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MEASURES OF SEGREGATION: RACE, INCOME, AND TEST SCORES IN ST. LOUIS CITY'S PUBLIC EDUCATION SYSTEM

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Measures of Segregation: Race, Income, and Test Scores in St. Louis City's Public Education System

Dorothy Rohde-Collins & Jay Hartman

Key Points

St. Louis is racially and economically segregated. The city's public school system reflects these patterns.

- The public school system can be subdivided into many categories based on grade spans, enrollment policies, transportation practices, and demographics. This fragmentation reinforces patterns of segregation and complicates our understanding of the system as a whole making it more difficult to analyze data, patterns, and trends.
- Nearly 60% of students in the city's public education system are directly certified to receive free school lunch, meaning they receive federal aid benefits such as SNAP or TANF. However, in more than 70% of schools the majority of enrolled students are directly certified which suggests a greater degree of economic segregation than previously identified using free and reduced price lunch counts.
- In schools and LEAs with high poverty, direct certification provides a more accurate count than free and reduced price lunch.
- On average, more than 15% of fifth grade student MAP scores at a given school are suppressed meaning they are not released publicly. This makes it difficult to determine with any accuracy how the city's students, schools, and LEAs are performing and represents an unintended consequence of the system's small schools.
- For 5th Grade Math MAP, the percentage of suppressed data at majority direct certified schools is larger than the combination of students scoring Advanced, Proficient, and Basic.

In the following report, we use publicly available data from the National Center of Education Statistics and the Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education to describe the variation in student demographics and academic outcomes across the public school system and the city's wards.

Introduction

The City of St. Louis is segregated. Communities were dismantled through decades of policies rooted in racism and strategic plans that prioritized economic development[1]. Neighborhoods north of the Delmar Divide[2] have vastly different demographics than those to the south. Present day patterns in housing[3] and health outcomes[4] reveal the long-lasting effects of systemic racism. Children are especially affected by these disparities[5].

The City of St. Louis is also losing its population. At its peak population in 1950, St. Louis was home to more than 850,000 people[6]. Today, the population is just under 290,000[7]. The size of the government has contracted in response. Using data from the 2020 Census, the city was subdivided into 14 wards, geopolitical units that have democratically elected representatives (aldermen) and allocations of public tax dollars. The boundaries were drawn so that each ward had roughly equal population and that the city as a whole had an equivalent number of majority-Black and majority-White wards[8]. Given that the population density varies across the city, the wards differ in shape and geographic size[9]. The new map was approved in 2021 and was used for the first time in the April 2023 municipal general election[10].

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[1] Johnson, W. (2020). *The Broken Heart of America*. Basic Books.

[2] Cooperman, J. (2014, October 17). The story of segregation in St. Louis. *St. Louis Magazine*. https://www.stlmag.com/news/the-color-line-race-in-st.-louis/

[3] Cambria, N., Fehler, P., Purnell, J.Q., & Schmidt, B. (2018). Segregation in St. Louis: Dismantling the Divide. Washington University in St. Louis. https://healthequityworks.wustl.edu/our-work/quality-neighborhoods-housing/segregation-in-st-louis-report/

[4] Washington University in St. Louis. (2015). For the Sake of All. https://healthequityworks.wustl.edu/items/for-the-sake-of-all-a-report-on-the-health-and-well-being-of-african-americans-in-st-louis-and-why-it-matters-for-everyone/

[5] City of St. Louis. (2018). Equity Indicators Baseline Report. https://www.stlouis-mo.gov/government/departments/mayor/initiatives/resilience/equity/index.cfm

[6] City of St. Louis (n.d.). A Brief History of St. Louis. https://www.stlouis-mo.gov/visit-play/stlouis-history.cfm

[7] U.S. Census Bureau. (n.d.). Quick Facts: St. Louis City, Missouri. https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/stlouiscitymissouri/PST045223

[8] Schlinkmann, M. (2021, November 2). Proposed 14-ward redistricting plan for St. Louis unveiled. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. https://www.stltoday.com/print/a-section/proposed-14-ward-redistricting-plan-for-st-louis-unveiled/article_b6ea6f84-da00-5bda-bfe4-d8ceab398ff5.html

[9] City of St. Louis. (2021). Citywide Ward Map 2021. https://www.stlouis-mo.gov/government/departments/planning/documents/citywide-ward-map.cfm

[10] City of St. Louis. (n.d.). City of St. Louis Redistricting 2021. https://www.stlouis-mo.gov/government/departments/aldermen/redistricting/redistricting-2021.cfm

There is also wide geographic variation in the public education system (including both district and charter schools). The number of schools per ward ranges from three to 14 while student enrollment per ward ranges from nearly 800 students to over 4,500 students,[11] suggesting that historical and present-day policy practices have impacted access to educational opportunities. In addition, schools are classified into many groups — district, charter, neighborhood, magnet, and gifted — each with their own boundaries, policies, requirements, programs, and services that further separate students.

This report describes the variation in student demographics and academic outcomes across the public school system and the city's wards. The findings provide important context for educators, policy makers, advocates, and researchers as they consider how to address the city's historical injustices and adapt to its declining population.

[11] Rohde-Collins, D. & Anglum, C. (2023, September). Public School Enrollment and Closures in Saint Louis City. PRiME Center. Saint Louis University. https://www.sluprime.org/education-reports-database/public-school-enrollment-closures-saint-louis-city

Methods and Data

This brief is a descriptive analysis of publicly available building-level data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) and the Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (DESE). We use direct certification (a measure of poverty explained in detail below) from NCES and demographic, enrollment, and academic data from DESE. All data is from the 2021–22 school year, the most recent year for which data from both measures is publicly available.

School Classifications

For the 2021–22 school year, the city's public school system included 18 local education agencies (LEAs) — one traditional public school district, Saint Louis Public Schools (SLPS), and 17 public charter agencies (Appendix 1).

St. Louis Public Schools (SLPS)

SLPS has three types of schools — neighborhood (NH), magnet, and gifted. Each category has its own unique history as well as different transportation and enrollment practices which dictate which students can attend. By separating SLPS schools into these categories, we can identify more nuanced patterns than are possible when the district is treated as one entity.

- **Neighborhood schools**: SLPS neighborhood schools enroll students from a specific geographic boundary. Any student who lives within this boundary and meets the other criteria for enrollment (birth certificate and medical requirements) may enroll in and attend their neighborhood school. Free bus transportation is provided for students who live more than one mile from school.

- **Magnet schools**: SLPS magnet schools are a product of the region's desegregation and voluntary busing programs[12]. These schools may have specialized programs or themes such as visual and performing arts or STEM in addition to the standard curriculum. Students must complete an application and follow a lottery process to be enrolled in a magnet school. These schools do not have a geographic boundary but are instead an option for students living anywhere in the city. Free bus transportation is provided for students who live more than a mile from school, however

[12] Bernhard, B. (2022, February 2). Minnie Liddell's dream of education for Black children still elusive after 50 years. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. https://www.stltoday.com/news/local/education/minnie-liddell-s-dream-of-education-for-black-children-in-st-louis-still-elusive-after/article_7fbb060c-a45c-594c-8b0b-0d5182e9131d.html
Norwood, K. J. (2012). Minnie Liddell's Forty-Year Quest for Quality Public Education Remains A Dream Deferred. Washington University of Law & Policy, 40(1). https://journals.library.wustl.edu/lawpolicy/article/id/1530/

these routes may be longer than routes to their zoned neighborhood school.

- **Gifted schools**: SLPS gifted schools are a subset of the magnet schools. These schools offer a specialized and/or accelerated curriculum to students who meet a minimum score requirement on intelligence and achievement tests in addition to the magnet school application and lottery process. These schools also offer free bus transportation to students living more than a mile from the school but, like with other magnet schools, these routes may be longer than those associated with a student's zoned neighborhood school.

For years, SLPS has struggled to increase racial and economic diversity at the gifted schools so that the program's student demographics are proportional to the district as a whole[13]. For example, Columbia Elementary was converted into a gifted school for the 2017–18 school year to locate a gifted school on the north side[14], but it struggled to gain enrollment. The school currently offers gifted classrooms[15] rather than a whole-school program as intended. Recently, the district has formed a Gifted Leadership Committee and considered new policies to develop more equitable practices[16].

Charter Schools

Charter schools are publicly funded schools that operate outside of SLPS. They have independent governing boards rather than the democratically elected board that governs the school district[17]. Charter schools also have varying policies and practices, yet there are no clear categorizations like there are with

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[13] Bernhard, B. (2022, August 21). From falling enrollment to culture, top challenges for next leader of St. Louis Public Schools. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. https://www.stltoday.com/news/local/education/from-falling-enrollment-to-culture-top-challenges-for-next-leader-of-st-louis-public-schools/article_d860d517-d8d5-5f4a-9487-94798eb6ddbf.html#tncms-source=login
Crouch, E. (2016, February 3). City schools chief suggests third gifted school, improving access to gifted education. https://www.stltoday.com/news/local/education/city-schools-chief-suggests-third-gifted-school-improving-access-to-gifted-education/article_86791041-c1b5-5934-9c37-c73f6986e4de.html
Warr, K. (2015, September 30). Act fast for SLPS gifted program [Editorial]. *St. Louis American*. https://www.stlamerican.com/news/columnists/guest_columnists/act-fast-for-slps-gifted-program/article_4c6b23d6-67d7-11e5-b740-d3989e041dfe.html

[14] Phillips, C. (2017, April 15). Slow start for effort to increase diversity in St. Louis gifted schools. *St. Louis Public Radio*. https://www.stlpr.org/education/2017-04-15/slow-start-for-effort-to-increase-diversity-in-st-louis-gifted-schools

[15] Columbia Elementary School. (n.d.). About Columbia Elementary. https://www.slps.org/domain/364

[16] Smith, M. & Mitchell, N. (2022, October 11). Gifted and Talented Update. [PowerPoint slides]. St. Louis Public Schools. https://www.slps.org/Page/43722

[17] DESE. (n.d.) Charter Schools. Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education. https://dese.mo.gov/quality-schools/charter-schools

SLPS schools. Some charter schools require students to live in specific catchment zones while others enroll students from anywhere in the city. Some charters offer bus transportation while others do not. There are no charter schools designated as gifted.

We make distinctions between these categories, not to assign blame or pass judgment, but to identify how the city's segregation is apparent in the public school system. Our intent is to determine if the public schools simply reflect broader patterns of segregation and to consider if the schools reinforce or amplify these patterns.

Public schools in St. Louis have many different grade configurations including K–2, 3–5, K–5, K–6, 5–8, 5–12, 6–8, and 9–12. Additionally, some schools offer a pre-kindergarten (PK) program while others do not. Schools may be growing through the addition of new grades or shrinking by phasing out offered grades. To eliminate potential confusion caused by using common terms like elementary, middle, or ele-middle, we have classified all schools that are not high schools as "pre-high school." This allows us to consider all schools that enroll students in any or all grades from kindergarten to eighth grade as one category.

In 2021–22, there were 80 pre-high schools and 17 high schools in the city. Seventy-six percent of the city's 28,600 public school students are enrolled in a pre-high school. We focus our analysis on pre-high schools since they comprise the largest share of buildings and students in the system. Additionally, each ward has at least one pre-high school.

It is important to note that the city's public school system is not stable; schools regularly open, close, or change names or grade spans[18]. Three schools included in this analysis have since closed — The Arch Community School (2022), LaSalle Charter School (2023), and Hawthorn Leadership School for Girls (2023). Other schools have changed names and/or the range of grades offered.

Poverty

We use direct certification as a measure of student poverty rather than the more commonly used free and reduced-price lunch (FRL) and refer to students who qualify for free school meals through this program as being "directly certified". Among education researchers, skepticism is rising regarding the accuracy of

[18] Rohde-Collins, D. & Anglum, C. (2023, September). Public School Enrollment and Closures in Saint Louis City. PRiME Center. Saint Louis University. https://www.sluprime.org/education-reports-database/public-school-enrollment-closures-saint-louis-city

using FRL as a proxy for poverty[19]. The community eligibility provision (CEP) allows schools and districts with a significant percentage of FRL-qualifying students to enroll all students in the program regardless of family income and without an application. This threshold was originally 40% of students, but was lowered to 25% as of September 2023[20], allowing more children to benefit from the program. Since all students in schools using CEP "will look the same in the FRL data,"[21] it is difficult to distinguish between levels of student poverty. As such, FRL counts cannot effectively inform policy and interventions are often difficult to target appropriately[22].

Direct certification data identifies the number of children who are members of a household that receive government benefits like Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) and Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), as well as those who are homeless, in foster care, or in Head Start[23]. By using direct certification numbers, it is possible to calculate the proportion of students living in poverty even in schools and districts using CEP, making it increasingly popular with researchers and policy makers[24]. During the 2021–22 school year, SLPS and nine charter LEAs participated in the CEP program[25].

In this analysis, we display and compare data to consider racial and socioeconomic segregation in the public school system.

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[19] Chingos, M. M. (2016). No more free lunch for education policymakers and researchers. Brookings Institute. https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/free-and-reduced-lunch3.pdf
Fazlul, I., Koedel, C., and Parsons, E. (2023). A Poor Poverty Measure: To identify children in need, look beyond free lunch data. *Education Next, 23*(2), 48-53. https://www.educationnext.org/poor-poverty-measure-identify-children-in-need-look-beyond-free-lunch-data/

[20] Child Nutrition Programs: Community Eligibility Provision—Increasing Options for Schools, 7 C.F.R. Part 245. (2023). https://www.fns.usda.gov/cn/fr-092623

[21] Chingos, M. M. (2016). No more free lunch for education policymakers and researchers. Brookings Institute. https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/free-and-reduced-lunch3.pdf, (p.3)

[22] Koedel, C. & Parsons, E. (2019). Using Free Meal and Direct Certification Data to Proxy for Student Disadvantage in the Era of the Community Eligibility Provision. National Center for Analysis of Longitudinal Data in Education Research

[23] Sinclair, B. & Chen, C. (2020, August 5). Understanding School Lunch Eligibility in the Common Core of Data. National Center for Education Statistics. https://nces.ed.gov/blogs/nces/post/understanding-school-lunch-eligibility-in-the-common-core-of-data

[24] Greenberg, E. (2018). New Measures of Student Poverty. Urban Institute. https://www.urban.org/research/publication/new-measures-student-poverty

[25] Department of Elementary and Secondary Education. (n.d.). Community Eligibility Provision (CEP) Building Eligibility Report Program Year 2021-22. Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education Food and Nutrition Services. https://dese.mo.gov/media/pdf/2021-2022-cep-eligible-and-potentially-eligible

- **Majority Black or Not Majority Black:** According to the 2020 Census, more than 56% of the population of the City of St. Louis identifies as a race other than White with 43% of the population identifying as Black[26]. The public school system, however, is overwhelmingly Black and majority Black schools are the norm. The percentage of students who are Black is calculated using DESE data. Unfortunately, DESE does not capture nuanced classifications of race, especially for students who are multi-racial. Multi-racial encompasses an individual whose racial background involves two-or-more races. Some students who are counted as multi-racial may also identify as Black, but they are not included when determining if the school is majority Black in this analysis because of the lack of specificity in DESE data. One school, Confluence Academy South City, while not majority Black, is also not majority White (48% Black, 47% Hispanic, and 3% White). All other schools that are not majority Black are majority White.

- **Majority Directly Certified or Not Majority Directly Certified:** In St. Louis, 20% of the total population is living in poverty[27] and nearly 60% of all public school students are directly certified for the free lunch program. In the public school system, majority directly certified schools are the norm.

[26] City of St. Louis. (n.d.). City of St. Louis U.S. Census Data. https://www.stlouis-mo.gov/government/departments/planning/research/census/data/index.cfm

[27] U.S. Census Bureau. (n.d.) Quick Facts: St. Louis City, Missouri. https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/stlouiscitymissouri/IPE120222

Characteristics of "Pre-High Schools"

Given the inconsistency in grade arrangements, we classify all schools with grade ranges anywhere in the K-8 range as “pre-high schools.” There are 80 pre-high schools — 57 are majority directly certified and 66 are majority Black. Fifty-five schools are both majority directly certified and majority Black while 12 schools are neither (Appendices 2, 3, and 4).

The number of pre-high schools and demographic characteristics vary considerably across wards. If schools were distributed evenly across the city’s geography each ward would have approximately 6 pre-high schools. However, the number of pre-high schools per ward ranges from two schools in Ward 10 to 12 schools in Ward 14 (Figure 1). There is also variation in where district and charter pre-high schools are located (Table 1). SLPS neighborhood schools and charter schools each operate in every ward except for Ward 10. However, magnet and gifted schools are less widespread. Magnet schools are located in 10 wards while gifted schools are located in only three.

Figure 1. Total Number of Pre-High Schools by Ward, City of St. Louis, 2022

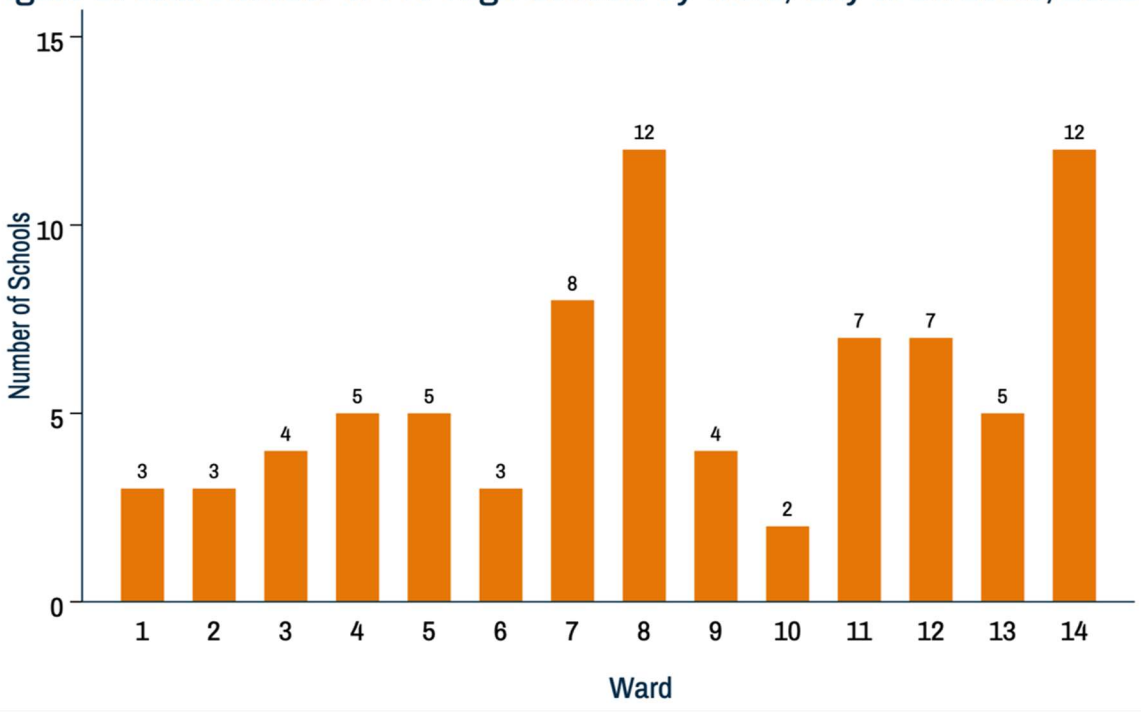


Table 1. Number and Type of Schools by Ward, Pre-High Schools, City of St. Louis, 2022

The public school system is divided into two primary categories of schools – district (SLPS) and charter. The district further classifies its schools as neighborhood, magnet, and gifted (a subset of magnet schools).

	SLPS Neighborhood	SLPS Magnet	SLPS Gifted	Charter	Overall
Ward 1	2	1	0	0	3
Ward 2	1	1	0	1	3
Ward 3	3	0	0	1	4
Ward 4	1	2	1	1	5
Ward 5	1	1	1	2	5
Ward 6	1	1	0	1	3
Ward 7	2	1	0	5	8
Ward 8	3	1	1	7	12
Ward 9	1	2	0	1	4
Ward 10	0	1	0	1	2
Ward 11	4	0	0	3	7
Ward 12	5	0	0	2	7
Ward 13	4	0	0	1	5
Ward 14	2	4	0	6	12
City of St. Louis	30	15	3	32	80

All 14 wards have at least one majority Black school while only seven wards, all located in the south and central regions of the city, have schools that are not majority Black (Figure 2). All wards have at least one school that is majority directly certified and 10 wards have at least one school that is not majority directly certified, including two wards in north regions of the city (Figure 3). Ward 4 and Ward 5 are notable because, when combined, half of the not majority Black schools and nearly 40% of the not majority directly certified schools are located in these wards.

Figure 2. Number of Pre-High Schools By Ward, City of St. Louis, 2022

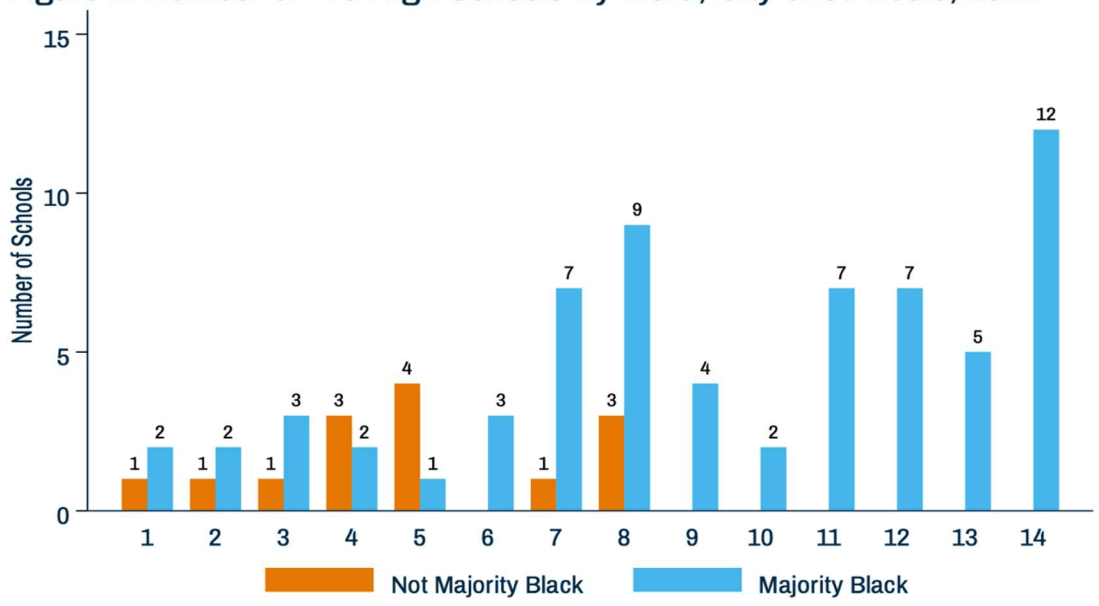
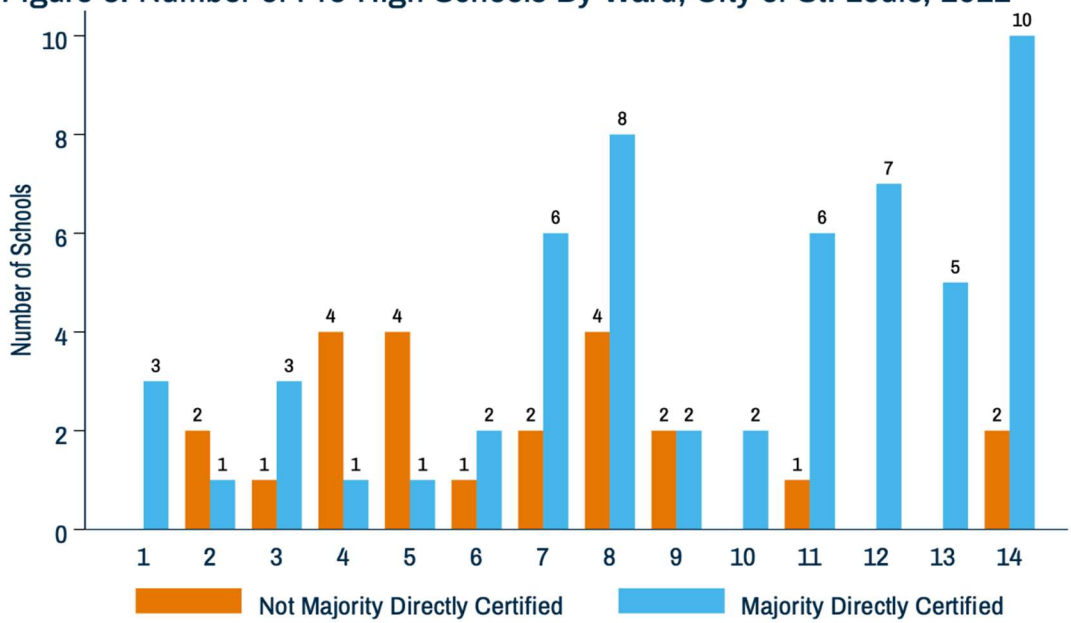


Figure 3. Number of Pre-High Schools By Ward, City of St. Louis, 2022



When measured by mean building enrollment, the city's public education system has some of the smallest schools in the country[28]. In addition to varying across ward geography[29], the mean building enrollment varies by school type (Table 2; Figures 4 and 5). The mean building enrollment of majority Black schools is 248 while non-majority Black schools have a mean building enrollment of 385. This disparity also exists by direct certification status. Schools that are majority directly certified have a mean building enrollment of 247 students while schools that are not majority direct certified have a mean building enrollment of 334 students. Since school funding formulas are based on student enrollment, variation in building enrollment across the city's wards suggests an uneven distribution of resources and opportunities.

[28] Rhinesmith, E. & Cupito, E. (2021, April). School Size in St. Louis: How Average Enrollment in the River City Compares Across Missouri and Nationally [Policy Brief]. PRiME Center. Saint Louis University. https://www.sluprime.org/policy-brief-database/school-size-stl

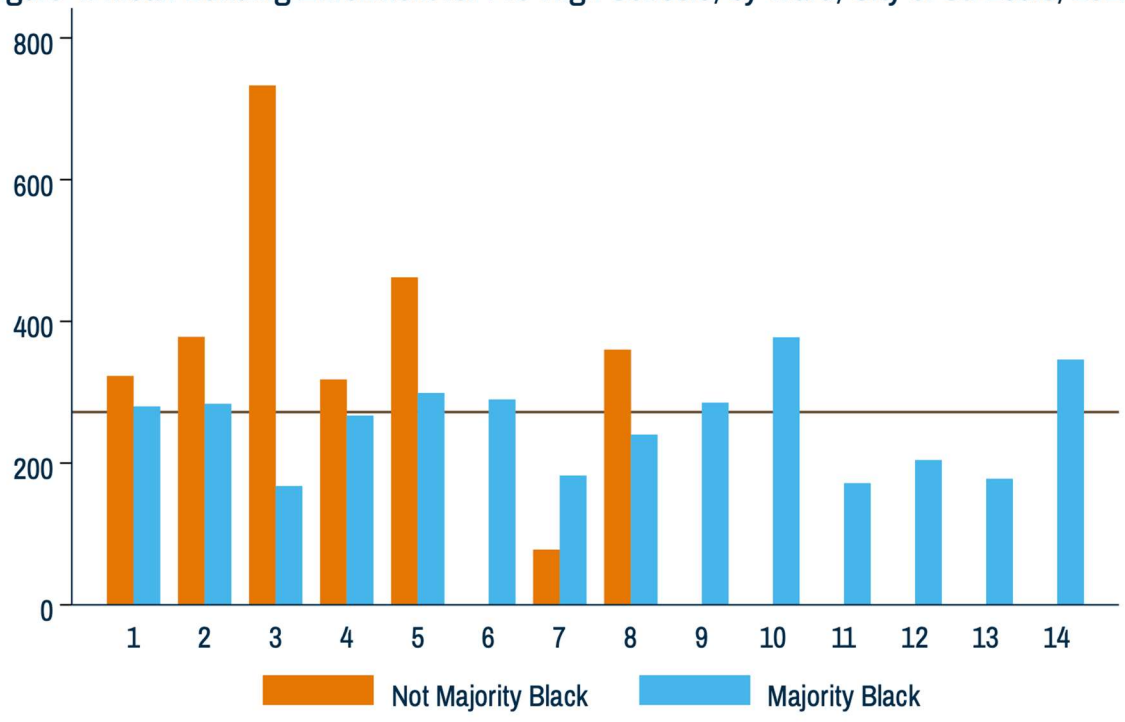
[29] Rohde-Collins, D. & Anglum, C. (2023, September). Public School Enrollment and Closures in Saint Louis City. PRiME Center. Saint Louis University. https://www.sluprime.org/education-reports-database/public-school-enrollment-closures-saint-louis-city

Table 2. Mean Building Enrollment (Standard Deviation) by School Type and by Ward, Pre-High Schools, City of St. Louis, 2022

Note. -- no schools of that type

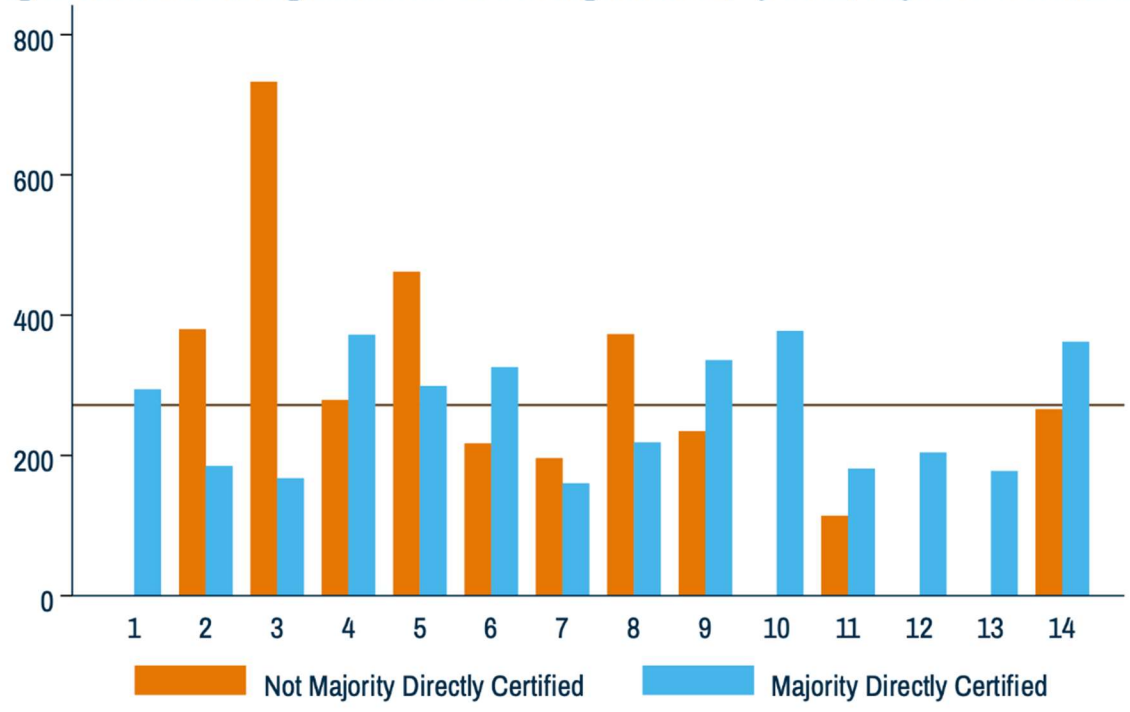
	Number of Schools	Total Students	Mean Enrollment (Standard Deviation) for Schools by Type				
			Majority Black	Not Majority Black	Majority Direct Certified	Not Majority Direct Certified	Overall
Ward 1	3	883	280 (33)	323	294 (34)	--	294 (34)
Ward 2	3	945	284 (139)	378	185	380 (3)	315 (113)
Ward 3	4	1,236	168 (27)	733	168 (27)	733	309 (284)
Ward 4	5	1,488	267 (148)	318 (49)	372	279 (88)	298 (86)
Ward 5	5	2,147	299	462 (305)	299	462 (305)	429 (274)
Ward 6	3	869	290 (103)	--	326 (116)	217	290 (104)
Ward 7	8	1,355	182 (37)	78	161 (56)	196 (7)	169 (50)
Ward 8	12	3,241	240 (130)	360 (216)	219 (121)	373 (179)	270 (154)
Ward 9	4	1,141	285 (171)	--	336 (262)	235 (97)	285 (171)
Ward 10	2	755	378 (216)	--	378 (216)	--	378 (216)
Ward 11	7	1,202	172 (60)	--	181 (59)	114	172 (60)
Ward 12	7	1,429	204 (80)	--	204 (80)	--	204 (80)
Ward 13	5	889	178 (74)	--	178 (74)	--	178 (74)
Ward 14	12	4,152	346 (203)	--	362 (205)	266 (242)	346 (203)
City of St. Louis	80	21,732	248 (134)	385 (221)	247 (138)	334 (196)	272 (160)

Figure 4. Mean Building Enrollment for Pre-High Schools, by Ward, City of St. Louis, 2022



Note: Reference line is set at system-wide mean building enrollment for pre-high schools, 272.

Figure 5. Mean Building Enrollment for Pre-High Schools, by Ward, City of St. Louis, 2022



Note: Reference line is set at system-wide mean building enrollment for pre-high schools, 272.

Grouping charter pre-high schools by LEA and SLPS pre-high schools into the categorizations of neighborhood, magnet, and gifted reveals wide variation in demographics (Figures 6 and 7). The mean building percentage of students who are Black ranges from a high of 98% at LaSalle and Lift for Life to a low of 18% at The Soulard School. Similarly, the mean building percentage of students who are directly certified ranges from a high of 73% at Hawthorn Leadership School for Girls to a low of 9% at The Soulard School. Notably, student enrollment demographics at SLPS magnet schools are remarkably similar to SLPS neighborhood schools once SLPS gifted schools are placed in their own category. SLPS gifted schools are some of the least diverse schools in the entire system. Only three LEAs have a lower mean building percentage of Black students and only one LEA has a lower mean building percentage of directly certified students (Figure 8).

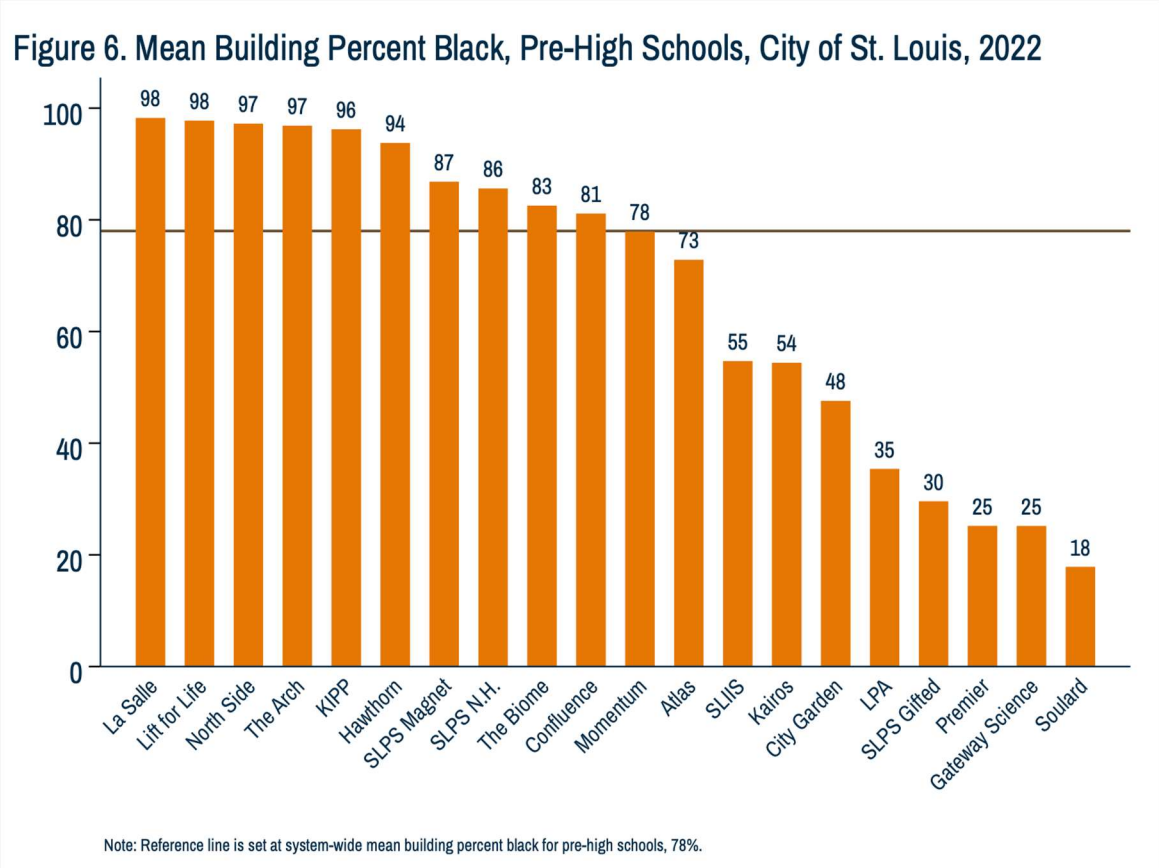
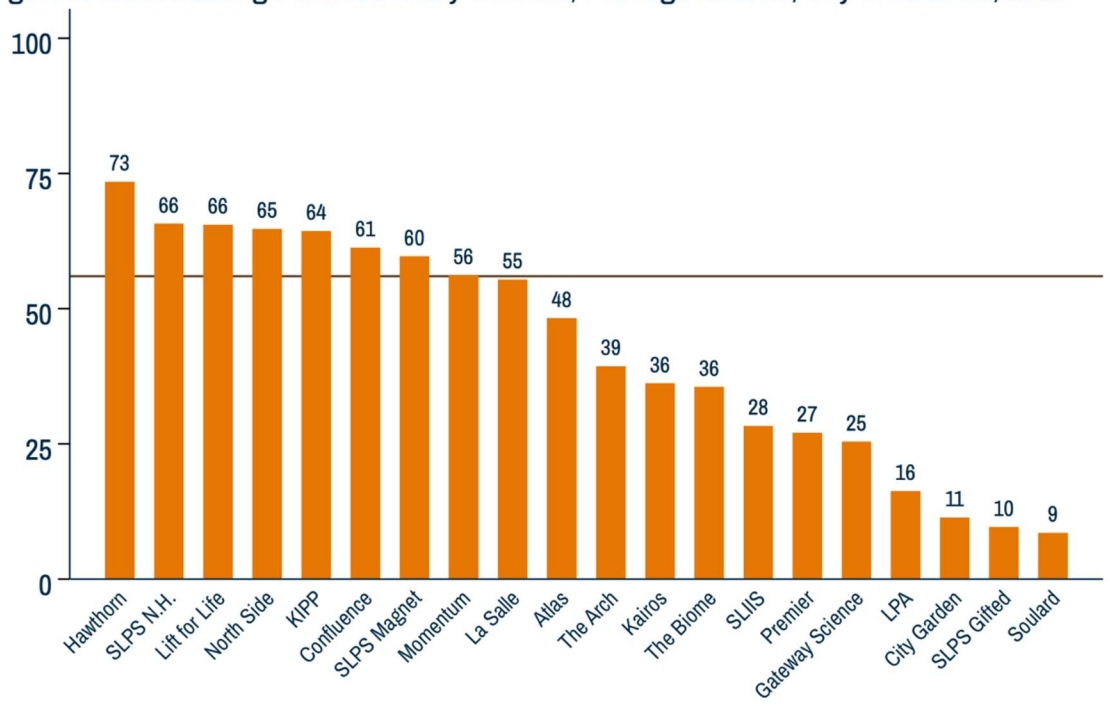
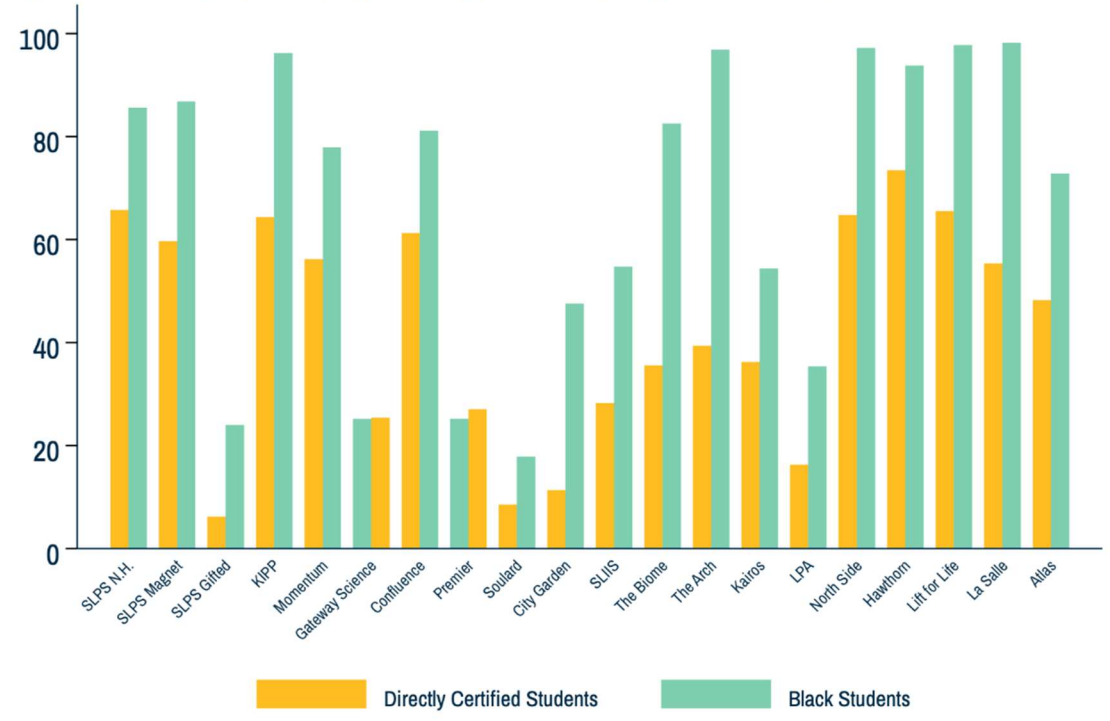


Figure 7. Mean Building Percent Directly Certified, Pre-High Schools, City of St. Louis, 2022



Note: Reference line is set at system-wide mean building percent of direct certified for pre-high schools, 56%.

Figure 8. Demographics (%), Pre-High Schools, City of St. Louis, 2022



Academic Outcomes

The Missouri Assessment Program (MAP)[30] is administered to assess student mastery of Missouri Learning Standards in three content areas: Math, English Language Arts, and Science. When a student takes the MAP test, they are given a scale score based on their right answers. The scale score is then translated into a performance level which uses the designations of below basic, basic, proficient, and advanced.

In this section, we focus on fifth grade data to provide a snapshot of academic outcomes within the context of a public education system that is segregated by race and socioeconomic status. Fifth grade is the first year that students are evaluated in all three subjects. Additionally, this test represents the midpoint of the MAP timeline in which assessments are administered each year from third to eighth grade.

In this section, we use only four categories (SLPS neighborhood, SLPS magnet, SLPS gifted, and charter). The small mean building enrollment and the focus on one grade means that analysis by individual LEA would be limited by sample sizes. Likewise, we combine the data from proficient and advanced categories due to the few number of students scoring in this range. Both of these categories are considered a passing score on the test. The purpose of this analysis is to consider whether segregation in St. Louis and its school system may further exacerbate education opportunity gaps. In this context, we discourage the practice of labeling schools with terms such as “good or bad”, “high quality or low quality, and “high performing or low performing” because the relationship between poverty and academic outcomes is inextricably linked.

When MAP results are released to the public, DESE suppresses any spreadsheet cell with five or fewer students in order to protect student privacy[31]. For small schools and/or classes, this can result in a significant percentage of student data being suppressed (Appendix 5). Overall, the mean building percent of suppressed data is 16.4% (std dev. 16.2%) and the median building percent is 12.3%. The percentage of suppressed data varies by the type of school. Majority Black schools have slightly higher rates (mean = 17.2%, median 12.5%) while not majority Black schools have slightly lower rates (mean = 13.2%, median = 6.8%). On the other hand, majority directly certified schools have slightly lower rates of suppressed data

[30] DESE. (2023). Missouri Assessment Program Grade-Level Assessments: A Parent’s Guide to Interpreting Results. Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education. https://dese.mo.gov/media/pdf/map-grade-level-assessment-spring-2023-guide-interpreting-results

[31] DESE. (n.d.). Data Request. https://apps.dese.mo.gov/DataRequestForm/DataRequest.aspx

(mean = 16.1, median = 12%) than do the not majority directly certified schools (mean = 17.3%, median = 14.4%).

For more than 15% of student scores overall to be suppressed indicates an unintended consequence of the system's small schools. It is difficult to determine with any accuracy how the city's students, schools, and LEAs are performing when this proportion of data is suppressed. While unsuppressed data is available to school leaders and administrators within a school or LEA, it inhibits parents, researchers, policy makers, and advocates from developing an accurate systems-level perspective.

MAP test outcomes vary by LEA (Figures 9, 10, and 11). For all subject areas, students scoring proficient and advanced are concentrated in gifted schools and, to a lesser extent, charter schools. For the Math and Science test, more students are in the below basic category for SLPS neighborhood, SLPS magnet, and charter schools. For the ELA test, there are more students in the below basic category for SLPS neighborhood and magnet schools while charter schools have the largest percentage of students in the basic category.

Figure 9. 5th Grade Math MAP Outcomes, Mean Building Percent, City of St. Louis, 2022

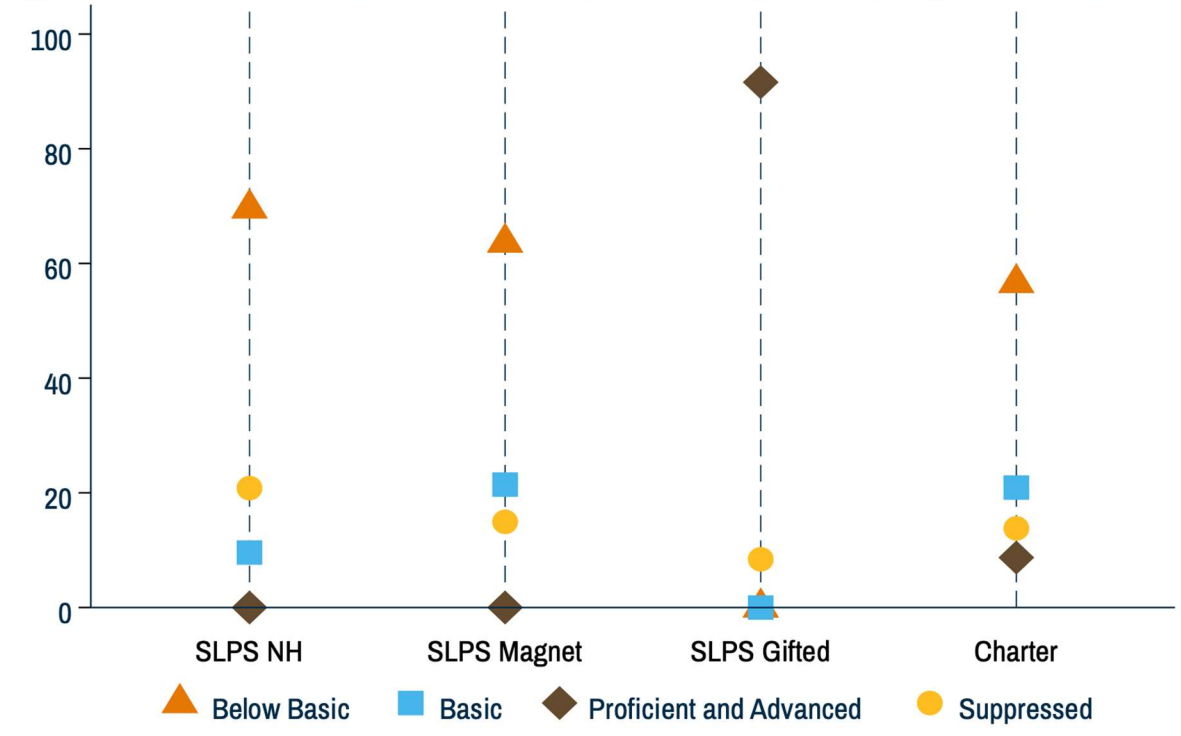


Figure 10. 5th Grade ELA MAP Outcomes, Mean Building Percent, City of St. Louis, 2022

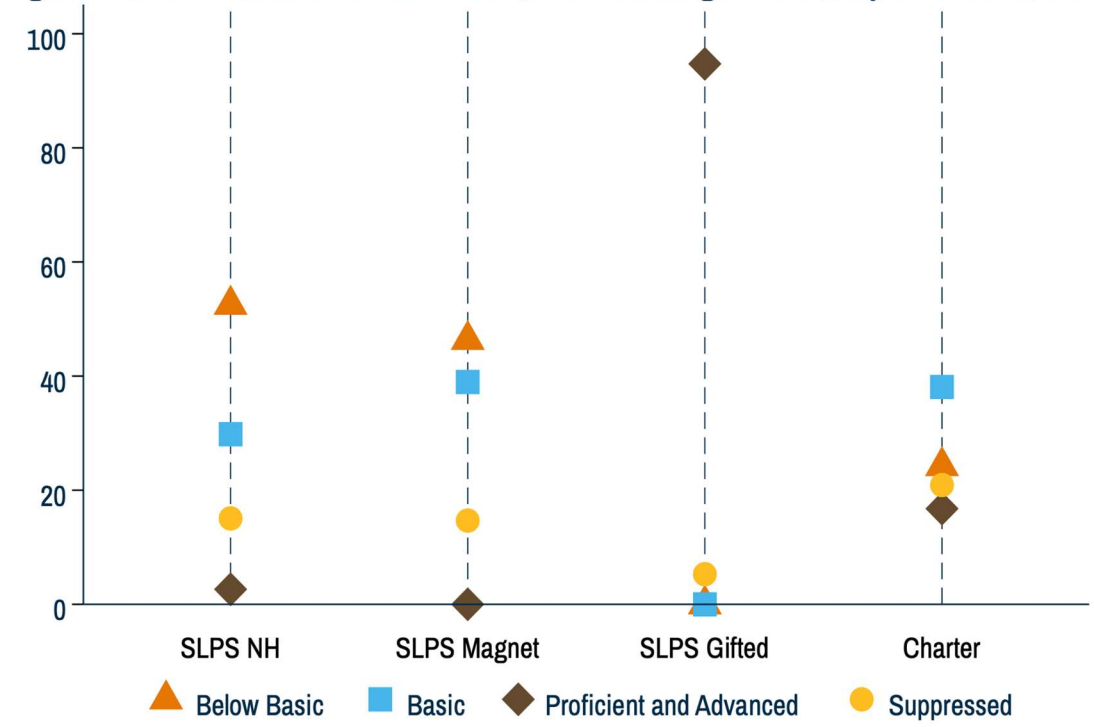
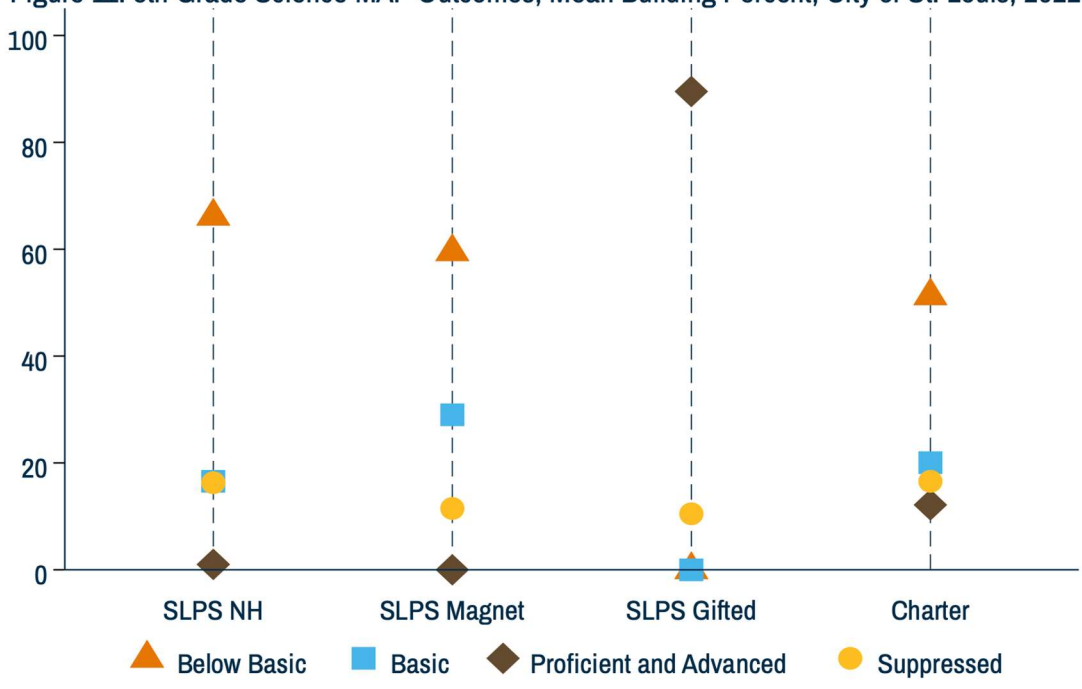
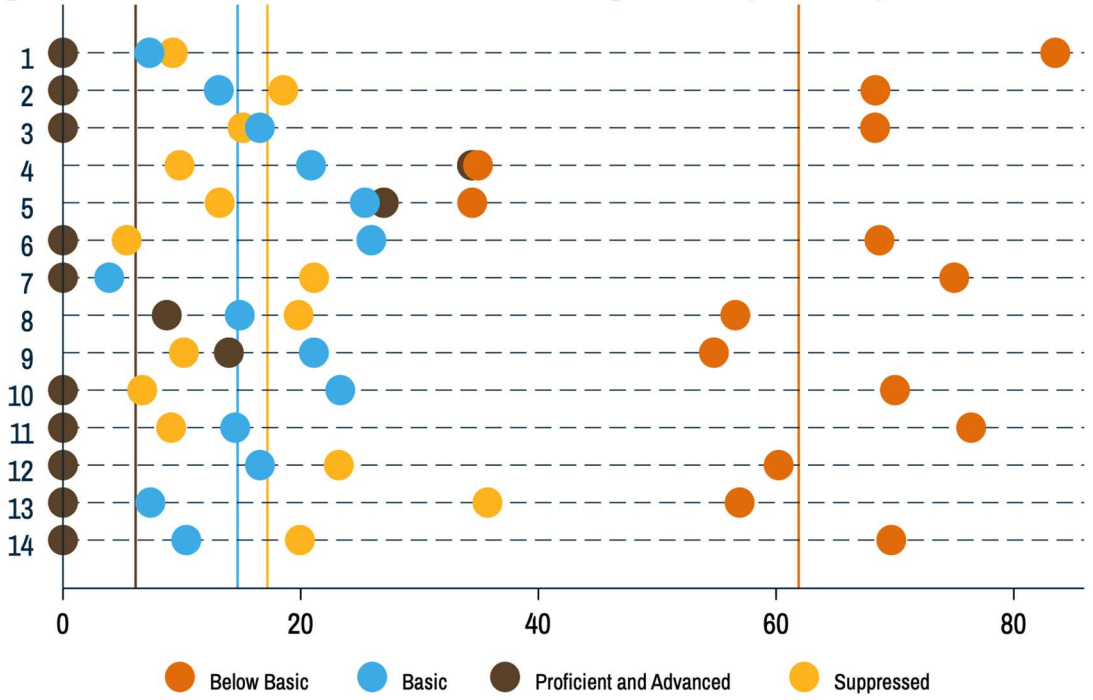


Figure 11. 5th Grade Science MAP Outcomes, Mean Building Percent, City of St. Louis, 2022



Using the math test as an example, we can see that fifth grade MAP results also vary by ward geography (Figure 12). A majority of wards have higher rates of below basic scores than the system as a whole. Only four wards (Wards 4, 5, 8, and 9) have reportable percentages of proficient and advanced students; all of these wards are in the south and central regions of the city. So just as students scoring proficient and advanced are concentrated into a few schools, the schools that educate them are concentrated into a few wards.

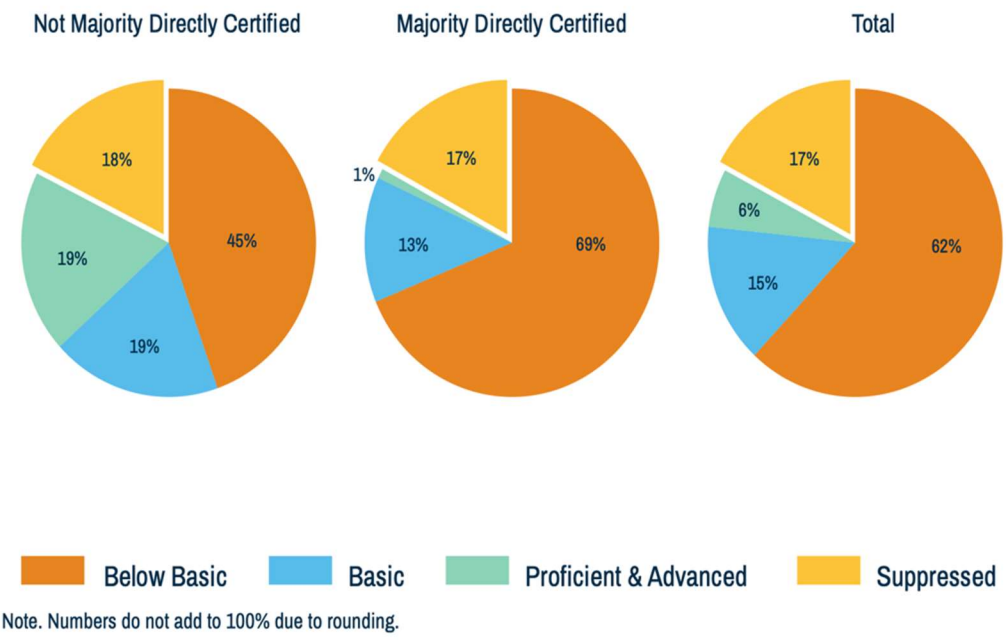
Figure 12. 5th Grade Math MAP Results, Mean Building Percent, by Ward, City of St. Louis, 2022



Note. Reference lines are set to system-wide mean. BB=61.9%, B=14.7%, P&A=6.1%, S=17.2%

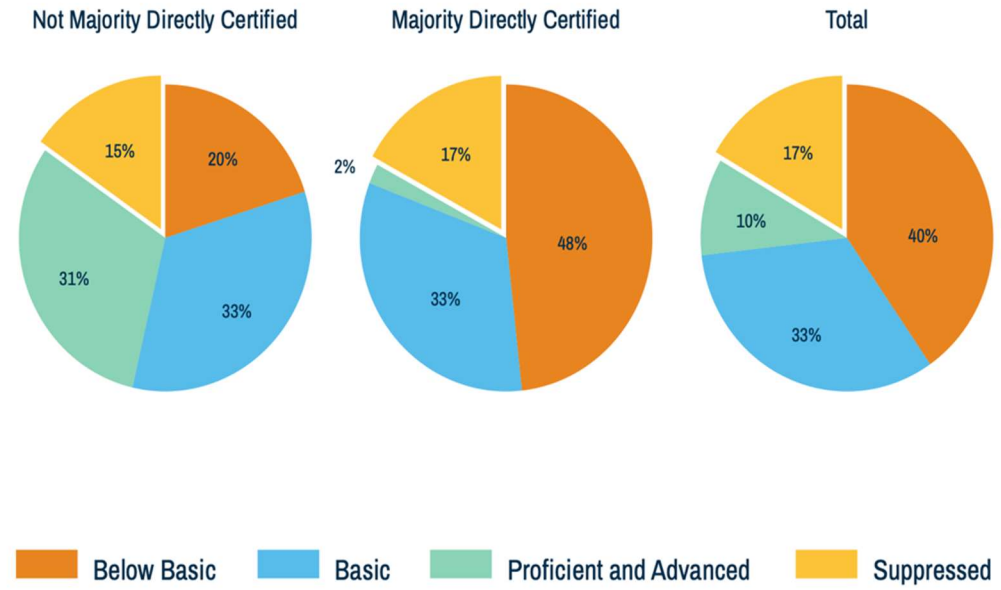
For all tests, students scoring proficient and advanced are concentrated in schools that are not majority directly certified (Figures 13, 14, and 15). In fact, for all tests, in majority directly certified schools the percentage of students whose scores are suppressed far exceeds the percentage of students who are proficient and advanced. In the case of the math test, the percentage of students whose scores are suppressed exceeds the combined percentage of students scoring basic and proficient and advanced.

Figure 13. 5th Grade Math MAP Outcomes, Mean Building Percent, City of St. Louis, 2022



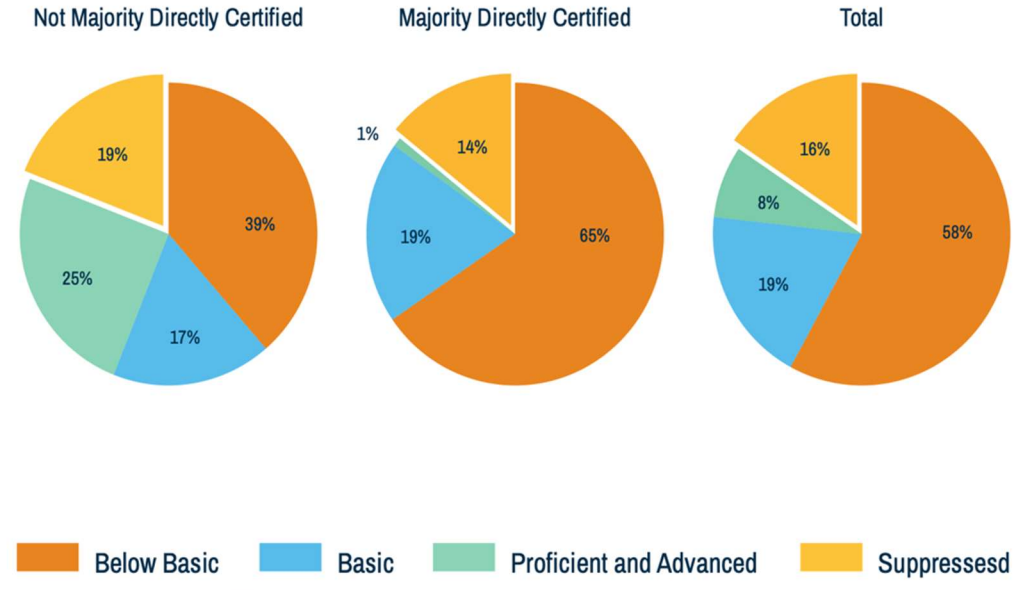
Note. Numbers do not add to 100% due to rounding.

Figure 14. 5th Grade ELA MAP Outcomes, Mean Building Percent, City of St. Louis, 2022



Note. Numbers do not add to 100% due to rounding.

Figure 15. 5th Grade Science MAP Outcomes, Mean Building Percent, City of St. Louis, 2022



Note. Numbers do not add to 100% due to rounding.

Discussion: Policy Implications and Future Research

The public school system in St. Louis requires special consideration in the context of the city's historical policy practices. All students deserve equitable access to educational opportunity, but that access may be impacted by the city's segregation by race and poverty. Education leaders and city policy makers should strive toward equitable distribution of students, schools, and educational opportunity across the city's ward geography. This may necessitate policy conversations about school openings, closings, and expansions. Although they are difficult and complex, these decisions present an opportunity to intentionally disrupt patterns of segregation and address historical injustices.

The implications of small schools go beyond funding considerations. If the grade-level enrollments are small at a given school, academic assessment data may be suppressed out of concerns for student privacy. While protecting students' personal information is of critical importance, it is also crucial to fairly represent the academic performance of students, schools, and LEAs. When data is suppressed, parents and advocates have a reduced ability to fairly compare schools and education practitioners, policy makers, and researchers are unable to target interventions with specificity. DESE and state policy makers should consider how data systems can reduce the proportion of publicly suppressed data while still prioritizing student privacy. All students deserve to demonstrate their abilities and get help in the areas where they need additional support. Reducing the proportion of suppressed data can help target resources appropriately.

The community eligibility provision reduces the stigma sometimes associated with poverty and is a valuable policy in and of itself. However, direct certification data can help target other policy interventions more precisely. Using both direct certification and free-and-reduced lunch data provides the most comprehensive information about a school and its community. Schools and LEAs that have a high concentration of poverty should be given special consideration in school funding formulas.

There are many opportunities to expand upon the findings of this report. Future research could expand geographic and demographic analysis to high schools while the academic analysis could include other tested grades and subjects. Other types of segregation and student separation should be considered to determine the impact of transportation and enrollment practices. For example, researchers and practitioners might identify how the patterns in demographics and academic outcomes vary by availability of transportation, percent of students receiving special education services, and/or zoned enrollment boundaries.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this report, we stated our intent to determine if schools simply reflect broader patterns of segregation and to consider if the schools reinforce or amplify these patterns. Based on this analysis of publicly available data, we conclude that the system of choice, in all the ways it presents, has exacerbated the segregation created through generations of policy practices. The public education system in the City of St. Louis is built on choices that go far beyond the familiar district vs. charter debate. Students and their families choose between district and charter, neighborhood and magnet, gifted or not gifted then within those categorizations choose specific schools. Education leaders choose the school grade spans, locations, programs, and curricula. Policy makers choose to allow the system to expand or contract through school openings and closings. All of this choice, and the importance placed on it, has contributed to the variation in student demographics and academic outcomes across the city's ward geography.

In addition, a significant proportion of data is unavailable through the suppression of publicly available records. Conservatively one can imagine that across the public school system suppressed data is distributed equally across all four MAP performance levels. However, at any individual school the suppressed data is likely concentrated within two levels. Policy debates which stem only from the unsuppressed data minimize the ability to identify the specific inputs necessary to make meaningful change. Sustained improvements to educational outcomes will require targeted interventions which are only possible by acknowledging the pervasive segregation in St. Louis and limitations of publicly available data.

Acknowledgments

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Appendix 1. Pre-High Schools by Local Education Agency (LEA), City of St. Louis, 2022

Note. † LEA is now closed

	Pre-High School Enrollment	Mean Building Percent Black	Mean Building Percent Direct Certified
SLPS Neighborhood	5,909	85.6	65.7
SLPS Magnet	5,071	86.8	59.7
SLPS Gifted	831	29.6	9.6
The Arch Community School †	95	96.8	39.4
Atlas Public Schools	114	72.8	55.4
The Biome	166	82.5	35.5
City Garden	279	47.6	11.4
Confluence Academy	1,638	81.1	61.3
Gateway Science Academy	1,140	25.2	25.4
Hawthorn Leadership School For Girls †	64	93.8	73.4
Kairos Academies	412	54.4	36.2
KIPP St. Louis	2,068	96.2	64.3
La Salle †	112	98.2	55.4
Lafayette Preparatory Academy	393	35.4	16.3
Lift for Life	421	97.7	65.5
Momentum	837	77.9	56.2
North Side Community School	455	97.2	64.5
Premier Charter School	910	25.2	27.0

The Soulard School	129	17.8	8.5
City of St. Louis	21,481	78.3	55.7

Appendix 2. Percent of Students who are Black, Pre-High Schools, City of St. Louis, 2022

Note. † school is now closed, ‡ school has changed names in DESE data

Type	Not Majority Black		Majority Black	
SLPS Neighborhood (NH)	Buder Elementary	29.1	Adams Elementary	90.1
	Mason Elementary	38.6	Ashland Elementary	97.3
	Woerner Elementary	28.8	Bryan Hill Elementary	99.3
			G.W. Carver Elementary	98.2
			Cole Elementary	97.5
			Columbia Elementary	98.8
			Froebel Elementary	90.7
			Hamilton Elementary	98.1
			Henry Elementary	99.4
			Herzog Elementary	100
			Hickey Elementary	95.3
			Hodgen Elementary	91.1
			Jefferson Elementary	98.9
			Laclede Elementary	99.5
			Lexington Elementary	96.9
			Long Middle	64.0
			Mann Elementary	51.6
			Meramec Elementary	92.9
			Monroe Elementary	93.1
			Earl Nance, Sr. Elementary	98.9
			Oak Hill Elementary	56.8
			Peabody Elementary	100
			Shenandoah Elementary	95.5
			Sigel Elementary	91.2
			Walbridge Elementary	100
			Woodward Elementary	76.3
			Yeatman-Liddell Middle	98.6
SLPS Magnet	n/a	n/a	AESM @ L'Ouverture	98.3
			Ames VPA Elementary	98.3

			Busch Middle	59.7
			Carr Lane VPA Middle	95.9
			Compton-Drew ILC Middle	88.5
			Dewey Elementary	82.0
			Gateway Elementary	96.5
			Gateway Middle	94.6
			Humboldt Academy	89.6
			Lyon Academy at Blow Elementary	80.9
			Mullanphy Gardens Elementary	82.8
			Shaw VPA Elementary	91.0
			Stix Early Childhood Center	81.2
			Washington Montessori Elementary	97.8
			Wilkinson Early Childhood Center	65.4
SLPS Gifted	Classical Jr. Academy‡ Mallinckrodt Elementary McKinley Classical Leadership Academy Note: This school is a combined middle school and high school. Enrollment and demographic data includes all grades 6-12. However, only grades 6-8 are classified as “gifted.”	30.5 17.5 40.7	n/a	n/a
Charter	Gateway Science Gateway Science - South Elementary Gateway Science Middle Premier Charter School City Garden Montessori‡ The Soulard School Confluence South City	16.4 38.6 20.4 25.2 44.9 17.8 47.9	The Arch Community School† Atlas Elementary The Biome City Garden - 4209 Folsom‡ Confluence Aspire Confluence Old North Eagle Tower Grove South Eagle Tower Grove East Eagle Fox Park Eagle Gravois Park Grand Center Arts Academy Middle Hawthorn Middle †	96.8 72.8 82.5 50.2 97.9 98.1 60.2 73.8 91.8 85.6 80.6 93.8

			Kairos Academies	54.4
			KIPP Victory Academy	97.9
			KIPP Inspire Academy	95.2
			KIPP Wonder Academy	95.5
			KIPP Wisdom Academy	94.3
			KIPP Triumph Academy	98.2
			La Salle Charter School †	98.2
			Lift For Life Academy Elementary	99.5
			Lift For Life Academy	96.0
			North Side Community School	96.3
			North Side Community - Grand Center	98.1
			St Louis Language Immersion	54.7

Appendix 3. Percent of Students who are Direct Certified, Pre-High Schools, City of St. Louis, 2022

Note. † school is now closed, ‡ school has changed names in DESE data, - data not available in DESE portal

	Not Majority Direct Certified (%)		Majority Direct Certified (%)	
SLPS Neighborhood (NH)	Buder Elementary	35.6	Adams Elementary	64.0
	Mann Elementary	48.4	Ashland Elementary	68.9
	Mason Elementary	29.8	Bryan Hill Elementary	75.5
			G.W. Carver Elementary	73.6
			Cole Elementary	64.5
			Columbia Elementary	71.4
			Froebel Elementary	75.6
			Hamilton Elementary	63.3
			Henry Elementary	68.0
			Herzog Elementary	79.9
			Hickey Elementary	75.3
			Hodgen Elementary	65.8
			Jefferson Elementary	70.6
			Laclede Elementary	76.0
			Lexington Elementary	74.5
			Long Middle	55.6
			Meramec Elementary	70.0
			Monroe Elementary	71.8
			Earl Nance, Sr. Elementary	69.5
			Oak Hill Elementary	52.7
			Peabody Elementary	81.6
			Shenandoah Elementary	70.0
			Sigel Elementary	71.2
			Walbridge Elementary	69.0
			Woerner Elementary	51.6
			Woodward Elementary	57.0
			Yeatman-Liddell Middle	71.0
SLPS Magnet	Busch Middle	48.0	AESM @ L'Ouverture	66.0

	Stix ECC	43.3	Ames VPA Elementary	67.4
	Wilkinson ECC	31.9	Carr Lane VPA Middle	68.2
			Compton-Drew Middle	55.4
			Dewey Elementary	54.7
			Gateway Elementary	70.1
			Gateway Middle	67.1
			Humboldt Academy	61.7
			Lyon at Blow Elementary	66.1
			Mullanphy Elementary	64.9
			Shaw VPA Elementary	58.6
			Washington Montessori Elementary	719
SLPS Gifted	Classical Jr. Academy‡	8.4	n/a	n/a
	Mallinckrodt	3.9		
	McKinley Class. Jr. Academy	16.5		
Charter	The Arch Community School†	39.4	City Garden Montessori‡	-
	Atlas Elementary	48.2	Confluence Aspire	70.7
	The Biome	35.5	Confluence Old North	71.4
	City Garden 4209 Folsom‡	11.4	Eagle Fox Park	62.8
	Confluence South City	48.6	Eagle Gravois Park	64.1
	Gateway Science	17.6	Eagle Tower Grove East	42.9
	Gateway Science Middle	20.6	Eagle Tower Grove South	54.9
	Gateway Science South	38.1	Confluence Grand Center Arts Academy Middle	54.3
	Kairos Academies	36.2	Hawthorn Middle†	73.4
	Lafayette Prep Academy	16.3	KIPP Inspire	61.1
	Premier Charter School	27.0	KIPP Triumph	60.6
	The Soulard School	8.5	KIPP Wisdom	67.8
	St Louis Language Immersion	28.3	KIPP Wonder	65.6
			KIPP Victory	66.6
			La Salle Charter School†	55.4
			Lift for Life Academy Elementary	67.6
			Lift for Life Academy	63.5
			North Side Community School	66.6
			North Side Community - Grand Center	62.9

Appendix 4. All Pre-High Schools, City of St. Louis, 2022

Note. † school is now closed, ‡ school has changed names in DESE data

School Name	Ward	Grades	2021-22 Enrollment	Majority Black?	Majority DC?
Adams Elementary	9	PK-6	151	Y	Y
AESM @ L'Ouverture	7	6-8	215	Y	Y
Ames VPA Elementary	14	PK-5	175	Y	Y
The Arch Community School†	14	K-5	95	Y	N
Ashland Elementary	11	PK-5	186	Y	Y
Atlas Elementary	11	K-1	114	Y	N
The Biome	9	K-5	166	Y	N
Bryan Hill Elementary	12	PK-5	141	Y	Y
Buder Elementary	5	PK-5	285	N	N
Busch Middle School	2	6-8	382	Y	N
Carr Lane VPA Middle	14	6-8	483	Y	Y
G.W. Carver Elementary	11	PK-5	112	Y	Y
City Garden Montessori‡	7	PK-K	78	N	Y
City Garden 4209 Folsom‡	7	1-8	201	Y	N
Classical Jr. Academy‡	5	PK-5	256	N	N
Cole Elementary	12	PK-8	278	Y	Y
Columbia Elementary	11	PK-5	165	Y	Y
Compton-Drew Middle	9	6-8	521	Y	Y

Confluence Aspire	13	PK-2	94	Y	Y
Confluence Old North	14	PK-8	636	Y	Y
Confluence South City	3	PK-8	733	N	N
Dewey International Studies Elementary	4	PK-5	372	Y	Y
Eagle Fox Park	7	K-8	207	Y	Y
Eagle Gravois Park	7	K-8	195	Y	Y
Eagle Tower Grove East	7	K-8	191	Y	N
Eagle Tower Grove South	6	K-8	244	Y	Y
Froebel Elementary	3	PK-5	140	Y	Y
Gateway Elementary	14	PK-5	540	Y	Y
Gateway Middle	14	6-8	575	Y	Y
Gateway Science South Elementary	2	PK-5	378	N	N
Gateway Science Elementary	4	PK-5	365	N	N
Gateway Science Academy Middle	5	6-8	397	N	N
Grand Center Arts Academy Middle	11	6-8	175	Y	Y
Hamilton Elementary	12	PK-5	210	Y	Y
Hawthorn Middle†	12	6-8	64	Y	Y
Henry Elementary	14	PK-6	166	Y	Y
Herzog Elementary	13	PK-5	189	Y	Y
Hickey Elementary	12	PK-5	213	Y	Y
Hodgen Elementary	7	PK-6	158	Y	Y

Humboldt Academy	8	3-5	154	Y	Y
Jefferson Elementary	14	PK-6	99	Y	Y
Kairos Academies	8	5-8	412	Y	N
KIPP Inspire	14	5-8	439	Y	Y
KIPP Triumph	14	5-8	395	Y	Y
KIPP Victory	10	K-4	530	Y	Y
KIPP Wisdom	8	K-4	506	Y	Y
KIPP Wonder	8	K-3	198	Y	Y
Laclede Elementary	13	PK-8	198	Y	Y
Lafayette Preparatory Academy	8	PK-8	393	N	N
LaSalle Charter School†	14	6-8	112	Y	Y
Lexington Elementary	12	PK-5	227	Y	Y
Lift for Life Academy Elementary	8	PK-4	197	Y	Y
Lift for Life Academy Middle	8	5-8	224	Y	Y
Long Middle	1	6-8	303	Y	Y
Lyon at Blow Elementary	1	PK-8	257	Y	Y
McKinley Classical Leadership Academy	8	6-12	558	N	N
Mallinckrodt Elementary	4	PK-5	268	N	N
Mann Elementary	6	PK-5	217	Y	N
Mason Elementary	4	PK-6	321	N	N
Meramec Elementary	3	PK-5	169	Y	Y

Monroe Elementary	8	PK-6	188	Y	Y
Mullanphy Botanical Gardens	6	PK-5	408	Y	Y
Earl Nance, Sr. Elementary	13	PK-6	284	Y	Y
North Side Community School	12	PK-4	296	Y	Y
North Side Community School Grand Center	11	5-8	159	Y	Y
Oak Hill Elementary	2	PK-5	185	Y	Y
Peabody Elementary	8	PK-5	108	Y	Y
Premier Charter School	5	PK-8	910	N	N
Shaw VPA Elementary	5	PK-5	299	Y	Y
Shenandoah Elementary	7	PK-6	110	Y	Y
Sigel Elementary	8	PK-6	174	Y	Y
The Soulard School	8	K-5	129	N	N
St. Louis Language Immersion	14	PK-8	437	Y	N
Stix ECC	9	PK-2	303	Y	N
Walbridge Elementary	13	PK-5	124	Y	Y
Washington Montessori Elmentary	10	PK-5	225	Y	Y
Wilkinson Early Childhood Center	4	PK-2	162	Y	N
Woerner Elementary	1	PK-5	323	N	Y
Woodward Elementary	3	PK-5	194	Y	Y
Yeatman-Liddell Middle	11	6-8	291	Y	Y

Appendix 5. 5th Grade MAP Results, All schools with 5th Grade, City of St. Louis, 2022

*Note. Percentages may not total to 100 due to rounding. BB=Below Basic, B=Basic, P&A=Proficient and Advanced, S=Suppressed, †=school is now closed, ‡=school is missing from DESE data, * suppressed data, - data not available in DESE portal*

School	Math				English				Science			
	BB (%)	B (%)	P&A (%)	S (%)	BB (%)	B (%)	P&A (%)	S (%)	BB (%)	B (%)	P&A (%)	S (%)
Adams Elementary	81.3	*	*	18.8	64.7	*	*	35.3	76.5	*	*	23.5
Ames VPA Elementary	38.2	*	*	61.2	36.4	45.5	*	18.2	52.9	35.3	*	11.8
The Arch Community School†	85.7	*	*	14.2	42.9	50	*	7.1	78.6	*	*	21.4
Ashland Elementary	78.1	18.8	*	3.1	42.4	48.5	*	9.1	59.4	31.3	*	9.4
Atlas Elementary‡	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
The Biome	41.2	47.1	*	11.8	*	35.3	*	64.7	29.4	47.1	*	23.5
Bryan Hill Elementary	*	53.3	*	46.7	40	53.3	*	6.7	53.3	40	*	6.7
Buder Elementary	37.5	28.1	*	34.4	28.1	37.5	34.4	*	31.3	37.5	*	31.3
G.W. Carver Elementary	75	*	*	25	65	*	*	35	80	*	*	20
City Garden 4209 Folsom‡	57.9	*	*	42.1	*	36.8	*	62.3	52.6	*	*	47.4
Classical Jr. Academy‡	*	*	89.6	10.4	*	*	95.8	4.2	*	*	85.4	14.6

Cole Elementary	76.9	*	*	23.1	61.5	35.9	*	2.6	69.2	28.2	*	2.6
Columbia Elementary	95.7	*	*	4.3	65.2	*	*	34.8	82.6	*	*	17.4
Confluence Old North	75.7	17.6	*	6.8	36.5	44.6	18.9	*	62.5	25.0	*	12.5
Confluence South City	58.0	35.2	*	6.8	41.9	36.0	22.1	*	63.4	20.5	*	15.9
Dewey Elementary	56.2	31.5	*	12.3	35.1	51.4	*	13.5	44.6	47.3	*	8.1
Eagle Fox Park	66.7	23.3	*	10	46.7	33.3	*	20.0	70.0	16.7	*	13.3
Eagle Gravois Park	87.5	*	*	12.5	*	*	*	100	68.8	*	*	31.3
Eagle Tower Grove East	76.2	*	*	23.8	47.6	33.3	*	19.0	66.7	*	*	33.3
Eagle Tower Grove South	63.3	30	*	6.7	30.0	60.0	*	10.0	58.6	27.6	*	13.8
Froebel Elementary	65.5	31.0	*	3.4	44.8	44.8	*	10.3	55.2	31.0	*	13.8
Gateway (SLPS)	79.6	17.7	*	2.7	39.8	46.0	*	14.2	46.9	37.2	*	15.9
Gateway Science	37.3	18.7	44.0	*	19.2	28.8	52.1	*	22.7	28.0	49.0	*
Gateway Science - South	54.1	26.2	*	19.7	18.0	54.1	27.9	*	32.8	41.0	*	26.2
Hamilton Elementary	70.4	*	*	29.6	63.0	*	*	37.0	66.7	22.2	*	11.1
Henry Elementary	88	*	*	12	52.0	44.0	*	4.0	72	20	*	8

Herzog Elementary	*	*	*	100	65.6	*	*	34.4	78.1	*	*	21.9
Hickey Elementary	87.9	*	*	12.1	70.6	23.5	*	5.9	76.5	17.6	*	5.9
Hodgen Elementary	86.7	*	*	13.3	60.0	33.3	*	6.7	80	*	*	20
Humboldt Academy	70.2	21.3	*	8.5	51.1	38.3	*	10.6	68.1	25.5	*	6.4
Jefferson Elementary	57.1	*	*	42.9	42.9	50	*	7.1	57.1	*	*	42.9
La Salle Charter School‡	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Laclede Elementary	79.3	*	*	20.7	31.0	51.7	*	17.2	62.1	34.5	*	3.4
Lafayette Prep	*	36.4	29.5	34.1	*	38.6	29.5	31.8	15.9	25	59.1	*
Lexington Elementary	65.9	29.5	*	4.5	52.3	45.5	*	2.3	68.2	29.5	*	2.3
Lift for Life‡	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lyon at Blow Elementary	83.3	*	16.7	*	72.2	*	*	27.8	88.9	*	*	11.1
Kairos Academies	56.9	29.2	*	13.8	27.7	46.2	26.2	*	52.3	26.2	21.5	*
KIPP Inspire	67.6	21.3	*	11.1	43.9	43.0	*	13.1	51.9	34.3	*	13.9
KIPP Triumph	65.5	26.4	*	8.0	48.9	37.5	*	13.6	60.2	28.4	*	11.4
Mallinckrodt	*	*	93.6	6.4	*	*	93.6	6.4	*	*	93.6	6.4

Mann Elementary	80.4	13.0	*	6.5	41.3	41.3	*	17.4	56.5	26.1	*	17.4
Mason Elementary	46.2	33.3	*	20.5	23.7	36.8	39.5	*	41.0	*	28.2	30.8
Meramec Elementary	63.2	*	*	36.8	*	52.6	*	47.4	42.1	36.8	*	21.1
Monroe Elementary	91.3	*	*	8.7	56.5	34.8	*	8.7	87.0	*	*	13.0
Mullanphy Elementary	62.3	34.8	*	2.9	46.4	46.4	*	7.2	49.3	33.3	*	17.4
Nance Elementary	67.6	29.4	*	2.9	64.7	29.4	*	5.9	82.4	14.7	*	2.9
North Side Grand Center	56.9	39.2	*	3.9	*	59.6	17.3	23.1	72.5	13.7	*	13.7
Oak Hill Elementary	82.6	*	*	17.4	73.9	21.7	*	4.3	78.3	*	*	21.7
Peabody Elementary	66.7	*	*	33.3	58.3	*	*	41.7	58.3	*	*	41.7
Premier Charter School	51.0	30.6	18.4	*	31.6	34.7	33.7	*	49.0	26.5	24.5	*
Shaw VPA	49.2	42.9	*	7.9	36.5	47.6	*	15.9	58.7	30.2	*	11.1
Shenandoah Elementary	75	*	*	25	56.3	31.3	*	12.5	75	*	*	25
Sigel Elementary	79.3	17.2	*	3.4	69.0	24.1	*	6.9	75.9	17.2	*	6.9
SLIIS	41.9	16.3	41.9	*	25.6	25.6	48.8	*	39.5	20.9	39.5	*
The Soulard School	31.6	*	31.6	36.8	*	26.3	42.1	31.6	26.3	*	36.8	36.8

Walbridge Elementary	80.8	*	*	19.2	61.5	30.8	*	7.7	76.9	19.2	*	3.8
Washington Montessori Elementary	70.0	23.3	*	6.7	53.3	36.7	*	10	66.7	23.3	*	10
Woerner Elementary	83.6	14.5	*	1.8	49.1	43.6	*	7.3	47.3	30.9	*	21.8
Woodward Elementary	86.7	*	*	13.3	66.7	20	*	13.3	63.3	26.7	*	10

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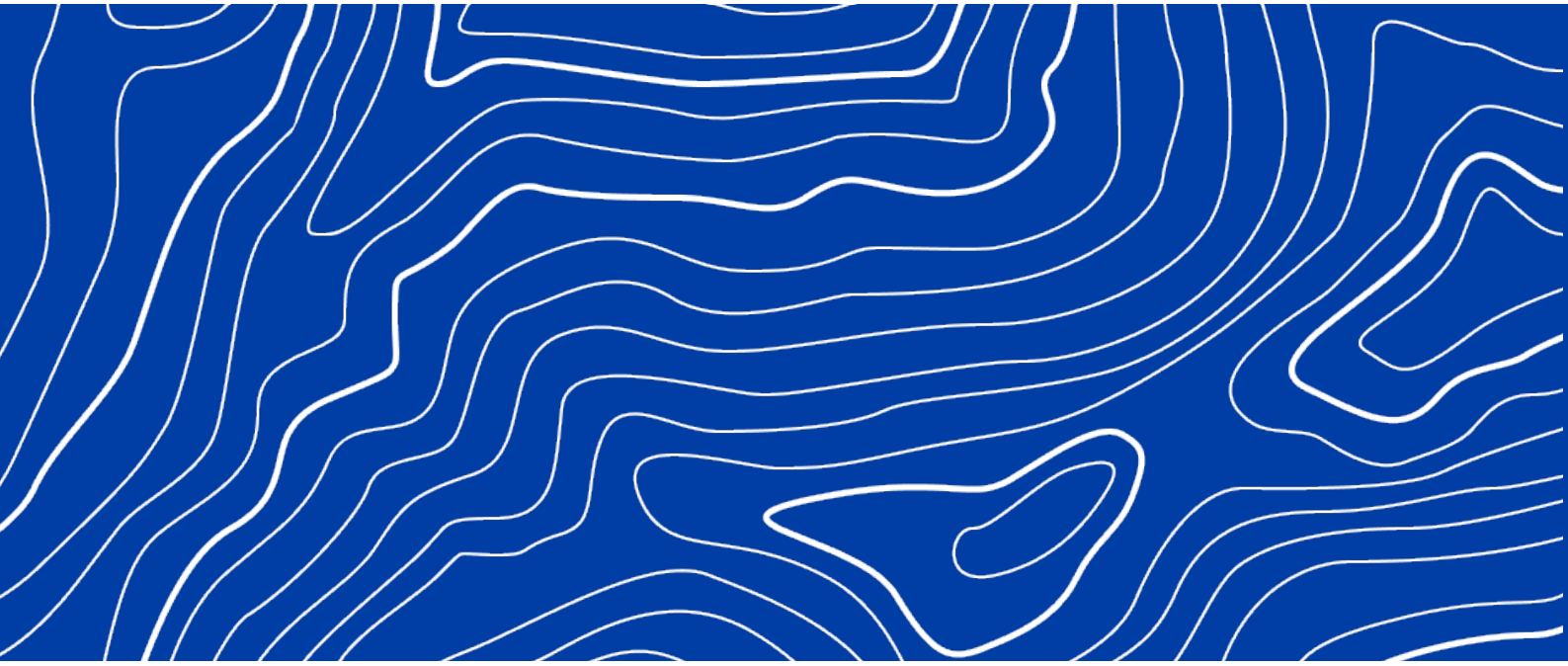

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