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INTEGRATION IN LITTLE ROCK, PART 1: PATTERNS IN ENROLLMENT AND CHARACTERISTICS OF STUDENT MOVERS

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Table of Contents

Exc	ecutive Summary	4
I.	Introduction	6
II.	Definitions	10
III.	Data and Conceptual Challenges	12
1	Data	12
IV.	How many students are enrolled in the Little Rock area and what are their aracteristics?	13
7	Fotal Enrollment, All Sectors	13
S	Student Demographics, All Sectors	15
	Black Students	15
	Hispanic Students	16
	Other Students of Color	17
	White Students	17
	FRL Students	17
	English Language Learner Students	18
	Students with Disabilities	18
	Enrollment Summary	19
V. cha	How many students voluntarily switch school sectors and what are their aracteristics?	20
	Non-Movers	22
	TPSs to Charters	22
	Exits to Other Public Schools	22
	Students Who Move Out-of-System	23
	Students New to the Area	23
	Section Summary	24
1	Demographics of Sector Switchers, from LRSD	24
	LRSD to Charters	25
	LRSD to Other LR Metro	27
	LRSD to Other AR Public	28
	LRSD to Out-Of-System	29

Demographics of Sector Switchers, from LR Metro Area	30
Little Rock Metro to Charters	31
Little Rock Metro to Surrounding Districts	32
Little Rock Metro to Other AR Public	33
Little Rock Metro to Out-of-System	34
Charter to LRSD	35
Charters to LR Metro	36
Charter to Other AR Public	37
Charter to Out-Of-System	38
Section Summary	39
Academic Achievement of Sector Switchers	40
Students Leaving LRSD	41
Students Exiting LRMA	45
Students Exiting Charters	48
Section Summary—Academics	51
VI. Conclusions	52

Executive Summary

This report examines trends in racial and socioeconomic composition of public schools in the Little Rock area between 2008-09 and 2014-15. The Little Rock metropolitan area is characterized by a variety of schooling options for students and families, including multiple traditional public school districts, public charter schools, private schools, and homeschooling. We examine the demographics of each public sector in the area, and whether students who move are representative of the sector they choose to exit. This report is structured around two main research questions. Our research questions and a brief summary of our findings are below:

1. How many students are enrolled in the Little Rock area and what are their characteristics?

- In the 2014-15 school year, 56,764 students were enrolled in charters or traditional public schools. The share of students enrolled in charters relative to traditional public schools has been increasing steadily from 2010-2015, while traditional public schools have seen steady decreases in enrollment.
 - o LRSD: In the 2014-15 school year, 24,725 students (44%) were enrolled in the Little Rock School district
 - o NLR: In the 2014-15 school year, 9,109 (16%) students were enrolled in the North Little Rock School district
 - o PCSSD: In the 2014-15 school year, 17,221 (30%) students were enrolled in Pulaski County Special School District.
 - o LR charters: In the 2014-15 school year, 5,709 (10%) students were enrolled in charters in the Little Rock area
- In the 2014-15 school year, 46% of charter students were black, as were 57% of Little Rock Metro Area traditional public school (TPS) students. Over time, the share of black students enrolled in charters has increased, while the share of black students enrolled in TPSs has decreased.
- In the 2014-15 school year, 46% of charter students were eligible for free or reduced price lunch (FRL), as were 69% of Little Rock Metro Area TPS students. The share of FRL students has increased over time in both sectors.

2. How many students voluntarily switch schools in the Little Rock Metro Area and what are their characteristics?

- Transfers from TPS: Over the six years that we analyzed, 5,365 students transferred from TPSs to charters, 10,123 transferred from TPSs to other schools (including traditional public and charters) in the state, and 21,124 transferred from TPSs to options outside the Arkansas public school system, such as private schools, homeschooling, out-of-state schools, or jail.
 - Student characteristics: In 2014-15, 53% of students transferring from TPSs to charters were black, and 58% received free or reduced price lunch. 43% of students transferring from TPSs to other areas of the state were black, and 75%

- received FRL. 47% of students leaving the system from TPSs were black, and 55% received FRL.
- o **Disproportionalities:** Black students and FRL students were disproportionately less likely to transfer from TPSs to charters, or from TPSs to options outside the AR public school system. Black students and FRL students were disproportionately likely to transfer from TPSs to other areas of the state. There is no evidence that student movers are higher or lower achieving than their peers.
- Transfers from charters: Between 2008-09 and 2014-15, 2,253 students transferred from charters to TPSs, 592 students transferred from charters to other schools in the state, and 1,750 left charters for options outside the Arkansas public school system.
 - Student characteristics: In 2014-15, 63% of students transferring from charters to TPSs were black, and 58% received free or reduced price lunch. In 2015, 33% of students transferring from charters to other areas of the state were black, and 52% received FRL. In 2014-15, 38% of students leaving the public school system from charters were black, and 51% received FRL.
 - O **Disproportionalities:** Black students and FRL students were disproportionately likely to transfer from charters to TPSs in the Little Rock metro area. Black students were disproportionately less likely to transfer from charters to other areas of the state.
- Academics of the schools students exit: In all years examined, students were far more than 3 times more likely to exit schools from the bottom 1/3 of the Little Rock Metro Area performance distribution than schools from the top 1/3 of the performance distribution, regardless of the sector they initially attended.

I. Introduction

Little Rock School District was thrust into the national spotlight in 1957 when images of resistance to the Little Rock Nine shocked the country. The district's struggle with desegregation continued for well over half a century, with the desegregation payments from the state to the Little Rock, Pulaski County, and North Little Rock schedule to end after the 2017-18 school year, according to a settlement approved in 2014. Despite the legal settlement, the issue of race and desegregation is far from resolved in the Little Rock area, with new controversies recently erupting over a state takeover of the Little Rock School District (LRSD) in 2015 and an expanding charter sector in the city. Critics of the takeover and of charter expansion have charged that such policies work to re-segregate schools in the area and provide unequal, inferior educational opportunities for students of color in Little Rock. The approved expansion of two charter schools in Little Rock in April 2016 raised questions among elected officials and private individuals about how well integrated schools in the Little Rock area currently are, and how student transfers between schools affect school demographics and achievement levels.

This report will focus on recent trends in the level of integration among public schools—charters and traditional public schools—in the Little Rock area, but it is important to consider the historical context of racial integration in Little Rock as well. One measure of integration is the interracial exposure index, which measures the probability of a white and black student interacting in the overall region. The value taken by the index cannot exceed the total percent of

¹ Robertson, C. (2014, January 13). With Ruling, Funds to Aid Desegregation in Arkansas Are Ended. *New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/14/us/judge-approves-desegregation-plan-in-little-rock.html?_r=1

² Brantley, M. (2015, October 7). Here's text of lawsuit fighting takeover of Little Rock School District. *Arkansas Times*. Retrieved from http://www.arktimes.com/ArkansasBlog/archives/2015/10/07/heres-text-of-lawsuit-fighting-takeover-of-little-rock-school-district

black students in region. The closer the value to the overall percent of black students, the more similar the subgroups are to the racial composition of the overall group. Essentially, we compare the percent of white and black students in each of the individual public schools (both traditional public schools and public charters) with the aggregate fraction of each group in the overall area. For the years prior to 2005, the school level demographic data were provided by the National Center for Education Statistics. The data from 2005 and beyond were sourced via the Arkansas Department of Education (ADE) website. The data provided by these sources were combined in order to calculate the interracial exposure index for Little Rock and the Little Rock Metro area and their respective relationship with the percentage of Black students in those regions. Figure 1 illustrates how those relationships varied over time.

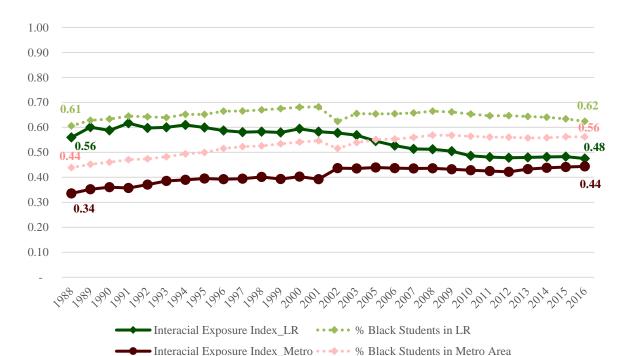


Figure 1: Interracial Exposure Index in Little Rock and the Little Rock Metro Area, 1988-2016

As shown in Figure 1, the interracial exposure index in Little Rock generally decreased from 1988 through 2010, when it stabilized at around 0.48 from 2011 onwards. This index is meant to be compared to the percentage of Black students in the Little Rock area, whose percentage remained fairly unchanged from 1988 through 2016. As can be seen in Figure 1, the gap between the interracial exposure index in Little Rock and the percentage of Black students in Little Rock steadily increased over time, indicating that on average, the schools in the Little Rock region have become more segregated over time. Indeed, this is the concern voiced by many opponents of charter schools. However, it is not at all clear from these data that the introduction of or expansion of charter schools contributed to this segregation. As the graph indicates, the trend of increasing segregation was already underway from 1988 onward even though the expansion of charter schools did not take place until after the year 2000. Moreover, as we will show later on in this report, the number of students transferring into charter represent only a fraction of the total number of students leaving the traditional public schools each year,

Figure 1 also shows the interracial exposure index in the Little Rock metro area as a whole. The pink line shows the percent of Black students in the Little Rock metro area, while the red line shows the interracial exposure index in Little Rock metro area schools. The percentage of Black students in the Little Rock metro area as increased from 44% to about 56% from 1988-2016; the interracial exposure index has also increased from 0.34 to about 0.44 over this time. At first glance, one may deduce that the increase in the interracial exposure index in the Little Rock metro area indicates greater segregation over time. However, that is not necessarily the case as the gap between the index and the percentage of Black students in the metro area is what determined the degree of segregation that has taken place over time. It can be seen in figure 1 that as the percentage of Black students increased, the interracial exposure index increased

proportionately to it as the gap remained fairly consistent over that time, except in 2003 where the gap narrowed. This shows that the level of segregation in Little Rock metro area schools overall did not change much in the nearly thirty years analyzed here.

With this historical context in mind, we turn now to addressing the following research questions concerning the recent trends in school integration in the Little Rock area:

- 1) How many students are enrolled in the Little Rock area and what are their characteristics?
 - a. What was the overall enrollment in the LR Metro area, LRSD, and Little Rock Area charters?
 - b. What percentage of enrolled students in each year were black, Hispanic, other students of color, white, receiving free or reduced price lunch, or were English Language Learners?
- 2) How many students voluntarily switch schools and what are their characteristics?
 - a. What percentage of movers in each year were black or receiving FRL? How do movers' academic achievement compare to their schools' performance?
 - b. Are certain demographic groups over- or under- represented among transfer students?

II. Definitions

In this report, we examine the issue of integration and segregation in the Little Rock school system; specifically in Little Rock's open enrollment charter and traditional public schools. This section details the terminology and geographic definitions used throughout this report.

- 1. **Traditional public school (TPS):** Schools with geographic catchment areas, organized and operated by state-authorized school districts. Funded by local, state, and federal sources, with the ability to raise local property taxes for school funding. Traditional public schools (TPSs) are the default for students—students are assigned to specific schools depending on where they live, and must actively work to attend another school if they do not want to attend their neighborhood traditional public school.
- 2. Open enrollment charter school (charter school): Public schools without defined geographic catchment areas, authorized by the state Board of Education. Students need to complete an application to attend an open enrollment charter school in a non-competitive process that is determined by lottery if the school is oversubscribed—if there are more students who want to attend than there are seats available. Open enrollment charter schools can be run by for-profit charter management organizations, non-profit charter management organizations, or locally by the administration at that particular school. Charter schools are funded by the state, but do not have the authority to raise funds from local taxes. In this report, we focus solely on charters located in the LR metro area—Academics Plus, College Prep Academy, Covenant Keepers, eStem, Exalt Academy, Flightline Upper Academy, Jacksonville Lighthouse, Lisa Academy, Lisa Academy North, Little Rock Prep, Premier High, Quest High, and Siatech High.
- 3. **Private schools:** Private schools are beyond the jurisdiction of the state Board of Education, and are financed through tuition, fundraising, and other private sources. Private schools are not required to administer state assessments or publicly report data. For this reason, we do not include private schools in this analysis. However, private schools need to be considered when thinking about the educational landscape in Little Rock—in the 2011-12 school year, 21,333 K-12 students were enrolled in private schools in Arkansas, attending schools that were on average 81% white.³
- 4. **Student Moves:** We track student moves by looking at student enrollment data in October of year 1 and the following October. A student is classified as a student switcher if they voluntarily transferred schools (they did not graduate and were not entering kindergarten) during this time. Our 'Move 09' variable refers to students were enrolled in

Little Rock Integration, Part 1, 2016

³ Data drawn from the National Center for Education Statistics' Table Generator function, found here: http://nces.ed.gov/ccd/elsi/tableGenerator.aspx

- one school in October of the 2008-09 school year, and another school in October of the 2009-10 school year.
- 5. Little Rock Metro Area (LRMA): Geographic area in which students who attend charter schools in Little Rock generally live. The LRMA includes the Little Rock School District, North Little Rock School District, and Pulaski County Special School District.
- 6. **Little Rock Metro Area public school system:** All charters and traditional public schools within the boundaries of the Little Rock, North Little Rock, and Pulaski County Special School District.
- 7. **Little Rock:** Students within the Little Rock School District (LRSD) geographic boundaries.
- 8. **Free or reduced price lunch (FRL):** Program administered by the federal Department of Agriculture to ensure students have access to adequate nutrition through schools. Students qualify for reduced price lunch if their household income is 185% or less of the federal poverty line, and for free lunch if their household income is 130% or less of the federal poverty line. FRL status is used as an indicator of student socioeconomic status.
- 9. English Language Learner (ELL): Students are classified as English Language Learners if they are not native English speakers and are not yet proficient in English. ELL students qualify for additional supports and services in public schools, and schools are provided with additional funding depending on the number of ELL students enrolled at the school.
- 10. A note on race: In this report, we focus on integration of schools along two main dimensions: race and socioeconomic status. Further, when looking at race we focus mainly on black and white students. While there are students of other racial backgrounds in the Little Rock area, we focus on these categories because the vast majority of students enrolled in Little Rock schools identify as either black or white, and it is simpler to study integration along this dichotomy. We understand that the demographic patterns of enrollment among Asian American, Native American, Hispanic, multiracial, and other students of color represent important questions and areas of study in the Little Rock context; future work should be expanded to explore the experiences of these students as well. Our data is drawn from the Arkansas Department of Education, and racial indicators are drawn from enrollment paperwork submitted by parents when students enroll at school; when students move between schools, they resubmit this paperwork, and may change their racial identification in doing so. We retain those changes in our dataset.

III. Data and Conceptual Challenges

This report is descriptive in nature—it does not tell us what causes the demographic makeup of Little Rock area schools. Instead, this report presents observed patterns of enrollment and demographics in Little Rock charter schools, Little Rock School District, and the Little Rock metro area. We look at data over time to pull out patterns and the changing backdrop to education in the Little Rock area. The Little Rock education system offers several educational options to students and families in the K-12 system: traditional public schools (TPS) such as the Little Rock School District, charter schools such as eStem, and private schools such as Episcopal Collegiate. Additionally, families have the choice of homeschooling their students or moving out of the Little Rock Area. As we will see in this report, families take advantage of all of their choices, finding the schooling option that works best for their student and their circumstances. This system of choice changes the discussion about integration in public schools. Open enrollment charter schools accept all students, regardless of where they live, disconnecting the longstanding link between residential and educational segregation. However, parents and students choose the charter schools to which they apply, and there are ever-present concerns that charter school staff may informally pressure certain students not to apply or drop out, thereby creating segregated schools. Parents and students too may choose to apply to charter schools where friends, neighbors, or other acquaintances have attended and had positive experiences, and in that way charter schools may come to reflect patterns of residential or social segregation. These nuances add complexity to the question of whether schools in Little Rock are integrated.

Data

This report uses student level data from the 2008-09 through 2014-15 school years. The data, from the Arkansas Department of Education, includes 841,295 observations of student

district, school sector (traditional public school or charter public school), grade level, free or reduced price lunch (FRL) status, English Language Learner (ELL) status, gender, race, and standardized scores in math, science, and literacy on their grade appropriate state assessment. For the majority of this report, we look at school sectors—traditional public and charter schools—for simplicity and to address concerns in the community about whether charter schools are contributing to educational segregation in Little Rock or are fulfilling a need for quality educational opportunities for students. This aggregation by sector does not address the variation that exist within each sector—not all charters are alike, nor are all traditional public schools.

We have 7 years of data from the Arkansas Department of Education, allowing us to analyze 6 years of student moves: students who moved between October of the 2008-09 school year and October of the 2009-10 school year, from October 2009 to October 2010, from October 2010 to October 211, etc., until October of the 2013-14 school year to October of the 2014-15 school year.

IV. How many students are enrolled in the Little Rock area and what are their characteristics?

Total Enrollment, All Sectors

In this section, we explore general enrollment trends in public charter and traditional public schools from 2008-09 to the 2014-15 school year. The Census Bureau estimates that the Little Rock city population grew by 2.3% between 2010 and 2015; however, the state as a whole has seen a decrease in the percent of the population under 18, declining from 24.4% of the population in 2010 to 23.7% of the population in 2015.⁴ Despite this, as Table 1 shows, overall

⁴ US Census Burea (2016). Quick Facts: Little Rock city, Arkansas. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/0541000,00.

public school enrollment has been generally increasing in the Little Rock area between the 2008-09 and 2014-15 school years. However, differences emerge when looking at enrollment trends in charters versus in the LRSD.

Table 1: Student Enrollment in Little Rock Area Charters, Little Rock School District, and Little Rock Metro Area Public Schools, 2008-09 through 2014-15

	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15
LR Charter Enrollment	2,119	2,900	3,708	4,408	4,833	5,084	5,709
LRSD Enrollment	25,760	25,795	25,610	25,497	25,055	25,078	24,725
LR Total Enrollment (Charter+LRSD)	27,879	28,695	29,318	29,905	29,888	30,162	30,434
LR Metro TPS Enrollment	53,261	53,141	52,358	52,172	52,097	51,881	51,055
(Charter+LR Metro)	55,380	56,040	56,066	56,580	56,930	56,965	56,764
% LR in Charter	7.6%	10.1%	12.6%	14.7%	16.2%	16.9%	18.8%
% LR Metro in Charter	3.8%	5.2%	6.6%	7.8%	8.5%	8.9%	10.1%

As shown in Table 1, Little Rock Area charter school enrollment increased from 2,119 students in the 2008-09 school year to 5,709 in the 2014-15 school year. During this same period enrollment in Little Rock School District declined from 25,760 students in the 2008-09 school year to 24,725 in the 2014-15 school year. In the Little Rock Metro Area (Little Rock School District, North Little Rock School District, and Pulaski County Special School District), enrollment in traditional public schools declined from 55,380 students in the 2008-09 school year to 51,055 students in 2014-15. While this analysis focuses specifically on the relationship between charter schools and traditional public schools in Little Rock and the surrounding area, it is important to recognize this larger context of decreasing enrollment in traditional public schools in the Little Rock area.

Student Demographics, All Sectors

Charter schools command an increasing share of K-12 students in Little Rock, and it is important to understand whether and how students enrolled in public charter schools differ from students enrolled in traditional public schools. Table 2 summarizes student demographics in Little Rock Area public charter schools, LRSD, and in the Little Rock Metro Area (LRMA) for the years 2008-09 through 2014-15.

Table 2: Student Demographics by Public School Sector, 2008-09 through 2014-15

		2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	Change
	Charter	39.7%	40.0%	46.2%	45.8%	47.0%	46.8%	45.7%	6.0
% Black	LRSD	68.2%	67.8%	66.7%	66.7%	66.3%	66.0%	65.6%	-2.6
	LR Metro	58.3%	58.2%	57.4%	57.2%	57.1%	57.1%	57.1%	-1.2
	Charter	5.0%	5.7%	6.5%	7.4%	7.6%	8.3%	10.2%	5.2
% Hispania	LRSD	7.8%	8.1%	9.3%	9.8%	10.9%	11.7%	12.6%	4.8
Hispanic	LR Metro	6.2%	6.6%	7.4%	8.0%	8.6%	9.3%	10.0%	3.8
% Other	Charter	8.1%	7.5%	7.1%	7.3%	7.5%	7.6%	6.9%	-1.2
Students of	LRSD	2.1%	2.2%	3.0%	3.3%	3.5%	3.8%	3.9%	1.8
Color	LR Metro	2.0%	2.0%	2.7%	3.2%	3.9%	4.1%	4.2%	2.2
	Charter	47.2%	46.8%	40.2%	39.5%	37.9%	37.3%	37.2%	-10.0
% White	LRSD	21.9%	21.8%	21.1%	20.2%	19.3%	18.5%	18.0%	-3.9
	LR Metro	33.5%	33.1%	32.4%	31.6%	30.5%	29.5%	28.8%	-4.7
	Charter	32.4%	35.4%	40.0%	43.9%	45.6%	45.8%	46.6%	14.2
% FRL	LRSD	64.9%	70.4%	70.0%	71.0%	72.1%	60.7%	74.7%	9.8
	LR Metro	61.6%	64.9%	65.5%	65.1%	67.0%	61.3%	68.7%	7.1
	Charter	0.2%	0.1%	1.6%	1.1%	2.0%	1.7%	2.7%	2.5
% ELL	LRSD	5.6%	6.7%	7.4%	8.2%	9.1%	9.5%	10.8%	5.2
	LR Metro	3.9%	4.5%	4.9%	5.4%	6.1%	6.5%	7.3%	3.4
% Students	Charter	2.4%	2.3%	3.5%	4.4%	5.6%	5.6%	7.0%	4.6
with	LRSD	10.3%	10.5%	10.7%	11.1%	11.5%	11.3%	11.4%	1.1
Disabilities	LR Metro	10.5%	10.5%	10.4%	10.6%	10.7%	10.5%	11.0%	0.4

Black Students

The first panel in Table 2 shows the share of black students enrolled in each sector over time. The first row shows the percentage of black students relative to the entire population of

students enrolled in Little Rock Area charters. In 2008-09, about 40% of all charter students were black, while 68% of LRSD students were black, and 58% of all students in the LRMA were black. While black students were underrepresented in charter schools in 2008-09, the gap has been shrinking slightly over time. The share of black students in charter schools has grown by six percentage points over the seven years examined, and represented about 46% of the charter school population in 2014-15. At the same time, the share of black students in TPSs has been declining modestly over time. In 2014-15, black students represented 66% of the LRSD student body, and 57% of the LRMA student population. While there is still a gap between the percentage of black students enrolled in charters and TPSs in Little Rock and the LRMA, the gap is decreasing.

Hispanic Students

The second panel in Table 2 shows the share of Hispanic students enrolled in each sector over time. The percentage of Hispanic students in each sector has grown substantially over the seven years examined. In 2008-09, Hispanic students constituted 5% of the charter school population, 8% of the LRSD student body, and 6% of the LRMA student body. By 2014-15, the share of Hispanic students in each sector had grown by between 4 and 5 percentage points. In charters, Hispanic students represented 10% of the student body, while in LRSD Hispanic students represented 13% of the student body, and in the LRMA Hispanic students represented 10% of the student population. Compared to the LRMA, Hispanic students were proportionately represented in charter schools in 2015.

Other Students of Color

We group together Asian American, Pacific Islander, Hawaiian Pacific Islander, Native American, and multiracial students in the third panel of Table 2 for the sake of brevity. In 2008-09, this group represented about 8% of the charter school student body, while only 2% of students in LRSD and the LRMA more generally were other students of color. This has changed only slightly over time. In 2014-15, other students of color represented 7% of the charter school student body, and around 4% of the LRSD and LRMA student populations.

White Students

The fourth panel of Table 2 shows the share of white students in each sector over time. The percentage of white students enrolled in charters, LRSD, and the LRMA has declined steadily over time. In 2008-09, 47% of charter students were white, as were 22% of LRSD students and 34% of LRMA students. However, by 2014-15 the share of white students enrolled in 2015 had shrunk by 10 percentage points, to 37% of the charter population. The share of white students enrolled in LRSD declined by almost 4 percentage points, to 18% of the student body in 2014-15. Finally, in the LRMA the share of white students decreased by about 5 percentage points, to 29% of the student body in 2014-15.

FRL Students

The fifth panel in Table 2 presents the socioeconomic composition of each sector over time. In 2008-09, about 32% of charter students received free or reduced price lunch, while 65% of LRSD students and 62% of LRMA students received FRL. Charters were serving a substantially more economically advantaged student population at this time. The share of FRL students has increased in all sectors over the years examined, but it has increased more quickly in

charters than in TPSs. By 2014-15, 47% of charter students received FRL, as did 75% of LRSD students and 69% of LRMA students. The gap in the percent of FRL students served by LRSD and charters decreased from 33 percentage points in 2008-09 to 28 percentage points in 2014-15.

English Language Learner Students

English Language Learners (ELL) represent a small percentage of students in each of the three sectors examined. In 2008-09, ELL students constituted less than 1 percent of all charter students, about 6% of all LRSD students, and 4% of LRMA students. The share of ELL students has been growing over the past seven years in all sectors, with LRSD seeing the most rapid increase in the percent of ELL students enrolled. In 2014-15, about 3% of charter students were ELL, while almost 11% of LRSD students were ELL, and about 7% of LRMA students were receiving ELL services.

Students with Disabilities

Students with Disabilities (SWD) represent a small percentage of students in each of the sectors examined; however, there are differences between sectors in the percent of SWD enrolled. In 2008-09, slightly over 10% of students in LRSD TPSs and LRMA TPSs were identified with a disability, while just 2% of students in area charters were identified with a disability. However, while the share of SWD in LRSD and LRMA TPSs remained relatively flat over the seven years examined, the share of SWD enrolled in charters increased by almost 5 percentage points over the same time, to 7% of the charter student population in 2014-15. Due the small number of SWD in LRMA schools and the even smaller number of SWD who moved

between schools during the time of our analysis, we do not focus on patterns of movement among SWD.

Enrollment Summary

Taken together, Tables 1 and 2 indicate that charter school enrollment is indeed increasing in the Little Rock area, and that there are differences in student demographics between the charters and the traditional public schools. The Little Rock School District enrolls a higher percentage of black, Hispanic, FRL, and ELL students than do Little Rock area charters and the Little Rock Metro Area; however, the share of each of these underrepresented groups has been growing within charter schools. Charters enroll a larger share of other students of color and white students than LRSD and LRMA schools. The share of Hispanic, FRL, and ELL students has been growing in all sectors across the years examined, while the share of white students has been shrinking in all sectors across the years examined.

In the next section, we narrow our focus to students who voluntarily switch school sectors between traditional public and charter schools. Students who are required to leave a charter school because the school does not serve the subsequent grade level, or because the school closed are excluded from the analysis. Students who graduated or were too young to have been enrolled in school were also excluded. In order to better understand the effect the charter sector has on integration within Little Rock, we must examine who is voluntarily transferring between sectors, where they choose to leave, and where they choose to enroll instead.

V. How many students voluntarily switch school sectors and what are their characteristics?

In this section, we are interested in examining in greater detail the students enrolled within the Little Rock Area, and the choices they make about which school to attend from year to year. Little Rock is a dynamic school system, with public charter and traditional public school options available to students and families. Table 3 presents the choices students and their families made each year about whether to remain in the school sector in which they were enrolled or switch to another sector. Students are categorized by their initial enrollment sector: charter or traditional public. Students who were enrolled in traditional public are further differentiated if they were enrolled in LRSD. Information regarding students who moved to other public schools in the state or whose subsequent schooling took place out of the system because they left the Arkansas public school system is also presented. The number and percentage of students initially enrolled in each sector who made various enrollment selections is presented.

Table 3: Number and Percentage of Students Voluntarily Exiting and Remaining, by Sector,

Fall of 2008-09 to Fall of 2014-15

	ii of 2008-09 to Faii of	Move F08-F09	Move F09-F10	Move F10-F11	Move F11-F12	Move F12-F13	Move F13-F14	Total (08- 09 to 14-15)
	Prior Yr Enrollment	2,119	2,900	3,708	4,408	4,833	5,084	28,761
	Stay in charter	1,545	2,204	2,616	3,123	3,627	3,789	16,904
		75%	80%	81%	76%	80%	79%	79%
Charter	Switch to LRMA TPS	296	246	284	471	452	504	2,253
Starters		14%	9%	9%	11%	10%	10%	10%
(LR Metro)	Switch to Other AR	43	87	74	128	125	135	592
	Public	2%	3%	2%	3%	3%	3%	3%
	Charter to Out-of-	183	202	271	391	330	373	1,750
	System	9%	7%	8%	10%	7%	8%	8%
	Prior Yr Enrollment	25,760	25,795	25,610	25,497	25,055	25,078	177,520
	Stay in TPS	19,332	19,307	19,104	18,758	18,843	18,724	114,068
		85%	85%	84%	83%	85%	85%	84%
TPS	Switch to Charter	310	489	442	536	371	562	2,710
Starters (LRSD		1%	2%	2%	2%	2%	3%	2%
only)	Switch to Other AR	1,503	1,441	1,470	1,580	1,408	1,358	8,760
- 57	Public	7%	6%	6%	7%	6%	6%	6%
	TPS to Out-of-System	1,689	1,577	1,638	1,642	1,452	1,484	9,482
		7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%	7%
	Prior Yr Enrollment	53,261	53,141	52,358	52,172	52,097	51,881	365,965
	Stay in TPS	41,371	40,971	40,323	40,214	40,414	39,879	243,172
		87%	87%	87%	87%	87%	87%	87%
TPS	Switch to Charter	778	897	916	943	765	1,066	5,365
Starters		2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%
(LR Metro)	Switch to Other AR	1,571	1,704	1,706	1,711	1,762	1,669	10,123
	Public	3%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%
	TPS to Out-of-System	3,742	3,744	3,540	3,510	3,309	3,279	21,124
		8%	8%	8%	8%	7%	7%	8%
	Prior Yr Enrollment	4,709	4,449	4,716	4,373	4,106	4,129	26,482
	Other AR Public to	106	89	143	137	79	111	665
	Charter	2%	2%	3%	3%	2%	3%	3%
	Other AR Public to	1,541	1,484	1,495	1,526	1,444	1,433	8,923
New to LR	LRMA TPS	33%	33%	32%	35%	35%	35%	34%
Metro	Out-of-System to	275	276	382	286	300	309	1,828
	Charter	6%	6%	8%	7%	7%	7%	7%
	Out-of-System to TPS	2,787	2,600	2,696	2,424	2,283	2,276	15,066
	Out-or-system to IPS	•	•	•				57%
		59%	58%	57%	55%	56%	55%	31%

Non-Movers

In Table 3, we see that the majority of students remain in the sector in which they completed their previous year of schooling, with roughly 85% of students remaining in LRSD year to year and roughly 75-80% of students remaining in charter schools from year to year.

Approximately 87% of students in the LRMA remain in traditional public schools from year to year.

TPSs to Charters

In both the Little Rock School District and in the Little Rock Metro Area roughly 1-2% of students transfer out of traditional public schools and into charter schools each year. That rate has increased over time, mirroring the increase in total charter enrollment demonstrated in Table 1. However, roughly 10% of students exit charter schools and return to traditional public schools each year, so a greater share of students transferring out of charters are going back to traditional public schools than are transferring out of traditional public schools and into charters each year.

Exits to Other Public Schools

Each year, there is more movement <u>out</u> of the Little Rock public education system than there is <u>within</u> the Little Rock area public education system. In 2009, 1,503 students left LRSD to attend a public school elsewhere in the state; in 2014 1,358 students left LRSD to attend a public school elsewhere in the state. 1,571 students left the Little Rock Metro Area in 2009 for other public schools in the state; 1,669 did so in 2014. In 2009, 43 students left Little Rock charters for other public schools in the state; that number increased to 135 leaving the area for other public schools in 2014. Many students leaving LRSD for other public schools in the state.

Over the years examined, 4,874 (56%) students transferred from LRSD to other districts in the LRMA—North Little Rock School District or Pulaski County Special School District, while 3,886 (44%) transferred to other areas in the state. Similarly, we can distinguish between students leaving the LRMA for neighboring districts (Bryant, Cabot, or Conway) and students leaving for other areas of the state. For students moving between 2009 and 2014, 3,498 (35%) transferred to neighboring districts, while 6,625 (65%) moved to other public schools in the state.

Students Who Move Out-of-System

We can also see the number of students who completely exit the Arkansas public school system each year. In 2009, 183 students (9%) left Little Rock charter schools and the Arkansas public school system completely. In 2014, 8% of Little Rock charter students exited the Arkansas public school system. The numbers are similar for traditional public schools: 7% of all students in LRSD and 7% of all students in the Little Rock metro area in 2014-15 left the Arkansas public school system completely. This represented a loss of 1,484 students from LRSD in 2014 and 3,279 students from the Little Rock metro area. These students are completely exiting the Arkansas public school system, either by dropping out of school, moving out-of-state, attending a private school, being homeschooled, being incarcerated, or dying.

Students New to the Area

Students also enter the Little Rock public school system each year. These students come from other public schools in state and from outside the Arkansas public school system. In 2014, Little Rock charter schools gained 111 students from around the state, while Little Rock Metro Area TPSs gained 1,433 students in the same year. 309 students entered the Arkansas public school system for the first time by enrolling in a LR charter in 2014; 2,276 students entered the

Arkansas public school system by enrolling in a TPS in the Little Rock metro area in that same year. The dynamic nature of the composition of Little Rock school is thus driven by student movement between sectors, across the state, and into and out of the public school system entirely.

Section Summary

While LRSD typically lost around 6% of its student body to other public schools or non-public school options each year in the time examined, it only lost around 2% of its student body each year to charters. Enrollment and demographic changes within the Little Rock School District are generally driven by students leaving LRSD for other public school districts in Arkansas, and by students transferring to private schools, out of state schools, homeschooling options, or being put in jail or dying.

Demographics of Sector Switchers, from LRSD

Having discussed the magnitude of student switchers, we turn to an examination of the demographics of students transferring from LRSD to other education sectors to determine if there are discrepancies in which type of students are the most likely to transfer. When we examine these numbers, it is most helpful to compare each percentage to the overall demographics of the sector. In this way, we can determine whether student switchers are representative of the sector as a whole, or whether particular groups are disproportionately represented among student switchers. If the share of a particular demographic group of students is less than the share of students in that demographic group in the sector as a whole, then they are underrepresented among student switchers. Conversely, if the share of a particular demographic group is greater than the share of that demographic group in the sector as a whole, then they are

overrepresented among student switchers. Table 4 outlines the demographics of students transferring out of LRSD.

Table 4: Demographic Characteristics of School Sector Switchers from Little Rock School District, Fall of 2008-09 to Fall of 2014-15

		Move F08-F09	Move F09-F10	Move F10-F11	Move F11-F12	Move F12-F13	Move F13-F14	Total (2008- 09- 2014-15)
	Prior Yr	25,760	25,795	25,610	25,497	25,055	25,078	177,520
	N							
All LRSD	% Black	68%	68%	67%	67%	66%	66%	67%
All LKSD	% White	22%	22%	21%	20%	19%	19%	20%
	% FRL	65%	70%	70%	71%	72%	61%	69%
	% ELL	6%	7%	7%	8%	9%	10%	7%
	N	310	489	442	536	371	562	2,710
LRSD to	% Black	58%	70%	64%	68%	61%	61%	64%
Charter	% White	26%	18%	21%	14%	20%	19%	19%
Charter	% FRL	58%	60%	61%	64%	58%	65%	61%
	% ELL	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%
	N	891	818	781	897	733	754	4,874
LRSD to	% Black	81%	79%	80%	82%	80%	79%	80%
Other LR	% White	16%	16%	17%	16%	15%	15%	15%
Metro	% FRL	72%	71%	76%	77%	79%	79%	75%
	% ELL	1%	1%	2%	2%	4%	4%	2%
	N	612	623	689	683	675	604	3,886
LRSD to	% Black	60%	65%	60%	61%	61%	64%	62%
Other AR	% White	22%	21%	21%	20%	20%	19%	21%
Public	% FRL	75%	74%	75%	73%	83%	79%	77%
	% ELL	4%	3%	3%	4%	5%	3%	4%
	N	1,689	1,577	1,638	1,642	1,452	1,484	9,482
LRSD to	% Black	62%	62%	59%	59%	53%	55%	59%
Out-of-	% White	24%	25%	26%	28%	31%	26%	27%
system	% FRL	62%	69%	68%	66%	64%	54%	64%
	% ELL	8%	9%	10%	8%	10%	12%	9%

LRSD to Charters

We first examine student transfers from LRSD to area charters between 2008-09 and 2014-15. In 2009, 68% of LRSD students were black; however, only 58% of student movers

from LRSD to charters were black. Black students were underrepresented among student movers by 10 percentage points. That disproportionality has not remained constant over time. In 2010 and 2012 black students were proportionately represented among students moving from LRSD to charters, while in 2011, 2013, and 2014 black students were again underrepresented among students transferring from LRSD to charters. In 2014, black students were underrepresented among students switching from LRSD to charters by about 5 percentage points.

There is no consistent pattern of white students being over- or under-represented among students transferring from LRSD to area charters in the years examined. In 2009, white students were slightly overrepresented, while in 2010 and 2012 white students were slightly underrepresented. In 2011, 2013, and 2014 white students were proportionately represented.

In 2009, FRL students were underrepresented among students switching from LRSD to charters by about 7 percentage points, as 65% of LRSD students received FRL, but only 58% of students moving to charters also received FRL. Students receiving FRL were underrepresented among students moving from LRSD to area in all years examined, and were underrepresented by about 10 percentage points in 2010, 2011, and 2013. In 2012, FRL students were underrepresented by about 7 percentage points, while in 2013 FRL students were underrepresented by about 4 percentage points.

Finally, we turn to English Language Learners (ELL). In 2009, ELL students were underrepresented among students moving from LRSD to charters by about 6 percentage points, as 6% of LRSD students were ELL, but no ELL students transferred from LRSD to charters in that year. ELL students were consistently underrepresented among students moving from LRSD to charters in the years examined, and the disproportionality has been growing over time. In

2014, 10% of LRSD students were ELL, but less than 2% of students switching from LRSD to area charters were ELL.

LRSD to Other LR Metro

In this section, we examine students transferring from LRSD to North Little Rock School District (NLRSD) or Pulaski County Special School District (PCSSD). As noted about, over half of all students who leave LRSD and remain in in-state public school districts transfer to either NLRSD or PCSSD. In 2009, 68% of LRSD students were black, as were 81% of students moving from LRSD to NLRSD or PCSSD. Black students were overrepresented among switchers by 13 percentage points. The disproportionality remained over time, and in 2014 79% of switchers were black, while only 66% of LRSD students were black. Black students were consistently overrepresented among students transferring from LRSD to other public districts in the LRMA by over 10 percentage points in the years examined.

White students were slightly underrepresented among students transferring from LRSD to other TPSs in the Little Rock Metro Area. Across the years examined, 20% of LRSD students were white, but only 15% of students transferring from LRSD to NLRSD or PCSSD were white.

FRL students were overrepresented among students switching from LRSD to NLRSD or PCSSD in all years examined, but this difference was slight in all years except 2013-14. In 2013-14, 61% of LRSD students receiving FRL, while 79% of students switching from LRSD to LRMA TPSs received FRL. FRL students were overrepresented by 18 percentage points. In 2010 and 2011, FRL students were overrepresented by less than 2 percentage points, while in 2012, 2013, and 2015 FRL students were overrepresented by around 5 percentage points.

ELL students were consistently underrepresented among students transferring from LRSD to other TPSs in the LRMA. In 2009, ELL students represented about 7% of the LRSD

student body, but only 1% of students moving from LRSD to NLRSD or PCSSD. Between 2010 and 2014, ELL students were underrepresented among student switchers by 6 to 8 percentage points.

LRSD to Other AR Public

In this section, we examine the representativeness of students who transferred from LRSD to public school districts in the state, but not in the immediate LRMA. In 2009, 68% of LRSD students were black, as were 60% of students moving from LRSD to other public districts in the state. Black students were underrepresented by about 8 percentage points among student movers in that year. By 2014, that disproportionality had declined to 5 percentage points, with 67% of LRSD students identifying as black, and only 62% of students transferring from LRSD to other public districts in the state identifying as black.

White students were proportionately represented among students transferring from LRSD to other areas of the state in all years examined. Across the seven years of analysis, 20% of LRSD students were white, as were 21% of students moving from LRSD to other areas of the state.

Students receiving FRL were overrepresented among students switching from LRSD to other public districts in the state in all years examined. In 2009, 70% of LRSD students received FRL, as did 75% of students leaving LRSD for other areas of the state. In 2013, 61% of LRSD students received FRL, as did 83% of students moving to other areas of the state for school. In 2014, this gap decreased to 5 percentage points.

ELL students were consistently underrepresented among students moving from LRSD to other public districts in the state. In 2009, 7% of LRSD students were ELL, but only 4% of

students moving to other areas of the state were ELL. ELL students were underrepresented by 5 percentage points in 2010-2013, and were underrepresented by 7 percentage points in 2014.

LRSD to Out-Of-System

Students leaving LRSD and exiting the Arkansas public school system entirely represent the largest group of student movers in the years examined. Over 9,000 students exited LRSD and entered private schools, moved out of state, began homeschooling, were incarcerated, or passed away in the years examined. In 2009, 62% of movers were black, a 6 percentage point smaller share of the student population than in LRSD as a whole, where black students constituted 68% of the student body. Black students were consistently underrepresented among students exiting the Arkansas public school system entirely. In 2014, 67% of LRSD students were black, as were only 53% of students exiting the public school system from LRSD.

White students were slightly overrepresented among students moving from LRSD to options outside of the Arkansas public school system in all years examined, although the disproportionality ranged from 2 percentage points in 2009 to 12 percentage points in 2013.

Across all seven years, 20% of LRSD students were white, as were 27% of students who exited LRSD and the state public school system entirely.

FRL students were also generally underrepresented among students leaving the Arkansas public school system from LRSD in the years examined; however, the pattern is not consistent over time. In 2009, 65% of LRSD students received FRL, as did 62% of students exiting the public school system from LRSD, a difference of 3 percentage points. FRL students were underrepresented by less than 5 percentage points between 2010 and 2012. In 2013 and 2014 FRL students were underrepresented by 6-7 percentage points.

ELL students tended to be proportionately represented among students exiting the Arkansas public school system from LRSD, with the share of ELL students in LRSD and among movers differing by less than 3 percentage points in all years examined.

Demographics of Sector Switchers, from LR Metro Area

We turn now to looking at patterns of student movements in the Little Rock Metro Area, rather than narrowly at the Little Rock School district. Table 5 presents the demographic characteristics of students transferring from TPSs in the Little Rock Metro Area.

Table 5: Demographic Characteristics of School Sector Switchers from Little Rock Metro Area, Fall of 2008-09 to Fall of 2014-15

		Move F08-F09	Move F09-F10	Move F10-F11	Move F11-F12	Move F12-F13	Move F13-F14	Total (2008- 09- 2014-15)
	Prior Yr N	53,261	53,141	52,358	52,172	52,097	51,881	365,965
AUTD	% Black	58%	58%	57%	57%	57%	57%	57%
All LR Metro	% White	34%	33%	32%	32%	31%	30%	31%
Metro	% FRL	62%	65%	66%	65%	67%	61%	64%
	% ELL	4%	5%	5%	5%	6%	7%	5%
	N	778	897	916	943	765	1,066	5,365
LR Metro	% Black	50%	64%	55%	60%	55%	53%	56%
to	% White	39%	26%	29%	26%	28%	28%	29%
Charter	% FRL	50%	55%	55%	57%	56%	58%	55%
	% ELL	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%
LR Metro	N	518	588	622	609	583	578	3,498
to	% Black	26%	30%	37%	40%	36%	38%	35%
Conway,	% White	63%	60%	58%	54%	53%	53%	57%
Cabot,	% FRL	59%	60%	60%	60%	68%	67%	62%
Bryant	% ELL	6%	2%	4%	4%	6%	3%	4%
	N	1,053	1,116	1,084	1,102	1,179	1,091	6,625
LR Metro	% Black	48%	48%	43%	44%	48%	46%	46%
to Other	% White	34%	34%	33%	33%	32%	32%	33%
AR Public	% FRL	74%	74%	77%	76%	78%	78%	76%
	% ELL	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
	N	3,742	3,744	3,540	3,510	3,309	3,279	21,124
LR Metro	% Black	52%	52%	49%	49%	46%	47%	49%
to Out-of-	% White	36%	37%	37%	38%	39%	36%	37%
system	% FRL	57%	62%	63%	58%	61%	55%	59%
	% ELL	6%	6%	6%	6%	7%	8%	6%

Little Rock Metro to Charters

There is no clear pattern of black students being consistently over or underrepresented among students moving from Little Rock Metro Area TPSs to charters in the years examined. In 2009, black students were underrepresented among students switching to charters by 8

percentage points, while in 2012 black students were slightly overrepresented. In 2014, black students were underrepresented by about 4 percentage points.

There is no consistent pattern of white students being over- or under-represented among students transferring from LRMA TPSs to charters in the years examined. In 2009 white students were overrepresented among students moving to charters from LRMA TPSs, while from 2010-2014 white students were slightly underrepresented among students moving to area charters.

Across the years examined, 31% of LRMA TPS students were white, as were 29% of students transferring from LRMA TPSs to charters.

FRL students were consistently underrepresented among students switching from LRMA TPSs to area charters in the years examined. In all years except 2014, FRL students were underrepresented among student movers by about 10 percentage points. In 2014, FRL students were underrepresented by 4 percentage points, largely due to the substantial decrease in the percent of LRMA TPS students receiving FRL in that year.

ELL students were also consistently underrepresented among students moving from LRMA TPSs to area charters, although the disproportionalities were relatively slight. ELL students were underrepresented by 4-6 percentage points in all years examined.

Little Rock Metro to Surrounding Districts

We next examine students moving from LRMA TPSs to surrounding districts—Bryant, Cabot, or Conway. In 2009, 58% of LRMA TPS students were black, but only 26% of students moving from LRMA TPSs to neighboring districts were black, a difference of 32 percentage points. That disproportionality abated slightly. In 2014, 57% of LRMA TPS students were black, but only 38% of students leaving for surrounding districts were black, a difference of 19

percentage points. Across all years, 57% of LRMA TPS students were black, as were 35% of students moving from LRMA TPSs to neighboring districts.

White students were consistently overrepresented among students transferring from LRMA TPSs to surrounding districts by over 20 percentage points. Over the seven years examined, 31% of LRMA TPS students were white, but 57% of students transferring from LRMA TPSs to Bryant, Cabot, or Conway were white, a difference of about 26 percentage points.

FRL students were also consistently underrepresented among students moving from LRMA TPSs to neighboring districts. In 2009, FRL students were underrepresented by 6 percentage points, while in 2014 FRL students were underrepresented by 2 percentage points.

Little Rock Metro to Other AR Public

We next examine demographic patterns of students moving from LRMA TPSs to districts in other areas of the state. Black students were underrepresented among students moving from LRMA TPSs to other areas of the state. In 2009, black students were underrepresented by 8 percentage points, while in 2014 black students were underrepresented by 2 percentage points. Across all years examined, black students were underrepresented by 5 percentage points.

White students were generally proportionately represented among students transferring from LRMA TPSs to other areas of the state. Overall, 31% of LRMA TPS students were white, as were 33% of students transferring from LRMA TPSs to other areas of the state.

FRL students were overrepresented among students moving from the LRMA to other areas of the state. In 2009, 70% of LRMA TPS students received FRL, while 75% of students moving from LRMA to other areas of the state receiving FRL. In 2014, FRL students were overrepresented among students moving to other areas of the state by 4 percentage points.

Across all years examined, FRL students were overrepresented among students transferring to other public districts by 8 percentage points.

ELL students were underrepresented among students transferring out of the area by 3 to 6 percentage points in all years examined. Although the percent of ELL students in Little Rock Metro Area TPSs varied between 5% and 7% across the years examined, the ELL students generally represented just 1% of students transferring to other areas of the state.

Little Rock Metro to Out-of-System

Black students were consistently underrepresented among students moving from LRMA TPSs to options outside the Arkansas public school system. Black students were underrepresented by 6 percentage points in 2009, and 10 percentage points in 2014.

White students were slightly overrepresented among students leaving LRMA TPSs and exiting the Arkansas public school system completely. Across the years examined, 31% of LRMA TPS students were white, as were 37% of students exiting the Arkansas public school system completely, a 6 percentage point difference.

FRL students were also underrepresented among students in this group, by 3-6 percentage points in all years examined. FRL students were less likely to move out-of-system than we would expect given their share of LRMA TPS enrollment.

ELL Students were generally proportionately represented among students leaving the Arkansas public school system over this time, with differences of 2 percentage points or less in all years. However, ELL students were slightly overrepresented in each of these years, although the differences are too slight to observe a consistent, substantial pattern.

Demographics of Sector Switchers, from Charters

Finally, we examine students moving from Little Rock Area charters to other sectors.

Table 6 presents these descriptive trends.

Table 6: Demographic Characteristics of School Sector Switchers from Little Rock Area Charter Schools, Fall of 2008-09 to Fall of 2014-15

		Move F08-F09	Move F09-F10	Move F10-F11	Move F11-F12	Move F12-F13	Move F13-F14	Total (2008- 09- 2014-15)
	Prior Yr N	2,119	2,900	3,708	4,408	4,833	5,084	28,761
All	% Black	40%	40%	46%	46%	47%	47%	45%
Charter	% White	47%	47%	40%	40%	38%	37%	40%
Charter	% FRL	32%	35%	40%	44%	46%	46%	43%
	% ELL	0%	0%	2%	1%	2%	2%	1%
	N	168	186	315	263	283	274	1,489
Charter	% Black	58%	59%	72%	67%	64%	69%	66%
to	% White	32%	26%	13%	17%	17%	14%	18%
LRSD	% FRL	54%	50%	59%	59%	54%	63%	57%
	% ELL	2%	1%	1%	4%	7%	2%	3%
	N	296	346	588	503	470	513	2,716
Charter	% Black	56%	49%	65%	64%	60%	63%	61%
to LR	% White	37%	41%	25%	24%	25%	24%	28%
Metro	% FRL	46%	45%	55%	55%	52%	58%	53%
	% ELL	2%	1%	0%	3%	5%	2%	2%
Charter	N	43	87	91	130	125	137	613
to	% Black	16%	32%	42%	32%	34%	33%	33%
Other	% White	79%	61%	49%	54%	59%	53%	57%
AR	% FRL	37%	37%	52%	40%	46%	52%	45%
Public	% ELL	0%	1%	1%	2%	0%	0%	1%
	N	183	202	270	394	335	375	1,759
Charter	% Black	32%	35%	42%	46%	48%	38%	41%
to Out-	% White	47%	50%	43%	39%	30%	41%	40%
of-	% FRL	22%	39%	43%	54%	56%	51%	47%
system	% ELL	0%	0%	4%	1%	5%	3%	2%

Charter to LRSD

Black students were overrepresented among students transferring from charters to LRSD in all years examined. In 2009, while 40% of charter students were black, 58% of students moving from charters to LRSD were black. This disproportionality peaked in 2011, when black

students were overrepresented by 26 percentage points. In 2014, 47% of charter students were black, as were 69% of students moving from charters to LRSD.

White students were consistently underrepresented among students moving from Little Rock charters to LRSD in all years examined, typically by 20 percentage points or more. Across all seven years examined (2008-09 through 2014-15), 40% of charter students were white, but only 18% of students transferring from charters to LRSD were white.

FRL students were also consistently overrepresented among students switching from Little Rock Area charters to LRSD in all years examined. In 2009, 32% of charter students received FRL, while 54% of students moving from charters to LRSD were on FRL. In 2013, the disproportionality was under 10 percentage points, when 46% of charter students received FRL and 54% of movers going into LRSD received FRL. However, in 2014 FRL students were overrepresented by 17 percentage points.

There is no consistent pattern of over- or under-representation of ELL students among students transferring to LRSD from charters in the years examined. In all years except 2013 ELL students were proportionately represented among student movers. In 2013, ELL students were overrepresented by 5 percentage points among students switching from Little Rock charters to LRSD.

Charters to LR Metro

The demographic patterns of students switching from charters to LRSD are similar to those seen when examining students switching from charters to TPSs in the Little Rock Metro Area. Black students were consistently overrepresented among students transferring from charters to TPSs, and in all years except 2010 this disproportionality was well over 10 percentage

points. In 2014, 47% of charter students were black, but 60% of students moving from charters to LRMA TPSs were black, a difference of 13 percentage points.

White students were consistently underrepresented among students leaving charters for Little Rock Metro Area TPSs, typically by over 10 percentage points. Across all seven years examined, 40% of charter students were white, but only 28% of students transferring from charters to LRMA TPSs were white.

FRL students were also consistently overrepresented among students moving from Little Rock Area charters to LRMA TPSs. In all years except 2013 FRL students were overrepresented by around 10 percentage points or more, while in 2013 FRL students were overrepresented by 7 percentage points.

ELL students were proportionately represented among students moving from charters to LRMA TPSs. In 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2014 the share of ELL students among students moving from charters to TPSs was within 1 percentage point or less of the share of ELL students in the charter sector, while in 2012 and 2013 the difference was less than 3 percentage points.

Charter to Other AR Public

Black students were consistently underrepresented among students switching from Little Rock Area charters to public school districts elsewhere in the state. In 2009, 40% of charter students were black, but only 16% of students moving from charters to other areas of the state were black. This disproportionality remained in 2014, when 47% of charter students were black, but only 33% of students moving from charters to other public schools in the state were black. Overall, black students were underrepresented among students moving to other schools in the state by 13 percentage points.

White students were consistently overrepresented among students exiting Little Rock Area charters for other public districts in the state, typically by more than 10 percentage points. Overall, 40% of charter students were white, but 57% of students exiting charters for other areas of the state were white, a 17 percentage point difference.

There is no consistent pattern when examining FRL students moving from charters to other areas of the state. In 2010 and 2013 FRL students were proportionately represented among students moving from charters to other areas of the state, while in 2012 FRL students were underrepresented among student movers; in 2009, 2011 and 2014, FRL students were overrepresented among students moving to other areas of the state from Little Rock Area charters.

ELL students were proportionately represented among students leaving Little Rock Area charters for public schools in other areas of the state

Charter to Out-Of-System

There is no consistent pattern of over- or under- representation of black students among students exiting Little Rock Area charters and leaving the Arkansas public school system completely. Black students were underrepresented in 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2014, but were proportionately represented in 2012 and 2013.

There is no consistent pattern of over or under representation of white students among students transferring from Little Rock charters to options outside of the Arkansas public school system. Across the seven years examined, 40% of charter students were white, and 40% of students exiting the Arkansas public school system from charters were white.

There is similarly no consistent pattern when examining FRL students exiting the Arkansas public school system from Little Rock Area charters. In 2009, FRL students were underrepresented by 11 percentage points, but were slightly overrepresented in 2010 -2014.

ELL students were proportionately represented among students exiting Little Rock Area charters and the Arkansas public school system entirely in the years examined. In 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2014, the share of ELL students among movers was within 1 percentage point of the share of ELL students in the charter sector as a whole, and in all years the difference was less than 4 percentage points.

Section Summary

This section has examined the demographics of students switching schools between 2009 and 2014. A striking trend when looking at student movement was the large share of students transferring from traditional public schools either to other areas of the state or to non-public school options. LRSD lost an average 6% of its student body each year to public schools in other areas of the state. In 2013, 283 students left LRSD and enrolled at North Little Rock, 523 students left LRSD for PCSSD, and 869 students left LRSD for other districts in the state. In contrast, 371 students transferred from LRSD to charters in 2013. In short, changes in enrollment and demographics in LRSD are driven more students leaving LRSD for other traditional public school districts than by students leaving LRSD for charter options in Little Rock.

Black students and FRL students were consistently overrepresented among students moving from charters to TPSs, whether LRSD or LRMA TPSs. However, there was no consistent pattern of over- or under-representation of black students moving from TPSs to charters. FRL students were generally underrepresented among students moving from TPSs to

charters, but the size of the disproportionality varied widely over time. ELL students were underrepresented among students leaving TPSs for other public schools, whether nearby or in other areas of the state. However, ELL students were proportionately represented among students leaving TPSs for non-public school options, and among students exiting charters for a variety of choices.

Academic Achievement of Sector Switchers

Although student demographics are a key factor in identifying patterns of enrollment between public school sectors in the Little Rock area, we also examined the academic achievement levels of students who switch between school sectors. While it is important for students to meet state performance criteria, often presented as the percentage of students scoring Proficient on state assessments, more detailed information can be gained from using standardized scale scores. Scale scores can vary across assessments, so student-level scale scores are standardized across the state population of test takers, within year, grade, and subject to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1, enabling the comparison of scores across time. Students performing above the state average will have a positive Z score, and students performing below the state average will have a negative Z score. Each student's Z score is an average of math, literacy, and science assessments in a given year. Each school's average Z is the weighted average standardized score on state math, literacy, and science exams. The combined results from math, literacy, and science give a high-level snapshot of the school's academic performance, rather than examining each subject separately. These analyses compare students' average standardized score on statewide literacy, math, and science exams to their school's average standardized score on statewide exams to determine if the students who leave are high or

low performing relative to their school. Only students who completed criterion-referenced state assessments in grades 3 or higher during the years examined are included in the analyses, so the number of students in each sector varies from the number presented in previous demographic tables that reflected all students enrolled.

We are also interested in whether student movers left relatively higher or lower performing schools. To evaluate this, we assigned each school to a category (bottom 1/3, middle 1/3, or top 1/3) based on the average of their students' scores on a standardized composite measure of math, reading, and science state assessments. We then tracked whether student switchers came from schools in the top or bottom 1/3 of the distribution of scores in the Little Rock Metro Area.

Students Leaving LRSD

Table 8 outlines the academic performance of students leaving LRSD and the difference between their overall average score on state standardized assessments and the school-level average score on state standardized assessments.

Table 8: Academic Achievement of LRSD Switchers, Fall of 2008-09 through Fall of 2014-15⁵

		Move F08-F09	Move F09-F10	Move F10-F11	Move F11-F12	Move F12-F13	Move F13-F14	Total
LRSD to	Total Movers	310	489	442	536	371	562	2,710
	N-With Scores	267	356	299	422	301	422	2,067
	Student Z	-0.20	-0.33	-0.14	-0.32	-0.25	-0.25	-0.25
	School Z	-0.32	-0.31	-0.23	-0.33	-0.26	-0.21	-0.28
Charter	% In Top 1/3 School	21%	19%	25%	18%	23%	23%	21%
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	70%	69%	62%	72%	59%	59%	65%
	Total Movers	891	818	781	897	733	754	4,874
	N-With Scores	553	539	493	609	499	487	3,180
LRSD to	Student Z	-0.67	-0.61	-0.56	-0.67	-0.62	-0.56	-0.62
LRMA	School Z	-0.45	-0.45	-0.36	-0.46	-0.42	-0.37	-0.42
	% In Top 1/3 School	11%	10%	12%	10%	10%	13%	11%
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	86%	82%	79%	81%	72%	70%	79%
	Total Movers	612	623	689	683	675	604	3,886
I DOD	N-With Scores	344	345	403	434	400	370	2,296
LRSD to	Student Z	-0.46	-0.47	-0.39	-0.37	-0.45	-0.44	-0.43
Other AR Public	School Z	-0.48	-0.49	-0.37	-0.44	-0.45	-0.39	-0.44
1 ublic	% In Top 1/3 School	10%	9%	13%	9%	11%	14%	11%
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	78%	76%	71%	76%	71%	69%	74%
LRSD to Out-of- system	Total Movers	1,689	1,577	1,638	1,642	1,452	1,484	9,482
	N-With Scores	481	551	580	678	679	665	3,634
	Student Z	-0.37	-0.28	-0.27	-0.24	-0.20	-0.22	-0.26
	School Z	-0.32	-0.37	-0.30	-0.28	-0.26	-0.20	-0.29
	% In Top 1/3 School	13%	14%	17%	17%	20%	22%	17%
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	73%	79%	69%	68%	60%	60%	68%

As shown in Table 8, students moving from LRSD TPSs to charters scored below the state average on a composite measure of their math, reading, and science standardized assessments. Across the years examined, students switching from LRSD TPSs were 0.25 standard deviations below the state average. However, when compared to their peers within their

⁵ Academic achievement is only for students in tested grades. Students in K-2 are not tested, and students in grades 9-11 are not necessarily tested each year. Students who exited the Arkansas public school system before the testing window are not included in this sample. Students who exited the Arkansas public school system before the testing window were in all grades K-11. Test score data is drawn from the 2008-09 through 2013-14 school years.

school, students switching from LRSD TPSs to charters were average. Across the years examined, the average score in the LRSD schools students exited was 0.28 standard deviations below the state mean. When compared to their peers *at their school*, there is no systematic pattern of students who switch from LRSD to charters being higher or lower achieving students.

Further, students who switched from LRSD TPSs to charters were more about three times more likely to come from schools in the bottom 1/3 of performing schools than schools in the top 1/3 of the performance distribution. Across the years examined, 21% of students switching from LRSD TPSs to charters started in schools where the average student achievement on a composite measure of math, reading, and science state standardized assessments were in the top 1/3 of achievement in the Little Rock Metro Area, while 65% of students originated in schools that were in the bottom 1/3 of the achievement distribution.

Students who moved from LRSD schools to other TPSs in the LRMA generally underperformed relative to the state and to their *peers within their school*. Across the six years examined, students moving from LRSD TPSs to other LRMA TPSs scored 0.62 standard deviations below the state average, and 0.20 standard deviations below their peers in their school. Students moving from LRSD to NLRSD or PCSSD were generally lower-performing than their peers in the schools they exited. Students switching from LRSD TPSs to LRMA TPSs were also much more likely to leave schools in the bottom 1/3 of the performance distribution of the area. Across the years examined, 79% of students moving from LRSD TPSs to other public schools in the LRMA came from the lowest-achieving schools, while just 11% came from schools in the top 1/3 of the performance distribution.

Students who exited LRSD TPSs and moved to other parts of the state on average underperformed relative to the state, but were on par with the other students *in their school*.

Students moving from LRSD to other parts of Arkansas on average scored 0.43 standard deviations below the state average across the six years examined, and left schools where the average score was 0.44 standard deviations below the state average. There is no evidence that students moving from LRSD to other areas of the state were systematically higher or lower achieving than other students in their school. Students who moved from LRSD to other areas of the state were also extremely likely to leave schools that were at the bottom of the performance distribution on a composite measure of student scores in math, reading, and science state assessments. In the six years examined, 74% of students leaving LRSD for other areas of the state came from the lowest-performing schools, while only 11% came from the area's highest-performing schools.

Students who exited LRSD TPSs and the Arkansas public school system performed slightly below the state average, but were commensurate with their peers within their school. Across the six years examined, students exiting the public school system scored 0.26 standard deviations below the state average, but left schools were on average students scored 0.29 standard deviations below the state average. There is no evidence that students exiting the public school system were systematically higher or lower achieving than their peers in their school. However, it should be noted that a large number of students who exited the Arkansas public school system did so before the testing window opened in the year that they left. As we do not have testing data for these students, we do not know if the students for whom we have data are representative of the students for whom we do not have data. However, we do see that students leaving LRSD and exiting the Arkansas public school system completely tended to come from relatively lower-performing TPSs. Across the six years examined, 68% of the students who exited the Arkansas public school system from LRSD came from the bottom 1/3 of the

performance distribution, while only 17% originated in schools in the top 1/3 of the performance distribution.

Students Exiting LRMA

Table 9 presents the academic achievement of students moving between sectors, the difference between the student's performance and the achievement of the school they left as a whole, and the relative academic performance of the school they exited compared to all schools in the area.

Table 9: Academic Achievement of LRMA Switchers, Fall of 2008-09 through Fall of 2014-15⁶

		Move F08-F09	Move F09-F10	Move F10-F11	Move F11-F12	Move F12-F13	Move F13-F14	Total
LR	Total Movers	778	897	916	943	765	1,066	5,36
	ALTICAL C	5.67	(12	C 1 C	710	(14	002	3
	N-With Scores	567	642	646	712	614	802	3983
Metro to	Student Z	-0.04	-0.29	-0.13	-0.22	-0.22	-0.20	-0.18
Charter	School Z	-0.24	-0.24	-0.17	-0.23	-0.23	-0.19	-0.22
	% In Top 1/3 School	24%	21%	27%	20%	18%	20%	22%
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	69%	59%	57%	65%	55%	59%	61%
LR Metro to Bryant,	Total Movers	518	588	622	609	583	578	3,49
	N HV. 1 C	202	252	201	250	2.47	225	8
	N-With Scores	302	353	381	359	347	335	2077
	Student Z	-0.25	-0.20	-0.19	-0.24	-0.22	-0.22	-0.22
Cabot,	School Z	-0.31	-0.29	-0.26	-0.31	-0.33	-0.29	-0.30
Conway	% In Top 1/3 School	16%	15%	22%	15%	8%	15%	15%
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	79%	64%	63%	71%	66%	72%	69%
LR Metro to Other AR Public	Total Movers	1,053	1,116	1,084	1,102	1,179	1,091	6,62
	N-With Scores	565	640	614	676	696	671	5 3,86
								2
	Student Z	-0.43	-0.44	-0.35	-0.38	-0.42	-0.38	-0.40
	School Z	-0.41	-0.38	-0.31	-0.35	-0.36	-0.34	-0.36
rubiic	% in Top 1/3 School	11%	10%	16%	8%	8%	11%	11%
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	78%	69%	65%	71%	67%	71%	70%
LR Metro to Out-of- system	Total Movers	3,742	3,744	3,540	3,510	3,309	3,279	21,1
								24
	N-With Scores	1,158	1,266	1,338	1,364	1,383	1,382	7891
	Student Z	-0.33	-0.27	-0.25	-0.22	-0.24	-0.22	-0.26
	School Z	-0.26	-0.25	-0.23	-0.23	-0.24	-0.22	-0.24
system	% In Top 1/3 School	15%	18%	20%	17%	13%	18%	17%
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	75%	64%	62%	69%	62%	65%	66%

Students who switched from LRMA TPSs to area charters on average scored below the state average on a composite measure of their math, reading, and science state standardized

⁶ Academic achievement is only for students in tested grades. Students in K-2 are not tested, and students in grades 9-11 are not necessarily tested each year. Students who exited the Arkansas public school system before the testing window are not included in this sample. Students who exited the Arkansas public school system before the testing window were in all grades K-11. Test score data is drawn from the 2008-09 through 2013-14 school years.

assessments. Across the six years examined, student movers scored 0.18 standard deviations below the state average, but left schools where on average students scored 0.22 standard deviations below the state average. There is no evidence that students switching from LRMA TPSs to area charters were systematically higher or lower achieving than their peers *in their school*. Across all years, 66% of students leaving LRMA TPSs for charters left the worst-performing TPSs, while only 22% left the highest-performing TPSs in the area.

Similarly, students who transferred from LRMA TPSs to surrounding districts (Bryant, Cabot, or Conway) underperformed relative to the state average, but were on par with their peers in the school they left. Across the six years examined, students transferring from LRMA TPSs to surrounding districts on average scored 0.22 standard deviations below the state average, but 0.08 standard deviations above their peers in their school. Similarly, 69% of students who left LRMA TPSs for surrounding public districts in the 6 years examined left the lowest-achieving schools, while only 15% left the highest achieving schools.

Students transferring from LRMA TPSs to other areas of the state were academically similar to their peers *in the school they exited*. Over the six years analyzed, students moving to other areas of the state from LRMA TPSs scored 0.40 standard deviations below the state average, and 0.05 standard deviations below the average score in the school they exited. Across the years examined, 70% of students who exited LRMA TPSs and moved to other areas of the state left schools in the bottom 1/3 of the LRMA performance distribution, while only 11% left schools in the top 1/3 of the LRMA performance distribution.

Students who exited LRMA TPSs and the Arkansas public school system completely were academically similar to their peers *in the schools they exited*. Students leaving the Arkansas public school system completely from LRMA TPSs on average scored 0.26 standard deviations

below the state average, but left schools were the average score was 0.24 standard deviations below the state average. There is no evidence that students exiting the Arkansas public school system from LRMA TPSs were higher or lower achieving students than their peers in their school, but a large share of students exiting the system did so before the spring testing window in the year they exited. We do not know if the students for whom we have test scores are representative of those for whom we do not. However, 66% of the students who left LRMA TPSs and the Arkansas public school system between 2009 and 2014 exited the area's lowest performing schools, while just 17% left the area's highest-performing schools.

Students Exiting Charters

Table 10 presents the academic achievement of students who exit charters, and the difference between the students' academic achievement and the school's overall achievement.

Table 10: Academic Achievement of Charter Switchers, Fall of 2008-09 through Fall of 2014- 15^7

		Move F08-F09	Move F09-F10	Move F10-F11	Move F11-F12	Move F12-F13	Move F13-F14	Total
Charter	Total Movers	168	186	315	263	283	274	1,48
	N-With Scores	141	157	238	207	187	212	9 1,14 2
to	Student Z	-0.19	-0.35	-0.36	-0.36	-0.63	-0.23	-0.35
LRSD	School Z	-0.04	-0.16	-0.07	-0.44	-0.47	-0.31	-0.25
	% In Top 1/3 School	22%	37%	20%	19%	5%	31%	21%
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	22%	44%	24%	63%	60%	57%	46%
Charter to LR Metro	Total Movers	296	346	588	503	470	513	2,71
	N-With Scores	229	282	415	395	321	406	6 2,04 8
	Student Z	-0.26	-0.28	-0.41	-0.41	-0.53	-0.32	-0.37
	School Z	-0.02	-0.13	-0.12	-0.35	-0.36	-0.28	-0.21
	% In Top 1/3 School	15%	29%	16%	21%	12%	21%	19%
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	18%	38%	25%	53%	56%	52%	41%
Charter	Total Movers	43	87	91	130	125	137	613
	N-With Scores	27	60	60	98	88	98	431
	Student Z	-0.04	0.00	-0.17	-0.32	-0.09	-0.09	-0.12
to State	School Z	-0.02	-0.12	-0.13	-0.23	-0.13	-0.12	-0.13
	% In Top 1/3 School	5%	22%	11%	11%	26%	28%	19%
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	9%	39%	31%	38%	28%	33%	32%
Charter to Out- of- system	Total Movers	183	202	270	394	335	375	1,75
	N-With Scores	104	104	107	159	157	176	9 807
	Student Z	0.03	0.00	-0.14	-0.18	-0.39	0.00	-0.11
	School Z	0.10	-0.05	-0.08	-0.27	-0.34	-0.16	-0.13
	% In Top 1/3 School	18%	25%	11%	12%	8%	30%	17%
	% In Bottom 1/3 School	10%	29%	31%	57%	54%	43%	41%

⁷ Academic achievement is only for students in tested grades and subject. Students in K-2 are not tested, and students in grades 9-11 are not necessarily tested each year. Students who exited the Arkansas public school system before the testing window are not included in this sample. Students who exited the Arkansas public school system before the testing window were in all grades K-11. Test score data is drawn from the 2008-09 through 2013-14 school years.

Students who transferred from Little Rock Area charters to LRSD schools on average scored slightly below the state average on a composite measure of their math, reading, and science state standardized assessments. However, when compared to their peers *at their school*, student switchers have average academic performance. Across the years examined, students moving from charters to LRSD on average scored 0.35 standard deviations below the state average, and 0.05 standard deviations below their school average. There is no evidence that students moving from charters to LRSD schools were systematically higher or lower achieving than their peers *in the school they left*. However, students exiting Little Rock charter schools for other options were more likely to leave schools in the bottom 1/3 of the performance distribution than they were to exit schools in the top 1/3 of the performance distribution. Across the six years examined, 46% of students who transferred from Little Rock Area charters to LRSD left schools in the bottom 1/3 of the performance distribution, while 21% exited schools in the top 1/3 of the performance distribution.

Students who moved from Little Rock Area charters to LRMA TPSs on average scored below the state average on a composite measure of their math, reading, and science test scores, and slightly below their peers *in the schools they exited*. Across the six years examined, students switching from charters to LRMA TPSs scored 0.37 standard deviations below the state average, and 0.11 standard deviations below the average at the school they exited. Further, 41% of students exiting charters for any TPS in the LRMA left the area's lowest-performing schools, while just 19% left the area's top-performing schools.

Students who moved from Little Rock Area charters to other areas of the state scored slightly below the state average, but scored roughly the same as their peers *in the school they exited*. Across the years examined, students moving from Little Rock Area charters to other parts

of Arkansas scored 0.12 standard deviations below the state average, but exited schools at which the average score was 0.13 standard deviations below the state average. There is no evidence that students moving from Little Rock Area charters to other public schools in the state were systematically higher or lower achieving than their peers in the school they chose to leave. In the years analyzed, 32% of students leaving Little Rock Area charters for other areas of the state left schools in the bottom 1/3 of the area's performance distribution, while 19% left schools in the top 1/3 of the area's performance distribution.

Students who exited Little Rock Area charters and the Arkansas public school system completely tended to slightly underperform the state average, but were not distinguishable from their peers *in their school*. Across the six years examined, students exiting the Arkansas public school system from Little Rock Area charters on average scored 0.11 standard deviations below the state average, but 0.03 standard deviations above the average score at their school. However, a large proportion of students who exited the Arkansas public school system did so before the testing window, and we do not know if the students for whom we have data are representative of those students for whom we do not have data. However, we do observe that 41% of all students exiting Little Rock Area charters and the state public school system completely left schools in the bottom 1/3 of the performance distribution, while just 17% left schools in the top 1/3 of the performance distribution.

Section Summary—Academics

In general, students who chose to switch schools in the years examined achieved slightly below the state average on a composite measure of their math, reading, and science state assessment scores. However, there was no systematic pattern of student switchers being higher

or lower performing than their peers *in the schools they chose to leave*. On average, student switchers were academically similar to their school average. However, students generally exited schools that were in the bottom 1/3 of the performance distribution of the Little Rock Metro Area. Although students switchers performed on par with their in-school peers, their schools were underperforming relative to the area overall.

VI. Conclusions

We began this report with a series of questions about the enrollment and demographics of public schools in the Little Rock Area. We were also interested in examining the characteristics of students who choose to move between schools, and whether they were representative of their sector. Here is a summary of what our analyses have revealed:

- The share of students enrolled in charters increased between 2008-09 and 2014-15, while the share of students enrolled in TPSs has declined steadily over the same time.
- The share of black students enrolled in charters increased between 2008-09 and 2014-15 while the share of black students enrolled in TPSs has declined over the same time; however, TPSs still enroll a substantially higher share of black students than do charters.
- The share of economically disadvantaged students increased in both charters and TPSs between 2008-09 and 2014-15.
- About 2% of LRSD transfer to charters annually; however, about 6% move to other districts in the state annually, and another 6% leave the Arkansas public system entirely each year.
- Students who move are academically similar to their peers in the schools they chose to leave. However, over 2/3 of students making any type of move exited schools in the bottom 1/3 of the area's academic performance distribution.
- Black students and FRL students are underrepresented among students moving from TPSs to charters, and overrepresented among students moving from charters to TPSs.
- White students are overrepresented among students transferring from LRMA TPSs to surrounding districts or exiting the Arkansas public school system.

 White students are underrepresented among students transferring from charters to LRSD or LRMA TPSs, but slightly overrepresented among students transferring from charters to other areas of the state.

Our next report will continue our focus on integration in the Little Rock Area by examining the characteristics of schools students voluntarily transfer into, and whether these moves ultimately have an integrative or segregative impact on schools.