

SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL:
THE FAILURE OF NEW YORK CITY CHARTER SCHOOLS
TO SERVE THE CITY'S NEEDIEST STUDENTS

JANUARY 2010



United Federation of Teachers

SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL:

THE FAILURE OF NEW YORK CITY CHARTER SCHOOLS TO SERVE THE CITY'S NEEDIEST STUDENTS

JANUARY 2010

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Despite the fact that New York's charter school legislation prohibits discrimination in student admissions, it is now clear to even casual observers that New York City's charter schools, as a group, are failing to serve a representative sample of the City's public school children.

A review of data on file with the New York State Education Department and the City's Department of Education shows that these schools, funded with public money, serve significantly fewer than the average of the City's poorest children, and 10 to 25 percent fewer of such children in the charters' own neighborhoods. Charters serve on average less than four percent of English Language Learners ("ELL"), rather than 14 percent of such children in the City's district public schools (the "district schools"). Less than 10 percent of charter pupils are categorized as special education students versus a citywide average of more than 16 percent in the district public schools.

In addition, despite their concentrations in highly diverse neighborhoods, charters as a group admit substantially fewer Hispanic and/or immigrant students. As a result, charters contain a heavier concentration of African-American students than is true in the City as a whole or even in the neighborhoods charters are supposed to serve.

Some charter schools also indulge in a number of questionable financial practices, including outsize "management fees" to charter operating companies and inappropriate salaries for charter managers who oversee one school or at most a handful of institutions. These salaries far outstrip compensation to equivalent public officials, including the Chancellor of the City's Department of Education, who oversees approximately 1,500 schools and more than 100,000 employees.

At the same time, charter schools ignore many critical "transparency" requirements of public institutions, despite the fact that most of their income is in public funds and they are mounting a public campaign for more funding. Current law exempts charters from oversight by the City and state comptrollers. Charters have fought Freedom of Information requirements, making it difficult for oversight bodies, including the public and the media, to track key indicators of both spending and student success.

Key recommendations:

In order to introduce more equity and outside oversight into charter operations, the state's charter law should require the following:

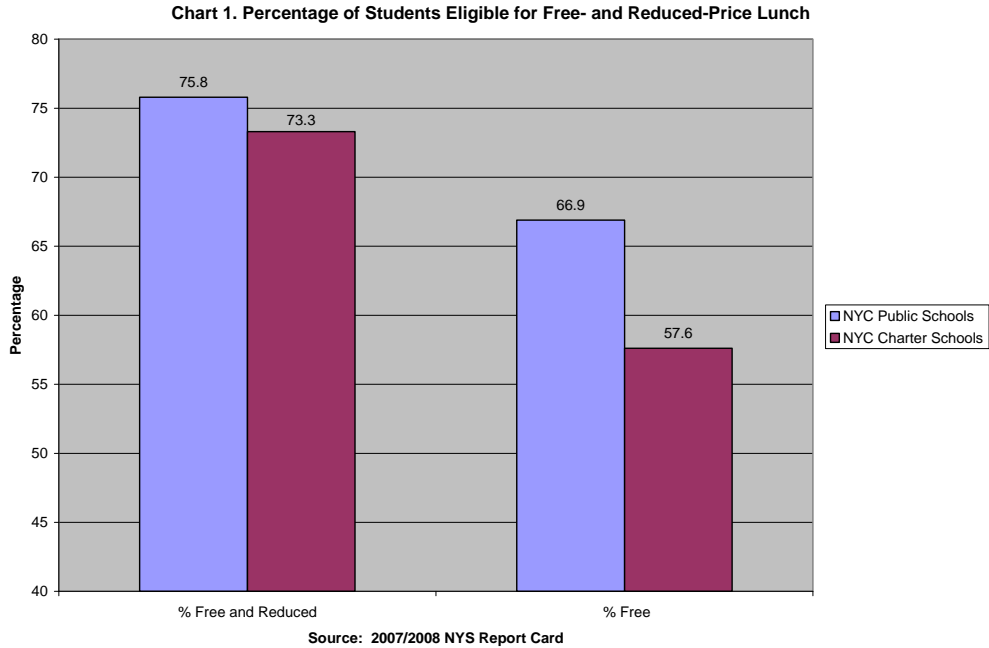
- Charter schools must commit to serve, and state and City authorities must have the power to enroll, at least the district-wide average of neediest students, including but not limited to English Language Learners and special education pupils. If necessary, the lottery process for charter attendance should be centralized and overseen by a neutral third party. Charters that fail to enroll a representative sample of students should be penalized.
- For-profit firms should be banned from owning or operating charter schools. Management fees and salaries should be capped at public sector levels. Although charter operators may claim that outsize compensation is funded by outside sources rather than public funds, schools should not be profit centers, and additional funds should be mandated for additional student services rather than inappropriate managerial spending.
- Charter school information should be made available to the public by mandating that City and state officials can audit both financial and operational data and that such data become freely available under the state's Freedom of Information law. Charter school board members and employees should be subject to the same financial disclosure requirements and conflict-of-interest prohibitions as other public officials and employees.

Left unchecked, the growth of the charter sector will only exacerbate existing inequities. This report details and discusses the implications of these demographic findings and outlines the legislative and regulatory changes necessary to promote equity and opportunity for all of New York City's public school students.

II. FINDINGS

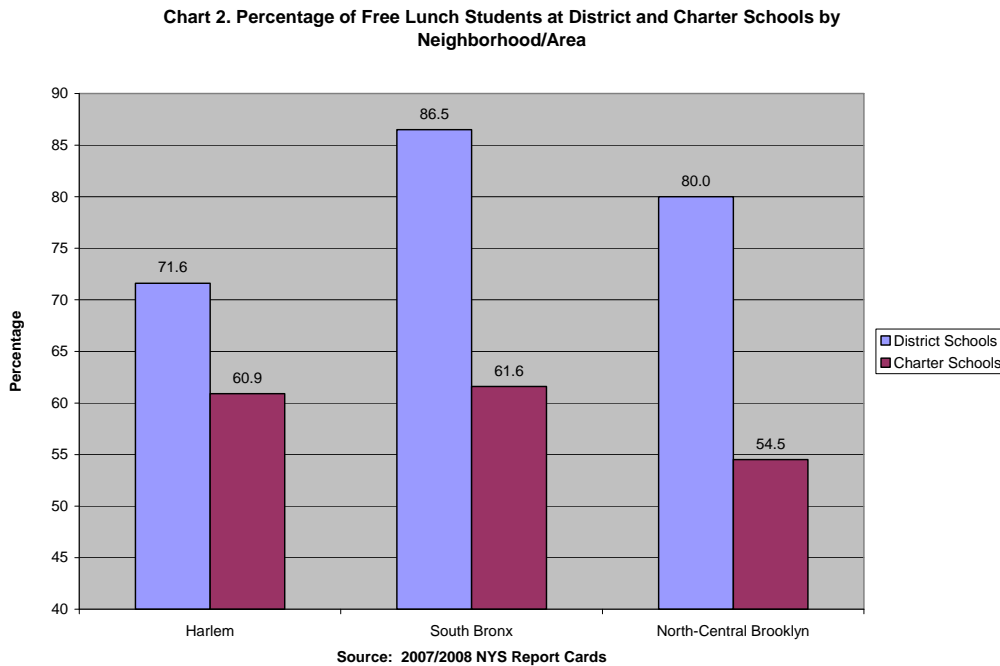
1. Charter schools do not enroll enough students from the neediest families.

Student eligibility for free and reduced-price lunch is a common measure of family need. On this *combined* measure, the percentage of eligible charter school students is about the same as in City public school. But as Chart 1 reveals, charters enroll, on average, about 10 percentage points *fewer* students eligible for *free* lunch.



Note: comparisons are of elementary and middle schools only. Free lunch mean difference is statistically significant ($p < .001$).

This discrepancy increases when we look at the three areas of the City with the most charter schools. In Harlem, the South Bronx, and North-Central Brooklyn, charters are not educating the neediest families. As Chart 2 details, the rate of free lunch eligibility in the City's charters is, on average, 10 to 25 percentage points *lower* than other elementary and middle schools in those areas.



Note: Comparisons exclude high schools. Free lunch mean differences are statistically significant (South Bronx and North-Central Brooklyn $p < .001$; Harlem $p < .01$)

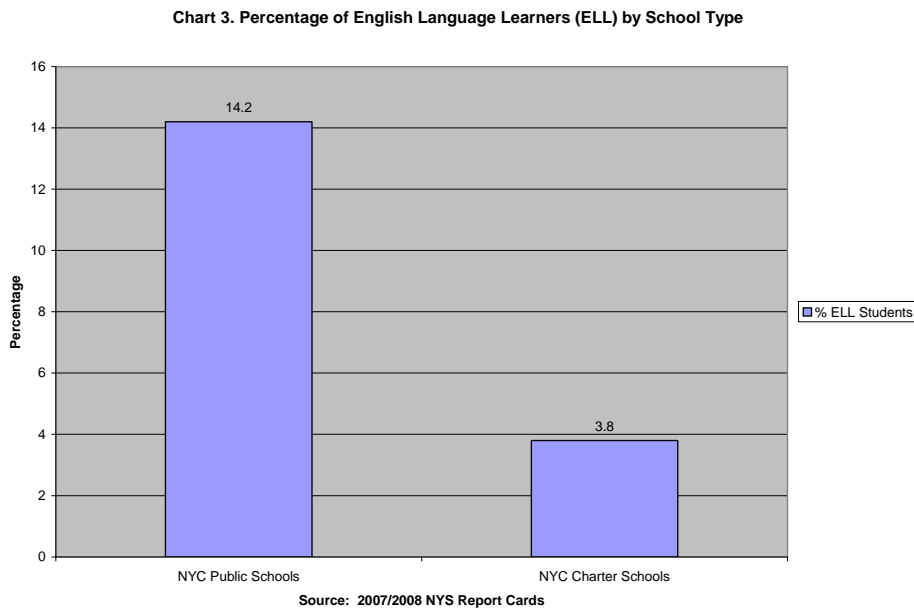
In New York City, students are eligible for free lunch if their family income is no higher than \$28,000 (for a family of four). By comparison, eligibility for reduced-price lunch (rather than free lunch) extends to families of four who make \$40,000 per year. The evidence suggests that charter school students are much more likely to come from families designated in this higher income group.

How important is this \$12,000 difference? The relationship between income and student achievement is extensively documented. A particular study of the Earned Income Tax Credit by Dahl and Lochner (2008) found that even an additional \$1,000 in family income per year can have a measurable positive impact on reading and math scores.¹

Demography is not destiny, and the correlation between student achievement and family income in no way removes the City’s obligation to educate all students. But the data in this report suggest that the City’s charter schools, as a group, have yet to embrace this challenge.

2. Charter schools do not enroll enough English Language Learners.

Across the City, 14.2 percent of students are English Language Learners. Yet as Chart 3 reveals, only 3.8 percent of these students are being accepted by the City’s charters.

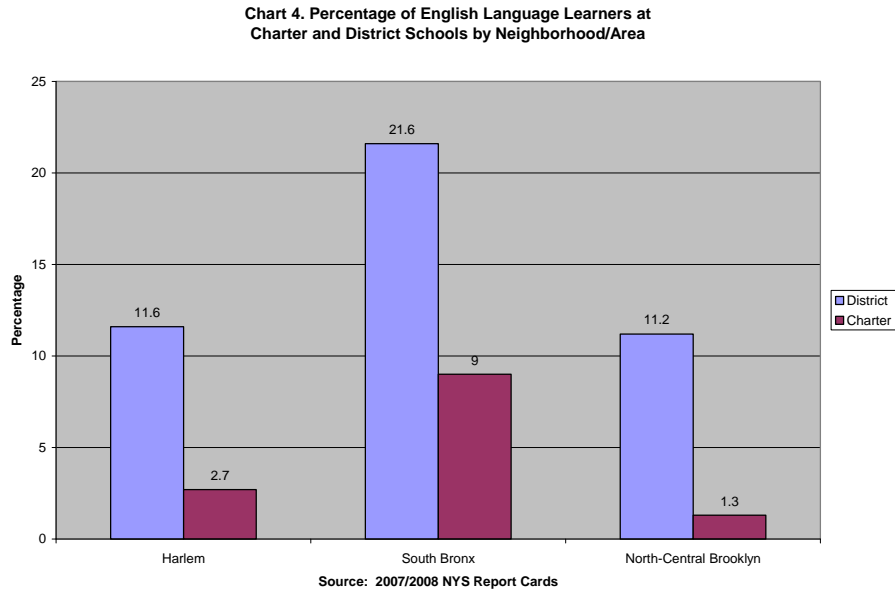


Note: Excludes high schools; mean difference is statistically significant ($P < .001$).

Although this 10.4 percentage point discrepancy could be explained if charters were located in areas without a preponderance of English Language Learners, this is not the case. Many charter schools are located in neighborhoods with large immigrant

¹ Dahl, G., L Lochner, 2008. “The Impact of Family Income on Child Achievement: Evidence from the Earned Income Tax Credit.” National Board of Economic Research (NBER) Working Paper No. 14599.

populations. When we look at the three areas of the City targeted by charter school operators, the average discrepancy sustains or, in the case of the South Bronx, gets worse.

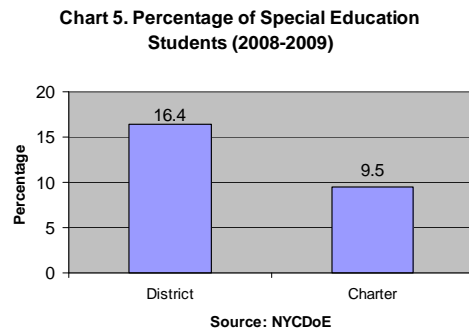


Note: Comparisons exclude high schools. ELL mean differences are statistically significant (North-Central Brooklyn $p < .001$; South Bronx $p < .01$; Harlem $p < .1$).

New York City remains a place of arrival for many immigrants, a large number of whom may not be fluent in English. Educating their children is part and parcel of the school system’s responsibilities. Despite recent efforts to require “good faith efforts” by charter operators to attract and retain English Language Learners, the data suggest that charters are not doing their fair share.

3. Charter schools do not enroll enough students with special needs.

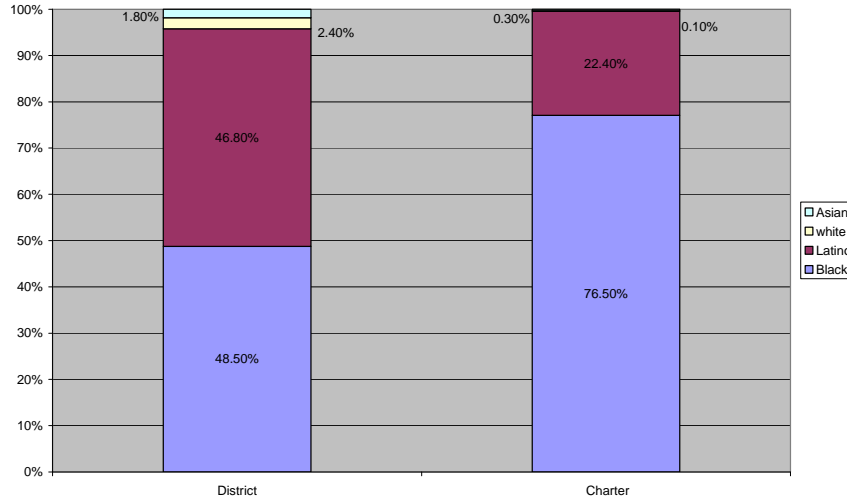
As recently reported by the New York City Department of Education, the City’s charters enroll fewer students with special needs. Anecdotal evidence suggests that charter school students mandated for special education services have far milder disabilities than compared to students in district public schools.



4. Charters are creating more racial and ethnic isolation among students and families.

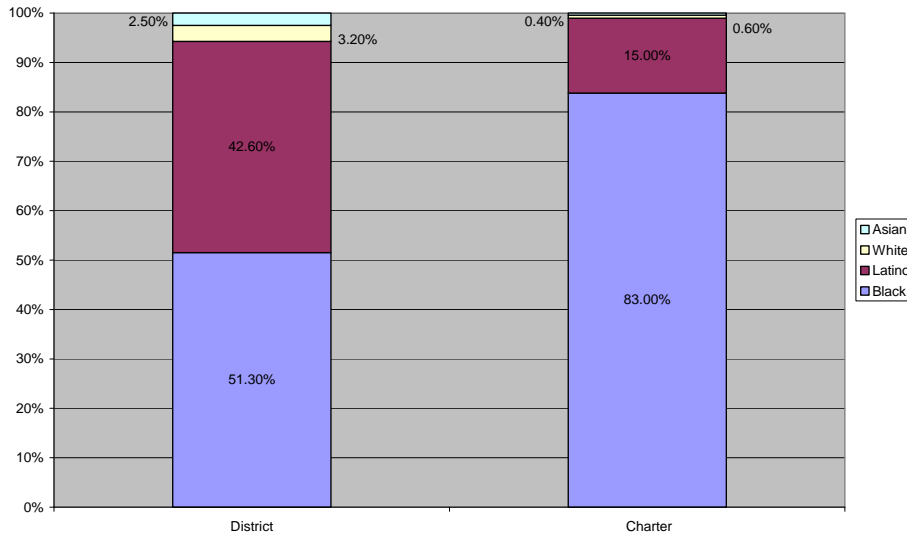
Particularly in Harlem and Central Brooklyn, charter school students attend more racially or ethnically isolated schools. This has a particular impact on African-American students, who are more isolated in charter schools as compared to the school district.

Chart 6. Student Racial/Ethnic Distribution In Harlem



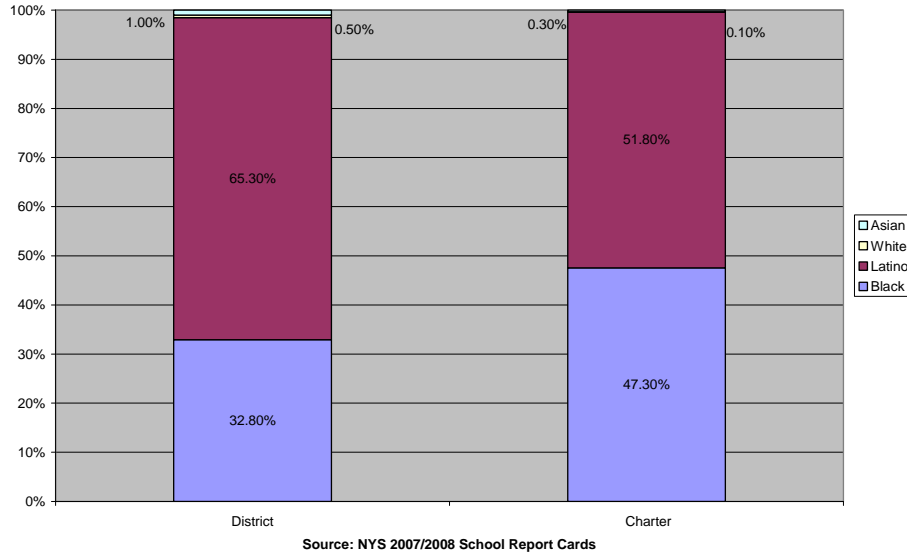
Source: NYS 2007/2008 School Report Cards

Chart 7. Student Racial/Ethnic Distribution in North-Central Brooklyn



Source: NYS 2007/2008 School Report Cards

Chart 8. Student Racial/Ethnic Distribution in the South Bronx



A complete presentation of all district and charter elementary and middle schools by neighborhood/area is located in Appendix B. This presentation indicates that the racial isolation of African-American students in most charter schools is above the neighborhood/area’s average and median school.

III. IMPLICATIONS

Significant implications follow from these findings that affect the equality of opportunity for New York City students, the actual responsibility borne by charter schools, and fiscal equity across the City’s system of schools.

1. *Not all students have an equal or practical opportunity to attend charter schools.*

A growing body of evidence suggests that unregulated school choice introduces systemic bias regarding where students and parents choose to attend school. Researchers have found that charter schools are exacerbating racial and economic isolation in North Carolina, Texas, and elsewhere.²

²Teske, P. and M. Schneider. 2000. “What research can tell policymakers about school choice.” *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 20, 609-631; Weiher, G and K Tedin. 2002. “Does choice lead to racially distinctive schools? Charter schools and household preferences.” *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 21, 79-92; Bifulco R., H. Ladd and S. Ross. 2009. “Public School Choice and Integration: Evidence from Durham, North Carolina.” National Center for the Study of Privatization in Education Occasional Paper #172, www.ncspe.org; Mickelson R., M. Bottia, S. Southworth. 2008. “School Choice and Segregation by Race, Class, and Achievement.” Great Lakes Center for Education Research and Practice; Hoxby, C., S. Murarka, Kang, J. 2009. “How New York City’s Charters Affect Achievement, August 2009 Report.” Cambridge, MA: New York City Charter Schools Evaluation Project.

The demographic findings in this report suggest a similarly troubling trend in New York City. On average, charter students are less poor, less disabled, and more likely to speak English than their counterparts in district public schools. Some students, particularly those of African-American descent, are attending more racially isolated schools.

New York's Charter Schools Act ("the Act") prohibits discrimination in student admissions. The Act explicitly intends for charter schools to create expanded learning experiences for students who are at-risk of academic failure, typically the poorest of students, those with learning disabilities, or for whom English is not the first language. Despite this intent, New York's largely deregulated and unsupervised system of charter student admissions has had the opposite effect. Left unchecked, the current system of charter admissions-by-lottery will exacerbate the growing separate and unequal system across City schools.

2. Charter schools are not carrying their fair share.

Despite the rhetoric about charter schools' outperforming district public schools, the findings of this report call these accomplishments into question. Public officials need to judge any comparisons of achievement in the context of the kinds of students actually enrolled in schools. Researchers agree that students' level of poverty and special needs have a direct bearing on achievement. As such, no one should be surprised that some researchers find that charter schools have higher test scores, given that charters enroll students who are, on average, less poor, less disabled, and more likely to speak English.

As charter schools enroll a relatively more advantaged student population, they increase the burden on district public schools. Simply, charters are not carrying their fair share, and without legislative and regulatory changes, these inequities will continue.

3. Charter schools are funded for students they don't serve.

Charter school operating funding is based on the school system's average operating expenditure per student. Such a funding mechanism is appropriate if a charter school's student body reflects the City's overall demographics. But as this report makes clear, charter school enrollments are systematically different from City averages.

As a result, charter schools are funded for students they don't serve. For example, charter schools receive funding to educate English Language Learners, despite the fact that charters enroll far fewer of these students than in the City's district schools.

Nor is it clear that charter schools spend their funds as wisely as they should and that the public should demand. A number of charter school principals and CEOs receive inflated salaries, some reaching as high as the \$400,000 paid to the CEO of Harlem-based Village Academies and \$300,000 paid to the head of Harlem-based Success Academies.³

³ Meredith Kolodner and Rachel Monahan, "Charter School Executives Earning Big Bucks Education City's Poorer Students," *New York Daily News*, December 13, 2009.

Some charter school management companies are charging schools exorbitant fees that surpass the cost of the New York City Department of Education’s infamous “bloated bureaucracy.” For example, Victory Schools, a for-profit operator of charter schools in New York and elsewhere, has charged as much as 23 percent of a charter school’s expenditure. Other well known charter operators, such as Achievement First and Success Academies, have fees ranging from 12 to 18 percent. Such excessive overhead is substantially above administrative costs reported by the New York City Department of Education. Depending on services included, the City spends from only 6 to 10 percent of its budget on administration.⁴

These figures belie the rhetoric that the private sector will deliver education services more efficiently. Quite the contrary, leaders of many charter schools appear to be profiting off of these publicly funded schools. Left unregulated, it is likely that charter management organizations will continue to spend less money on the classroom than the City’s district public schools.

4. Other issues of equity for parents and workers.

The placement of charter schools in public school buildings also raises many issues of equal treatment, as charters often end up with renovated classrooms, additional equipment, smaller class sizes and other advantages. The “co-location” of charters and regular public schools often leads to reduced space for children in the regular public school and leads to additional conflict over limited space and other resources, particularly as charters grow.

Parents of charter school children should also be able to be part of independent Parent Associations and School Leadership Teams like those in public schools.

More also needs to be done to ensure the rights of workers of all types, including those involved in construction/renovation projects funded by public money and other charter school staff, including teachers.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

Charter schools’ self-regulated, market-based system of choice-based enrollment has led to systemic inequities for disabled students, English Language Learners, and students from the poorest families. This system is sorting students along ethnic and racial lines, undermining the pluralism and diversity found in City public schools. Such unintended and undesirable consequences increase the responsibilities on district public schools, even as funding for these obligations is diverted to charters. Strong legislative and regulatory action is required to correct these failings. Recommendations are as follows:

⁴ https://www.nycenet.edu/offices/d_chanc_oper/budget/exp01/y2007_2008/function.asp, accessed on December 16, 2009.

1. Reform the Process for Student Admissions

- Mandate that the student body of every charter school must reflect the demographics of the community school district in which it is located. A charter school has to include appropriate numbers of English Language Learners, free lunch eligible, special education, and homeless students.
- Require a uniform charter application, available in all primary-languages for which the New York City Department of Education provides translations.
- Centralize student admissions, with random selection processes managed and conducted by the New York State Education Department, the New York City Department of Education or other independent government agency. Similar to the approach adopted by the City for high school selection, centralizing charter admissions will reduce barriers to parents and prevent potential gaming of the system.
- Prohibit “multi-step” admissions processes, in which students are “accepted” via lottery only to be required to complete a secondary “enrollment” process.

2. Reform the Charter Funding Formula, Process and Allowable Expenses

- Reform charter school funding policies so that payments are based on additional weightings for children in poverty, ELL students and special education students to the extent charters are actually educating children in those categories.
- Prohibit for-profit companies from managing or operating charter schools; limit the fee charged by other organizations that manage or operate charter schools to 8 percent of total expenditure.
- For those charters whose staff are members of TRS or NYSTRS, remove pension costs from the school’s per pupil allocation; mandate that such pension costs be paid by the school district.
- Mandate the disbursement of Federal Title I funds in a manner consistent with Citywide policies (i.e. on the basis of free lunch eligibility only).
- Reduce the lag in charter funding calculations so that charters are subject, at the same time, to the same fiscal conditions as district schools.
- Limit charter school administrator and management salaries so as to not exceed compensation paid to comparable City employees.

3. Require Greater Transparency and Public Accountability

- Authorize the City and State comptrollers to audit charter schools’ fiscal, operational, and programmatic activities.
- Include charter schools in the list of institutions explicitly subject to the New York State Freedom of Information Law.
- Make charter school board members and employees subject to the same financial disclosure requirements and conflict of interest prohibitions as all other public officials.

- Require timely public reporting on all sources of funding and all fees paid to outside consultants and contractors; employee names and salaries, including data on teacher turnover; annual budgets; and audited financial statements.
- Establish the Board of Regents as the single chartering entity for all charter schools statewide as the way to promote a single and high standard of quality.
- Apply prevailing wage laws to charter schools in the same manner as they apply to district public schools.
- Require all charter schools have independent parent associations or parent and teacher associations and school leadership teams similar to those required in district public schools; leadership teams should include parents, teachers, and school administrators.
- Automatically recognize the unions that represent employees in the school district where a charter is located as the representative of workers in charter schools and allow the negotiation of de novo contracts; provide for binding arbitration if a contract is not reached within one year.

4. Promote System-wide Equity and Collaboration

- Prohibit the co-location of charter schools in New York City school buildings until New York City district schools have reached their class size targets under the Department of Education’s contract for excellence.
- Pair each charter school with a district public school of roughly the same population. The charter must share best practices with the public school and work to ensure that innovations it finds successful are shared with the public school. The school district will ensure that the district school has sufficient funds to institute the innovations and best practices that are working in the charter school.
- For every improvement made in public school buildings (with public or private dollars) to accommodate a charter schools, matching or comparable improvements must be made for other district schools located in the same building.

V. CONCLUSION

After ten years, and despite some notable academic achievements, New York’s charter school sector is in need of serious repair. An explicit purpose of the state’s Charter Schools Act was to provide increased learning opportunities for all students “with special emphasis on expanded learning experiences for students who are at-risk of academic failure.” The findings of this report make clear that New York City’s charter schools, regardless of any other accomplishments, have yet to fulfill this central and equity-promoting goal of the Act.

Good intentions and best efforts by schools are not enough to correct these systematic inequities. After ten years it is clear that only legislative and regulatory action will be sufficient to create expanded learning opportunities for New York City’s poorest students, for those with disabilities, and for those for whom English is not a first

language. Finally, charter schools' funding and accountability regime must be aligned with these goals and to not impose unfair and under-funded obligations on district schools.

The guiding premise of the charter school movement is "autonomy for accountability." But autonomy cannot include freedom from the full duties and responsibilities borne by all other public schools. Real accountability must give state and City officials enforceable authority to promote a high-quality school system for all students, regardless of ability, background, and the type of school they attend. This purpose animated the founding of the state and nation's charter school movement and it is time for New York State's charter sector to re-engage its founding proposition.

NOTE ON METHODOLOGY:

Data Sources and Study Methodology

The sample consisted of all NYC district and charter schools for which there was either a 2008/09 NYC Department of Education Progress Report Card or 2007/08 NYS School Report Card. The Progress Report Card data provided school enrollment figures and the State Report Cards provided demographic information on each school. In all, the sample consisted of 1,122 elementary and middle schools, of which 63 were charter schools.

NYC schools are organized by local school districts rather than communities or neighborhoods. To conduct an analysis at the neighborhood/area level, the schools in certain local districts were reconfigured to represent specific communities. All public and charter schools located within the boundaries of Districts 4 and 5 were defined as Harlem schools. All public and charter schools located in school districts 7 and 9 were defined as South Bronx schools. Central Brooklyn was defined as all public and charter schools located within the boundaries of school districts 14, 16, 19, 23, and 32. Charter schools located on the outside but on the “border” of these districts were also included in the analysis.

We used descriptive statistics to compare charter and district schools located in the same neighborhood. The schools’ student body was compared according to racial composition as well as by poverty, as measured by percentage of free and reduced price lunch, and percentage of English Language Learners. An Independent Samples T-test analysis was used to compare charter and New York City public schools on these dimensions. Due to small sample size, the Mann-Whitney test was used for the comparison of charters with their neighborhood public schools.

APPENDIX A: Data by School and Area/Neighborhood

Area/ Neighborhood	School District & Number	School Name	Enroll- ment	% Free & Reduced Price Lunch	% Free Lunch	% ELL	% Black Students	% Hispanic Students	% White Students	% Asian Students	
HARLEM	84M279	The Opportunity Charter School	172	0.73	0.61	0.06	0.84	0.16	0.00	0.01	
	84M284	Harlem Children's Zone/Promise Academy Charter School	618	0.65	0.53	0.01	0.91	0.09	0.00	0.00	
	84M335	Leadership Village Academy Charter School	208	0.75	0.52	0.01	0.70	0.28	0.00	0.00	
	84M336	Kipp Infinity Charter School	276	0.83	0.65	0.10	0.28	0.70	0.00	0.00	
	84M341	Harlem Children's Zone/Promise Academy II	297	0.92	0.78	0.00	0.90	0.10	0.00	0.00	
	84M350	Democracy Prep Charter School	325	0.81	0.64	0.07	0.68	0.32	0.00	0.00	
	84M351	Harlem Success Academy 1	276	0.71	0.57	0.01	0.76	0.19	0.00	0.00	
	84M702	Sisulu-Walker Charter School	258	0.82	0.68	0.00	0.92	0.05	0.00	0.02	
	84M704	Harbor Sciences and Arts Charter School	225	0.70	0.50	0.00	0.77	0.22	0.00	0.00	
	84M705	Amber Charter School	354	0.82	0.71	0.04	0.65	0.33	0.01	0.00	
	84M708	Harlem Day Charter School	258	0.79	0.68	0.00	0.87	0.12	0.00	0.00	
	84M709	Harlem Village Academy Charter School	223	0.72	0.61	0.01	0.78	0.21	0.00	0.00	
	84M726	KIPP S.T.A.R. College Preparatory	257	0.68	0.53	0.04	0.71	0.28	0.00	0.01	
	84M861	Future Leaders Institute Charter School	328	0.69	0.51	0.01	0.93	0.05	0.00	0.00	
	AVERAGE OF CHARTER SCHOOLS IN HARLEM:			291	0.76	0.61	0.03	0.76	0.22	0.00	0.00
AVERAGE OF DISTRICT PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN COMMUNITY SCHOOL DISTRICT 4			338	0.74	0.69	0.13	0.34	0.60	0.03	0.02	
AVERAGE OF DISTRICT PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN COMMUNITY SCHOOL DISTRICT 5			353	0.81	0.74	0.10	0.63	0.33			
AVERAGE OF DISTRICT ELEM. AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS IN HARLEM:			346	0.78	0.72	0.12	0.49	0.47	0.03	0.02	
SOUTH BRONX	84X165	Grand Concourse Charter School	380	0.88	0.73	0.05	0.50	0.49	0.00	0.01	
	84X705	Family Life Academy Charter School	290	0.93	0.81	0.36	0.23	0.77	0.00	0.00	
	84X706	Harriet Tubman Charter School	460	0.74	0.61	0.02	0.82	0.18	0.00	0.00	
	84X717	Carl C. Icahn Charter School	314	0.86	0.67	0.01	0.58	0.42	0.00	0.00	
	84X730	Bronx Charter School for Arts	287	0.85	0.75	0.06	0.36	0.60	0.01	0.01	
	84X309	South Bronx Charter School For Int'L Culture & The Arts	325	0.00	0.00	0.11	0.42	0.58	0.00	0.00	
	84X345	Hyde Leadership Charter School	458	0.89	0.75	0.03	0.39	0.61	0.00	0.00	
	84X378	Carl C. Icahn Charter School Bronx North	108	0.81	0.57	0.10	0.53	0.44	0.02	0.02	
	84X407	Bronx Charter School for Children	395	0.79	0.62	0.07	0.53	0.46	0.00	0.00	
	84X703	Bronx Prep Charter School	445	0.79	0.62	0.06	0.52	0.47	0.00	0.00	
	84X704	KIPP Academy Charter School	253	0.86	0.65	0.05	0.49	0.50	0.00	0.01	
	AVERAGE OF CHARTER SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH BRONX:			338	0.76	0.62	0.08	0.49	0.50	0.00	0.00
	AVERAGE OF DISTRICT PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN COMMUNITY SCHOOL DISTRICT 7			443	0.90	0.85	0.19	0.28	0.71	0.00	0.01
	AVERAGE OF DISTRICT PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN COMMUNITY SCHOOL DISTRICT 9			584	0.93	0.88	0.23	0.36	0.62	0.01	0.01
	AVERAGE OF DISTRICT ELEM. AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS IN SOUTH BRONX:			514	0.92	0.87	0.21	0.32	0.67	0.01	0.01
CENTRAL BROOKLYN	84K355	Williamsburg Collegiate Charter School	248	0.80	0.55	0.06	0.42	0.58	0.00	0.01	
	84K356	Achievement First- Crown Heights Charter School	752	0.64	0.49	0.00	0.97	0.03	0.00	0.00	
	84K357	KIPP AMP (Always Mentally Prepared) Charter School	275	0.72	0.52	0.00	0.98	0.02	0.00	0.00	
	84K358	Achievement First East New York School	420	0.76	0.61	0.01	0.91	0.09	0.00	0.00	
	84K359	The UFT Charter School	715	0.88	0.71	0.01	0.82	0.16	0.01	0.01	
	84K508	Achievement First Endeavor Charter School	259	0.57	0.41	0.01	0.94	0.04	0.01	0.01	
	84K536	Community Roots Charter School	150	0.44	0.33	0.01	0.47	0.06	0.01	0.27	
	84K538	Achievement First Bushwick Charter School	539	0.75	0.61	0.03	0.74	0.26	0.00	0.01	
	84K593	Excellence Charter School of Bedford Stuyvesant	290	0.59	0.33	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	
	84K608	Kings Collegiate Charter School	136	0.79	0.60	0.00	0.99	0.00	0.00	0.00	
	84K701	Brooklyn Charter School	241	0.63	0.47	0.00	0.97	0.00	0.00	0.00	
	84K702	Community Partnership Charter	289	0.71	0.54	0.00	0.89	0.10	0.00	0.00	
	84K703	Beginning With Children Charter School	451	0.72	0.59	0.05	0.33	0.61	0.05	0.01	
	84K731	Brooklyn Excelsior Charter	713	0.93	0.87	0.00	0.96	0.04	0.00	0.00	
	AVERAGE OF CHARTER SCHOOLS IN CENTRAL BROOKLYN			391	0.71	0.55	0.01	0.81	0.14	0.01	0.02
AVERAGE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN DISTRICT 14			437	0.74	0.72	0.16	0.23	0.65	0.10	0.02	
AVERAGE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN DISTRICT 16			361	0.83	0.78	0.03	0.83	0.14	0.01	0.01	
AVERAGE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN DISTRICT 19			612	0.89	0.84	0.11	0.56	0.37	0.01	0.05	
AVERAGE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN DISTRICT 23			486	0.84	0.78	0.04	0.82	0.17	0.01	0.01	
AVERAGE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN DISTRICT 32			630	0.94	0.89	0.20	0.24	0.72	0.02	0.02	
AVERAGE OF DISTRICT ELEM. AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS IN CENT. BROOKLYN:			505	0.85	0.80	0.11	0.54	0.41	0.03	0.02	
ALL NEW YORK CITY ELEM. AND MIDDLE CHARTER SCHOOLS:			337	0.73	0.57	0.04	0.67	0.29	0.02	0.01	
ALL NEW YORK CITY ELEM. AND MIDDLE DISTRICT SCHOOLS:			577	0.76	0.67	0.14	0.36	0.40	0.11	0.13	

APPENDIX B: Black Students as a Percentage of School Enrollment

