

A Just Chicago: Fighting for the City Our Students Deserve

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Executive Summary

Institutional racism, poverty, systematic underfunding of education, and their effects lie at the heart of problems in education. Yet, there is a complete lack of political will to even discuss, much less begin to solve, these fundamental issues. Instead, city leaders continue to privilege a small select group, while ignoring community voice and needs. The results are aggressive downsizing of city assets and services, major giveaways to connected bankers and corporate leaders, and implementation of destructive school policies that will take years to reverse.

A Just Chicago: Fighting for the City Our Students Deserve details the intimate connection of health, housing, jobs, segregation, and funding to education. This report describes city policies that negatively impact CPS students, their families, and communities. Contrary to Mayor Rahm Emanuel's destructive narrative and approach to education policies, CTU demonstrates that challenges in housing, employment, justice, and healthcare relate directly to education; solutions require a narrowing of the opportunity gap brought on by poverty, racism, and segregation.

In the area of employment, a just Chicago would:

- eliminate employment discrimination, guarantee jobs that pay a living wage, and provide health insurance for families of Chicago's students
- offer racially and economically integrated schools with vibrant curricula for all students

In the area of justice, a just Chicago would:

- end discrimination in arrests and sentencing and provide alternatives to imprisonment for non-violent offenders
- treat drug offenders instead of jailing them
- provide troubled students with additional counselors, social support services, and programs that implement restorative justice practices in the schools
- make available mentoring programs, summer jobs, and school based mental health clinics to help address the impact of neighborhood violence

In the area of housing, a just Chicago would:

- address the affordable housing and crisis of Students in Temporary Living Situations
- greatly increase the numbers of affordable and homeless housing units built across the city, including in wealthier and highly resourced neighborhoods
- create affordable rental housing, regularly inspected for building code violations, with decreased numbers of evictions

In the area of health, a just Chicago would:

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- provide trauma centers, urgent care clinics, mental health clinics and other needed health care centers in all neighborhoods, particularly those currently lacking health services
- rebuild the diminished lead poisoning prevention programs, increase the number of school-based health clinics and increase the staffing levels of nurses, social workers, and other school clinicians

In the area of education, a just Chicago would:

- insist on equitable funding policies, including taxes on financial transactions and reduced dependence on property taxes
- provide full day, developmentally appropriate, pre-kindergarten to all who wanted it, but not use pre-K to enrich financial companies with public money
- guarantee full funding for every school

Acquiring the resources needed for this shift is a test of political will. The political and business communities have already refused to reform the TIF program, tax equitably, or defend pensions. They have continually advocated for policies that further inequality in Chicago. Any city is only as rich as how well it treats its most vulnerable residents. Chicago's students collectively deserve a much better deal than they have gotten to date. As the Mayor continually refuses to prioritize the needs of the collective over the demands of the few, it is incumbent on city residents to fight for the necessary changes. This report shows some of the opportunities to make that vision a reality.

Preface

In 2012, the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) published *The Schools Chicago's Students Deserve* (Caref & Jankov, 2012), a call for Chicago Public Schools (CPS) to implement research-based changes to school policies and begin to level the playing field for CPS students. The report was CTU's response to the growing attacks on public education: more testing, more punitive accountability, smaller budgets, and diminished learning opportunities. *The Schools Chicago's Students Deserve* exposed major problems in CPS: large class sizes, bare-bones test-driven curricula, lack of staff stability and diversity, limited social service supports, and inadequate funding.

Institutional racism, poverty, systematic underfunding of education, and their effects lie at the heart of problems in education. Yet, there is a complete lack of political will to even discuss, much less begin to solve, these fundamental issues. Instead, city leaders continue to privilege a small select group, while ignoring community voice and needs. The results are aggressive downsizing of city assets and services, major giveaways to connected bankers and corporate leaders, and implementation of destructive school policies that will take years to reverse.

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solutions require a narrowing of the opportunity gap brought on by poverty, racism, and segregation.

Introduction

A 2012 Chicago Reader article profiled two high school seniors with dramatically different life stories: Haley, from Winnetka, and Jasmeen, a Chicago south sider (Bogira, 2012). The story is fascinating for its deep look into how poverty and race shape the lives of young people who live in the same metro area. Haley attended New Trier High School, with its 95% White, 4% low-income, and 28 ACT-score-average student body. Jasmeen performed well in elementary school and was Valedictorian of Hirsch High School. Her 99.5% Black, 95% low-income classmates averaged 14 on the ACT. Haley's parents, well-paid professionals, were able to afford ballet, tap-dance, hip-hop, voice, and acting classes. They paid more than \$3000 for Haley to attend a Northwestern University program on urban poverty. Jasmeen's family was unable to afford such experiences, so she did not attend out-of-school classes and she witnessed the hardship of urban poverty, for "free", on a daily basis. Both applied to several colleges, including Northwestern University; Haley was accepted there; Jasmeen was not.

Education in the U.S. is subject to huge disparities in opportunity (the "opportunity gap"): some groups of students have incredible experiences while a much larger group is subject to extremely limited in-school and life experiences. These educational opportunities are directly linked to students' socioeconomic status, and what happens outside schools is more influential than what happens inside. Students' neighborhoods, family situations, health, level of poverty and

race all impact their school experiences and learning. As the contrasting tales of Jasmeen and Haley indicate, every child, both directly and indirectly, brings the outside world into the classroom. Students living in segregated neighborhoods with concentrated poverty, unemployment, and low wages have fewer opportunities to learn and are more likely to be affected by social policies like mass incarceration. These deprived, under-resourced communities also contain large numbers of closed or poorly resourced schools. Broad social inequalities tie directly to educational opportunity gaps.

Initiatives like the federal government's Race to the Top program, which claim to address poor school performance, have had dire consequences. Years of school "reform" efforts in Chicago have resulted in the loss of successful programs, intensified racial and economic segregation, profound disruptions to communities across the city (particularly on the South and West sides), the loss of thousands of experienced teachers, and millions of dollars in school privatization expenditures. None of the reforms have addressed the root problems of Chicago's educational challenges.

There are clear alternatives to Chicago's model. Countries like Finland focus on equitable education. Finland has the lowest degree of socioeconomic segregation among the 65 countries that participate in the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), an assessment that measures 15-year-old students' performance in mathematics, science, and reading literacy. Finland works to ensure that "all children, regardless of family background or personal conditions, have a good school in their community, [which addresses]...the health, nutrition, well-being, and happiness of all children in a systematic and equitable manner" (Sahlberg, 2012). The country's students

have high PISA scores, regardless of background. In contrast to Finland's high scores across socioeconomic levels, U.S. scores are clearly divided. Low poverty schools score higher than all but a few countries in the world but students in high poverty schools have low average PISA scores that mirror their counterparts in high-poverty countries (Riddile, 2014, February).

In Chicago, all schools have the same too-large class size limits and all are underfunded. They each have one person responsible for identifying and serving homeless students and one counselor. This "equal" treatment advantages higher-income students by not providing students from truly challenging backgrounds with needed supports. As Jasmeen's story demonstrates, Chicago's concentrated social challenges limit opportunities for all students, even those who are particularly talented and motivated. It is not enough to expect determination and individual perseverance to overcome decades of inattention to the needs of impoverished students. Instead of the popularized notion of the *achievement gap*, which focuses on outcomes (usually measured by test scores), this report examines the *opportunity gap*, which derives from inequitable inputs in education, and proposes evidence-based responses that promote equitable outcomes. Instead of emphasizing test scores, CPS needs to focus on equity, on providing students what they need to compensate for years of educational neglect and the impacts of poverty and racism.

For example, CTU advocates for smaller than average class sizes in schools with higher percentages of poor students. Schools with higher populations of homeless students need more and different supports for those students. All schools need more than a barebones budget that forces choices from a range of bad options; schools

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must be fully funded to meet their particular students' needs. Chicago should take concrete steps to address serious inequities in access to good-paying jobs, housing, and health care, as well as inequitable arrest and incarceration rates. Absent an approach

that cares for the whole child, Chicago and CPS will continue to see dramatically different outcomes for students who are fortunate to have the supports they need, both in and out of school, and those who continue to live with scarcity.

Our Students' Families Deserve Adequate Pay and Permanent Jobs

So let us now examine my thesis, namely, that the simplest way to deal with poverty's effects on achievement is to increase the income of poor people so that they are less poor. (Berliner, 2006)

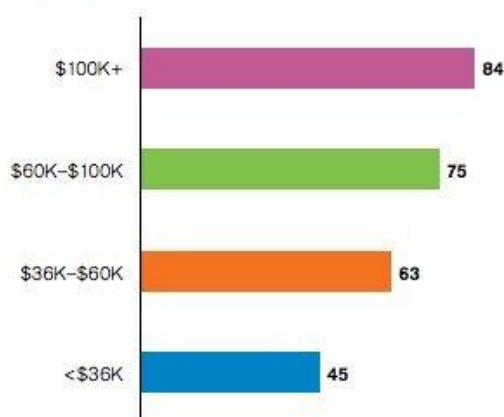
Despite clear evidence (e.g., Rothstein, 2004; Sirin, 2005) of the influence of socioeconomic factors on academic performance, current CPS policy fails to acknowledge the fundamental link between economic and other resource inputs and educational outcomes. In 2013, 42% of Chicago parents with children under 18 lacked secure employment and the poverty rate for their children was 34% (Kids Count Data Center, 2014). The vast majority of CPS students, 87%, come from low-income households, but CPS and the City of Chicago have yet to seriously address poverty as an educational issue. An increase in wages and permanent, full-time jobs with health insurance for parents is an effective way to improve

student achievement. Scores on the ACT college admissions test, also used by CPS to judge teachers and schools, are highly correlated to family income, as the figure below indicates (Klein, 2014, July). The figure shows, for example, that in Mathematics, 66% of students whose annual family income exceeds \$100,000 meet college readiness benchmarks. On the other hand, only 24% of students whose family income is less than \$36,000 do so. These results corroborate similar results previously noted from the PISA exam.

One reason is that families with more disposable income are able to give their children a broader range of experiences. Compared to low-income children, those from affluent families spend an average of 1300 hours more, in their first six years of life, experiencing and learning from places like museums, parks, theaters, and from travelling. They also spend about 400 hours more in literacy

Percent of 2013 ACT-Tested High School Graduates Meeting College Readiness Benchmarks by Family Income and Subject

English



Mathematics



activities (Tavernise, 2012, February).

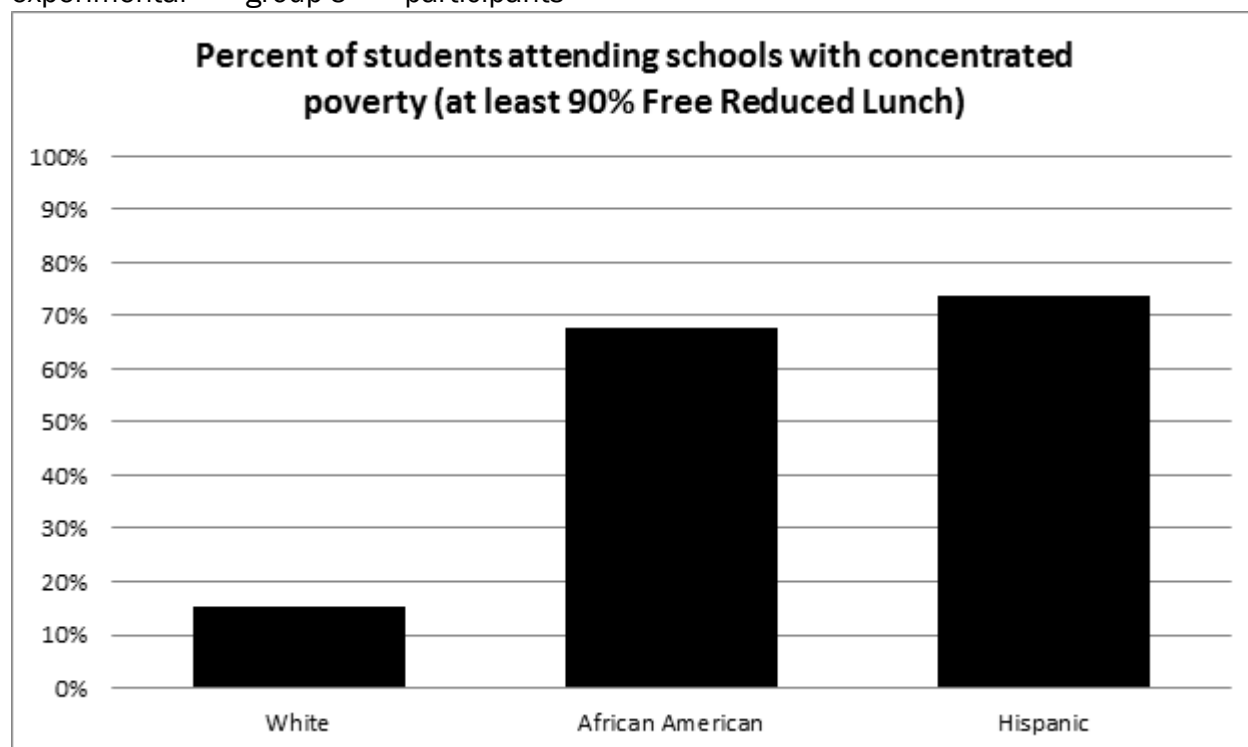
Parental income is not destiny. Within each category, there is tremendous variation. Some wealthy students are unsuccessful and some poor students do well. However, in general, higher parental income corresponds to higher ACT scores. There is an alternative to spending hundreds of millions of dollars implementing “education reforms” that enrich investors with lucrative contracts for online programs, textbooks, educational software and hardware, and push high test scores as a goal. These approaches have little positive impact on actual educational outcomes. Instead, Chicago should promote higher wages and full employment.

Results of Milwaukee’s 1994-1998 *New Hope Project* indicates that an emphasis on economic improvements would benefit children academically (Miller, Huston, Duncan, McLoyd & Weisner, 2008). Project administrators randomly assigned qualified parents to either an experimental or control group. The experimental group’s participants

received jobs, money to supplement below-poverty wages, health insurance, and child care subsidies. Compared to the control group, which received none of these supports, children of project participants had better academic performance, were more engaged in school, received better grades, and were less likely to have to repeat a grade.

Segregation and Poverty go Together

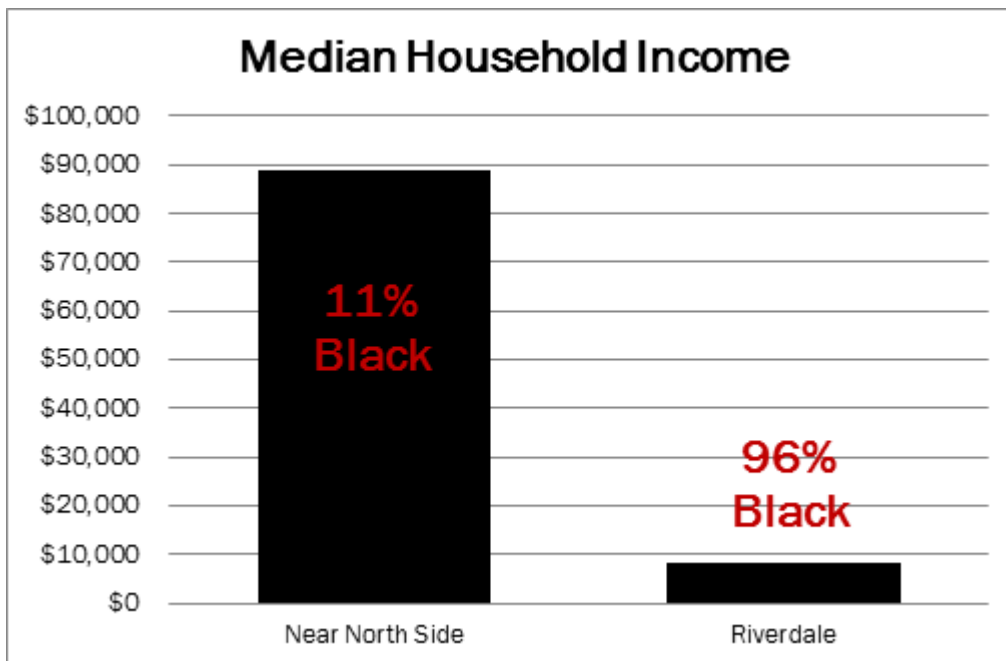
In Chicago, as indicated in the figure below, three-quarters of Latino students and nearly 70% of African American students attend schools where 90% or more students qualify for free lunch. Only 15% of White students go to such schools. White students typically attend schools where less than 25% of students are free-lunch eligible. Furthermore, 59% of Chicago’s schools are triply segregated: by race, SES, and (because of magnet and selective enrollment schools) academic engagement. Segregation makes it more likely that those who need the most will get the least.

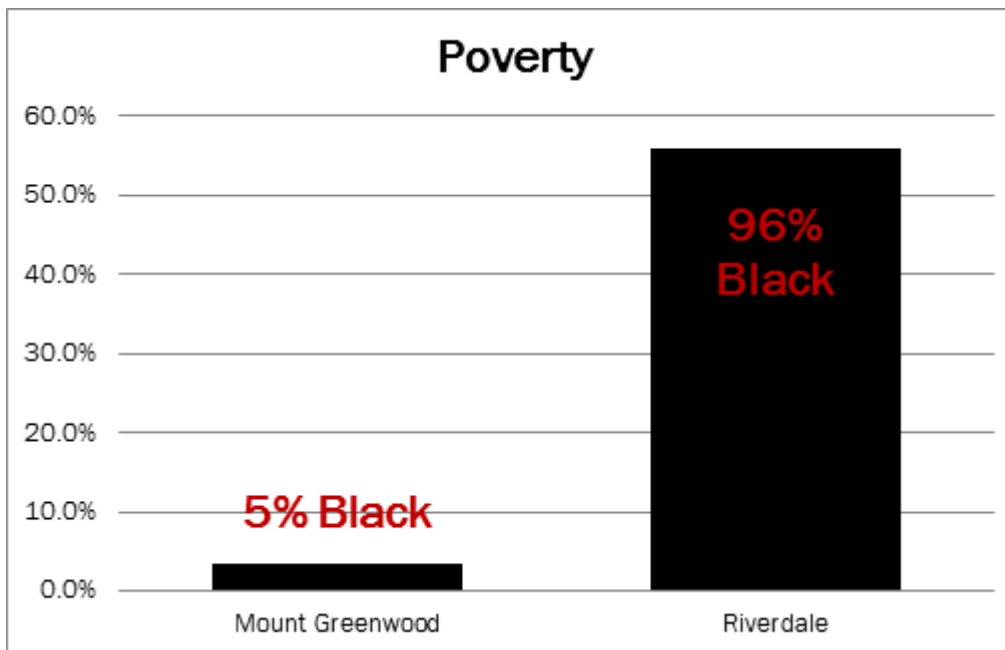
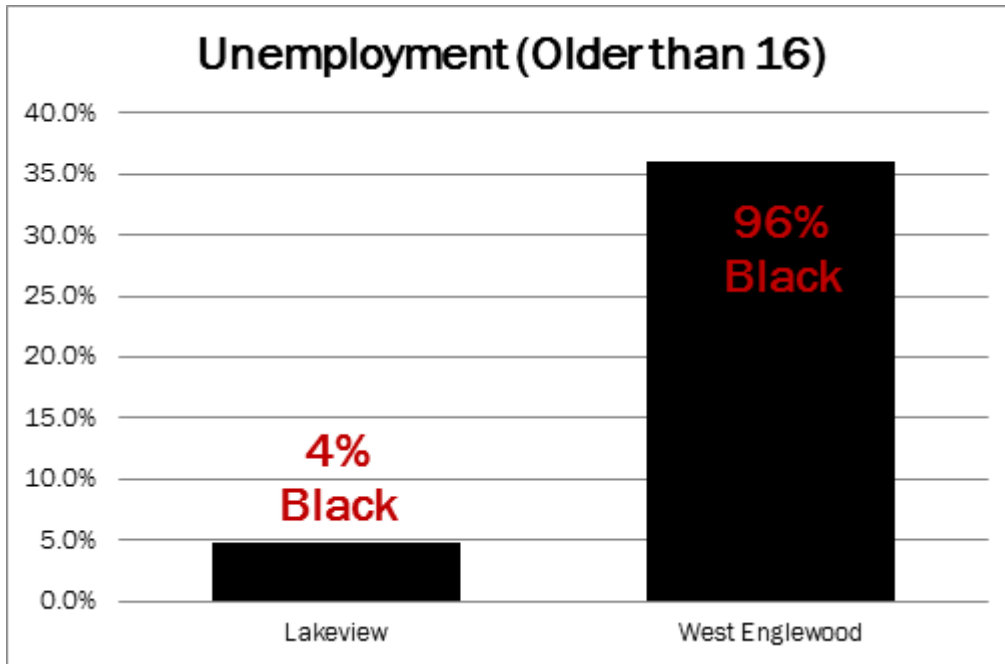


Historical and present employment discrimination results in this greater concentration of African American and Latino students in high poverty schools. Studies indicate that racially discriminatory hiring practices are not a thing of the past (Jenkins, 2007, April 22). In one study (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004), researchers sent nearly identical resumes in response to 1300 advertised job openings. The resumes differed only by the use of stereotypically Black or White names. The result was that resumes with White-sounding names were 50 percent more likely than those with Black-sounding names to receive employer callbacks. Other studies (e.g., Pager, Western & Bonikowski, 2009) showed that employers called back Whites with criminal records at a rate greater than or

equal to Blacks or Latinos with no record!

Chicago's workers of color have higher unemployment rates than Whites: 25% of African Americans, 12% of Latinos, and 7% of Whites lack jobs (Emmanuel, 2014, November). Chicago's median household income varies by race as well: \$65,575 for Whites, \$41,979 for Latinos, and \$30,918 for African Americans (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Examples of community differences are shown in the figures below. These economic disparities, combined with segregated housing, leads to concentrations of poor students of color in 65% of schools (CTU analysis of CPS school demographic data, 2013-14).





Both individual students' socio-economic status (SES) and school-wide SES impact student achievement. Concentrated poverty affects schools because schools in poor neighborhoods must educate students without the benefit of the internal and external resources, both tangible and intangible, that are prevalent in higher income areas (see, e.g., Condrón & Roscigno,

2003, on within-district inequalities in financial resources). Conversely, students who attend schools with low rates of poverty receive an academic advantage from their school composition (Rumberger & Palardy, 2005). Students from any background who attend schools where mean SES is high learn more, on average, than they would at schools where mean SES is low.

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(Rumberger & Palardy, 2005; Schwartz, 2010; Rubinowitz & Rosenbaum, 2000).

CPS and the Mayor’s office have pursued policies that reinforce these disparities, rather than focusing on socioeconomic integration. Selective enrollment schools, with lower concentrations of poverty, receive additional funding for teaching positions and to run their programs (Chicago Public Schools, 2014). Also, Tax Increment Financing (TIF) school construction funds have disproportionately funded selective enrollment school construction (Farmer, 2012). Payton and Jones College Prep high school expansions were funded with TIF resources, as will be the proposed new Near North Side selective enrollment high school (City of Chicago, 2014).

Students attending schools with high levels of concentrated poverty are disadvantaged in several ways. They have disproportionately fewer classmates whose parents went to college and assume their children will go also. Parent organizations, if they exist in these communities, are comprised of

parents with little political power to get the school system to meet their demands. Also, many economically struggling parents are dealing with “multiple or late-night jobs, cramped and unhealthy housing, lack of heat, and insufficient food” and are unable to prioritize helping children with homework or school projects, or taking their children to city resources outside their communities (Kaufmann, 2013, February).

The striking differences in educational opportunity are clear from a study of three similarly sized Chicago high schools: Northside College Prep, Lake View High School, and Dunbar Career Academy. These high schools have similar numbers of students, but their student populations differ racially, economically, and in academic focus and opportunities available to them. As the chart below shows, much of the disparity in course offerings corresponds to class, race, and academic achievement divisions (CTU analysis similar to analysis of Collaborative for Equity and Justice in Education, 2012).

Course Offerings Comparison of Three Schools

	Northside	Lake View	Dunbar
CPS 2013 Level Designation	1 (highest)	2	3 (lowest)
% Black Students	8.8	12.7	97.2
% Hispanic Students	27.2	67.6	1.3
% Low Income Students	40.3	88.3	97.2
Graduation Rate	96.9	85.8	71.4
Mobility Rate	0.4	9.0	22.4

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	Northside	Lake View	Dunbar
School-wide Programs	4	1	6
Sports and Fitness Teams	29	25	19
AP classes	26	17	7
Computer classes	6	1	1
Art classes (all have Art 1)	5	9	1
Music and Theater classes, in addition to General Music	9	7	2
Social Studies classes in addition to World Studies and United States History	13	10	5
World Language classes	10	8	2
After-School Scholastic Teams and Clubs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Academic Olympics • Chess Team • Debate Team • Language Clubs • Math Team • Newspaper • Speech Team • Technology Club • Writers Workshop • Yearbook Club 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chess Team • Math Team • Book Club • Newspaper • Poetry Club • Science Club 	(none listed)

As further detailed in Appendix C, other than one course category, Dunbar Career Academy, with the highest percentage of poor students, highest mobility rates, and lowest CPS designation level, has the fewest course offerings. Northside, a selective enrollment school with less than 9%

times as many Computer, Art, Music, and Language classes as Dunbar, in addition to more Scholastic Teams and Clubs, Sports and Fitness Teams, Social Studies, and AP classes. Lakeview is between these two extremes. These differences are not simply about quantity; the course variety and depth is

far richer at Northside compared to Lakeview, and Dunbar, a high-poverty segregated African-American school, has only the resources for basic options.

The differential opportunities among Northside, Lakeview, and Dunbar are part of a systemic whole-school tracking system that the Mayor and his appointed School Board continue to support. This system has long been used to differentiate opportunities by race and economic status. It is particularly detrimental to students in the lower academic tracks (Oakes, 2005). Systemic tracking of whole schools has a definite racial and economic bias in Chicago. Selective enrollment schools enroll 12% of all CPS high school students. However, 30% of all Asian and 34% of all White high school students attend these schools. On the other hand, only 10% of African American, and 8% of Hispanic high school students attend these selective enrollment schools. Just 3.5% of the system's elementary students attend selective enrollment schools (regional gifted centers and classical schools). Yet, they enroll 10% of Asian elementary students in CPS, 11% of White students, 4% of African American students, and 1% of Hispanic students. While 85% of students in the system as a whole are free/reduced-lunch eligible, only 52% of students

attending selective enrollment schools are.

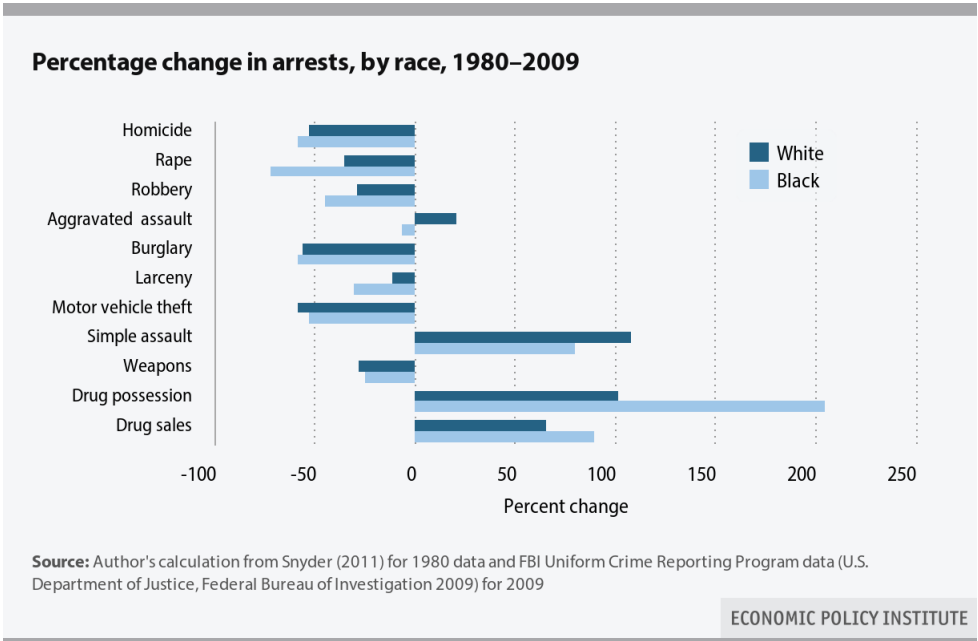
The current city administration continues long-standing public policies that bolster concentrated advantage, while doing little to tackle concentrated poverty. It is the prosperous and privileged who benefit from the dedication of public dollars to new selective enrollment schools downtown and near north, or from Tax Increment Financing (TIF) funds spent on sports complexes and economic development in non-blighted areas. It is the low-wage workers and poor who suffer when job creation is limited to corporate headquarters and upper-income tech jobs downtown, and when insufficient and regressive taxes are relied on to fund essential public services.

A just Chicago would eliminate employment discrimination and guarantee jobs that pay a living wage and provide health insurance for families of Chicago's students. It would offer racially and economically integrated schools with vibrant curricula for all students. Instead of the current CPS policies of closing schools, attacking teachers, and giving more tests, students need policies that acknowledge the existence of and work to eradicate poverty and segregation.

Our Students Deserve Freedom from Judicial Inequities

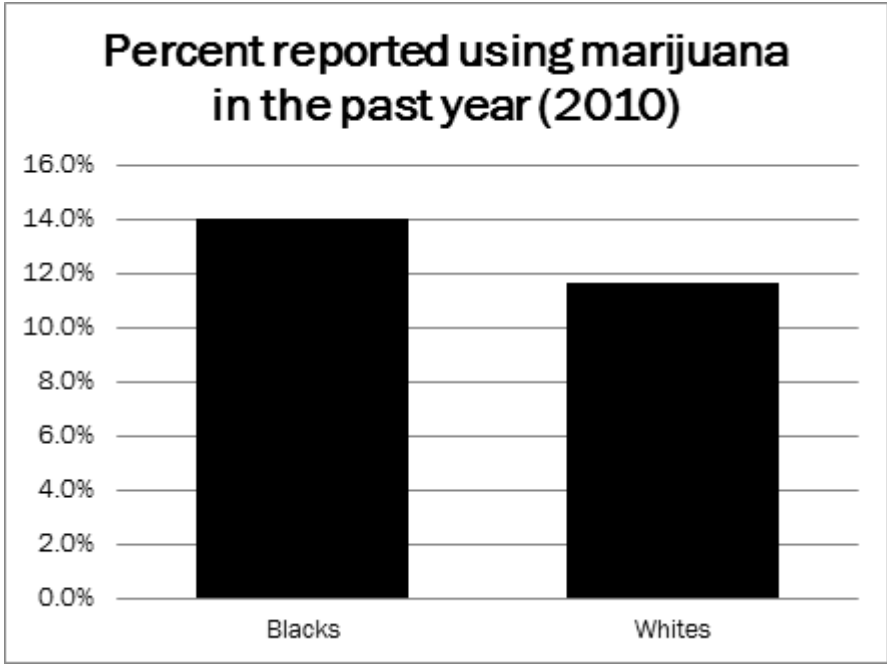
A significant factor in constraints on Chicago's students and their families' economic opportunities is the phenomenon of mass incarceration. Some students have no interaction with the criminal justice system, while others experience the effects of incarceration at very young ages and for extended periods of time. As Michelle Alexander explains in her 2012 book *The New Jim Crow*, mass incarceration is the large-

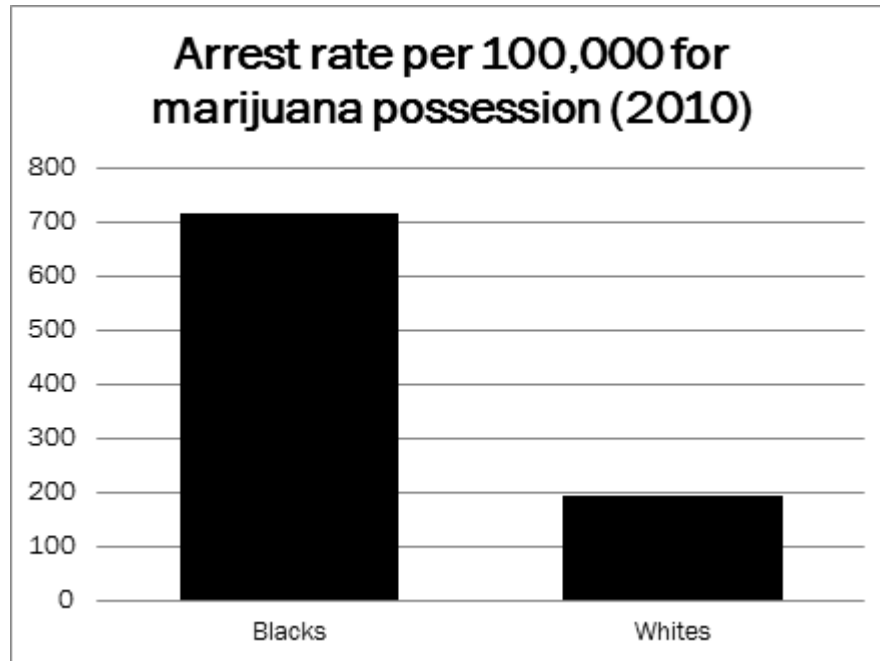
scale imprisonment of African American men based on the War on Drugs, first announced in 1971. Related policy changes of the criminal justice system have played an integral part in maintaining social and economic stratification along racial lines. As the figure below shows, there has been a significant change in arrest patterns since 1980, with Black arrests for drugs skyrocketing.



Although the majority of illegal drug users nationwide are White, two-thirds of people imprisoned for drug offenses are Black or Latino (Sentencing Project, n.d.). Even more striking, two-thirds of prisoners released in Illinois each year return to seven zip codes on the predominately Black West and South sides of Chicago. (Vogel, 2012). This is not surprising, as Illinois ranked number

one in the country for Black to White disparity of drug offense imprisonment (Kane-Willis, 2009). The figures below show that while drug use of Blacks and Whites (figures that include Latinos not available) is similar, arrest rates of African Americans are considerably higher (American Civil Liberties Union, 2013).





Nationally, parents of 1 in every 50 children are in prison, including 25,000 Illinois parents, most of them for non-violent offenses (Sentencing Project, 2013). The educational impact of mass incarceration on students whose parents are imprisoned is undeniably devastating. Families' incomes can drop dramatically, as a key source of financial support has disappeared, which, among other harms, can force the family to move or live in temporary living situations. Some students are left without parents and have to go into foster care. These students' mental health and medical needs often increase as a result of the stresses and added responsibilities due to parental imprisonment. Consequently, students are less likely to attend school, do homework, and focus on lessons.

Incarceration for drug offenses does not serve as a deterrent to drug use (Schiraldi & Ziedenberg, 2003). As an alternative, drug treatment in the community is twice as effective at curtailing drug use, keeps students from having a parent in prison, and, in Illinois, costs 63% less (Kane-Willis, 2009). In 2010, Illinois spent a total of \$1.7 billion

on prisons, including nearly \$65 million to pay interest on money borrowed to build more prisons (Vera Institute of Justice, 2013). It is beyond the scope of this report to determine how much of that money was well-spent. However, research is clear that money spent on jobs and education, together with changes to sentencing of non-violent offenders, can greatly reduce the billions spent on prisons (Mitchell & Leachman, 2014). The money thus saved could be used to fund needed education or health services.

Current imprisonment policies contribute to a vicious racially discriminatory cycle, further impacting educational outcomes for children of the incarcerated. African Americans face disproportionate arrest rates over petty offenses and their employment prospects are lessened as a result. The children who grow up in households fragmented by incarceration are then less likely to do well or stay in school. This, in turn, makes it more likely they too will suffer unemployment and/or time in prison. One step in the right direction would be a decision like the one made by California's voters in

November, 2014, to reduce the classification of most "non-serious and nonviolent property and drug crimes" from a felony to a misdemeanor (Ballotpedia, 2014) and use some of the savings to fund schools instead of jails.

African American Students Face Disproportionate Suspension Rates

Mass incarceration policies not only rob some students of their parents, but also negatively impact their experiences in the education system. The same punitive mindset that supports arrests and jail for minor drug offenses also leads to inappropriate suspensions in schools. As with mass incarceration, there is racial disparity in suspensions also. In most states, African-American students are more likely than White students to be suspended and expelled for similar infractions, and African-American youth are more likely than White youth to be incarcerated for the same offenses (Skiba et al., 2003). In Illinois, African-American students are more than twice as likely to be suspended or expelled as White students, and African-American juveniles are more than five times as likely to be incarcerated as White juveniles. States with more racial inequality in suspensions have more racial inequality in juvenile incarceration (Skiba et al., 2003).

In Chicago, like the U.S. as a whole, students of color are suspended at substantially higher rates than White students, and this discipline gap has increased over time (Losen, 2011). In the 2013-14 school year, when Black students were 37% of the district school population, they were 79% of those expelled and 75% of those suspended. The charter school expansion push only exacerbates these numbers. Chicago's most aggressively expanding charter networks, as well as the privately operated AUSL turnaround schools, are known to strictly employ and apply harsh

discipline policies that lead to self-exclusion or direct push-out of low-performing students (Karp, 2012, February). The expulsion rate in charters was 11 times that of traditional Chicago schools in 2011 (Zubrzycki, 2013, June).

An analysis of data from thirty-seven states on suspensions, expulsions, juvenile incarcerations, and achievement from the 2000-2001 school year (Skiba et al., 2003) points to educational harms related to these policies. Skiba et al. found that out-of-school suspensions and zero tolerance policies do not result in a better learning environment, even for the students who remain in school after a misbehaving student has been removed. Also, higher statewide suspension rates are correlated with lower average achievement scores on the National Assessment of Educational Progress. Further, suspensions do not effectively deter student misbehavior, the goal they are supposed to accomplish. Instead, they push students along the school-to-prison pipeline. As with incarceration policies, suspension policies do not solve the problem they purport to solve, and instead cause other problems, as suspended students miss days of school and fall behind in their classes. Restorative justice and other counseling programs provide an alternative to suspensions, but are implemented in only a few schools.

Violence also constrains educational opportunity

Violence, which is increasingly concentrated in poor neighborhoods of color, also constrains educational opportunity. A recent analysis has found that community violence affects students' test scores through increased stress and class disruptions (Burdick-Will, 2013). In 2012 alone, 319 Chicago Public School students were shot and twenty-four of them were fatally injured. The sheer number of CPS students for

whom violence and risk of life are facts, negatively impacts classmates of student victims of violence. Recent cuts to mentoring programs exacerbate the problems associated with student violence (Ahmed-Ullah, 2012, June).

Family financial pressure and exposure to violence cause children stress and trauma. Both episodic and chronic stress impacts health, well-being, cognitive functioning, mental health and behavior (Grant, et al., 2003; Grant, et al., 2006; Eamon, 2002; Kliewer, et al., 2006). The most effective means of protecting against such issues, even in difficult situations, is to provide a range of social supports and structures that buffer the impacts of stress and trauma (Grant, et al., 2000). The violence in Chicago makes clear the need for school-based mental health services. The reality, however is that within the educational system and in the wider community, children of color and those from low-income backgrounds face further cuts in these supports, compounding rather than challenging the disparities in opportunity.

In addition to social supports and as opposed to suspensions and arrests, evidence points to jobs as a solution to youth violence. A study of Chicago's summer jobs program found that crime goes down when students have jobs. The study randomly assigned 1,634 student-job applicants from neighborhoods identified as having high rates of violence to one of three groups.

Students in one group worked summer jobs for 25 hours a week; in another, students worked 15 hours and studied cognitive behavioral therapy principles for 10 hours; in the control group, students did neither. Researchers compared the violent crime arrests of participants over a 16-month period following the summer. They found that students in either of the two work programs had 43% fewer arrests than students in the control group (Ingmire, 2014, December). Other studies have also shown that higher employment rates accompany lower crime rates. The summer jobs program is one intervention that supports a broader point. Making sure that all youth, regardless of race, have opportunities for economic advancement has many benefits, including crime reduction.

A just Chicago would end discrimination in arrests and sentencing and provide alternatives to imprisonment for non-violent offenders. It would treat drug offenders instead of jailing them. Instead of current CPS suspension policies, which only cause more students to fail, students need additional counselors, social support services, and programs that implement restorative justice practices in the schools. Students need mentoring programs, summer jobs, and school based mental health clinics to help address the impact of neighborhood violence.

Our Students Deserve Stable, Affordable, and Appropriate Housing

Successful school experiences start at home. The educational accountability system expects all children to achieve at the same rate, even though some children come to school after a restful night in a warm bed while others come

to school from the backseat of a cold car or from the bed of a shelter. All of Chicago's students deserve to have a safe, warm, and secure place to call home. These homes should be affordable and free of lead and pests.

These homes should also be secure for the long-term. As is detailed in this section, Chicago's housing policy forces students and their families to navigate difficult terrain, from the destruction of public housing, to indifferent absentee landlords, unaffordable rents, foreclosures, and the Mayor's refusal to release Section 8 vouchers. Chicago's students deserve a much more equitable housing policy.

Segregation

School segregation is highly correlated with residential segregation, and the city's extreme housing and school segregation have detrimental effects on students. Due to the end of the 1980 federal consent decree which required that CPS move towards student and staff integration, the district has abandoned desegregation as a policy. School closings, turnarounds and charter school proliferation are saturated in the same communities that have been hardest hit by the housing market crash, the loss of public housing, and a lack of retail development. Consequently, de facto school and neighborhood segregation and all its accompanying injustices have become accepted as the norm. A startling 69% of Chicago's Black students attend intensely segregated schools, in which greater than 90% of students are African American, making CPS segregation barely less than it was in 1984.

To be clear, going to a school where all the students are of the same racial background is not a problem in and of itself (see Du Bois, 1935). In Chicago, however, highly segregated African American schools lack the financial and staffing resources to effectively serve segregated high-poverty neighborhoods. Overcrowded Chicago Latino neighborhoods also suffer from overcrowded schools and classrooms, as well as insufficient numbers of bilingual teachers. CPS policies also persistently

disrupt and undermine these schools. For example, students at segregated Black schools are five times as likely to be impacted by school closings or turnarounds as students at schools with a 75% or lower African-American population. Schools serving wealthier and whiter students are never expected to fire the entire school staff; yet, this disruptive tactic has been used repeatedly on the predominately Black, south and west sides of Chicago. Segregated high-poverty schools are also more likely to be placed into CPS' lowest performance tier, which degrades local decision-making by reducing control of democratically-elected Local School Councils over the school budget and principal selection.

Because of policy-makers' continued refusal to address the city's high degree of residential segregation, Chicago remains one of the most segregated cities in the U.S. While less segregated than in past decades, Chicago is the most segregated city in the U.S. with a population greater than 500,000 (Glaeser & Vigdor, 2012). Such measures have particularly strong implications for communities and schools historically impacted by racism, segregation, and marginalization, who typically suffer from concentrated income and resource disparities as well (see Massey & Denton, 1993).

Housing Instability and School Instability

The glaring gaps in Chicago's social safety net for housing have a profound impact on public schools. Residential mobility and school instability often go hand-in-hand. In 2006, the residential mobility rate was 20% for Black students, twice as high as that of White students (De La Torre, 2009). These moves have dramatic impacts on students' education:

Residential moves often lead to interruptions in instruction, excessive absenteeism, chaotic

environments not conducive to studying, stress, disruptions of peer networks (for older children), and interference with the development of close, personal relationships (for younger children). Educational problems associated with hyper-mobility - frequent moves - may also be worsened by other associated risk factors that lead families to move often, such as poverty, an unstable home life, and domestic violence (Gasper, DeLuca, & Estacion, 2012).

Research on student mobility in Chicago specifically points to the impact on learning, even for students who did not move. As reported by Kerbow (1996):

In schools with a high rate of student mobility, teachers were unable to gauge the effectiveness of their instruction, lessons become review-oriented, and the curricular pace slowed, so that by fifth grade, the curricula at schools with hyper-mobile student populations were a year behind more stable schools.

The Mayor's school closure policies exacerbated rather than reduced student mobility. School closures, affecting predominantly lower-income neighborhoods, result in involuntary student mobility. The Bronzeville community, for example, was harshly affected by numerous school actions; from 2000 to 2012, 15 schools were shut down. Another 4 were closed in 2013. Over this time frame, many schools that received students from closing schools were subsequently closed, so that a student could be pushed from one closed school to another four different times over a span

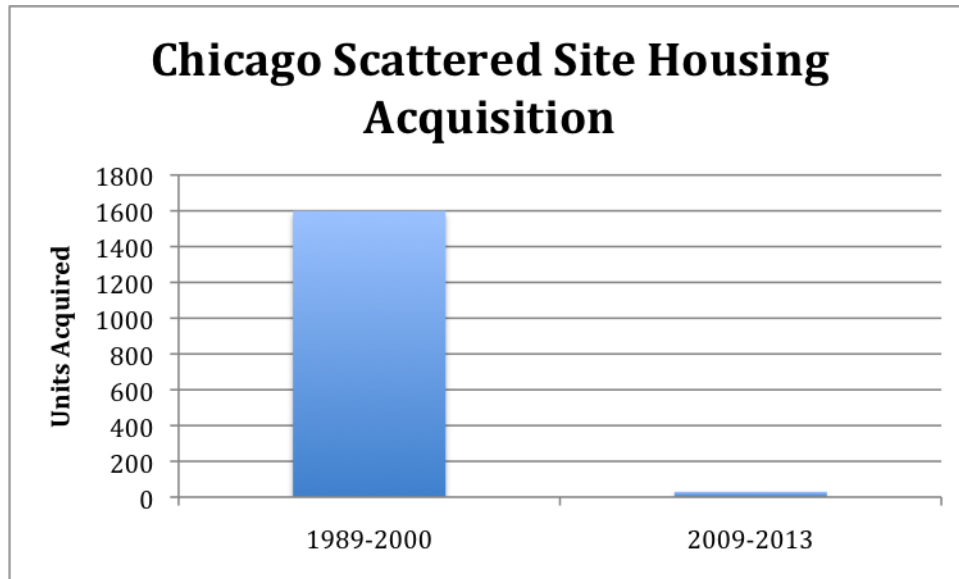
of seven school years (Ahmed-Ullah, 2012). Those students forced by closings to change schools were twice as likely as unaffected students to change schools yet again (Gwynne, 2009). The damages that school mobility causes to students were compounded at every new school.

The affordable housing gap

A significant shortage of affordable housing is a major driver of Chicago's students' housing instability. The city of Chicago and the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) have, since the 2000s, materially divested from public housing, tearing public housing complexes down, and promoting scattered site housing, mixed-income developments, and vouchers to fill Chicago's large need for adequate and affordable housing. Not only has this approach fallen short of what's needed for housing equity, the city and the CHA have not even fulfilled their limited objectives.

A 2014 analysis by the Center for Tax and Budget Accountability (CTBA) showed that the affordable housing gap has been made worse over the last several years by CHA policy. Over the last five years, the CHA issued 13,500 fewer vouchers each year than they were funded for, instead holding onto hundreds of millions in cash reserves (Center for Tax and Budget Accountability, 2014).

CHA's scattered-site housing acquisition program has also failed to meet housing needs. Scattered-site housing is meant to offer affordable units outside of the low-income segregated neighborhoods where public housing had traditionally been built. (Maidenberg, 2013). As the graph shows, acquisition has fallen far short of the need.



Chicago's low-income families face additional housing challenges beyond the CHA. Section 8 vouchers are a crucial support for recipient households, yet the majority of Section 8 voucher holders find accommodations in low-income neighborhoods on the South and West sides of Chicago, contributing to the city's economic and racial segregation.

Serving Chicago's Homeless Children

Many of the Chicagoans unable to find stable, affordable housing are families with children. Students in CPS who have been identified as being without stable homes, living in families doubled-up with relatives, in shelters, or otherwise without residence are among the most underserved. Also referred to as homeless, students in temporary living situations (STLS) do not know for sure where they will be sleeping each night or how long a temporary situation will last. Their family's economic status is dire. Doing homework may be impossible, and is certainly of lower importance than meeting physical and emotional needs. Having school supplies or getting to school may be complicated or often not possible. Unsurprisingly, STLS attendance rates are considerably lower than students currently in

permanent living situations. In the 2012-13 school year, for example, the STLS attendance rate was 85.2% whereas the attendance rate for all students was 92.5%. CPS is supposed to provide transportation assistance to STLS students, so they can remain in their home school, but this happens inconsistently, because schools are inadequately resourced, and not all make transportation assistance a priority.

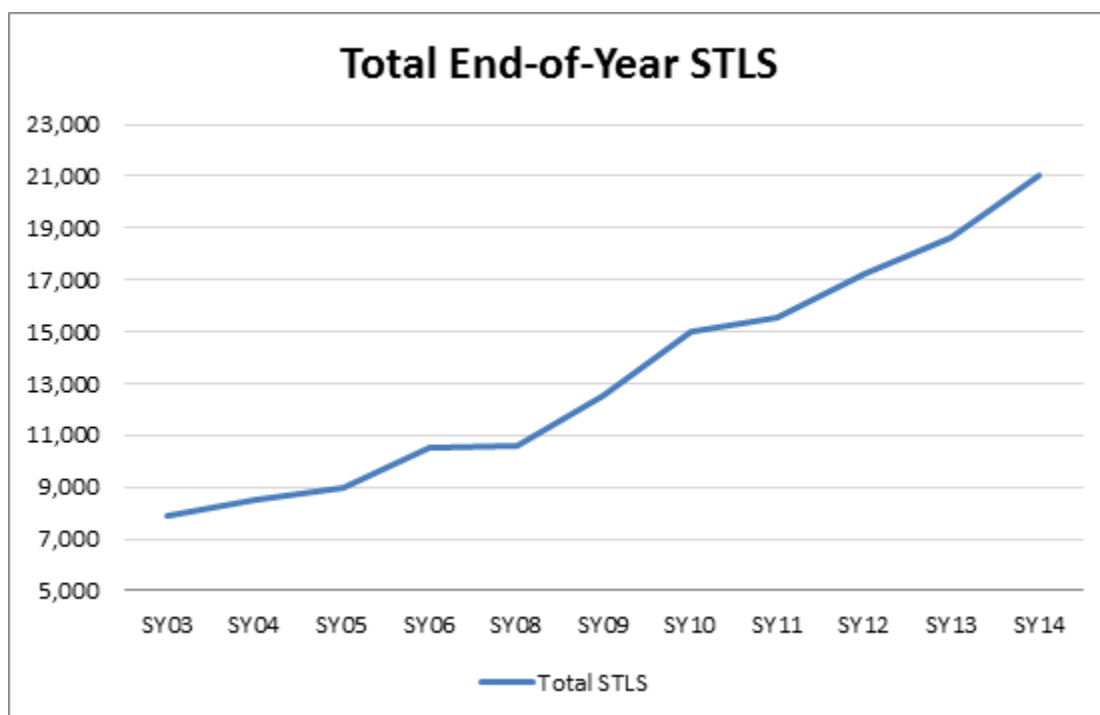
During the 2013-14 school year, 22,144 students in CPS were classified as homeless (Chicago Coalition for the Homeless, 2014). They were 84.4% African-American, 12.2% Latino, 1.6% White, and 1.6% other ethnicities. For the 4369 homeless students who were also identified with a disability, appropriate supports were more difficult to obtain.

Most STLS live doubled-up, in others' homes, often in overcrowded, tenuous conditions. One young homeless student, Jarvis Nelson, was featured in an article about the increase in STLS (Emmanuel, 2012 January). Jarvis had attended three different schools in four months. His mother has been in and out of low-wage jobs. Jarvis, his toddler sister, and mother have lived with

various relatives in cramped spaces, but those were, of necessity, temporary. At the time the article was written, they were living in a shelter, which was also temporary.

Unfortunately, Jarvis's story demonstrates two disturbing trends in the district. The figure below indicates the first trend: the growth in number of CPS homeless students. The homeless student population has exploded over the last 11 years, almost tripling between 2003 and 2014. A second disturbing trend only serves to make

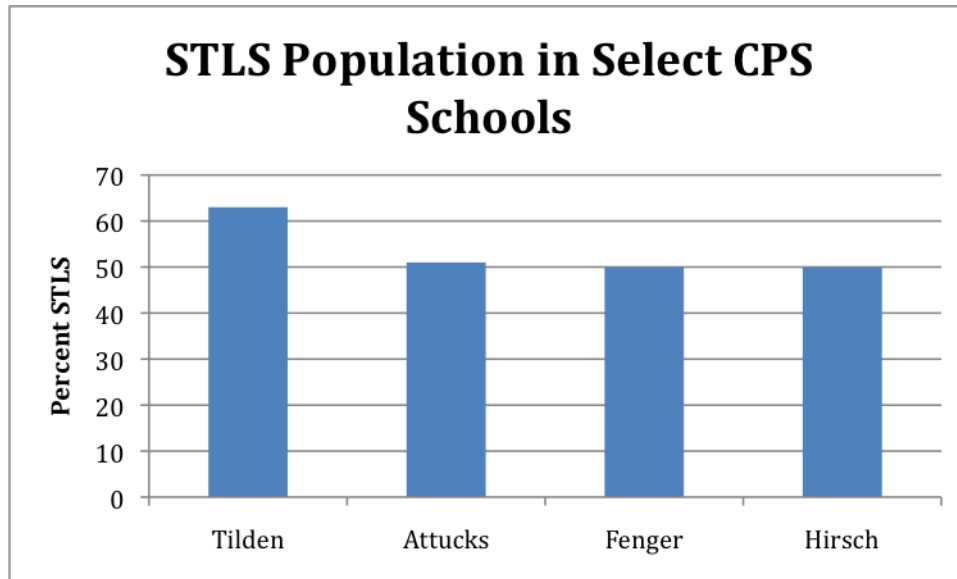
students' and families' lives even more challenging: services for these students are declining. STLS resource allocations have remained flat even though STLS populations have increased. Students like Jarvis are entitled to fee waivers, tutoring, free uniforms and school supplies, in addition to transportation assistance. However, some students receive only one uniform, which they are required to wear every day, even though washing the uniform daily may not be possible.



Additionally, each CPS school is only required by law to have one staff member who serves as the STLS coordinator, regardless of the number of homeless students enrolled in the school. This person has a full-time position, such as social worker or guidance counselor, and has STLS services added to her or his work. Consequently, STLS coordinators have little time to work with students and families to address and attempt to

mitigate the significant challenges they face.

A related issue is that many schools have high concentrations of homeless students, as shown in the figure below. There are 48 CPS schools with an STLS population of 20% or more of the student body, and half or more of the student population is homeless in some schools. There are no extra supports, such as social workers, nurses, counselors, or reading tutors, provided to these schools.



A just Chicago would address the affordable housing and STLS crises. It would greatly increase the numbers of affordable and homeless housing units built across the city, including in wealthier and highly resourced neighborhoods. Rental housing must be

affordable, regularly inspected for building code violations, and have decreased numbers of evictions. Students need housing policy reforms aimed at ending homelessness and school mobility.

Our Students Deserve Better Access to Whole Health Care

Chicago's healthcare disparities by neighborhood or 'side of town' provide just one tangible example of how concentrated poverty and extreme segregation affect the quality of life for people living in disadvantaged neighborhoods. Health care is less available (Kirby & Kaneda, 2005; Williams & Collins, 2001) and health outcomes are worse in low income neighborhoods of color. From 1990 to 2010 average life expectancy increased in Chicago from 70.5 to 77.8, but across African American communities such as Englewood, Washington Park, and West Garfield Park, life expectancy had still not caught up to the city average from two decades ago. In 2010, there was a roughly 15-year difference between the communities at the highest and lowest

of average life expectancy (Epidemiology and Public Health Informatics, 2014)

These disparate outcomes are plainly rooted in inequitable resources. For example, there is no level-one trauma center on the South Side of Chicago. Since the center at the University of Chicago Medical Center was closed in 1988, South Side residents are the only Chicagoans who live more than 10 miles from a trauma center. Such a distance has real consequences. A 2013 Northwestern University study found that Chicago's gunshot victims living more than five miles from a trauma center were much more likely to die from their injuries (Moore, 2013). A 2011 WBEZ report showed that Southeast side residents with life-threatening conditions were especially more likely to face long

transport times to a trauma center (Moore, 2011). In addition to there being fewer health resources in communities of color, such as urgent care clinics, women's health centers, free clinics, or mental health clinics, schools lack health resources as well. This hits students without neighborhood health care options particularly hard, as they do not have other available health resources.

Asthma is the most common cause of chronic school absenteeism. Chicago has one of the highest asthma mortality rates in the United States: Chicago's asthma hospitalization rates are twice as high as suburban Chicago or overall U.S. rates (Gupta, Zhang, Sharp, Shannon & Weiss, .2008). Even when asthmatic children attend school, they may have been up the previous night because of breathing difficulties, and are therefore less able to focus. Children whose families are urban and poor are more likely to contract asthma, and less likely to get preventative treatment (Rothstein, 2011). An increase in affordable neighborhood health facilities, including school-based clinics, would make preventative measures more available to asthmatic children.

The causes of poor health are also in residential buildings themselves. Lead toxicity is more prevalent in Chicago than other big cities, and is especially a problem in old, poorly maintained residences on the South and West Sides. The three communities with the highest lead poisoning rates are the Pullman, Burnside and Englewood communities (Epidemiology and Public Health Informatics, 2013). Chicago's lead poisoning prevention program has suffered cuts over the last several years, losing several inspectors in 2012. The program is wholly grant-funded and the city has not allocated any of its local funding to fill the gaps (Cottrell, 2012). CPS has also failed to adequately maintain its old school buildings. CPS

was aware for five years of damage to the lead-paint covered ceilings and walls at Gale elementary, but only this past summer did they move to address it (Woodward, 2014).

Improved Health Care

Chicago needs more schools to be staffed with school nurses and school based health clinics (SBHCs), particularly in low-income areas. Currently, out of 522 district-run schools, only 32 have SBHCs. School nurses are the health experts in the schools and provide chronic disease management as well as direct care for Chicago's most medically fragile children. Yet, the school nurse to student ratio in Chicago is 1 to 1400, nine times the National Association of School Nurses recommended ratio.

Additionally, school nurses in CPS navigate a tight schedule. Sent from building to building, school nurses are responsible for a heavy workload in a short period of time. School nurses are responsible for general healthcare as well as specialized services according to students' 504 plans (for students with chronic health issues) at their multiple worksites. For this reason, it is imperative that appropriate school nurse to student ratios are addressed so that Chicago's students can receive the resources they need to ensure that health barriers are reduced. From school year 2012-2013 to 2014-2015, the student to nurse ratio increased from 1296 to 1394 and the number of Full Time Equivalent (FTE) nurses fell from 269 to 239. (FTE numbers are not exactly the same as the number of nurses; for example, two half-time nurses count as one FTE nurse). The percentage of district-run schools with a nurse scheduled for just half-time or less increased from 80% to 82% (CTU analysis of CTU data).

SBHCs are a great addition to the school setting, as they can provide care for students and families. SBHCs offer

health screenings and routine and preventive care at times when parents can be seen without taking time off from work to see a health care provider. To maximize care, each school should have a full-time licensed health practitioner to coordinate with the clinic.

Students' mental health needs are also under-addressed in CPS, and mayoral policies have made the situation worse. In 2012, the Mayor closed six mental health clinics across the city. Consequently, students and families increasingly rely on schools, where clinicians, social workers and mental health resources are in short supply, to provide these services (Karp, 2012a). From school year 2012-2013 to 2014-2015, the student to social worker ratio in CPS increased from 1191 to 1299 and the percentage of schools with less than a half-time social worker increased from 70% to 73% (CTU analysis of CPS

data). Over the last several years, calls from school staff to the state's mental health crisis hotline have increased dramatically, as have reports to CPS' own crisis intervention team (Karp, 2012b). The city must deliver and maintain mental health services in the schools and communities – so that they are there before a crisis takes hold.

A just Chicago would provide trauma centers, urgent care clinics, mental health clinics and other needed health care centers in all neighborhoods, particularly those currently lacking health services. It would rebuild the diminished lead poisoning prevention programs, increase the number of school-based health clinics and increase the staffing levels of nurses, social workers, and other school clinicians so that all students could have their health needs met.

Our Students Deserve Equitably-Funded, Quality Education

The Schools Chicago's Students Deserve (Caref & Jankov, 2012) elaborated on many necessities of a quality education. Students need lower class sizes, particularly in the early grades. Current CPS class size guidelines, which are some of the highest in the state, set limits at 28 students for most classes, 31 students in 4th through 8th grade, and higher in some non-core high school subjects. Routinely, many classes have more students because the limits are violated.

Students need a well-rounded, full curriculum. As part of the fight for a "better day", not just the mayoral-imposed "longer day", CTU won art, music and PE teachers for all schools. However, with Student Based Budgeting (SBB), many of those positions have disappeared. With the increased emphasis on standardized testing,

tested subjects of mathematics and literacy get the bulk of classroom instructional time, even though research has shown conclusively that art, music, and movement improve students' reading and math.

The Importance of Pre-kindergarten

The option of full-day pre-school for every Chicago family is one strategy that can ameliorate negative educational impacts of poverty. Research is clear that quality pre-kindergarten can have lasting positive effects on achievement, social skills, high school success, and future employment (Schweinhart, et al., 2005). Full-day Pre-K requires increased funding, but will lead to lower costs in the future as many remedial programs and special education services will become unnecessary. Taking into account the push for test-prep curricula

and now that “Kindergarten is the new first grade” (Bassok & Rorem, 2014), the pre-K setting and curriculum must be developmentally appropriate and the students taught by early childhood certified teachers.

Pre-K classrooms need to engage children in guided play and immersive activities. The Schweinhart, et al. (2005) long-term study of students’ life trajectory, 40 years after they attended pre-K as economically disadvantaged children, highlighted the importance of play-oriented activities and hands-on-learning. Approaches that emphasize collaborative small group activities, investigatory and exploratory experiences, socializing, physical and emotional development, and self-care, as well as inquiry experiences in language development, literacy, mathematics, science, social sciences, and the arts lead students to be successful during the primary grades and beyond. Effective pre-K programs use play-based education: pre-play and post-play activities help students plan, negotiate, and review and, in doing so, develop fundamental reasoning, decision-making, peer negotiation, coping, self-help, and problem-solving strategies.

As is typical of his administration’s approach to social issues, Mayor Emanuel plans to expand pre-K by creating profit opportunities for investors and banks. Further, his vision for pre-K falls far short of universal coverage, and subjects pre-K classes to the same accountability systems that have led to decreased emphasis on the arts and play-based learning in Kindergarten and increased reliance on standardized testing and developmentally inappropriate practices.

The Mayor’s program to expand pre-K builds on expansion of child-parent centers (CPC) through a social impact bond financing structure. CPCs have

been a successful approach and expansion is warranted. However, the planned financing involves sending public money to Goldman Sachs, Northern Trust, and the Pritzker Foundation via social impact bonds. This consortium of lenders will collectively provide \$17 million over four years to expand approximately 2600 new CPS pre-K slots (City of Chicago, 2014). Almost ten percent of that funding will go to project management overhead: the project coordinator, the project evaluator, social service providers, and legal and audit services. The remaining funds go to CPS to expand CPCs.

Social impact bonds involve virtually no risk for the lenders. They will be repaid, and stand to make a bonus as well, if students in the new slots meet certain benchmarks. CPCs have positively impacted the three benchmarks—kindergarten readiness, third grade reading ability, and avoidance of special education—for two decades (Reynolds, 2000). Because the benchmarks are based on such a long research track record, there is minimal risk to the lenders. As a result, the City and CPS will likely pay lenders the budgeted \$26 million and potentially up to \$34.5 million, a doubling of the initial investment, to politically connected banks at the same time district leaders claim they are broke. This is the opposite of commitment to fund educational programs aimed at reducing the impact of poverty. It is instead a commitment to divert more funds to the banks and corporations.

Equitable Funding

Historically underfunded and under-resourced school districts like CPS have students with particularly high needs, including large concentrations of students with disabilities, English learners, and students with untreated trauma. According to CPS, 87% of students in the district are low income

and thousands each year identify as homeless. This report has described how social disadvantages influence students' education. However, equitable funding can help schools compensate for these disadvantages, to a certain extent, through greater resources. In Illinois, due to inequitable funding, the opposite happens: districts with fewer needs receive more money. Winnetka, for example, has zero percent low-income students, but spends \$21,372 per pupil at the high school level and \$19,362 per pupil at the elementary level, compared to CPS' \$13,791 average per pupil spending across both levels. (See Appendix A for a detailed comparison of per pupil spending and demographic differences.)

Student-Based Budgeting = Inequitable Funding

Among CPS students' needs are a professionally-staffed library, a counselor with only counseling responsibilities, and a school nurse in every school. Currently, 52% of schools do not have professionally-staffed libraries, 75% of elementary school counselors are assigned to non-counseling, case management duties, and of 322 CPS nurses, only six are assigned to one school full time. Additionally, every school needs appropriate class sizes, starting with classes of 15 to 17 in early childhood (pre-kindergarten to 2nd grade). Students need school stability, which means an end to closings, layoffs, turnarounds, and revolving-door principals.

The latest injury to Chicago school children comes from deep budget cuts under the guise of "Student-Based" Budgeting (SBB). SBB changed the district's funding mechanism for schools, theoretically putting more power over staffing and resource decisions into the hands of the school's principal. In reality, instead of giving schools more power to tailor resources to their specific needs,

deep budget cuts functionally eliminated any reasonable choices. For example, principals had to choose between a librarian and a physical education teacher, when schools need both. This year's budget stripped \$72 million from traditional neighborhood schools (Ahmed-Ullah, 2014).

Cut backs are the opposite of what students need. Not only do cuts hit all schools with increased class sizes, reduced program offerings, and special needs support reductions, but the majority of cuts hit schools in low income neighborhoods of color. The students who would benefit most from equalized, increased funding are the ones most adversely impacted by budget cuts (Guryan, 2001; Carter & Welner, 2013). Such cuts hit hardest those who need the most, further exacerbating inequalities.

Illinois' School Funding Inequity and the Case for Equitable School Finances

In a measure of funding distribution within states, relative to student poverty, Illinois ranks in the bottom five. (Baker, Sciarra, Farrie, 2014). The state's funding inequity is related to the fact that Illinois ranks 50th out of 50 states in the percentage of education expenses it funds (Martire, 2013). Education funding is mostly dependent on property taxes, which leads to a compounding of inequality. Such inequality matters because Winnetka's two school districts have significantly larger resource bases per student than Chicago and the vast majority of Illinois' school districts. While a student at New Trier High School is supported by almost \$1.5 million in property value, a high school student in Chicago is supported by \$234, 796 in property value, and a high school student in Cairo, at the southern end of the state, is supported only \$33,000 in property value (Illinois State Board of Education, 2014). These disparities ensure that absent equitable changes to

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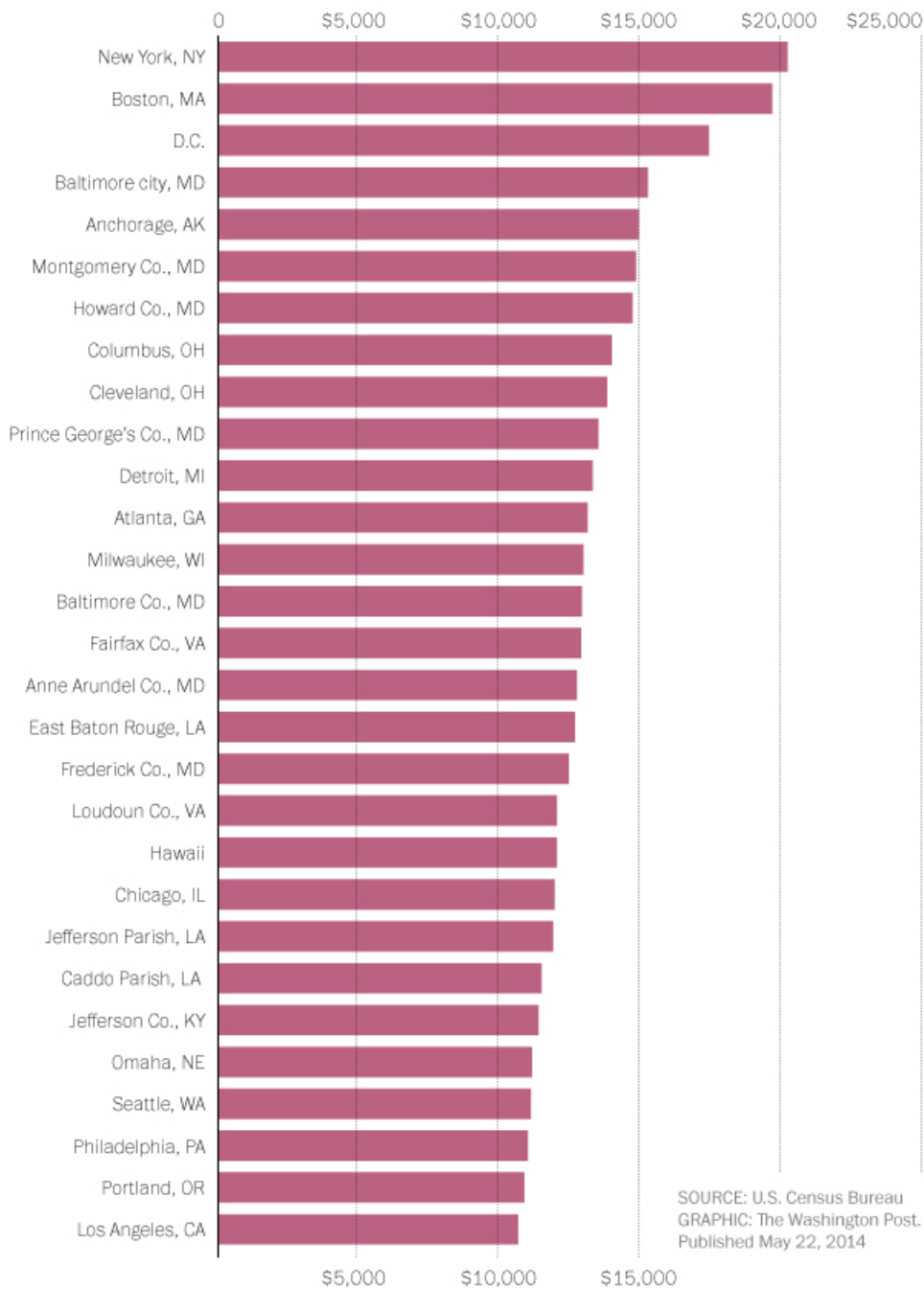
school funding at the state level, students in lower-income districts in Illinois will continue to have significantly fewer resources than their wealthier peers.

Because of these serious education revenue shortfalls and discrepancies, Chicago compares unfavorably in education funding to other large public

school districts in the U.S. An analysis by *The Washington Post* (Badger, 2014, May), based on 2014 U.S. Census Bureau data, shows that 20 school districts with greater than 40,000 students spend more per student than Chicago, while only 8 spend less. This increased funding has real, tangible benefits.

Per pupil spending by public school districts

School districts with more than 40,000 students



With the will to do so, Illinois could develop an equitable funding policy, with reduced dependence on property taxes. Due to the regressive tax structure in Illinois, high-income households do not pay their fair share in taxes. Illinois has the fifth most regressive local and state tax structure in the nation; middle-class households pay more than twice as much in taxes as the top 1% of households (Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy, 2015). Huge sums are traded by wealthy investors, banks and hedge funds at the Chicago Board Options Exchange (CBOE) and the Chicago Mercantile Exchange (CME), but none of these transactions are taxed. The CBOE alone earned over \$400

million in transaction and exchange fees from trades in 2013 (CBOE Holdings, 2014). Schools should receive money based on students' need instead of the community's property values, and the wealthy should pay their fair share.

A just Chicago would insist on equitable funding policies, including taxes on financial transactions and reduced dependence on property taxes. It would provide full day, developmentally appropriate, pre-kindergarten to all who wanted it, but not use pre-K to enrich financial companies with public money. Instead of cutting school budgets, CPS would guarantee full funding for every school.

Our Students Deserve Bold Political Action to Equalize Opportunity

Chicago's students do not have to face the challenges described in this report. Inequitable justice policies, healthcare, housing, education, and job availability is the expected outcome of a system designed to maintain two distinct Chicagos: one for those with access to income and true decision-making opportunities and one for those left to navigate whatever is left over. The divisions present in this system could be mitigated by a series of political decisions. Lessening the opportunity gap and the resulting inequities is a question of political will. As mentioned throughout the paper, other cities, states, and countries have made the choices to address these challenges. It is up to Chicago to do the same.

The economic changes needed to implement the policies are commonly portrayed as major, but proportionately, they are small. The Chicago metropolitan area has the economic activity of entire countries, equivalent in size to places like Switzerland and Iran. Chicago's 2013 Gross Metropolitan Product (GMP)

of \$590 billion makes the Chicago area the third largest economic engine in the country (U.S. Department of Commerce, 2014). The CPS budget constitutes about 1% of that economic activity in real terms. To reduce class sizes dramatically, to provide for coordinated social services, to install air conditioning, and to ensure that students have teachers' aides would take a shift of an additional 0.2% of the area's economy toward CPS. The same logic could be applied to housing and healthcare – small changes would have major impacts on Chicago's students' quality of life and life outcomes. In other words, the money to fund these changes exists, and exists close to home.

Acquiring the resources required for this shift is the test of political will. The political and business communities have already refused to reform the TIF program, tax equitably, or defend pensions. They have continually advocated for policies that further inequality in Chicago, a city that already has the same level of income inequality

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as the country of El Salvador (Florida, 2012, October). Any city is only as rich as how well it treats its most vulnerable residents. Clearly, Chicago's students collectively deserve a much better deal than they have gotten to date. As the Mayor continually refuses to prioritize the needs of the collective over the demands of the few, it is incumbent on city residents to fight for the necessary changes. This report shows some of the opportunities to make that vision a reality. Join CTU in the continued fight for a just Chicago, the city our students deserve.

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Appendix A

Per Pupil Expenditure, Winnetka vs. CPS

CPS per pupil operating expense was for the 2012-13 school year. On the other hand, New Trier Township's high school district spent \$21,372 per student and their elementary district, Winnetka School District 36, spent \$19,362 (Illinois State Board of Education, 2014). As the table below indicates, Winnetka Schools (elementary and high school) have almost no poor students and few students of color. Issues like mobility, truancy, homelessness, and graduation rates are directly linked to poverty and racism. Addressing these issues requires more money, not less!

Comparison of Selected Characteristics, CPS Schools vs. Winnetka Elementary and High Schools (Source: Illinois State Board of Education School Report Card)

	Chicago Public Schools	Winnetka School District (Elementary)	New Trier High School
Per Pupil Operating Expense	\$13,791	\$19,362	\$21,372
Low Income	84.9%	0.3%	3.8%
Chronically Truant	31.9%	0.0%	0.1%
Homeless Students	4%	0%	0%
Mobility Rate	19%	4%	5%
English Learners	17%	0.7%	0.5%
Students with Disabilities	13.3%	14.6%	15.2%
White Students	9.1%	91.6%	84%
Hispanic Students	45%	2.2%	3.9%
Black Students	40.5%	0.2%	0.6%

Appendix B

The Increasing Segregation of Black Teachers

Fewer integrated schools

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

More schools with virtually no Black teachers and no Black students

There are also far more schools in the lower left corner—representing schools that have very low percentages of both Black teachers and Black students. Schools with fewer than 10% Black students and Black teachers now make up 28% of CPS schools, up from 10% in 2001.

Appendix C

Course Offerings Comparison of Three Schools

	Northside	Lake View	Dunbar
CPS 2013 Level Designation	1	2	3
% Black Students	8.8	12.7	97.2
% Hispanic Students	27.2	67.6	1.3
% Low Income Students	40.3	88.3	97.2
Graduation Rate	96.9	85.8	71.4
Mobility Rate	0.4	9.0	22.4
School-wide Programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Colloquium • Computer Programming • Database Programming • 1:1 Computing 	JROTC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allied Health • Automotive Technology • Construction and Architecture • Cosmetology • Culinary and Hospitality • Medical and Health Careers

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	Northside	Lake View	Dunbar
After-School Scholastic Teams and Clubs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Academic Olympics • Chess Team • Debate Team • Language Clubs • Math Team • Newspaper • Speech Team • Technology Club • Writers Workshop • Yearbook Club 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chess Team • Math Team • Book Club • Newspaper • Poetry Club • Science Club 	(none listed)
Sports and Fitness Teams	29	25	19
AP classes	26	17	7
Computer classes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Java and Media Computing • Digital Computing Systems • Advanced Data Structures • Web Page Design • Database Design • Computational Thinking 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exploring Computer Science 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Computer Information Technology

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	Northside	Lake View	Dunbar
Art classes (all have Art 1)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AP Art History • Studio Sculpture, Photography • Art II, Studio Ceramics • Digital Imaging • Studio Drawing and Painting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AP Art Studio • AP Art: 3D Portfolio • AP Drawing • Studio Sculpture • Studio Drawing and Painting • Drawing and Painting • Photography • Digital Imaging • Photography Exploration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Art Yearbook Design
Music and Theater classes, in addition to General Music	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AP Music Theory • Male Chorus • Female Chorus • Mixed Chorus • Vocal Music • Beginning, Intermediate, Advanced Orchestra • Jazz Band • Beginning, Intermediate, Advanced Band • Drama 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AP Music Theory • Male Chorus • Female Chorus • Mixed Chorus • Beginning, Intermediate, Advanced Band • Jazz Band • Theater Arts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Beginning Band • Advanced Band

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	Northside	Lake View	Dunbar
Social Studies classes in addition to World Studies and United States History	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AP U. S. History • AP European History • AP Psychology • AP Government and Politics • AP Macroecon. • AP Microecon. • AP Human Geography • Film Study • Humanities • Psychology • Anthropology • History of Chicago • Sociology 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AP U.S. History • AP World History • AP Psychology • Psychology • Sociology • Economics • Political Science • Law in American Society • African American History • Latin American History 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AP U. S. History • Contemporary American History • Law in American Society • African American History • Humanities Social Studies
World Language classes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AP French • AP Spanish • AP Chinese • AP Japanese • Latin (4 yrs) • Mandarin (3 yrs) • Japanese (4 yrs) • French (4 yrs) • Spanish (4 yrs) • German (1 yr) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • AP Span. Lang. • AP Span. Lit. • AP Chinese • Mandarin (4 yrs) • Span. for Spanish Speakers (4 yrs) • French (4 yrs) • Spanish (4 yrs) • German (1 yr) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • French (2 yrs) • Spanish (2 yrs)

A CTU analysis of CPS Find a School data (Chicago Public Schools, 2014) shows that at non-majority Black high schools (less than 50% of students are Black), the average number of ACT classes per 300 students is 3.7. However at majority-Black high schools, the average number of ACT classes per 300 students is 2.7. For every 300 students at schools with populations greater than 50% Black, there is, on average, one fewer AP class.