a diverse society.²¹ Integration theorists may fear that market flaws not only undercut the ability of competition to raise school quality, but also further increase social inequalities as parents of greater privilege exploit the choice process to self-segregate, leaving the most vulnerable children effectively shut out of a range of educational opportunities. Therefore, this second group of school choice proponents often support regulations, protections, and incentives to ensure

both that school choice actually achieves its goal of integration, and that students disadvantaged by socioeconomic status, English language proficiency, or disability derive the same benefits from the choice process as their peers.

These alternative perspectives on school choice matter. They inform how officials design public school choice programs and can affect schools and communities. Increasingly, researchers have presented evidence that public school choice can exacerbate existing inequality among schools and communities absent sufficient oversight and equity safeguards.²² **In other words, if school choice is designed to serve *only* the individual interests of families, then the aggregate impact of choice programs would likely undermine achieving the goal of equitable educational opportunity.** This report examines the impact of Connecticut's choice programs on integration and equity to determine whether such choice actually improves educational opportunity for our state's children.

III. Methods

This report uses enrollment data provided by the State Department of Education (SDE) for the 2011-2012 school year (hereafter SY 2012).²³ The enrollment data provided counts at the school level of the number of children in each demographic category along several dimensions (grade, race/ethnicity, free/reduced price meals eligibility, ELL identification, and special education identification), allowing for an analysis of each school's integration or segregation by race/ethnicity and/or socioeconomic status. The data further allow a comparative analysis of choice schools versus local public schools, assessing both relative integration as well as relative enrollment of children who do not speak English as a first language and children with disabilities.

This report focuses on interdistrict magnet, charter, and technical schools:

- Interdistrict magnet schools are public schools, operated by a local or regional school district, a regional educational service center, or a cooperative arrangement involving two or more districts.²⁴ Interdistrict magnet schools have two stated goals: (1) to reduce, eliminate or prevent the racial, ethnic, or economic isolation of public school students, and (2) to offer a high-quality curriculum that supports educational improvement.²⁵ Interdistrict magnet schools that began operating after July 1, 2005 must enroll a student body which is between 25% and 75% students of color.²⁶ The Commissioner of Education can withhold interdistrict magnet grant funds from operators of schools that do not meet this standard.²⁷
- Charter schools are public schools organized as non-profit entities that operate independently of local and regional boards of education.²⁸ Charter schools have four stated goals: (1) to improve academic achievement, (2) to provide for educational innovation, (3) to provide vehicles for the reduction of racial, ethnic and economic isolation, and (4) to provide a choice of public education programs for students and their parents.²⁹ Charter schools may have their charter revoked if they fail to attract, enroll, and retain low-income students, minority students, emerging bilingual students, or students with disabilities, and may be placed on probation if they fail to make measurable progress in reducing racial, ethnic, and economic isolation.³⁰ However, no integration standards or external benchmarks exist to indicate whether a charter school is achieving measurable progress in reducing racial, ethnic, and economic isolation. In most instances, charter school operators set goals for themselves in their applications for a new charter and subsequent annual reports.³¹
- The Connecticut Technical High School System constitutes its own school district governed by the State Board of Education.³² The stated goal of technical high schools is to provide students in Grades 9-12 with the opportunity to master trade and technology skills while earning a high school diploma.³³ Technical high schools have no integration requirements.

These schools are the focus of our report because they are the State's three largest school choice programs, and the ones for which enrollment data were readily available. Furthermore, because missions and integration standards differ across school types,³⁴ comparing school types provide an opportunity to see if different school choice policies lead to different enrollment outcomes, and to determine whether integration standards impact access to the school market and help or hinder the mission of providing equal educational opportunity.

For a detailed discussion of analysis and research methodology, see Appendix A: Detailed Methods.

IV. Summary of Choice Program Enrollment

In the 2011-12, there were 49,254 children enrolled in Connecticut’s school choice programs. Of these, 89% attended magnet, charter, or technical schools. Our analysis focuses on these three programs.

Figure 1: School Choice Programs in Connecticut in 2011-2012

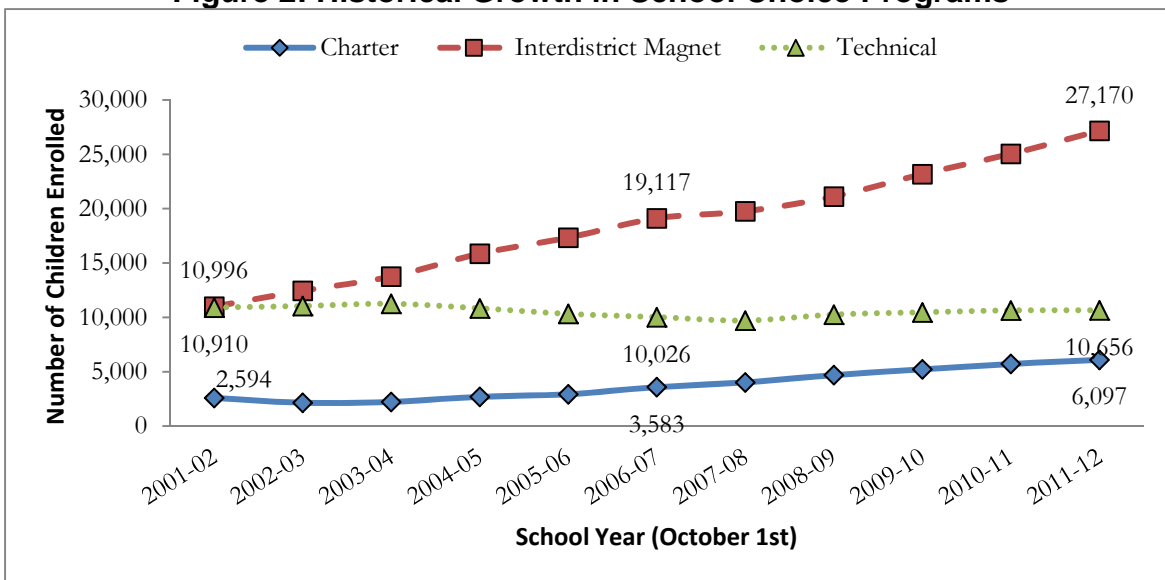
Type of School/Program	Number of Children	Number of Schools	Grade levels (varies)
All Public Schools ³⁵	553,861	1,134	PK-12
Interdistrict Magnet	27,170	63	PK-12
Technical ³⁶	10,656	16	9-12
Charter ³⁷	6,097	17	PK-12
Agricultural Science and Tech. Center ³⁸	3,245	19	9-12
Open Choice ³⁹	2,086	—	PK-12

Source: CT Voices for Children’s Analysis of Connecticut State Department of Education Data, 2012

a. Historical Enrollment

Enrollment in choice programs has grown dramatically over the last decade, driven primarily by growth in magnet and charter programs, both of which have more than doubled their enrollment.

Figure 2: Historical Growth in School Choice Programs

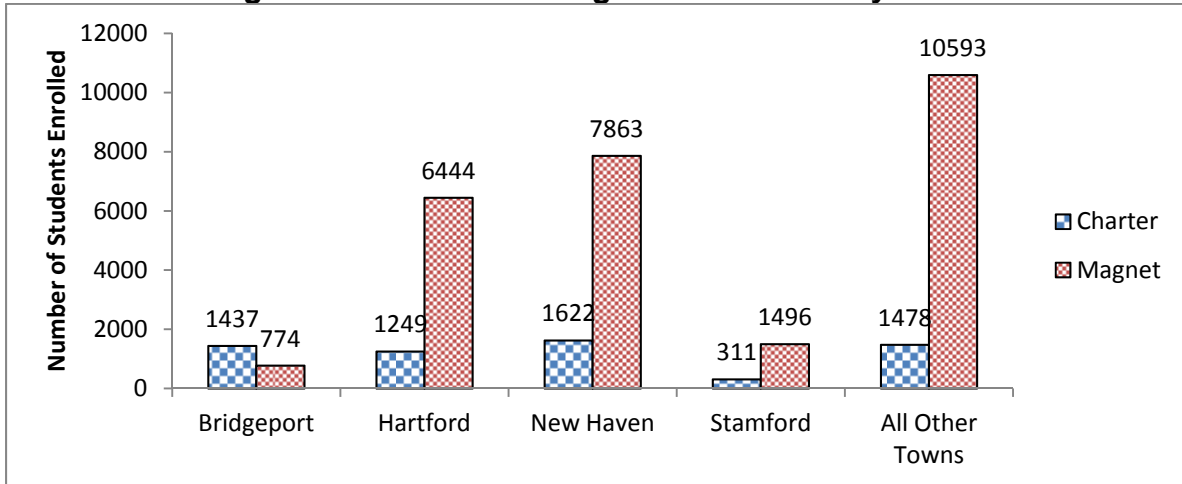


Source: CT Voices for Children’s Analysis of Connecticut State Department of Education Data, 2012

b. Location

Interdistrict magnet and charter schools are concentrated in Connecticut’s large cities. In fact, 62 percent of students attending a charter or magnet school attend school in one of four cities: Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, and Stamford.

Figure 3: Charter and Magnet Attendance by Town



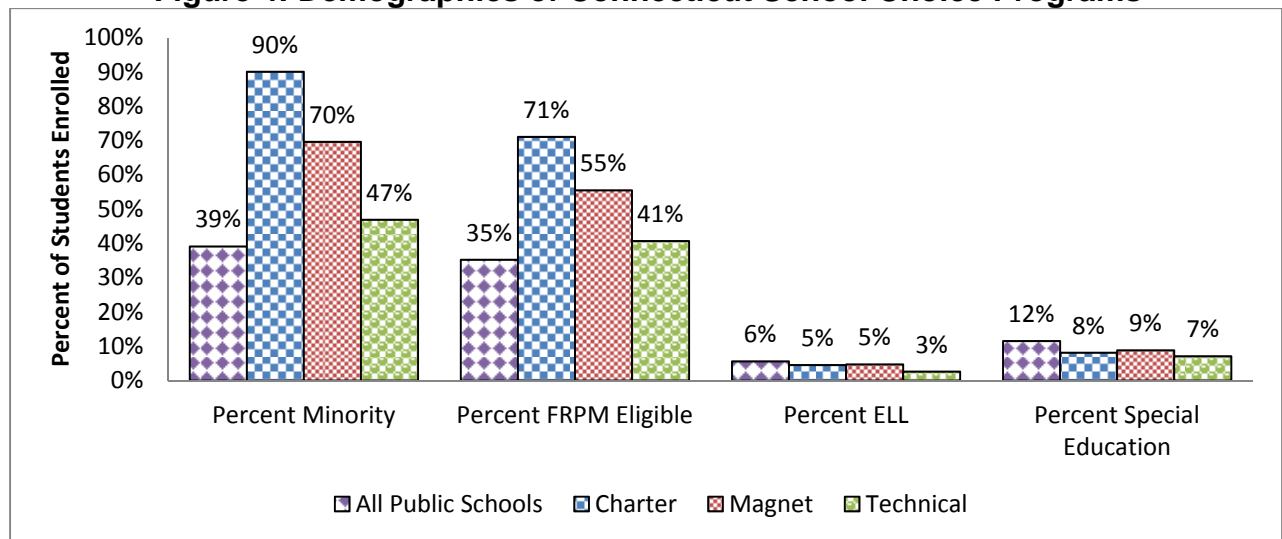
Source: CT Voices for Children’s Analysis of Connecticut State Department of Education Data, 2012

By contrast, the technical high schools are scattered throughout Connecticut, with each of the 16 located in a different town.⁴⁰

c. Demographic Summary

All three choice programs (magnet, charter, and technical) are more likely than the typical Connecticut public school to enroll minority students. They are also more likely to enroll students eligible for Free or Reduced Price Meals (FRPM), a common metric of student socioeconomic status. However, they are slightly less likely to enroll identified ELL and special education students.

Figure 4: Demographics of Connecticut School Choice Programs



Source: CT Voices for Children’s Analysis of Connecticut State Department of Education Data, 2012

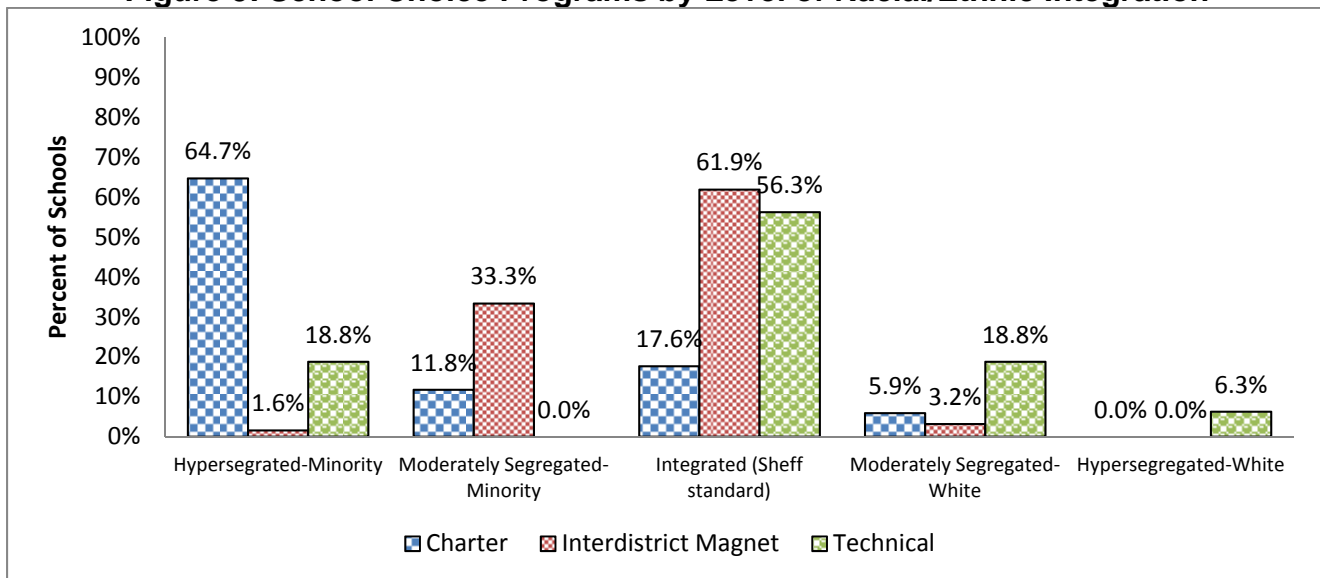
V. Racial and Ethnic Integration

This section examines whether school choice programs (a) offer their students a racially and ethnically integrated learning environment and (b) increase or decrease relative racial and ethnic school segregation as compared with the population of the school district of the towns in which they are located.

a) Integration Within Choice Programs

In 2011-12, a majority of magnet schools and technical schools were “integrated,” as measured by the standard set forth in the 2008 settlement agreement of the landmark *Sheff v. O’Neill* school desegregation case: a school with a student body composed of between 25% and 75% minority students (see Appendix A: Extended Methods). In contrast, only 18% of charter schools met the *Sheff* standard. The majority of charter schools were instead “hypersegregated,” with a student body composed of more than 90% minority students (see Appendix A: Extended Methods).

Figure 5: School Choice Programs by Level of Racial/Ethnic Integration

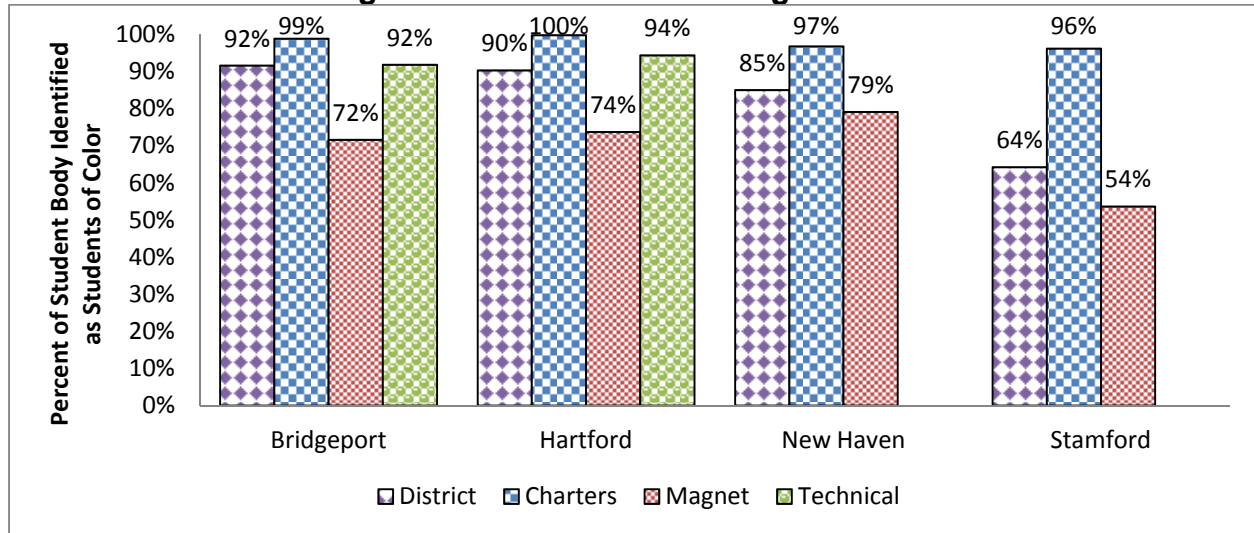


Source: CT Voices for Children’s Analysis of Connecticut State Department of Education Data, 2012

b) Choice Programs Compared to Local School Districts

Figure 6 examines the racial/ethnic demographics of charter, magnet, and technical schools in Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, and Stamford, the four towns in the state with the greatest number of students enrolled in choice programs. Magnet schools, the only choice programs with quantifiable desegregation standards, serve the lowest percentage of minority students in every city, followed by district schools. The technical schools in Bridgeport and Hartford serve on average a greater percentage of non-white students than the towns where they reside. (New Haven and Stamford have no technical schools.) Finally, charter schools have the highest percentage of minority student body in all four cities. The data show that while magnet schools tend to reduce educational segregation, technical and charter schools tend to increase educational segregation.

Figure 6: Racial/Ethnic Composition of Students in District Schools and Choice Programs in Connecticut's Largest Towns⁴¹

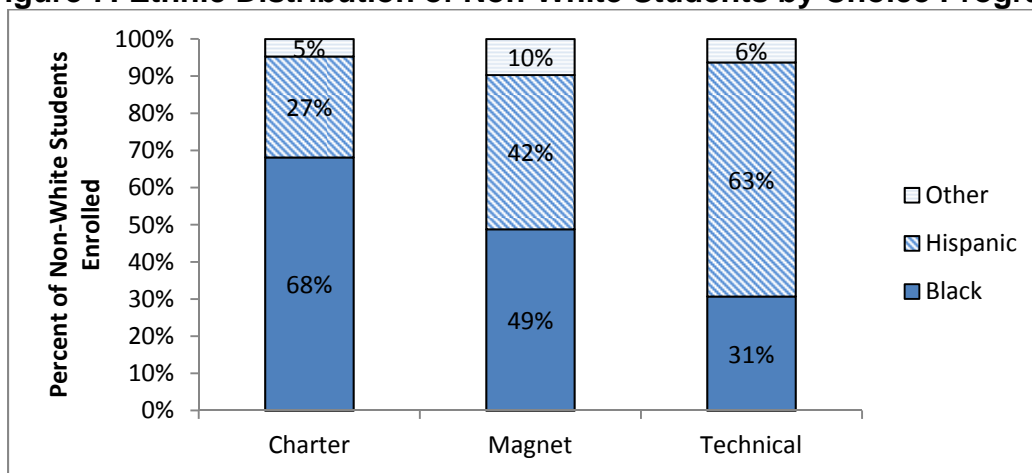


Source: CT Voices for Children's Analysis of Connecticut State Department of Education Data, 2012

c) Ethnic Composition of Minority Students

State integration standards treat students of color as a single group; however, the data allow for further analysis of the composition of racial and ethnic minority students in each school choice program, showing that this composition varies by program type. Black students make up a majority of the minority student enrollment in charter schools, and slightly less than half in magnet schools. Hispanic/Latino students make up the majority share of children of color in technical schools.

Figure 7: Ethnic Distribution of Non-White Students by Choice Program



Source: Connecticut State Department of Education, 2012.

d) Discussion

Integration by race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status has academic and social benefits for children of all racial and ethnic groups.⁴² In fact, the long-term academic, career, and civic outcomes from integrated educational experiences can be profound for both white children and children of color.⁴³ The benefits of racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic school integration can include access to other successful peers, increased resources, a broad curriculum, and a diverse, skilled group of educators.⁴⁴ In contrast, mounting evidence

shows that schools and neighborhoods extremely segregated by race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status can have a negative impact on children and families' long-term development, well-being, and access to services and opportunities.⁴⁵

The importance of integration is reflected in Connecticut law, which is clear that public school choice programs (with the exception of technical schools) have an obligation to reduce racial, ethnic, and economic isolation of students.⁴⁶ Additionally, Connecticut has chosen to subsidize school choice programs by providing additional funding outside the traditional state aid grant for local public education (the Education Cost Sharing grant).⁴⁷ Given this financial support, together with the clear mandate of the law to provide a diverse learning environment and the mounting evidence of the benefits of an integrated education, the State must give careful consideration to whether different school choice programs advance or undermine the state's educational interests by offering parents the option of sending their children to school in an integrated learning environment. The data presented here suggests that:

- Magnet schools tend to offer a racially and ethnically integrated learning environment, and offer students who attend school in Connecticut's four largest cities a more integrated learning environment than is present in their local public school districts.
- Technical schools are on average racially and ethnically integrated; however, the fact that technical schools in Hartford and Bridgeport are as or more segregated as the school districts of these towns suggests that the integrated quality of these schools on average may reflect the more diverse communities in which they are located, rather than any element of their design that contributes to desegregation.
- Charter schools are typically hypersegregated by race/ethnicity and, in Connecticut's four largest cities, actually offer students, on average, a learning environment that is more or equally segregated by race and ethnicity than local public schools.

One reason for these differing levels of integration is likely the different integration standards applied to each choice program. In Connecticut, magnet schools are the only choice program with quantifiable desegregation standards,⁴⁸ and the only choice program that consistently reduces racial segregation in Connecticut's four largest cities. By contrast, technical schools have no desegregation standards. Charter schools may be placed on probation by the Commissioner of Education if they fail to achieve measurable progress in reducing racial, ethnic, and economic isolation;⁴⁹ however, because state law prescribes no quantifiable desegregation standard for charters, schools develop their own,⁵⁰ and as a result these vary widely from school to school. National trends mirror those seen in Connecticut: when school choice programs have racial and ethnic integration guidelines, access to resources (such as support services and transportation), and a multi-district student enrollment, they more often meet the goal of reducing racial, ethnic, and economic segregation.⁵¹

Odyssey Community School in Manchester and Achievement First Bridgeport provide telling examples of the different desegregation standards applied by charter schools and how these standards may impact the extent to which each school offers an integrated learning environment.

In its annual report, under the goal of "Efforts to Reduce Racial, Ethnic and Economic Isolation to Increase the Racial and Ethnic Diversity of the Student Body," Achievement First-Bridgeport's 2012-13 report states:

"Goal A: In our capstone grades—fourth, eighth and tenth —Achievement First Bridgeport Academy's African-American, Hispanic and low-income students will outperform African-American, Hispanic and low-income students in their host district and state-wide, reducing racial, ethnic and economic isolation among these historically underserved subgroups by fostering high student achievement that prepares them for success in college and life beyond."⁵²

This goal for reducing racial and ethnic isolation is unrelated to the demographic composition of the student body. Notably, Bridgeport Achievement First has a student body that is 99% children of color.

By contrast, the annual report of Odyssey Community School in Manchester, CT states:

“Goal A: Odyssey will continue to attract a diverse student body, and will embrace a culture of acceptance and celebration of diversity.”⁵³

53% of Odyssey’s students are racial and ethnic minorities.⁵⁴

Many of the state’s segregated charter schools are located in towns that operate the most segregated districts – districts in which the State has also opened many interdistrict magnet schools in an attempt to offer children a more integrated learning environment. Although the State is under an 18-year-old court order to desegregate the Hartford public schools, many children in the Hartford region and elsewhere still do not have access to an integrated learning environment due to district boundaries and limited seats in magnet schools and the Open Choice program.⁵⁵ Therefore, while the State may have good reasons for the supporting urban charter and technical schools, when the State funds these programs but does not ensure that they are integrated, it offers parents whose children cannot get into an integrated magnet program (or possibly a suburban school district through the Open Choice program) a false choice between segregated district schools and segregated charter and technical schools.

If policymakers intend to commit continued or increased State resources to school choice programs, then they must have a plan—including detailed guidelines and clear integration benchmarks—for how these programs will meet their legal and educational obligations to reduce racial, ethnic, and economic isolation.⁵⁶ Without a plan for integrating all school choice programs, the State will be knowingly replicating or worsening the racial and ethnic isolation that already exists in Connecticut’s schools.

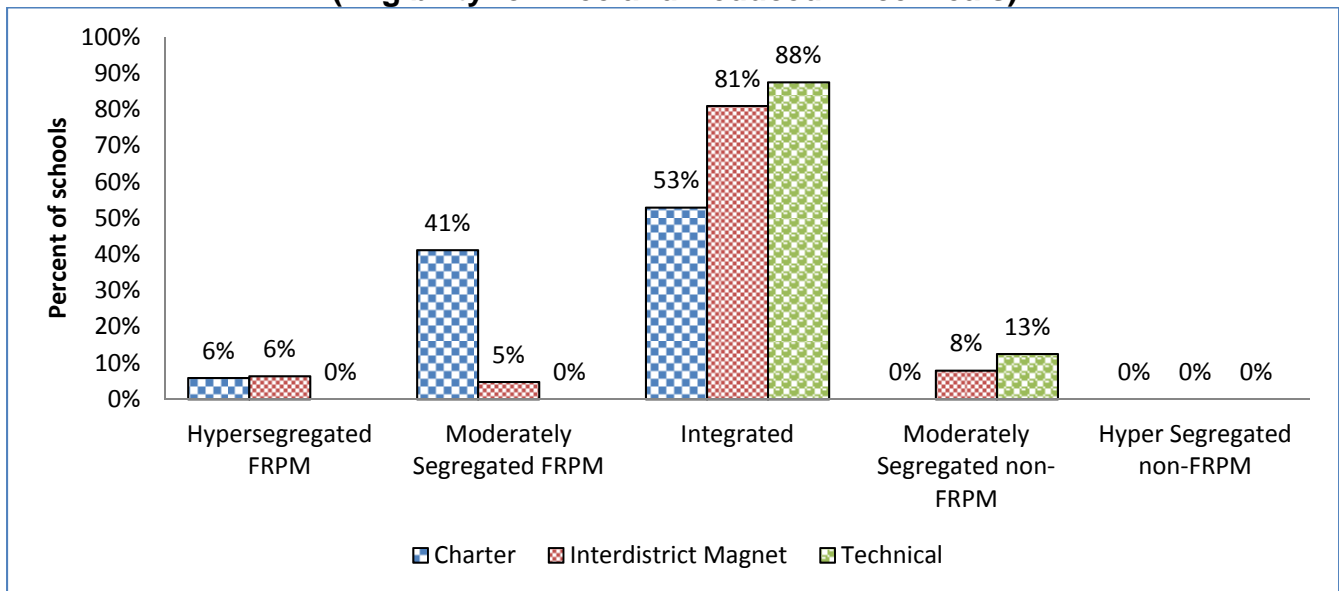
VI. Socioeconomic Integration

This section examines whether school choice programs (a) offer their students socioeconomically integrated learning environments and (b) increase or decrease socioeconomic segregation in the school districts of the towns in which they are located.

a) Integration within School Choice Programs

In 2011-12, a majority of all school choice programs were integrated by socioeconomic status, as measured by applying the Sheff standard to the percent of students eligible for Free and Reduced Price Meals (FRPM) (see Appendix A: Methods).

Figure 8: School Choice Programs by Level of Socioeconomic Integration (Eligibility for Free and Reduced Price Meals)

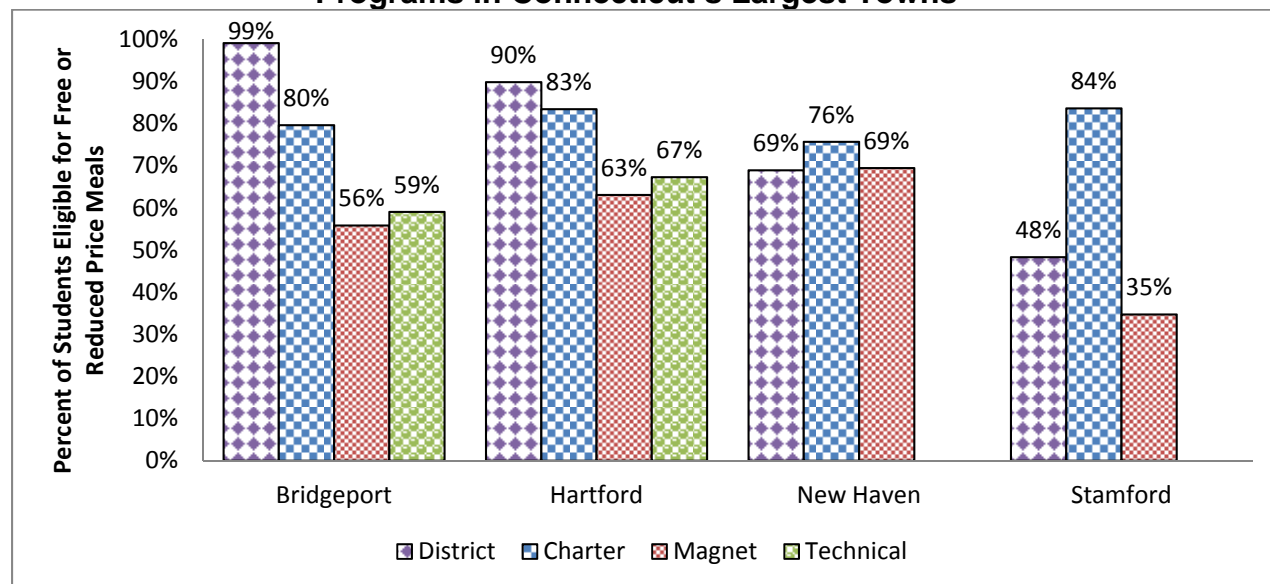


Source: CT Voices for Children’s Analysis of Connecticut State Department of Education Data, 2012

b) Choice Programs Compared to Local School Districts

Figure 9 examines the socioeconomic demographics of charter, magnet, and technical schools in Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, and Stamford. Magnet schools serve the lowest percentage of FRPM-eligible students in every city, followed by technical schools in Bridgeport and Hartford. The degree of socioeconomic integration in charter schools varies by city. In Bridgeport and Hartford, charter schools serve fewer students eligible for FRPM than the local public schools. By contrast, in New Haven and Stamford, charter schools serve a higher percentage of FRPM-eligible students than the local public schools. This variation across districts largely reflects variation in the composition of local public schools, not in the average composition of charter schools – while FRPM eligibility in the local public schools ranges from 99% in Bridgeport to 48% in Stamford, charter schools in all four cities serve between 75% and 85% FRPM eligible students.

Figure 9: Socioeconomic Composition of Students in District Schools and Choice Programs in Connecticut's Largest Towns⁵⁷



Source: CT Voices for Children's Analysis of Connecticut State Department of Education Data, 2012

c) Discussion

Choice programs are more likely to be integrated by socioeconomic status than by race in every program type. Furthermore, a majority of all schools in each type of choice program are integrated by socioeconomic status. However, some choice programs are more socioeconomically integrated than the towns in which they are located, and some are less.

Taken together, these findings suggest that:

- In contrast to race and ethnicity, all school choice program types tend to offer their students a learning environment that is relatively more integrated by socioeconomic status than local public schools;
- Whether choice programs tend to increase or decrease student socioeconomic segregation in Connecticut's four largest towns varies by both program type and by town.

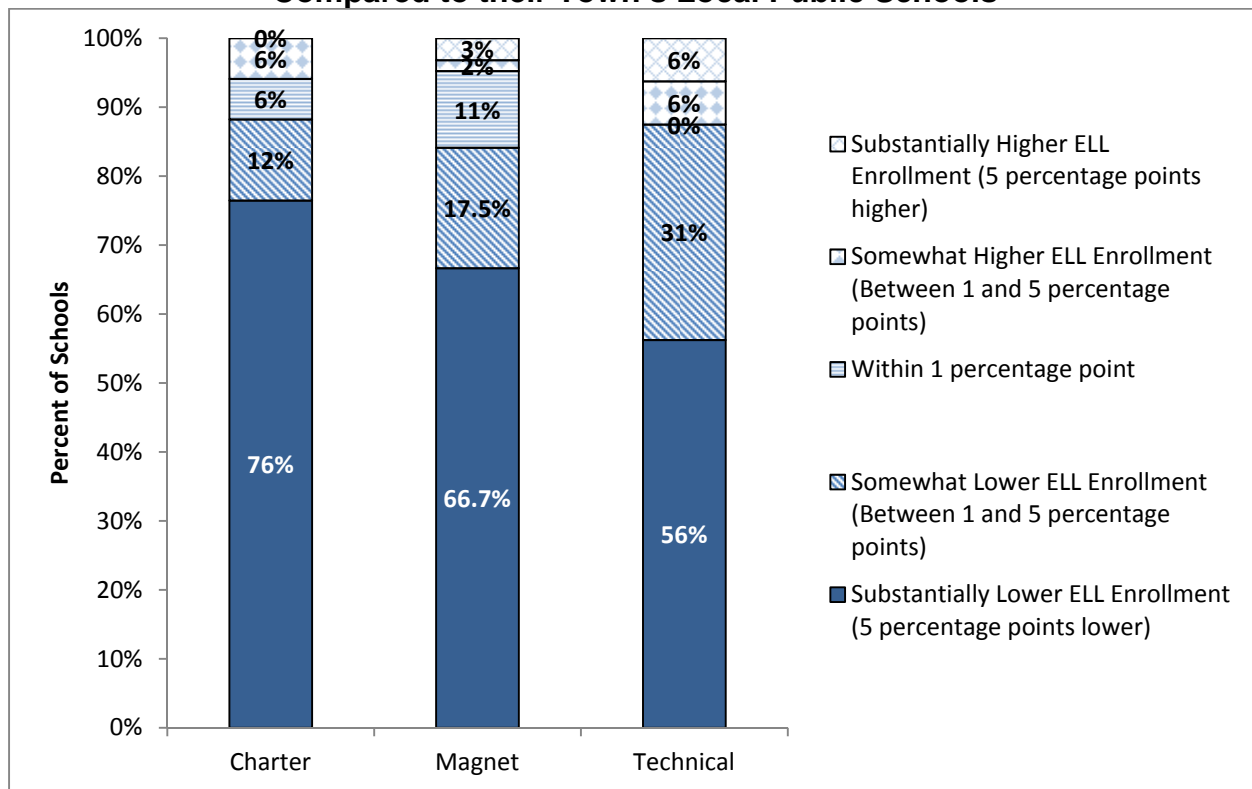
VII. Emerging Bilingual Student Disparities

This section examines whether emerging bilingual students – students for whom English is not a first language and are identified as English Language Learners (ELL) – are proportionately represented in school choice programs.

a) Comparing Choice Programs to Local Public Schools

As shown in Figure 10, a large majority of school choice programs enroll a smaller share of ELL students than the local public schools of the towns in which they are located. In fact, 76% of all charter schools, 64% of all magnet schools, and 56% of all technical schools had substantially lower ELL enrollment – 5 percentage points or fewer below the local public schools of the towns in which they were located (see Appendix A: Methods).

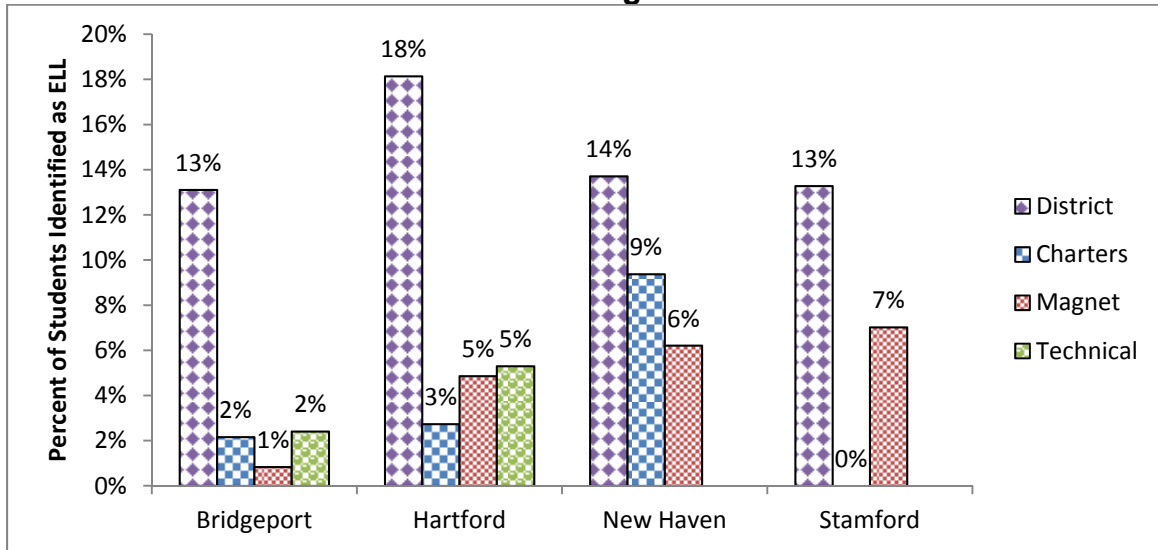
Figure 10: Over- and Underrepresentation of ELL Students in Choice Programs as Compared to their Town’s Local Public Schools



Source: CT Voices for Children’s Analysis of Connecticut State Department of Education Data, 2012

This trend is exhibited in all four of Connecticut’s largest towns. ELL students are less likely to be enrolled in all three types of choice programs than in the local public schools in each of these towns.

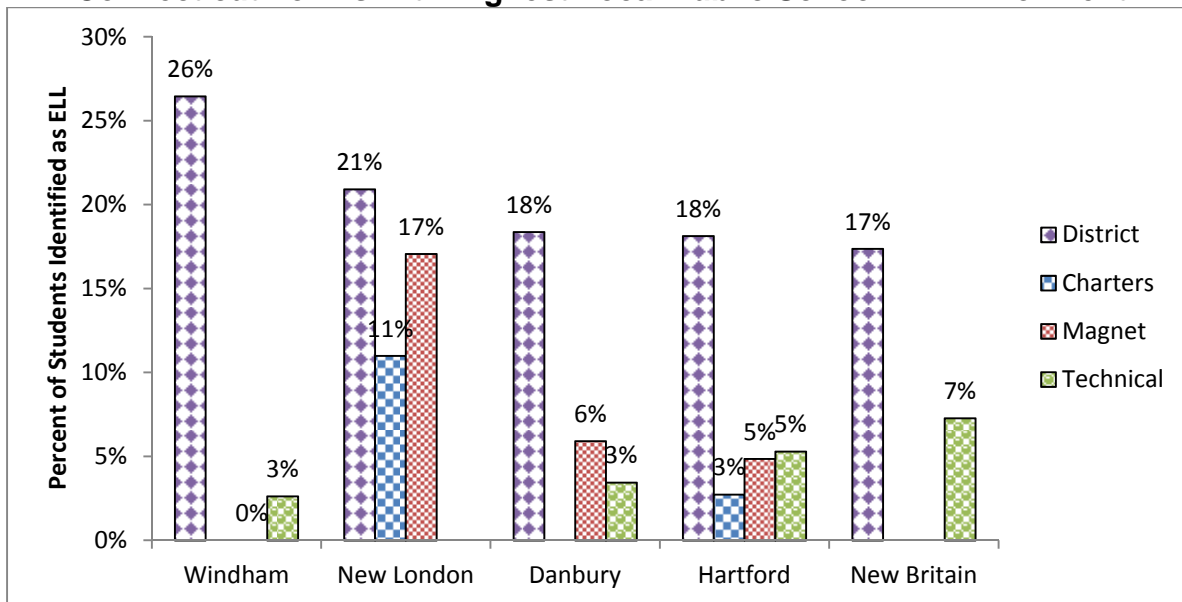
Figure 11: ELL Composition of Students in District Schools and Choice Programs in Connecticut's Largest Towns⁵⁸



Source: CT Voices for Children's Analysis of Connecticut State Department of Education Data, 2012

This trend is even more dramatic in the five towns whose local public schools enrolled the highest percentage of ELL students in the state – Windham, New London, Danbury, Hartford, and New Britain.

Figure 12: ELL Composition of Students in District Schools and Choice Programs in Connecticut Towns with Highest Local Public School ELL Enrollment



Source: CT Voices for Children's Analysis of Connecticut State Department of Education Data, 2012

b) Discussion

Taken together, the findings presented here suggest that emerging bilingual students are consistently underenrolled in Connecticut's school choice programs. This finding is true across program type and across a range of towns.

There are likely multiple factors driving this enrollment disparity, some of which may include:

- Of the three choice programs examined here, two (interdistrict magnet and technical schools) have no explicit requirements with regard to ELL enrollment. Though the State Board of Education may deny charter renewal applications on the grounds that they have failed to make sufficient effort to “attract, enroll, and retain... students who are English language learners,”⁵⁹ no charter renewal has ever been denied for this reason.⁶⁰
- The procedures required to apply to school choice programs may deter the parents and families of emerging bilingual children.⁶¹ Although application forms may be available in languages such as Spanish, navigating the complex choice process may demand expansive English language skills, unpaid time, and resources from social networks that may not be available to parents whose first language is not English.⁶²
- Per state law, once a school has more than twenty children identified as ELL, it must offer a school-wide bilingual education program.⁶³ Since there are expenses associated with operating such a program, this creates a financial disincentive to enroll ELL students or even to identify enrolled students as ELL. Furthermore, unlike the case of special education services (where state law clearly specifies that the home district and the state are responsible for paying for the excess costs of special education for children attending choice programs),⁶⁴ the party responsible for the excess cost of a bilingual program is not specified, meaning that schools may be required to shoulder the full cost.
- Conversely, because there is no requirement that choice programs offer bilingual education if they enroll fewer than 20 ELL students, many parents or families of emerging bilingual children may opt out of enrolling their children in these schools because they do not meet their educational needs.
- Finally, by definition, choice programs enroll students from multiple towns. While many of these schools are located in towns with a large number of ELL students, they may also draw from towns with fewer ELL students, decreasing the percent of their student body one would expect to have ELL needs. However, the magnitude of the difference between local public schools and choice programs suggests that this cannot explain the disparity entirely. Many local public school systems enroll ELL students at more than twice the rate of choice programs. This suggests that even if 50% of each choice program drew its student body entirely from suburban towns with no ELL students, the disparity presented here would still be larger than expected.

While most choice programs underenroll ELL students, it is important to note that those magnet schools which do enroll a high share of ELL students made concerted efforts to attract these students and serve them well. These schools – John C. Daniels in New Haven (a dual language immersion school),⁶⁵ Regional Multicultural Magnet in New London (a bilingual/bicultural program),⁶⁶ Dual Language and Arts Academy in Waterford (a dual language program),⁶⁷ and Rogers International School in Stamford (an international baccalaureate (IB) program)⁶⁸ – incorporate bilingualism, multiculturalism, and international knowledge into their school curriculum and design.

If Connecticut continues to invest education resources in its choice programs above and beyond its standard commitment to local public schools, it is essential that the State ensure these programs are a viable educational option for emerging bilingual students. Unless the state establishes protections that help these students enroll in and receive a quality education from school choice programs, the state will be depriving emerging bilingual children of important educational opportunities simply because their predominant language is not English.

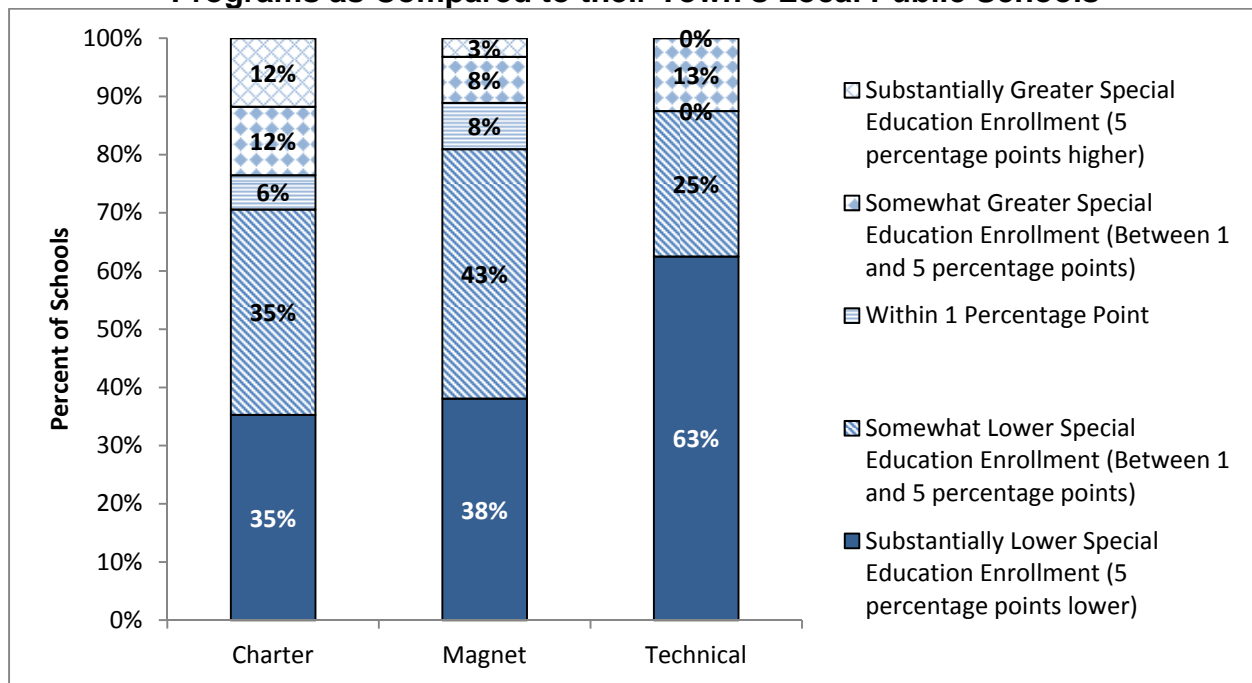
VIII. Students with Disabilities Disparities

This section examines whether students with disabilities – those who are identified as requiring “special education services” – are proportionately represented in school choice programs.

a) Comparing Choice Programs to Local Public Schools

As shown in Figure 13, a large majority of school choice programs enroll a smaller share of special education students than the local public schools of the towns in which they are located. In fact, 35% of all charter schools, 38% of all magnet schools, and 63% of all technical schools had substantially lower special education enrollment – five percentage points or fewer below the local public schools of the towns in which they were located (see Appendix A: Methods).

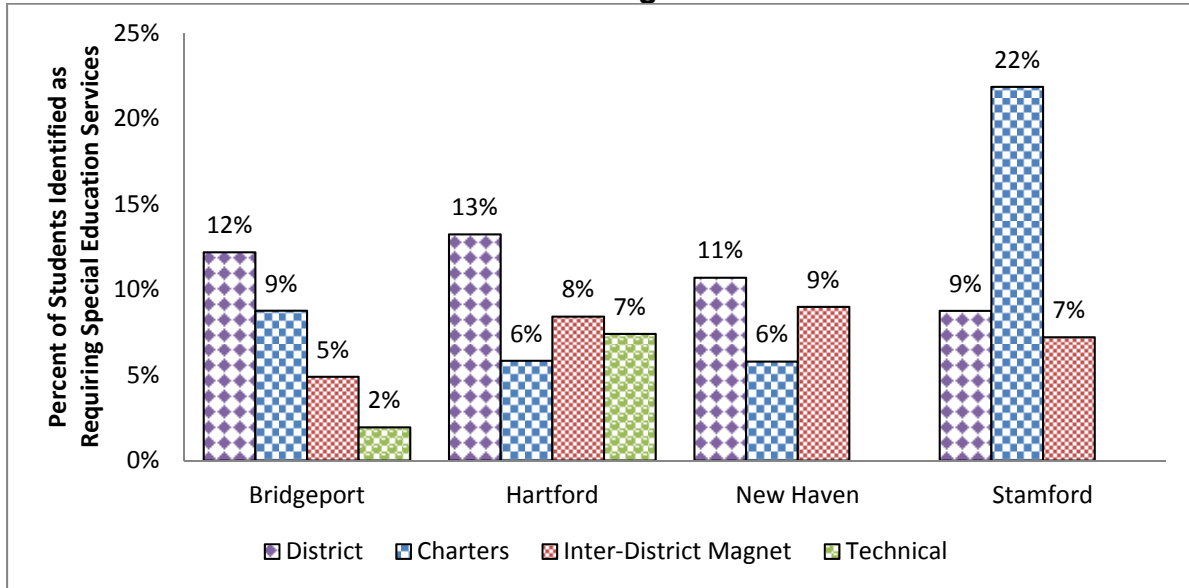
Figure 13: Over- and Underrepresentation of Students with Disabilities in Choice Programs as Compared to their Town’s Local Public Schools



Source: CT Voices for Children’s Analysis of Connecticut State Department of Education Data, 2012

This trend is exhibited in all four of Connecticut’s largest towns, in every type of choice program except for Stamford’s charter schools, where students with special education needs are substantially overrepresented. Notably, in both of Stamford’s charter schools, Stamford Academy and Trailblazers Academy, more than 20% of students require special education. Both of these schools are specifically designed as alternatives to traditional education: the former is a high school for students who have dropped out, do not attend school, or are otherwise disengaged;⁶⁹ the latter is a middle school for students who “struggled in a traditional learning environment.”⁷⁰

Figure 14: Students with Disabilities in District Schools and Choice Programs in Connecticut's Largest Towns⁷¹



Source: CT Voices for Children's Analysis of Connecticut State Department of Education Data, 2012

b) Discussion

In Connecticut, as elsewhere in the United States, children with disabilities have a right to receive a “free and appropriate public education” (FAPE) in the least restrictive environment possible.⁷² The evidence presented here suggests that, with limited exception, students with disabilities are underrepresented in school choice programs.

As with ELL students, there are several possible reasons students with disabilities are underrepresented in choice programs. These include:

- In accordance with state and federal law, all public school choice programs have legal obligations to serve children with disabilities once enrolled in the school. However, of the three choice programs examined here, only charter schools are explicitly expected to “attract, enroll, and retain” children with disabilities.⁷³ Charter schools may have their renewal applications denied if they fail to do so;⁷⁴ however, in practice, no renewal has ever been denied for this reason.⁷⁵ Not only are technical schools not required to attract and enroll children with disabilities; they are explicitly allowed to refer children with disabilities back to the district where they reside if the special education services a child needs preclude participation in the vocational education program.⁷⁶
- School administrators may fear that enrolling students with disabilities will lower their average standardized test scores.⁷⁷ Because schools are often publicly evaluated on the basis of their students’ test scores, lower scores could result in stigma, additional government regulation, or other government action. As such, this concern may lead them to exclude or simply make no effort to attract children with disabilities.

- Parents may choose (or be directed by district or school staff) to have their child enrolled in neighborhood schools, rather than choice school programs, because district schools have a critical mass of staff already serving children with similar disabilities, or because parents prefer to remain close to their child's schools so they can more easily get to school in the case of emergency or attend a Planning and Placement Team meeting (PPT).⁷⁸
- Schools may actively or passively push out enrolled children with disabilities with methods such as grade retention or excessive discipline.⁷⁹

As is the case with emerging bilingual students, if Connecticut continues to invest increasing education resources in its choice programs above and beyond its standard commitment to public schools, it is essential that the state ensure these programs are a viable educational option for students with special needs. Unless the state establishes protections that help these students enroll in and receive a quality education from school choice programs, students with disabilities will not have available to them the same range of educational opportunities as other students.

IX. Conclusion

The State’s educational interest is to provide all children with an equal opportunity to attend school in an integrated environment, and an equal opportunity to learn regardless of predominant language or disability. While public school choice may be designed to advance integration and equity, the evidence presented here suggests that without appropriate oversight and regulation, school choice may also run counter to these goals.

Simply having more schools to choose from does not necessarily result in increased educational quality or equity.⁸⁰ In some cases, public school choice in Connecticut is helping to reduce racial and ethnic isolation; in other cases, public school choice may be replicating or increasing segregation by race and ethnicity. Similarly, in some cases school choice programs may offer excellent educational alternatives to children with different learning abilities and primary languages; in other cases, public school choice may shut these children out.

The evidence presented in this paper suggests that appropriate regulation can help to make school choice work better for a larger and more diverse group of children.

Interdistrict magnet schools typically operate the most racially and socioeconomically diverse schools, probably because of their design (e.g., location, multiple district student composition, resources, curriculum) and because they must adhere to a legally defined quantifiable set of integration guidelines and goals. By contrast, charter schools, with self-defined (and often vaguely defined) and unenforced integration goals, are most often hypersegregated by race and ethnicity, overwhelmingly enrolling children of color (although many are socioeconomically integrated). Finally, probably because of their locations, regional student enrollments, and transportation resources, most technical schools are integrated by race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status. However, possibly because they have no legally defined diversity goals or integration guidelines, several of these schools (notably in the State’s urban centers) are intensely segregated by race and ethnicity, and are more likely to serve children of color than the already segregated local public school districts.

With nonexistent or unenforced protections and integration guidelines, charter, interdistrict magnet, and technical schools almost universally served a smaller share of children with disabilities and emerging bilingual children than both the State as a whole and the local public schools of the towns where they are located. Most of the exceptions to this trend were in schools specifically designed to serve these populations.

Finally, the demographic data lends support to the idea that, when given the right to choose a school, parents will often exercise that right; however, without appropriate market regulation, choice can lead to segregation and barriers to access for linguistically or ability disadvantaged students.

As the last century’s experience demonstrates, schools that are severely segregated by race, ethnicity, language, ability, and socioeconomic status undermine the state’s ability to provide an equitable public education to its children.⁸¹ School choice programs can help to alleviate such segregation. Public school choice policies may provide families, particularly historically marginalized groups such as black and Latino families, with a greater sense of involvement and agency in their child’s education.⁸² Nevertheless, greater choice is not necessarily equivalent to greater equity or quality of choice. Poor school choice policy can offer some parents better choices but leave diminished choices for the majority of parents.⁸³ If public school choice expands, then policymakers must provide sufficient protections and regulations that promote equity for vulnerable groups of children and deliberately address racial, ethnic, and economic isolation of students.

In order to promote integration and equity, Connecticut Voices for Children recommends:

1. **The state should attempt to account for demographic differences between choice programs and local public schools when comparing them for evaluative purposes.** A great percentage of school choice programs enrolled a more economically-, linguistically-, and ability-advantaged student body than the local public schools of the towns in which they are located. Failing to account for these demographic differences will result in incomplete or misleading assessments and comparisons between choice programs and local schools. Such poor assessment could lead to inequitable or inappropriate regulatory or financing practices which leave schools serving the most challenging students overregulated and underfinanced.
2. **In order to fulfill the state’s educational interest in racial and ethnic integration, all school choice programs and systems should have clear, quantifiable, and enforced integration standards, and sufficient resources to comply with those standards.** With limited exception, Connecticut’s school choice programs successfully promote racial and ethnic integration only when they have clear, enforced, and quantifiable integration standards. In the absence of such standards, the state’s choice programs typically replicate or worsen segregation. An abundance of evidence suggests that this segregation is detrimental to the education of *all* children, both white and non-white. The State should not be subsidizing this segregation. Choice programs that cannot meet the aforementioned standards within a reasonable time frame should be placed on probation. Any program that wishes to continue to operate out of compliance with established integration standards must be able to demonstrate that doing so is necessary for a clear pedagogical reason that advances the educational interests of the State without detriment to student learning, and should require approval from the State Board of Education *and* the Legislature.
3. **The state should investigate barriers to enrolling ELL students and students with disabilities in choice programs, and take action to remove any barriers identified. Furthermore, the State should investigate disincentives to enroll these children, and take action to alleviate them.** While it may be that parents of emerging bilingual students or students with disabilities opt out of choice programs, it is unlikely this can explain the entire enrollment disparity between choice programs and local public schools, given both how increasingly popular choice programs are in the communities they serve and the dramatic consistency of this gap across program types and locations. At minimum, there are two clear potential disincentives to enrolling emerging bilingual and special education students that the State should address:
 - a. First, numerous analyses show that relying heavily on high-stakes testing to evaluate and manage public schools creates a “diversity penalty,” and incentivizes schools to exclude otherwise disadvantaged groups of children.⁸⁴ Schools that wish to avoid regulatory hurdles have an incentive to exclude subgroups of children with historically low standardized test performance. This is particularly true for school choice programs which are often forced to compete with local schools and districts for resources and autonomy.⁸⁵ This suggests that the State should investigate whether a more holistic form of school evaluation is necessary to encourage choice programs to enroll disadvantaged students.⁸⁶
 - b. Second, Connecticut’s school finance system creates clear financial penalties for enrolling ELL and special education students. In spite of the fact that it is self-evident that students with special language or learning needs require additional educational services at additional expense to schools, the State provides limited and declining support for schools that enroll students who utilize a bilingual program or students with special education needs.⁸⁷

Compounding this problem for choice programs, the State pays charter schools and magnet schools the same per-pupil grant amount regardless of how many ELL or special education students they enroll. In fact, these grants do not even compensate choice programs for enrolling a higher share of low-income students, as the ECS grant is designed to do for local public schools.⁸⁸ These funding arrangements also do not account for private philanthropic dollars or local in-kind or direct financial support from local school districts for charter and magnet schools, which can vary from town to town. Given that the choice process may create a unique opportunity for choice programs to exclude disadvantaged students, if the State plans to continue to increase its investment in these programs, it is imperative that it take action to remove any financial disincentive choice programs may have to serving the State's neediest children.

If Connecticut wishes to continue to support or expand school choice, it is important the State treat parental choice not as an end in and of itself, but rather as a means to an end. The evidence presented in this report suggests that, although school choice is intended to advance the State's interest in equal educational opportunity, at times the State is offering parents only a choice between multiple segregated learning environments that may not be tenable options for emerging bilingual students or students with disabilities. Therefore, the existing school choice structure may enhance opportunity for some students, but diminish it for the most disadvantaged.

As Connecticut becomes an increasingly diverse state, the detrimental effect of racial and ethnic isolation in public schools grows. In *Sheff v. O'Neill*, the Connecticut Supreme Court stated:

“Schools bear central responsibility for inculcating the fundamental values necessary to the maintenance of a democratic political system... When children attend racially and ethnically isolated schools, these “shared values” are jeopardized: ‘If children of different races and economic and social groups have no opportunity to know each other and live together in school, they cannot be expected to gain the understanding and mutual respect necessary for the cohesion of our society.’”⁸⁹

Furthermore, without access to the same range of public educational options as their peers, already disadvantaged emerging bilingual students and students with disabilities may be further limited in their ability to develop the skills and knowledge necessary to attain and maintain employment or participate in democratic institutions as adults.

Remedying inequities created or exacerbated by the school choice process is therefore of paramount importance. Connecticut should adopt the aforementioned recommendations to reduce segregation in and improve access to choice programs in order to ensure that our state's school choice programs truly provide a vehicle for the advancement of equal educational opportunity.

Appendix A: Methods

The Connecticut State Department of Education (SDE) provided school enrollment data for the 2011-2012 school year, as counted on October 1, 2011. The enrollment data included counts of the number of children in each demographic category along several dimensions (grade, sex, race/ethnicity, free/reduced price meals eligibility, ELL identification, and special education identification) at the school level. **Except as otherwise noted, all data presented here are Connecticut Voices analysis of this data set.**⁹⁰

SDE did not provide student-level data; that is, enrollment counts for schools and districts were already calculated by the State. Therefore, this report used the raw counts of students in each category to calculate the percentage of students in each category at the school and district level.

We used the share of the student body identified as students of color as a proxy for racial and ethnic integration. We used eligibility for Free and Reduced Price Meals (FRPM) as a proxy measure for socioeconomic status.⁹¹ We used identification as an English Language Learner (ELL) as a proxy measure for emerging bilingual students for whom English is not a first language. We used identification as a special education student as a proxy measure for students with disabilities.

We developed a set of summary statistics that compare the demographics of choice programs to each other and to the State as a whole. We then a) measured the degree of racial/ethnic and socioeconomic segregation in each choice program; and b) compared choice programs to the towns in which they were located to see if they were more or less likely to enroll students of color, low-income students, emerging bilingual students, and students with disabilities.

a. Measuring racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic integration

This report uses a combination of local and national methodologies to classify schools into 5 integration categories:

- **Integrated:** Our measure of an integrated school is a local standard derived from the 2008 *Sheff v. O'Neill* stipulated order and agreement.⁹² In order for a voluntary school choice program to meet this standard, “no less than twenty-five or more than seventy-five per cent of the students enrolled are pupils of racial minorities.”⁹³ (This is often referred to as the “Sheff standard.”) Currently, this standard is only *required* of two categories of school choice programs: a) schools that are in operation in the Hartford region to meet the goals of the 2008 *Sheff vs. O'Neill* order and stipulated agreement in the Hartford area; and b) interdistrict magnet schools in the state that began operations after July 1, 2005.⁹⁴ Further, in the *Sheff* agreement, the standard is also only applied to race.⁹⁵ However, we apply this same standard to all choice programs as a standard for racial and ethnic integration. We also apply this standard to FRPM eligibility as a measure of socioeconomic integration. For example, a school where between 25% and 75% of all students are FRPM eligible would be classified as “integrated FRPM”.
- **Hypersegregated:** Outside of Connecticut, researchers have labeled schools “hypersegregated” when their enrollment is at or surpasses 90% children of color or 90% white children.⁹⁶ We apply this standard here to both race and FRPM eligible students here as a measure of race and socioeconomic segregation. For example, a school where between 0% and 10% of students were white would be classified as “hypersegregated white.”

- Moderately segregated: We classified the remaining schools as “moderately segregated.” For example a school with between 75% and 90% of all students eligible for free and reduced price meals would be classified as “moderately segregated FRPM.”

The table below summarizes the resulting 5 category scale:

Figure 15: Choice Watch Integration Standards

Racial/Ethnic Category	Standard	Socioeconomic Category	Standard
Hypersegregated White	0% to 10% Minority Students	Hypersegregated non-FRPM	0 to 10% FRPM Eligible Students
Moderately Segegregated White	10% to 25% Minority Students	Moderately Segregated non-FRPM	10% to 25% FRPM Eligible Students
Integrated	25% to 75% Minority Students	Integrated	25% to 75% FRPM Eligible Students
Moderately Segregated Minority	75% to 90% Minority Students	Moderately Segregated FRPM	75% to 90% FRPM Eligible Students
Hypersegragted Minority	90% to 100% Minority Students	Hypersegrated FRPM	90% to 100% FRPM Eligible Students

b. Comparing school choice programs to local town or city district enrollment

We compared the enrollment of subgroups of children in each school choice program to the local school district of the town in which each school was located. We focused on the State’s four largest cities – Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, and Stamford – where many of the State’s choice programs are located.

It is important to note that many magnet schools are operated by local school districts. Therefore, students who attend these district-operated magnets are counted twice when district schools are compared to magnet schools. If interdistrict magnet school enrollments are excluded from the enrollment counts of local public schools, the disparity between choice programs and districts identified in this report actually grows or is unaffected in all four large towns examined. We chose not to exclude any schools in our analysis presented in the body of text, as we felt this was the most conservative and easily understandable choice. However, the effect of excluding these children is discussed in more detail in footnotes to relevant graphs in sections on race, socioeconomic status, English language ability, and special education status.

When examining integration, we looked to see if choice programs exacerbated demographic trends that exist in the local district. For example, if a district is 80% students of color and a choice program located in the same town as that district is 90% students of color, we would say that choice program increased segregation. By contrast, if a choice program is located in a town with a student body that is 5% students of color, but the choice program has a student body that is 35% students of color, we would say the choice program reduced segregation.

When looking to see if ELL or special education students were underrepresented in choice programs, we used a five-level scale to categorize schools by their percentage point difference from the local school district on the relevant demographic.⁹⁷ That scale is summarized in the following chart:

Figure 16: Choice Watch Underrepresentation Standard

Classification	Percentage Point Difference
“Substantially Greater”	Five percentage points greater than local district
“Somewhat Greater”	One percentage point greater than local district
“No Difference”	Within one percentage point of local district
“Somewhat Lower”	One percentage point fewer than local district
“Substantially Lower”	Five percentage points fewer than local district

It is important to note that when we calculated the percent of school enrollment that was minority, FRPM-eligible, or special education eligible, we calculated the share of students grades *pre-K* through 12 who fell in each subgroup. However, Connecticut does not classify students as ELL until kindergarten⁹⁸ – therefore, we excluded preschool students from our enrollment totals when calculating the percent of each school or program identified as ELL, and instead used the share of students identified as ELL grades *kindergarten* through 12.

Data are subject to limitations common to secondary analysis of previously aggregated data, such as the inability to do analyses at the student level, and the inability to check the accuracy of data collection and entry.

Appendix B: Enrollment of Students of Color in School Choice Programs as Compared to Town of Location

Town	School Name	Magnet, Charter, Vo-Tech, District	Enrollment	Minority Enrollment	Percent Minority	Percentage Point Difference from Local District
Ansonia	Emmett O'Brien Tech	VT	546	153	28%	-22%
Ansonia		D	2514	1247	50%	
Avon	Reggio Magnet School of the Arts	IM	284	198	70%	50%
Avon		D	3495	699	20%	
Bloomfield	Wintonbury Early Childhood Magnet School	IM	321	169	53%	-38%
Bloomfield	Academy of Aerospace and Engineering	IM	390	265	68%	-22%
Bloomfield	Museum Academy	IM	271	199	73%	-17%
Bloomfield	Metropolitan Learning Center	IM	719	536	75%	-16%
Bloomfield	The Big Picture High School	IM	105	93	89%	-2%
Bloomfield		D	2151	1941	90%	
Bridgeport	Park City Prep Charter School	C	257	252	98%	6%
Bridgeport	New Beginnings Inc. Family Academy	C	361	354	98%	7%
Bridgeport	Achievement First Bridgeport Academy	C	543	539	99%	8%
Bridgeport	The Bridge Academy	C	276	275	100%	8%
Bridgeport	Discovery Interdistrict Magnet School	IM	311	205	66%	-26%
Bridgeport	Six-Six Magnet School	IM	463	349	75%	-16%
Bridgeport	Bullard-Havens Tech	VT	874	802	92%	0%
Bridgeport		D	20125	18426	92%	
Danbury	Western CT Academy of International Studies	IM	389	138	35%	-20%
Danbury	Henry Abbott Tech	VT	638	239	37%	-18%
Danbury		D	10488	5856	56%	
East Hartford	Two Rivers Middle Magnet School	IM	684	427	62%	-20%
East Hartford	East Hartford/Glastonbury Magnet School	IM	259	174	67%	-15%
East Hartford	Connecticut River Academy	IM	246	183	74%	-8%
East Hartford	International Magnet School for Global Citizenship	IM	311	236	76%	-6%
East Hartford	Connecticut IB Academy	IM	188	114	61%	-21%
East Hartford		D	7155	5864	82%	
Enfield	CREC - Public Safety Academy	IM	389	263	68%	45%
Enfield		D	5647	1261	22%	
Groton	Ella T. Grasso Southeastern Tech	VT	569	263	46%	6%
Groton		D	4947	1972	40%	
Hamden	Highville Charter School	C	337	335	99%	43%
Hamden	Wintergreen Interdistrict Magnet School	IM	640	440	69%	12%
Hamden	Eli Whitney Tech	VT	521	491	94%	38%

Town	School Name	Magnet, Charter, Vo-Tech, District	Enrollment	Minority Enrollment	Percent Minority	Percentage Point Difference from Local District
Hamden		D	5817	3281	56%	
Hartford	Jumoke Academy	C	488	486	100%	9%
Hartford	Achievement First Hartford Academy	C	761	760	100%	10%
Hartford	Greater Hartford Academy of the Arts	IM	400	235	59%	-32%
Hartford	Montessori at Fisher School	IM	240	174	73%	-18%
Hartford	Capital Preparatory Magnet School	IM	521	380	73%	-17%
Hartford	Discovery Academy	IM	150	111	74%	-16%
Hartford	Environmental Sciences Magnet School	IM	358	266	74%	-16%
Hartford	Kinsella Magnet School	IM	689	512	74%	-16%
Hartford	STEM Magnet School at Annie-Fisher	IM	344	257	75%	-16%
Hartford	University High School	IM	389	291	75%	-15%
Hartford	Montessori Magnet School	IM	350	262	75%	-15%
Hartford	Breakthrough Magnet School	IM	355	266	75%	-15%
Hartford	Noah Webster Micro Society School	IM	582	440	76%	-15%
Hartford	Sports and Medical Sciences Academy	IM	637	482	76%	-15%
Hartford	Classical Magnet School	IM	714	550	77%	-13%
Hartford	A. I. Prince Tech	VT	755	712	94%	4%
Hartford	Hartford Magnet Trinity College Academy	IM	715	523	73%	-17%
Hartford		D	20879	18846	90%	
Killingly	Quinebaug Middle College	IM	110	24	22%	8%
Killingly	H. H. Ellis Tech	VT	540	51	9%	-4%
Killingly		D	2676	360	13%	
Manchester	Odyssey Community School	C	314	170	54%	-3%
Manchester	Great Path Academy at MCC	IM	246	185	75%	18%
Manchester	Howell Cheney Tech	VT	673	278	41%	-16%
Manchester		D	6405	3663	57%	
Meriden	Thomas Edison Magnet Middle School	IM	721	429	60%	-6%
Meriden	H. C. Wilcox Tech	VT	772	289	37%	-28%
Meriden		D	8227	5357	65%	
Middletown	Vinal Tech	VT	607	151	25%	-21%
Middletown		D	5033	2296	46%	
Milford	Platt Tech	VT	885	388	44%	25%
Milford		D	6794	1295	19%	
New Britain	E. C. Goodwin Tech	VT	618	410	66%	-11%
New Britain		D	10144	7863	78%	
New Haven	Common Ground High School	C	165	129	78%	-7%
New Haven	Amistad Academy	C	857	846	99%	14%
New Haven	Elm City College Preparatory School	C	600	594	99%	14%

Town	School Name	Magnet, Charter, Vo-Tech, District	Enrollment	Minority Enrollment	Percent Minority	Percentage Point Difference from Local District
New Haven	Betsy Ross Arts Magnet School	IM	489	344	70%	-15%
New Haven	Benjamin Jepson Magnet School	IM	562	400	71%	-14%
New Haven	Engineering - Science University Magnet	IM	320	236	74%	-11%
New Haven	Ross/Woodward School	IM	575	446	78%	-7%
New Haven	Barnard Environmental Magnet School	IM	561	449	80%	-5%
New Haven	New Haven Academy	IM	263	212	81%	-4%
New Haven	Metropolitan Business High School	IM	339	277	82%	-3%
New Haven	Beecher School	IM	469	394	84%	-1%
New Haven	Microsociety Magnet School	IM	247	212	86%	1%
New Haven	Hyde Leadership School	IM	209	196	94%	9%
New Haven	Cooperative High School	IM	655	486	74%	-11%
New Haven	Davis 21st Century Magnet Elementary	IM	514	396	77%	-8%
New Haven	Mauro-Sheridan Magnet School	IM	563	437	78%	-7%
New Haven	Hill Regional Career High School	IM	703	565	80%	-5%
New Haven	High School In The Community	IM	274	221	81%	-4%
New Haven	John C. Daniels	IM	541	450	83%	-2%
New Haven	King/Robinson Magnet School	IM	579	495	85%	1%
New Haven		D	20555	17465	85%	
New London	Interdistrict School For Arts And Communication	C	191	140	73%	-10%
New London	Multicultural Magnet School	IM	539	298	55%	-28%
New London		D	2961	2465	83%	
Norwalk	Side By Side Charter School	C	232	178	77%	13%
Norwalk		D	11111	7051	63%	
Norwich	Integrated Day Charter School	C	330	127	38%	-23%
Norwich	Norwich Tech	VT	656	151	23%	-39%
Norwich		D	3816	2358	62%	
Stamford	Trailblazers Academy	C	170	163	96%	32%
Stamford	Stamford Academy	C	141	136	96%	32%
Stamford	The Academy of Information Technology	IM	692	369	53%	-11%
Stamford	Rogers International School	IM	804	433	54%	-10%
Stamford		D	15471	9934	64%	
Torrington	Oliver Wolcott Tech	VT	669	75	11%	-17%
Torrington		D	4459	1271	29%	
Waterbury	Rotella Interdistrict Magnet School	IM	615	310	50%	-27%
Waterbury	Maloney Interdistrict Magnet School	IM	603	311	52%	-25%
Waterbury	Waterbury Arts Magnet School (High)	IM	467	244	52%	-25%
Waterbury	Waterbury Arts Magnet School (Middle)	IM	330	191	58%	-19%
Waterbury	W. F. Kaynor Tech	VT	761	361	47%	-30%

Town	School Name	Magnet, Charter, Vo-Tech, District	Enrollment	Minority Enrollment	Percent Minority	Percentage Point Difference from Local District
Waterbury		D	18061	13919	77%	
Waterford	The Friendship School	IM	509	276	54%	35%
Waterford	Dual Language Arts Academy/Academia	IM	82	61	74%	55%
Waterford		D	2683	515	19%	
West Hartford	University of Hartford Multiple Intelligences Magnet	IM	441	321	73%	35%
West Hartford		D	10068	3832	38%	
Winchester	Explorations	C	74	8	11%	-7%
Winchester		D	687	121	18%	
Windham	ACT Magnet School ((Arts at the Capitol Theater))	IM	128	26	20%	-53%
Windham	Windham Tech	VT	572	181	32%	-42%
Windham		D	3242	2378	73%	
Windsor	Pathways to Technology Magnet School	IM	327	262	80%	10%
Windsor	CREC Medical Professions and Teacher Preparation Academy	IM	279	226	81%	11%
Windsor		D	3490	2436	70%	

Appendix C: Enrollment of Free and Reduced Price Meal Eligible Students in School Choice Programs as Compared to Town of Location

Town	School	Magnet, Charter, Vo-Tech, District	Enrollment	FRPM Eligible	Percent FRPM Eligible	Percentage Point Difference From Local District
Ansonia	Emmett O'Brien Tech	VT	546	157	29%	-32%
Ansonia		D	2514	1519	60%	
Avon	Reggio Magnet School of the Arts	IM	284	137	48%	42%
Avon		D	3495	202	6%	
Bloomfield	Wintonbury Early Childhood Magnet School	IM	321	55	17%	-31%
Bloomfield	Academy of Aerospace and Engineering	IM	390	180	46%	-2%
Bloomfield	Museum Academy	IM	271	120	44%	-4%
Bloomfield	Metropolitan Learning Center	IM	719	320	45%	-4%
Bloomfield	The Big Picture High School	IM	105	44	42%	-7%
Bloomfield		D	2151	1046	49%	
Bridgeport	Park City Prep Charter School	C	257	176	68%	-31%
Bridgeport	New Beginnings Inc. Family Academy	C	361	306	85%	-14%
Bridgeport	Achievement First Bridgeport Academy	C	543	452	83%	-16%
Bridgeport	The Bridge Academy	C	276	210	76%	-23%
Bridgeport	Discovery Interdistrict Magnet School	IM	311	310	100%	1%
Bridgeport	Six-Six Magnet School	IM	463	122	26%	-73%
Bridgeport	Bullard-Havens Tech	VT	874	516	59%	-40%
Bridgeport		D	20125	19945	99%	
Danbury	Western CT Academy of International Studies	IM	389	54	14%	-36%
Danbury	Henry Abbott Tech	VT	638	229	36%	-14%
Danbury		D	10488	5199	50%	
East Hartford	Two Rivers Middle Magnet School	IM	684	318	46%	-12%
East Hartford	East Hartford/Glastonbury Magnet School	IM	259	75	29%	-30%
East Hartford	Connecticut River Academy	IM	246	146	59%	1%
East Hartford	International Magnet School for Global Communication	IM	311	132	42%	-16%
East Hartford	Connecticut IB Academy	IM	188	37	20%	-39%
East Hartford		D	7155	4205	59%	
Enfield	CREC - Public Safety Academy Interdistrict Magnet	IM	389	256	66%	32%
Enfield		D	5647	1920	34%	
Groton	Ella T. Grasso Tech	VT	569	254	45%	9%
Groton		D	4947	1749	35%	
Hamden	Highville Charter School	C	337	174	52%	13%
Hamden	Wintergreen Interdistrict Magnet School	IM	640	245	38%	0%

Town	School	Magnet, Charter, Vo-Tech, District	Enrollment	FRPM Eligible	Percent FRPM Eligible	Percentage Point Difference From Local District
Hamden	Eli Whitney Tech	VT	521	367	70%	32%
Hamden		D	5817	2240	39%	
Hartford	Jumoke Academy	C	488	281	58%	-32%
Hartford	Achievement First Hartford Academy	C	761	761	100%	10%
Hartford	Greater Hartford Academy of the Arts	IM	400	198	50%	-40%
Hartford	Montessori at Fisher School	IM	240	67	28%	-62%
Hartford	Capital Preparatory Magnet School	IM	521	268	51%	-38%
Hartford	Discovery Academy	IM	150	52	35%	-55%
Hartford	Environmental Sciences Magnet School	IM	358	358	100%	10%
Hartford	Kinsella Magnet School	IM	689	689	100%	10%
Hartford	STEM Magnet School at Annie-Fisher	IM	344	189	55%	-35%
Hartford	University High School	IM	389	189	49%	-41%
Hartford	Montessori Magnet School	IM	350	151	43%	-47%
Hartford	Breakthrough Magnet School	IM	355	222	63%	-27%
Hartford	Noah Webster Micro Society School	IM	582	275	47%	-43%
Hartford	Sports and Medical Sciences Academy	IM	637	635	100%	10%
Hartford	Classical Magnet School	IM	714	364	51%	-39%
Hartford	Hartford Magnet Trinity College Academy	IM	715	407	57%	-33%
Hartford	A. I. Prince Tech	VT	755	508	67%	-23%
Hartford		D	20879	18757	90%	
Killingly	Quinebaug Middle College	IM	110	17	15%	-27%
Killingly	H. H. Ellis Tech	VT	540	141	26%	-16%
Killingly		D	2676	1138	43%	
Manchester	Odyssey Community School	C	314	119	38%	-18%
Manchester	Great Path Academy at MCC	IM	246	128	52%	-4%
Manchester	Howell Cheney Tech	VT	673	248	37%	-19%
Manchester		D	6405	3596	56%	
Meriden	Thomas Edison Magnet Middle School	IM	721	258	36%	-31%
Meriden	H. C. Wilcox Tech	VT	772	255	33%	-34%
Meriden		D	8227	5514	67%	
Middletown	Vinal Tech	VT	607	146	24%	-20%
Middletown		D	5033	2198	44%	
Milford	Platt Tech	VT	885	293	33%	12%
Milford		D	6794	1405	21%	
New Britain	E. C. Goodwin Tech	VT	618	366	59%	-20%
New Britain		D	10144	8085	80%	
New Haven	Common Ground High School	C	165	82	50%	-19%
New Haven	Amistad Academy	C	857	690	81%	12%

Town	School	Magnet, Charter, Vo-Tech, District	Enrollment	FRPM Eligible	Percent FRPM Eligible	Percentage Point Difference From Local District
New Haven	Elm City College Preparatory School	C	600	455	76%	7%
New Haven	Betsy Ross Arts Magnet School	IM	489	313	64%	-5%
New Haven	Benjamin Jepson Magnet School	IM	562	381	68%	-1%
New Haven	Engineering - Science University Magnet	IM	320	193	60%	-9%
New Haven	Ross/Woodward School	IM	575	390	68%	-1%
New Haven	Barnard Environmental Magnet School	IM	561	364	65%	-4%
New Haven	New Haven Academy	IM	263	169	64%	-5%
New Haven	Metropolitan Business High School	IM	339	236	70%	1%
New Haven	Beecher School	IM	469	300	64%	-5%
New Haven	Microsociety Magnet School	IM	247	174	70%	2%
New Haven	Hyde Leadership School	IM	209	140	67%	-2%
New Haven	Cooperative High School	IM	655	440	67%	-2%
New Haven	Davis 21st Century Magnet Elementary	IM	514	375	73%	4%
New Haven	Mauro-Sheridan Magnet School	IM	563	436	77%	9%
New Haven	Hill Regional Career High School	IM	703	499	71%	2%
New Haven	High School In The Community	IM	274	215	78%	10%
New Haven	John C. Daniels	IM	541	396	73%	4%
New Haven	King/Robinson Magnet School	IM	579	438	76%	7%
New Haven		D	20555	14162	69%	
New London	Interdistrict School For Arts And Communications	C	191	135	71%	-16%
New London	Multicultural Magnet School	IM	539	242	45%	-42%
New London		D	2961	2572	87%	
Norwalk	Side By Side Charter School	C	232	112	48%	3%
Norwalk		D	11111	4987	45%	
Norwich	Integrated Day Charter School	C	330	93	28%	-44%
Norwich	Norwich Tech	VT	656	187	29%	-44%
Norwich		D	3816	2773	73%	
Stamford	Trailblazers Academy	C	170	139	82%	33%
Stamford	Stamford Academy	C	141	121	86%	38%
Stamford	The Academy of Information Technology	IM	692	179	26%	-22%
Stamford	Rogers International School	IM	804	340	42%	-6%
Stamford		D	15471	7471	48%	
Torrington	Oliver Wolcott Tech	VT	669	129	19%	-26%
Torrington		D	4459	2038	46%	
Waterbury	Rotella Interdistrict Magnet School	IM	615	284	46%	-33%
Waterbury	Maloney Interdistrict Magnet School	IM	603	275	46%	-34%
Waterbury	Waterbury Arts Magnet School (High)	IM	467	222	48%	-32%
Waterbury	Waterbury Arts Magnet School (Middle)	IM	330	177	54%	-26%

Town	School	Magnet, Charter, Vo-Tech, District	Enrollment	FRPM Eligible	Percent FRPM Eligible	Percentage Point Difference From Local District
Waterbury	W. F. Kaynor Tech	VT	761	354	47%	-33%
Waterbury		D	18061	14312	79%	
Waterford	The Friendship School	IM	509	274	54%	39%
Waterford	Dual Language Arts Academy/Academia	IM	82	36	44%	29%
Waterford		D	2683	398	15%	
West Hartford	University of Hartford Multiple Intelligences Magnet	IM	441	239	54%	35%
West Hartford		D	10068	1941	19%	
Winchester	Explorations	C	74	27	36%	2%
Winchester		D	687	240	35%	
Windham	ACT Magnet School ((Arts at the Capitol Theater)	IM	128	15	12%	-67%
Windham	Windham Tech	VT	572	183	32%	-47%
Windham		D	3242	2563	79%	
Windsor	Pathways to Technology Magnet School	IM	327	179	55%	24%
Windsor	CREC Medical Professions and Teacher Preparation Academy	IM	279	138	49%	18%
Windsor		D	3490	1081	31%	

Appendix D: Enrollment of Emerging Bilingual Students in School Choice Programs as Compared to Town of Location

Town	School Name	Magnet, Charter, Vo-Tech, District	ELL	K-12 Enrollment	Percent ELL	Percentage Point Difference from Local District
Ansonia	Emmett O'Brien Tech	VT	8	546	1%	-2%
Ansonia		D	77	2412	3%	
Avon	Reggio Magnet School of the Arts	IM	<5	183	1% - 3%	-1% - 1%
Avon		D	60	3454	2%	
Bloomfield	Wintonbury Early Childhood Magnet School	IM	0	105	0%	-2%
Bloomfield	The Big Picture High School	IM	0	105	0%	-2%
Bloomfield	Metropolitan Learning Center	IM	6	719	1%	-1%
Bloomfield	Museum Academy	IM	<5	172	1% - 3%	-1% - 1%
Bloomfield	Academy of Aerospace and Engineering	IM	10	390	3%	1%
Bloomfield		D	37	1935	2%	
Bridgeport	New Beginnings Inc. Family Academy	C	0	361	0%	-13%
Bridgeport	The Bridge Academy	C	<5	276	0% - 2%	<-10%
Bridgeport	Park City Prep Charter School	C	<5	257	0% - 2%	<-10%
Bridgeport	Achievement First Bridgeport Academy	C	24	543	4%	-9%
Bridgeport	Six-Six Magnet School	IM	0	383	0%	-13%
Bridgeport	Discovery Interdistrict Magnet School	IM	5	218	2%	-11%
Bridgeport	Bullard-Havens Tech	VT	21	874	2%	-11%
Bridgeport		D	2546	19431	13%	
Danbury	Western CT Academy of International Studies	IM	23	389	6%	-12%
Danbury	Henry Abbott Tech	VT	22	638	3%	-15%
Danbury		D	1898	10333	18%	
East Hartford	Connecticut River Academy	IM	0	246	0%	-8%
East Hartford	East Hartford/Glastonbury Magnet School	IM	<5	259	0% - 2%	-10% - -5%
East Hartford	Two Rivers Middle Magnet School	IM	22	684	3%	-5%
East Hartford	International Magnet School for Global Citizenship	IM	16	210	8%	-1%
East Hartford	Connecticut IB Academy	IM	<5	188	1% - 3%	-10% - -5%
East Hartford		D	580	6858	8%	
Enfield	CREC - Public Safety Academy Interdistrict Magnet	IM	9	389	2%	0%
Enfield		D	101	5475	2%	
Groton	Ella T. Grasso Southeastern Tech	VT	26	569	5%	3%
Groton		D	97	4711	2%	
Hamden	Highville Charter School	C	0	294	0%	-4%
Hamden	Wintergreen Interdistrict Magnet School	IM	<5	640	0% - 1%	-5% - -1%

Town	School Name	Magnet, Charter, Vo-Tech, District	ELL	K-12 Enrollment	Percent ELL	Percentage Point Difference from Local District
Hamden	Eli Whitney Tech	VT	65	521	12%	8%
Hamden		D	248	5718	4%	
Hartford	Jumoke Academy	C	<5	446	0% - 1%	<-10%
Hartford	Achievement First Hartford Academy	C	32	761	4%	-14%
Hartford	Discovery Academy	IM	0	39	0%	-18%
Hartford	Montessori at Fisher School	IM	<5	139	1% - 4%	<-10%
Hartford	Greater Hartford Academy of the Arts	IM	8	400	2%	-16%
Hartford	Noah Webster Micro Society School	IM	16	498	3%	-15%
Hartford	Classical Magnet School	IM	20	714	3%	-15%
Hartford	University High School	IM	11	389	3%	-15%
Hartford	Capital Preparatory Magnet School	IM	17	497	3%	-15%
Hartford	Breakthrough Magnet School	IM	12	301	4%	-14%
Hartford	STEM Magnet School at Annie-Fisher	IM	15	344	4%	-14%
Hartford	Montessori Magnet School	IM	18	265	7%	-11%
Hartford	Kinsella Magnet School	IM	48	631	8%	-11%
Hartford	Sports and Medical Sciences Academy	IM	47	637	7%	-11%
Hartford	Environmental Sciences Magnet School	IM	29	301	10%	-9%
Hartford	Hartford Magnet Trinity College Academy	IM	41	715	6%	-12%
Hartford	A. I. Prince Tech	VT	40	755	5%	-13%
Hartford		D	3618	19947	18%	
Killingly	Quinebaug Middle College	IM	0	110	0%	-2%
Killingly	H. H. Ellis Tech	VT	<5	540	0% - 1%	-5% - -1%
Killingly		D	59	2576	2%	
Manchester	Odyssey Community School	C	0	314	0%	-5%
Manchester	Great Path Academy at MCC	IM	<5	246	0% - 2%	-5% - -1%
Manchester	Howell Cheney Tech	VT	14	673	2%	-3%
Manchester		D	334	6155	5%	
Meriden	Thomas Edison Magnet Middle School	IM	37	721	5%	-7%
Meriden	H. C. Wilcox Tech	VT	7	772	1%	-11%
Meriden		D	984	7955	12%	
Middletown	Vinal Tech	VT	0	607	0%	-3%
Middletown		D	132	4934	3%	
Milford	Platt Tech	VT	<5	885	0% - 1%	-5% - -1%
Milford		D	103	6651	2%	
New Britain	E. C. Goodwin Tech	VT	45	618	7%	-10%
New Britain		D	1691	9735	17%	
New Haven	Common Ground High School	C	<5	165	1% - 3%	<-10%
New Haven	Elm City College Preparatory School	C	19	600	3%	-11%

Town	School Name	Magnet, Charter, Vo-Tech, District	ELL	K-12 Enrollment	Percent ELL	Percentage Point Difference from Local District
New Haven	Amistad Academy	C	130	857	15%	1%
New Haven	Engineering - Science University Magnet	IM	<5	320	0% - 2%	<-10%
New Haven	Betsy Ross Arts Magnet School	IM	11	489	2%	-11%
New Haven	Beecher School	IM	11	399	3%	-11%
New Haven	Barnard Environmental Magnet School	IM	31	501	6%	-8%
New Haven	Hyde Leadership School	IM	5	209	2%	-11%
New Haven	Metropolitan Business High School	IM	19	339	6%	-8%
New Haven	Microsociety Magnet School	IM	15	227	7%	-7%
New Haven	New Haven Academy	IM	10	263	4%	-10%
New Haven	Benjamin Jepson Magnet School	IM	41	487	8%	-5%
New Haven	Ross/Woodward School	IM	50	511	10%	-4%
New Haven	Davis 21st Century Magnet Elementary	IM	9	452	2%	-12%
New Haven	Cooperative High School	IM	12	655	2%	-12%
New Haven	King/Robinson Magnet School	IM	12	518	2%	-11%
New Haven	Hill Regional Career High School	IM	43	703	6%	-8%
New Haven	High School In The Community	IM	17	274	6%	-8%
New Haven	Mauro-Sheridan Magnet School	IM	51	521	10%	-4%
New Haven	John C. Daniels	IM	115	461	25%	11%
New Haven		D	2567	18723	14%	
New London	Interdistrict School For Arts And Communication	C	21	191	11%	-10%
New London	Multicultural Magnet School	IM	92	539	17%	-4%
New London		D	612	2926	21%	
Norwalk	Side By Side Charter School	C	18	194	9%	-3%
Norwalk		D	1285	10882	12%	
Norwich	Integrated Day Charter School	C	13	297	4%	-8%
Norwich	Norwich Tech	VT	<5	656	0% - 1%	<-10%
Norwich		D	440	3576	12%	
Stamford	Trailblazers Academy	C	0	170	0%	-13%
Stamford	Stamford Academy	C	0	141	0%	-13%
Stamford	The Academy of Information Technology	IM	<5	692	0% - 1%	<-10%
Stamford	Rogers International School	IM	101	804	13%	-1%
Stamford		D	2045	15408	13%	
Torrington	Oliver Wolcott Tech	VT	<5	669	0% - 1%	-10% - -5%
Torrington		D	323	4443	7%	
Waterbury	Rotella Interdistrict Magnet School	IM	<5	543	0% - 1%	<-10%
Waterbury	Waterbury Arts Magnet School (Middle)	IM	<5	330	0% - 2%	-10% - -5%
Waterbury	Waterbury Arts Magnet School (High)	IM	7	467	1%	-10%
Waterbury	Maloney Interdistrict Magnet School	IM	13	531	2%	-9%

Town	School Name	Magnet, Charter, Vo-Tech, District	ELL	K-12 Enrollment	Percent ELL	Percentage Point Difference from Local District
Waterbury	W. F. Kaynor Tech	VT	<5	761	0% - 1%	<-10%
Waterbury		D	1950	17588	11%	
Waterford	The Friendship School	IM	7	155	5%	3%
Waterford	Dual Language Arts Academy/Academia	IM	19	82	23%	22%
Waterford		D	39	2683	1%	
West Hartford	University of Hartford Multiple Intelligences Magnet	IM	10	364	3%	-3%
West Hartford		D	534	9910	5%	
Winchester	Explorations	C	<5	74	1% - 7%	-1% - 1%
Winchester		D	15	665	2%	
Windham	ACT Magnet School (Arts at the Capitol Theater)	IM	0	128	0%	-26%
Windham	Windham Tech	VT	15	572	3%	-24%
Windham		D	797	3013	26%	
Windsor	CREC Medical Professions and Teacher Preparation Academy	IM	6	246	2%	-1%
Windsor	Pathways to Technology Magnet School	IM	14	327	4%	1%
Windsor		D	123	3444	4%	

Appendix E: Enrollment of Special Education Students in School Choice Programs as Compared to Town of Location

Town	School Name	Magnet, Charter, Vo-Tech, District	Special Education Enrollment	Total Enrollment	Percent Special Education	Percentage Point Difference From Local District
Ansonia	Emmett O'Brien Tech	VT	46	546	8%	-2%
Ansonia		D	272	2514	11%	
Avon	Reggio Magnet School of the Arts	IM	30	284	11%	0%
Avon		D	359	3495	10%	
Bloomfield	The Big Picture High School	IM	7	105	7%	-4%
Bloomfield	Wintonbury Early Childhood Magnet School	IM	36	321	11%	0%
Bloomfield	Academy of Aerospace and Engineering	IM	34	390	9%	-2%
Bloomfield	Metropolitan Learning Center	IM	54	719	8%	-3%
Bloomfield	Museum Academy	IM	18	271	7%	-4%
Bloomfield		D	233	2151	11%	
Bridgeport	Achievement First Bridgeport Academy	C	45	543	8%	-4%
Bridgeport	New Beginnings Inc. Family Academy	C	21	361	6%	-6%
Bridgeport	Park City Prep Charter School	C	23	257	9%	-3%
Bridgeport	The Bridge Academy	C	37	276	13%	1%
Bridgeport	Discovery Interdistrict Magnet School	IM	11	311	4%	-9%
Bridgeport	Six-Six Magnet School	IM	27	463	6%	-6%
Bridgeport	Bullard-Havens Tech	VT	17	874	2%	-10%
Bridgeport		D	2452	20125	12%	
Danbury	Western CT Academy of International Studies	IM	16	389	4%	-7%
Danbury	Henry Abbott Tech	VT	94	638	15%	4%
Danbury		D	1118	10488	11%	
East Hartford	East Hartford/Glastonbury Magnet School	IM	13	259	5%	-10%
East Hartford	International Magnet School for Global Citizenship	IM	27	311	9%	-7%
East Hartford	Two Rivers Middle Magnet School	IM	76	684	11%	-4%
East Hartford	Connecticut River Academy	IM	31	246	13%	-3%
East Hartford	Connecticut IB Academy	IM	<5	188	1% - 3%	<-10%
East Hartford		D	1108	7155	15%	
Enfield	CREC - Public Safety Academy Interdistrict Magnet	IM	67	389	17%	4%
Enfield		D	728	5647	13%	
Groton	Ella T. Grasso Southeastern Tech	VT	66	569	12%	-2%
Groton		D	673	4947	14%	
Hamden	Highville Charter School	C	5	337	1%	-10%
Hamden	Wintergreen Interdistrict Magnet School	IM	59	640	9%	-2%

Town	School Name	Magnet, Charter, Vo-Tech, District	Special Education Enrollment	Total Enrollment	Percent Special Education	Percentage Point Difference From Local District
Hamden	Eli Whitney Tech	VT	43	521	8%	-3%
Hamden		D	641	5817	11%	
Hartford	Achievement First Hartford Academy	C	53	761	7%	-6%
Hartford	Jumoke Academy	C	20	488	4%	-9%
Hartford	Discovery Academy	IM	10	150	7%	-7%
Hartford	Greater Hartford Academy of the Arts	IM	32	400	8%	-5%
Hartford	Montessori Magnet School	IM	35	350	10%	-3%
Hartford	Breakthrough Magnet School	IM	46	355	13%	0%
Hartford	Capital Preparatory Magnet School	IM	33	521	6%	-7%
Hartford	Classical Magnet School	IM	43	714	6%	-7%
Hartford	Environmental Sciences Magnet School	IM	39	358	11%	-2%
Hartford	Kinsella Magnet School	IM	54	689	8%	-5%
Hartford	Montessori at Fisher School	IM	7	240	3%	-10%
Hartford	Noah Webster Micro Society School	IM	42	582	7%	-6%
Hartford	Sports and Medical Sciences Academy	IM	45	637	7%	-6%
Hartford	STEM Magnet School at Annie-Fisher	IM	41	344	12%	-1%
Hartford	University High School	IM	29	389	7%	-6%
Hartford	A. I. Prince Tech	VT	56	755	7%	-6%
Hartford	Hartford Magnet Trinity College Academy	IM	87	715	12%	-1%
Hartford		D	2764	20879	13%	
Killingly	Quinebaug Middle College	IM	14	110	13%	0%
Killingly	H. H. Ellis Tech	VT	46	540	9%	-5%
Killingly		D	352	2676	13%	
Manchester	Odyssey Community School	C	36	314	11%	-3%
Manchester	Great Path Academy at MCC	IM	26	246	11%	-4%
Manchester	Howell Cheney Tech	VT	33	673	5%	-9%
Manchester		D	904	6405	14%	
Meriden	Thomas Edison Magnet Middle School	IM	66	721	9%	-5%
Meriden	H. C. Wilcox Tech	VT	44	772	6%	-8%
Meriden		D	1136	8227	14%	
Middletown	Vinal Tech	VT	75	607	12%	2%
Middletown		D	545	5033	11%	
Milford	Platt Tech	VT	37	885	4%	-8%
Milford		D	796	6794	12%	
New Britain	E. C. Goodwin Tech	VT	43	618	7%	-8%
New Britain		D	1484	10144	15%	
New Haven	Amistad Academy	C	51	857	6%	-5%
New Haven	Common Ground High School	C	15	165	9%	-2%

Town	School Name	Magnet, Charter, Vo-Tech, District	Special Education Enrollment	Total Enrollment	Percent Special Education	Percentage Point Difference From Local District
New Haven	Elm City College Preparatory School	C	28	600	5%	-6%
New Haven	Barnard Environmental Magnet School	IM	40	561	7%	-4%
New Haven	Beecher School	IM	31	469	7%	-4%
New Haven	Benjamin Jepson Magnet School	IM	71	562	13%	2%
New Haven	Betsy Ross Arts Magnet School	IM	36	489	7%	-3%
New Haven	Engineering - Science University Magnet	IM	30	320	9%	-1%
New Haven	Hyde Leadership School	IM	34	209	16%	6%
New Haven	New Haven Academy	IM	25	263	10%	-1%
New Haven	Metropolitan Business High School	IM	22	339	6%	-4%
New Haven	Microsociety Magnet School	IM	31	247	13%	2%
New Haven	Ross/Woodward School	IM	49	575	9%	-2%
New Haven	Cooperative High School	IM	49	655	7%	-3%
New Haven	Davis 21st Century Magnet Elementary	IM	37	514	7%	-4%
New Haven	High School In The Community	IM	56	274	20%	10%
New Haven	Hill Regional Career High School	IM	36	703	5%	-6%
New Haven	John C. Daniels	IM	59	541	11%	0%
New Haven	King/Robinson Magnet School	IM	56	579	10%	-1%
New Haven	Mauro-Sheridan Magnet School	IM	45	563	8%	-3%
New Haven		D	2200	20555	11%	
New London	Interdistrict School For Arts And Communication	C	32	191	17%	1%
New London	Multicultural Magnet School	IM	51	539	9%	-7%
New London		D	473	2961	16%	
Norwalk	Side By Side Charter School	C	14	232	6%	-3%
Norwalk		D	1059	11111	10%	
Norwich	Integrated Day Charter School	C	27	330	8%	-7%
Norwich	Norwich Tech	VT	52	656	8%	-7%
Norwich		D	563	3816	15%	
Stamford	Stamford Academy	C	30	141	21%	13%
Stamford	Trailblazers Academy	C	38	170	22%	14%
Stamford	Rogers International School	IM	60	804	7%	-1%
Stamford	The Academy of Information Technology and Engineering	IM	48	692	7%	-2%
Stamford		D	1356	15471	9%	
Torrington	Oliver Wolcott Tech	VT	50	669	7%	-8%
Torrington		D	697	4459	16%	
Waterbury	Maloney Interdistrict Magnet School	IM	56	603	9%	-6%
Waterbury	Rotella Interdistrict Magnet School	IM	41	615	7%	-9%
Waterbury	Waterbury Arts Magnet School (High)	IM	35	467	7%	-8%
Waterbury	Waterbury Arts Magnet School (Middle)	IM	29	330	9%	-7%

Town	School Name	Magnet, Charter, Vo-Tech, District	Special Education Enrollment	Total Enrollment	Percent Special Education	Percentage Point Difference From Local District
Waterbury	W. F. Kaynor Tech	VT	11	761	1%	-14%
Waterbury		D	2779	18061	15%	
Waterford	Dual Language Arts Academy/Academia	IM	<5	82	1% - 6%	-10% - -5%
Waterford	The Friendship School	IM	80	509	16%	5%
Waterford		D	291	2683	11%	
West Hartford	University of Hartford Multiple Intelligences Magnet	IM	52	441	12%	1%
West Hartford		D	1038	10068	10%	
Winchester	Explorations	C	17	74	23%	2%
Winchester		D	145	687	21%	
Windham	ACT Magnet School (Arts at the Capitol Theater)	IM	12	128	9%	-6%
Windham	Windham Tech	VT	47	572	8%	-8%
Windham		D	512	3242	16%	
Windsor	CREC Medical Professions and Teacher Preparation Academy	IM	15	279	5%	-9%
Windsor	Pathways to Technology Magnet School	IM	40	327	12%	-2%
Windsor		D	499	3490	14%	

¹ See, Plurality Opinion of the State Supreme Court, *Connecticut Coalition for Justice in Education Funding vs. Rell*. March, 09. Available at <http://ccjef.org/litigation>. The court held that Connecticut's constitutional guarantee of an education also guarantees provision of sufficient resources to educate students to participate in democratic institutions or achieve gainful employment. See also Opinion of the Court, *Sheff v. O'Neill*. July, 1996. Available through the Sheff movement website at <http://www.sheffmovement.org/aboutsheffvoneill.shtml>. The court held that Connecticut's constitutional guarantee of an education provides children with the right to have the opportunity to attend school in an integrated learning environment.

² See "Choose Success! A Guide to Public School Choice for Students and Their Families." Connecticut State Department of Education. 2011-2012. Available at http://www.sde.ct.gov/sde/lib/sde/pdf/equity/choice/public_school_choice_2011.pdf. Also see "Choose Success! http://www.sde.ct.gov/sde/lib/sde/pdf/equity/choice/public_school_choice_2012.pdf. A Guide to Public School Choice for Students and Their Families." Connecticut State Department of Education. 2012-2013. Web. Apart from the list of magnet, charter, and technical schools that are advertised to parents, the descriptions of each school choice program are substantively the same.

³ See, Section IV.

⁴ See, e.g. "Education Finance in Connecticut: The Overreliance on the Property Tax," *Connecticut Conference of Municipalities*. 2012. Available at <http://advocacy.ccm-ct.org/Plugs/CCM-public-policy-advocacy-reports.aspx>. Connecticut allocates special funding for charter, magnet, and technical programs outside of the ECS grant paid to towns for the operation of local public schools. See, CGS 10-262f *et seq.* The educational equalization grant (often called the Education Cost-sharing Grant or ECS) is the primary source of support the state provides to locally operated public schools. This grant is substantially underfunded. See, "Education Finance in Connecticut: The Overreliance on the Property Tax." *Connecticut Conference of Municipalities*. Available at <http://advocacy.ccm-ct.org/Plugs/CCM-public-policy-advocacy-reports.aspx>. However, in spite of the fact that the ECS grant is not fully funded, the state chooses to spend additional funding on grants for interdistrict magnet school operation, construction, and transportation. The dollar value of these allotments varies from year to year. This money supplements any local or ECS funding a town may choose to spend on operating its interdistrict magnet schools. This money also supplements payments made to the magnet operator by sending districts). See, CGS 10-264h *et seq.* The state also provides a special grant (within the ECS grant to towns) to pay 100% of the cost of state charter schools. Towns must also pay for the excess costs of special education for students attending state charter schools within town borders, and additional ECS funding may be allotted by the town a charter school for this purpose. Towns may use their ECS funds to make in-kind contributions to charter schools pursuant to locally crafted agreements. Additionally, the state pays, within available appropriations, a grant of up to \$3,000 per pupil to local charter schools as a supplement to all other local and state funding these schools may receive. See CGS 10-66e(d). Finally the state operates and pays the cost of technical schools. See, CGS 10-99g.

⁵ See Connecticut General Statutes (CGS) Sec. 10-4(a)(1)-(4) Educational interests of state identified.

⁶ See, Section IV.

⁷ See Dougherty, Jack, et. al. *On The Line: How schooling, housing, and civil rights shaped Hartford and its suburbs*. "Part 3: the rise of shopping for schools." Web-book preview edition. Hartford, CT: Trinity College, Fall 2011. (<http://OnTheLine.trincoll.edu>)

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ See Dougherty, Jack, et. al. *On The Line: How schooling, housing, and civil rights shaped Hartford and its suburbs*. "Part 3: the rise of shopping for schools." Web-book preview edition. Hartford, CT: Trinity College, Fall 2011. (<http://OnTheLine.trincoll.edu>)

¹⁰ See Opinion of the Court, *Sheff v. O'Neill*. July, 1996. Available through the Sheff movement website at <http://www.sheffmovement.org/aboutsheffvoneill.shtml>.

¹¹ See "Choose Success! A Guide to Public School Choice for Students and Their Families." Connecticut State Department of Education. 2011-2012. Available at http://www.sde.ct.gov/sde/lib/sde/pdf/equity/choice/public_school_choice_2011.pdf. Also see "Choose Success! http://www.sde.ct.gov/sde/lib/sde/pdf/equity/choice/public_school_choice_2012.pdf. A Guide to Public School Choice for Students and Their Families." Connecticut State Department of Education. 2012-2013. Web. Apart from the list of magnet, charter, and technical schools that are advertised to parents, the descriptions of each school choice program are substantively the same.

¹² See "School History: A.I. Prince Technical High School." Connecticut Technical High School. Available at <http://www.cttech.org/PRINCE/aboutus/history.htm>. See also "Choose Success! A Guide to Public School Choice for Students and Their Families."

¹³ See "Choose Success! A Guide to Public School Choice for Students and Their Families" page 76. See "Connecticut Agricultural History Video." Connecticut Future Farmers of American Association. Web. 2012.

<http://www.ctffa.org/photos/ag%20history%202012.mp4>. Both agricultural and technical vocational education have roots in the mid to late 19th century. However, according to the video, the Connecticut legislation that pertains to regional agricultural centers was introduced in the mid to late 1950's. Also see "Connecticut (Vocational Agriculture) Progress" Vol. 1, No. 1. September 1954 and Vol. 3, No. 4 June 1957. Connecticut FFA Association. Web. <http://www.ctffa.org/history/>. Both issues discuss the development of regional agricultural centers as part of comprehensive high schools, including Wamogo Regional High School.

¹⁴ See Dougherty, Jack, et. al. Part 4.

¹⁵ See "Choose Success! A Guide to Public School Choice for Students and Their Families" page 19.

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- ¹⁶ See “Choose Success! A Guide to Public School Choice for Students and Their Families” page 2. See also CGS 10-6bb. While these goals are not explicitly articulated in statute, charter school reapplications may be denied if students do not make sufficient academic progress, and charter schools may be placed on probation if they fail to demonstrate adequate student progress or fail to achieve measurable progress in reducing racial, ethnic, and economic isolation.
- ¹⁷ See Orfield, Gary; Frankenberg, Erica and associates. *Educational Delusion? Why Choice Can Deepen Inequality and How to Make Schools Fair*. University of California Press; Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: 2013. Chapter 2: Choice Theories and the Schools.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰ *Ibid.* Also see Chubb, John E. and Moe, Terry M., *Politics, Markets, and America's Schools*. 1990.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*
- ²² *Ibid.* Also see Dougherty, et al in Orfield, Frankenberg, and Associates, 2013. “School Information, Parental Decisions, and the Digital Divide: The SmartChoices Project in Hartford, CT.” Also see Ladd, Helen; Fiske, Edward; Ruijs, Nienke. “Parental Choice in the Netherlands: Growing Concerns about Segregation.” Prepared for School Choice and School Improvement: Research in State, District and Community Contexts, Vanderbilt University, October 25-27, 2009. Revised Sept. 2009. Web. http://www.vanderbilt.edu/schoolchoice/conference/papers/Ladd_COMPLETE.pdf. Also see Hsieh, Chang-Tai and Urqiola, Miguel. “When Schools Compete, how do they compete? An assessment of Chile’s nationwide school voucher program.” National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. 10008 Sept. 2003. JEL No. I2, L3, O1. www.nber.org/papers/w10008.pdf. Also see Cobb, Casey D. and Glass, Gene V. “School Choice in a Post-Desegregation World.” *Peabody Journal of Education*, Vol. 84, Issue 2: 262-278, Apr. 2009. Taylor and Francis Group, LLC.
- ²³ A summary of the SDE enrollment data is presented in Appendices B through E.
- ²⁴ See “Choose Success! A Guide to Public School Choice for Students and Their Families” page 19.
- ²⁵ See Connecticut General Statutes Sec. 10-264l. Grants for the operation of interdistrict magnet school programs. Transportation. Special education. Tuition.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷ See Connecticut General Statutes Sec. 10-264l(b)(2-3). Available at http://www.cga.ct.gov/current/pub/chap_172.htm#sec_10-264L.
- ²⁸ See Connecticut General Statutes Sec. 10-66aa.
- ²⁹ See “Choose Success! A Guide to Public School Choice for Students and Their Families” page 2.
- ³⁰ See CGS Sec. 10-66bb(h).
- ³¹ The State has not defined “measurable progress in reducing racial, ethnic, and economic isolation.” Individual charter operators have defined the requirement to reduce racial, ethnic, and economic isolation as enrolling a diverse composition of students. Other charter applicants define reducing racial, ethnic, and economic isolation as getting increasing numbers of children of color to pass state tests.
- ³² See Connecticut General Statutes Sec. 10-12.
- ³³ See “Choose Success! A Guide to Public School Choice for Students and Their Families” page 2.
- ³⁴ See “Choose Success! A Guide to Public School Choice for Students and Their Families.” Connecticut State Department of Education. 2011-2012. Available at http://www.sde.ct.gov/sde/lib/sde/pdf/equity/choice/public_school_choice_2011.pdf. Also see “Choose Success! http://www.sde.ct.gov/sde/lib/sde/pdf/equity/choice/public_school_choice_2012.pdf. A Guide to Public School Choice for Students and Their Families.” Connecticut State Department of Education. 2012-2013. Web. Apart from the list of magnet, charter, and technical schools that are advertised to parents, the descriptions of each school choice program are substantively the same.
- ³⁵ This number reflects all public schools and programs in 2011-2012 including charter, interdistrict magnet, technical schools, Open Choice program, and agricultural science and technology centers. The Connecticut State Department of Education reports the number of children enrolled in technical high schools, charter, and magnet schools as distinct schools. However, children that attend agricultural science and technology centers count within the enrollment numbers for the high school in the district that hosts each center. This number does not include students who are in non-public schools or outplaced to special education programs.
- ³⁶ See “Bristol Technical Education Center Brochure 2012-2013.” Connecticut Technical High Schools. Web. <http://www.cttech.org/bristol/documents/2012-2013Brochure-updated-11-30-12.pdf>. In Connecticut, there are seventeen (17) technical high schools that offer a technical certificate. However, Bristol Technical Education Center does not offer a high school diploma. Instead, students attend the Center for ten (10) months then transfer the credits to their home high school. We remove the Bristol TEC from the enrollment calculations because the CEDaR data tables do not report these students separately from their home high school, nor does the CT SDE enrollment data sheet prepared by Y.H. Alison Zhou. It is likely that these students are calculated within their home school enrollment totals, similar to agricultural science and technology centers.
- ³⁷ Technically, there are 17 charter districts and 25 individual “schools” because many of the districts actually operate separate schools at different grade levels.
- ³⁸ Mackin, Harold. “Correspondence re: Enrollment numbers for Agriscience programs.” Connecticut State Department of Education. 15 Apr. 2013. Available upon request.

³⁹ Foster, Janet. "Correspondence re: Open Choice program enrollment." Connecticut State Department of Education. 3 Apr. 2013. Available upon request.

⁴⁰ See pages 84-92 of "Choose Success! A Guide to Public School Choice for Students and Their Families." Connecticut State Department of Education. 2011-2012. Available at http://www.cpacinc.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/public_school_choice_2011.pdf.

⁴¹ As discussed in the Methods section, children who attend magnet schools operated by a local school district were counted twice – once toward magnet schools, and once toward local public schools. Because these schools are typically more integrated by race than the local public schools, had we excluded these children from the enrollment count of local public schools, this would make local public appear to serve a higher share of minority students. This would widen the gap between local public schools and magnet schools, and bring local public schools closer toward the hypersegregation exhibited by charters.

⁴² Garda, Robert A. "The White Interest in School Integration" (August 28, 2009). *Florida Law Review*, Vol. 63, p. 605, 2011; Loyola University New Orleans College of Law Research Paper No. 2011-02. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1463598>. The author points out cross-cultural competency and diminishing of racial and ethnic bias as two key benefits to white children of racial/ethnic integration of schools. Also see Siegel-Hawley, Genevieve. "How Non-Minority Students Also Benefit From Racially Diverse Schools." The National Coalition on School Diversity, Brief No. 8, Oct. 2012. <http://www.school-diversity.org/pdf/DiversityResearchBriefNo8.pdf>. Siegel-Hawley notes persistently high achievement and academic outcomes for white children in integrated schools, in addition to increased opportunities for discussions about civic engagement, inter-ethnic friendships, cultural competency, and reduction of racial prejudice.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ See Cobb, Casey D and Glass, Gene V. "School Choice in a Post-Desegregation World." *Peabody Journal of Education*, Taylor and Francis Group, 84: 262-278, 2009. Cobb and Glass discuss the benefits to children in integrated environments, particularly in the development of human capital. Also see Bifulco, Robert, Cobb, Casey D., and Bell, Courtney. "Can Interdistrict Choice Boost Student Achievement? The Case of Connecticut's Interdistrict Magnet School Program." *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, American Educational Research Association, Sage Publications: 2009, 31: 323. With several caveats and sources of potential bias recognized, the authors found positive, statistically significant effects on high school level reading and math test results for students attending interdistrict magnet schools. These students had access to higher-achieving peers in relatively more integrated schools, but a major caveat from the authors was that they did not identify the causes of improved academic outcomes at the interdistrict magnet schools. See *Steady Gains and Stalled Progress: Inequality and the Black-White Test Score Gap*. eds. Magnuson, Katherine and Waldfogel, Jane. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, NY:2008. See Vigdor, Jacob L. and Ludwig, Jens. "Segregation and the Test Score Gap." 181-211. The authors review various data on achievement tests and racial and ethnic segregation. They state, "The circumstantial case linking school segregation to the test score gap is compelling." Also see Corcoran, Sean P. and Evans, William N. "The Role of Inequality in Teacher Quality." 212-249. The authors identify sorting patterns of teachers and find that more experienced and qualified teachers tend to sort into schools with more affluent children, but particularly schools with greater proportions of white children. They state, "teachers of the average black students are consistently more likely to be inexperienced, uncertified, and unhappy with their career choice and work environment than teachers of the average white student." However, they don't find any evidence that change in exposure to quality teachers affected the black-white test gap during the 1990's But they do not that the gaps in exposure to experienced and qualified teachers was most pronounced at the elementary level. See Frahm, Robert. "Magnet School Costs Strain State, Local Budgets." *The Connecticut Mirror*, 26 Jan. 2010. <http://www.ctmirror.org/story/2010/01/19/magnet-school-costs-strain-state-local-budgets>. Regarding interdistrict magnet schools in the Hartford region, Frahm writes, "With features such as extra arts or music programs, the latest technology, longer school years and lower class sizes, magnet schools also cost more to run than most other schools. An analysis of state data shows an average annual cost of \$12,845 per pupil at Sheff-related magnets in the greater Hartford region, about \$2,500 more than the overall statewide average for public schools." A full accounting of the resource/funding benefits of interdistrict magnet school programs is not available as of this writing, but it is an area for future research.

⁴⁵ Orfield, Gary; Frankenberg, Erica and associates. *Educational Delusion? Why Choice Can Deepen Inequality and How to Make Schools Fair*. University of California Press; Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: 2013. Also see Sharkey, Patrick. *Stuck in Place: Urban Neighborhoods and the End of Progress toward Racial Equality*. Chicago, Illinois and London, England, The University of Chicago Press, 2013.

⁴⁶ See Connecticut General Statutes Sec. 10-264l. See CGS Sec. 10-66bb(h).

⁴⁷ See, e.g. "Education Finance in Connecticut: The Overreliance on the Property Tax," *Connecticut Conference of Municipalities*. 2012. Available at <http://advocacy.ccm-ct.org/Plugs/CCM-public-policy-advocacy-reports.aspx>. Connecticut allocates special funding for charter, magnet, and technical programs outside of the ECS grant paid to towns for the operation of local public schools. The educational equalization grant (often called the Education Cost-sharing Grant or ECS) is the primary source of support the state provides to locally operated public schools. See, CGS 10-262f et seq. This grant is substantially underfunded. See, "Education Finance in Connecticut: The Overreliance on the Property Tax." *Connecticut Conference of Municipalities*. Available at <http://advocacy.ccm-ct.org/Plugs/CCM-public-policy-advocacy-reports.aspx>. However, in spite of the fact that the ECS grant is not fully funded, the state chooses to spend additional funding on grants for interdistrict magnet school operation, construction, and transportation. The dollar value of these allotments varies from year to year. This money supplements any local or ECS funding a town may choose to spend on operating its interdistrict magnet schools. This money also supplements payments made

to the magnet operator by sending districts). *See*, CGS 10-264h, *et seq.* The state also provides a special grant (within the ECS grant to towns) to pay 100% of the cost of state charter schools. Towns must also pay for the excess costs of special education for students attending state charter schools within town borders, and additional ECS funding may be allotted by the town a charter school for this purpose. Towns may use their ECS funds to make in-kind contributions to charter schools pursuant to locally crafted agreements. Additionally, the state pays, within available appropriations, a grant of up to \$3,000 per pupil to local charter schools as a supplement to all other local and state funding these schools may receive. *See* CGS 10-66ee(d). Finally the state operates and pays the cost of technical schools. *See*, CGS 10-99g.

⁴⁸ *See*, CGS 10-264l. Magnet schools established before 2005 must enroll no more than 80% students from one district. Magnets established after 2005 must enroll no more than 75% students from one district, and must enroll between 25% and 75% racial and ethnic minorities.

⁴⁹ *See*, CGS 10-66bb(d). An organization applying to establish a charter school must specify an admissions process that promotes a diverse student body. *See also*, CGS 10-66(h). The Commissioner of Education may at any time place a charter on probation if it fails to make measurable progress toward reducing racial and ethnic isolation. However, unlike in the case of magnet schools, no integration standard is provided.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *See* Siegel-Hawley and Frankenberg, 116, “Designing Choice: Magnet School Structures and School Diversity” in Orfield, Frankenberg and Associates, 2013.

⁵² *See*, “Charter School Annual Report,” *Achievement First Bridgeport Academy*. 2013. Available at http://www.sde.ct.gov/sde/lib/sde/pdf/equity/charter/reports/af_bridgeport_ar.pdf.

⁵³ *See*, “Charter School Annual Report,” *Odyssey Community School*. 2013. Available at http://www.sde.ct.gov/sde/lib/sde/pdf/equity/charter/reports/Odyssey_AR.pdf.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *See*, Jacqueline Rabe Thomas, “Nearly half the students from Hartford now attend integrated schools,” *The Connecticut Mirror*. November 26, 2013. Available at <http://ctmirror.org/nearly-half-students-hartford-now-attend-integrated-schools/>.

⁵⁶ *See* Orfield, Frankenberg and Associates,(2013), “Conclusion: A Theory of Choice with Equity.” Also *see* Mead, J.F. & Green, P.C. (2012). *Chartering Equity: Using Charter School Legislation and Policy to Advance Equal Educational Opportunity*. Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved 1 Jan. 2013 from <http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/chartering-equity>.

⁵⁷ As discussed in the Methods section, children who attend magnet schools operated by a local school district were counted twice – once toward magnet schools, and once toward local public schools. Because these schools are typically comparably or more integrated by socioeconomic status when compared to the local public schools, had we excluded these children from the enrollment count of local public schools, this would make local public appear to serve the same or higher share of low-income students.

⁵⁸ As discussed in the Methods section, children who attend magnet schools operated by a local school district were counted twice – once toward magnet schools, and once toward local public schools. Because these schools are typically enroll fewer ELL students than the local public schools, had we excluded these children from the enrollment count of local public schools, this would make local public appear to serve a higher share of ELL students. This would further widen the gap between local public schools and choice programs.

⁵⁹ *See*, CGS 10-66bb(g).

⁶⁰ *See* “Annual Report on the Operation of Charter Schools in Connecticut.” Connecticut State Department of Education. 2013. Available at http://www.sde.ct.gov/sde/lib/sde/pdf/equity/charter/report_on_the_operation_of_charter_schools.pdf. *See* page 7 for the section entitled “Accountability” to see the list of charter school closures.

⁶¹ *See* Andre-Bechely, Lois. *Could It Be Otherwise? Parents and the Inequalities of Public School Choice*. New York, NY; Taylor and Francis Group/Routledge, 2005. First edition. Andre-Bechely documents the challenges that parents face in selecting schools for their children in public school choice systems.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *See* Connecticut General Statutes Section 10-17f(b).

⁶⁴ *See*, CGS 10-66ee(d)(3), CGS 10-264l(h), and CGS 10-76q(c).

⁶⁵ Information about John C. Daniels available at <http://www.johncdaniels.org/index.php/about-us>.

⁶⁶ Information about Regional Multicultural Magnet available at <http://www.rmms.k12.ct.us/?PageName=%27AboutTheSchool%27>.

⁶⁷ Information about Dual Language and Arts Academy available at <http://www.languagesandartsmagnetmiddle.org/?PageName=%27AboutTheSchool%27>.

⁶⁸ Information about Rogers International School available about <http://teacherweb.com/CT/RogersInternationalSchool/SchoolHomePage/sdhp1.aspx>.

⁶⁹ *See*, “About Us” on the website of Stamford academy at <http://stamfordacademy.org/#/about/4558056486>.

⁷⁰ *See*, “About Trailblazers Academy” on the website of Trailblazers Academy at <http://trailblazersacademy.org/About.html>.

⁷¹ As discussed in the Methods section, children who attend magnet schools operated by a local school district were counted twice – once toward magnet schools, and once toward local public schools. Because these schools are typically enroll fewer special education students than the local public schools, had we excluded these children from the enrollment count of local public

schools, this would make local public appear to serve a higher share of special education students. This would further widen the gap between local public schools and choice programs.

⁷² See, Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, Title IV, Part B, Sec. 612(a)(1) and (5).

<http://idea.ed.gov/explore/view/p/%2Croot%2Cstatute%2CI%2CB%2C612%2C>. See also, Mooney, Thomas. *A Practical Guide to Connecticut School Law*. Wethersfield, CT; Connecticut Association of Boards of Education, 2012. Mooney explains “FAPE” on pages 433-434.

⁷³ See, CGS 10-66bb(g).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ See “Annual Report on the Operation of Charter Schools in Connecticut.” Connecticut State Department of Education. 2013. Available at http://www.sde.ct.gov/sde/lib/sde/pdf/equity/charter/report_on_the_operation_of_charter_schools.pdf. See page 7 for the section entitled “Accountability” to see the list of charter school closures.

⁷⁶ See Connecticut General Statutes Section. CGS 10-76q.

⁷⁷ See Cotto, Jr., Robert. “Making Sense of the Vertical Scales: An Alternative View of the Connecticut Mastery Test Results.” Connecticut Voices for Children. New Haven, CT. Jul. 2012. Web. <http://www.ctvoices.org/publications/making-sense-vertical-scales-alternative-view-connecticut-mastery-test-results>. Children with disabilities are the most likely group to begin their early years behind their peers on scale score indicators in math and reading, and many do not catch up. In fact, the State Department of Education has concluded that it may be impossible for many students to reach the proficient or goal level on standard versions of the tests.

⁷⁸ See Andre-Bechaly 2005.

⁷⁹ Welner, Kevin G. “The Dirty Dozen: How Charter Schools Influence Student Enrollment.” *Teachers College Record*, 22 Ap. 2013. Web. <http://www.tcrecord.org/Content.asp?ContentID=17104>. As Welner notes, actions to reduce the participation of children with disabilities could include under-the-counter applications or admissions procedures, ignoring or detracting children with disabilities and their parents from applying, aggressive efforts to remove these students once they are enrolled (i.e. grade retention, excessive suspensions or expulsions, etc.), lack of programs or staffing that might be attractive to parents of children with disabilities (i.e. ABA, special education teachers), or a sort of benign neglect of their needs so that families voluntarily remove their children from the school.

⁸⁰ See Orfield, Gary, Frankenberg, Erica and associates, 2013, *Educational Delusion? Why Choice Can Deepen Inequality and How to Make Schools Fair*. Also see Scott, Janelle and Stuart Wells, Amy. “A More Perfect Union: Reconciling School Choice Policy with Equality of Opportunity Goals.” *Closing the Opportunity Gap: What American Must Do to Give Every Child an Even Chance*. Carter, Prudence L. and Welner, Kevin G. eds. New York, NY; Oxford University Press, 2013.

⁸¹ See Opinion of the Court, *Sheff v. O’Neill*. July, 1996. Available through the Sheff movement website at <http://www.sheffmovement.org/aboutsheffvoneill.shtml>.

⁸² Lipman, Pauline. *The New Political Economy of Urban Education: Neoliberalism, Race, and the Right to the City*. New York, NY; Taylor and Francis/Routledge, 2011.

⁸³ Orfield, Gary; Frankenberg, Erica and associates. *Educational Delusion? Why Choice Can Deepen Inequality and How to Make Schools Fair*. University of California Press; Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: 2013.

⁸⁴ Darling-Hammond, Linda. “No Child Behind and High School Reform.” *Harvard Educational Review*, volume 76, number 4, Winter 2006: 642-667. See page 17 for Dr. Darling-Hammond’s summary of the “diversity penalty. She states, “Two separate teams of researchers have found that schools serving poor, minority, and LEP students and those with a greater number of subgroups for which they are held accountable experience what researchers have called a “diversity penalty” (Novak & Fuller, 2003; see also, Sunderman and Kim, 2004), even when they show large test score gains for low-income and minority students. This occurs because schools must meet test participation rates and test score gains for each subgroup on each test to “make AYP”, with each racial/ethnic and income group, plus English language learners and students with disabilities, counted separately. Thus, a diverse school responsible for several tests each year might need to meet each of more than 30 separate targets, while a homogenous school serving few low-income students or English language learners might need to show progress in only 5 or 6 categories.” Numerous analyses show that “high-stakes testing” as a way to manage schools creates a “diversity penalty” and disincentives for schools to enroll and appropriately serve various demographic groups of children, including bilingual children. In other words, as schools have a greater number of different groups of children that officially qualify as “subgroups” in testing systems they tend to have more goals to meet in those systems than schools that have a smaller variety of subgroups. These subgroups include categories such as emerging bilingual children (ELL).

⁸⁵ See Cotto, Jr., Robert. “Understanding Connecticut’s Application for a Waiver from the No Child Left Behind Act.” Connecticut Voices for Children. New Haven, CT. Apr. 2012. Web. Also see Rothstein, Jacobsen, and Wilder. *Grading Education: Getting Accountability Right*. Economic Policy Institute; Washington, D.C. Teachers College Press; New York, NY: 2008.

⁸⁶ Cotto, Jr. Robert. “Addition through Subtraction: Are Rising test scores in Connecticut related to the exclusion of students with Disabilities?” Connecticut Voices for Children. New Haven, CT. Jan. 2012. Web. <http://www.ctvoices.org/sites/default/files/edu12addthrusubtract.pdf>.

⁸⁷ See, CGS 10-17g. See, CGS 10-76g(d). The state operates small grant programs for bilingual and special education costs, but both grants have been capped since 2009.

⁸⁸ Connecticut allocates special funding for charter, magnet, and technical programs outside of the ECS grant paid to towns for the operation of local public schools. This money supplements any local or ECS funding a town may choose to spend on operating its interdistrict magnet schools. This money also supplements payments made to the magnet operator by sending districts). *See*, CGS 10-264h, i, and l. The state also provides a special grant (within the ECS grant to towns) to pay 100% of the cost of state charter schools. Towns must also pay for the excess costs of special education for students attending state charter schools within town borders, and additional ECS funding may be allotted by the town a charter school for this purpose. Towns may use their ECS funds to make in-kind contributions to charter schools pursuant to locally crafted agreements. Additionally, the state pays, within available appropriations, a grant of up to \$3,000 per pupil to local charter schools as a supplement to all other local and state funding these schools may receive. *See* CGS 10-66e(d). Finally the state operates and pays 100% of the cost of technical schools. *See*, CGS 10-99g.

⁸⁹ *See* Opinion of the Court, *Sheff v. O'Neill*. July, 1996. Available through the Sheff movement website at <http://www.sheffmovement.org/aboutsheffvoneill.shtml>.

⁹⁰ *See* Connecticut State Department of Education. Report generated on 12 Dec. 2012. "CT Public School Enrollment_2000.mdb – race, gender, ELL by school district, 2011_qry, (select out inst. 21, 41, 61,82, district between 800 and 899, school in 89, 98, 99), enrollment by school district-2011_qry."

⁹¹ For a discussion of the limitations of using FRPM data as a measure of socioeconomic status, see Cotto, Jr., Robert. "The Limits of Data on Free and Reduced Price Lunch in Connecticut." Connecticut Voices for Children; New Haven, CT; Mar. 2012. Available at <http://www.ctvoices.org/sites/default/files/edu12limitsFRPM.pdf>. Aggregated FRPM obscures income differences between the free and reduced meals category requirements. Furthermore, families may not elect to participate in the National School Lunch Program. Finally, certification procedures for eligibility and participation may vary by district. Unfortunately, this is the only measure of socioeconomic status by which State test results can be disaggregated at this time, hence it is the most commonly used metric. We recommend additional analysis using other measures of town income and socioeconomic status.

⁹² *See* *Sheff vs. O'Neill Stipulation and Proposed Order*. Connecticut Superior Court. 4 Apr. 2008. The full text of the 2008 stipulated agreement and proposed order is available at Trinity College Digital Repository, Hartford, CT. http://digitalrepository.trincoll.edu/cssp_archives/19/. The agreement defined the "Desegregation Standard" on page 3, letter J" as a school that had no more than 75% of all students that were racial/ethnic minority students. It is important to note that the most recent iteration of the *Sheff v. O'Neill* agreement has *changed* the definition of "reduced-isolation" settings. Rather than a desegregation standard of fewer than 75% of students in all the racial and ethnic minorities, that limit is placed only on students "who identify themselves as any part Black/African American, or any part Hispanic." We use the older standard, that has existed since 2008, as this was the legally required standard during the school year examined in this report. *See*, *Sheff et. Al. v. O'Neill Stipulation and Proposed Order*. Superior Court Complex Litigation Docket, Hartford, CT. December 13, 2013. Available upon request.

⁹³ Voluntary choice schools, such as interdistrict magnet schools, meet the integration standard established by the 2008 *Sheff v. O'Neill* stipulated order and agreement when no more than 75% of their students are children of color

⁹⁴ *See* CGS Sec. 10-264l.

⁹⁵ *See* *Sheff vs. O'Neill Stipulation and Proposed Order*. Connecticut Superior Court. 4 Apr. 2008. The full text of the 2008 stipulated agreement and proposed order is available at Trinity College Digital Repository, Hartford, CT. http://digitalrepository.trincoll.edu/cssp_archives/19/.

⁹⁶ *See*, for example, Frankenberg, Siegel-Hawley, and Wang. "Choice Without Equity", 10. They state, "Seventy percent of black charter school students in the country attended hypersegregated minority schools in 2000-01 (compared to 34% of black students enrolled in traditional public schools)- places of learning where more than 90% of students were from underrepresented racial backgrounds (Frankenberg & Lee, 2003)."

⁹⁷ *See* Miron, G., Urschel, J. L., Mathis, W, J., & Tornquist, E. (2010). *Schools without Diversity: Education Management Organizations, Charter Schools and the Demographic Stratification of the American School System*. Boulder and Tempe: Education and the Public Interest Center & Education Policy Research Unit. Retrieved January 17, 2013 from <http://epicpolicy.org/publication/schools-without-diversity>. The authors similarly compare educational management organizations (EMO's) with their local district schools using the percentage/concentration of children in particular demographic categories; and they also constructed five-level schools, yet they used different terminology and different cut points for their scales.

⁹⁸ *See*, CGS 10-17e.